

Lola Tomori

THE IBADAN FACTOR IN YORUBA CULTURAL HISTORY AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION



By:

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Grand Ambassador of Ibadan Culture

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December, 2025

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*Published by: **Ambassador ESV. Tomori Moshood A.***

No. 8, Road 102, Off Sarumi Ifesowapo

New Alakia Airport Road

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Ibadan, Oyo State, Nigeria

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ISBN: 978-978-31064-9-0

Printed By:

Typesetting by: ***Olanrewaju Computer Technology***

DEDICATION

My family has been patient and supportive, and I thank them for their persistent support morally and financially both in the United States of America and in Nigeria. I also appreciate the contribution of my Inlaws and friends in the Central Council of Ibadan Indigenes (CCII). They are the strength that enables me to continue functioning. I am very grateful for their generosity

Lola Tomori

FORWARD

(Dr. Olatunde Hamzat)

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OONI LUWO GBAGIDA IN YORUBA HISTORY

1.0 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND:

Luwo Gbagida, the 18th Ooni of Ile-Ife and the only female in the king's list. She was nick-named "**Ayare**", **Akosulogbe, Descendant of Otaata, the 15th Ooni of Ife**, according to Chief (Dr.) M.A. Fabunmi, the Odole Atobase of Ile-Ife in "Ife: The Genesis of Yoruba Race", published in 1985. She was married to **Chief Obaloran of Ilode** and became the mother of **Adekola Telu**, the ancestor of the founder of Iwo called **Olumade Parin**, who founded Iwo in the **17th Century**. She hailed from **Owodo Compound in Okerewe** and was the only female Ooni in Ile-Ife history. Okerwe Quarters produced about six Ooni's Ife namely: **Owodo (13th Ooni)** **Otaata the 15th Ooni**; **Luwo Gbagida (18th Ooni)** **Lajodogun (19th Ooni)**, **Lafogun (20th ooni)** **Lafogido (21st Ooni of Ife)**.

According to the LATE **Chief Ifasola Ifamapowa**, the Priest of Okebadan in 2015 said **Lagelu's mother was born into the family of Oooni Luwo Gbagida of Ile-Ife and the first child of Chief Obaloran**. The chief Priest said that **Lagelu** did not come from **Atiki Compound** as claimed by Chief (Dr.) M.A. Fabunmi (1985) but **Lagelu was born at Degelu Compound, Ajampo area of Oke Eso in Ile-Ife** the same compound with **Obalufe** or **Orunto the head of Ooni-in-Council** and the King makers of Ile-Ife.

2.0 OONI LUWO GBAGIDA AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF ILE-IFE:

Oral tradition credit Luwo Gbagiola, listed on the Ife regnal list as a female King as earlier pointed out, with the draining of many ravines in Ile-Ife and with the paving of the major thoroughfares of the city with potsherds. According to Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran, 2020, the construction of the pavement like most Classical-era material life, was unlikely restricted to the reign of one King. Rather, the building project most likely took place throughout Classical period, lasting **three hundred years**. Second, the position of **Luwo Gbagida** on the King list put her in the post seventeenth-century period, when the construction of these payments had already

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ended. But, Prince Adegbola (2009) confirmed she also continued with the paving of the thorough fares of the City with potash which other Kingdoms copied.



Ooni Luwo Gbagida of Ile-Ife in the 15th Century

In fact, **Ooni Lajamisan**, the 11th on the list of Ile-Ife kings was described as **descendant of Oranmiyan** from **Ilare** and **the architect of Modern Ife history**, according to Chief (Dr.) M.A. Fabunmi (1985). Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran (2020) confirmed that **Lajamisan** was the king of Ile-Ife who managed to secure the full recovery of the ancient city. He was ricked named **Oseganderuku**. Lajamisan facilitated the growth of population and urban expansion.

One of the accomplishments was the rebuilding of some of the **outer walls of the city** which had fallen into disrepair. His successors **Ooni Luwo Gbagida**; **Lajodogun** and **Lafogido** who reigned in turn after him, actually completed the **city walls** while **potsherd pavements**, **naturalistic terracotta** and **copper alloy** had ceased during the reign of Lajamisan.

3.0 OONI LUWO GBAGIDA AND ARA (EKITI) WARS

Never before had a group of attackers ravaged such a vast landscape as the **Nupe Militarists** did in the northern and central Yoruba areas, lasting for at least four generations (ca. 1440-1550). These attacks marked the first regional offensive against the Yoruba Community of practice as a group (Yorubaland). The devastating impacts on the **Oyo, Igbommina, Okun, and Ekiti** areas **created the longest** that the Yoruba region had ever faced, and they tested the political efficacy of the **ebi fraternity ideology**, according to Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran (2020). However, aftermath of *Nupe incursions, there was change in the dynamics of regional power, created a new road map for regional cooperation; and unleashed the processes for a different kind of political and economic formation in the Yoruba world.*

For many decades, there was **no effective coordinated response** in the Yoruba region to curtail the **Nupe militarists attacks**. The **Okun, Igbomina, and Ekiti** were too fragmented and weak to put up any serious resistance, although they did not give up. **Benin** certainly clashed with the **Nupe Cavalry** on and off in the Ekiti areas between ca. **1440** and **1550** as part of the strategy of protecting its

commercial interests. But it was Nupe's military assaults on **Oyo**, and the subsequent evacuation of the latter's capital sometime in the last decade of the fifteenth century, that laid the grandeur for a coordinated effort to put an end to **Nupe's menace**.

The Oyo were not the only Yoruba elements seeking to expel the Nupe militarists from their homeland. Further south in the upper reaches of the rain forest, several Ekiti polities fought the Nupe under the banner of Benin. Ile-Ife is also said to have been engaged in protracted and **costly war at Ara** (in Ekiti country) during the **sixteenth century**. This was in alliance with several Ekiti polities against the **Nupe brigand and** (Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran, 2020).

In his own submission, Professor S. Adebajji Akintoye (2010), ***Ifé had to go to war in the reign of the female Ooni, Luwo Gbagida, probably in the first half of the fifteenth. Soon after she came to the throne, Ifé had to embark on the long drawn war known in history of Ifé as the Ara War***, there seems to be no doubt, it was the Ara Kingdom in Ekiti.

However, while the Oyo in exile at **Gbere**, in Ibariba Country (1530-1542), were able to mount resistance against the Nupe militarists, many other Yoruba polities and communities in the Moshi-Niger frontier did not survive the **Nupe scourge** and the military attack that followed. For example; the savanna metropolis of **Owu**, west of River Ogun, was liquidated. The turbulence in the Moshi-Niger area pushed **Owu** southward into the rainforest, where they rebuilt their polities in the area between Ife and Egba Gbagura territories, known as **Owu-Ipole**, in the sixteenth century.

4.0 LAGELU AND THE FOUNDING MYTH OF EBA ODAN

Ibadan was founded in the **sixteen (16th) century**, probably during the crisis of Nupe militarist attacks from Niger-Moshi area when Oyo kingdom was forced into exile. 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).

In his own contribution, the Alaafin of Oyo Oba Lamidi Olayiwola Adeyemi III, *I did not, in actuality pre-empt any rude reaction, I did reference that Lagelu, an Ife man, who founded what is Ibadan today, was installed the Jagun of Yorubaland by the Alaafin Sango in recognition of Lagelu's enviable profile in wars as claimed by I.B. Akinyele (1911).*

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 Macaulay: 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.

5.0 THE RECKLESS EXPLOITATION AND ABUSE OF POWER:

According to Professor Akinlawon Mabogunje and Professor J. Omer Cooper in the book "Owu in Yoruba History published in 1971 page 17, "The 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 of Oyo. The Alaafin's Ajele were often themselves Sango priests.* This added to their authority at the courts of vassal rulers who were nevertheless divine kings in their own right.

As the eighteenth century entered its second half a whole series of clashes between monarchs and their Basoruns took place. King after king was rejected and forced to poison after a short reign namely: **Alaafin Onisile (1742 - 1750); Alaafin Labisi (1750); Alaafin Awonbioju (1750); Alaafin Agboluaje (1750-1772); and Alaafin Mabogunje (1772 - 1773).** *The internal struggle of the Gaha period had naturally distracted attention from outlying parts of the empire and while central was weakened, the Alaafins representatives acted as petty despots exploiting their position in their own interests.*

i) Destruction of First Ibadan:

According to I.B. Akinyele in Iwe Itan Ibadan (1911); the town was destroyed by the Yoruba army because the secret of Egungun cult was revealed in the market place. This was not the reign of Alaafin Sango in the 3rd century but as a result of the Alaafin's representatives (the Ilaris and Ajeles) who were themselves Sango priest in the close of the 17th century. Lagelu and his children escaped to Eleiyele hil now at Awotan.

ii) Destruction of Ijaiye (An Egba Town):

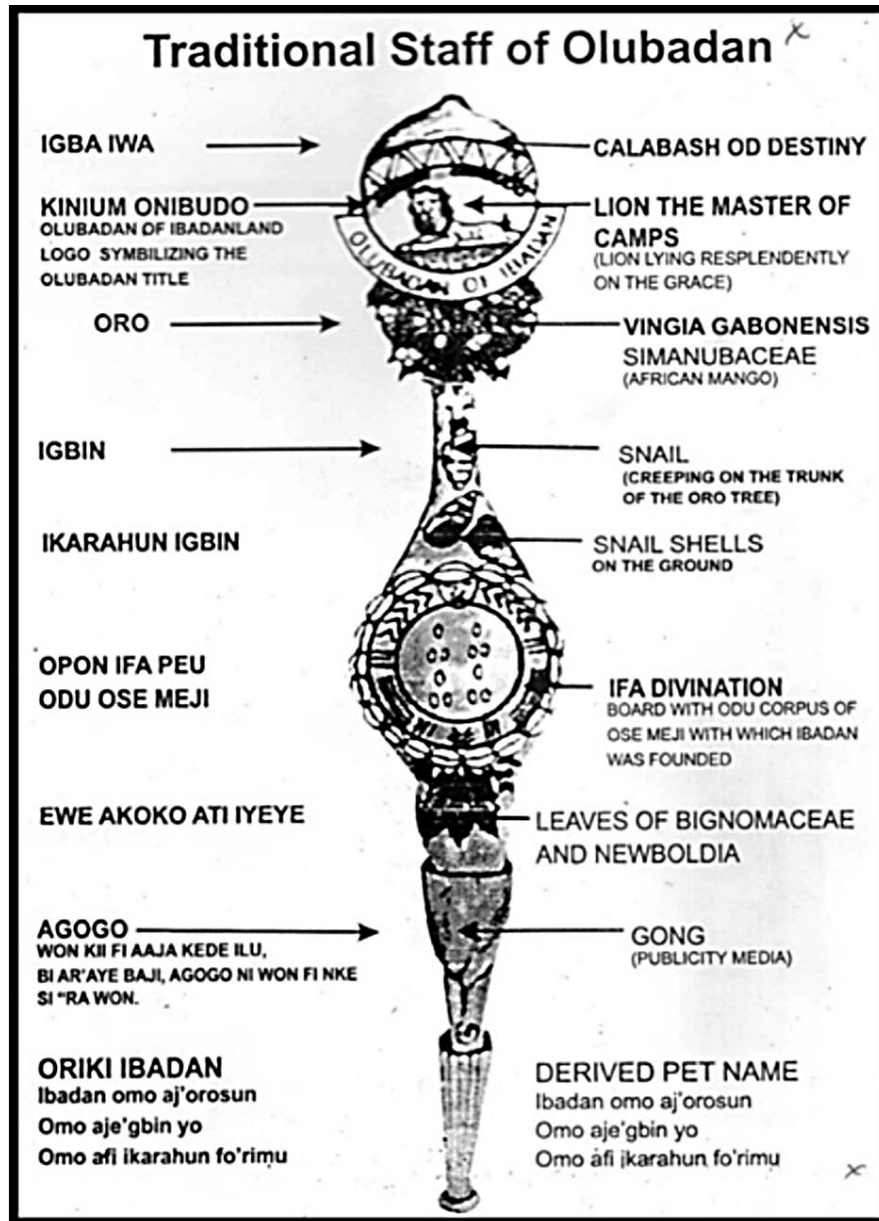
Alaafin Abiodun and Aole (1775 – 1796) ordered attacks on the provinces whose leaders they accused insubordination during their princely years according to professor Akinwumi Ogundiran (2020). For example, Alaafin Abiodun Adegolu (1775-1789) claimed that the son of the potentiate of Ijaiye, and Egba town, insulted him during one of his trading missions there. On ascending the throne, according to Rev. Samuel Johnson (1921), he avenged the alleged insult by ordering the destruction of the prominent trading town.

iii) Military Action Against Apomu

Likewise, Alaafin Aole (1789 - 1796), ordered military action against Apomu, a provincial town of Ile-Ife, in order to avenge his humiliation at the hands the Baale (head) of the town during his princely years as a trader. He also took the misstep of ordering an attack against **Iwere** (Ibarapa area) - now in Iwajowa Local Government, Oke-Ogun Area, reputed to be the maternal town of Alaafin Ajagbo (1600 – 1658).

iv) Lisabi Led Egba Revolution:

In the Egba country the **Alaafin's Ilari** provoked the people to desperation, and a bold leader, Lisabi, came forward to lead a movement of liberation. The EGba under Lisabi of Itoku (Agbein) revolted and **killed about 600 Ilaris of the Alaafin, Amosu of Ikija, in Oke-Ona. Arinokotu** of Ojoo and Akila of Ido joined Lisabi in the revolt, according to Chief M.O. Ogunmola, Otun of Oyo (1997, 2000).



ORIKI IBADAN (PRAISE POEM (BALLAD) OF IBADAN)

<i>Ibadan, omo aj'orosun</i>	<i>Ibadan, the one whose supper is oro fruit</i>
<i>Omo aje'gbín yó</i>	<i>the descendants of the one who fed on</i>
<i>Omo ag'ikarahun fò 'rì mu</i>	<i>snails the descendants of the one who</i>
	<i>used snail shell as bowl to serve his maize</i>
	<i>porridge.</i>

<i>Ibadan ma ja, ma ja bi ojo kini</i>	<i>Ibadan, don't fight, as you did before</i>
<i>Ti o ja alaughbo gbogbo logun</i>	<i>as you fought all neighbours at war.</i>

<i>Ibadan Kure</i>	<i>Kure's Ibadan</i>
<i>Ibadan, beere ki o to wo</i>	<i>Ibadan, ask before you enter</i>
<i>Ibadan Mesio go ni 'le Oluyole</i>	<i>Ibadan, Mesio go (appellation), the home of</i>
	<i>Oluyole</i>

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

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

The above two versions were developed progressively and can be taken together as one. The following is perhaps the one that truly depicts the military might of Ibadan warriors during the years of internecine wars:

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

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

PREFACE

This publication is written in response to controversies and misinformation on the history and development of early Yoruba society and the process of urbanization of Yoruba cities and towns. It is imperative to know the legends or heroes who built Yoruba cities. Thanks for the publication of distinguished Yoruba scholars who threw more light on the history of the Yoruba by Rev. Samuel Johnson published in 1921 by Dr. Samuel Johnson.

Yoruba Aborigines had been living in Ile-Ife and other parts of Yorubaland for the past 55,000 years before Oduduwa arrived at Ile-Ife. The system of governance was monarchical and rotational among the heads and elders of the community. When Oduduwa came, he centralized the administration. He established five Quarters out of the thirteen communities he met which also comprised of compounds and lineages that made up the city of Ife e.g.: **Moore, Ilode, Ilare, Okerewe and Irewo.**

The **Kingdoms and city-states** that populated the Yorubaland were not a loose formation of polities **with a shared loyalty, nor were they brought under a single government** in one historical event. Although Ile-Ife instigated the development of Yorubaland, the process was drawn out, cumulative and contingent.

Thus, the city of Ile-Ife and its type became the pattern of existence for most urbanized Yorubaland, **making the Yoruba the most urbanized people in the Tropical African forest; an urbanism which impacted their cultural growth** in countless ways and made them the proud possessors of what many regard as **highest indigenous civilization**. Therefore, Oduduwa is regarded as father of the Yoruba nation. After him are heroes of Yoruba legends.

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Before the founding of **Ilesa**, according to Prince Adelegan Adegbola in the book, “ILE-IFE: The Source of Yoruba Civilization’ published in 2009, the area was made up of **several nucleated (isolate) communities under independent rulers**. Among these were **Okesa, Irojo, Imikan, and Itaji**, some of these communities are now **wards within Ilesa Township**. It was in the reign of **Owa Owonise, the fifth Owa Obokun of Ijesaland** that all these communities were brought together to form a single settlement as **Oduduwa** did in Ile-Ife with the **pre-Oduduwa** existing communities. It was **Owanise who institutionalized the present traditional political structure in the town**.

“**Everything has a history**” is a recent mantra of the American Historical Association aimed at affirming the ever-present qualities of historical understanding in everyday lives and multiple-scales, from personal decisions and household budgeting to public policies.

My objective in writing this volume is to place in the hands of the Yoruba people, in the hands of students of Yoruba and African history and in the hands of the general reader, a laud account of Yoruba history using the products of the latest research on the subject.

Writing on the suggested chronology of Yoruba cultural history, Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran (2020), wrote that between **AD1400-1570s** there was Regional instability due to hemispherical ecological crisis and sub continental political turbulence; a period of intense dry conditions characterized by recurrent multiyear draughts, collapse of regional economy and external aggression by Nupe militarists resulting to the collapse of many prominent Yoruba kingdoms while they embarked on expansion northward.

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Between AD **1570s and 1650** was a period of renewal and regeneration marked by building of old kingdoms and foundation of new ones. The political landscape was transformed by **warrior-kings** such as Ilesa, Oyo, and Benin and also **militaristic state builders** such as Oluyole, Oluyedan, Maye Okunade, Lisabi, Sodeke, Kurunmi of Ijaye.

The Yoruba were the **most urbanized people** in the history of the tropical African forestlands, having largely lived in **walled cities and towns** since as early as the eleven or twelfth century. **In these towns and cities they evolved a sophisticated monarchical system of government, whose governing elites established detailed institutions and process for preserving society's history and passing it on, a circumstance that has** both encouraged and facilitated the study of Yoruba history in our times.

In the aftermath of the collapse of the Oyo Empire in 1837, new political experiments developed among the new and reconstructed polities, ranging from **military autocracy to military republicanism and the federation system**. However, the **institution of Oba** remained subject to the **militaristic ethos** of the time in which **warlords** often usurped the powers of the Oba and the civil authorities. Uniquely, Ibadan **rejected hereditary monarchical system of governance** after taking over from Lagelu descendants in **1825** during **Owu-Ogbere war, and adopted military republicanism** as the model of its governance. Hence, the current hierarchies, distinguishing between the so-called primary and secondary Yoruba kingdoms are products of the regional reorganization that followed the collapse of Oyo Empire, the instability of the nineteenth century, and the imposition of the British colonial rule.

Those gazette and standardized official template of hierarchies among the Yoruba kings during the early twentieth century was created at the instigation of the colonial officers, who needed this narrative to implement the **British policy of**

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indirect rule. And the **hierarchies** have been revised several times since independence to accommodate the changing political configurations in postcolonial Nigerian politics.

Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran in 2025, advised the academic historians to ***reject royal rascality, pomposity and arrogance of traditional rulers***. He said that they must not allow egocentric tables to be mistaken for facts. In fact, historians must utilize primary sources which include documents, eye witness accounts, oral traditions, language forms and linguistic, archeological artefacts, and material culture, to write history. ***“History needs to be, as indeed it is, rewritten from time to time and past events revalued in the light of fresh developments and new ideas”***.

The author is grateful to the many people whose contributions, experience and proposals has been drawn upon in putting this volume together in addition to sources acknowledged in this text the author is indebted to Professor. Akinlawon Mabogunje, Professor Toyin Falola, Emeritus Professor Bolanle Awe whose publications have helped me and Professor Olatoye Ojo for encouraging me since my days at the University of Ife, (Now Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife) publication on Ibadan.

In memory of those good souls who either directly or indirectly helped to shape this publication, may their souls rest in perfect peace such as I.B. Akinyele, Kemi Morgan and Rev. Samuel Johnson.

Ambassador (ESV) Tomori M.A.

anivs, rsv, mnim, arva

Grand Ambassador of Ibadan Culture

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December, 2025

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THE REALITY OF THE THIRD EMERGENCE OF IBADAN TRADITIONAL SOCIETY FROM 16TH CENTURY TO 1900

1.0 WRITING A NEW HISTORY OF IBADAN:

There can be no development without an evidence-based history because historical narratives are always being contested and revised, but such revisions must be based on new evidence and theoretical insight, not an individual's whims and caprices.

“Everything has a history” is a recent mantra of the American Historical Association aimed out at affirming the ever-present qualities of Historical understanding in everyday lives and multiple scales, from personal decisions and households budgeting to public policies. According to R.G. Collingwood; *History needs to be, as indeed it is, rewritten from time to time and past events revalued in the light of fresh developments and new ideas.*

In writing the contemporary history of Ibadan, *one has to rely on the written accounts of Ibadan and other Yoruba local historians.* A number of them witnessed some of the events, which they narrated and also collected firsthand information from those who participated in the events that they describe, such local authors included: **Chief I.B. Akinyele on Outlines of Ibadan History and its Yoruba Edition Iwe Itan Ibadan**; the second is **Kemi Morgan's three-volume Akinyele's Outline History of Ibadan in which she supplemented Akinyele's work** by providing more details. The **third** is the most comprehensive of them all, the **Rev. John's History of the Yorubas** which was written in 1897 and first published in **1921**. The editor of the book had made it known to the whole world that “**the original manuscripts** of the book had got lost in the hands of the publisher and they could not found. Some chapters had to be rewritten, some curtailed other amplified, and new ones added

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where necessary, according to Prince Adelegan Adegbola in his book “ILE-IFE; the Source of Yoruba Civilization” published in **2009**.

So also are the Academic Historians for whom historical in query is a profession and vacation, often with a teaching position. Academic historians utilize primary sources, which include documents, eyewitness accounts, oral traditions, language forms and linguistics, archeological artefacts, and material culture, to write history.

Historically, according to Professor S. Adebajji Akintoye (2010), ***Oduduwa and Ife gave the Yoruba people their first kingdom, elaborated the structure of their type of kingdoms, and pointed all of the Yoruba people in the direction to this higher level of political existence.*** The city of Ile-Ife and its type became the pattern of existence for most of Yorubaland, making the Yoruba the most urbanized people in the tropical African forest, an urbanism which impacted their cultural growth in countless ways and made them the proud possessors of what many regard as **Africa’s highest indigenous civilization.**

From all these developments and their times, the migrants from Ile-Ife continued for centuries, and transformed the political and demographic structure of Yorubaland. Their most **visible physical heritage** is the many cities of the Yoruba people, **the cities of the kings**. And **their political heritage** is the Yoruba kingdoms. **The kingdom-founding immigrants was a special era in Yoruba history.**

2.0 LAGELU AND THE FOUNDING MYTH OF IBADAN:

Lagelu was the grandson of both Ooni uwo Gbagida, the only female Ooni of Ife and the 18th Ooni in the Chronology of Obas of Ile-Ife, and also the grandson of **Obalufe** or the **ORUNTO** born at **Degelu's compound** in Oke-Eso Area of Ile-Ife.

The founding of Ibadan by Lagelu in the 16th century coincided with the period Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran (2020) claimed was a period of renewal and regeneration, that is between **1570s and 1650**, marked by **rebuilding of old kingdom and foundation of new ones**, thus, political landscape of Yorubaland was transformed by **warrior kings and militaristic states** such as Ilesa, Oyo and Benin.

Chief Isaac Babalola Akinyele in "**Iwe Itan Ibadan**" published in 1911 said that Ibadan was founded before the institution of the **office of Aare Ona-Kakanfo** was established by Alaafin Ajagbo in 1640A.D. However, the Alaafin of Oyo, Oba Lamidi Olayiwola Adeyemi III, in the Nigerian Tribune of Friday 22 October, 2021 said *"While I did no, in actuality pre-empt any rude reaction, I did reference that Lagelu, an Ife man, who founded what is Ibadan today, was installed the Jagun of Yorubaland by the Alaafin Sango in recognition of Lagelu's enviable profile in wars"*. Honestly, Oduduwa Era ended with the sacking of Yoruba kingdoms in the River Niger areas by Nupe militarists followed by the era of renewal of regeneration between 1570s and 1650s.

2.1 Era of Militaristic State Builders in the 19th Century

Aftermath of the Owu-Ogbere war led by Olowu Akinjobi, the Owus migrated to Abeokuta in 1833 to join the Egbas who had been expelled from Ibadan Camp to found Abeokuta in **1830**. After the Gbanamu War of **1833** during which the Ife group was expelled from Ibadan Camp, the Oyo-Yoruba group took over the controlled of Ibadan described as the **third and present Ibadan**.

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Oluyedun was the first leader of the town and took the title of Aare-Ona-Kakanfo. He was succeeded by **Lakanle** and then by Basorun Oluyole who enlarge the rule of **military aristocracy** but died in 1839. He was succeeded by Balogun Oderinlo and Baale Omololu Opeagbe who also died after eleven months as Baale. **They all rejected monarchy.**

In 1851, Ajayi Oyesile Olugbode (an Owu man from KUta newar Iwo) was installed. He introduced military republican system as the mode of Governance in Ibadan comprising Civil and Military lines.

In the 19th Century, they must meet as Kingmakers to appoint a Baale, unless if the candidate died as Balogun like Balogun Oderinlo, Balogun Ibikunle, Balogun Akere and Balogun Ajayi Osungbekun. The Council may accept or reject the candidate for reason of inefficiency and poor leadership quality.

Fijabi the son of Babalola, who came to settle in Ibadan during Maye Okunade's regime in Ibadan, was the last to be installed Baale of Ibadan on the 23rd of June, 1893, before Ibadan became a British Protectorate. After him, the subsequent rulers of Ibadan had to obtain the approval of the British Resident for Oyo Province before they could be installed as rulers of the town (Kemi Morgan at pg. 166 of Outline History of Ibadan, Part III).

Rotation of headship of Ibadan Community started after the prolonged 16 year civil war known as Ekitiparapo War. **Rotation between Otun Olubadan and Balogun was formalized with Olubadan Chieftaincy Declaration of 1957 as amended in 2023.**

However, only the Olubadan of Ibadanland could only go through the **traditional rites** to be performed by the **Oluwo Labosinde** Araba of Ibadan at Osemeji Temple before installation and Coronation Ceremony where the Governor performs the presentation of Staff of Office at Mapo Hall Arcade.

3.0 TRANSITION FROM SECOND IBADAN TO THIRD IBADAN

The third emergence of Ibadan was as a result of **Owu war** between **1814 and 1822** after the destruction of **Owu-Ipole**. The settlement at Ibadan by the allied army of **Ife, Ijebu, Oyo and Egba** that resulted to another war between the **Owu refugee** living at **Owu-Ogbere** near Ibadan and the ruler of Ibadan marked the end of the period of marauding. According to both Professors Akinlawon Mabogunje and J. Omer Cooper (1971) in “**Owu in Yoruba History**” at page 65;

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

With the settlement in Ibadan, the behaviour of the army and its role in Yorubaland began to undergo a profound change. The **militarist character of the community led by Maye Okunade from Ile-Ife**, did not disappear overnight but the **army now became a state, with a territory of its own**, a political hierarchy albeit a rather usual kind and a position within the complex web of inter-state relationship in Yorubaland.

Therefore, to put history in its proper perspective, Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran (2020) *challenged traditional rules to invest resources in preserving ancestral legacies, artefacts, and memory, adding, if they are committed to the truth and not self-aggrandizing, they should build museums and establish royal and ritual archives in their communities. These are the resources that historians need to so their work effectively.*

He said, *“if the kingmakers will not check the traditional rulers, academic historian own it to the profession to call them out through their professional organizations, adding that it would be wrong to entrust kings as custodians of ancestral history, because they have political interests that scholars must interrogate.*

3.1 Effect of Civil Wars on Yoruba Independent States

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

However, political situation in some areas of Yorubaland prepared the ground for the establishment of British rule. Before the intervention of the British, the history of pre-colonial Nigeria is a fluid history of **independent states**, losing their independence to fellow states and regaining their independence from fellow states. This continuing struggle for dominance and domination was still ongoing when the British took over. These are nationalities with very long memory, very entrenched traditional and culture. For instance, the British intervened in the **war between Ekiti-Parapo and Ibadan** and successfully brokered a Peace-Treaty signed in 1886. Although the **Peace Treaty** had been signed, there were conflicts and wars in other areas of the Yoruba nation. The situation remained so until **1893** when **signing of protectorate treaties** with various groups.

The disintegration of the Oyo Empire and Kingdoms destroyed the pre-existing system of order and security in Yorubaland and created a situation whereby all **centres of power**, old and new, had to scramble to establish new systems and patterns that would guarantee order and security. Those efforts according to Professor ‘Banji Akintoye (2010) created conflicts and wars which the Yoruba people were not able to put an end to, until European powers intervened and imposed their own system of order, security and peace.

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

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

The Yoruba Oba’s authority carries the spiritual powers of the Orisa (gods) and must be obeyed. Every major act of power, like declaration of war, execution of culprit etc., must be done with the spiritual sanction of the Orisa. When an Oba dies, he himself joins the pantheon of Orisa and therefore one of the law givers, who joins the ancestors. Thus, when Lagelu died he was buried on the hills at Awotan. Truly, the aspect of spiritual power of Yoruba Oba was the testimony of the law and measure designed to increase healthy environment in Ibadan in 1855,

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according to a book “ILE-IFE: The Source of Yoruba Civilization” written by Prince Adelegan Adegbola in 2009. **This was during the reign of Baale Ajayi Oyesile Olugbode (1851 – 1864) when Aboke Oyewole was recalled to Ibadan from Abeokuta**

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

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

3.2 The Significance of Oke-Badan Shrine

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



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

3.3 The Significance of Okebadan (Ibadan Hill) at Awotan

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

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

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“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 (Dr. Jide Fatokun, 2012).

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

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Note: Oke'badan Hill in Awotan town

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

Rev. Samuel Johnson (1921) at page 244 of History of the Yorubas described Ibadan, after take over by the allied forces, as consisting of the **central market, and about half a mile of houses around**. The town wall was where the principal mosque (Oja'ba Central Mosque now stands).

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

4.0 CULTURAL SETTLEMENT OF SECOND IBADAN

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

- The populace sought divine blessings on the now settlement for prosperity. Then the **Oke Ibadan** (or the spirit of Ibadan) was instituted as a totem of worship.
- The oracle was consulted on how to preserve the growing population and the emerging prosperity.
- A siege was laid on Ibadan and its expansion and security was threatened. **Ose Meji** (meaning double victory) appeared again to reassure the inhabitants of a slow but steady and persistent growth, as in the movement of snails.

It seems, this why the **snail** or its **shell** became the **mascot of the city's coat** of arms. A close study of **Ose Meji** reveals that under the major thematic and metrical divisions, the sign is concerned with (a) survival (b) wealth (c) fertility and (d)

victory. **These are consistent with the preoccupations identified with the city patriarch, Lagelu, the founders of the city in its early stages.** The cultural importance of this point is that Ibadan, in spite of the pure serendipity connected with its location and founding, is still a traditional and spiritual home to its inhabitants. It shows that all care was taken as to its inhabitant and, contrary to the manner of settlement, nothing was given up to chance. Any Yoruba settlement, thus inaugurated by **solid tradition, is often assured of its safety and stability.**

4.1 DESCRIPTION OF OKE-BADAN HILLS 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 if Ibadan in the 18th century as eternally destroyed. Legend has it that Lagelu, was forbidden from setting eyes on any masquerade. From the valley where he stood, he commanded the masquerade to be swallowed inside the bowels of the mountain. When the invading forces saw what happened, they scampered in different directions for safety.

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

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

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



Fig. 2: Oke'badan Hill from Awotan:



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

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

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

4.2 The Cultural and Commercial Significant of Oja'ba

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

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

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

While the traders constructed their sheds and the facilities for spreading out their wares **palace messengers planted shade trees**, needed to prevent excessive heat in the market place and also to provide some decoration. When the market place became functional, senior palace messenger did patrol duties in it as **peace officers and also collected tools authorized by the king's government**. The sellers of each article usually formed a **market commodity associations**, of which the king was usually patron. In short, then, the influence of the king pervaded the market place, the market place in Ibadan (king's market) was named after Labosinde after the allied army of Oyo, Ife, Ijebu and Egba took over the second Ibadan because he had been leaving in the palace with the descendants of Lagelu before Owu war started in 1810 A.D. and ended in 1825 A.D. Labosinde was an Ife war-chief.

5.0 THE STRUCTURE OF IBADAN AT ORIYANGI

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

5.1 The Structure of Second Ibadan Settlement

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

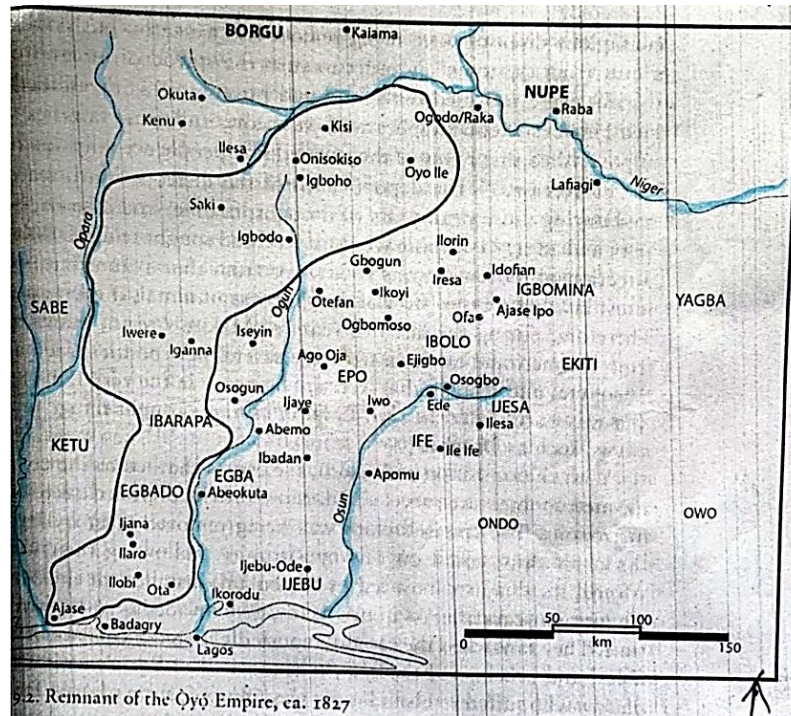
Division of Yoruba towns by Lagelu descendants, originated from Oduduwa when he formed a central authority after thirteen aboriginal communities were merged to form the original five Quarters in Ile-Ife known as: Moore, Ilode, Ireto, Okerewe, and Ilare the practice which Lagelu replicated in Ibadan.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

As the Hebrews were so grateful to their hills which according to their belief, had given them protection, so the children of Lagelu started expressing their gratitude to the hill that protected and fed them during the early periods on Eleyele Hills at Awotan. **Ogundowo**, one of the children of Lagelu became the **first 'Aboke' (the**

Chief Priest) of Oke-Ibadan. He was succeeded by his son **Okewale** who was recalled from Abeokuta during the reign of Baale Oyesile Olugbode (1851-1864) when Oke-badan festival was resuscitated by the new ruling class.

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

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



6.0 THE FOUNDATION OF THE THIRD IBADAN

After the Owu war between **1814** and **1820**, according to Rev. Samuel Johnson (1921) or between **1817** and **1822** according to Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran (2020) Iwo Ipole was captured and destroyed and the war-like Olowu Akinjobi opened one of the gates and slipped away to refuge in Ibadan. Thus, after the capture of Owu, the allied army of Ife, Ijebu, Oyo and friendly Egbas did not disband but after a period of hesitation a pretext was found for attacking the Egba towns of Ikija.

According to Johnson, they passed through Ijaiye-maja, Kosikosi, Ikerekui were, Ora, Ibadan, Ojokodo, Iwohaha and Eguoto the same night reached Ojoho at day-break. There they met with a determined resistance and, fetching the need for a camp to recuperate in after their long march, they occupied the site of Ibadan which had been abandoned by its Egba population but not destroyed like the other towns.

This account, according to Professor Akinlawon Mabogunje and Professor J. Omer-Cooper in “Owu in Yoruba History” published in 1971 is almost certainly an over-simplification for it does not explain the fate of the **Owu refugee settlement** which had grown up in the close proximity of the Egba town of Ibadan at Agodi.

(a) Conflicts between Ibadan and Owu-Ogbere:

Here accounts given to both Professor Akin Mabogunjo and Professor J. Omer – Cooper (1971), by the late Oba Akinyele of Ibadan and the Baale of Erummu seem to throw light on the course of events. In both 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 the Baale of Ibadan whose name, **Nkan** meant “**Something**”. The Olowu went on a raiding expedition across the **Oba River** and as he crossed the river he promised that if the waters stayed low to allow his return **he would sacrifice something** to the stream. On his return, however, he found the river in flood and he and his men were trapped on the wrong side.

As they waited in vain for the waters to subside the chiefs began to murmur, reminding the Olowu of his promise to the river and of the fact that “**something**” was his wife’s name. Finally, the Olowu agreed to the sacrifice of his wife and soon afterwards, the flood went down and he was able to return home. But **the Baale of Ibadan was so infuriated** at the death of his daughter that he made war on Owu and called in allies from far-flung places. **Owu-Ogbere** was then destroyed and many of its inhabitants fled to Erummu.

According to the two Professors, the most likely explanation seems to be that a quarrel between Ibadan and the refugee settlement of **Owu-Ogbere** broke out and the attired army was called in as it has been in the struggle between **Oorun** and **Idomapa**. **Owu-Ogbere** was destroyed and the army 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.

(b) Egba left Ibadan Camp to Establish Abeokuta in 1830

The allied that destroyed Owu-Ogbere hastily occupied Ibadan and war-chiefs taking possession of any compound they chose, and their men with them and thus Ibadan, according to Rev. Samuel Johnson, was again re-peopled but not by the owners of the towns, but by a composite band of marauders (the allied army of Ife, Ijebu, Oyo and friendly Egbas). **Maye Okunade**, a bold and brave. Ife chieftain being their leader. Next to him was **Labosinde** also an Ife, but, through his mother, of Oyo descent. At the head of the Oyos was **Lakanle** a bold and brave leader.

In the atmosphere of intense personal rivalry between the war chiefs, quarrels were not infrequent and soon after the settlement at Ibadan, **Lamodi**, a prominent Egba leader, shot an influential Ife leader, named Egba, with a pistol in the course of an altercation. A scrimmage at once broke out. **Lamodi** was killed and a considerable body of Egba, fearing further vengeance, fled the town. Under the leadership of **sodeke**, they succeeded in beating off all attacks and making their way to the naturally defensible site at Abeokuta, then a **farm village of an Itoko man**, and a resting place for traders to and from the **Oke-Ogun districts**. This was about **1830**.

There, they were continually swelled by Egba refugees from all parts of the country, and also by Egbas, slaves who had deserted their masters. **At Abeokuta the refugees kept together according to their family distinctions**, e.g. Egba Agbeyin, Egba Agura (or Gbagura) and Egba Oke-Ona.

Here also the **Owus** joined them, one common calamity throwing them together. It was some considerable time after that **Ijaiye** joined them, and so by degrees of all the Egba townships about **153** became concentrated at Abeokuta, the new town comprising Ijemo, Itoko and a few others who were already on the spot.

Even after the foundation of Abeokuta, according to Rev. Samuel Johnson (1921), there were still some Egbas residing at Ibadan. **Egba women** also who were unable or unwilling to go with husbands to the new settlement were taken as wives by the new colonists at Ibadan and they became the mothers of most of the children of the first generation of the new Ibadan.

(c) The End of Maye Okunade Draconian Rule:

The end of the struggle with Maye Okunade after the Gbanamu war of **1833** meant the end of the most serious communal tensions within the erstwhile marauding army. It was now possible to establish a **regular governmental hierarchy** and at a public meeting it was decided to introduce regular chieftaincy titles.

On the face of it, the expulsion of Maye Okunade and many of the Ife chiefs left Ibadan an Oyo Settlement. In fact, however, though the **Oyo group** was predominant, the community retained the **composite character it had possessed as a wandering military horde**. Its leading men were not necessarily all Oyo. Indeed, **Labosinde, the other Ife war leader** and one time rival of **May Okunade**, remained in the town as a respected figure. What is more, **in the circumstances of prolonged warfare, hereditary authority had been of little account**.

In establishing the constitution of the town these characteristics were preserved so that although the chieftaincy titles adopted were traditional ones the system itself was quite different from the normal pattern. **The titles were not hereditary but were given in accordance with the effective position of the holder in society and it was possible to progress from one title to another in the hierarchy even to the very top of Baale and later Olubadan.**

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

Ibadan system also had another significance for as positions within the internal hierarchy depended on reputation and strength of one's military following, military expansionism was, as it were, a **built-in** feature of the system (Prof Bolanle Awe, 1965).

(d) The Stabilization of the Third Ibadan:

With the stabilization of the third Ibadan community, the story of the **Owu war** really ends. The army which had been called won existence to besiege **the city of Asunkungbade** had at least settled down and taken on the features of an established polity. *The collapse of one of the four corners of Yorubaland had entailed a tremendous upheaval and the virtual obliteration of the old pattern of relationships in southern Yorubaland.* It had called into existence the two great metropolitan towns of Ibadan and Abeokuta which were to be the main poles of the new order which emerged out of the final collapse of the old Oyo Empire and the system of inter-state relationships of which it had been the guarantor.

The evacuation of Oyo-Ile and the collapse of the empire was the end of an era in the history of the Yoruba world. With the defeat of **Oluewu-led** forces, the jihadists of Ilorin and their allies were intoxicated by fermented fruit of victory and were determined to take over the entire Yoruba Region. They, therefore, shifted their focus towards, those new Oyo towns already planted in the **upper reaches of the rainforest.**

According to Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran (2010), their goal was to “**dip the Koran in the sea,**” a metaphor for subjugating the Yoruba world to the control of the Sokoto Caliphate via the emirate of Ilorin. For what this implied, no extential crisis that enormous had ever confronted the Yoruba not even the **Nupe crisis** of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

(e) How Oluyole Mobilized Forces to Stop Advancing Ilorin Army

Displaced and demoralized, most of the Yoruba region, especially in the old territory of the Oyo Empire, was still licking its wounds. The only Yoruba polity brave enough to confront the **Jihadist threat was Ibadan**. According Akinwumi Ogundiran (2010), **it was a new kid on the block of regional politics, but it was a rising military power in the aftermath of the fall of Oyo Empire**.

While the Ilorin army was advancing southward, Basorun Oluyole, rallied to confront the enemy. He presided over the military plans to stop the advancing Ilorin army. He mobilized other scattered Oyo elements to the cause of saving their ancestral land from what he rightfully considered a foreign invasion, although there were high-ranking Yoruba soldiers in the Ilorin contingent but his timely intervention paid off.

Under the command and leadership of his war command on Balogun Oderinlo, the advance of Ilorin’s ambition was halted on the outskirts of Osogbo in **1840**. The Ilorin army was thoroughly beaten. The victory put to rest the threat of the jihadist agenda in the Yoruba world. **With this, Oluyole achieved what eluded Oluewu and five other Alaafins**. This military victory was the most consequential event in Yoruba history during the nineteenth century (Prof. Akinwumi Ogundiran, 2010).

7.0 AFTERMATH OF THE FULANI JIHADISTS WAR OF 1840

Ibadan emerged as the dominant state in the region in 1840 following its defeat of Ilorin jihadists. *The young state had proved to be the most resilient avenger of Old Oyo empire humiliation 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 (Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran, 2010).*

In the aftermath of the fall of the Old Oyo Empire, *new political experiments developed among the new and reconstructed polices, ranging from military autocracy to military republicanism and federation system. The institution of Oba* remained the apex of social order in most areas, but it remained subject to the **militaristic ethos** of the time in which **warlords** often usurped the powers of the **Oba** and the civil authorities. Uniquely, **Ibadan (a former war camp) redetected monarchy** and adopted military republicanism as the model of its governance.

In all these experiments, the **ile** continued to serve as the basic unit of organization. Its membership was now far more heterogeneous than ever before because of the massive region-wide **demographic breakup** and displacement, leading to the aggregation of people of diverse backgrounds into the new **ile and ilu** that sprouted up throughout the region,

7.1 The Development of Ibadan Republican System:

When Basorun Oluyole died in **1847** according to Professor Toyin Falola in 2012, a government dominated by warriors (Military Aristocracy) had family taken root. His successor, **Omololu Opeagbe** (1850-1851) because **Balogun Odorinlo** died as Balogun and the **Otun Balogun Olajumoke**, also died giving way for Opeagbe, from Ogbomoso. He also assumed office on the basis of his military strength and he appointed others to higher offices purely on the basis of their military qualities. The warriors were in control of the political systems for most of the

nineteenth century, as active ones, they benefited from the wars, as retired, they befitted from the control of political institutions.

By **1851** during the reign of Baale Ajayi Oyesite Olugbode (1851-1864), 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 line initially created in the **1830s** during the reigns of **Oluyedun** and **Oluyole**. 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.

(i) The First Civil Lines

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

(ii) The Second Civil Category:

The Second civil category of officers was of less political importance. This was the **Iyalode line**, consisting of **women 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 Toyin Falola (2012), those who were chosen were probably because they were either successful **traders**, or **Iya Olorisa**, or **Iya Onisegun** known for their mystical power, the Iyalode established some degree of power and of influence in the town.

(iii) The Two Military Chieftaincy Categories:

The two Military Chieftaincy categories were those of the **Balogun** and **Seriki**.

(a) The Balogun Line:

That of Balogun (“Lord in war”) **consisted of the most important and bravest warriors**. Real political power lay not with civil **chiefs** but with the **Balogun hierarchy of chiefs**. No important political decision, domestic or foreign, must be taken without their consent. The office of Balogun (the title for the head of all the chiefs in the line) commanded the greatest respect, priest ige, and influences in Ibadan. The title went to a man, according to Professor Toyin Falola (2012), who was regarded as the leading and most competent warrior in the town. **He was the heir apparent to the headship of Ibadan**. At the death of a **Baale**, the office must first be offered to the Balogun who could accept it if he had made his mark and future, or reject it, if he felt he had not made sufficient wealth and famer.

Even if he rejected the headship because he had not distinguished himself, the title must then pass to the second-in-command (the Otun Balogun Baale) or any other person, in the civil line.

A few ambitious ruler (e.g Ogunmola and Latosa) combined both the civil and military functions. By doing so, these men took the titles of Bassorun and Are Ona Kakanfo instead of Baale.

(b) The Seriki Line:

The Seriki line consisted of **junior military officers** who, in the wards of Dr. Awe were younger men with less experience, though their military capabilities were not in doubt. But like the Balogun chiefs, they wielded immense power. In their attempt to be promoted to the Balogun line, some of them tented to exhibit, or over-exhibit their military potentials. Some Seriki (head of the line) even saw themselves

as close to the Balogun and third in command in the town because **they ruled over many junior chiefs and most of the mogaji.**

(c) Non-Political Hereditary Titles:

Besides these four categories were the few, **non-political, hereditary titles.** These were the office of the **Oluwo and Apena**, both **Ogboni** titles, and the **Aboke**, the chief priest of **Okebadan** (the towns god). The three offices were restricted to Ife Egba and Ife families.

7.2 The State and Economy System of Ibadan;

The economic system of Ibadan revolved around **agriculture, manufacture, and trade.** The most basic primary occupation was farming, which engaged the majority of the people, irrespective of their lineage or status. To supply tools for farm work and meet the requirements of the people for manufactured goods, there were a host of **craftsmen** at Ibadan. Other professionals ministered to the social and ritual life of the society. Among them were professional diviners, barbers, musicians, and a host of others, to distribute the surplus produced by manufacturers and farmers were the traders.

These three important sectors of the economy were, no doubt, well-developed. The **agricultural sphere** was the most virile, and was efficient enough to feed the large, urban population. The **agricultural surplus** also made it possible to engage in other enterprises. The **manufacturing sphere** was also well- organized, and consisted essentially of a class of well – trained professionals.

7.3 The Traditional Market System and Farmstead:

The markets were, however multi-functional. Besides trading, social, religious, and political activities went on in the markets. The central market in Ibadan was named after Basorun Oluyole, it was **Oja Iba** and **not Oja Oba** as in other Yoruba towns. Before Oluyole the market was known as **Oja Labosinde**. Among the Chiefs who established markets were;

Chief	Name of the Market	Date of Establishment
Agbeni	Agbeni	1840s
Lanase	Lanase	1840s
Ogidi	Ojagbo	1840s
Ibikunle	Ayeye	1850s
Dele	Oje	1850s
Olugbode	Itabale	1850s
Orowusi	Ita Orowusi	Late 1850s
Are Latosa	Oke Are	1870s

Source: Ibadan: Foundation, Growth and change 1830-1960 by Professor Toyin Falola, 2012

To establish a market meant that the chief was a prominent figure and also a power to be reckoned with in the town. A number of markets grew into prominence during this period Agodi, Ayeye, Elekuro, and Ibuko were important because they were located on the routes leading to the farms where traders could go and buy from producers and farmers. Many others were prominent in the neighbourhood where they were sited. No market became defunct during this period.

Name of Founder	Name of Farmstead	Date Founded	Location
Chief Elepo	Elepo	1840s	Northeast
Chief Agbo	Agbo	1850s	Northeast
Balogun Ibikunle	Ogbere and Oke-Ona	1850 - 1860	Southeast southwest
Baale Olugbode	Olugbode	1860s	Southwest
Balogun Akere	Olosan	1860s	Northwest
Basorun Ogunmola	Orita Basorun	1860s	Northwest
Are Latosa	Oko Are (New Bodija)	1870s	North
Seriki Lawoyin	Olodo	1870s	Sotuhwest

7.4 The Growth of Ibadan Economy in the 19th Century

The location of Ibadan with more than four gates unlike olden states in the whole of Yorubaland was described as first of its type. Four of Ibadan's traffic on them and the importance attached to their maintenance and security. These were the gates leading to Abeokuta, Ijebuland, Oyo, and Iwo. Both Abeokuta and Ijebu gates linked Ibadan with the coast while the others linked the people with their kinsmen in Oyo-Yoruba towns and villages.

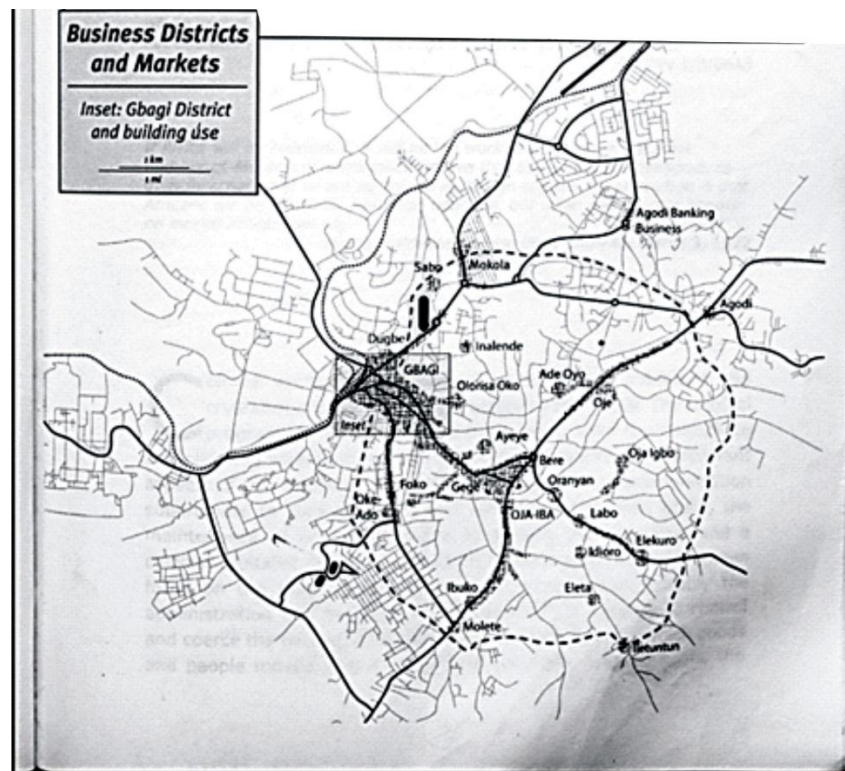
According to Professor Toyin Falola (2012 pg. 18) said, Ibadan had the economic advantage of being located on a network of communication routes. Ibadan could easily be linked with the older **Yoruba states** and with the **ports of Lagos, Porto Novo and Badagry** through the **Egba, Egbado, and Ijebu Territories**. These three ports were important because of the lucrative trade in slaves and later in agricultural products with the Europeans on the coast. Ibadan succeeded in exploiting this advantageous location to establish trade contacts with many other parts of Yorubaland.

Like the old Oyo and Ilorin, Ibadan exploited its location to establish markets, **Ojaba** being the most famous, where products from varying ecological zones were exchanged. This generated considerable employment for many people as retailers, wholesalers, food sellers, and in other no-agricultural occupations. It also brought more revenue to the military ruler.

With an expanding economy characterized by a high degree of specialization, **Ibadan rapidly grew into a big, urban centre**. This rapid transformation of the town is in line with the “**functional specialization theory of urbanization**” which stresses that an economy based on specialization and division of labour, as obtained in Ibadan, is capable of transforming a small settlement into an urban centre.

When it had become possible to get a regular food supply from the market many of the **craftsmen** devoted all their time and labour to **industrial production**. There were **blacksmiths and weavers** who used the **Oyo horizontal 100m**. A prominent weaver in the late 1830s and in the 1840s was **Oluokun** who came from **Iseyin** and established the **Oke-Oluokun quarter** which became a famous centre of weaving in the town.

The need and desire for foreign goods helped to multiply the number of **local markets**. More markets had to be established, among which were **Ojagbo, Kudeti, Ayeye, and Oke-Oluokun** which were mostly far from products. Agricultural activities were similarly intensified. Expansion of farmland went beyond the **first town wall** and the farmland incursions were made into virgin lands and the population of the town increased. **Industrial activities** also continued to grow to cope with the increasing **demands of farmers and soldiers**



The hinderers, in the middle of the century, observed that agriculture was widely practiced by the Ibadan; and Ibadan encouraged agriculture in all parts of the empire. In spite of the pre-occupation with war, normal economic ventures were pursued with vigour right from **1840s when Basorun Oluyole** established reputation for animal husbandry, agriculture and commerce. This made the administration of the provinces self-supporting, according to Professor Biodun Adediran of the University of Ife (Obafemi Awolowo University). Furthermore, the economy of the provincial towns were integrated into the economy of the metropolitan city by providing outlined for various local produce. Uptill the **1870s**, Ibadan city was the **major hinterland marketing centre in Yorubaland**. Routes from different parts of the empire converge there especially from Osun, Igbomina, Ife, Ijesa, Ekiti and Akoko countries.

In less than two decades after established in 1825, **the third and present 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 by **Basorun Oluyole** in the late 1840s, and **the third town wall** built by **Balogun Ibikunle in 1858** to protect its almost one hundred thousand dwellers (60,000 to 100,000) and the town covered about **sixteen square miles**.

The establishment of the **numerous farmstead** was one of the significant developments in the **agricultural history of the post-1860 era**. It created a rural economy distinct from the urban. The major occupation in the farmsteads was farming. All of them were closely tied to the capital, **forming an economic zone from where the Ibadan metropolis drew foodstuff to feed its urban population**. The absence of specialized crafts and markets in most of the farmsteads forced the inhabitants to rely on the metropolis for manufactured and imported goods.

CHAPTER TWO

THE DYNAMICS OF STATE FORMATION: THE ROLE OF WARRIOR KINGS AND MILITARISTIC STATE BUILDERS FROM THE EARLIEST TIME TO THE PRESENT

1.0 OVERVIEW OF THE REALITY OF YORUBA HISTORY

Urbanization or city creation predates colonialism in many African countries. Apart from Egypt, where **urban civilization** dates back 5,000 years, several cities in other African regions have centuries old histories. Early urban development has been recorded during the Sudanese Empire of 800A.D. the Mali Empire of 1500A.D. and Songhai Empire of 1800A.D. This important historical artifacts, the cities, flourished as a result of their location along the trans-Sahara trade routes, emphasizing their importance as catalyst in socio-economic inter-relationships.

Powerful local rulers enhanced the evolution of these early cities into effective nodes of human development and as engines of economic and social growth. Some of the prominent ancient pre-colonial cities of Africa include **Bamako, Gao, Timbuktu, Agades, Ouagadougou, Begho, Benin, Ibadan, Ile-Ife, Ilorin and Oyo.**

Although warrior-kings were the major actor during the 16th century, others with less dramatic powers also mobilized their agentive resources from below and made indelible marks on the Yoruba political topography. Traders, hunters, and frontier migrants were among these latter agents of change.

Nearly every kingdom states in its traditions that its founder originated from Ife, that he was a descendant of Oduduwa or close to it. Ife palace traditions have it that Oduduwa himself, on his deathbed, initiated the kingdom founding movement by urging members of the family to go out and establish kingdoms like Ife in the rest of Yorubaland. Therefore, it is obvious that Oduduwa and Ife gave the Yoruba people their first kingdom, elaborated the structure of their type of kingdom, and pointed all

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of the lives of virtually all Yoruba people, and descent from Ife was the proof of legitimacy for Yoruba kings.

However, it should be noted that Oduduwa did not establish a new system of government, what he did was to take the old system of monarchy, which had developed and nurtured in Ife and other parts of Yorubaland before Oduduwa's time, and employ it in the service of a larger agglomeration of people, a wider polity. His greatness consists in his ability to conceive and create a more inclusive society with wider loyalties far above the small, encrusted, ancient kingdoms established by pre-Oduduwa aborigines in Ile-Ife.

The generation of victorious war veterans and their immediate successors who ended Nupe militarist crisis proved to be **masterful agents of change** who used power politics, diplomacy, and military strategies to reconfigure the political landscape. **They were sometimes brutal conquerors, but they were also state-builders who forged regional alliances.** Notable among them were Abipa, Obalokun, and Ajagbo of Oyo; Obarabara Olokunesin, Owaluse, and Atakumosa of Ilesa, and Orhuoghua and Ehengbuda of Benin.

In the aftermath of the death of Aole in 1796 and the British annexation of Lagos in **1861**, new political experiments developed among the new and reconstituted polities, ranging from **military autocracy** to **military republicanism** and **the federalism system**. *The instruction of Oba remained the apex of social order in most areas, but remained subject to the militaristic ethos of the time in which warlords often usurped the powers of the Oba and the civil authorities.* Ibadan (a former war camp) rejected monarchy and adopted military republicanism as the model of its governance, the Egba adopted Federation System, while Ijaye adopted military dictatorship.

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 the Oyo Empire, the instability of the nineteenth century, and the imposition of the British colonial rule. These gazette and standardized official template of hierarchies among the Yoruba kings during the early twentieth century was created at the instigation of the colonial officers, who needed this narrative to implement the British policy of indirect rule.

The hierarchies have been revised several times since independence to accommodate the changing political configurations in post-colonial Nigeria politics. According to professor Akinwumi Ogundiran (2020), the gazette royal hierarchies and the intense debated they often generate in both academic and public discuses, therefore, have less to do with the present-day politics.

1.1 Incomplete Yoruba History of REV. SAMUEL JOHNSON

The book of Rev. Samuel Johnson, an indigene of Oyo, and the pastor of Oyo, which was written in 1897 and first published in 1921, entitled: ‘the History of the Yoruba’. Although several scholars and historians have faulted parts of the work, yet, it must be noted here that the editor of the book had made it known to the whole world the – *“the original manuscripts of the book had got lost in the hands of the publisher and they could not be found”*.

According to Prince Adelegan Adegbola, the Author “**ILE-IFE: The Source of Yoruba Civilization** – published in 2009; some chapters had to be rewritten, some curtailed others amplified, and new ones added where necessary. One is therefore not sure whether there are substantial differences between the original manuscripts and the replacement. How much misrepresentation the new work contains will never be known.

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

1.2 Why Oluwo Got it Wrong?

1. The Odede Oranmiyan who bore the title of Alaafin of Oyo was not the only direct son of Oduduwa, the progenitor of Yoruba Race. His mother was Yemoja, the daughter OWAFORAN and wife of Oduduwa. Owoforan is the Ore of Otun Ekiti. (Reve. Samule Ojo, Bada of Saki).
2. Ajibosun a.k.a. Asunkungbade, the first Oluwu of Owu, a grandson of Oduduwa, his mother was Lawumi Iynuade, the daughter of Oduduwa, he was the founder of the first Empire.
3. Ifagbamila Ajagunla, the ancestor of Igbomina kingdom, was a direct son of Oduduwa whose mother was Adetinrin Anasin.
4. Ajibogun, the Owa Obokun of Ijesaland, was a direct son of Oduduwa who went to fetch sea-water at the Atlantic Ocean to cure the blindness of Oduduwa, his father, his mother was Saparakunmi (Chief M.A. Fabunmi (1958).
5. Lagborogan, the Awujale of Ijebuland was a direct son of Oduduwa through Gbrowo, his mother was the daughter of Oluiwa, the founder of Ijebu-Ode.
6. Soropasan, the Alaketi of Ketu in the Republic of Benin, was a direct son of Oduduwa. His mother was a daughter of Oduduwa (Chief M.A. Fabunmi). Ketu kingdom is now in the Republic of Benin.

The Oluwo, Oba Adewale Akanbi must find out why Olumade Parin, and his successors bore the title Oluwo of Iwo. We have the Olugbon of Igbon, Area of Irea

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Ade, Onikoyi of Ikoyi, the Olubadan of Ibadan etc. Obas in Yorubaland are the custodian of Yoruba History and Cultural Heritage.

Although warrior-kings were the major actors during the period of Regeneration and restoration of the Old Yoruba kingdoms destroyed by Nupe militarists, other with less dramatic powers also mobilized their agentive resources from below and made indelible marks on the Yoruba political topography such as Lagelu, Oluyole, Oderinlo, Ogedengbe, Latoosa, Fabunmi, Ibikunle, Ogunmola, Kurunmi, Lisabi and Sedeke

The generation of various war veteran and their immediate successors who ended the Nupe militarist crisis proved to be masterful agents of change who used power politics, diplomacy, and military strategies to reconfigure the regional political landscape. They were sometimes brutal conquerors, but they were also state-builders who forged regional alliances. Notable among them were Abipa, Obalokun, and Ajagbo of Oyo; Obarabara Olokunesin, Owaluse, and Atakumosa of Ilesa; and Orhogbua and Ehengboda of Benin.

1.3 The Militaristic State-Builders in the 19th Century

The militaristic state-builders such as **Oluyedun, Oluyole, and Maye Okunade**, from inception of the third settlement of Ibadan, had to evolve a strong political organization capable of controlling its large and diverse population, capable of providing adequate answer to the urgent problem of insecurity, and capable of protecting its economy. To exist among the comity of the competing states, the new town after the Owu Ogbere war in 1825, had to respond effectively and quickly to the demands of war and insecurity, which called for an economic base strong enough to produce foodstuff and manufactured goods.

The aftermath of the power politics and political intrigues in metropolitan Oyo which culminated in the collapsed of the Old Oyo Empire in **1837**, the competition to fill the vacuum of hegemony created by Oyo's fall fueled wars. **Ibadan emerged as the dominant state** in the region in **1840** following its defeat of Ilorin Jihadists.

The welding of many pre-existing small settlements together to create the city of Ile-Ife and the kingdom of Ife marked a great leap forward in the political history of the Yoruba people. In the five or six centuries that followed the emergence of the Ife kingdom in the heart of Yorubaland, cities like Ile-Ife, each the capital of a kingdom like the Ife kingdom, rose up in nearly all parts of Yorubaland. As had happened in the case of Ile-Ife, every one of the emerging cities came into being by welding together a number of pre-existing small settlements, each of which had been a little kingdom in its own right. The basic scenario was the same in most cases. A group of Yoruba people (migrating from Ife, or later also from other places in Yorubaland) came to some Yoruba people living in an elu, or clump of small old settlements, in the Yoruba forests, and proceeded to weld itself and them together to form a town like Ile-Ife and a kingdom like Oduduwa's.

There exist in all parts of Yorubaland large bodies of detailed traditions about the creation of the Yoruba kingdoms, almost all of which have been collected in bits and pieces in writing in recent times. Almost all these traditions link the creation of the kingdoms to Ile-Ife. *Nearly every kingdom states in its traditions that its founder originated from Ife, that he was a descendant of Oduduwa, and that he migrated from Ife in the time of Oduduwa or close to it. Ife palace traditions have it that Oduduwa himself, on his deathbed, initiated the kingdom-founding movement by urging members of his family to go out and establish kingdoms like Ife in the rest of Yorubaland.* One body of Ife palace traditions even puts a formal, ceremonial, face on the earliest migrations from Ife. According to this body of traditions, the princes gathered at the place called Ita Ijero (just outside the Ile-Ife city walls), held a farewell meeting, agreed and swore to certain conventions concerning their relationships with one another

and with the Ife ancestral home, and dispersed to their separate destinations, each to found a kingdom of his own.

According to Samuel Johnson in his *The History of the Yorubas*, the following were the first seven kingdoms founded from Ife by members of the Ife royal family: the **Owu (that is Owu-Ipole) kingdom** founded by the Olowu, the **Ketu kingdom** founded by the Alaketu, the **Benin kingdom** founded by Oranmiyan, the **Ila kingdom** founded by the Orangun, the **Sabe kingdom** founded by the Onisabe, the **Popo kingdom** founded by the Olupopo, and the **Oyo-Ile kingdom** founded by Oranmiyan. **Johnson obviously relied only on traditions collected by him in the western parts of Yorubaland.** It is known that in other parts of Yorubaland, the following are also mentioned among the earliest kingdoms founded by princes from Ife: the **Ilesa kingdom** founded by **Ajibogun** (also known as Obokun), the **Ijebu-Ode kingdom** founded by **Obanta**, the **Owo kingdom** founded by **Ojugbelu (and his son Imade)**, the **Ado kingdom in Ekiti** founded by **Awamaro**, some other Ekiti kingdoms, the **Ode-Ondo kingdom** founded by the **Osemowe**, and others. (Professor Adebajji Akintoye, 2010).

All these, however, are, according to the traditions, only a few of the kingdoms came from Ife, since kingdoms continued, after the first wave of migrations, to be founded from Ife for centuries. In the same era also, kingdoms founded from Ife became centers from which migrant groups went out to found other kingdoms. Moreover, some kingdoms would no doubt have been founded without any origination from Ife or any other existing kingdom — by adventurous persons acting on their own strength, although benefiting from the general tradition evolving all around them. A complete count of the Yoruba kingdoms has never been done, but even a cursory count would seem to point to a number in excess of seventy. And even that would not include kingdoms that failed soon after they were founded and became absorbed by their neighbors.

The kingdoms and city-states that populated the Yorubaland were not a loose formation of polities with a shared loyalty, nor were they brought under a single government in one historical event. According to Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran

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(2020), although Ile-Ife instigated the development of this community, the process was drawn out, cumulative, and contingent. The community of practice was a system of social networks and hierarchically linked polities.

The composition of kingdoms and city-states was shaped by diplomacy and conflict, and the relationships among them within this system were transitional, ideological and political (tributary and patron-client); and driven by economic, security and spiritual interests, not all these relationships were formed from consent and self-interest. Wars and conquest also brought many of these tributaries and patron-client spheres of interaction.

Although warrior kings were the major actors during period of regeneration and restoration of old Yoruba Kingdoms, others with less dramatic powers also mobilized their agentive resources from below and made indelible marks on the Yoruba political topography. Traders, hunters, and frontier migrants were among these latter agents of change.

The removal of Nupe's thorn from the flesh of Oyo (thorough military victories) allowed the later to reoccupy their territory closer to the Moshi-Niger area and begin rebuilding their kingdom, ca. 1570-1590. Those victories also set Oyo on the path of territorial expansion. During this period, **Lagelu also founded Ibadan before Alaafin Ajagbo established the institution of Aare-Ona-Kakanfo in 1640 A.D. Lagelu** was the grandson of Ooni Luwo Gbagida, the only female Ooni of Ife who married Obaloran and became the 18th Ooni of Ife, according to Chief (Dr.) M.A. Fabunmi, the Odole Atobase of Ife (1958). **Ooni Luwo Gbagida** also gave birth to **Adekola Telu** who is the progenitor of the founder of Iwo, **Olumade Parin**.

According to Professor S. Adebaj Akintoye (2010), **Sopasan** left during the wars and led his followers to the Western parts of Yorubaland where they ultimately, after the Ife kingdom had been **created, established the kingdom of Ketu**. This tradition would, therefore, make Ketu the oldest existing kingdom established in other parts of Yorubaland persons from Ife.



2.0 THE EMERGENCE OF ODUDUWA DYNASTY AND THE DYNAMICS OF THE KINGSHIP SYSTEM

When the war ended with the aborigines, Oduduwa moved his base to **Idio** from **Omologun compounds**, a low hill gently sloping in all directions. From Idio, he embarked upon the huge task of allocating sites for all identifiable groups. When that was completed, he invited the kings of the old settlements to move with their people to the new locations that he had chosen for them. **The massive movements of people began, each group to its predetermined location around the center of the new city.** The old settlements, as well as the new ones that had sprung up during the wars, were abandoned. In all directions around Oduduwa's location, the new city of Ile-Ife slowly emerged.

As the above proceeded, Oduduwa embarked on two important tasks - provision of security for the new city, and elaboration of the city's new system of government. Just as the city was forming, attacks on it began from **Igbo-Igbo**. Oduduwa therefore mobilized the citizens of the new city for the building of a protective wall round their city. And, as he and his people worked on building Ile-Ife's first city wall, he established the details of the new city government.

The "**Oduduwa Constitution**" as it emerged, took the following form. Ile-Ife had only one king, and that was Oduduwa himself, whose family became the royal family and (in the well-known tradition of kingship in the Ife bowl) would provide the kings in succession forever. **The city thus became one single kingdom under one king, and not an alliance, confederation, or federation of kingdoms.**

Each of the kings of the pre-Oduduwa settlements had used to hold *the Aare, the sacred symbol of royalty. These were now surrendered to Oduduwa so that only Oduduwa as king of Ile-Ife could hold the Aare. With the Aare crown in his possession, the king of Ile-Ife became the legitimate leader of every single one of the old settlements and their lineages, and any claims to ultimate leadership by*

their former kings were thus terminated. Everybody thenceforth looked up to the king alone as their ruler, chosen and upheld by the gods, and it became the prerogative of the king to appoint any citizen to governmental roles and duties in the new society.

The city was then delineated into five quarters namely: **Moore, Ilode, iremo, Okerewe and Ilode** each quarter under a **quarter chief**. The former kings, as found appropriate, were appointed quarter chiefs in their quarters, and other significant citizens were appointed quarter chiefs in other sections of the city.

Below the level of the quarter chiefs, other chieftaincies were instituted in every quarter. Such chiefs, installed by the king and subject to his government, assisted in their neighborhoods the quarter chiefs. Like the kingship, every chieftaincy title (quarter chief or neighborhood chief) **was hereditary** in one lineage; when a chief died, members of his lineage nominated from among themselves a candidate acceptable to the king for him to appoint and install.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Yoruba cites cannot be ruled out, the rise of most of them appears to be organic, that is natural through the voluntary migration or movement of a large number of the aboriginal population to the royal capitals of the new rulers magnetized by their charismatic attributes.

2.1 Historical Account of Oduduwa Dynasty

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

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

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

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

According to Oluremi I. Obateru (2003), former Head of Ibadan Polytechnic Town Planning Department, (Now late), said, **the historical error regarding Oranyan is noteworthy. It was Oranyan who founded the kingdoms of Benin and Oyo.** He first founded Benin Kingdom in **1170** and put his son **Eweka I** in charge when returning to Ile-Ife. From Ile-Ife, he again moved northwest to found Oyo Kingdom between **1200 and 1300**. He returned to Ile-Ife where he died leaving his two children, Dada Ajuwon (a.k.a Ajaka) and Songo to consolidate the kingdom.

However, he became the fourth (4th) King of Ife before he died. So, Oba of Benin was a grandson of Oduduwa

In the two lists **Owa Obokun** was missing. **Owa Ajibogun**, the paramount ruler of Ijeshaland was a direct son of Oduduwa whose mother was **Saparakunmi**. He also went to **fetch sea-water with Aremitan**, the founder of **Idanre** to cure Oduduwa's blindness. Hence, he was given the nickname "**Owa Obokun**".

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

(c) About **Awujale** of **Ijebu-Ode** by name, **Lagborogan**. He was the son of Oduduwa through **Gborowo** his mother and the daughter of **Olu-Iwa** who claimed to have come from **Waddai** (the present day Chad) and passed through Ife to found Ijebu Ode. **ARISU** succeeded Olu-Iwa before Lagborogan migrated to Ijebu-Ode

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

(d) As regards the founding of **Ibadan** founded by **Lagelu**, he was **Jagun Oshin and Balogun of Ife kingdom** who fought along with **Agura of Gbagura** to support **Olofin Ogunfunminire**, also from the royal family of **Sooko** when the Benin army invaded Iddo in Lagos between 1505 and 1578 **during the reign of Oba of Benin called Orhoghua**. **Lagelu thereafter, migrated to Ibadan as Jagun Oshin while Oyo was returning from exile at Gbere in Ibariba country (1530-1542)**. **Obalokun (1590-1600) the father of Alaafin Ajagbo (1600-1658) conferred**

Jagun of Oyo Kingdom on Lagelu a.k.a. Oro-apatamaja. Thereafter **Alaafin Ajagbo** established the institution of Aare-Ona-Kakanfo in **1640** while Alaafin Sango, the second son of Oranmiyan reigned in the 13th century A.D. ***Therefore, Lagelu did not found Ibadan during the reign of Alaafin Sango as claimed by I.B. Akinyele (1911) and quoted by Alaafin of Oyo, Oba Adeyemi III who also confirmed that Alaafin Obaloran conferred the title Jagun on Yorubaland.***

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

2.2 Direct Sons and Descendants of Oduduwa:

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

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

Sources:

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

From the above table, Ajibosun and Soropasan enjoyed the privileged of wearing Crown as grandchildren of Oduduwa through their mothers who were daughters of Oduduwa.

2.3 The Dynastic Relationship Between Benin and Ile-Ife

According to the historical charter that explains the dynastic relationship between Benin and Ilé-Ifè, there was a period of political turmoil in Benin during which the leaders of several House polities could not agree on a leader. They sent a delegation to the king of Ilé-Ifè to ask him to send a prince to Benin to rule them. Òrànmiyàn was the prince selected for the task.

Òrànmiyàn married a daughter of one of the leaders of the Great Houses of Benin, according to Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran (2020), who bore him a son called Eweka. After some time, the warlike and restless. Òrànmiyàn was tired of ruling over a people whose language he did not understand. He also preferred the adventures of military life to the slow-paced art of governance.

So he left **Eweka and his wife** in the care of his father-in-law and decreed that Eweka should serve as the king of Benin once he was of age. Several members of his retinue from Ilé-Ifè were also left behind to assist the young king in statecraft (Egharevba, *Short History of Benin*).

Odede Oranmiyan, according to Chief (Dr.) M.A. Fabunmi (the Odele Atobase of Ife) in his book “IFE: The Genesis of Yoruba Race” published in 1985, who is said to have lived between **1200 and 1300 A.D.** In a paper on “Chronological Problems in the Study of Benin History”, published in the *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. 1, No. 4 of December 1959, R.E. Bradbury wrote as follows:

“the present Benin dynasty is said to have been founded when the Benin people, having rid themselves of their former kings, sent to the Ooni of Ife for an Oba. He sent his son, Oramiyan, **Oranmiyan**, but the latter returned to Ife after begetting a son, **Eweka**, who became the first Oba of the dynasty.

Talbot put Oranmiyan at 1300 but Egbareba put him at 1170. Both of them, however, put **Eweka at 1200A.D.** Oranmiyan was the only Ooni of Ife who had the distinguished honor to approve the crowning of two of his own sons, namely **Eweka as the Oba of Benin and Ajaka or Ajuwon as the Alaafin of Oyo-Ile.**

However, Professor Akinwumi noted, such an invitation of a **professed guarantor of social order to assist in troubling times** was not far-fetched. Ilé-Ifè possibly played the role of an arbiter in several factional conflicts in the region on account of its referential status as a place of moral authority, a home of the gods, and a land of wealth.

For example, the **Adó Èkìtì** palace traditions identified its founder, **Awamaro** (the restless one) as an “**older brother**” of Òrànmiyàn. He followed Òrànmiyàn to Benin, where he helped him to accomplish his mission establish an Ifè dynasty. Afterward, **Awamaro set out to establish his own kingdom in Adó-Èkìtì.** Likewise, a version of the Àkúré palace traditions identifies the founder of the kingdom as **Asodebóyèdé, An Ifè prince.** He left Ilé-Ifè with Òrànmiyàn on one of the latter’s military expeditions, but

he parted with Òrànmiyàn **to establish the Àkúré kingdom**. (Akintoye, History of the Yoruba People, 99 - 101).

2.4 Emergence of Oduduwa's System of Government

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

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

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

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

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

TABLE 3: CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN OF ODUDUWA

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

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

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

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

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

(a) The Structure of Governance:

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

(b) Council of State (Igbimo Ilu):

In many events, the powers of the **Oba** were checked in many ways. To begin with, he did not rule his town or kingdom alone. He did so together with a **council** known as **Igbimo**. In some places the **Igbimo** had specific names; they were called

the **Oyo Mesi** in Oyo; the **Ilamuren** in Ijebu-Ode, the **Ogboni** in **Egba towns**, the **Iwarefa** in Ife, Ilesa, Ekiti and Ondo towns.

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

3.0 REGENERATION AND RESTORATION OF YORUBA KINGDOMS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

3.1 Old Oyo Kingdom:

In the early days, there was regional instability between **AD 1400 and 1570s** due to *hemispherical ecological crisis and continental political turbulence by recurrent multiyear draughts; collapse of regional economy; external aggression by Nupe militarists*; many prominent Yoruba polities collapsed autonomy and embarked on its own expansion northward. Early stages of Atlantic commercial exchanges began in the Bight of Benin with the arrival of **Portuguese traders**; soon followed by the **Dutch** and **English** Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran, 2020).

However, between **AD 1570s and 1650** was a **period of renewal and regeneration** marked by rebuilding of old kingdoms and foundation of new ones; political landscape was transformed by **warrior-kings** and **militaristic states** such as **Ilesa, Oyo and Benin**.

(i) The Rebuilding of Old Oyo Kingdom in the 16th Century

The quest for imperial expansion and establishment of unique military institution of the 17th and 18th centuries were prompted mainly by hostilities of invaders from Nupe and Borgu, although the Oyo, under Alaafin Kori and Oluaso stood their ground, against the Nupe invasion during their time.

In the early **sixteenth century**, disaster befell the Oyo-Ile Kingdom. The Nupe, who had been divided into many small chiefdoms throughout all their early, kingdom became unified, according to Professor S. Adeniyi Akintoye (2010) about the time into one kingdom under **Edegi**, also known as **Tsoede in Nupe traditions**. A strong Nupe army invaded Oyo-Ile, overcame the defenses of Oyo-Ile and over ran Oyo-Ile city itself. The reigning **Alaafin was Onigbogi** successor to **Oluaso**, Oyo-Ile was sacked and its inhabitants fled in all directions. Onigbogi fled northwestwards into the Bariba country where, fortunately, one **Bariba chief** offered him hospitality. The **Oyo-Ile kingdom ceased to exist**; only the Alaafin Onigbogi and the few chiefs and attendants around him remained as testimony to his existence.

The displaced Oyo population, according to, Akinwumi Ogundiran (2020), set up new homes in **Saki, Kisi, Igboho** and **Igbeti**, as well as an **Ibariba country**. A section of the **Oyo royal House**, managed to keep the idea of the kingdom alive by **relocating the seat of power to Igboho, where four Alaafins (King of Oyo) ruled in the sixteenth century**. Tasting the sweetness of victory in the North, the Nupe militarists penetrated deep into **Igbomina, Ekiti** and **Ibobo, all Ife central areas**. Massive abandonment of towns and villages preceded and followed those attacks

From **Igboho**, the reign of **Alaafin Abipa** who brought the government back to Oyo-Ile has been dated to about the last quarter of the sixteenth (16th) century about 1570 – 1590. Back in Oyo-Ile, the government settled down remarkably quickly, the **monarchy, the palace organization, the chieftaincy system, and all other institutions**.

Abipa's successor, Obalokun, who began to reign probably in 1590, is credited with initiation of a deliberate policy of territorial expansion. After him, for nearly 200 years (until about 1780), there followed a long list of kings under whom,

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in general, more and more territories were added to the empire. Alaafin Ajagbo established the institution of Aare Ona Kakanfo (Commander of the Army) in **1640**.

The reign of the Alaafin Abipa who brought the government back to Oyo-Ile has been dated to about the last quarter of the sixteenth century — about 1570–90. Back in Oyo-Ile, the government settled down remarkably quickly — the monarchy, the palace organization, the chieftaincy system, and all other institutions. The explanation for such an accomplishment must be that all arms of the government had remained functional during the years of exile, especially in the years spent at Igboho. Moreover, while the Alaafins had moved gradually towards home, many important families seem to have also taken steps to return from the places to which they had been scattered.

Oyo Became an Empire after its Sack by Nupe Militarist

The years following the return of the Alaafin to Oyo-Ile proved to be years of phenomenal achievements by the kingdom. From being a small kingdom, it expanded rapidly to become an empire, so that the Alaafin became an emperor whose territories included Yoruba kingdoms and non-Yoruba peoples. At the peak of the greatness of the Oyo Empire in about the middle of the eighteenth century, its main components were as follows: First, the country of the Oyo subgroup became what may be described as the metropolitan province of the empire. The Alaafin ceased being merely the king of Oyo-Ile and became the king of a consolidated kingdom of all the Oyo people, with Oyo-Ile as his capital city. Of the other Yoruba included in the empire, the Egbado were in many respects close to the Oyo; the Alaafin became effectively the king of all the Egbado. In the other Yoruba provinces of the empire — Owu, Egba, Igbomina, some far western kingdoms in Idassa and others — the kingdoms accepted the Alaafin as their overlord and protector, and paid regular tribute to him. Then, there were the non-Yoruba provinces, made up of some part of the country of the Nupe on the southern banks of the Middle

Niger, much of the Bariba country all the way west to the River Moshi, and the country of the Aja all the way southwest to include their coastal towns and west to their boundaries with the Ewe and Akan.

The expansion of the Alaafin's authority over all these territories was accomplished at a fast pace. The chronological growth of the expansion is difficult to trace, but it is well known that its ways and means differed from province to province.

(ii) Clarification by Alaafin Lamidi Adeyemi III:

According to Professor Robin Law: "The Oyo Empire C. 1600-1836; which records that *the transfer of the Alaafinate from Onigbogi to Ofinran might camouflage a change to an Ibariba or Borgu dynasty*. The same interpretations are echoed by Professor Smith in "Kingdoms of the Yoruba" and Professor Babatunde Agiri in "Early Oyo History Reconsidered" in *history in Africa* 2, 1975 page 1-16. These historians, according to Chief M.O Ogunmola, Otun of Oyo (1997) drew the conclusion from this issue that **since, further Ogbomoso, Kisi, and Saki have ruling families who came from Borgu, the whole group must take the same cue.**

On the first of July, 1995, while conferring a chieftaincy title on His Excellency, Mr. Yasin Nasir Hussain, his Majesty, the Alayeluwa, Oba Lamidi Olayiwola Adeyemi III, J.P C.F.R, *and the Alaafin of Oyo observed the assertion of the historian based on deductions and not on sources erred objectly on the important issue. Alaafin went further that, Robin Law opined that the story of the movement of the Alaafin to Gbere in Ibariba kingdom by Onigbogi succeeded by his son, Ofinran might camouflage a change to an Ibariba dynasty. Egungunju, Ofinran's son transferred the seat of government from Kyushu in Ibariba area to Saki owing to quarrels with his host.* It was Egungunju who took the kingdom's seat of administration to Igboho

Undisputably, movement of seats of power was rampant. Afterall, Owu was displaced from the North (perhaps from the vicinity of Ogboro) to Owu-Ipole. The Owu around Ibadan is Owu-Ogbere. Similarly, Ogbomoso, Saki, and Kisi have succeeded in having Ibariba dynasties. The change of all the towns was about the same period.

As explained by Professor Jidda Osuntokun (2004), the fact that Ogbomoso, Kisi, Igbeti, by inference that they have Ibariba dynasties does not mean that they are not originally of Yoruba descent.

History therefore is not to be limited to a simple record of what is known or believed to have occurred; history is more properly concerned with examining, analyzing, and explaining past events, particularly in human affairs, and in the words of R.G. Collingwood, “to tell man what man is by telling him what man has done”.

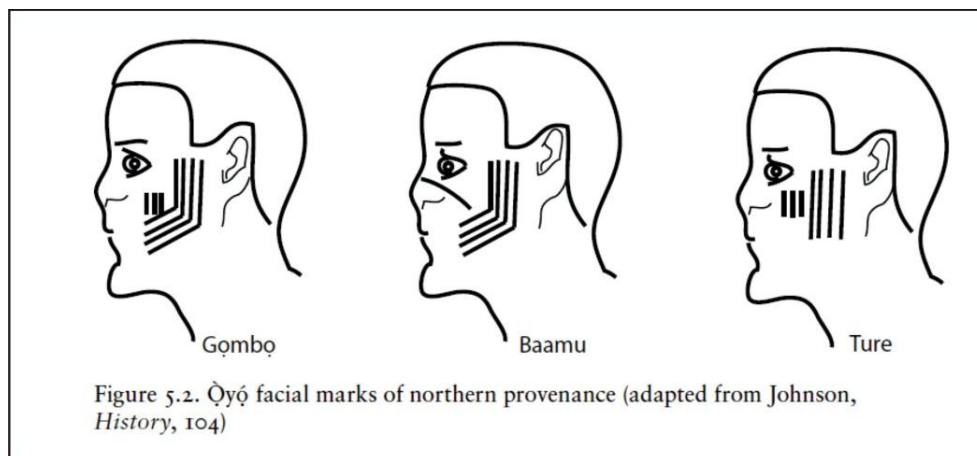
The oral traditions of primitive peoples which are obscured by mists of legend and of miracle are not so much history as the source of history. The written records of more advanced peoples may similarly be but the materials of history.”

(iii) Multicultural Composition of the New Oyo Policy

The new Oyo polity that emerged from the turbulence of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries retained the ethnic diversity that must have characterized the earlier Oyo Kingdom, but more so now than ever before. According to Akinwumi Ogundiran (2020), the Yoruba elements remained the dominant population in the reconstituted polity. Next to them in influence were the **Ibariba**, and joining this multiethnic polity were elements of **Nupe** and **Songhai – Mossi**. The presence of Ibariba, Songhai, and Mossi facial marks such as **gombo, baamu, mande, ture**, and **jangbadi** among the Oyo population provides the direct evidence for this **multiethnic and multicultural integration** in the formation of **the Oyo** identity after **1570**. (See Samuel Johnson’s book 1921).

The **baamu** facial mark, for example, is of **Ibariba origin, and the royal House of Ogbomoso has historically used this mark to associate with the Ibariba origins of its founding ancestor, Ogunlola.** The Ibariba were the most populous allies of the coalition that the Oyo built to ward off the menace of Nupe militarist. Hence, the political arrangement that emerged in the revitalized Oyo polity after **1570** bore the strong marks of power sharing between the two.

The Yoruba branch of the coalition retained the office of the **Alaafin**, the king of Oyo, whereas the **Ibariba families** controlled the office of **Basorun**, an office likened to that of the Prime Minister and Chancellor highest ranking **non-royal lords** of the state, collectively called the **Oyomesi**: This was the **council of nobility**. Each noble of lord (Iba) represented a mega-House in the metropolis, and the council advised the king on state matters. Together, **these lords** represented the interests of the non-royal majority in the central government headed by the Alaafin.



(iv) System of Governance

(a) The Alaafin and His Aremo:

At the head of **Oyo-Ile Kingdom** was the **Alaafin**, a typical Yoruba divine king. Like the kings of all Yoruba kingdoms, **the Alaafin** was selected from the pool of **princes of one royal lineage**. For the selection, all princes (sons and grandson) were eligible with the singular exception of the oldest son of the recently deceased

king (Prof. S.A. Akintoye 2010). From the early seventeenth century, this one prince with the title of **Aremo**, was allowed to be freely associated with his reigning father in matters of government, and then he had to die (by committing suicide) when his father died. **Succession by primogeniture** was, as would be remembered, generally rejected by Yoruba kingdoms, Oyo-Ile's requirement that the **Aremo** must die represent a particularly drastic rejection of it. ***The purpose, as in all Yoruba kingdoms, was to ensure that the right of the people to select the king would not be interfered with by one privileged prince.***

(b) The Oyo-Mesi (Council of State):

The highest officer in the Oyo Mesi was the Basorun who bore responsibilities akin to those of Prime Minister or Chancellor and presided over the Oyo Mesi Council. Of the other members of the Oyo Mesi, the **Agbakin's** had charge of the worship of Oranmiyan in addition to other duties, the **Laguna** was the kingdom's highest ambassador (a sort of foreign minister) in the most critical situations; the **Asipa** was, in the council of the Oyo Mesi; the **Ojuwa** (he who distributed parents given to the Oyo mesi etc.). The lineage to which the **Alapinnin** title belonged to an old Nupe lineage.

(c) Aare Ona Kakanfo

The Alaafin Ajagbo's intention in the **seventeenth century** in creating the title of Aare Ona Kakanfo (to which the Alaafin alone could appoint any citizen of his choice), was to establish a counterbalance to the growing influence to the great war chief of the **Oyo Mesi** (it is significant that Ajagbo's first choice for the post of Aare Ona Kakanfo was his personal friend, kokoro-gangan, from outsider Oyo-Ile). In that case, the provision, made later by the government, that the **Kakanfo must never live inside the capital city** was an act of damage control by the Oyo Mesi.

3.2 Reckless Economic Exploitation of the Provinces of the Old Oyo Empire

Like most empires, Oyo was an exploitative economic system, especially from the point of view of its **client states and** tributary appendages. **The empires military and political institutions**, according to Ogundiran (2020), was geared towards achieving its economic interests, expansion, taxes, tributes, and creating favourable markets of the empire's products.

And during the third quarter of the eighteenth century, Oyo became increasingly reckless in exploiting its tributary provinces and buffer zones for the human resources until 1750, when the cavalry states was an agent of instability.

i) Widening Gaps Between Oyo Metropolis and the Provinces

Throughout the eighteenth century, the concentration of wealth and power increased in the hands of the few, and **new forms of social hierarchy developed**. But as those few became wealthier, the number of enslaved men and women also increased in the metropolitan area of Oyo. By 1790, the boundaries of those hierarchies had hardened and become impermeable for the majority of people below. Individual mobility across social ranks became increasingly difficult, and the gulf of the divide, between the metropolis of Oyo and its provinces, for example, significantly widened. Communication across social boundaries was also becoming almost impossible to achieve.

3.3 Ifagbamila Ajagunla: The Ancestor of Igbomina People

(i) Origin:

The origin of Ila-Orangun people is not a matter for debate or controversy. It is commonly accepted that their cradle city is Ile-Ife and Oduduwa was their progenitor. Oduduwa with his Ifa oracle descended Ile-Ife around 8th century during the day time. There, he met a priest called Agiri-Logbon Agbonmiregun and some chiefs who did not accept him as their leader, despite they all agreed to that

arrangement. Oduduwa then consulted Ifa oracle on what to do. Ifa told him that at a riverside, there is a beautiful lady waiting, she will be his wife. Oduduwa saw the lady by name ***Adetinrin Anasin by the riverside and made her his wife.***

Anasin Adetinrin gave birth to a **male child called Ifagbamila**. Ifagbamila was born on a day known in Ifa oracular calendar as Ojo Ial-ye-fun. “Oduduwa declared surplus during the naming ceremony of his child. People were lavishly entertained to the amazement of all the attendants. Hence, before dispersing they came to Oduduwa in groups to pledge their support and loyalty to him as their leader and warrior. **Fagbamila was nurtured at Ipetunmodu according to Ifa oracle directive.** Impressed by the change of his fortune and the astonishing performance of his her Fagbamila, Oduduwa set out and built for him a “Big House” Ile-Nia at the outskirt of the palace called ILARE, where he was of age and with many wives and a lot of property.

(ii) Migration History:

At the dispersal age of 13. Fagbamila, after the Ila-ljero deliberations, concluded his arrangement to leave Ile-Ife and parted with his father to establish his own kingdom. Before he left, his father Oduduwa blessed him and gave him half of his property’s-beaded crowns, path finder (Ada-ogbo) with which to clear his path, staff of office (Opa Orere) to charter his course, retinue of soldiers, servants. Igemos, a follower from each compound house hold to accompany and minister unto Fagbamila, so also Ifa-Ajobo and Eda of Ogbooni society for his adventure in his own kingdom. Because Fagbamila inherited “half-half” of his father’s properties, hence “half-half” or ilaji-ilaji” was reduced to “Ilaji”. **The Odu Ifa for Ajagunla (Ifa corps) with which he left Ile-Ife was “Ose” Meji**” meaning “Oro-mi-gun” thus, finally “Ilaji-ni-mopin-oromi-gun” became “Fagbamila Oran-mi-gun-ile-nla”.

(iii) The Search for His Kingdom:

At the death of his father **Fagbamila Oro-mi-gun the heir**, inherited his father's wives and other crowns. His other brothers had left Ife for different destinations such as **Ado of Benin, Olowu of Owu, Onisabe of Sabe, Alaketu of Ketu, Alaafin** of Oyo, the last of them. Hence, Orangun of Ila possesses more beaded crowns more than his brother Obas in Yoruba land today. **The search for his kingdom look Fagbamila to Niger River Bank and Nupe land**, while in constant consultation with Ifa-Ajoo and Ada-Ogbo an important personality in the entourage of Fagbamila was his mother, 'Anasin Adetinrin', being her only child and out of love and care, she chose to follow him than stay behind with Oduduwa.

(iv) Encounter with the Ibaribas:

In the course of his search and battles, **Fagbamila led Olugbon. Aresa, Onikoyi and Olomuaperan to help his younger brother Oranmiyan of Oyo to conquer the Ibaribas**. Some of the notable warriors among was a Nupe captive Elenpe Iyanda, a veteran Nupe warrior, who eventually became his chief warrior. *Hence, Fagbamila was nicknamed "A great warrior (Ajagun-Nla), and that became part of his name, thus, he was addressed. "Fagbamila Ajagun-nla Oran-mi-gun Ile-nla. The name of the present Orangan Ila was derived from "Ile-Nla-Oran-mi-gun". Subsequent Obas of the town refined the name to Orangun Ile-Ila Orangun of Ila.*

(v) The building of Igbomina Kingdom:

Many of Fagbamila's followers backed out in the course of their sojourn, and he established their own settlements, which grew to become IGBOMINA KINGDOM, but all recognizing Fagbmila as their head and his settlement, the capital of the kingdom. Example of the settlement are Omu-aran. Arandun, Ajase-Ipo, Oro, Omupo, Shaare, Igbaja, Oke-Ode, Isanlu, Ilofa, Rore, Orun, gogo, Ora, Iludun, etc. Before finally settling down at Igbo-Ajagun-nla, Fagbamila with his entourage had

stopped over at Odo-Eyin, Ilade and Kodomu. Satisfied with this new settlement he said **“Ogbo-mi-mona”** (my pathfinder has shown me the way). **Tis was reduced to “Ogbomona” and later “Igbomina” the name of the people and kingdom established by Fagbamila Ajagunla.**

(vi) Death of Anasin Adetinrin

Anasin Adetinrin died at Igbomina Ajagunla where Fagbamila reigned for about 130 years before he sank into the mother earth. Traditional evidence asserts that he did not die but sank. **Ebora Ila** is the spirit of Fagbamila. Fagbamila was succeeded by his eldest child. Amotagesi Orangun Amolages reigned for long in Igbo Ajagunla before he led his people out to Ila. Yara on consultation with Ila Ajobo, where he ruled for more than 50 years. **Amota had teo children, Adeboye and Ogboye.** There were incessant war-fare in all the kingdoms, so Amotagesi being very powerful before, sought to learn more medicine from the Owus. He turned himself to a beautiful female girl and married the Olowu of Owuland. When he got home, his son Adeboye who had been in the palace as regent was however, threatened by the return of his father and committed suicide. He is referred to as **“Adeboye Ogba”** who used death as senior to his rulership as Orangun of Ila.

3.4 Regional Power Politics and the Rise of ILESA:

There were instances of reckless exploitation and abuse of power, Aláàfin Abíódún and his immediate successor, Aólè Arógangan (1789 -96), ordered attacks on **the provinces whose leaders they accused of insubordination** during their princely years. For example, Abíódún claimed that the son of the potentate of Ìjàyè, an Egbá town, insulted him during one of his trading missions there. On ascending the throne, according to Oyo’s palace informants, **“he avenged the alleged insult by ordering the destruction”** of this prominent trading town. Likewise, Aláàfin Aólè ordered military action against Apòmù, a provincial town of Ilé-Ifè, in order to avenge his humiliation at the hands of the Baálè (head) of the town during his princely

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years as a trader. He also took the wrong step of ordering an attack against Ìwéré (Ìbàràpá area), reputed to be the **maternal town of Aláàfin Àjàgbó**.

Such attacks against the tributary towns and provinces of the empire abused the honor of the military, undermined respect for the **Aláàfin's institution**, and did not endear the loyalty of the provinces toward the Oyo Metropolis.

In effect, Abíódún's attack on Ìjàyè hardened the resolve of Egbá provinces for independence, and it galvanized their mobilization for the removal of the yoke of Oyo imperialism. As a result, full-blown uprisings dogged Oyo's rule among the Egbá at different periods between 1790 and 1820.

The passing of Aólè and the metropolitan anti-Aláàfin revolt that led to his death marked the beginning of the end of the Òyó Empire with Lisabi-led rebellion and Afonja's revolution against the kingdom.

The spate of military activities and political maneuvering that took place in this area between **1570 and 1590** was the most important and dramatic development on the political landscape of the Yoruba region during the **Restoration period**. *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*

The power politics associated with these events led to the creation of a new kingdom, Ilésà, in the **1580s**, just twenty kilometers northeast of Ilé-Ifè. Over a period of three decades (1580 – 1610), this young kingdom was instrumental in redrawing the political geography of the central Yoruba region.

Located almost equidistant between the capitals of Oyo and Benin, Ilésà influenced the external policies of those two regional powers far more than any other polity during the **decades of Regeneration**. *The trajectory of its rise from the ashes of Ifè Empire implosion and Nupe militarist conflagration deserves close examination because it gives us deep insights into the political, economic, and*

cultural processes that shaped Yorùbá regional history during the period under review.

Owa Ajíbógun, the one who wakes up into conflict war and volunteered to go to the ocean to fetch the seawater which was used as prescribed to cure the lost sight of his father, Oduduwa. Ajíbógun acquired the nickname “**Obòkun**” (“he who fetched the seawater”). According to the legend, with no inheritance left, Oduduwa blessed **Ajíbógun Obòkun** and gave him a **magic sword**. He then commanded him to go forth and use the sword to conquer some of the territories that his senior brothers had already acquired.

It was this **mission of conquest** that brought Ajíbógun Obòkun to Èka Òsun. Soon after conquering several polities in the area, **Ajíbógun Obòkun died**, and his son, **Òbàrà**, took over the mantle of leadership. The latter settled in **Ìlémùré** and renamed it **Ìbòkun** (after his father). From there, **Òbàràbarà** continued the process of military conquest until his son, **Owálúsé**, established a permanent seat of government in Ilésà.

With his defeat of **Owàrí** and other competitors and foes, and with his successful establishment of Ilésà as the capital of the new kingdom, **Owálúsé** laid the foundation for what would soon become the most powerful kingdom in the central Yoruba region, east of River Òsun. His successor, **Àtākúnmosà**, continued this momentum by consolidating the power of Ilésà through military conquests and creating a template for the kingdom’s external relations. He proved to be a perceptive leader who understood the importance of regional network building through diplomacy and military operations.

i) Recovery of Ile-Ife Kingdom:

In the **1570s**, the ancient city of Ile-Ife has been a skeleton of its Classical-age size. By 1620s, Ilé-Ifè had lost its far-flung and nearby territories to the new powers. Ilésà, Benin, Oyo, and Ìjèbú-Òde. Its recovery was slower compared to the other polities mentioned above.

According to Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran (2020), without the military wherewithal to challenge the intruders, all Ife could do was focus on sorting out its own internal political problems. Ilé-Ifè experienced a delayed recovery, but it was not left out of the **political rejuvenation** that began in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Its time of rebirth eventually came during the second quarter of the seventeenth century.

Lájamísán, a descendant of Oranmiyan and the 11th Ooni of Ilé-Ifè, who managed to secure the full recovery of the ancient city. He is remembered in the oral traditions as the founder of post-Classical Ifè dynasty and, Lájamísán facilitated the growth of population and urban expansion. One of the accomplishments was the rebuilding of some of the outer walls of the city, which had fallen into disrepair during the Intermediate period.

Oral traditions credit **Lúwò Gbágídá**, the grandmother of Lagelu and mother of Adekola Telu (the ancestor of Olumade Parin, the first Oluwo) listed on the Ife regional list **as a female king – the 18th Ooni as listed by Chief (Dr.) M.A. Fabunmi**. She was connected with the draining of many ravines in Ilé-Ifè and with the paving of the major thoroughfares of the city with potsherds. She was on the throne during the time when Ife was involved in Ara war in Ekiti.

ii) The Rise of Militaristic State Builders

The insatiable appetite of European traders for **elephant tusks** stimulated hunters, perhaps former warriors, to fan out into the frontier woods to track and kill elephants for their valuable incisors. In the **1590s** through **1630s**, several hunting camps arose in the northern and central Yoruba region at the **interstices of kingdoms, towns, and villages** that were being rebuilt or newly founded.

The oral traditions of many polities that emerged in the **Restorative period**, therefore, have a strong hunter character. **Òyán**, for example, attributed its early seventeenth-century origin to two hunters, **Odù from Ilé-Ifè** and **Epé from Ìlá-Òràngún**. The **town of Ìrágbìjì** also grew out of the fusion of **two hunting camps**. Likewise, the savanna woodlands in the upper reaches of the Obà River were swarming with hunting camps in the early seventeenth century, of which **four, Ìdí Ajágbon, Aálè, Onisílè, and Òrìsàtólú, became prominent**

*The leaders of the hunting camps were of Ìbàribá and Yorùbá extraction, and they formed a mutual-aid association known as àlòngò. They used the association as a cooperative for group hunting, for which **elephant tusks** were the main target. It was also a cooperative for sharing the profits that accrued from selling **elephant tusks** and other animal products. Likewise, **the Àlòngò association** served as the bulwark of defense against brigandage. These hunting camps, located on a busy highway linking Oyo-Ilé with the rain forest, soon became important way stations where travelers stopped to rest, take refreshment, or pass the night. **It was from these hunting camps that the town of Ogbomosho developed, with each camp forming the seed that eventually grew into a House. Hence, Ìsapa House developed from Òrìsàtólú camp, Ìjeru House from Onisílè camp, and Òkè-Elérin (Elephant Hill) from Aálè. Camp.***

Ajagbon is a tree situated right at the back of the fence surrounding the Palace of **Soun of Ogbomosho**. According to history, the tree is older than Ogbomoso community. It was on this tree that **Ogunlola**, the first Soun of Ogbomoso hung his “**akatapo**” (bow and arrow), the weapon he used to fight wars.

According to history, when **Ogunlola**, a famous warrior arrived **Idi-Ajagbon**, the whole place was a thick forest, (Idiajagbon is the name given to the spot where the tree is in Ogbomoso). **Ogunlola** had lived in this area with his wife for a considerable length of time before he was able to discover four other settlements occupied by some hunters namely: **Onisile, Orisadeyi, Aale and Akandie**.

iii) Cracks in the Imperial Wall of Oyo Empire:

The magnitude of instability that swept across the Yoruba world between 1796 (the death of Alaafin Aale) and **1837** (the final collapse of the empire and evacuation of the capital) was the first since the return of Oyo from the exile at Gbere between **1530 and 1542** during the reign of Alaafin Onigbogi after the attack of Nupe Militarists.

Alaafin Majotu died in **1830 Or 1831** without achieving his ambition of rebuilding his father’s house, the empire which revolts of **Afonja** and **the underclass** revolts had reduced to rubble and shell of its old glory. He was one of the longest-reigning kings in Oyo history, ruling for about twenty-eight years. The events that defined his reign give the impression that he was an ineffective king, but the point should not be lost that he inherited an imploding empire.

His reign witnessed **underclass revolt of 1817, the collapse of Owu in 1822**, and the killing of Aare Afonja and many of his supporters in **1823**. The **Hausa-Fulani** jihadist who had infiltrated **Afonja-led anti metropolis rebellion** perpetrated the third act with the backing of the Sokoto Caliphate.

The death of Afonja and other Yoruba elements (including Muslims) at the hands of their former allies, Hausa and Fulani, rattled the metropolis and its loyal provinces. Therefore, Majotu forged an alliance with the Nupe in 1825 to subdue Ilorin and expel the jihadists. But the coalition was defeated.

3.5 Notable Old and New Towns During Yoruba Civil Wars

The Yoruba kingdom of the Golden Age comprised the royal capital city, one or more dependent towns as well as several villages and hamlets. Each kingdom was headed by a divine king. In the state's or kingdoms governmental hierarchy, a town chief, called bale was next to the king but must not wear a beaded crown. A bale (meaning master or lord of the land) headed not a kingdom but a dependency or a constituent unit of a kingdom and was therefore responsible to the king.

When the Oni of Ife visited Lagos in 1903 (as stated earlier) at the invitation of the Governor, there were only 26 kings in Yorubaland who were culturally entitled to wear beaded crowns. This was therefore the number of cities in Yorubaland in the pre-colonial era.

In 1917, Governor MacGregor listed the 22 obas named by the Oni in 1903 as the only kings permitted by Yoruba tradition to wear beaded crowns for the purpose of safeguarding the Yoruba institution of kingship but arrogated to himself the prerogative to confer the title of Oba and the right to wear beaded crowns on people. This marked the beginning of the adulteration of the Yoruba institution of kingship. By adulteration is meant the assumption of kingship (obaship) title by some town chiefs called bales who are not culturally entitled to wear beaded crowns.

Today, almost every town in Yorubaland, big or small, claims kingship. In violation of Yoruba tradition, most of the former town chiefs or Baales have assumed the title of Oba (king) for various reasons.

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Apparently, the adulteration of the institution has stemmed from three main factors; the pursuit of self-aggrandizement, the pursuit of social recognition and esteem and the pursuit of political gains. While the personal and social forces appear to date back to 1917, the political factor appears to be a post-1960 (independence) phenomenon.

According to Obateru I. Oluremi (2004) the Yoruba towns with their periods or years of foundation which featured notably in Yoruba history up to 1893 when the civil wars ended and the British took over the administration of Yorubaland are as follows.

Apomu

Apomu, a border town in Ife kingdom, was close to the border of Owu kingdom. It is an ancient town whose genesis dates back to about the 12th or 13th century. The town was one of the most important commercial centres in Yorubaland prior to British penetration. There the Ifes, Oyos, Ijebus and Owus met for commercial transactions during the Golden Age.

Igboho

Its foundation period is unknown but it probably dates back to the 13th or 14th century. Four early Alaafins are believed to be buried there as stated earlier. Igboho originated as the burial place of Alaafin Ofinran

Lagos

Founded before the middle of the 15th century, Lagos was a military outpost of Benin Kingdom in 1472 when a Portuguese expedition led by Ruy de Sequeira landed there.

Lagos possibly originated as a fishing settlement but later became a farming village. In 1800, it had a population of less than 1,500. Between 1810 and 1861, Lagos grew rapidly in wealth and importance as a result of Yoruba civil war (1793 – 1900)

Oyo

As stated in Section 5.2 Old oyo was destroyed in 1837 burre-established in 1839 some 130 kilometres south. It was not a new town per se. the existing town called Ago-Oja was occupied by Alaafin Atiba who imposed forced expansion on it by depopulating the surrounding villages and towns forcing their inhabitants to move to Ago-Oja which he renamed Oyo.

Abeokuta

Abeokuta came into being about 1829 through the Russian of the Egba towns and villages destroyed in the preceding decade by the allied forces of the Oyos, Ifes and Ijebus. The founding of the city was initiated by those Egbas who withdrew from Ibadan consequent upon a disagreement with the other three communities, the Oyos, Ifes and Ijebus.

Abeokuta grew up on the site of a farming village” which was also a resting place for those traders travelling south-north between thousands of Egba refugees and slave flocked in from all over Yorubaland.

The first three groups of Egbas to settle at Abeokuta were the Egba Agbeyin whose king was the Alake (of Ake), Egba Gbagura (or Agura) under the Agura, and EGba Oke-Ona under the Osile. Each of the three groups occupied separate quarters in the city. They were joined later by the Owns, the Ijaiyes and the Ibaras. Other towns and villages joined them later until the settlements ultimately numbered about 153.

Abeokuta, meaning ‘under the Rock’ derives its name from Olumo Rock which gave them protection from the enemy. Since then, Olumo Rock (meaning ‘God Build it’) has been revered and worshiped by the Egbas and is a major tourism site in the city.

4.0 THE COLLAPSE OF THE OLD OYO EMPIRE

Aláàfin Májotú died in 1830 or 1831 without achieving his ambition of rebuilding his father's house the empire, which the revolts of Àfonjá and the underclass revolt had reduced to rubble and a shell of its old glory.⁵⁵ He was one of the longest-reigning kings in Òyó history, ruling for about twenty-eight years. The events that defined his reign give the impression that he was an ineffective king, but the point should not be lost that he inherited an imploding empire. Surrounded by the intrigues of the metropolitan lords and by infighting among the governors of the empire's frontier provinces; beset by the festering rebellion of Ìlorin and other eastern provinces; and constrained by sharply reduced revenue, *Májotú did not succeed in stopping the implosion. To the contrary, his reign witnessed several calamitous events. These included the underclass revolt of 1817; the collapse of Òwu in 1822; and the killing of Àfonjá and many of his supporters in 1823. The Hausa-Fúlání jihadists who had infiltrated Àfonjá-led anti-metropolis rebellion perpetrated the third act with the backing of the Sokoto Caliphate.* These newcomers not only took over the reins of power in Ìlorin afterward but also began their aggressive expansion to other parts of the Yorùbá region, especially in Ìgbómìnà and Upper Ò. s.un. This effectively turned what had been a political conflict in the Òyó metropolitan area into a religious one Islamist insurgence against the Yorùbá religion and political institution. The ascendance of the jihadists was alarming and unsettling to the capital and core provinces of the empire. To the provincial governors in particular, it became obvious that the metropolis had lost control over its political affairs. Some of the Yorùbá chieftains in the provinces were coerced to become allies of the jihadists in Ìlorin, while others joined them voluntarily for self-preservation. What is more, several tributary provinces of the empire, especially in Ìgbómìnà and Gbe territory, including Dahomey, successfully declared their independence from Òyó between 1823 and 1830.

4.1 Disintegration of the Empire;

Overall, the pace of the disintegration of the empire was slow but steady under Májotú (fig.9.2). The fact that he held Àfonjá and the jihadists at bay in their Ìlorin stronghold, only sixty kilometers from Òyó-Ilé, for about twenty years and prevented the insurgents from invading the capital shows the resilience that characterized the imperial capital during his reign. It is perhaps for this reason that he earned the nickname Májotú, “Don’t let it collapse,” which eventually became his regnal name. He lived up to this name. A steady manager rather than a transformative leader, the old king appears to have applied great shrewdness to holding the western wing of the empire together while the status of the eastern flank of the empire was uncertain. The deaths of Àfonjá and other Yorùbá elements (including Muslims) at the hands of their former allies Hausa and Fúlàní rattled the metropolis and its loyal provinces. There was an urgency to act against the festering trouble in Ìlorin. Therefore, Májotú forged an alliance with the Nupe in 1825 to subdue Ìlorin and expel the jihadists, but the coalition was defeated. That loss further weakened the confidence of the core administrative provinces and colonies of Òyó in the metropolitan cause (especially those in the eastern and central frontiers, such as Ìkòyí and E. de.). The metropolis had become a liability rather than an asset, and many of the governors and resident commissioners who had defended the interest of the empire in the frontiers and borderlands for so long began to pursue their autonomous interests of survival. In 1830, Òyó effectively lost what was remaining of its shaky grip on the Yéwá-Ògùn provinces.

4.2 The Effect of Multi-Year Draughts:

Bí ìyà nlá bá gbé ni sánlè, ìyà kékèké á ma gun orí eni: “Whenever one is debilitated by a great shame, one also suffers from other little insults.” About the time that the Òyó-Nupe coalition laid siege to Ìlorin in the dry season of 1825, a new round of multiyear droughts was setting in across the savanna, the worst of which Òyó metropolitan area experienced between 1825 and 1831. Oral traditions, eyewitness accounts,

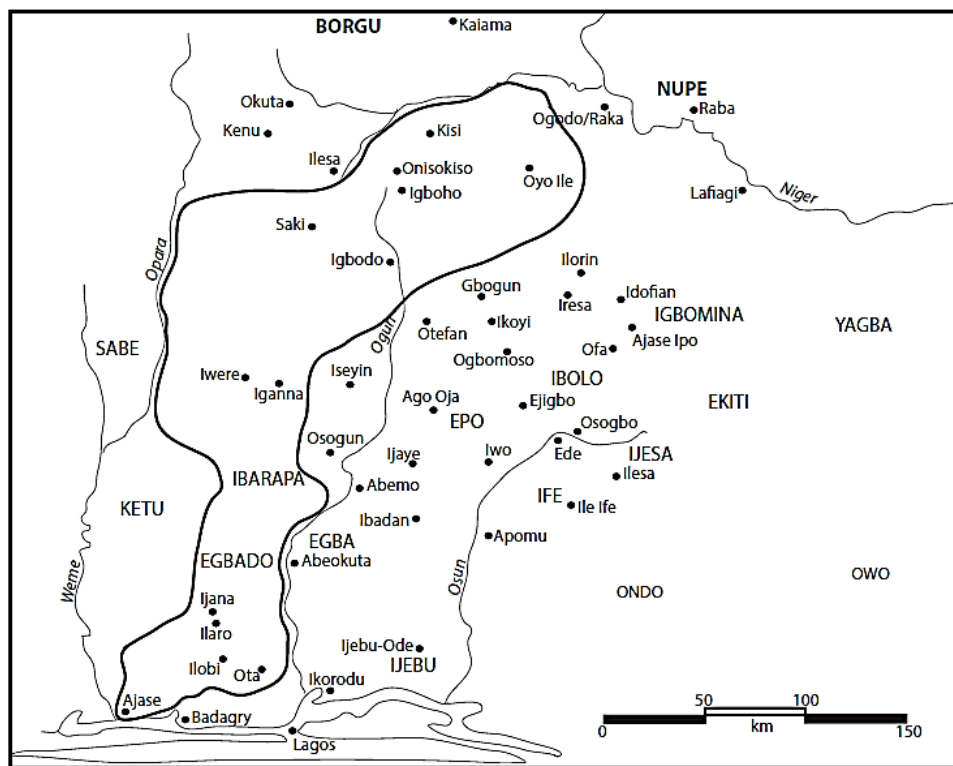


Fig. 9.2 Remnant of the Oyo Empire, ca. 1827

and palynological evidence have converged to show that Òyó-Ilé and the metropolitan area in general witnessed debilitating droughts in the last decades of the empire. With inadequate rainfall, many water sources dried out, and farmlands were untilled. The insecurity in the countryside and political instability had already depressed agricultural efforts and output even in the previous years of minimally

adequate rainfall. But now, the severe famine that followed the droughts worsened the crisis. A series of debilitating ailments, one of which was a respiratory infection, was also associated with the drought. Many people died from both hunger and disease. Aláàfin Májotú had reached advanced age by this time. He also succumbed to a respiratory infection that ravaged through Òyó. In 1830-31 and joined his ancestors. The accounts of **Richard Lander's second visit to Òyó-Ilé in 1827** and his third visit (with his brother, John) in 1830 give us a good sense of how the capital was already exhausted by war, impoverished by drought, weakened by famine, and debilitated by contagious diseases in the last years of Májotú's reign. ***In 1827, Richard Lander observed that many sick people who were suffering from some contagious diseases were being removed to a nearby bush about "half a mile from the town" in order to stem the spread of infection. There, the sick were provided with food and provisions, as demanded by the law.*** However, food supplies were very low, and most families were so impoverished that many of the isolated sick people actually "died from starvation." The depopulation of the metropolitan area accelerated during those peak years of drought, famine, and disease, between 1827 and 1831. For those who survived and sought relief elsewhere, the direction of movement was southward from the savanna into the rain forest belt, where the effect of drought was minimal, if even noticeable. Therefore, during the last five years of Májotú's reign, many refugees from the metropolitan area settled in several new polities, such as Ìjàyè, Abéòkúta, and Ìbàdàn that were springing up in the very Egbá territory that was once under the Òyó Empire. Others sought refuge in the old towns, such as Òsogbo.

4.3 The Death of Afonja and Installation of Emir in Ilorin;

With the transition of Májotú, the events that led to the collapse of the metropolitan area accelerated. More provinces peeled away from the metropolis. The empire's cloth was being removed layer by layer. The Ìlorin jihadists seized on this opportunity. Following their killing of Àfonjá, the jihadists (now led by the Fúlàní) installed an emir in Ìlorin.

About two years after Májotú's death, they invaded Òyó-Ilé for the first time. They ransacked the capital, reportedly looted the palace of its valuables, and proclaimed the Aláàfin as a vassal of Ìlorin's emir. **The new Aláàfin who suffered this indignity was Olúewu, a son of Aólè Described as handsome and haughty, like his father, the new king vowed to revenge the humiliation.** Destiny, heritage, and an uncertain future became his burden. Ikú yá j'èsín, "To die is better than living in disgrace," is a popular Yorùbá refrain underpinning the spirit of honor and bravery. He was the descendant of Obalókun and Àjàgbó, and son of Aólè, the monarch might have reminded himself. His fathers did not bow to anyone. Why should he? Rather than holing up in the capital, Olúewu decided to fight for the restoration of the dignity of the institution of Aláàfin and the survival of the empire. Olúewu proved to be better than his father as a builder of a coalition. As his ancestors had done in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century when confronted by similar challenges, he appealed to his Ìbàrìbá neighbors for assistance. They, like the Nupe, were also facing the threat of the rising power of the Fúlàní jihadists within their territories. In fact, the Ìbàrìbá were already feeling the brunt of the jihadists, who frequently raided these territories for captives. They feared that should the jihadists establish full suzerainty over Òyó-Ilé, they would be next in line for conquest. Again, as in the calculations that their forebears had made more than three hundred years earlier, many Ìbàrìbá chieftains considered it necessary to ally with Òyó in order to also save themselves. **At least four Ìbàrìbá kingdoms and principalities - Nikki, Bussa, Kaiama, and**

Wawa responded to Olúewu's appeal by sending strong military contingents to the war effort. Olúewu also rallied the support of several Òyó provinces and new Òyó towns that had emerged in the south—especially Ìbàdàn, Ìjàyè, and Àgò-Òjá. In the final effort to remove the thorn of Ìlorin jihadists already buried deep in their flesh, the combined forces of Ìbàrìbá under Siru Kpera, the king of Nikki, and Òyó, under Olúewu, marched in the dry season of against Ìlorin.

4.4 The Final Collapse of the Empire;

Revealing the religious character of the war, Ìlorin was supported by soldiers from the Gwandu Emirate (the patron of Ìlorin) and fought under the banner of the Sokoto Caliphate. The Ìbàrìbá proved to be a formidable ally, but Olúewu did not seem to have received the full support he desperately needed from many of the chieftains of the metropolis and provinces. Aso ò bá Omóyemó, Omóye ti rin ìhòhò wøjà: “It’s too late to clothe Omóye, she has already walked into the market naked.” The proverbial Omóye is the Aláàfin institution. The rank and file of the leaders of Òyó provincial contingents that assembled for the decisive war were rife with deception, disunity, and disloyalty to Olúewu. Many of them were not fully committed to the cause. While the king was fighting to save the empire, some of his provincial governors were either fighting for their own independence from Òyó or wishing for the king to fail. As a result of a lack of collective will and unity rather than as a result of errors of combat strategy, the Òyó-Ìbàrìbá coalition lost the battle. Thousands were killed, including Olúewu and his son. Siru Kpera, the potentate of Nikki, as well as the potentates of Wawa and Kaiama, also perished in the war. Dubbed the Eléduwe. War, after the Òyó stock name for Ìbàrìbá potentates, this was the final and failed attempt to restore the lost glory of the empire. As the news of the fall of Olúewu reached Òyó-Ilé and its environs, the remaining residents quickly packed up and began to evacuate the capital and the surrounding towns and villages.

5.0 HOW IBADAN HALTED THE ADVANCING ILORIN JIHADIST

Revealing the religious character of the war, Ilorin was supported by soldiers from the **Gwando Emirate** (the patron of Ilorin) and **fought under the banner of the Sokoto Caliphate**.

The Ibariba proved to be a formidable ally, but Oluewu did not seem to have received the full support he desperately needed from many of the chieftains of the metropolis and provinces. The evacuation of Oyo-Ile and the collapse of the empire was the end of an era in the history of the Yoruba world.

With the defeat of Alaafin Oluewu-led forces, **the jihadists of Ilorin** and their allies were intoxicated by the fermented fruit of victory and were determined to take over the entire Yoruba region. They therefore, shifted their focus toward those new Oyo towns already planted in the upper reaches of the rain forest. Their goal was to ***“dip the Koran in the sea” a metaphor for subjugating the Yoruba world to the control of the Sokoto caliphate via the emirate of Ilorin.***

Displaced and demoralized, most of the Yoruba region, especially in the old territory of the Oyo Empire, was still licking its wounds. The only Yoruba polity, according to Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran (2020), brave enough to confront the jihadist's threat was Ibadan. ***It was a new kid on the block of regional politics, but it was a rising military power in the aftermath of the fall of Oyo Empire.***

While the Ilorin army was advancing south-ward, Basorun Oluyole, the third ruler of third and present Ibadan and **the son of Olukoye through Agborin the daughter of Alaafin Abiodun**, rallied to confront the enemy. He presided over the military plans to stop the advancing Ilorin army. He mobilized other scattered Oyo elements to the cause of saving their ancestral land from what he rightfully considered as a foreign invasion, although there were high-ranking Yoruba soldiers in the Ilorin contingent under the command and leadership of his war commander **Balogun Odeyinka Oderinlo**, the advance of Ilorin's ambition was halted on the outskirts of

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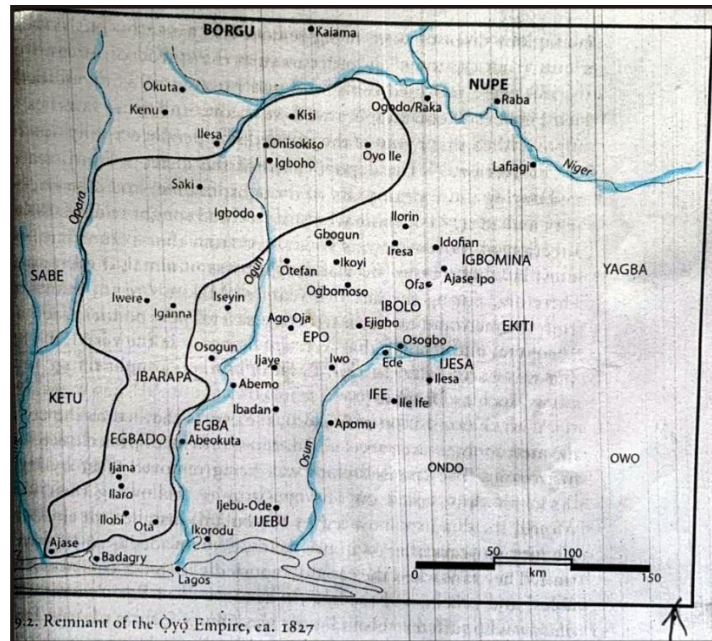


Fig. (b): The Remains of Oyo Empire in 1837

6.0 UNNECESSARY SELF-DEFEATING CLAIMS OF ROYAL SUPREMACY

If we take a quick look at the history of the world, we shall find that **it is a record of continual process of change**. It is a record of the Great Empires and civilizations which have lasted for a time and the passed away. **Egypt, Greece and Rome** are examples of these great civilizations that have passed away as a result of wars and conquest by stronger and sometimes less civilized tribes and nations. ***That Yoruba country came under foreign or colonial rule in 1893, was inevitable. It was part of this continual process of change that had to come about to ensure progress after 100 years of internal strife and civil wars.***

What happened in the Yoruba country at the turn of the 19th century must serve as a warning and lessons for the future. ***In 1840, under the command and leadership of his war commander, Balogun Oderinlo, the advance of Ilorins ambition was altd on the outskirts of Osogbo. The Ilorin army was thoroughly beaten. The victory put to rest the threat of the jihadist agenda in the Yoruba world.***

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With this, Basorun Oluyole (1835-1850), achieved what had eluded Alaafin Oluewu and five other Alaafins before him. This military, according to Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran (2020), was **the most consequential event in Yoruba history during the nineteenth century.**

Reverend Samuel Johnson (1921) said; *if not for Oluyole and his military superstars, many beaded crown kings and potentates of Yoruba kingdoms would have since been replaced by turban-wearing emirs*” Ibadan’s victory over Ilorin saved the House of Oduduwa. The victory was not only over Ilorin. It was also a defeat of its patron, the **Gwandu Emirate** and of the **Sokoto Caliphate** as a whole.

The fall of the Old Oyo Empire, arising from the combination of **internal constitutional debacles, power tussles and conflicts, and the rise of militant Islam in Ilorin** played significant roles in the emergence of Ibadan as a dominant State in Yorubaland. Also, the *republican nature of Ibadan Civil and military population partly explains why it quickly and effortlessly succeeded Oyo as the military headquarters of the Yoruba Empire in the nineteenth century and the headquarters of Yoruba Provinces in the twentieth century with the seat of Colonial Government at Agodi since 1893.*

CHAPTER THREE

THE FOUNDING OF THE THREE KINGDOMS OF AWORILAND IN LAGOS STATE

1.0 BACKGROUND HISTORY:

The country of the Awori by along close to the coast, with an eastern boundary with the **coastal Ijebu** and a western boundary with the coastal **non-Yoruba Aja** people (of modern Benin Republic). To the North of Awori were the countries of the **Egbado**. Most of the Awori lived in the group of small islands in the area of **Eko** (no Lagos) Island as at **1472** and the low lying forest in its immediate hinterland.

Three kingdoms sprang up in the Awori country, according to Professor S, Adebajji Akintoye, (2010). **Eko** on a coastal land, **Otta** in the hinterland forests, and Badagry on the extreme western end of the Awori coast. Many **Small Awori settlements** existed before the emergence of these kingdoms.

1.1 Otta Kingdoms

According to Awori and other Yoruba traditions. **Otta seems to have been the earliest kingdom created among the Awori**. The traditions of Otta have it that the founder of this kingdom, an immigrant prince from Ife, came among **Awori Settlers** in this place and consolidated them into his kingdom, the **Otta kingdom ruled by the Olota**. Some other Yoruba have it that Otta was one of the oldest Yoruba kingdoms.

1.2 Eko Kingdoms

According to the traditions of the Eko kingdom, its people first settled at a place called ISERI, a small settlement of mostly hunters and fisherman on the lower bank of the Ogun River, some distance southeast of Otta and a few miles inland from the coast. To this place, **a Prince from Sooko royal family of Ile-ife named Ogunfunminire settled and was accepted as king (1425-1505)**.

Trade was beginning to grow in the coastal Lagoons, trade eastwards with the coastal Ijebu and from there with the **Ilaje, Ije, Itsekiri** and the **Benin**, and westwards with the **villages of the Aja Coast**.

Migration of Iseri People

In order to be able to catch more of this trade, most of the **Iseri people, led by their king**, undertook a series of relocations that brought them closer to the Lagoons, leaving at **Iseri** a small remnant that has kept that little village alive till our times. The main body first relocated to **Ebute-Metta**, then to the edge of the Lagoon at **Iddo**, and finally to the biggest Island in the area, Eko Island. Here, incorporating into their community the scattering of other Awori Settlers already living on the Island, they established the permanent home of their kingdom, the **Eko Kingdom under their king who bore the title of Olofin** (Professor S. Adebajji Akintoye, 2010). This new settlement eventually became the nucleus of the settlement of Isale-Eko area of Lagos and also the official place of the Oba of Lagos known and called **Iga-Idunganran**.

Aromire one of the Olofin Ogunfunminire's sons who owned Lagos heart land was soon joined by some of his brothers like: Onitolo, Onitano, Oniru, Onikoyi etc.

They established themselves in several parts of Lagos, and constituted into a class of chiefs administering the areas under their individuals control and left no one in doubt as to their over the land. They became collectively known as the "**Idojo Chief**" having the distinction of wearing "**white caps**". Although other categories of Lagos Chiefs eventually came to wear white caps, there was no doubting the fact that the **Idejo** were the landowners, a factor which was to be crucial significance particular during what is generally regarded as the Benin Episode in Lagos history. Eko became Lagos in 1472 A.D.

2.0 EKO WAS CHANGED TO LAGOS IN 1472

According to a book on Mobolaji Johnson's administration in Lagos State, written by Prince A.G.A. Ladigbolu, Ido happened to have been administered by a particular gifted king whose real name has been forgotten but who was generally referred to as **Olofin**. One of the many settlements founded during Olofin's reign was an Island separated from Ido by the lagoon and now known as Lagos Island. ***It was this new settlement (Lagos) founded by Aromire, one of Olofin's sons, 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 Iga Idunganran.***

Some have erroneous belief that Lagos was not a part of Yorubaland. Lack of historical knowledge is a potential danger to human organization. ***Indeed, most of those who rescued Lagos from British domination were individuals who were not of Lagos extraction, for instance, Sapara Williams (Ijesa), the paynes (Ijebu), the Herbert Macaulay (Oyo), the Moores (Egba and Brazil), the jones (Creole from Freetown), the Vaughans (America and Owu) etc.*** All these men lived and died for Lagos.

In the second place, there are also very important people who have made Lagos their permanent homes even though they came from the hinterlands, namely: ***the Doherty family (Ijero in Ekiti), the Ayegbusis, the Babalolas, the Fagbeyiros, the Adewunmis, the Oteniyas, (Efon Alaaye in Ekiti) and the Tinubus, the Sowemimos, the Lawsons, the Coker family and the Soetans (all Egba).*** Whereas, Lagos was founded by a Yoruba man called **Olofin Ogunfunminire** and his 32 children and some others later joined him. Their usual greetings every morning was **"Alaafia ko laji"** (Hope we wake up in good health). Hence, their settlement was later called **"Lafiaji"**. **The Aworis who settled at Ikeja and other places originally came from Ile-Ife. Aromire** who owned Lagos heart land was soon joined by some of his brothers like: **Onitolo, Onitano, Oniru, Onikoyi**, etc. They established themselves in several parts of Lagos and they constituted themselves into a class of

chiefs administering the areas under their individual control and left no one in doubt as their control over the land. They became collectively known as the **“Idejo chiefs” having the distinction of wearing “white caps”**. Although other categories of Lagos chiefs eventually came to wear white caps, **there was no doubting the fact that the Idejo were the landowner, a factor which was to be of crucial significance particularly during what is generally regarded as the Benin Episode in Lagos history**. These chiefs administered their areas effectively well. Various local traditions credited **Ogunfunminire** with 8, 12, 16 and even 32 as the total number of his children.

3.0 BENIN EPISODE IN LAGOS HISTORY

One of the major effects of the existence of the Benin Kingdom was the creation of a new dynasty in Lagos. It was true that the first settlers in Lagos were from the Yoruba interior. Because of the distance and lack of communication of the Yoruba from the ancestral and political headquarters of the Yoruba, Ile-Ife, **Benin had more impact on Lagos**. The many versions of the origin of Benin’s contact with the Lagos point to the ambition of **Benin king to extend his influence. One source claims that a Benin army attacked Olofin’s men near Iddo Island**, Olofin held on bravely until he was betrayed by his trusted wife, Ajayi. **Olofin was subsequently captured** and sent to Benin but he displayed such remarkable capacity for survival under harsh conditions that he was released and sent back to the Lagos throne but this time under the control of the Benin throne.

Olofin was accompanied by three men who, on the order of Benin, were to advise him to govern. One of these men, **Aseru** later died. **An Isheri man called Ashipa** who was described as either the son or a relation of Olofin, decided to convey Aseru’s body to Benin for burial. Ashipa was said to have found favor with Benin rulers because he helped in carrying out Benin ritual, which insist that an important person must be buried at home, no matter where he died. It was in appreciation of this act.

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**THE LONDON PRIVY COUNCIL JUDGEMENT OF 11 JULY, 1921
CONFIRMING YORUBA OWNERSHIP OF LAGOS NOT BENIN OR IGBO
OWNERSHIP AS BEING TOUTED**

The Judicial Committee
His Majesty's Privy Council
Monday, the 11th day of July 1921

Before a Board of
Viscount Haldane
Lord Atkinson
Lord Phillimore

Between
Amodu Tijani Appellant

And
The secretary, Southern Provinces Respondent

Judgment of the Court
Delivered by
Viscount Haldane

In this case the question raised is as to the basis for calculation of the compensation payable to the appellant, who claims for the taking by the Government of the Colony of Southern Nigeria of certain land for public purpose. There was a preliminary point as to whether the terms of the Public Lands Ordinance of the Colony do not make the decision of its Supreme Court on such a question final. As to this, it is sufficient to say that the terms of the Ordinance did not preclude the exercise which has been made of the prerogative of the crown to give special leave to bring this appeal.

The Public Lands Ordinance of 1903 of the Colony provides that the Governor may take any lands required for public purposes for an estate in fee simple or for a less estate, on paying compensation to be agreed on or determined by the supreme court of the colony. The Governor is to give notice to all the persons

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interested in the land, or the persons authorized by the ordinance to sell, and convey it. Where the land required is the property of a native community, the Head Chief of the community may sell and convey it in fee simple, any native law or custom to the contrary notwithstanding. There is to be no compensation for land unoccupied unless it is proved that, for at least six months during the ten years preceding any notice, certain kinds of beneficial use have been made of it. In other cases, the court is to assess the compensation according to the value at the time when the notice was served, inclusive of damage done by severance. *Prima Facie*, the persons in possession, as if owners are to be deemed entitled. Generally speaking, the Governor may pay the compensation in accordance with the direction of the Court, but where any consideration or compensation is paid to a Head Chief in respect of any land, the property of a native community, such consideration or compensation is to be distributed by him among the members of the community or applied or used for their benefit in such proportions and manner as the Native Council of the District in which the land is situated, determines with the sanction of the Governor.

The land in question is at Apapa, on the Mainland and within the Colony. The appellant is the Head Chief of the Oluwa family or community, and is one of the *Idejo's* or landowning white cap chiefs of Lagos and the land is occupied by persons, some of whom pay rent or tribute to him. Apart from any family or private land which the chief may possess or may have allotted to member of his own family, he has in a representative or official capacity control by custom over the tracts within his chieftaincy, including as Chief justice speed points out in his judgment in this case, power of allotment and of exacting a small tribute or rent in acknowledgement of his position as Head. But when in the present proceedings he claimed for the whole value of the land in question, as being land which he was empowered by the ordinance to sell, the Chief justice of the Supreme Court held that, although he had a right which must be recognized and paid for, this right was:

“merely a seigniorial right giving the holder ordinary rights of control and management of the land in accordance with the well-known principles of native law and custom, including the right to receive payment of the nominal rent or tribute payable by the occupiers, and that compensation should be calculated on that basis, and not on the basis of absolute ownership of the land”

Consideration of the various documents, records and decisions which have been brought before them in the course of the argument at the bar, had led their Lordships to the conclusion that the view expressed by Chief Justice Rayner in the language just cited is substantially the true one. They therefore, interpret paragraph 6 of the Public Lands Ordinance of 1903, which says that where lands required for public purposes are the property of a native community, the Head Chief of such community may sell and convey the same for an estate in fee simple as the meaning that the Chief may transfer the title of the community. It follows that it is for the whole of what he so transfers that compensation has to be made. This is borne out by paragraph 25 and 26, which provide for distribution of such compensation under the direction of the Native Council of the District, with the sanction of the Governor.

The history of the relations of the Chiefs to the British Crown in Lagos and the vicinity bears out this conclusion. **About the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Island of Lagos was held by a Chief called Olofin. He had parceled out the Island and part of the adjoining Mainland among some sixteen subordinate Chiefs called “whitecap” in recognition of their domination over the portions parceled to them. About 1790 Lagos was successfully invaded by the neighboring Benins. They did not remain in occupation, but left a representative as ruler whose title was the “Eleko. The successive Elekos in the end became the kings of Lagos, although for a long time they acknowledged the sovereignty of the king of Benins and paid tribute to him.** The Benin appeared to have interfered

but little with the customs and arrangement in the Island. About the year 1850, payment of tribute was refused and **the king of Lagos asserted his independence**. At this period, Lagos had become a centre of the slave trade, and this trade centre the British Government determined to suppress. A protectorate was at first established, and a little later it was decided to take possession of the Island. The then King was named Docemo. In 1861, he made a treaty of cession by which he ceded to the British Crown the port and Island of Lagos with all the rights, profits, territories and appurtenances thereto, belonging. In **1862** the ceded territories were erected into a separate British Government, with the title “**settlement of Lagos**”. In **1874**, this became part of the Gold Coast. In **1886 Lagos was again made a separate Colony**, and finally in **1906**, it became a part of the Colony of Southern Nigeria.

4.0 THE BRITISH RULE IN LAGOS STATE SIZE UNDER

Geographically, Lagos is an area of 3,577 square kilometers. The drainage pattern of the state is characterized by a network of lagoons, rivers, creeks, and swamps which constitute 22% or 787 square kilometers of its total land mass. This explains the reference to the state as a wet land environment and centre of aquatic splendor (Aromisa l’egbe l’egbe). Lagos State is bounded in the North and East by Ogun State of Nigeria, in the West by the Republic of Benin and stretches for over 180 kilometers along the Guinea Coast of the Atlantic Ocean. The people of Lagos origin are the Aworis, Eguns, Ekos, and Ijebus. Lagos is the abode of different peoples, different nationalities, creeds, religions, and races. **Lagos was known to European traders in 1485**, when it first appeared in maps, though no names were mentioned. **In 1603**, a German surgeon, Andreas Josua Ulsheimer visited Lagos. Furthermore, ***the Europeans, particularly the Portuguese reached Lagos in 1704 and that was during the reign of Oba Akinsemoyin and that was the beginning of slave trade.*** The conflict between Kosoko and Akintoye for the throne of Lagos paved the way for the British easy entry into Lagos. Both sides sought the support of these

foreign powers. Kosoko enjoyed the support of the Brazillian slave traders and was able to depose Akintoye in 1845.

Akitoye was in exile in Badagry. He attempted to invade Lagos, the project was financed by the Brazilian slave traders in 1847. In the process, they approached the Church Missionary Society (CMS) for assistance because of their influence with the British government.

Bee croft who had visited Abeokuta and Dahomey (now Benin republic) saw the occupation of Lagos as the only way to clear the trade routes from the coast to Abeokuta, and to checkmate the slave trade on which Dahomey (Benin) survived, the supported Akintoye. The foreigners proposed to Kosoko that he should sign a treaty banishing slave trade, but he refused, and plans were mounted for an assault on Lagos. The first attempt failed utterly, the second achieved its purpose and Lagos was occupied in December 1851. Kosoko was driven out and a treaty banning slave trade was signed with Akitoye in February 1852. However, the occupation of Lagos failed to stop slave trade, which now flowed through Porto-Novo and Whydah.

Porto-Novo, which had already been bombarded earlier in the year to dissuade them from slave trade, now panicked, the ruler offered his city to the French. Their transit camps, where slaves were kept pending their located at various centres around Marina Lagos. One of such camps is the area now occupied by St. Paul Breadfruit Church in Lagos. In 1807, Granville Sharp, Thomas Clakson and William Wilberforce succeeded in forcing the British parliament to pass the Abolition Act in England. Due to the American Civil War of 1865, the abolition of slave trade was led by President Abraham Lincoln in 1863. In addition, the Consulate Building was built in Lagos in 1855, which was called Ile Ajele. Also, the territory now known as Lagos State was the former colony created by the British administrator following cession of his sovereignty to the British Crown by King Dosumu in August 1861. On the 19th February 1866, Lagos was governed by an Administrator and a Legislative Council

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led by the Governor of West African residing in Sierra-Leone. Further in 1874, Lagos was governed by Deputy Governor from Gold Coast (Ghana) it was also governed by a Lt. Governor from Gold Coast (Ghana) in 1883.

Indeed in 1886, it was administered by the governor of the colony of Lagos. **In 1954, Lagos was finally separated from the rest of the colony and was constituted into a federal territory.** For 68 years (from 1886 - 1954), the Colony of Lagos was administered as a unit. Besides, from 1914 to 1923, the Colony of Lagos had its own Legislative Council while the rest of Nigeria had another Council. In addition, for 89 years (from 1862 to 1951), Lagos enjoyed a separate and distinct existence as a unit of administration with its own Governor, Deputy Governor, Lt. Governor, Administrator, etc.

Coming back home, there was also a meeting of Lagos indigenes led by Major Mobolaji Johnson in August 1966 to deliberate on political future of Lagos. Earlier, the agitation by the nationalists led by the late Herbert Macaulay in the 20th century was tense. It was continued by the leaders of thought led by Chief Theophilus Adebayo Doherty, Prince Ibikunle Akitoye, Dr. Teslim Elias, Alhaji Kayode Jakande, Ganiyu Dawodu, Otunba Adeniran Ogunsanya, Otunba T. O. S. Benson, Chief S. L. Edu, Chief (Mrs.) Kofoworola Pratt as well as Chief Fagbenro Beyioku, Justice Ishola Oluwa (Retd.), Chief Ishola Bajulaiye-Eletu Odibo of Lagos, Chief (Mrs.) Stella Odesanya and all the traditional rulers of Lagos.

5.0 THE CREATION OF LAGOS STATE IN 1967

Finally Lagos State was created on May 27, 1967. Brigadier Mobolaji Johnson become the first Military Governor. Eventually, Lagos State maintained its five division of 1861 to 1865 as Lagos Colony, including Lagos, Epe, Ikorodu, Ikeja and Badagry. Furthermore, the 1991 National census figure of Nigeria was 88.5 million, Lagos alone accounted for 5.7 million, but the estimated Lagos at 8.5 million inhabitants. Currently, Lagos is the most populous state in Nigeria with about 15 million-inhabitants. Besides, statistics experts rated the population growth in Lagos about 30,000 to 35, 00 persons per annum. Truly, the glory of Lagos is an old one. *From 1886 to 1906: the Colony of Lagos comprised the Federal Capital Territory and the Colony Province of Western Nigeria.*

Ahead of the rest of Nigeria, Lagos was granted the franchise in 1923. Further, the Hugh Clifford Constitution of 1922, which made Nigeria the first of the British Colonies in Africa to participate in election, where four Nigerians to be elected, Lagos alone took three representatives, while the country took one. The North had no representative Governor and some Europeans represented commercial interests.

6.0 AGBADARIGI AS BADAGRY

Agbadarigi is now popularly called Badagry. A branch of the Yoruba migrants from Ile-Ife had Ija Osan (Djasan) quarters of Porto Novo. This early Yoruba migration was not superseded by a larger Aja migration starting from about the beginning of the 18th Century caused by the expansionist wars of the Dahomey King, Agaja Trudo (1708 1740). Aja refers to the cultural complex embracing the Fon areas of ancient Dahomey and the Ewe of Southern Togo and Ghana Aja succeeded to those groups living along the Nigeria Benin Border.

The relationship between the Gun of Badagry, a sub the Aja and the Yoruba cordial. The Yoruba and Aja began with their early migrations. From the successive wave of Aja and the Yoruba migrations laid the foundation of the eight wards of

Badagry today. At present, more than half of the population of Badagry is Egun and it has direct contact with the Egun of Porto Novo. This situation has greatly influenced the culture of Badagry and other communities along the Nigeria Benin border. The unity of purpose of both Egun and Yoruba make it possible to speak their languages together, and borrowed from one another, some spoke English, Egun and Yoruba. One good thing that had in Badagry was that both Egun and the Yoruba worship common deities.

6.1 The Kingdom of Badagry

The kingdom of Badagry came into existence on the **Awori coast** many centuries later than the **Kingdoms of Otta and Eko**, in an area in which Awori and western Aja settlers (known as Gun or Igun) lived close together. In the **1730s**, some Dutch traders established a **trading post** on the Lagoon at his place, and it quickly attracted settlers from among the **Awori, Igun** and other **Aja** elements. The **Aja became the predominant group in Badagry** at the outset, and therefore its earliest leadership was almost entirely of Aja origin.

The form of a kingdom quickly evolved, somewhat different from the typical Yoruba kingdom in the sense that its king, the **AKRAN**, had very little control over the various sections of the town beyond his own section. The origin of the **AKRAN title-holders is traced to the Aja kingdom of Mowe**. Because of the strong Aja presence and influence in the origins of the kingdom, some students of Yoruba history wonder whether we are right in identifying it as a Yoruba kingdom. According to Professor S. Adebajji Akintoye (2010), the area, however, was **Awori territory** with many small Awori settlements inhabiting the sandy swamps around it, and many of such **Awori** ultimately became part of the new town and kingdom of Badagry. Also, Badagry almost immediately came under the influence of the Oyo Empire and, as a result, the number and influence of Yoruba elements grew in it.

During the two centuries after these, Awori migrants from the south created the kingdoms of Ado, and Itakete, and Aja migrants, from the southwest created the Kingdom of IPOKIA. Then during seventeenth (17th) century, as the power of the **Fon Kingdom of Dahomey** grew and its pressure on the peoples to the south and east increased, mixed crowds of **Yoruba and Aja** peoples came into the **Egbada country** and founded such kingdoms. Such as **Aiyetoro, Igan** and **Egue**.

6.2 Influence of Benin in Awori Island Kingdom of Lagos

According to Prince Adelegan Adegbola (2009) in the book “Ile-Ife: The Source of Yoruba Civilization”, **the Oduduwa lineage** was linked to the Yoruba and Edo, and the Yoruba and Nupe. By the end of the 14th century A.D, the Oranmiyan dynasty had established a strong Benin State, thereafter, under five successive marital kings; **Ewuare the Great** (1440-1473), **Ozuola** (1504-1550), **Orhogbua** (1550-1578) and **Ehengbuada** (1578-1606).

Benin has also have some influence in another part of Yorubaland such as the small Awori Island Kingdom of Lagos, formerly called Eko. By the late sixteenth (16th) century, owing to the growth of the coastal Lagoon trade, Lagos and the other small Awori settlements had come to have sizeable resident population of Ijebu, Benin, Ilaje, Ikale, Owo, Egba, Egbado, Aja and Ijaw traders. In about 1600, conflicts between some of the non-Awori communities on the one hand, and the indigenous Awori people ruled by the Olofin on the others, was affecting the trade so much so as to attract the attention of the government of Benin. Some expeditions were sent to the aid of Benin community.

The claim by **Eghareuha** and **Dr. J.A. Atanda (1979)** that one such expedition was led by the **Oba Orhogbua** (1550-1518) was confirmed by chief **M.K.O Adebayo (2015)** and **Aboke Ifamapowa** of Ibadan. During the period, the Benin army attacked the children of **Ogunfunminire at Iddo settlement** while **Lagelu, the Jagunosin of Ife** and **Oba Agura of Gbagura** fought against the Benin

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army and they won the battle. The listed children of Ogunfunminire were: **Olumegbon, Oluwa, Onitona, Ontoola, Elegusi, Aromire, Oloto, and Ojora**. This showed the great importance of the westward Lagoon trade to the Benin people at this time.

For some time, the Benin and some of the other **non**-native communities, under the leadership of a Benin chief named **ASHERU**, exercised some prominent influence and this much would seem to be corroborated by the statement of a German named Andrears Joshua Ulshelmer, who (according to Robert Smith in his Kingdoms of the Yoruba) wrote in **1603** that Lagos Island was a military camp under the command of Benin Officers.

As a result of indecisive conflicts between the Awori population and the Benin and some other non-native resident communities, and an ultimate settlement as a result of which the latter came to have a part in the governance of the Island. But the conflict remained unresolved. **Asheru** died soon afterwards in one of the clashes and a certain **Awori man named Asipa**, described in **Lagos tradition** as an **Isheri Chief of Ife royal descent** (but in Benin traditions as grandson of an Oba of Benin) graciously led by the party that conveyed **ASHERU's** body to Benin. The Benin traditions say that, in Benin, **Oba Orhogbua** (1550 - 578) was so appreciative of **ASHIPA's** gracious action that he accorded him recognition as a ruler of Lagos. In 1830, he is the progenitor of a line of Lagos kings. Asipa was succeeded by Ado and followed by Gabaro and later by Akinsomoyin etc. it was during the reign of Oba Akinsomoyin that the foundation of **Iga Idungaran, Oba's palace**, was laid and constructed. Iga Suenu, Iga Bassua, etc were built during the reign of Akinsomoyin (Prince Adelegan (2009)).

6.3 The Influence of Madam Efunroye Tinubu (1805-1887)

Madam Efunroye Osuntinubu, according to Prince Adelegan Adegola (2009) in the book “ILE-IFE: The Source of Yoruba Civilization”, was born in 1805 at **IJOKODO**, Gbagura to the Egba tribe of the Yoruba nation. Her father’s name was **Olumosa**, while her mother’s name was **Nijeede**. The family religion was traditional religion of “OSUN”, Osun goddess; hence, her name **Osuntinubu**, Her father’s family religion was **Orisanla** or Obatola. They were white chalk and white garment as part of their symbols; hence the name “**Efunroye**” came from Orisanla.

Osuntinubu’s family was among **about 150 migrants that resettled under the leadership of Egba veteran war leader, Sodeke in 1829. They all found common refuge under Olumo Rock at Abeokuta in 1830.**

The exiled Oba Adele was still in Badagry when his successor, Oba Idewu, died. Prince Kosoko, Idewu Ojulari's brother, was a major contender for the now vacant throne. Eletu Odibo, the chief kingmaker, thwarted Kosoko's aspiration and Adele was invited by him to become Oba again. Tinubu accompanied Adele to Lagos, but the Oba died 2 years later. After Adele's death in 1837, Tinubu reportedly supported Oluwole (her stepson) in his bid for the Obaship of Lagos over that of Kosoko's.

Oba Oluwole had recurring conflicts with Kosoko, who felt that he was the true heir to the throne. Consequently, Kosoko was banished to Ouidah. During Oluwole's reign, Madam Tinubu remarried one Yesufu Bada, alias Obadina, who was Oluwole's war captain and with the support of Oluwole, Tinubu and Yesufu's trading activities in Egbaland grew.

When Oluwole died in 1841, Tinubu supported Akitoye (her brother in law) in his bid for the Obaship over Kosoko's. After Akitoye emerged Oba, he granted Tinubu favorable commercial concessions. Against the wish of his chiefs, Akitoye invited Kosoko back to Lagos and tried to placate him. Soon thereafter, Kosoko

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dislodged Akitoye from the throne. Considering Tinubu's alliance with Akitoye, she and other Akitoye supporters fled to Badagry when Kosoko became Obain 1845.[15] As a wealthy woman, Madam Tinubu was able to influence economic and political decisions during her time in Badagry. She tried to rally Akitoye's supporters to wage war against Kosoko.

In December 1851 and under the justification of abolishing slavery, the British bombarded Lagos, dislodged Kosoko from the throne, and installed a more amenable Akitoye as Oba of Lagos. ***Though Akitoye signed a treaty with Britain outlawing the slave trade, Tinubu subverted the 1852 treaty and secretly traded slaves for guns with Brazilians and Portuguese traders. Further, she obtained attract of land from Akitoye which now constitutes part of the present-day Tinubu Square and Kakawa Street.*** Later, a conflict developed between Tinubu and some slave traders including Possu, a Kosoko loyalist. Consequently, Possu, Ajenia, and other traders tried to instigate an uprising against Akitoyebecause of Madam Tinubu's influence in Lagos. In the interest of peace, Benjamin Campbell, theBritish Consul in Lagos, asked Akitoye to exile Tinubu. After Akitoye died, Tinubu returned to Lagos and gave her support to his successor, Dosunmu. Under Dosunmu's reign Tinubu had a massive security force composed of slaves and she sometimes executed orders usually given by the king. As a result, Dosunmu grew wary of her influence in Lagos. A new development was the colonial government's support for migrants from Brazil and Sierra Leone to settle in Lagos. Many of the migrants, also called Saro and Aguda, were favored by the British in commerce and soon began dominating legitimate trade in Lagos.

In 1855, when Campbell traveled to England, Tinubu tried to influence Dosunmu to limit the influence of the returnees. Dosunmu was noncommittal to her request and consequently, Tinubu was alleged to have played a part in an uprising against the returnees in ***which her husband, Yesufu Bada, was a major participant. When Campbell returned in 1856, he asked Dosunmu to banish Tinubu. In May 1856, Tinubu was banished to Abeokuta.***

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TINUBU IN ABEOKUTA AS IYALODE:

In Abeokuta, Madam Tinubu traded in arms and supplied Abeokuta with munitions in the war against Dahomey. ***Her activities in the war earned her the chieftaincy title of the Iyalode of all of Egbaland.*** While in Abeokuta, she allegedly opposed colonial policies in Lagos. In 1865, a fire engulfed the shops of some traders including some of her properties in Abeokuta.



Statue of Madame Tinubu in Abeokuta, Nigeria in 2019

Tinubu died in 1887 and is buried in Ojokodo Quarters in Abeokuta. Tinubu Square on Lagos Island, a place previously known as Independence Square, is named after her. Ita Tinubu (Tinubu's precinct or Tinubu Square) had long been known by that name before the country's independence, but it was renamed Independence Square by the leaders of the First Republic. A statue of Tinubu stands in Abeokuta.

7.0 NIGERIA'S FEDERAL STATES (1967 – 1996):

Since independence the federal structure of Nigeria has changed from four zones to now (1996) 36 federal states. As far as this publication is concerned, two different structures had to be taken into account due to the statistical data base available: 19 (for instance used for the calculation of the disaggregated HDI) and 30 (for instance used for federal states plus the Federal Capital Territory (see Graph TN1).

[Between 1988 and 1990 Nigeria had 21 States: out of the old Kaduna State a new Kaduna State and Katsina State were created, and the old Cross-River State was split into a new Cross-River State and Akwa-Ibom State. As no graphs or statistical data for the 21 states have been used in this publication, no map is shown for this intermediate administrative division.

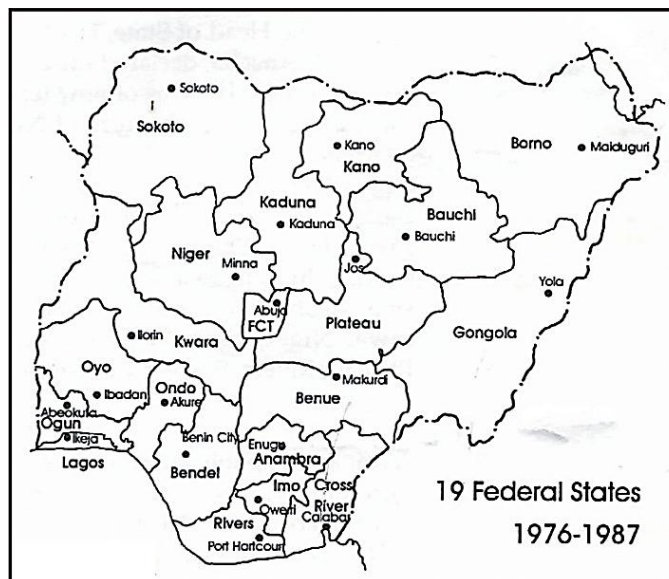


Fig. 1; Nigeria's 19 states (1976-87)

Anambra, Bauchi, Bendel, Benue, Borno, Cross River, Gongola, Imo, Kaduna, Kano, Kwara, Lagos, Niger, Ogun, Ondo, Oyo, Plateau, Rivers, and Sokoto.

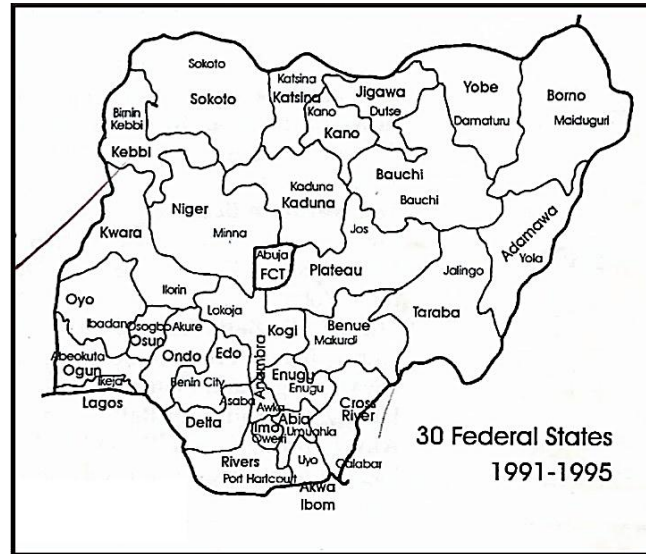


Fig. 2; Nigeria's 30 states (1991-95).

The 30 states are: Abia, Adamawa, Akwa-Ibom, Anambra, Bauchi, Benue, Borno, Cross River, Delta, Edo, Enugu, Imo, Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Kogi, Kwara, Lagos, Niger, Ogun, Osun, Oyo, Plateau, Rivers, Sokoto, Taraba, and Yoba.

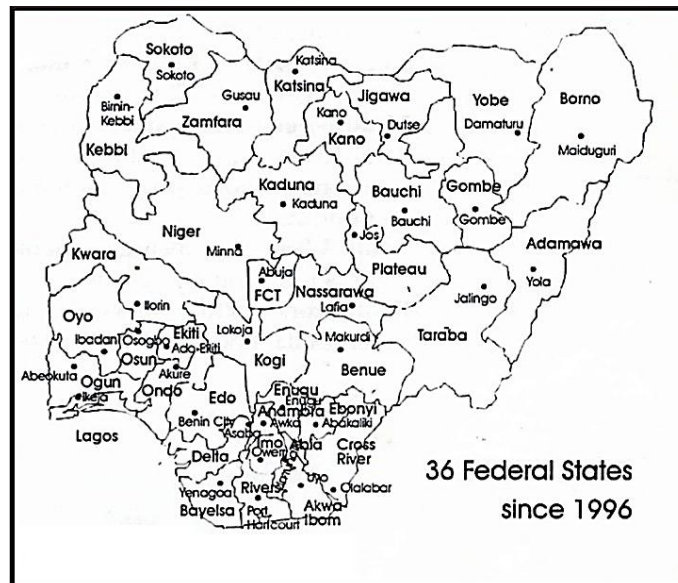


Fig. 3; Nigeria's 36 states (since 1996)

In 1996, the Head of State, His Excellency Gen. Sani Abacha, declared the creation of six new states. Thus, as of now (end 1996) the administrative structure of Nigeria is composed of the following states: Abia, Adamawa, Akwa-Ibom, Anambra, Bauchi, Bayelsa, Benue, Borno, Cross River, Delta, Ebonyi, Edo, Ekiti, Enugu, Gombe, Imo, Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Kogi, Kwara, Lagos, Nassarawa, Niger, Ogun, Ondo, Osun, Oyo, Plateau, Rivers, Sokoto, Taraba, Yoba, and Zamfara.

7.1 Nigerian Geo-Political Zones

As far as this publication is concerned, two different type of zones are mentioned; three major zones (Northern Belt, Middle Belt and Southern Belt) and six zones (North-East, North-West, Middle-belt, East, South-West, and South). These definitions have been caused by data, obtained through surveys, which were only available on these aggregates. Below a breakdown of the zones by states (based on the 30 state structure) is given.

Three zones

The **Northern Belt** is composed of the following states: Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Jigawa, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Sokoto, Taraba, Yoba.

The **Middle Belt** is composed of Abia, Anambra, Benue, Enugu, Imo, Kaduna, Kogi, Kwara, Niger and Plateau states. Finally, the Southern Belt is composed of Akwa-Ibom, Cross River, Delta, Edo, Lagos, Ogun, Ondo, Osun, Oyo, and Rivers states.

Six zones

North-East zone includes Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Taraba, and Yobe states.

North-West zone includes Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Jigawa, and Sokoto states.

Middle-belt zone includes Benue, Kaduna, Kogi, Kwara, Niger, and Plateau states.

East zone includes Abia, Anambra, Enugu, and Imo states.

South-West zone includes Lagos, Ogun, Ondo, Osun, and Oyo states.

South zone includes Akwa-Ibom, Cross River, Delta, Edo, and Rivers states.

7.2 Evolution of Local Governments In Nigeria

The Nigerian local government system has undergone many reforms since the early 1950s when it was modernized and constituted on a representative basis. Before then, colonial local administration revolved around the traditional rulers, most of whom were illiterate. The unit of local administration was called the native authority. Executive authority lay with the District Officer. ***The native authorities evolved administrative organizations but they were of a rudimentary kind. This system of local administration was successful only in the centralized emirates of the North.***

These inhibiting characteristics began to be modified in the late 1940s when the Western Provinces requested and obtained permission to institute committees for executive action. ***From the 1950s rapid and significant changes in the political and administrative organization of the native authorities occurred when Nigerians began to share political power with the colonial authorities at the regional level.*** After decades of colonial domination and exploitation, the new regional governments led by Nigerians were in a hurry to promote economic development, build social infrastructures and provide welfare services to their people. In this endeavor, local administration was perceived as a vital instrument of the desired transformation.

However, as a result of their diverse cultures and differential levels of development, the three Regions (Eastern, Western and Northern) took different routes to strengthen their systems of local administration for the greater role to be assigned to them in the development effort. Before detailing the main features of the reforms undertaken by each of the three regions, it is necessary to point out that even though they had different approaches, their common goal was to evolve a more participatory system of administration at the local level so as to mobilize local resources for development more effectively).

8.0 THE WESTERN REGION LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM

The approach of the Western Region to the revamping of local government was similar to that of the Eastern Region. Consequently, the impact of the reforms was not too dissimilar. **As in the Eastern Region, the native authorities gave way to local government councils which were grouped in a tiered structure made up of divisional, district and local councils.** As in the Eastern Region too, there was fragmentation and proliferation of local governments which weakened their financial strength.

In terms of political structure, 75 per cent of the members of the governments were popularly elected while the rest came from among traditional rulers. Prominent traditional rulers played ceremonial roles on the councils while executive authority was exercised by the elected councils. In 1953 when the reforms started, the control and supervision of the district officer were relaxed. The consequences were the same as in the Eastern Region and the embezzlement of funds became rampant and government had to restore the right of the District Officers to conduct periodic inspection of council records and an auditing of their accounts to arrest the situation.

The local governments of the Western Region were required to recruit more suitable staff to implement the government's ambitious social development programmes, a great part of which devolved on them. In spite of the relatively more advanced level of educational development of the Region, there were still not enough qualified people available for recruitment into local government service. ***The shortage was accentuated by the unwholesome employment practices of the local governments themselves. In recruitment exercises, they preferred a local candidate even if he was the least qualified. Promotions were arbitrarily done and discipline was, at best, indifferently maintained.***

TABLE 1: Number of councils in the Old Western Region of Nigeria as at 1955

Administrative	Divisional Council	All Purpose District Council	District Council	Local Council	Total
Egba	2	2	6	-	9
Egbado	1	-	5	-	6
Badagry	-	3	-	-	3
Epe	1	-	6	-	7
Ikeja	1	3	-	4	8
Ibadan	-	2	-	-	2
Osun	1	-	8	-	9
Ijebu	1	-	9	-	10
Ijebu-Remo	1	-	-	14	15
Ekiti	1	-	8	-	9
Okiti-Pupa	1	-	5	-	6
Ondo	2	1	6	2	11
Owo	2	1	4	12	19
Ife	1	1	1	3	6
Ijesha	1	-	1	20	22
Oyo	1	-	6	-	6
	16	13	64	55	148

Sources: *Western State Official Document No. 4 of 1971 on Local Government p. 10.*

Given these haphazard employment practices, most qualified people shunned local government employment. **In 1957, government established the Local Government Service Board to recruit promote and discipline senior staff of the local governments. Such staff as were recruited by the Board were transferrable from one local government to another.** Their salaries were partly funded by the government in the form of a grant to the local governments. Although the Board made quite an improvement in staffing situation of the local governments, there were still many staffing problems.

Everything considered, the Local Government Service Board had a salutary impact on the administrative capacity of the local governments and attracted and retained quite a sizeable number of qualified staff, especially in the administrative cadre.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF YORUBALAND

The “**Oduduwa Constitution**” as it emerged, took the following form. Ile-Ife had only one king, and that was Oduduwa himself, whose family became the royal family and (in the well-known tradition of kingship in the Ife bowl) would provide the kings in succession forever. **The city thus became one single kingdom under one king, and not an alliance, confederation, or federation of kingdoms.**

Each of the kings of the pre-Oduduwa settlements had used to hold *the Aare, the sacred symbol of royalty. These were now surrendered to Oduduwa so that only Oduduwa as king of Ile-Ife could hold the Aare. With the Aare in his possession, the king of Ile-Ife became the legitimate leader of every single one of the old settlements and their lineages, and any claims to ultimate leadership by their former kings were thus terminated.* Everybody thenceforth looked up to the king alone as their ruler, chosen and upheld by the gods, and it became the prerogative of the king to appoint any citizen to governmental roles and duties in the new society.

The city was then delineated into five quarters namely: **Moore, Ilode, iremo, Okerewe and Ilode** each quarter under a **quarter chief**. The former kings, as found appropriate, were appointed quarter chiefs in their quarters, and other significant citizens were appointed quarter chiefs in other sections of the city. **Below the level of the quarter chiefs**, other chieftaincies were instituted in every quarter.

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

According to Professor S. Adebajji Akintoye (2010), Oduduwa did not establish **a new system of government**. What he did was to take the old **system of monarchy**, which had developed and natured in Ife and other parts of Yorubaland before his time, and employ it in the service of a larger agglomeration of people, a wider polity. His greatness consists in his ability to **conceive and create a more inclusive society with wider loyalties** far above the small, encrusted **ancient kingdoms** that he had known in his youth. This showing the Yoruba people in general a new line of development.

The **city of Ile-Ife and its type** became the pattern of existence for most of Yorubaland, **making the Yoruba the most urbanized** people in the tropical African forest, an urbanism which impacted their cultural growth in countless ways and made them the proud possessors of what many regard as Africa's highest indigenous civilization. Hence, the designation of Oduduwa as father of the Yoruba nation.

2.1 THE STRUCTURE OF GOVERNANCE SYSTEM IN YORUBALAND

The evolution and development of the Yoruba government was unique. Every kingdoms and sub-kingdoms in Yorubaland have its **Oba** as the head, and **Iwarefa**, the legislative body or kingmakers. In addition each family always provides a **family head** known as **Mogaji, Olori ebi, Baba Agba, Arole etc.**

From the level, Yoruba had a leader who is a chief at each war of every Yoruba town and community, known as sectional chiefs. The towns and communities were organized according to lineages and lineage head was usually a subordinate chief to the Oba.

The pre-colonial political system carried from kingdom to kingdom. That is the reason there was no **cultural government** for the whole of the Yoruba people. Here again, each kingdom was made up of the **capital city** and the surrounding smaller towns and villages, each was relatively independent of the other. **The lowest**

level of social structure was the compound, which was headed by a Bale. He was to communicate to the people around him about any views.

In this system, there are responsible to the Council of Chiefs for smooth administration of the kingdom. **Sectional head** play important in the community. At the head of Government was the Oba who is the centre of attraction in any community. Truly, **no Yoruba Oba actually made** decisions for the people. The decisions were made by the **council of chiefs or Obas-in-Council**, and often all he did was to uphold the decisions and announce them through the chiefs as his decisions.

2.2 THE VARIETIES IN STRUCTURES AND LEADERSHIP OF COUNCIL OF CHIEFS (IGBIMO ILU) IN YORUBALAND

(a) Introduction:

In the pre-colonial political system, there were also **sectional heads** who are responsible to the **Council of Chiefs** for smooth administration of the kingdom. **Sectional heads** play important roles in the community. At the head of the government was the Oba who is the centre of attraction in any community.

Truly, **no Yoruba actually made decisions for his people. The decisions were made by the Council of Chief's or Oba-in-Council, and often all he did was to uphold the decisions and** announce them through the chiefs as his decisions.

(b) Structure and Leadership of Council of Chiefs:

- i) **Ile-Ife:** The Ife kingdom started the unique system of **bicameral system** of government by creating **two legislative houses**; one is **the 8 wise men, the Outer chiefs headed by Obalufe of Ife (or Orunto). The Inner Chiefs were 8 special men lead by Lowa.**
- ii) **Ibadan:** The Ibadan kingdom, or city state also **adopted bicameral system** of government under the military republican system by creating two legislative houses, one is led by **Otun Olubadan** (former Otun Baale) and the other **Balogun**. The council chiefs are also the Kingmakers.

The rest of the Yoruba Kingdoms settled for the **unicameral system of single legislative house**. For example:

iii) **Oyo Kingdom:** Oyo kingdom adopted **unicameral system**. **High Chief Basorun of Qyo** is the head of the king makers and legislative house. It is called **Oyomesi**.

In the Council of state of the Alaafin and So of Oyo Empire, the members of the military professions, (represented by the Esos and headed by the Ona-Kakanfo), were not included. The **Ibadans solved the problem in their local administration by alternating the headship of the settlement between the civil and the military establishments** [N.A. Fadipe in his Sociology of the Yoruba).

iv) **Other Kingdoms:**

- **High Chief Obanla of Mesa** is the head of Kingmakers and legislative house.
- **Lisa of Ondo Kingdom** is the head of Iwarefa or kingmakers.
- Also **Lisa of Ijebu-Ode** is the head of kingmakers.

Separation of power between the **Oba** as the **executive**, the **Iwarefa**, as the **legislative** and the **Osugbo or Ogboni**, as the judiciary, was then direct system of democracy; that had been in existence before the arrival of the colonial masters.

A 19th century white American missionary, William H. Clarke, has this to say about the Yoruba system of government.

“The highest excellence of the best government among the white people consists in constitutional check and balances, to prevent abuses of power. Strange as it may seem, the Yoruba people had studied out the balances of power and reduced it to practice long before the barons of England had extorted the great charter.

2.3 Family Lineages and Compounds

Within each quarter as analyzed earlier, there are compounds, within each compound are family lineages. Land belongs to family lineages. To own land in Ife and Yoruba towns, one must belong to a family. The rights of an individual as a citizen or a civic member of an **ilu** derived from his or her membership in an Ile (House) was needed not only for residential purposes but, more importantly, for administration (e.g. for public work and taxation) and political representation (e.g., access to the political office). The ile was also the conduct for enjoying the benefits of citizenship (e.g. protection), and gaining access to land and other resources. Hence, the rights and potentiality of an individual and his or her citizenship in the **ilu** were rooted in the **ile**.

The groups (lineages) in Ile defined their external boundaries and internal homogeneity in relation to the other **ile** through different but complementary **social, ritual, political, and economic practices**.

The **inter-house differentiation** also manifested in the number and importance of hereditary chieftaincy titles that each ile had access to in the central government, and in the types of land resources that an **ile** controlled. Each ile was supposed to provide unique services to its ilu in the areas of knowledge and skills, public works, and defense.

The Yoruba **ilu** (town) was, therefore, by its constitution, a heterogeneous entity composed of complementary and competing **ile**. One of the primary duties of the divine **oba** was to serve as the binding and enabling force for this competitive and complementary corporate diversity. The annual cycle of rituals that focused on the king, the weekly market fairs, public works (e.g. road maintenance and construction of city or town walls); defense, and inter-marriages between the Houses were some of the ways that the divergent interests of the urban populace were harmonized.

2.4 Structure of Yoruba Traditional Towns or Kingdoms:

Before the crisis of the nineteenth century, there was usually only one **Oba** or **BAALE** in a town. The functions performed by an OBA and Baale were similar in each kingdom. The OBA was not at an absolute ruler. It is true that as the executive head of the government to exercised considerable powers, particularly over the common people.

In any event the powers of the Obas were checked many ways. An Oba did not rule his town or kingdom alone. He did so together with a **Council** known as **Igbimo**. In some places the Igbimo had specific names. They were called the **Oyomesi in Oyo**, the **Ilamuren in Ijebu-Ode**, the **Ogboni of Egba towns**, the **Iwarefa in Ife**, **Ijesa**, **Ekiti** and **Ondo towns** and **Olubadan-in-Council in Ibadan**.

Administratively and judicially, each town was divided into a number of wards or quarters known generally, as **adugbo** but which may have specific names. At the head of Adugbo was an Ijoye (chief) or **olori itun** in some areas. An adugbo was made of a number of **agbo-ile (compounds)**. Each compound is headed by a **Bale** or **olori ebi** (head of the compound or head of the family that is the extended family). While the Ijoye had a specific title and his appointment must be confirmed of approval by the **Oba**, that of the Bale was an informal title not requiring the approval of the Oba.

Before the Yoruba Civil War of (1723 – 1893) there were 26 kings, but today, there are several hundred ‘Kings’ or Obas in Yorubaland who wear beaded crowns and claim descent of Oduduwa and of Oduduwa. The increased number of Obas has resulted from the granting to some town chiefs who were **Baales** or **Olojas** the right to wear beaded crowns since the onset of the 19th century civil wars.

There were categories of Obas or head of a town before the civil wars in the old Oyo Empire because of the population, size and spatial extent of the Empire. There were also several large towns and an innumerable number of rural communities. Each major town was headed by a **High Chief** (kinglet) whose **socio-political status** was higher than that of an **ordinary Baale who ruled small town, village or hamlet**.

Notable among the **Oyo kinglets**, according to Oluremi I. Obateru (2003), were the **Onikoyi of Ikoyi**, the **Olofa of Ofa**, the **Okere of Saki**; the **Akirun of Ikirun**, the **Onibode of Igboho**, the **Onjo of Okeho**, the **Olugbon of Igbon** and **Aresa of Iresa**, all of whom were responsible to the Alaafin as **they were not kings**.

In Yorubaland, kingship and senior chieftaincy title are hereditary in the same family hereditary not necessarily from father to son. The hereditary families were, other things being constant, the descendants of the earliest king who was the founder of the city (or in special cases an usurper) on his death, a king succeeded by his eldest son, and on the latter's death by his next surviving brother, kingship was restricted to the children or grandchildren of the first king.

Succession to the senior **Yoruba chieftaincies** also followed the above hereditary principle. The right of succession was restricted to a fixed number of families. Although the selection of a senior chief was the prerogative of the king, he was basically selected by the members of his family.

The hereditary principle also applied to the priesthood of most deities. Ifa divination, which demanded high intelligence and acquired expertise, was the only significant exception to the hereditary principle.

Yoruba chieftaincy titles were hierarchal, that is ranked into several grades. Broadly, there was the king at the pinnacle of the state pyramid, followed by the senior chiefs, the quarter chiefs, with the Baales at the Base.

As stated above, only kingship and the senior chieftaincy titles were hereditary.

Between the death of Aole in **1796** and British annexation of Lagos in **1861**, new political experiments developed among the new and reconstituted politics, ranging from **military autocracy** to **military republicanism** and **federation system** (Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran 2020).

The differences of the military governance system in the nineteenth century. For instance, Ibadan adopted **military aristocracy** between 1833 and 1850 when Oluyedun, Oluyole, Oderinlo and Opeagbe ruled Ibadan. But, during the reign of Baale Ajayi Oyesile Olugbode (1851 – 1864), Ibadan adopted military republicanism comprising civil and **military chiefs**. Ijaye adopted **military dictatorship**, while the Egba adopted **military federalism**, and military tendencies became evident in all.

2.5 IN-BUILT SEPARATION OF POWERS:

The democratic monarchical political organization instituted by Oduduwa provided for the separation of power to make life and the liberty of the subjects otherwise, it would be exposed to arbitrary manipulation. Each organ of the government has to be a check upon the other. That is, Yoruba monarchical political system was based on devolution of powers within the organs of hereditary chiefs, the executives, the judiciary and legislative power and kingmakers.

A 19th Century white American missionary, William H. Clerke, has this to say about the Yoruba system of government:

“The highest excellence of the best government among the white people consist in constitutional check or limits to prevent abuses of power. Strange as it may seem, the Yoruba people had studied out these balances of power and reduced it to practice long before our fathers settled in America, before the barons of England had extorted the great charter”.

The pre-colonial political system varied from kingdom to kingdom. That is the reason there was no central government for the whole of the Yoruba people. Here again, **each kingdom was made up of the capital city and the surrounding smaller towns and villages** and relatively independent of the other, the lowest level of social structure was the **compound** which was headed by Bale or Mogaji or Olori-ebi.

Decision Making Process

At the head of the government was the **Oba** who is the attraction in any community. Truly, no **Yoruba Oba** actually made decisions for his people. The decisions were made by the **council of Chiefs** or **Oba-in-Council**, and often all he did was to uphold the decisions and announce them through the chiefs as his decisions.

The civil participation has been the characteristics of the Yoruba society. Nearly all the public works and improvements of olden days were carried out with communal efforts, which were regularly employed to contract and repair roads, palace buildings, public building and to clear sacred groves or perform any other duties of national communal interests.

2.6 DEVELOPMENT OF NEW POLITICAL EXPERIMENTS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Ibadan emerged as the dominant state in the region in 1840 following its defeat of Ilorin Jihadists. The young state had proved to be the most resilient avenger of the Old Oyo Empire humiliation 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 pilled a regional alliance against Ibadan between 1877 and 1893 (Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran, 2010).

In the aftermath of the fall of the Old Oyo Empire, **new political experiments developed among the new and reconstructed polities, ranging from military autocracy to military republicanism and federation system.** The institution of **Oba** remained the apex of social order in most areas, but it remained subject to **the militarist's ethos** of the time in which **warlords** often usurped the powers of the oba and the civil authorities. Uniquely, **Ibadan (a former camp) rejected monarchy** and adopted military republicanism as the model of its governance.

In all these experiments, the ile continued to serve as the basic unit of organization, Its membership was now far more heterogeneous than ever before because of the massive region-wide demographic breakup and displacement, lead to the aggregation of people of diverse background into the new ile and ilu that sprouted up throughout the region.

2.7 THE DEVELOPMENT OF IBADAN MILITARY REPUBLICAN CONSTITUTION

When Basorun Oluyole died in 1847 according to Professor Toyin Falola in 2012, a government dominated by warriors (Military Aristocracy) had family taken root. His successor, **Omololu Opeagbe** (1850-1851) because **Balogun Oderinlo** died giving way for the **Otun Balogun Olajumoke**, also died giving way for Opeagbe, from Ogbomoso. He also assumed office on the basis of his military strength and he appointed others to higher offices purely on the basis of their military qualities. The warriors were in control of the political systems for most of the nineteenth century, as active ones, they benefited from the wars, as retired, they benefited from the control of political institutions.

By **1851** during the reign of Baale Ajayi Oyesile Olugbode (1851 – 1864), 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** line initially created in the **1830s** during **the reigns of Oluyedun and Oluyole**. The addition of the civil lines was in response to the need for a permanent set of rules who could see to the administration of Ibadan when the military men were out of town.

(i) The First Civil Line:

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

(ii) The Second Civil Category:

The second civil category of officers was of less political importance. This was the **Iyalode line**, consisting of **women 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 Toyin Falola (2012), those who were chosen were probably because there were either successful **traders**, or **Iya Olorisa**, or **Iya Onisegun** known for their mystical power, the Iyalode established some degree of power and of influence in the town.

(iii) The Two Military Chieftaincy Categories:

The two military Chieftaincy categories were those of the **Balogun** and **Seriki**.

(a) The Balogun Line:

That of Balogun (“**Lord in war**”) consisted of the most important and bravest warriors. Real political power lay not with the **civil chiefs** but with the **Balogun hierarchy of chiefs**. No important political decision, domestic or foreign must be taken without their consent. The office of Balogun (the title for the head of all the chiefs in the line) commanded the greatest respect, prestige, and influence in Ibadan. The title went to a man, according to Professor Toyin Falola (2012), who was regarded as the most leading and most competent warrior in the town. **He was heir apparent to the headship of Ibadan**. At death of a **Baale**, the office must first be offered to the Balogun who could accept it if he had made his mark and future, or reject it if he felt he had not made sufficient wealth and fame.

According to Professor S. Adebajji Akintoye (2010) most of the accounts of the nineteenth century wars centered around the history of the refugee settlements such as Abeokuta Ibadan, Ijaye and Oyo and the Islamic kingdom of Ilorin in the north which became one of the most powerful states of the Yoruba people

(a) ADOPTION OF MILITARY ARISTOCRACY

The civil war in Yorubaland that is **Fulani war**, and the **Owu war** that led to the establishment of the “**Third and present Ibadan**” made it clear that there would be the need to establish **military rule** after the Oyo-Ibadan victory at the **Gbenamu war**. Other reasons WERE ACCORDING TO Professor Toyin Falola (2011);

- Ibadan’s origin as a war camp after the **Owu-Ogere war in 1825**, and the Influx of soldiers to the settlements in its early years. In the circumstances, the soldiers had to govern themselves
- Second, **unsettled political crisis** in Yorubaland early in the nineteenth century called for “**a state of military preparedness**” or **military aristocracy**. To survive among the competing Yoruba states and withstand the **Fulani attack**, Ibadan distinguish warriors, irrespective of

their lineage and background, could be rewarded with titles and promoted from a lower to a higher office. Because of the **promotional system** many soldiers who believed they were competent aspired to power.

(b) ESTABLISHMENT OF REPUBLICAN SYSTEM

Ibadan gradually settled down after this confusion and established the republican system of government. **As it took shape, Ibadan's system of government was strange to Yoruba culture and traditions.** In the aftermath of the fall of Oyo Empire new political experiments developed among the new and reconstituted polities, ranging from military autocracy to military republicanism and the federal system. Ibadan, a former war camp) **rejected monarchy** and adopted military republicanism as the model of its governance in 1851 comprising Civil and Military chiefs during the reign of Baale Ajayi Oyesile Olugbode (1851-1864).

THE MILITARISTIC STATES BUILDERS OF

THE THIRD IBADAN – 1825 – 1893

DATE	CIVIL	MILITARY	REMARKS
1825 – 1833	Maye Okunade	Labosinde & Lakanle	No defined Government structure
1833 – 1836	-	Aare Oluyedun Afonja	There was single chieftaincy Line during his period
1836 – 1849	Basorun Oluyole	Iyanda Alesinloye and Oderinlo Odeyinka	He was Baale and later took the title of Basorun from Alaafin Atiba
1840 – 1850	-	Oderinlo Odeyinka	He died as Balogun
1850 – 1851	Ope-Agbe	Lajumoke died before him	He spent one year
1851 – 1864	Ajayi Olugbode	Oyesile Balogun Ibikunle Telu	Republican system was introduced with Laamo as the first Otun Baale
1864 – 1865	-	Balogun Ibikunle Tetu	He died as Balogun after the Iperu war
1865 – 1867	Basorun Ogunmola Orisagunna	Balogun Akere	He refused the title of Baale
1867 – 1870	-	Balogun Akere	He died at Ilesa war after victory
1870 – 1871	Orowusi	Ajobo	Ajobo was expelled from Ibadan

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1871 – 1885	Obadoke Latosisa	Ajayi Jegede Ogboriefon	He refused the title of Baale. He preferred the Aare title
1885 – 1893	-	Ajayi Osungbekun	He combined both civil and military but he was denied the right to become Baale after the Kiriji war
1893 – 1895	Fijabi	Akintola	Post war Chieftaincy Arrangement
1895 – 1897	Osuntoki Olosun	Akintola	Akintola rejected the title of Baale and Osuntoki from Otun Baale became the Baale for the first time
1897 - 1900	Basorun Fajinmi	Akintola and Babalola	The Town Council was inaugurated by the British Government

2.8 The Structure of Governance in Ibadan

According to Yoruba tradition, an **Oba or Baale** does not rule the town or kingdom alone but he does it with the assistance of Council of chiefs (IGBIMO) such as Oyo Mesi, Ilamuren, Ogboni and Ihare.

Ibadan, Ife, Apomu, Ode-Omu, settled for **unique bicameral system of government by creating two legislative houses** although **Obalufe** is the head of kingmakers in Ile-Ife, in **Ibadan** bicameral house headship is **rotated between Otun Olubadan and the Balogun**.

In the **unicameral system**; Basorun is the head of Oyo Mesi, High Chief Obanla of Ilesa is the head of the kingmakers, Lisa of Ondo Kingdom is the head of Iwarefa or kingmakers same with Ijebu-ode. **Risapetu is the head of Iwarefa and second in command** to the **Oba-Ajalaye of Ipetu-Ijesa**, who form **Ajalaiye-in-Council** (Prince Adelegan Adegbola 2009).

In Ibadan, from **1850** of the 19th century, all the principal figures, according to Professor Toyin Falola (2012), in the two principal categories of chiefs (i.e. the **Balogun** and the **Baale**) must be represented in the Igbimo Ilu (town council) or the **Baale-in-Council**. These were about ten in number: **Baale, Balogun, Otun Baale, Otun Balogun; Osi Baale, Osi Balogun, Asipa Baale, Asipa Balogun, Ekerin**

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Baale, and Ekerin Balogun. They all met in **Baale's residence** to deliberate on important matters of administration, laws were made and reviewed, **consuls** were appointed to represent Ibadan in other towns and wars were declared when necessary.

Ibadan military system of government had three main features. **In the first place, leadership was collective.**

Few chiefs were powerful enough or to **wield dictatorial political powers.** Power was concentrated in the **"Igbimo Ilu" made up to ten prominent chiefs.** There were leaders like Basorun Oluyole (1835 – 1849) and Aare Obadoke Latosa (1871 – 1885) who were dictatorial but their exercise were checked by other senior warriors. Even in the case of the two rulers had to get the support of some other leading warriors for their actions,

Second, the appointment of chiefs was not hereditary. Titles were achieved through one's ability as a soldier and promotion was from a lower to a higher post. This meant that persons of very diverse origin could aspire to the position of Baale (later Olubadan) and indeed no less than three Baales of Ibadan have been Owu, others from Oyo-Ile, Ogbaagba and Ogbomoso to mention a few apart from Lagelu and Maye Okunade from Ile-Ife.

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. The Ibadan system also had another significance for as positions within the **internal hierarchy** depended on reputation and strength of one's military following, military expansionisms was, as it were, a **built-in** feature of the system (Professor Toyin Falola, 2012, Professor Bolanle Awe - The Rise of Ibadan as a Yoruba Power 1851 - 1893).

In view of the large size of the metropolis and the empire, *the administration was decentralized, with every warrior chief* having an area of influence within the city and in the colonies. Within Ibadan itself, **lineage heads (Mogaji)** who could be warriors exercised considerable authority on members of their compounds. Most of the steps they took and the laws they made were based on the unwritten constitutions of every lineage and they reflected the personality of the leader.

The **lineage head (Mogaji)** must administer the compound, the lineage land and other property. He settle quarrels among members and intervened in disputes between members of his compounds and those of others. He tried as much as possible to prevent anything that could threaten the continues survival of the lineage and compound as an entity and those incidents which could bring his people to disrepute. Prof. Bolanle Awe commented upon the advantage of appointing and promoting people largely by merit:

“This method of selection meant that Ibadan could look for leadership where it could best be found. Absence of hereditary succession also ensured that the government of Ibadan was never left in the hands of minors or men unfit to rule who has only succeeded to leadership by virtue of their birth”

Indeed, those who distinguished themselves at Ibadan were from diverse origins, for example, Baosrun Oluyole (1833 - 1849) from Oyo-Ile, Balogun Odeyinka Oderinlo (1835 - 1850), Balogun Ibikunle (1851 - 1864) from Ogbomoso; Basorun Ogunmola (1865 - 1867) was a native of Fesu near Iwo and Aare Obadoke Latosa (1811 - 1885) was from Ilora near Oyo. The earliest leaders – **Oluyedun and Oluyole**, tried to make Ibadan a secure place for hundreds of other migrants who joined the new town in the 1830s.

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By 1851, Ibadan had grown into a huge centres with an estimated population of between 60,000 and 100,000. New areas, notably in the northeast, had to be occupied, and the town covered an estimated area of **twenty-six square kilometres in the 1850s**. The wall enclosing the built-up section (Ibikunle defence wall) was sixteen kilometres in circumference, with four major gates lead to Abeokuta, Oyo, Iwo, and Ijebu, Ijebu and several minor ones leading to various farms and villages. Within the walls were hundreds of compounds, churches, (Kudeti in the south, Ogunpa in the northwest, and Aremo in the also mosques, all belonging to the church Missionary Society) and also mosques, with another large praying ground in the northeast. Thus, within a short-time, Ibadan became the largest city-state in nineteenth century Yoruba

CHAPTER FIVE

RECONSTRUCTING THE HISTORY AND MYTHOLOGY UNRAVELLING LAGELU AS THE ANCESTRAL FOUNDER OF IBADAN

1.0 WRITING A NEW HISTORY OF IBADAN:

“Everything has a History” is a recent mantra of the American Historical Association aimed at affirming the ever-rarest qualities of historical understanding in everyday lives and multiple scales from personal decisions and household budgeting to public policies. (Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran, 2020)

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

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

The city of Ile-Ife and its type became the pattern of existence for most of Yorubaland, making the Yoruba the most urbanized people in the tropical African forest, an urbanism which impacted their cultural growth in countless ways and made them the proud possessor of what many regard as Africa’s highest indigenous vacillation. **That is why Oduduwa was designated as the father of the Yoruba nation.**

Moreover, life in the growing city was changing in many ways, according to Professor S. Adebajji Akinytoye (2010). The **ebi (lineage) and its agbo ile (lineage compound)** remained the **basic building block of society** in the urban setting (and would so remain till the twentieth (20th) century), but **urban life** rubbed off much of

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the pre-Oduduwa rigidities and exclusiveness of that structure. Tradesmen, artisans, traders has a larger customer base to serve in one single community, an unprecedented opportunity to prosper, and urban competition stimulated professionalism and excellence, city-based professionals of all types emerged.

According to the report of UN-Habitat in 2008, **urbanization or city creation predates colonialism in many African countries**. Apart from Egypt; where **urban civilization** dates back 5,000 years, several cities in another African regions have centuries old histories. Early urban development has been recorded during the **Sudanese Empire of 1800A.D, the Mali Empire of 1500A.D. and Songhai Empire of 800A.D.**

These important historical artefacts, the cities, flourished as a result of their location along the trans-Sahara trade routes, emphasizing their importance as catalysts in socio-economic inter-relations. Powerful local rulers enhanced the evolution of these early cities into effective nodes of human development and as engines of economic and social growth. Some of the prominent ancient pre-colonial cities of the region include: **Bamako, Gao, Timbuktu, Ouagadougou, Agades, Begho, Benin, Ibadan, Ile-Ife, Ilorin, Kumasi, and Oyo.**

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

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

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the only female Ooni of Ife in the 15th century. But Olumade Parin, the son of the fifth ruler founded Iwo in **1609A.D.** during the reign of Alaafin Ajagbo, the son of Alaafin Obalokun (1590 -1610).

With the defeat of the **Nupe brigands**, **Oyo emerged as the dominant state in the Yoruba savannah.** His successor, Obalokun maintained the momentum. **One of the most celebrated warrior-kings** in Oyo history, Obalokun used the restless spirit of his soldiers to accelerate Oyo's expansionist campaigns during the **1590s** and the first decade of the seventeenth century, fighting wars in many directions in **Igbomina, east central Ekiti, Upper ogun, Egba and the Yewa Ogun area.** (Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran, 2020).

Lagelu was conferred with Jagun of Yorubaland (1590 - 1600) by **Alaafin Obalokun** because of his military prowess before Alaafin Ajagbo, the son of Obalokun institutionalized the office of Aare-Ona-Kakanfo in **1640** (Akinyele, Kemi Morgan and Alaafin Lamidi Adeyemi III).

The **grandmother of Lagelu, Luwo Gbagida**, the wife of **Obaloran**, one of the High Chiefs of Ooni, reigned in the fifteenth century, he was also the mother of Prince Adekola Telu, the ancestor of Oba Olumade Parin, the founder and first Oluwo of Iwo, **Lagelu was born at Degelu compound, Oke-Eso in Ile-Ife to the son of Orunto**, the Obalufe of Ife (ooni Adeyeye Ogunwusi, Ojaja II, 2016).

According to Ogundiran (2020), oral traditions credit **Luwo Gbagida**, listed as the 18th and a female king, with the draining of many ravines in Ile-Ife and with the paving of the major thoroughfares of the city with potsherds. She has been judged harshly on the oral tradition for the human tells that resulted from the exacting forced labour involved in the building project. But Ogundiran ascribed her as stock character in Ife oral traditions for whatever **post-sixteenth-century** historians of Ife considered to be an embodiment of bad leadership.

Between **1575 and 1590**, Benin Kingdom established its literal control as far as Lagos, where it set up a **military base** after overpowering **the Aworis in Isheri and Ebute-Metta** during the reign of Oba Benin, called Orhogbua (Akin Ogundiran, 2020).

2.0 THE THIRD EMERGENCE OF IBADAN CITY STATE:

After the fall of Owu-Ipole, Olowu Akinjobi was given land to settle near Ibadan on the site known as Owu-Ogbere (I.B. Akinuele and Baale Erunmu). But Professor Akinlawon Mabogunje and Professor J. Omer Cooper in the book; **Owu in Yoruba History at page 64 said**; the most likely explanation seems to be that a quarrel between Ibadan and the **refugee settlement of Owu-Ogbere** broke out and the allied army was called in as it had been in 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**.

According to Professor Toyin Falola (2012), Each major Yoruba subgroups in the settlement had its separate quarter and **“government”**. The **Ife and Oyo**, the most predominant groups in the community, inhabited the hilly area of **Oja’ba and Mapo**; the **Ijebu** lived in **Isale-Ijebu**, to the southeast of Mapo, and the **Egba** clustered together around Yeosa. Maye Okunade, the commander of the Ife army, after Shingunshin had returned to Ife, was regarded as leader of all the various sections in the community.

In the atmosphere of intense personal rivalry between the war chiefs, quarrels were not infrequent (Toyin Falola, Akin Mabogunje, 1971). Soon after the settlement at Ibadan, **Lamodi**, a prominent **Egba leader**, shot an influential **Ife leader**, named **Ege**, with a pistol in the course of an altercation. A scrimmage at once broke out. **Lamodi** was killed and a considerable body of Egba, fearing further vengeance, fled

the town. **Under the leadership of Sodeke**, they succeeded in beating off all attacks and making their way to the naturally defensible site of Abeokuta in 1830.

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

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

Before setting out on his journey with his entire household, he consulted the Ifa oracle for the purpose of prying into the future of his proposed adventurous bid. As a result of the consultation with Ifa, **Osemeji** (Ose-Meji) was the Odu Corpus prescribed for him. **Both Oke’badan and Ose-meji Shrines are now at Oja’ba where the Olubadan of Ibadan including Bales who reigned before 1936 were crowned by Labosinde, the Oluwo of Ibadan.**

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

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

Chief (Dr.) M.A Fabunmi, the OdoleAtobase of Ile-Ife in his book titled “**IFE: The Genesis of Yoruba Race**” published in 1985 confirmed the origin of Lagelu at

page 46 that: “Ibadan was founded by a warrior-chief from Ile-Ife who was called Lagelu and nicknamed Oro-Apata-Maja. He hailed from Atiki compound in the Ilare ward of Ile-Ife”. **However, Ooni of Ife, Oba Adeyeye Enitan, Ojaja II confirmed that Lagelu was born at DEGELU Compound, Oke-Eso, Ajamapo neighbourhood in Ile-Ife.**

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

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

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

According to Myers and Owusu (2008), the population of some African cities that existed prior to **1500s** such as (Cairo, Tunis, **Ibadan**, Jenne and Kano) had

population sizes that were comparable to many European cities prior to the rise of European cities powers, while other areas were essentially devoid of large-scale urbanism.

3.1 Lagelu as a Warrior-Chief:

(a) Invasion of Oyo-Ile by Nupe:

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

In the attack of Oyo by Nupe (1530-1542) during the reign of Alaaḡin Onigbogi, **Lagelu as Balogun of Ife was involved fighting on the side of Yoruba army**. When Oyo army realized that they lacked the military hardware of the **Nupe**, humiliated but defiant, *the Alaaḡin Onigbogi and his chieftains retreated and began planning the Oyo comeback in exile. In the wake of the evacuation of Oyo, Alaaḡin Onigbogi sought refuge in the Ibariba country at Gbere*. On the return of Oyo to Igboho, Lagelu was conferred with Jagun of Yoruba Kingdom by Obalogun (1588 - 1600). His son, Alaaḡin Ajagbo, instituted the office of Aare-Ona-Kakanfo in 16400A.S. to strengthen the Oyo army and reduce the influence of the Oyo-Mesi. This was between 1620 and 1658 after which he was succeeded by **Alaaḡin Odarawu**, followed by **Alaaḡin Kanran**.

(b) Invasion of Iddo by Benin Army:

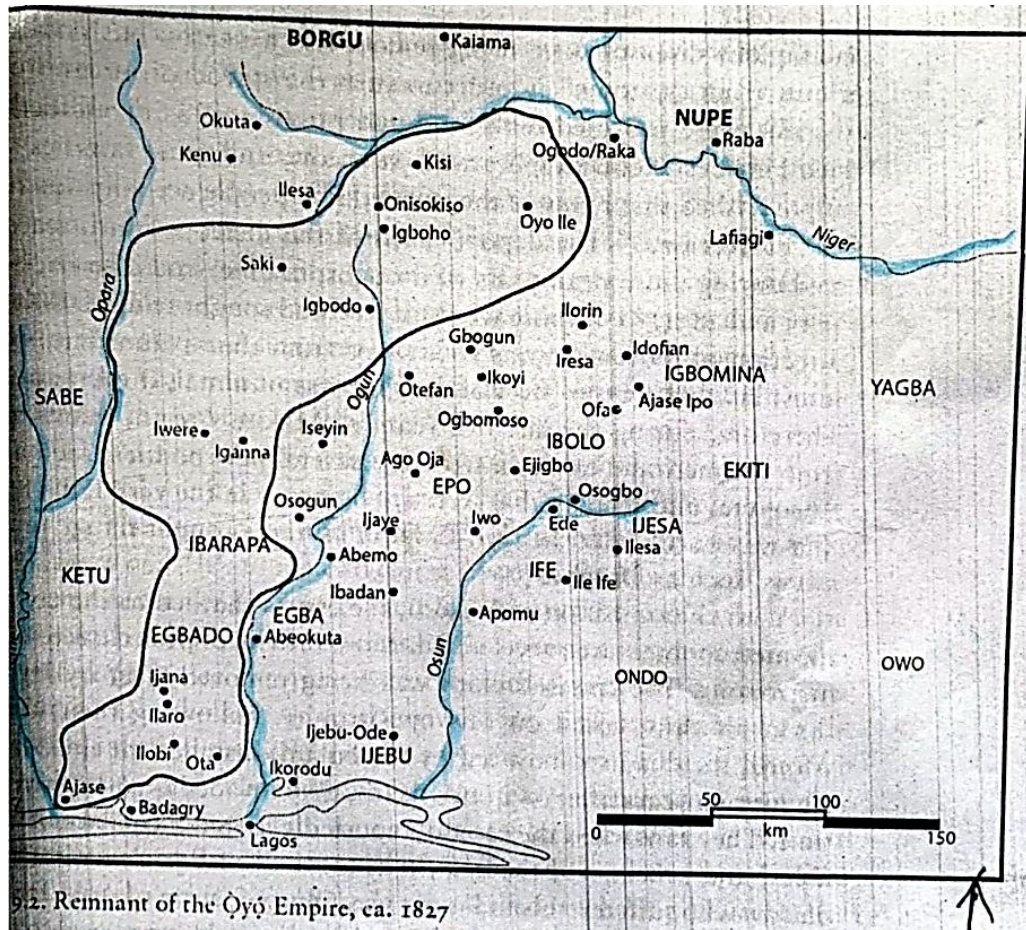
A band of Yoruba, led by **Ogunfunminire (1425-1505) from the royal family of Sooko** left Ile-Ife in the early 15th Century to found a new settlement, according to Ooni of Ife, Oba Adeyeye Enitan Ogunwusi, Ojaja II and Chief (Dr.)

M.A Fabunmi (1985), the Odole Atebase of Ife. They appear to have settled at **Isheri**, on the **Ogun river**, about 12miles as the crow flies from the present town to Lagos. The settlers spread southwards to **Ebute-Metta**, on the mainland opposite **Iddo Island**, where a town was built and farming began.

It was not very long after the move to Iddo the first invasion from Benin army (1505-1578) during the reign of Orohgbua, the then Oba of Benin (1505 - 1573) took place. However under the **leadership of Ogunfunminire, Balogun Lagelu** from Ile-Ife and **Oba Agura of Gbagura** jointly fought the king of **Benin's soldiers**, and **they** were repulsed. Subsequent attacks met with no better success, because, between **1573 and 1590**, Benin established its literal control as far as Lagos, where it set up a military base (Dr. J.A. Atanda, 1980)

3.2 Destruction of the First Ibadan

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



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

Secondly, in the Egba country, the **Ilari** provoked the people to desperation, and a bold leader, **Lisabi**, came forward to lead the movement of liberation. When they felt strong, Lisabi gave the signal to the **secrete resistance** movement by ordering the assassination of the Alaafin's **Ilari in the home town of Igbein** and this

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was followed by a general massacre in which **over 600 Ilaris** are said to have been killed (Professor Akin Mabogunje and J. Omer Cooper in “Owu in Yoruba History” - 1971).

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

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

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

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

3.3 Description of Awotan Hills of Refuge for Lagelu and his Children;

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

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

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

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

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CENTRAL COUNCIL OF IBADAN INDIGENES (CCII)

Motto: *Uniting for Development* CCII No. 13, 313

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14th April, 2025.

HRH. Oba Dahood Omotosho Adeosun,
Alawotan of Awotan,
~~Awotan~~ **AWOTAN**
Ibadan.
Kabiyeri.

Visit To Ojubo Lagelu

We bring your good tidings from the Olubadan of Ibadanland, His Imperial Majesty, Oba Owolebi Akinloye Olakulehin (Ige Olakulehin 1) and from the President General of the Central Council of Ibadan Indigenes, Chief Sulaimon Ajewole and his executives.

Please be reminded that the 2025 Ibadan Cultural Festival Committee as part of its activities will be visiting "OJUBO LAGELU" on Saturday, 3rd May, 2025 and to give honour to whom it is due, we would be pleased if your Highness can host us on this occasion. Our time of arrival at your palace is 11am from where we will proceed to Ojubo Lagelu for the hosting of CCII Executives and members of 2025 Ibadan Week Planning Committee.

Kindly note that the total number of members that will grace the occasion is One Hundred (100).

Please accept the assurances of the entire leadership and members of the CCII.

Yours Faithfully,



Alh. Abiola Ali FCA, FCIB,
Chairman, IBCFPC 2025
08038039542



Barr. Chief Sulaimon Ajewole
President General, CCII
08033342146

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Fig. 1: Eleyele Lake Surrounded by Awotan



Fig. 2: The Grove of Lagelu at Eleyele Hills



Note: Oke'badan Hill from Awotan:

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

THE PRAISE POEM OF THE SECOND IBADAN

*Ibadan, Omo Ajorosun
Omo a je gbin yo
Omo a fikarahun fori mun
Ibadan ma ja, maja bi ojo kini
Ti o ja aladugbo gbogbo logun*

*Ibadan, the one whose supper is oro fruit
The descendants of the one who feed on snails
The descendants of the one who used snails
Shell as bowl to serve his maize porridge
Ibadan, don't fight as you did before
As you fought all neighbors at war*



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ORIKI LAGELU (a.k.a Oro-apata-maja)

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

(c) Marriage Life and Children:

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

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

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

4.0 SHRINE OF ETHNIC DEITIES AND CULTURAL SETTLEMENTS OF THE SECOND IBADAN

The main shrines of ethnic deities are located at:

- (a) in and around the palace of Obas
- (b) in the inner and outer greenbelts at city outskirts

In the ancients **Ito ro palace of Ijebu-Ode** is the shrine (Oju Osi) of Obanta, the first Awujale of Ijabuland. At the back of the **Osun River** in Osogbo is the **Shrine of Osun, the river goddess**. At the outskirt of Abeokuta is **Olumo Rock, a shrine** that is sacred to all Egbas. **The titular hill goddess of Ibadan is Oke – Ibadan** beside the Eleiyele Reservoir at Awotan.

In the words of **G. Parrinder**, the **shrine** “consists simply of two large ports at the foot of a tree, and some small brick – like stones, all in the open air. Here

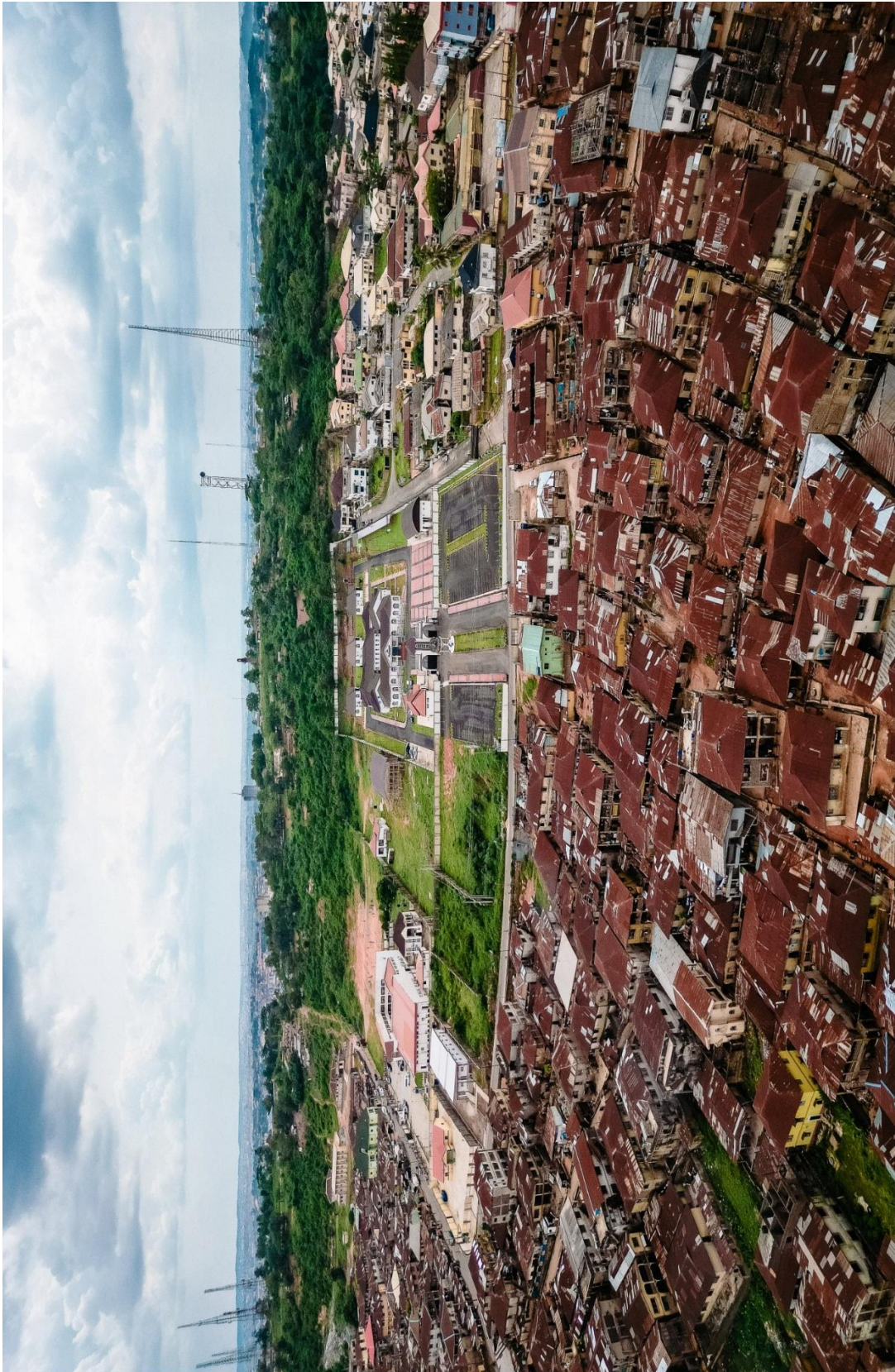
kolanuts are placed by praying women, at any time of the year and is sacrificed at the annual festival.

According to tradition **Ifa divination** was performed before **Lagelu** left Ile – Ife and when religious leaders arrived to sanctify with sacrifice on the Eleiyele Hills. The resulting **Odu** was “**OSE MEJI**” This sign became the **guardian odu** of the new city (Second Ibadan). According to **Bolaji Idowu** in “Religion in Ibadan. Traditional Religion and Christianity” in **Bolanle Awe** ed ab p. 235-247, the city patriarch, **Lagelu** and six diviner-priest were present on the first occasion. The same **Odu sign** then appeared again on three critical occasions in the life of the city. This were when:

- (i) The populace sought divine blessings on the new settlement (second Ibadan) for prosperity. Then, the **Oke-Ibadan** (or the spirit of Ibadan) was instituted as a **totem** of worship
- (ii) The **Oracle** was consulted on how to preserve the growing population and the emerging prosperity.
- (iii) A siege was laid on Ibadan and its expansion and security was threatened. **Ose Meji (meaning double victory)** appeared again to reassure the inhabitants of a slow but steady and persistent growth, as in the movement of **snails**.

A close study of **Osemeji** at Oja’ba reveals that under the major thematic and material division. The sign is concerned with (a) survival (b) wealth (c) fertility and (d) victory.

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4.1 The Cultural and Commercial Significance of Oja'ba

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

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

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

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

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



4.2 The Cultural Significance of Oke'badan Festivals:

The word Okebadan is derived from the contraction of the words Oke (hill or mountain) and Ibadan. Hence, Okebadan means Ibadan hill or the tutelary deity of Ibadan hill. The hill of Ibadan is believed to harbor a supernatural or spiritual being which protected the early settlers from the wrath of their enemies and attackers. It is widely believed among its worshippers that this deity is a goddess who loves the people and usually offers those children and the material things they need. Thus, the people refer to this goddess as **Atage olomu oru** (huge mother with immense breasts). However, the daughter of Iagelu bore the name appellation.

Okebadan is significant in the religious and socio-cultural lives of the people of Ibadan, and this accounts for why the Okebadan festival is celebrated annually with pomp and pageantry. This is not peculiar to Ibadan people, as there are other hills and mountains of sacred significance or deities of similar nature worshiped in several other Yoruba communities. Example of such deities are **the Asabari in saki, Iyamopo in Igbeti and Olumo in Abeokuta. Those are often associated with hill settlements.** 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 was attested to by Theophilus Kerfer, a Swabian pastor who visited shrine in 1853. He submitted that:

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

When Baale Oyesile Olugbode (1851-1864) did not have a **male child** he divined and he was advised to make sacrifice to **Oke Ibadan** which the new rulers in Ibadan from (1825 – 1851) knew nothing about. Oyesile then arranged for the **Aboke**

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family to return from Abeokuta and make the necessary sacrifice as he has advised. He subsequently had a **male child** named **Aderigbe** who died in the Kiriji war in **1882** (Dr. Jide Fatokun 2011 page 54).

The above account seems to corroborate the people's faith in the sanctity of Okebadan and the belief that supernatural beings inhabit the sacred place and could be seen physically even by non-believers. It was also learnt that probably due to the introduction of orthodox religions, there was a period of neglect, when the worship of Okebadan was abandoned. It was then said that there were various groans and sighs heard from the heart of the hill and that these brought some chaotic happenings. *According to David Hinderer 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 ordering of the life of the community till today, Ifa (the oracle deity) is consulted to find out what the goddess would take as a sacrifice or offering so that the city would be prosperous, peaceful and free from chaos.* Whenever, an unfavourable incident happens or when there is brought, Okebadan is usually appeased. This practice may seem irrational in some quarters today, one should understand that the people have a strong faith in the deity and this relies them psychologically during difficult times.

The Okebadan festival continues to be celebrated up till today to commemorate the event that brought the people closer to the numina inhabiting the sacred hill. The tradition has been firmly established and even the educated and indigenous elites continue to support and uphold this old tradition. It is the people's contention that the hill was established there for their protection and benefit.

The reason for the fixing of the annual Okebadan festival to coincide with the early rain in mid-march is based on the belief that this period is the right time to propitiate the goddess. They therefore use this occasion to pray for the early rain, believing that rain is a symbol of peace, goodwill and prosperity. Invariably, if there

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is a drought before the festival period, the Okebadan priest makes special sacrificial offerings to appease the numina of the hill. Coincidentally, there have been reports of rain falling immediately after the offerings.

However, it is worthy of note that some changes have occurred in the celebration of Okebadan festival. In the recent past, no one was allowed to light a fire on the festival day, but now there is an element of flexibility built into this system. This taboo has been relaxed. Though inhabitants of the city can make a fire to cook in their homes or restaurants, an open fire is forbidden, especially on the routes where Okebadan followers pass on the festival day. If anyone breaks this interdiction, the priest and his followers may pounce on such a defaulter and disrupt the fire-making and/or beat up the disobedient person.

During the one-day festival, Okebadan priest leads his followers through the streets singing Okebadan song. They also visit the high chiefs in Ibadan and the Olubadan, the traditional head of the city. Certainly, this celebration and the worship of Okebadan may continue for a long time and as long as the indigenous inhabitants live.

Lagelu was the ancestral founder of Ibadan as **Jagun Osin of Ile-Ife** in **1580A.D.** and was subsequently honoured with **Jagun of the Old Oyo Empire** by Alaafin Obalokun (**1590-1600**) before his son, Alaafin Abipa instituted the office of Aare-Ona-Kakanfo in **1640A.D.**

4.3 THE CHILDREN OF LAGELU

- The first son of Lagelu was Olukiran Oluole, **the father of NKAN, that is why people refer to her as “Nkan omo Olubadan)**
- Another one was Olalupo Akinlolu Agbogun-mogbin who succeeded Oluole as Olubadan and made sacrifice with hunch-back – Babalawo (Ifa Priest)
- The eldest female child was Ifedapo followed by Fadeya or “Yade”
- Ogundowo was also the son of Lagelu who later sent for **Okewale** from Abeokuta during the reign of Baale Oyesile Olugbode to offer sacrifice at Oke-Badan Hill (1851-1864)
- Another one was Lagunna (a warrior)
- The brave female daughter was **Atage Oota**. The daughter of Lagelu from the **Princess of Agura of Gbagura at Ido**, the headquarters of Gbagura Kingdom now part of Ibadan. Her nick-name was **Atage Olomu-Oru** and **the first Aboke**.
- Another important son was **Efunyele** from the **Princess of Oba Akarigbo of Ijebu Remo**.

It was during the reign of **Olubadan Sotuyole** that the allied army of Ife, Ijebu, Oyo and Egba took over Ibadan in **1825A.D. located at Oja’ba formerly named after Labosinde the Oluwo of Ibadan during the reign of Oluyole (1836 – 1849).**

According to Rev. Samuel Johnson 1921, “of all towns overrun the previous night, IBADAN alone they found not destroyed by fire, and so this marauding band hastily occupied it, **the war-chiefs taking possession of any compound they chose, and their men with them** and then IBADAN was again re-peopled by not by the owners of the town, but by a composite band of marauders, consisting of Oyo, Ifes, Ijebus, and some friendly Egbas, Led by Maye Okunade, Labosinde and Lakanle in

1825A.D. the above confirmed the existence of second Ibadan before the occupation after the OWU OGBERE War in **1825**.

5.0 THE TRASITION PERIOD OF IBADAN AS A RESULT OF OWU-OGBERE WAR (1820-1825):

After the capture of **Owu Ipole (now Owu Orile)** during the invasion of the town by the allied army of Ife, Ijebu, Oyo, and Egba between **1814 and 1820**, the army did not disband, they were invited by Awujale of Ijebuland to Iperu. But after a period of hesitation a pretext was found for attacking the Egba town of Ikija (now in Oluyole Local Government) because they assisted the Owus during the war.

Just at the same time, a quarrel broke out between the two main leaders, **Maye Okunade and Labosinde** They separated with their respective followers, **Labosinde** settling at **Ipara** which the Awujale had suggested as a headquarters for the army, while **Maye Okunade** camped at **Itoro**. Both sections of the army continued to devastate the smaller Egba towns.

5.1 Occupation of Second Ibadan in 1825A.D.

According to **Rev. Samuel Johnson(1921)**, the combined Ife and Oyo together with the captives from the Egba territory passed through Ijaiye – Maja, Kosi-Kosi, Ikere kuiwere, Ora, Ibadan, Ojokodo, Iwo haha, and Eguote the same night and reached **Ojoho** at day-break.

There they met with a determined resistance at **Ojoho** and, feeling the need for a camp to recuperate in after, long march, they occupied the site of Ibadan which had been abandoned by its **Egba** population but not destroyed like the other towns.

(ii) Accounts of the Occupation by Professor Mabogunje (1971):

This account is almost certainly an over – simplification for it does not explain the fate of the **Owu refugees' settlement** which had grown up in the close proximity of Ibadan (not Egba town) at **Agodi**. Yet this town which as the trace of its **wall circuit** was very considerate, was undoubtedly destroyed about this time and it seems unlikely that

Lola Tomori

the army would have settled down at Ibadan in the close vicinity of a powerful group and their most deadly enemies without first taking steps against them.

According to the account given to Professor Akin Mabogunje and J. Omer – Cooper, the authors of “OWU IN YORUBA HISTORY” by the late **Oba Akinyele of Ibadan and the Bale of Erunmu** seems to throw light on the course of events. In both of these accounts **Owu** was stated to be **just out-side Ibadan on the Site known as Owu – Ogbere**. The ruler of this town was said to have become involved in a conflict with Ibadan in **1824**.

The reason given was that the **Olowu Akinjobi** had married a **daughter of Baale** whose name is **NKAN, meant something**, who was sacrificed to appease **Oba River**. Consequently, **there was quarrel between Ibadan and the refugee settlement of Owu-Ogere** broke out and the allied army was called in as it had been in the struggle between **Orun and Idomapa. Owu-Ogbere was destroyed and the army then took possession of Ibadan, squeezing out its original 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 in 1814**.

According to Professor Toyin Falola (2012), the most powerful group of Ife and Oyo army stayed at **Oja’ba** the Ijebus stayed at **Isale-Ijebu** while the Egbas distant themselves from captors and stayed at **Yeosa**.

5.2 Ethnic Rivalry for the Hegemony of Ibadan:

In the atmosphere of intense personal rivalry between the **war chiefs**, quarrels were not infrequent and soon after the settlement at Ibadan, Lamodi, a prominent Egba leader, name Ege, with a pistol in the course of an altercation. A scrimmage at once broke out. **Lamodi was killed** and a considerable body of Egba, fearing further vengeance, fled the town. Under the leadership of **Sodeke**, they succeeded in beating off all attacks and making their way to the naturally defensible site of Abeokuta in **1830**.

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



Neighbourhood of Mapo Hall and Oja'ba occupied by the allied army in 1825

“This is where the second Ibadan started in the 19th century”

Lola Tomori

**PICTURES OF THE GAME CHANGERS OF IBADAN
TRADITIONAL CHIEFTAINCY SYSTEM**





**OLUBADAN
CORONATION
*Lecture***

Citation of **KABIYESI**

HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY, OBA RASHIDI ADEWOLU LADOJA, ARUSA 1, THE 44TH OF IBADANLAND

His Imperial Majesty, Oba Rashidi Adewolu LADOJA, the 44th Olubadan of Ibadanland was born on September 25, 1944, in Gambari village near Ogbomoso, Oyo State. His roots go back to Arusa Compound, Isale Osi, Ibadan, a proof of his deep Ibadan ancestry.

Oba Ladoja's academic journey began at the Progressive Day School, Aladorin, Ibadan (1950-1956) for his primary education, and this was followed up with a successful training at the Ibadan Boys High School, Oke Bola for his secondary education (1958-1963). He came out top here with Grade One in the West African School Certificate Examinations. He continued his studies at the Higher School Certificate Level at the Olivet Baptist High School, Oyo (1964-1965) during which he demonstrated an exceptional brilliance in the final examinations. He later proceeded to the University of Liège, Belgium (1966-1972) with a full scholarship and graduated with distinction in Chemical Engineering. On his return to the country, he joined the Oil Giant Total Nigeria where he worked in various capacities until 1985 after which he ventured into a private business. His entrepreneurial pursuits span shipping, manufacturing, banking, agriculture, and transportation. At various times, he was on the boards of several institutions including the Crystal Bank (later Standard Trust Bank), REAL Shipping, REAL Oil, and KARLANDER Nigeria Limited.

Oba Ladoja's political ascent began with his election as a Senator in 1993 under the Social Democratic Party (SDP). He served as the Oyo State Governor (2003-2007) under the People's Democratic Party (PDP), implementing reforms like the 30 pupils per class policy and Total Eradication of Guinea Worm (TEGO). The political setback arising from his illegal impeachment as Governor in 2006 notwithstanding, his reinstatement in the same year propelled him to do more in human and community development as a firm believer in democratic tenets and the rule of law.

His ascent to the exalted office of Olubadan followed the traditional process with his installation as the Jagun Olubadan on October 1, 1993 from whence he rose through the established ladder of offices culminating in his emergence as the 44th Olubadan to be crowned on Friday, September 26, 2025. It was a journey in forbearance, dedication and deep faith in Allah.

Oba Ladoja, a firm promoter of culture and tradition, is a devout Muslim who is married with children and grandchildren. May his reign signal the beginning of an enduring peace and development for Ibadanland and the entire Yorubaland and Nigeria as a whole.



According to Professor S. Adebajji Akintoye (2010) the disintegration of the Oyo Empire and Kingdom destroyed the pre-existing system of order and security in Yorubaland and created a situation whereby all centres of power, old and new had to scramble to establish new system and patterns that would guarantee order and security. Those efforts people were not able to put an end to, until European powers intervene and imposed their own system of order, security and peace.

Ibadan that was founded in the 16th century was destroyed in the 18th century but was re-established and grew into a small war camp in the 19th century that absorbed diverse Yoruba refugees when the Old Oyo Empire collapsed and Owu Ipole was destroyed in 1820 A.D. **Ibadan rose to the level of a city-state, and then an empire in the same nineteenth century**, Its success in transforming Yoruba political institutions and adopting then to a new age during the period.

Ibadan **city-state** thus became a place where most of the population find satisfaction of basic needs and culture realized their actions, aspirations and other immaterial aspects of life, providing contentment and happiness and increasing the prospects of individual collective well-being.

5.3 The Gbanamu War of 1833

The attitude of **Maye Okunade** towards the Oyo Section of the army gave rise to mounting feeling. One day, according to Rev. Samuel Johnson, two neighbours, one an **Owu** ex-captive and follower of **Maye Okunade** and the other an **Oyo**, were quarreling over a piece of land. Maye intervened and **without asking questions drew his sword and cut off the head of the Oyo man**. This led to an upheaval in which Maye Okunade with some of the Chiefs was driven from the town. This eventually led to **Gbanamu** war at Erunmu where, **Degesin, and Ogini, the leaders of the Egba contingent were killed. Maye, Oluwole of Idomapa, Olowu Akinjobi and Oluroko of Erunmu** were all killed. Consequently, the Owus migrated to join the Egbas at Abeokuta in **1834** with their allies from Erunmu.

Thereafter, the victorious Oyos led by Oluyedun, Lakanle and Oluyole took over the **second Ibadan in 1825A.D. from the descendants of Lagelu**.

The end of the struggle with **Maye Okunade** after the **Gbanamu war** meant the end of the most serious communal tensions within the **erstwhile marauding army**. It was now possible to **establish a regular governmental hierarchy and meeting at Isale-Ijebu, it was decided to introduce regular chieftaincy title**. (Professor Toyin Falola 2012).

With the establishment of the **third Ibadan community** the story of the Owu war really ends. **Thus, communal differences had little political significance and the diverse groups tended to fuse together in a common IBADAN IDENTITY in the opposite manner to the Egba who preserved their original towns and even villages identities within the single circumference of the walls of Abeokuta**.

Consequently, the army which had been called into existence to besiege the city of Asunkungbade had at least settled down and taken of the features of established polity in Ibadan (Professor Akinlawon Ladipo Mabogunje and J. Omer-Cooper, 1971). The collapses of one of the four corners of Yorubaland had entailed a tremendous upheaval and the virtual obliteration of the old pattern of relationships in southern Yorubaland. It had called into existence the two great metropolitan towns of Ibadan and Abeokuta which were to be the main poles of the new order which emerged out of the final collapse of the **old Oyo Empire** and the system of inter-state relationships of which it had been the guarantor.

5.4 Development of New Political Experiments in 1830s:

The end of the struggle with Maye Okunade meant the end of the most serious communal tensions within the erstwhile marauding army. It was now possible to establish a regular governmental hierarchy and set a public meeting it was decided to introduce regular chieftaincy titles. On the face of it, the expulsion of Maye Okunade and many of the chiefs left Ibadan an Oyo settlement. In fact, however, through the Oyo group was predominant, the community retained the composite character it had possessed as a wandering military horde. Its leading men were not necessarily all Oyos (Professor Akin Mabogunje and Professor J. Omer-Cooper in the book; *Owu in Yoruba History* - 1971).

The first remarkable development in the new Ibadan (third Ibadan), according to Prof. Toyin Falola in *IBADAN; Foundation, Growth and Change; 1830 - 1960* published in 2012; was in the area of politics. ***The most important task which faced the military leaders after their victory at the Gbanamu war of 1833 was the problem of integrating all the various Oyo and some other sections (for example, the few remaining Ijebu, Egba, and Ife) in the community under an effective political authority.***

In fashioning a new government, the migrants had very little justification to duplicate the Old Oyo system of a monarchical government. Their recent experience favoured the search for a new workable alternative. 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.***

Traditional chieftaincies were not well established, in his time, they were all military because those at the helm of affairs after Gbanamu war were **war-mongers**, who had no plan of leading a settled life and therefore, no plan to establish a town or city; but having decided to settle down, the following chiefs were appointed in **1833A.D.**

According to Rev. Samuel Johnson (1921), ***“a strong government thus emerged not only because Ibadan continually engaged in warfare but partly because those who flocked to Ibadan completely identified themselves with the new town”.***

Name	Title
1. Oluyedun -	Aare-Ona-Kakanfo
2. Lakanle -	Otun Kakanfo
3. Oluyole -	Osi Kakanfo
4. Adelakun -	Ekeri Kakanfo
5. Oluwaye -	Ekarun Kakanfo
6. ABitiko -	Ekefa Kakanfo
7. Keji -	Aare Abese
8. Osun -	Sarumi (chief of Calvary and later Oluwo)
9. Labosinde -	Babasale (chief Advisor) and later Oluwo

As Oluwo, Labosinde set Ibadan on a municipal path by conferring titles on chiefs and thereby instituting a local self-government. He was only the Ife Chief left in Ibadan, though his mother was a princess of Ikoyi, one of the most important provincial towns of Old Oyo. Apart from that, he was living in the second Ibadan with the descendants of Lagelu at Oriyangi before he left for Ile-Ife in 1810 to join Ife army under the commander, Balogun Shingushin against Owu Ipole.

6.0 HOW IBADAN CHECKMATED THE INVASION OF FULANI JIHADIST AND RESTORED THE GLORY OF YORUBA RACE

After the Gbanamu war of 1833 Ibadan became one of the significant Yoruba centres of population that crystalized in the middle belt area and went through a process of consolidation, a process that occasioned much stress as well as conflicts and wars. Thereafter, the maturing new states went through a period of rivalry amongst themselves, featuring, again conflicts and wars.

With the defeat of **Oluewu-led forces** the jihadists of Ilorin and allies were intoxicated by the fermented fruit of victory and were determined to take over the entire Yoruba region. They, therefore, shifted their focus toward those new Oyo towns already planted in the upper reaches of the rain forest. According to Professor Akinwunmi Ogundiran (2020), their goal was to “**dip the Koran in the sea**” a metaphor for subjugating the Yoruba world to the control of the Sokoto Calphate viz the emirate of Ilorin.

Displaced and demoralized, most of the Yoruba region, especially in the old territory of the Old Oyo Empire, was still licking its wounds. **The only Yoruba polity brave enough to confront the jihadist threat was Ibadan. It was a new kid on the block of regional politics, but it was arising military power in the aftermath of the fall of Old Oyo Empire.**

While the Ilorin army was advancing southward **Oluyole Iyanda (1836 - 1849)**, the third ruler of Ibadan after **Maye Okunade (1825-1833)** and **Aare Oluyedun (1833-1836)**, the son of Olukuloye, and grandson of Basorun Yamba rallied to confront the enemy. He presided over the military plans to stop the advancing Ilorin army. He mobilized other scattered Oyo elements to the cause of saving their ancestral land from what he rightfully considered a foreign invasion, although there were high-ranking Yoruba soldiers in the Ilorin contingent.

There was nothing in his favour to assure victory but his foresight, audacity to act, and timely intervention paid off. Under the command and leadership of his war commander, **Balogun Odeyinka Oderinlo**, the advance of Ilorin's ambition was halted on the outskirts of Osogbo in 1840. The Ilorin army was thoroughly beaten. The victory put to rest the threat of the jihadist agenda in the Yoruba world. With this, Oluyole Iyanda achieved what had eluded Oluewu and the other Alaafins. This military victory was the most consequential; event in Yoruba history during the nineteenth century. Professor Akinwunmi Ogundiran (2020).

Ibadan's victory over Ilorin saved House of Oduduwa (Ile-Ife), the House of Sango (Oyo), the House of Obokun (Ilesa), the House of Orangun (Ila) and others from becoming emirates. The victory, according to Rev. Samuel Johnson 91921) was not only over Ilorin. It was also a defeat of its patron, the Gwando emirate and of the Sokoto Caliphate as a whole.

BASORUN OLUYOLE'S MILITARY TEAM (1836 - 1850)

BASORUN OLUYOLE

Baale (1836 – 1837)

Basorun (1839 -1850)

BALOGUN LINE

1. Elepo (Mogaji Adelokun), he did not accept any title not even that of Balogun, despite the fact that he was head and shoulder above everyone else in military prowess, he refused to be persuaded

BALOGUN LINE

2. Bankole Alaesinloye, the first Balogun of Ibadan but died in the crisis with Oluyole against Lakanle which paved the way for Oluyole to assume leadership of Ibadan

3. Odeyinka Oderinlo appointed to replace Bankole Alesinloye

4. Lajumok-Otun Balogun

5. Omololu Opeagbe –Sarumi. He later became –Osi Balogun and finally Baale after the demise of Oluyole

6. Toki Onibudo –First Seriki

7. Babalola – Asipa Balogun

8. Ajayi Oyesile Olugbode – Abese Balogun who became Baale after Opeagbe

9. Ogunremi - Sarumi (after Opeagbe became Osi Balogun)

10. Yerombi - Agbaakin

11. Dele Oje or Delesolu - Aare-Agoro (Aare ago)

NOTE: Other prominent people then were: Ogun-Elu, Ogundiwin, **Ogidi** who first settled at Oja'gbo after leaving Kudeti due to disagreement with **Oluyole**, Ibikunle, ojo Kure, Alekuso, Akere, Sunmola Alao laamo from Ikoyi near ogbomoso and Ogunmola, whose parents to Fesu near Iwo due to Fulani invasion.

The victory energized Ibadan to embark on an ambitious expansionist programme across central and Easton Yoruba region, **a process that kicked off its short lived empire, 1840 – 1893** nevertheless that victory did not lead to peace and stability for the Yoruba world. It was only the beginning of **more than fifty years** of wars defined by:

- (i) the competition for supremacy among the newly emerged states;
- (ii) conflict over the control of trade routes, especially the ones leading to the coast;
- (iii) the aggressive expansionist agenda of the **Ibadan Empire**; and
- (iv) the counter offensive, revolt, resistance, and liberation movement of the eastern half of the empire against Ibadan, between 1877 and 1893.

Those wars ended with the intervention of the British government, who brokered peace among the exhausted warring parties in **1893** and immediately maneuvered to bring the **Yoruba warlords** and their political dominions under the British colonial rule.

According to Professor Akinwumi Isola in 2007, 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. Lagelu came from Ile-Ife; Oluyedun from Ilorin, Oluyole was Oyo while Oyesile, Baale Olugbode came from Kuta. Ogunmola hailed from Fesu near iwo and Ibikunle migrated from Ogbomoso. Orowusi came from Ogbaagba and Aiyejenku Foko was from Eju (Onipee, Oyun) and so on. Each one brought with him unique experiences in the techniques of war and administration but they all subscribed to the idea of a free, just, egalitarian society without a hereditary system of leadership.

IBADAN WAR HEROES OF THE 19TH CENTURY



THE STATE BUILDERS AND HEROES OF IBADAN EMPIRE (1825 - 1893)

BAALE	BALOGUN	OTUN BALOGUN	OSI- BALOGUN	PERIOD
Maye Okunade	Labosinde	Lakanle	-	1825-1831
Oluyedun (Aare-Ona-Kakanfo)	Lakanle (Otun Kakanfo)	Oluyole (Osi Kakanfo)	Adelakun (Ekerin Kakanfo)	1831-1835
Oluyole Iyanda (Baale and Later Basorun)	Bankole Alesinloye and Odeyinka Oderinlo	Lajumoke	Opeagbe from Sarumi	1835-1849
Opeagbe Omololu	None	None	None	1850-1851
Oyesile Olugbode	Ibikunle Tetu	Ogunmola Orisagunna Tubosun	Osundina	1851-1864
Ogunmola Orisagunna (Basorun)	Akere		Abayomi	1865-1867
Orowusi (Awarun Soso)	Ajobo	Latoosa	Ajayi Jegede	1870-1871
Obadoke Latoosa	Ajayi Jegede (Ogboriefon)	Alli Laluwoye	Ayorinde Aje	1871-1885
Vacant	Ajayi Osungbekun (From Seriki)	Fijabi (Abese Balogun)	Osuntoki (Maye Balogun)	1885-1893
Fijabi	Akintola (Omo Ibikunle)	Babala	Kongi (grandson of Ogunmola)	1893-1895

Note: Oderinlo Odeyinka, Ibikunle Tetu and Akere died as Balogun of Ibadan. Balogun Osungbekun was promoted at Kiriji War to fill the vacancies after the death of Aare Obadoke Latoosa in 1885. He was not allowed to become Baale of Ibadan when returned from Kiriji in 1893, hence Fijabi was installed the first post war Baale of Ibadan.

It is also instructive to note that up till 1893, **all Baales of Ibadan emerged from Balogun line. Between 1893 and 1914, all Baales were military chiefs who participated in the Ekitiparapo war that ended in 1893 according to Akinyele's "Iwe Itan Ibadan. These were Fijabi, Osuntoki, Fajinmi, Mosaderin, Dada Opadare, Apampa and Akintayo.**

On page 169 of *Iwe Itan Ibadan* by Oba I.B. Akinyele (1981) fifth Edition: **Balogun lieutenants had become Baales of Ibadan in the nineteenth century when death had denied Baloguns from becoming the Baales such as Oderinlo, Ibikunle, Akere and Ajayi Osungbekun. On the other hand:**

- i) Opeagbe - The Osi-Balogun Oderinlo became the Baale (1850-1851)
- ii) Olugbode - Abese Balogun became the Baale after Opeagbe (1851-1864)
- iii) Ogunmola - The Otun Balogun olugbode became the Baale (1865-18670
- iv) Orowusi - From Asipa Balogun became Baale after Ogunmola
- v) Latosa - From Otun Balogun became Baale after Orowusi
- vi) Fijabi - From Abese Balogun became Baale after Latosa (1893-1895)
- vii) Osuntoki - From Maye Balogun (1865) became Otun Baale Fijabi (1893) and later Baale (1895-1897) when Balogun Akintola decline the offer of the position of Baale (1895-1897)
- viii) Balogun Akintayo was the first Balogun to become Baale in Ibadan History (1910-1912) – page 168 of *Iwe Itan Ibadan* by Oba I.B. Akinyele (1981). Balogun Apampa had to move to Otun Bale Line before he could be installed Baale of Ibadan (1907-1910).

According to Toyin Falola (1989 pg. 31), Fijabi, the son of Babalola, the Asipa Balogun Oluyole (1835-1847), succeeded Balogun Ajayi Osungbekun.

Fijabi chiefs were many; those who could not receive any of the old titles were given new ones. This was a well calculated political move to placate and reward as many brave warriors as possible and to promote those who complained to having been static on their posts too long.

The crisis that followed provided the warriors from Otun Baale; Osuntoki, Fajimi, Mosaderin and Dada Opadare opportunities to become Baales in succession (1895-1907).

In fact, nobody held the position of Ekarun Balogun or Ekefa Balogun until after the Kiriji war and when Fajimi became the Baale of Ibadan (1897-1902). Instead there were titles like Agbaakin, Abese, Areaago and Maye Baloguns. Titles in the Balogun line were as follow: after Otun and Osi Baloguns chieftaincy holders.

Period	Asipa Balogun	Ekerin Balogun	Ekarun Balogun	Ekefa Balogun
1835 - 1847	Babalola (Baba Fijabi)	None	Yerombi (Agbaakin)	Oje (Areaago) Dele Oje (Areago)
1851 - 1864	Akere	Orowusi	None	Aiyejenku (Areago)
1865 - 1867	Orowusi	Alli Laluwoye	Ajai Ogboriefon (Abese)	• Osuntoki (Maye) • Oyewo (Areago)
1885 - 1893	None	None	Fijabi (Abese)	Osuntoki (Maye)
1893 - 1895	Sunmonu Apampa (Omo Osundina)	Suberu	Tampe Omo Oderinlo (Maye)	Sanusi (Omo Are Latosa) (Areago)

Source: Ibadan: facts and figure by Jide Fatokun (2011) and I.B. Akinyele in Iwe Itan Ibadan (1911)

NOTE:

Omiyale became the first Ekarun Balogun when Babalola (Omo Ogboriefon) became the Balogun for seven months after the death of Balogun Akintola. He was succeeded by Kongi during which period the Balogun line was also extended to Ekefa. All the titles were approved when in August 9, 1897; the British Resident Capt. F.C. Fuller inaugurated Ibadan Town Council, the first in the Yoruba Province.

7.0 THE EMERGING PROCESS OR EVOLUTION OF IBADAN CHIEFTAINCY SYSTEM AFTER THE KIRIJI WAR

After the death of Balogun Ajayi Osungbekun, the Ibadan Chiefs met and appointed Fijabi the son of Babalola, on the earliest warriors who came to settle in Ibadan during Maye Okunade's regime in Ibadan (1825 - 1832).

On the **23rd of June, 1893**, he was formally installed the Baale of Ibadan at Iba-market place. The installation was the last to be performed in Ibadan before Ibadan became a British Protectorate (Kemi Morgan, 1971). After him, the Subsequent rulers of Ibadan had to obtain the approval of the British Resident for Oyo Province before they could be installed as rulers of the town.

Shortly after his installation as Baale on **1893**, Fijabi proceeded to appoint and install the new chiefs who would help him to administer the town. These chief and the titles which they received were as follows

CIVIL LINE

1. Osuntoki	-	Otun Baale
2. Fajinmi	-	Osi Baale
3. Mosaderin	-	Ekerin baale
4. Bamgbegbin	-	Areagoro Baale
5. Salako	-	Are Alaso
6. Lanlatu Giwa	-	Iyalode

BALOGUN LINE

1. Akintola	-	Balogun
2. Babalola	-	Otun Balogun
3. Kongi	-	Osi balogun
4. Sunmonu Apampa	-	Asipa Balogun
5. Suberu	-	Ekerin Balogun
6. Ogungbesan	-	Ekarun Balogun
7. Akintunde	-	Ekefa Balogun
8. Olaifa	-	Asaju Balogun
9. Obisesan	-	Agbakin Balogun
10. Tanpe	-	Maye Balogun
11. Enimowu Arulogun	-	Abese Balogun
12. Eweje	-	Sarumi
13. Ogundepo	-	Seriki
14. Mosanya	-	Otun Seriki
15. Aina Fagbemi	-	Osi Seriki
16. Dada Ojo	-	Ekerin Seriki

According to Kemi Morgan (1971), these title holders and the titles given to them will show the **process of evolution** which was taking place at Ibadan after the Kiriji war. Ibadan was gradually emerging from a town administered purely by warriors, into a more settled town which had its own strong **civil administration**.

It was during the regime of Aare Oluyedun (1833 – 1835) that the first chief (Osun succeeded by Labosinde). That perfumed **civic duties** was appointed. Baale Ajayi Oyesile Olugbode installed some more chiefs as civil chiefs assigned more specific responsibilities to defend the town when Balogun chiefs went to war. They were **headed by Otun Baale**, thus Ibadan became or adopted **military republicanism** which is quite different from military aristocracy practiced by both model, Ibadan had rejected monarchical as its model of governance the city.

The innovation became a regular feature whereby there evolved two separate chieftaincy lines. These were the Baale or Olubadan line, comprising the civil chiefs who also had certain duties to perform for the Olubadan, on the war front and the Balogun and Seriki line, comprising the junior war chiefs after Balogun Chiefs.

8.0 ECONOMY AND SURVIVAL STRATEGY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The “**Third Ibadan**” emerged around **1825AD** as a result of Owu war which started in 1814 and ended with Owu-**Ogbere** against the ruler of the **second Ibadan** who are descendants of Lagelu (a.k.a Oro-apata-maja) as result of sacrificing NKAN the daughter of Olubadan to appease the goddess of Oba River at a time of political turmoil in Yorubaland. The Oyo refugees joined the allied army of Ife, Ijebu and Egba who destroyed Owu Ipole between 1814 and 1820 while Owu-Ogbere near Ibadan was destroyed again in 1825 and Ibadan initially served as a **war camp** tot these **militaristic** state builders who firmly established the **third and present Ibadan** led by **Maye Okunade, Labosinde** and **Lakanle**.

Ibadan quickly built a **military propensity** with a warrior ethos. In the republic of warriors as Professor Bolanle Awe described the city, the warriors rejected the **Yoruba hereditary monarchical system** as practiced by Lagelu descendants and abolished the titles of **Olubadan** and **Aboke**. Instead, the warriors

shaped the colouration and character of politics they controlled how politics functional procedurally, calculated and fought its wars; and created an agricultural military complex to produce an energetic and ever-expanding economy.

i) Instrument of Policy:

Ibadan used its efficiently organized army for six different purposes, according to Professor Toyin Falola (2012) pg. 183:

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

ii) Inter-State Relations in Practice:

Oluyole did not adopt the title of **Aare-Ona-Kakanfo** like **Oluyedun** because **Alaafin Atiba** who wanted to build up a **new Oyo from the ruins of the Old Oyo**, wanted to gain the support of Kuurnmi and Oluyole, two notable, distinguished, and highly respected warriors of the time who posed a threat to Alaafin Atiba. According to Professor Toyin Falola (2012), Atiba also wanted to make use of the two warriors in building up his own power and in creating a **new Oyo-Yoruba Confederacy** with him as the overall head, even if only ceremonial.

The ability of the two distinguished warriors was recognized when Alaafin Atiba, realizing the weakness of his nascent polity, **sought the military assistance of Ibadan and Ijaiye**. Atiba entered into a defensive pact with Kurunmi of Ijaye whom he appointed the Aare Ona Kakanfo (Commander in Chief) and Oluyole of Ibadan whom he chose as the Basorun (Prime Minister). Oluyole was the son of **Olukuoye**, the grandson of Basorun Yamba. His mother was Agborin, the daughter of Alaafin Abiodun (1775 - 1796).

iii) Economic Expansion

The location of Ibadan also favoured trading activities. Ibadan had the economic advantage of being located on a network of communication routes. It could easily be linked with the older Yoruba states and with the ports in **Lagos, Porto Novo, and Badagry** through the **Egba, Egbado, and Ijebu territories**. These three ports were important because of the lucrative trade in slaves and later in agricultural products with the Europeans on the coast. Ibadan succeeded in exploiting this advantageous location to establish trade contacts with many other parts of Yorubaland.

Three factors, **farming, trading, and the craft industry**, kept on expanding and by the **1840s**, the volume of trade had increased considerably. More commercial links were established with **Lagos, Ijebu and Egba people, and Ibadan traders** left home to attend, for example, markets in Abeokuta. In addition, articles from the **markets in Nupe and Hausaland** found their way to Ibadan while some Hausa traders dealing with Kolanuts and leather had firmly established themselves in the town.

The need and desire for foreign goods helped to multiply the number of **local markets**. More markets had to be established, among which were **Ojagbo, Kudeti, Ayeye, and Oke-Oluokun** markets which were mostly for farm products. Agricultural activities were similarly intensified. Expansion of farmlands went

beyond the **town wall** and further incursions were made into virgin lands as the population of the town increased. Industrial activities also continued to grow to cope with the increasing demands of farmers and soldiers.

iv) Traditional Markets

Like the Old **Oyo** and **Ilorin**, Ibadan exploited its location to establish markets **Oja’ba** being the most famous, where products from varying ecological zones were exchanged. Many Ibadan traders grew wealthy by exchanging local products and by participating the clearing of higher-value goods from different sources. This generated as retailers, wholesalers, food sellers, and in other non-agricultural occupation. It also brought more revenue to the military rulers.

The markets were, however, multi-functional. Besides trading, social, religious, and market was named after Basorun Oluyole; it was **Oja-Iba** and not **Oja-Oba** as in the other Yoruba towns. Before Oluyole the market was known as Oja-Labosinde. Among the chiefs who established markets, according to professor Toyin Falola (2012 pg. 114) were:

Chief	Name of the Market	Date of Establishment
Agbeni	Agbeni	1840s
Lanase	Lanase	1840s
Ogidi	Ojagbo	1840s
Ibikunle	Ayeye	1850s
Dele	Oje	1850s
Olugbode	Itabale	1850s
Orowusi	Ita Orowusi	Late 1850s
Are Latosa	Oke Are	1870s

To establish a market meant that the chief was a prominent figure, Ibadan, also a power to be reckoned with in the town. Also, a number of markets grew into prominence during this period for example: Agodi, Ayeye, Elekuro, and Ibiko were important because they were located on the routes leading to the farms where traders could go and buy from **producers and farmers**. Many others were prominent in the neighbourhood where they were sited. No market became defunct during this period.

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

New areas, notably in the northeast, had to be occupied, and the town covered an estimated area of twenty-six (26) square kilometres in the 1850s. The wall (Ibikunle Town Wall) enclosing the built-up section was sixteen kilometres (16) in circumference, with **four major gates leading to Abeokuta Oyo, Iwo and Ijebu**, and several minor ones leading to various farms and villages. Within the walls were hundreds of compounds, churches and also mosques.

CHAPTER SIX

THE IYALODE TRADITIONAL INSTITUTION IN YORUBA SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION

1.0 INTRODUCTION:

Traditional institutions: These are enduring systems of rules, norms, customs, and organized practices that shape human behavior and interaction. “Subsequent to the colonial experience, traditional institutions may be considered to be informal institutions in the sense that they are often not sanctioned by the state. However, they are not merely customs and norms; rather they are systems of governance, which were formal in pre-colonial times and continue to exist in a semi-formal manner in some countries and in an informal manner in others” (Mengisteab, 2019). They play a significant role in various aspects of society. They are not static and have continued to evolve.

Professor Bolanle Awe (1992), *records that “in pre-colonial period, there were established institutions for articulating the interests of women from the grassroots to the highest levels of government. These institutions could call on in-built resources to oppose decisions which were of mobilizing women to make their feelings known”*. The Iyalode Institution, a bona fide feature of the traditional system of government of the Yoruba people of Nigeria is an example of such an institution. It is the office of designated female political leader that is charged with the responsibility of articulating the view of the women in a community and conveying same to the government of that society for ease of governance. This position was created in the recognition that women are an integral part of the community and therefore deserves the right to be listened to. This practice preceded the colonial era and has remained till today. They remain relevant to contemporary governance. *A polar view asserts that traditional institutions are indispensable for political*

transformation in Africa, as they represent a major part of the continent's history, culture, political and governance systems (UNECA). Therefore, we may perceive traditional institutions as indigenous polity which existed before Africa's colonial experience and which has continued to be of benefit to Post colonial Africa as they significantly impact governance in collaboration with formal state structures to further development.

On gender and inclusiveness: Some progress has been made globally. However, this is not widespread. Some regions and countries are still lagging behind and more needs to be done to achieve desired goals. In Africa for example, patriarchy and some cultural practices and customs have been identified as the hindering factors preventing gender equality and inclusion. This is in addition to the refusal of government to allow more women to participate in the decision making levels of governance. For women in Nigeria, progress towards equality has been a long drawn struggle and several years after independence, gender parity is still not in sight. Global statistics show that women are in the minority in institutional and political decision-making positions. Both gender norms and biases contribute to the impediments faced by women in elections (United Nations Statistics Division, 2015). In Nigeria, Women participation in politics in both appointed and elected posts stands on average 6.7%. The global average of 22.5 percent, the regional average for Africa of 23.4 percent, and the sub-regional average for West Africa of 15 percent are all far higher than this number (UN.org), These compared to the 49.5% overall percentage of women in Nigeria is low or in figure about 108.09 million as at 2022. "As about half of the populations are women, their participation will create a balance of power between genders ...this is an indicator of development in any society.

The full and equitable participation of women in public life is essential to building and sustaining strong, vibrant democracies" (Agbalajobi, 2021). The Yoruba traditional system of government realized the importance of including women in the

day to day running of the government, and that was demonstrated that in the reservation of the a special place for a woman representative. In fact, according to Gbadamosi (2014) the history of Yorubaland will be incomplete without the narration of how women rose to prominence in different fields of endeavour, be it as religious personnel, trade and commerce, warriors in the battlefield, chiefs in palaces or even rulers on the throne. What is worthy of note is the fact that, these women who became the Iyalodes were women of ‘good means’ who possessed great wealth and used same for the advancement of the communities they belonged to. They used their wealth to take part in decisive roles in the politics of the day (Layonou, 1990).

2.0 THE IYALODE INSTITUTION IN YORUBALAND:

Human evolution has witnessed evolving systems of social order and coordination of different degrees and structure. The empires and kingdoms within have also outlived their glory days, the traditional political unit which gave way to the state/society superstructure, cannot be despised (Falola, 2022). This study is directed at the intentionality of the Yoruba people at including women in the political process of its society through the creation of the office of the Iyalode within the council of chiefs, therefore the need to examine the concept of the Iyalode. ***The Iyalode is practiced in all of Yorubaland, though known by different names in some parts like Ilesa, Ondo and Erin-Ilesa as Arise, Lobun and Esemure respectively. Although the Iyalode was being practiced in all of Yorubaland, the main forte was is Ibadan. Ibadan happens to practice participatory democracy, a system “which reflects the collective desire of the people and ... creates a balance that is distinctive in traditional African governance structures” (Omotoso, 2023).***

The mention of the development of Ibadan as a city is necessary here. Ibadan as a city emerged from a war settlement in the 19th Century. Consequently, she was ruled by military men with Oluyedun becoming its first military ruler around the 1820s. (Falola, 1985) The city also welcomed strangers as traders, craftsmen, and

adventurers trooped in search of greener pastures (Falola, 1985). Because of the nature of the development of Ibadan, the attainment of a political office was not based on royalty but on the prowess and dynamism of an individual especially in the war front (Kola-Aderoju, 2024). This perhaps explains the caliber of women who rose to occupy the position of Iyalode in Ibadan polity.

The position of Iyalode is so important that it affords the chosen one a seat with the Olubadan in council. As it is described in (Albert et al., 1995)

The Olubadan-in-Council consists of the Olubadan and all his high chiefs drawn from the Balogun and Olubadan lines. Therefore, a typical council meeting for resolving disputes and state matters is chaired by the Olubadan himself. *The other members in attendance are the Iyalode, who represents women's interests; from the Balogun (military) line come the Balogun, Otun Balogun, Osi Balogun, Asipa Balogun, Ekerin Balogun, Ekarun Balogun; and from the Olubadan line come the Otun Olubadan, Osi Olubadan, Asipa Olubadan, Ekerin Olubadan, Ekarun Olubadan. The secretary of the council is officially by the authority of Ibadan south East Local Government.*

This drives home the importance of the office of the Iyalode being that the resolution of conflict whether at the household level, neighbourhood, village or urban level is one of the major functions of the traditional political Institutions in Yorubaland (Albert et al, 1995). It also shows the intentionality of the Yoruba people at including women in the political process of its society through the creation of the office of the Iyalode within the council of chiefs. The Iyalode played advisory roles to the government and participated in the administration of regions and districts. They also used their positions to maintain peace and orderliness in the society. According to Adeoye (2024), the existence of the office of the Iyalode and the principle behind

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the choosing of the Iyalode ‘transcends to good governance and ultimately becomes beneficial to the womenfolk and the government of the day’. This is because, once the process is right, then the eventual expectation of good representation will emerge. It is therefore necessary that the government of the day be intentional towards the inclusion of women in the day to day administration of Nigeria for the interest of the womenfolk.

It is an established historical fact that women were active change-agents in pre-colonial Africa. At the grassroots level in Nigeria, they contributed their quota in the political, economic and social spheres and they were ably represented at the governing level through the activities of women leaders and their council like the Iyalode for example. In contemporary governance in Nigeria, the ratio of women representation is very low and this has affected governance as far as women are concerned. There is an urgent need to include more women in the scheme of things. It is to this end therefore, that the principle of the post of the Iyalode is being presented as a model for increased inclusion of women at the decision making level of governance. If women with a track record of grassroots work and activism in women’s and civil rights issues are given the opportunity to participate in decision and policy making especially on issues that concern them, they will add value to the system. This conforms to the manner of choosing the Iyalode which is based on their substance, the readiness to carry every woman in their domain along and the ability to prove their mettle (Odejide, 2019). This will lead to the promotion and achievement of sustainable peace and development in Nigeria and Africa at large.

IYALODES OF IBADAN, 1850'S TO PRESENT

NAME	TENURE OF OFFICE
Subuola	1850s-1867
Efunsetan Aniwura	1871 - 1874
Iyalode	1874-early 1893
Lanlatu Asabi Giwa	1893-1913
Iya Isale Osun	1913-1917
Romlatu Ajisomo	1917 -1934
Rukayat Amosa Akande	1935-1951
Abimbola	1951-195
Adebisi Abeo	1957-1974
Wuraola Esan	1975-1985
Humuani Alade	1985-1995
Wuraola Akintola	1995-2007
Aminat Abiodun	2007-2018
Theresa Laduntan Oyekanmi	2018 -

The duties of the Ibadan Iyalodes consisted of acting as an intermediary between the towns women and the male hierarchy, supervision of the market system, generally looking after woman's welfare, and arbitrating disputes between women or between a man and his wife unless it was so contentious that it had to be submitted to the Olubadan for settlement. She also acted as custodian of women imprisoned for theft, trade malpractices and marital offences, Her deputy, the Otun Iyalode, supervised the Iyalode's warders and police, and also facilitated the smooth running of her household, trade and farm work. Specific rights and prerogatives changed according to different historical contexts and constitutional systems. The Iyalode's tenure of office was for life, but she could be removed if she blatantly transgressed Yoruba norms of good behaviour or leadership.

When Awe wrote her justly influential study, she wrote at a time of the foci of feminist scholars concerned the so-called “lost” women’s institutions. Then historians of African female achievement on a seemingly glorious past when some women exercised land influence nearly equal to that of men and displayed an independence that few western women had from the nineteenth century onwards. When they investigated the colonial period, however, they find such female leaders in the foreground and concluded that the colonial state had marginalized women eligibility to the office of Olubadan. She heads her own household and a line of subordinate chiefs which has continued to increase between 1951 to 1990.

3.0 THE PRE-COLONIAL ERA

From early times, a few exceptional women from highly placed families have always taken a keen interest in the affairs of Ibadan according to Morgan, one of them was **Yade**, (also known as Oluyade, meaning she who tears the crown). **Lagelu’s daughter**, she joined forces with the other Ibadan warriors to terrorize the surrounding villages as a reprisal against the sacking of Ibadan. During a raid on one towns, she captured the crown of its king. ***This event is commemorated annually during the Oke’Badan festival, when the Aboke (high priest) visits her grave to pay homage. A second woman identified only by her title and place or origin, Iyalaje Ijaiye, said to be very beautiful, wealthy and influential in the market system, produced two daughters who became Iyalodes of Ibadan: Lanlatu and Ajisomo.***

3.1 Subuola: The First Iyalode (1851 – 1867)

The first woman to receive the Iyalode title was Subuola, who was the Iyalode so eloquently described by Anna Hinderer in 1854. Hinderer describes her as “the mother of the town, to whom all the women’s palavers (disputes) are brought before they are taken to the king. She is, in fact, a sort of queen, a person of much influence, and looked up to with much respect”. On the occasion of her visit, the Iyalode appeared a “motherly looking person, surrounded by her attendants and people”. Akinyele, the historian of Ibadan, comments only that she was rich, beautiful and

kind, while his niece, Kemi Morgan adds that she was industrious. Awe provides additional information that she was a wealthy trader who not only supplied the town's war chiefs with liberal credit to purchase firearms and ammunition but also fielded her own contingent of soldiers. Her rise to power and influence rested on her wealth, her position in the market and distribution network, and an immense following of kin, clients and, no doubt, slaves. In recognition of her power, patriotism and contribution to Ibadan's expansion, the chiefs made her Iyalode. Unfortunately, she lost her wealth, and was deposed from office in 1867. None of her descendants has been appointed to high office in the Iyalode line.

3.2 Iyalode Efunsetan Aniwura (1871 – 1874)

Much more is known about Efunsetan, the second Iyalode, immortalized first by Samuel Johnson in 1897, whose brief life history forms the basis for later accounts by Akinyele, Morgan, and Awe. Collectively, these biographical accounts provide valuable information about a powerful woman's rise and decline in the precolonial period. They reveal the range of her economic and political activities and her alliances. In addition, they show how she deployed her wealth to maximum advantage, to consolidate economic and political resources. Nevertheless, the Iyalode's autonomy could not withstand confrontation with the Bale, backed by the full weight of male determination to eliminate her, she lost her life.



Efunsetan's father, Fadaiya, was one of the first settlers in Ibadan. He became a confidant of Lakanle, who ruled Ibadan in the early 1830s. By about 1833 a dispute arose in Ibadan between the Oyo settlers, who were more numerous and militant, and the non-Oyo immigrants which led to the deposition of Lakanle and the establishment of Oyo military domination over the new town. Thereafter, non-and non-military leaders did not play a prominent role in Ibadan politics. Fadiya, however, returned to his role as a herbalist. There is some doubt whether his wife Kaletu (or Aliatu), a woman from the Oje quarter of Ibadan, was the biological mother of Efunsetan, but she assumed responsibility for the small child and trained her in the marketing of adire and foodstuffs. Efunsetan married Epo, a warrior who was a close associate of Oluyole. Johnson states that Efunsetan brought trade acumen to her marital house where she sold corn beer (otika) and firearms, and foodstuff. Her customers were mainly soldiers and chiefs, to whom she often extended credit. Their doubts might be repaid in slaves and firearms. She owned farms near Ikija Karao; and at Odo Ona on Ijebu Ode and Abeokuta roads. Slaves, claimed to number one thousand, operated these plantations, producing palm oil and food. We do not know when Efunsetan entered the Iyalode line, but by the late 1860s, she had attained the rank of Otun Iyalode.

She definitely was in office as Iyalode in about 1871, when Latoosa became Are (Commander in Chief), surrounding himself with young warriors. Efunsetan's wealth would have attracted him as he desired assistance in underwriting his plans for military expansion. Strong and ambitious, she organized a personal military unit that fought alongside the Ibadan army and from which she obtained her share of war booty. Until her refusal to support his campaign for expansion in northeast Yorubaland, she had cooperated in coordinating the supply of war provisions, especially foodstuffs to Ibadan soldiers on the war front. At what stage she fell out with Latoosa, we do not know, but at some point between 1871 and 1874, he began to perceive her as a threat to his ambitions to secure his family's position in the state, and instituted measures to curb her influence as well as numerous other opponents. This period was marked by periodical skirmishes among Ibadan, Egba and Ijebu troops over the control of the Atlantic trade in slaves and palm oil,

Efunsetan an Egba, did not fully support Ibadan's moves, especially as her slave farmers along the Ijebu and Abeokuta roads and trade is along the coast came under constant threat of destruction. Nevertheless, as the Iyalode, she was expected to finance of these ventures. Are Latoosa made his final move when he returned from his successful expedition to Akure and Ile-Ife, where he had taken sizeable booty. On the pretext of intervening in a domestic dispute in her household, he engineered his council into ordering her execution and the destruction of her house in June 1874.

The portrayal of Efunsetan has tended to emphasize her more sinister, unwomanly quality, although Johnson's famous account however, is fairly even-handed. Later generations, however, influenced by western values, clearly believe that her wickedness outweighs her positive woman-oriented leadership qualities. In some circles, there is even an attempt to downplay her contribution to the town's history. When two undergraduates attempted to interview a senior chief about her role, he told them pointblank that he did not wish to talk about such an evil woman.

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Newspaper reporters show a penchant for using her as a negative example of female leadership. Shortly after the current Iyalode was installed, a reporter recorded this exchange between himself and Chief Wuraola Akintola:

When told that [peaceful promotion of women's interests] was not the way Efunsetan behaved, Akintola said: "That was her own choice in the way she wanted to exercise her powers. Even though the Iyalode had the power to take initiatives, this did not imply that she should misbehave. In Efunsetan's case that was what she wanted to do. And it was not that there was nobody to put her under control, she had made up her mind not to listen".

3.3 Chief Efunroye Tinubu (1810 – 1887)



She was a politically and economically influential figure in Lagos during the reigns of Obas (monarchs) Adele, Dosunmu, Oluwole, and Akitoye, helping the latter two Obas gain political power. She married Oba Adele and used his connections to establish a successful trade network with European merchants in slaves, tobacco, salt, cotton, palm oil, coconut oil, and firearms. She allegedly owned over 360 personal slaves.

Following British victory in the Reduction of Lagos, the British removed Oba Kosoko from his throne and replaced him with Akitoye, who was backed by Tinubu. The British had Akitoye sign the 1852 Treaty Between Great Britain and

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Lagos, which required Lagosians to abolish the Atlantic slave trade. However, Tinubu covertly persisted in operating the slave trade with Brazilian and European merchants, in violation of the treaty, and Akitoye willingly permitted this. British consul Benjamin Campbell denounced Tinubu's economic hegemony over Lagos and her secret slave-trading, and she came into conflict with the British and rival Lagos merchants. Following the ascendancy of Oba Dosunnu, Dosunmu exiled Tinubu to Abeokuta under Campbell's pressure after Tinubu plotted unsuccessful conspiracies to remove British influence from Lagos and assassinate Campbell. While in Abeokuta, she helped supply the city with munitions during its victorious war against the Kingdom of Dahomey, thus earning her the chieftaincy title of the Iyalode of the Egbas.

She died in Abeokuta in 1887. The landmark Tinubu Square in Lagos, Nigeria, was named after her and also has a statue of her. She also has a statue in Abeokuta, Nigeria.

(a) Early life

Tinubu was born in 1810 the Ojokodo forest area of Ibadan that belonged to Egba Gbagura but migrated with the Egbas to found Abeokuta in 1830. Her father's name was Olumosa. She was allegedly of Owu ancestry, either through her maternal or paternal side. ***Madam Tinubu was reportedly married multiple times. Her first marriage was to an Owu man. It bore two sons. After her Owu husband died, she remarried the exiled Oba Adele Ajosun in 1833 who, while visiting Abeokuta, was allegedly charmed by Tinubu. She moved with the exiled Oba to Badagry, which was traditionally the place of refuge for Lagos monarchs.*** At Badagry, she exploited Adele's connections to build a formidable business trading in tobacco, salt, and slaves.

(b) Efunroye Tinubu in Lagos;

The exiled Oba Adele was still in Badagry when his successor, Oba Idewu, died. Prince Kosoko, Idewu Ojulari's brother, was a major contender for the now vacant throne. Eletu Odibo, the chief kingmaker, thwarted Kosoko's aspiration and Adele was invited by him to become Oba again. Tinubu accompanied Adele to Lagos, but the Oba died 2 years later. After Adele's death in 1837, Tinubu reportedly supported Oluwole (her stepson) in his bid for the Obaship of Lagos over that of Kosoko's.

Oba Oluwole had recurring conflicts with Kosoko, who felt that he was the true heir to the throne. Consequently, Kosoko was banished to Ouidah. During Oluwole's reign, Tinubu remarried one Yesufu Bada, alias Obadina, who was Oluwole's war captain and with the support of Oluwole, Tinubu and Yesufu's trading activities in Egbaland grew.

When Oluwole died in 1841, Tinubu supported Akitoye (her brother in law) in his bid for the Obaship over Kosoko's. After Akitoye emerged Oba, he granted Tinubu favorable commercial concessions. Against the wish of his chiefs, Akitoye invited Kosoko back to Lagos and tried to placate him. Soon thereafter, Kosoko dislodged Akitoye from the throne. Considering Tinubu's alliance with Akitoye, she and other Akitoye supporters fled to Badagry when Kosoko became Oba in 1845. As a wealthy woman, Madam Tinubu was able to influence economic and political decisions during her time in Badagry. She tried to rally Akitoye's supporters to wage war against Kosoko.

(c) Why the British deposed Kosoko:

In December 1851 and under the justification of abolishing slavery, the British bombarded Lagos, dislodged Kosoko from the throne, and installed a more amenable Akitoye as Oba of Lagos. Though Akitoye signed a treaty with Britain outlawing the slave trade, Tinubu subverted the 1852 treaty and secretly traded slaves

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for guns with Brazilians and Portuguese traders. Further, she obtained a tract of land from Akitoye which now constitutes part of the present-day Tinubu Square and Kakawa Street. Later, a conflict developed between Tinubu and some slave traders including Possu, a Kosoko loyalist. Consequently, Possu, Ajenia, and other traders tried to instigate an uprising against Akitoye because of Tinubu's influence in Lagos. In the interest of peace, Benjamin Campbell, the British Consul in Lagos, asked Akitoye to exile Tinubu. After Akitoye died, Tinubu returned to Lagos and gave her support to his successor, Dosunmu. Under Dosunmu's reign Tinubu had a massive security force composed of slaves and she sometimes executed orders usually given by the king. As a result, Dosunmu grew wary of her influence in Lagos. ***A new development was the colonial government's support for migrants from Brazil and Sierra Leone to settle in Lagos. Many of the migrants, also called Saro and Aguda, were favored by the British in commerce and soon began dominating legitimate trade in Lagos.***

(d) Death and Legacy

Tinubu died in 1887 and is buried in Ojokodo Quarters in Abeokuta. Tinubu Square on Lagos Island, a place previously known as Independence Square, is named after her. Ita Tinubu (Tinubu's precinct or Tinubu Square) had long been known by that name before the country's independence, but it was renamed Independence Square by the leaders of the First Republic. A statue of Tinubu stands in Abeokuta.

(e) Chief Efunroye Tinunu in 1856 at Abeokuta

In Abeokuta, Tinubu traded in arms and supplied Abeokuta with munitions in the war against Dahomey. Her activities in the war earned her the chieftaincy title of the Iyalode of all of Egbaland. While in Abeokuta, she allegedly opposed colonial policies in Lagos. In 1865, a fire engulfed the shops of some traders including some of her properties in Abeokuta. This doesn't appear to have weakened her financially, however. Tinubu became involved in Abeokuta king-making activities as well,

supporting Prince Oyekan over Ademola for the Alake of Egbaland's title in 1879. Tinubu appears to have had another marriage with one Momoh Bukar, an Arabic scholar. Momoh's children from other wives later adopted the Tinubu name.

3.4 IYALODE LANLATU GIWA (1893 – 1919):

When the British assumed control of Ibadan in 1893, the chiefs were stripped of their power to field armies and wage warfare. Thus the Iyalodes lost an important element of their power, but the incumbent Iyalode, Lanlatu Asabi Giwa, appears to have been a forceful personality that the new administrators could not ignore. She married a war leader, Giwa, with whom she had a son, Latinwo. Like her predecessors she was deeply involved in military matters, and is remembered as “much used to war and men of war”. A wealthy trader she owned a lot of slaves and horses. ***She was made Iyalode during the rule of Bale Fijabi, who ruled from 1893 to 1895. She sat in the council, and liaised with the Baale and other chiefs in running the government. She held office until 1919,*** thus presiding over women’s affairs in the town during the critical phase of British consolidation of their administration in Nigeria. During this period, the railway was built, transforming commercial networks, and opening new opportunities for Ibadan women in trade. Given Ibadan’s strategic position on the railway line, new opportunities opened for the expansion of the distribution network. A wide variety of manufactured products flowed in from the railway, while the well-organized trade in produce, palm oil, liquor, and woven textiles continued to thrive. Near the main railway station, Dugbe market was founded in 1915, the third market in Ibadan, which became one of Nigeria’s largest markets in the colonial period.

The colonial administration certainly recognized Lanlatu’s position in the town. ***She was one of the signatories to the treaty the Captain George Chardin Denton signed with the Ibadan chiefs in 1893. In 1899 the Resident conferred with her and a large “concourse of women” to discuss licenses for dealing in alcohol.***

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The administration held her in high esteem, and also the missionaries, despite her adherence to Islam. Persuaded of the value of western education, she sent her son, Saura, to school in Oke Padre and encouraged the establishment of a small pottery school for girls. Her role as custodian of female prisoners continued as before, which could be employed to her advantage. She could exploit them as a source of cheap labour in the management of her household, adire production, and trade. When a particular young prisoner caught her attention because of her industry, ability, or beauty, she might offer to pay her bride price and give her out in marriage to a member of her household. Her other responsibilities as the principal spokeswoman of the town, as intermediary between the women and both the British administration and the council of chiefs, and as head of the market women continued and may even have expanded. Dickinson places the origins of mutual pro-Hen societies among women during her tenure of office, maintaining that:

...women probably formed themselves into these small trade unions before the men. At a meeting held in the Iyalode (head of the women) and other principal women, the sellers of European cloth, native cloth, kola nuts, beads, livestock, palm wine and several other articles, were separately represented each by their respective Head. They asserted that these Unions had existed for a considerable time and that the men associate themselves similarly according to their trades or callings.

Lanlatu's successor was her sister, Romlatu Ajisomo, who held office from 1919 (or 1920) to 1934. So far not much information about her has been collected, but fragmentary evidence suggests that she followed in the tradition of her sister. She was involved in community politics. During her tenure, the question of taxing women arose, but Ibadan women, led by Madam More, successfully organized women

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against it. Several years later, in November 1931, fourteen male chiefs petitioned against Amida, the ex-Bale, they claimed her support in their closing statement:

“For ourselves, the Iyalode, and the whole of the inhabitants of Ibadan and District.

Our most important evidence for the continuing strength of the Iyalode institution during Ajisomo’s time comes from the colonial authorities themselves. In 1929, the year that ended in the famous women’s war in southeast Nigeria, the Resident of Oyo Province described the female as follows:

Women of the community have their own organization and representative on the Council of Chiefs. ...Every town and Iyalode, the head woman, who is assisted by the older women of the town who have titles under her. They are responsible for all matters affecting the women of the community and any orders from the paramount chief through his subordinate is conveyed to the Iyalode.

The reference to women’s participation in the council of chiefs counters the premise that the colonial administration had excluded them from positions of authority. In fact, the authorities readily recognized that district officers should cultivate the Iyalodes in order to know popular opinion among women.

3.5 IYALODE RUKAYAT AJISOMO OROGUNBODI (1935 – 1951)

When the fifth Iyalode, **Rukayat Ajisomo Orogunbodi** (C.1851 - 1951) was installed, the attendant celebrations demonstrated the continued popularity of the Iyalode. Reports of the event in the Lagos press provide ample testimony that the institution still commanded great respect and its incumbent possessed substantial influence and power. Rukayat was the first twentieth century Iyalode in Ibadan to form the subject of longish press reports which offered a rare eye-witness account of the pageantry attending provincial female leadership at the time. Her photograph appeared among the notable Nigerians singled out for special acclaim by the Daily Times in its glossy elaborate Christmas special.

16,000 people gathered to witness her installation after an all-night vigil, dancing, and merriment at the residences of Iyalode-elect and her two immediate juniors, madam Moradehun, the Otun Iyalode, and Madam Ashimowu, the Balogun Iyalode. Sixty chiefs and many notables attended the ceremony in the Bale's square at 11:00 in the morning. The Bale's buglers announced his arrival in a large silk damask gown. Shortly thereafter, Ladimeji Akande, a son or grandson of Lanlatu, who headed the Ibadan Band of Unity in 1941, staged a display of horsemanship that thrilled the crowd, recalling "the glorious war days of Ibadans". The Iyalode elect, resplendent in velvet cloth with silk head-dress to match, made the traditional obeisance to the Bale, Abas Aleshinloye, after which the Oluwo of Labosinde's compound performed the installation ceremony, placing Iyeye leaves on the heads of the new Iyalode and her two subordinate presence of Madam Humul-khair Alake Thompson, one of the wealthiest traders in Lagos and a popular Muslim philanthropist, attests to the new Iyalode's prominence in commercial and Islamic circles outside Ibadan.

Born to the Are Egbe Omo family, her father, Baba Olopa, was the son of Chief Are Egbe Omo, a popular 19th-century Ibadan soldier who immigrated from Otefon near Ajase Ipo. Her mother was a successful trader from Oritamerin who sold in elubo (cassava flour) and adire at Oja'ba. Rukayat learnt the art of trading from her mother, and travelled with her parents to Ijebu where they traded in food-stuffs, palm oil and textiles. She married an alfa, with whom she had two children, but both died. Well-grounded in her faith, Rukayat eventually rose to the rank of Iya Adinni in the Ita Egbe Omo Mosque.

Rukayat specialized in adire production, trading cloth to the neighbouring provinces. She married Disin, a man from Ita Okoro (Isale Osi), a Muslim leader and a trader, but she never lived in her husband's house, being too independent to live under the authority of another woman. They had a son, Sunnomi Ladipo, and a

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daughter. By 1915, she had become prominent in Ibadan society and politics, Baale Shittu conferred the title of Iyalaje on her. The date of her installation is significant because it occurred the year after the serious trade crisis of 1913-14 necessitating Baale Irefin (ruled 1912-1914 and his council to institute price control measures and trade regulations to check inflation of prices in the commodity trade, particularly palm oil and maize. A wrap of eko was fixed at twenty cowries. The council prohibited the transportation of palm oil in kerosene or metal tins, requiring the use of clay pots instead, thus making long distance trade inconvenient and risky. A strong, cooperative woman leader would State the return to normalcy and create a more favourable commercial environment for market women. As Iyalaje, she supervised the market women's organizations and regularly reported about market affairs to the senior women chiefs.

Late in 1941, the administration of Oyo province initiated a review of the duties of Iyalodes with respect to custody of female prisoners charged with petty or matrimonial offences. After an exchange of opinions with district officers in other areas of Oyo province and a meeting with the Olubadan and his chiefs, the Senior Resident concluded that no reforms were needed; both the traditional and the colonial authorities were satisfied with the traditional system. But Rukayat herself grew dissatisfied with the system when it became too great a financial burden. On 17 January 1946, Rukayat petitioned the Resident for a rise in her salary to maintain her prestige and pay for the upkeep of the female prisoners in her custody and the wages of her warders. Hitherto, she had used her private funds, but wartime inflation made it difficult for her to continue. Interestingly, she claimed that her salary was "far lower than that of my predecessors while the title and the office are the same while no information has come to light about the previous salaries of titled women, as of 1938, she received an annual salary of seventy-two pounds, while the Otun Iyalode received thirty-six pounds the Balogun Iyalode twenty-four pounds, the Osi Iyalode nothing.

Like her predecessors, she was active in Ibadan's politics. During the second world war, she deeply involved in the protest against Oba Alesinloye Okunola Abas, The first Olubadan. The protest hinged on widespread suspicion that Abass wanted to promote the claim of Belo Okunola Abas, the president of Egbe omo Ibile Ibadan (Ibadan Descendants' Union) from the 1930s to 1950s) as his successor. Additional sources of discontent stemmed from a serious salt scarcity and another attempt to impose taxation on women. The Iyalode and her chiefs mobilized Ibadan women to stage demonstrations against the Olubadan and the colonial authorities. Women dressed in rags and wrappers turned inside out, singing abusive songs against Abas, demonstrating round the town at the residency at Agodi. Traders, especially from Are from Are Egbe Omo area, where the Iyalode's compound was situated, were prohibited selling or buying from Okunola's household at Isale Ijebu, about 500 metres from Rukayat's house.

During the war years, women developed a sense of political awareness that went beyond the community. No less than the Ibadan war leaders of precolonial times, the colonial government required their material and moral support the smooth running of price controls, market distribution and produce collection. Once again the Iyalode and other female chiefs were called on to mobilize women in support of wartime campaigns and regulations as well as the routine business of operating the market system. At the same time, the growth in girls' education produced young career women who took up modern occupations and interests. Their voice was beginning to be heard in traditional politics as well as in the evolving modern political associations. Naturally, they expressed concern about the status of indigenous female institutions. Evidence of this can be seen in a letter to the editor of the Yoruba News, signed simply "An Ibadan Lady". Quoting Johnson on the role of the Iyalode, she asked

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If she was of such estimation in those days why she was today retrograded? The present Iyalode of Ibadan is a salaried chief and represents the entire female population of the town land farms. We found it therefore of vital significance that she becomes recognized as she is becoming more conspicuous in the social life of Ibadan and we humbly and respectfully look on the Authorities the (sic) she would be accorded her undisputed right of a seat in the council Chamber.

Rukayat died in June 1951, aged about 100. Her life spanned the century of Ibadan's rise and fall, the establishment of the colonial state and the emergence of nationalist politics that would eventually result in Nigerian independence. She witnessed the evolution of the Iyalode title from its incorporation as part of an expanding military state to its incorporation in the system of indirect rule delineated by the British administration. In her last days, her failing health prevented her from active participation in market affairs and local politics, allowing Abimbola, then the Otun Iyalode, a clear field for political agitation and intrigue. Every Monday, the Iyalode's chiefs went to her house to brief her on events. A popular leader Rukayat had maintained the dignity of her office, restoring the title to public prominence. She is particularly remembered for her adamant resistance to attempts to impose taxation on women by the colonial authorities and levies of communal labour for road construction by the chiefs.

At the end of Rukayat's sixteen years' tenure (1935-1951), the Agbaje agitation occurred. The history of this political crisis is well known and we need not go into detail here. Briefly, it marked the transition from the domination of the elderly traditional chiefs to increased political participation by the younger western educated elite. Focused on the role of Chief Salami Agbaje, then the Otun Balogun, in local government politics, it resulted in numerous violent demonstrations, charges and counter charges, eventually ending in a commission of Inquiry which exonerated

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Abgaje and instituted sweeping changes in the administration of Ibadan. Rukayat signed a petition against Agbaje, but it was Abimbola, her successor, who acted as the public spokeswoman of a large section of Ibadan women. Butcher regarded Abimbola as a very important witness in his inquiry. She provided information about the sources of women's resentment against Agbaje and their demonstrations against him. Influenced by innuendo and misinformation from the senior chiefs, they held him responsible for increases in stall rents. During her testimony before the commission, she admitted that had the women known the truth about rent increases, they would never have joined in the agitation and demonstration. Obviously she did not mean this, for once she returned to her domain, **she continued to lead massive demonstrations against Agbaje**. For example, on 3 April 1951, huge crowds of market women staged a demonstration round the street to protest at the Ibadan District Council meeting in Mapo Hall. Markets remained closed throughout the day.

Installed by Oba Olubadan Fijabi II on 13 July 1951, Abimbola's period in office was one in which significant changes occurred in the female title system. Still intent on protection women's tradition interest and welfare, she became deeply involved in nationalist politics. The titled system itself began to expand as educated women leaders began to compete for chiefly office or had it thrust upon them. In 1954, the Ibadan Progressive Union (IPU) elected five women members to join the Olubadan in Council. They were Mrs. Soares (daughter of the Okuseinde family); Mrs. Akande of Oke-Odo; Wuraola Esan (Iyalode from 1975-85) Alhaja Humani Alade (Iyalode from 1985 to 1995), and the incumbent Iyalode, Wuraola Akanke Akintola. According Chief Akintola,

All of us were reluctant to accept these chieftaincy offers as the invitation meant that we have been made chiefs. We were reluctant to accept initially because we thought that chieftaincy role should be left to the elderly ones. When the Ibadan Progressive Union insisted that women who were very hardworking should be made chiefs, we finally yielded.

Three of these new chiefs were also active in Action Group politics. Their titles become important sources of legitimatizing their political aspirations and contributed to their growing influence in nationalist activities.

As Iyalode, Abimbola represented the shift from a leader who confined her interests to those sanctioned by tradition. Her background put her squarely among her predecessors. She was a trader in foodstuff, principally pepper, in Oja-ba market. She came into prominence during the Agbaje agitation, when she was a member of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC), but changed her allegiance to the AG after she took her seat in the Olubadan-in-Council. Thus, it was to be expected that she would lend her support to the women's section of the Action Group after its inauguration in 1953. Abimbola was a force to reckon with, but more research is clearly required to fill in the gap of our knowledge about her personal history.

During the 1950s, the taxation of women became an important issue. Previously, women had succeeded in opposing taxation in most areas of southern Nigeria, except Abeokuta and Ijebu Ode. In these two towns, determined agitation against female taxation occurred respectively in 1947-1948 and 1951. Whereas the colonial administration had been reluctant to push this issue, the emergent nationalist governments recognized that this might be a retrograde move. On the one hand, supporting the women's opposition to taxation might be popular among the masses. On the other hand, payment of tax was a requirement for voting, and they needed to expand the electorate. A compromise was reached whereby women earning over

twenty-four pounds per annum were required to pay income tax. Sporadic agitation against any taxation whatsoever occurred from November 1951 to 1952.

As Nigeria approached independence, the market system, the traditional domain of the Iyalode and her chiefs, began to expand, specifically the markets. Development plans called for modernization and expansion. In December 1953, the municipal government announced that Dugbe market was scheduled for modernization. New markets were established under the control of the municipal government. The growth of municipal and state control over market institutions greatly affected women who formed a majority of the traders. How much this affected titled women needs further exploration. One thing is certain, women chiefs wanted to enhance their status. In 1953, the Iyalaje and the Ekerin Iyalode petitioned that their titles were high enough to warrant a monthly salary. Thus, on the eve of independence the Iyalode line had retained its prestige and showed a capacity for reflecting the changing aspirations of women and the public at large.

4.0 CONCLUSION

The office of the Iyalode of Ibadan, the principal female chief, underwent significant changes during the history of Ibadan. Introduced by Oyo settlers, strong women leaders transformed an office clearly subordinate to the male hierarchy into an independent, aggressive office that suited the needs of an expanding military state. The role of the Ibadan Iyalode in warfare has been highlighted by historians, observers and administrators since the publication of Samuel Johnson's book. While her military importance was recognized, we would argue that her more important role was the organization and management of women's affairs generally and the market system, a key to women's economic independence and accumulation of wealth. All the women who held the title were wealthy traders. Managing the women's prison was also another important duty.

Under colonial rule, all the Iyalodes continued to be wealthy traders and were held in high esteem by both the general populace and the administration. Press reports and oral accounts bear testimony to their high profile in public life, contrary to what assumptions concerning the eclipse of women's institutions would lead us to expect. Although colonial regulations introduced changes in the market and prison systems, by and large, the Iyalode's functions with regard to the market women's organizations, other women's affairs, and female prisoners remained the same. Although the Iyalode's role as military leader no longer was relevant, influential Iyalodes during this period utilized their position and status to organize protest movements against unpopular regulations and legislation that affected women. As decolonization proceeded, various Iyalodes engaged in active politics on the side of the party that eventually led the Western Region into independence.

While much of their authority and influence survived under colonial rule, the office of Iyalode has experienced some erosion of its functions after independence. Its prestige remains high, and the Iyalodes who have-held office have included two very notable women who were deeply involved in nationalist politics one of them prominent in national political life. Most of these leaders share the occupational background of their predecessors; all but one was or is a wealthy trader. Wuraola represented a distinct departure, however, since she was both a professional and a leading politician, much involved in education and politics, as well as the first Christian to hold the title. There has been a tendency for the functions of the Iyalode to become more ceremonial than in the past. But the erstwhile Iyalode exerted great influence with market women's association and extended her activities to traders' associations that had both male and female membership. The Iyalodes after independence interested themselves in the issues of development and government, but have not adopted neutrality as the appropriate stance of a traditional chief.

Throughout the history of Ibadan, the Iyalode line of chiefs has provided an avenue of leadership for talented women. The line itself has expanded to incorporate more influential women as women have come to the forefront of public life. Today titles have become much sought for the social prestige it confers on individuals.

CHAPTER SEVEN EMERGENCE OF PROFESSIONAL WARRIORS AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF POWERFUL KINGDOMS IN YORUBALAND (1570 – 1900)

1.0 THE ORIGIN OF YORUBA PEOPLE

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

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

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

1.1 The Oduduwa Revolution in Ile-Ife

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

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

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

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

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

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

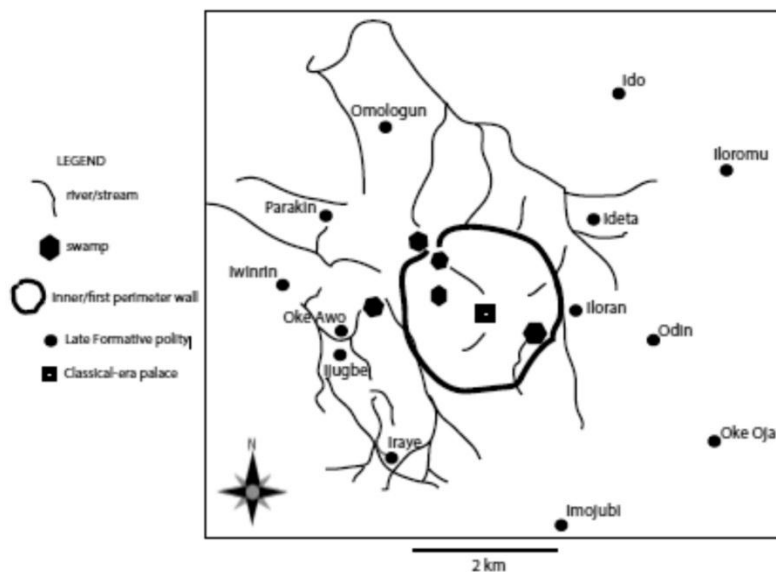


Figure 2.4. Approximate location of mega-House polities in Ilé-Ife, ca. 800–1000

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

The ready acceptance and absorption of the **Oduduwa group** have been due to their high intelligence, dynamism and superior culture; and also to the liberal and progressive capacity of the aborigines to accommodate strangers, and new ideas. The richness of Yoruba culture is therefore due largely to the blending of the two cultural traditions evolved in different environment.

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

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

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

Yoruba cites cannot be ruled out, the rise of most of them appears to be organic, that is natural through the voluntary migration or movement of a large number of the aboriginal population to the royal capitals of the new rulers magnetized by their charismatic attributes.

1.2 Conflicting Account of Children of Oduduwa:

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

- (vi) The Ooni of Ife,
- (vii) The Alaafin of Oyo,
- (viii) The Oba of Benin,
- (ix) Alake of Egbaland
- (x) The Awujale of Ijebuland

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

- (viii) The mother of the Olowu of Owu,
- (ix) The mother of the Alaketu of Ketu
- (x) The King of Benin
- (xi) The King of Ila
- (xii) The Onisabe of Sabe
- (xiii) The Olupopo of the Popos, and
- (xiv) Oranyan, the First Alafin of Oyo

1.3 Contemporary Historical Facts:

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

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

(c) About **Awujale** of **Ijebu-Ode** by name, **Lagborogan**. He was the son of Oduduwa through **Gborowo** his mother and the daughter of **Olu-Iwa** who claimed to have come from **Waddai** (the present day Chad) and passed through Ife to found Ijebu Ode. **ARISU** succeeded Olu-Iwa before Lagborogan migrated to Ijebu-Ode

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

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

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

1.4 Direct Sons and Descendants of Oduduwa:

All Yoruba sub-groups are unanimous in their claims of descent from a common ancestor ODUDUWA. This is unlikely to be completely true. What probably happen, according to Oluremi I. Obateru (2004) was that the early provincial rulers descended from Oduduwa. The most comprehensive list of Yoruba kings was on page 18 and 19 of Omotoso Eluyemi's Book- "This is Ile-Ife" published

in 1986. Omotoso Eluyemi, an historian and archeologist, asserts that the children and grandchildren of Oduduwa who left Ile-Ife to found other Kingdoms were:

(B) DIRECT SONS OF ODUDUWA

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

Sources:

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

2.0 THE YORUBA KINGDOMS AND THEIR NORTHERN NEIGHBOURS

Everything has a history” is a recent **mantra** of American Historical American aimed at affirming the ever present qualities of historical understanding in everyday lives and multiples scales, from personal decisions and household budgeting to public policies.

The tragic northern hemisphere linked Ile-Ife with the trade termini on the River Niger and gave the Yoruba world access to the commercial traffic between the Western Sudan and the Mediterranean. Saharan copper and salt, as well as Mediterranean and Chinese silk and other clothing materials were entering the eleventh or twelfth century in exchange for sundry rain forest goods, of which ife glad beads and ivory ere the most highly prized.

2.1 Trading Opportunities

According to Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran (2020), early in its development, *Ile-Ife employed military and diplomatic strategies to open up and protect the trade routes to the River Niger, especially between Moshi and Osin tributaries*. These efforts are encapsulated in the oral traditions regarding the activities of Oranmiyan, who is said to have launched military campaigns in the Rive Niger area.

The stories of this legendary figure (Oranmiyan) reveal Ile-Ife's efforts to secure the safe passage of its exports and imports across the river. Indeed, Ife trading stations were located in this zone of trading termini, in addition to several Yoruba-speaking communities that occupied a 310-kilometer stretch of land on both banks of River Niger for most of the Classical period. This was a zone of transition in which trading stations, and port towns and villages received export from Ile-Ife and other parts of the Yoruba world and imports from the Sudan. It is, therefore, not surprising that some of the dramatic events of contestation conflict, and collaboration that shaped Ife hegemony took place in this northern axis of commerce, especially between Igbomina and the Moslul-Niger area.

2.2 OWU KINGDOM AND ITS NORTHERN NEIGHBOURS

Of all the northern Yoruba polities of the middle classical period, Owu was the most prominent and the largest. Located in the wooded savanna, between the preset-day Saki and Kisi, it was one of the earliest colonies of client states of Ife. This ancient kingdom was strategically located to protect and control the routes linking the Yoruba world to the Western Sudan through the Ibariba country.

However, more important, the city-state of Owu derived phenomenal wealth from its control of the trade routes that linked the Western Sudan with the Yoruba regions and through which the Ife glass beads passed into the Middle Niger valley. It appears that in the early **fourteenth century**, Owu began to use the profits from these

commercial opportunities to buy horses from their northern Wasangari, Mossi, and Songhai neighbours and soon became the first cavalry state in the Yoruba world.

As its wealth grew on account of the control of the shortest trade routes that linked the Western Sudan to the rain forest, Owu embarked on an ambitious expansionist agenda, according to Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran (2020). At the peak of its power during the **mid-fourteenth century**, its territory encompassed **Saki** in the west and the **early Ila kingdom (Ila-Yara)** in the east. The Oyo kingdom was also one of its prized vassal states. **And Owu controlled some of the Ibarapa polities to the South.** The use of cavalry made this vast territorial gain across the woodland savanna possible,

However, emboldened by its wealth, military strength, and strategic commercial location, Owu began to undermine the commercial and political interests of Ife, militarily and ideologically. With its invasion of Ife's spheres of influence as far as **Igbomina**, Owu declared open war on the political.

2.3 Emergence of Professional Warriors

Emergence of **warlords** owed much to the wars and political chaos created by the fall of Oyo, and the inter-state competition or political dominance and territories.

(a) Causes of Wars:

Yoruba wars in the nineteenth century were executed to promote certain interests, either of the states or of the warlords. ***A war could be caused by the expansionists or imperialist interest of a state, for instance, the ambitions of Ibadan and Ijaye struggling for supremacy.***

Imperialism provoked several reactions that, in turn promoted other wars; some states might desire **the maintenance of the statute quo**, just as the **Egba** and **Ijebu** did, according to Professor Toyin Falola (2012).

Other states might take up arms in defense of their territories and more importantly, colonized people struggled for their independence, as the **Ekiti** and **Ijesa** demonstrated in **1877**.

Wars were sometimes of **punitive retaliatory** or **predatory character**. From the standpoint of the state which initiated it, the immediate causes of the war were:

- the giving of help to the enemy,
- personal feuds between the kings or principal chiefs of the two states,
- a private grudge borne by one king or head chief against another,
- a revolt of tributary towns or provincial ethnic groups (e.g Afonja of Ilorin and Lisabi-led Egba revolution).
- failure of one town to punish or deliver up a member who had perpetrated some high-handed acts in another town.

(b) Who are the Warriors?

Warriors also emerged in the various communities, though war never become a Profession. **Soldiers were recruited from age-grade associations** (for example, among the Ekiti and Ijebu) or from different wards or villages. All able-bodied males were expected to join the army whenever there was a war, and the all went back to their regular occupations as soon as the war was over. Thus, there were no standing armies.

Nevertheless, a few occupations were associated with **security and war**. *The hunters formed a para-military society whose members ensured the security of towns and villages, trade routes, markets, and farmlands. They* also acted as **scouts** in times of war. **Blacksmiths** also occupied prominent positions because they provided the weapons of war.

Leadership in war passed to the warlords rather than to the civil authorities. Warlords built private armies which, in a number of instances, acquired the characteristics of a standing army, with well-thought out military formations and strategies to win.

The warlords were, however, concerned with two issues other than the conduct of war: **First**, they loved power. Indeed, military-oriented governments emerged in places such as *Ibadan, Ijaye, Oke-Odan, and Ayede*. *They became the recognized leaders in their societies and civil authorities were relegated to the background.*

- (i) **Second**, they had to build up a large number of dependents and asenals. To achieve this, they took part in trade and large-scale farming, and encouraged raiding for booty.

The distinguished warlords lived like kings. They had hundreds of dependents, relatives, hangers-on and slaves. They built **large compounds**, some of which were bigger than **palaces**, they kept **large harems**, entertained lavishly and dominated public discourse. The warriors at Ibadan, according to Professor Toyin Falola (2012) operated in this context.

Ibadan has a Registered Association of Ancient Ibadan Warlord families. In the “**republic of Warriors**” the warriors shaped the coloration and character of politics, they controlled how politics functioned procedural, calculated and fought its wars; and created on agricultural-military complex to produce an energetic and over-expanding economy.

3.0 OYO EMERGED THE DOMINANT STATE IN THE 16TH CENTURY

Those of regeneration and restoration between **1560 and 1570** were defined not by peace but by a new wave of **military actions tied to territorial power politics and the creation of a new social order.**

The removal of Nupe's thorn from the flesh of Oyo (through military victories) allowed the latter to re-occupy their old territory closer to the **Moshi-Niger** area and begin rebuilding their kingdom, **1570-1590**. Those victories also set Oyo on the path of territorial expansion. **Alaafin Abipa** achieved the completion of the **series of military victories** over the Nupe, he also led the return-home campaign which was the centerpiece of his reign.

Alaafin Abipa's determination to relocate the seat of his government closer to the old capital was part of the grand objective to secure Oyo's boundaries against any future Nupe intrusions; recapture the trading routes linking the Moshi-Niger to the central Sudanese and western Sudanese market, important sources for Oyo's horses, **and launch an expansionist military agenda** that will bring a vast tributary area under Oyo's control (Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran, 2020).

With the defeat of the Nupe brigand's, Oyo emerged as the dominant state in the **Yoruba savannah**. Alaafin Abipa and his chieftains immediately began sassing their newly acquired military hardware, horses, to launch a swift expansion across the entire Northern Yoruba region. His successor, Alaafin Obalikun maintained the momentum.

One of the most celebrated **warrior kings** in Oyo history, Obalokun used the restless spirit of his soldiers to accelerate Oyo's expansionist campaigns during the **1590's** and the first decade of the seventeenth century, fighting wars in many directions; in **Igbomina, east central Ekiti, Upper Ogun, Egba, and the Yewa-Ogun** area.

He completed the process of transforming **Oyo's Calvary** from defensive to offensive force and laid a comprehensive framework for Oyo's imperial ambitions.

3.1 RECKLESS EXPLOITATION AND ABUSE OF POWER

Like most empires, **Oyo was an exploitative economic system**, according to Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran (2020), especially from the point of view of its client states and tributary appendages. The empire's military and political institutions were geared toward achieving its economic interests, expansion, taxes, tributes, and creating favorable markets for the empires products.

In some instances of reckless exploitation and abuse of power. **Alaafin Abiodun** and his immediate successor, **Aole Arogangan** (1789-96), ordered attacks on the provinces whose leaders they accused of insubordination during their princely years. For example, **Abiodun** claimed that the son of the potentate of Ijaye, an Egba town, insulted him during one of his trading missions there. On ascending the throne, according to Oyo's palace information "he **avenged the alleged insult by ordering the destruction**" of his prominent trading town.

Alaafin Aole Arogangan ordered military action against **Apomu**, a provincial town of Ile-Ife, in order to avenge his humiliation of the hands of the Baale (head) of the town during his princely years as a trader. He also took the misstep of ordering an attack against Iwere (Ibarapa area), reputed to be the maternal town of Alaafin Ajagbo.

Such attacks against the tributary towns and provinces of the empire abused the honor of the military, undermined respect for the Alaafin's institution, and did not endear the loyalty of the provinces toward the Oyo metropolis. The attacks also divided the loyalty of the metropolis's population, some of whom had relatives in those tributary towns.

In effect, Alaafin Abiodun's attack on Ijaye hardened the resolve of Egba provinces for independence, and it galvanized their mobilization for the removal of the yoke of Oyo imperialism. As a result, full blown uprisings dogged Oyo's rule among the Egba at different periods between **1790 and 1820. *The passing of Aole and the metropolitan anti-Alaafin revolt that led to his death marked the beginning of the end of the Oyo Empire.***

3.2 Lisabi Revolution against Oyo Imperialism:

Lisabi started his organizing by taking advantage of the traditional system of **Aaro**, combination local farmers for helping one another on their farms. Working secretly, he linked the small local groupings together throughout the Egba country to form one secret organization. Then he changed the objective of the organization and turned it into a sprawling underground army, with the new name of **Egba Oleerogun** (Professor S. Adebajji Akintoye, 2010).

When all was ready, Lisabi gave the signal for a general uprising by killing the Ajele at **Igbein** (sometime around **1797**). Within **600 Ajele's** were killed in all parts of Egbaland. The Alaafin's government set up a large army made up of contingents from Oyo, Egbado and Ibarapa. Since Oyo-Ile could no longer command the services of leading **war-chiefs** like the **Kakanfo Afonja** or the **Baale of Igboogun**, the army that proceeded to Egbaland was offered by men with small names.

This army crossed the **Ogun River** and headed for Igbein, Lisabi's hometown. Lisabi formed the men of Igbein and surrounding towns into an army and, as its commander, showed how good a general he was. **He ordered the people of Igbein to desert their town and he then hid his army in ravines where the Oyo army could not see them.** The Oyo army easily entered the town, but as they searched around in it, Lisabi's hidden men descended upon them. **The Oyo army was completely routed. Lisabi won independence for the Egba people,** and the Oyo Empire had lost its Egba provinces.

3.3 Regional Power Politics and the Rise of Ilesa:

The Oyo were not the only Yoruba elements seeking to expel the Nupe militarists from their homeland. Further south, in the upper reaches of the rain forest, several **Ekiti polities** fought the Nupe under the banner of Benin. **Ile-Ife** is also said to have been engaged in a protracted and costly war at **Ara** (in Ekiti country) during the **sixteenth century**.

(a) Displacement of Owu and Oyo:

The savannah metropolis of Owu, west of River Ogun, was **liquidated** either by Nupe militarists or by the combined forces of the Oyo and their allies. For the latter, it would have been **a revenge attacks** on Oyo's former overlord. Whatever the case, **the turbulence in the Mishi-Niger area** pushed the Owu Southward into the rain forest, where they rebuilt their policies in the area between the Ife and Egba territories in the late sixteenth century.

The disruptive economy of slave raiding spearheaded by the mounted **Nupe brigands** gained the upper hand, halted the rising economic and political profile of Oyo in the capital of the old Oyo kingdom, somewhere near the River Niger. **The Nupe brigandage** also penetrated deep into Yoruba country, and this led to the collapse of many population centres in **Yagba, Igbomina, Ibolu** and **Ekiti**.

(b) The Creation Of New Kingdom Of Ilesa In 1580's:

The spate of military activities and political maneuvering that took place in this area between **1570 and 1590** was the most important and dramatic development on the political landscape of the Yoruba region during the **Restoration period**. The power politics associated with these events led to the creation of a new kingdom Ilesa, in the **1580's**, just twenty kilometers North-east of Ile-Ife. Over a period of three decades (1580-1610), this young kingdom was instrumental in redrawing the political geography of the central Yoruba region.

Ajibogun acquired the nickname (he who fetched the sea water to cure the blindness of Oduduwa) his father. With no inheritance left, **Oduduwa** blessed Ajibogun Obokun and gave him a magic sword. He then commanded him to go forth and use the sword to conquer some of the territories that his **senior brothers** had already acquired (Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran, 2020).

It was this **mission of conquest** that brought Ajibogun Obokun to **Eka-Osun** (a province of Ife during classical period). Soon after conquering several polities in the area, Ajibogun Obokun died, and his son, **Obara** took over the mantle of leadership. The latter settled in **Ilemure** and renamed it **Ibokun** (after his father) from there, **Obarabara** continued the process of military conquest until his son, **Owaluse**, established a permanent seat of government in Ilesa. Ajibogun Obokun is therefore regarded as the founding ancestor of the Owa Obokun dynasty of Ilesa.

With his defeat of **Owari** and other competitors and foes, and with his successful **establishment of Ilesa as the capital of the new kingdom**, **Owaluse laid the foundation for what would soon become the most powerful kingdom in the central Yoruba region, east of River Ogun**. His successor, **Atakunmosa**, continued this momentum by consolidating the power of Ilesa through military conquests and creating a template for the kingdom's external relations.

4.0 THE STATE BUILDERS OF IFE KINGDOM

4.1 Oranmiyan And Obalufon Alayemere's:

According to Ife oral and written traditional history, **Obalufon Ogbogbodirin** was not the first Ooni of Ife as claimed by the late His Imperial Majesty, Ikubabayeye. The Alaafin of Oyo, Oba Lamidi Adeyemi; II (Thursday Tribune, February 14, 2009). It was **Obalufon Ogbogbodirin who succeeded Oduduwa** (page 635 of IFE: the sources of Yoruba Civilization, 2009) and Chief (Dr.) M.O. Fabunmi who said **Obalufon Ogbodirin and Osangangan Obamakin** are the same person. "IFE: The Genesis of the Yoruba Race, 1985.

According to the historical charter that explains *the dynastic relationship between Benin and Ile-Ife*, there was a period of political turmoil in Benin during which leaders of several House polities could not agree on a leader. They sent a delegation to the king of Ile-Ife to ask him to send a prince to Benin to rule them. **Oranmiyan** was the prince selected for the task. **Oranmiyan** married a daughter of one of the leaders of the Great House of Benin, who bore him a son called **Eweka**. After some time, the warlike and restless **Oranmiyan** was tired of ruling over a people whose language he did not understand. *He also preferred the adventures of military life to the slow-paced arts of governance.* So he left **Eweka** and His wife in the care of his father-in-law and decreed that **Eweka** should serve as the king of Benin once he was of age (Professor Akmwumi Ogundiran (2020).

It is true that his son Obalufon Alayemore succeeded his father, and when Oranmiyan heard of it, he left Oyo lie with Dada Ajuwon and drove away Obalufon Alayemore from the throne of Ile-Ife and ran to *found Efon Alaye* as a refuge. Alaafin claimed that the story was absurd, that it is not clear that Efon Alaye had been in existence even before Ile-Ife to have accommodated a runaway Ooni of Ife, the deposed Obalufon Alayemore.

But according to professor I. Akinjogbin, it was during the period that Ooni Obalufon Alayemore was driven out by Oranmiyan, his uncle, from the throne of Ile-Ife that he lived around the present day **Iddo Osun** between **Ede** and **Osogbo**, followed by a large number of people in Ife **and later migrated to the Ekiti country where he stayed at Ilara and from where he went back to Ife to succeed Oranmiyan as the 5th Ooni of Ile-Ife in the fourteenth century.**

Sir Adesoji Aderemi, the Ooni of Ife (1930-1980), also confirmed that, the **Obalufon Alayemore of Efon** was one of the direct sons of Cduduwa who was installed of three separate ceremonies viz as the 3rd Ooni of Ife, two, who migrated and founded Efon Alaaye and installed as the fifth (5th) Ooni of Ife. They and their descendants have thus retained the right to wear "Ade-Ileke" beaded crown.

According to Babalola, **Obalufon Alayemore** (who succeeded Oranmiyan after his return from **Efon** Alaaye was **the first Oonkthat brought effective government to Ile-Ife, more importantly, he carried out administrative re-organization which** followed the victory over Ugbo people new in Okitipupa whose king is **Akinruntan**.

4.2 Encounter between Ife and Owu:

Like many other Yoruba polities during the classical period, Owu was within Ife ritual field. Its patron deity, *Alugbua*, was (and still is) an avatar of Obatala (Professor Akinwumi, Ogundiran, 2020). However, emboldened by its **wealth, military strength, and strategic commercial location**, Owu began to undermine the commercial and political interests of Ife, militarily and ideologically. With its invasion of Ife's spheres of influence as far as *Igbomina*, Owu declared open war on the political and economic interest of Ife. The Owu leaders did not stop there. They also began to make strong ideological claims that theirs was the first kingdom in the Yoruba world's *ebi fraternity*. Hence the saying **Owu I'akoda: "Owu is the oldest**

kingdom". This primus inter pares ideology directly challenged the apical status of Ife in the Yoruba community of practice.

Whatever the motivations for Owu's expansionist program, the *outcome of the struggle between the frontier kingdom and Ile-Ife* proved that Obalufe Alayemore (Obalufe II) reclaimed lost "territories and established new Ife colonies in *Igbomina* with military vigor, expansionist drive and political sagacity. *Igbomina* was previously under Owu's influence. There was overall peace and prosperity across the land, and his name became synonymous with wealth, innovation, security, and stability across the region.

Owu's expansionist agenda, hegemonic ambitions, and military forays into *Igbomina* posed a serious threat to the northern thrust of Ife's commercial empire. Containing this threat was the centerpiece of **Obalufon Alayemore's** political agenda when he ascended the throne of Ife during the *mid-fourteenth century*. Also known as **Obalufon II** in the historiography, he is reputed to have pursued vigorous military campaigns and political diplomacy in order to reinstate Ife's influence and control of commercial networks along the northern axis. Obalufon II resuscitated the expansionist programme that his earlier predecessors had put in place during the *twelfth and thirteenth centuries*.

Those efforts had already built the Ife Empire by building *Owu, Owo* and *Ede*, as well as most of the *Ekiti and Igbominu* territories, to the sphere of Ile-Ife's influence. By the time Obalufon II came to power, most of the northern frontiers of the empire under *Owu*. In order to turn the tide, the king focused his attention on the *Igbomina* area. This was necessary to halt the advance of Owu into Ile-Ife itself.

4.3 Restoration of Ile-Ife Ancient Status:

By the **1620s**, Ile-Ife had lost its far-flung and nearby territories to the new powers, ***Ilesa, Benin, Oyo and Ijebu-Ode***. Its recovery was slower compared to the other polities mentioned above. Without the military wherewithal to challenge the intruders, all Ife could do was focus on sorting out its own internal political problems, Ile-Ife experienced a delayed recovery, but it was not left out of the political rejuvenation that began in the last quarter of the seventh century. Its time of rebirth eventually came during the second quarter of the seventeenth century.

Lajamisan was the king of Ile-Ife who managed to secure the full recovery of the ancient city. He is remembered in the oral traditions as ***the founder of Post-Classical Ife dynasty***. It was, Lajamisan who facilitated the growth of population and urban urban expansion. One of his accomplishments was the rebuilding of some of the outer walls of the city, which had fallen into disrepair during the Intermediate period. *Lajodogun* and *b*, who reigned in turn after him, may have actually completed the walls.

However, Luwo Gbagida, the 18th Ooni of Ife and the first female king in Ile-Ife, was linked with the draining of many avines in Ile-Ife and with the paving of the major thoroughfares of the city with potsherds. According to Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran (2020), the popular association of Luwo Gbagida with potsherd pavement in Ile-Ife traditions has no historical credibility.

Ogundiran went further, by the time Lajamisan took over the reins of power in Ile-Ife three aspects of material life that defined classical period, ***potsherd pavement, naturalistic terracotta and copper-alloy sculptures, and glass production, had ceased***. Luwo Gbagida also reigned when Ife was involved in the Ara war.

Notwithstanding the shortcomings of Ooni Luwo Gbagida who married High Chief Obaloran, she gave birth to the grandmother of *Lagelu*, the founder of Ibadan. The mother of Lagelu got married to the son of **Orunto; or Obalufe at Degelu** compound, Oke- Eso in lie Ife. She was also the mother of **Adekola Telu**, the ancestor of the first Oluwo, Olumade Parin. Adekola Tolu gave birth to three sons, and the last son gave birth to Parin who did not get to two before he died.

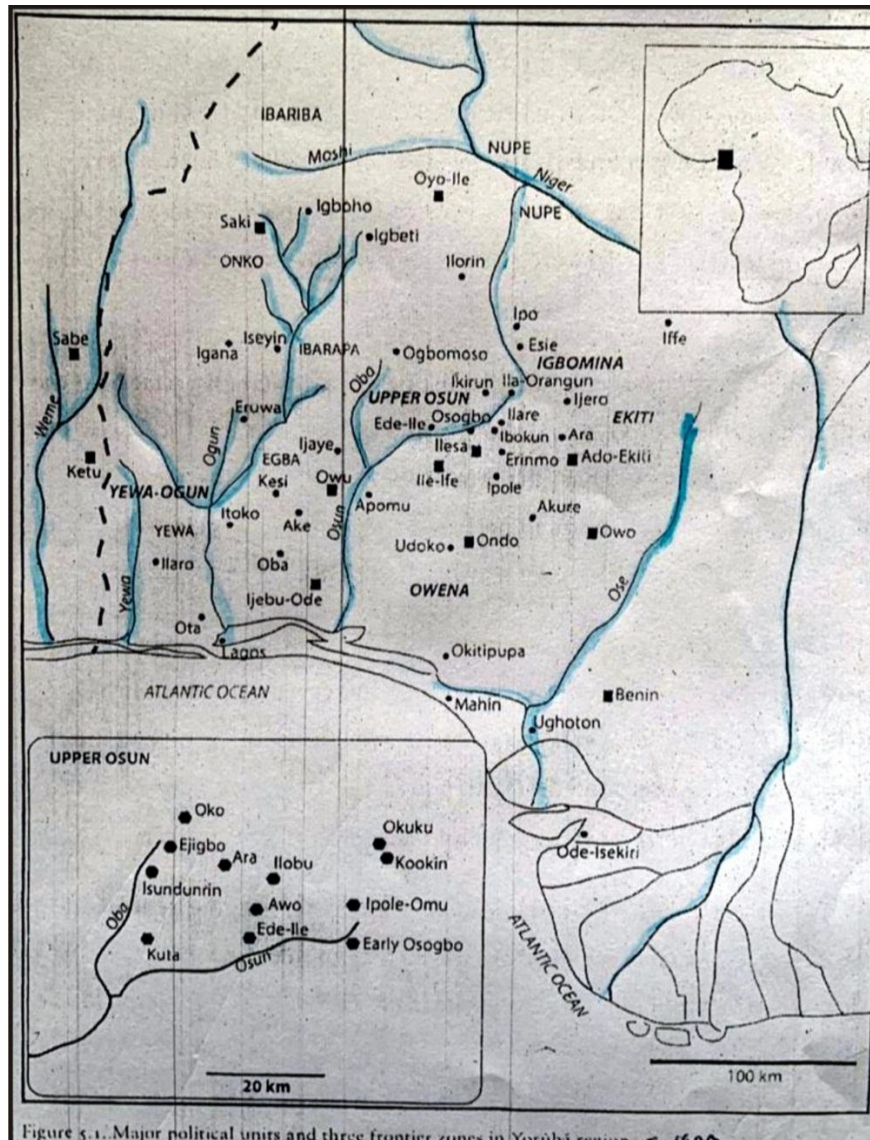


Figure 5.1. Major political units and three frontier zones in Yorubaland, c. 1600

5.0 HISTORICAL THIRD EMERGENCE OF A PRIMORDIAL CITY STATE OF IBADAN (1580 – 1893)

Culture encompasses the belief, norms and values, principles and ideals, customs and practices that characterize a group of people. Culture is known as shared identity among members of a society; ***it shapes how individuals see themselves and their place within the community, fostering a sense of belonging; services as social cohesion, it promotes social cohesion by establishing common values and norms that guide behaviour.***

In establishing political system of the town by the allied army of Ife, Oyo, Ijebu and Egba that ***took over the second Ibadan in 1825 preserved the composite character it had possessed as a wandering military hordes were preserved so that although the chieftaincy titles adopted were traditional ones the system itself was quite different from the normal pattern of Yoruba hereditary kingship system.*** The ***titles were not hereditary*** but were given in accordance with the effective position, personal ability, capability, bravery, skill, courage and values and not royalty of the holder in society and it was possible to progress from one title to another in the hierarchy even to the top as Baale (and later Olubadan).

Thus, communal differences had little political significance and the diverse groups tended to fuse together in a common Ibadan identity in the opposite manner to the Egba who preserved their original town and even village Identities within the single circumference of the walls of Abeokuta (Professor Akinlawon Mabogunje and Professor J. Omori- Cooper 1971).

According Professor Akinwumi Is (2007), The new system of leadership by appointment based on proven ability and merit was unlikely to throw up very bad leaders. That was an essential part of the principle and ideal of the spirit of Ibadan. The city therefore started attracting into its fold not only young and valiant warriors seeking adventure and freedom from the shackles of ***dynastic aristocracy***, but also farmers and traders seeking refuge.

He went further that, Ibadan derived its strength and stability partly from the fact that all the people (legendary professional war veterans) who established and nurtured its unique characteristics came from different parts of Yorubaland. **Lagelu** came from Ile-Ife, **Oluyedun** from Ilorin, **Oluyole** was from Oyo while **Oyesile Baale Olugbode** came from Kuta. **Ogunmola** hailed from Fesu near Iwo and **Ibikunle** migrated from Ogbomoso. **Orowusi** came from Ogbaagba and **Aiyejenku Foko** was from Eju (Onipee, Young) and so on. Each one brought with him unique experiences in the techniques of war and administration but **they all subscribed to the idea of a free, just, egalitarian society without a hereditary system of leadership.**

The lineages were united in the Egungun *Festival* (ancestor cult) celebrations, usually held in June shortly before the yam harvest. There was also an **annual communal festival, the Okebadan**, held **for fertility rites and prosperity.**

The Okebadan was dedicated both to the spirit of the hill, as a thanksgiving 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. Thus, Olubadan, like other Yoruba communities, had a communal god; the Okebadan, **its annual rituals and** ceremonies provided a unifying force and an **ethnic identity to** the people.

5.1 The Status of Awotan and hills of refuge

Awotan is in ward 4, Ido Local Government Area of Ibadan. It was an **ancient settlement/market** surrounded by Egba-Gbagura town such as: Ido Bakatari, Ijokodo, Ojoo, Ika, Ikeye etc. the reality in Nigeria is that human settlement constitute a continuum ranging in size from the **farmstead** through the **hamlet, village, town or city, metropolis** and **conurbation** to the **megapolis.**

Lola Tomori

However, considering the concept of the **urban hierarchy**, Awotan was a **village or farmstead** at the time Lagelu “Oro-apata-maja” and the children sought refuge on **Awotan Hills** near **Eleyele Lake** in the eighteen century. It was the establishment of the second Ibadan at Oriyangi formerly call Labosinde now known as Oja’ba market Labosinde now known as **Oja’ba** market, named after Basorun Oluyole which transformed traditional Ibadan to a city, an important regional centre in Yorubaland. The Baale of Awotan (ALAWOTAN) was upgraded to a **coronet wearing Oba** in Ido Local Government by the Authority of His Imperial Majesty, the Olubadan of Ibadanland.



Fig. 2: Oke’badan Hill from Awotan:



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

5.2 Occupation of the Second Ibadan in 1825:

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

(a) Egba Chiefs:

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

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

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

(b) Oyo Chiefs:

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

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

(c) Ife Chiefs

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

(d) Ijebu Chiefs

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

Rich with the booty of these expeditions, and finding no fresh fields of operation for their arms they decided to disband the army. The Ijebu war chiefs

returned home and the Ifes set out to return by way of Oorun; the Oyos who had nowhere to go to accompanied them. There were thousands of Oyos already in Ife districts.

5.3 The Siege of Oorun and the Conquest of the Gbagura

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

A dispute arose between the people of Idomapa a neighbouring town and the Gbaguras about territorial limits which at length broke out into war and Oluwole the king of Idomapa who was the weaker of the two combatants asked the aid of Labgsinde one of the leading Ife war-chiefs, and through him the rest of the Ife and Oyo war-chiefs against **Ajiboso the king of the Gbaguras**.

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

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

As their fighting men had all fallen at Oorun the conquest of all the rest of the Gbagura towns was complete. Oorun when captured was fired ; being a town situated on a high hill, the conquerors were able by the aid of the light to pursue their victory to the next town which they found deserted, and so on to the next and the next until they reached **Ojoho**. The towns deserted and overrun that night were **Oorun, Ijaiye-maja, Kosi-kosi, Ikerekuiwere, Ora, Ibadan. Ofa and Oje** were also deserted, but

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the conquerors did not know of this till three days after as they lay outside their line of March.

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

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

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

As stated in the preceding section there were some friendly Egba chiefs who joined the marauders at Idi Ogugun and at Ipara, and now they were all living together at Ibadan. The most influential among them were: - Lamodi, Apati, Ogunbona, Oso,

Gbewiri, and Inakoju. Ogundipe, who afterwards became a notable chief at Abeokuta was then but a blacksmith and a private soldier.

5.4 Ethnic Rivalry at Ibadan Camp

Rivalry was so rife among these various tribes that altercations were frequent, and one led to a civil war. *In a public meeting held at the Isale Ijebu quarter of the town, Lamodi an Egba chief shot Ege an influential Ife chief down dead with a pistol, and in the commotion which ensued Lamodi himself was slain. For fear of the Ifes avenging the death of Ege the Egbas withdrew in a body from Ibadan and encamped on the other side of the Ona River, about 3 or 4 miles distant.* Here also they were ill at ease and after divination they sent for one Sodeke to be their leader, and they escaped to Abeokuta then a farm village of an Itoko man, and a resting place for traders to and from the Oke Ogun districts. Sodeke was at the head of this new colony until his death. This was about the year 1830 they were continually swelled by Egba refugees from all parts of the country and also by Egba slaves who had deserted their masters. **At Abeokuta the refugees kept together according to their family distinctions, viz.**

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

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

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

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



Neighbourhood of Mapo Hall and Oja'ba

5.5 ABEOKUTA: A CITY FOUNDED UNDER THE ROCK

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

The Egba nation is one of such numerous nations that had existed before the European incursion which interfered in the gradual evolution of Africa's development. It is also one of the more than 250 nations that were lumped together to form the territory that is known today as the Federal Republic of Nigeria. **Up until the 18th Century, the Egba people lived in a cluster of villages around a place known as Orile-Itoko, as a subject territory of the old Oyo Empire, which was one of the strongest empires that ever existed in West Africa.** Just like the Roman Empire, the Oyo Empire was so strong that it easily quelled any form of uprising or rebellion from any of its subject-states. It was however shocking when a little known, but brave warrior, Lisabi Agbongbo-Akala, arose from among the Egba people and led the nation in an uprising against the Oyo Army's continuous occupation of their land, the first in the history of political and military confrontation with the Oyo kingdom.



The defeated the Oyo army not only liberated the Egba people from the stronghold of the Oyo kingdom, it also signaled the disintegration of the all-mighty empire and the small nation of Egba ceased to be a colony of the Oyo empire and became a free state while Lisabi Agbongbo Akala, up to this day, is regarded as the father of the Egba people for his outstanding roles in the people's liberation.

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

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

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

6.0 OCCUPATION OF IJAYE BY PROFESSIONAL WARRIORS

The original occupants of Ijaye, were the **Egbas**, from the southern **Yoruba** tribe where they were mainly engaged in agricultural production. Between 1831 and 1833, the **Fulani** warriors from **Ilorin** attacked and captured several towns in northern Yorubaland. The displaced refugees from those towns taken by the Fulanis moved towards the south. Among the Oyo refugees who fled were warrior like, chiefs **Kurunmi** and Dado who led the army from a small town called Esiele.

These refugee warriors initially settled at a village called Ika-Odan, which became the abode of many Oyo warriors and generals who refused to acknowledge Ilorin’s military authority but awaited the time when they would have the opportunity to defeat the Fulanis and then be able to go back to their various towns. The original inhabitants were displaced **during the Osogbo war**. Ibadan leadership became hostile towards Kurunmi. In 1859, Atiba Atobatele died and his son Adelu succeeded him. While the installation of Adelu was supported by Ibadan and many Yoruba kingdoms based on the new social reform approved by Atiba Atobatele before he was-deceased, Kurunmi of Ijaye wanted the status quo, customs that stipulated that Adelu should have been made to die with his father. Therefore, Kurunmi refused to recognize the leadership of Adelu.

These refugees at **Ika-Odan** soon became master of the town, the wives and daughters of their hosts became theirs, and the hosts themselves practically their menials, according to Rev. Samuel Johnson (1921). Everything at home and in the farms was soon devoured as they lived only by foraging. When nothing remained in the Ika-Odan farms they extended their operations into the Ijaye farms.

When the Ijays could no longer endure it, and their farms were nearly all eaten up they attacked these marauders; a slur mish ensued and the forayers finding the men of too strong for them, sent home for reinforcements, **Dodo** without **Kurunmi** who led them to victory over **Ijaye**. The Ijays deserted the town and escaped to **Ika-Igbo**. **Ijaye new fell into the possession of the assailants who did not fire it, but simply occupied it as was done at Ibadan, each one taking possession of the finest compound he could get.**

Dodo now sent to invite **Kurumi** and the rest of the **war-chiefs Ika-Odan**, and they came and took possession of Ijaye. Thus that town passed out of the hands of Egbas, and became an Oyo town to this day (Rev. Samuel Johnson, 1991).

6.1 The Military Dictatorship Model of Governance

At Ijaye, the settlement had rough beginning, under the leadership of Dodo. After Dodo was removed from the scene, his place was taken by Kurunmi. With Kurunmi's leader, Ijaye grew very rapidly as large groups of refugees came to it, attracted by Kurunmi's reputation. A man of considerable personal charisma and military brilliance, Kurunmi quickly built Ijaye into a well ordered city with a formidable military machine.

Like Ibadan, Ijaye evolved into a state without a king. It grow into military dictatorship ruled by Kurumi who was much loved, even adored, by his people. Much has survived in the traditions about the persons of this man. He was one of the most resourceful generals of nineteenth century Yoruba history. He was fond illuminating his speeches with colourful proverbs. He loved to sing and

dance and, when, excited, would couch his proverbs in songs and dance to them. He was also impulsive by nature, and he grew old that trait seemed to worsen, but he ceased being a great military commander and leader of men.

By 1859, Ijaye had been built into a prosperous military powerhouse by Kurunmi, comparable to Abeokuta and Ibadan. While Kurunmi, who had become a veteran of several wars and an elder statesman, Ibadan had several leaders in successions after the death of **Oluyole**. By 1851, Chief Olugbode was the Baale of Ibadan (meaning lord or owner of the land). Among his military chiefs were Ibikunle, Balogun (or war general); and Ogunmola, Otun (meaning Right-hand man). **The Ijaye war with Ibadan was caused by Ibadan's attempts to become the sole power in Yorubaland, and Adelu to solidify his rulership in Oyo.** An opening to clash with Ijaye arose from a particular incidence. One Abu, a rich lady in Ijanna, a town under Ijaye, died without a will. Her property was supposed to revert to the Alaafin of Oyo, Adelu. When he sent messengers to remove her properties to Oyo, Kurunmi's war boys attacked the messengers and took them captive. All efforts by Adelu to settle amicably were rebuffed by Kurunmi, so Adelu ordered Ibadan to declare war on Kurunmi.

On the 10th of April 1859, at the Ibadan council meeting. Balogun Ibikunle, the war general raised the standard of war against Ijaye. Unlike Ibadan with youthful warriors and modern weapons, Kurunmi had put to death several of Ijaye's brave warriors and forbade any chief from acquiring ammunitions to ensure his continuous rulership, so his warriors had to resort to fight with bows and arrows. Ijaye received support from towns, such as Egba, Ilorin, and **Ijebu** who saw Ibadan as the main threat and common farming except. Dado would later become unrest rained: he would create false war alarms and had no regard for other war chiefs, until Kurunmi stood up to him and a civil war ensued. ***Dado with his wives and the small army were driven out of Ijaye. He wandered through several Yoruba towns including. Ibadan.***

After the death of his friend, Lakanle, an Ibadan war general, he became homeless. He would then return to Ijaye where he was murdered at the instance of Kurunmi.

Kurunmi drove away several war chiefs from Ijaye, who had to move about twelve miles to another village called Akese. Because of the military might under Kurunmi's leadership and easy access to trade and agricultural produce, Ijaye was able to expand rapidly and attracted many refugees. **Ijaye became a city-state comparable to Ibadan and Abeokuta.** Kurunmi began to form alliances with other military powers as a part of his plots. Ibadan who was led by war general **Oluyole** were one of these. He led several joint expeditions with Oluyole of Ibadan and both were especially close friends and contemporaries. A few cases of these joint expeditions were: Ibadan in the Gbanamu war against Chief Maye, who had been banished from Ibadan and his allied army; and the Onidese war, when Kurunmi, due to him being envious of the growing importance of the town and its neighbour Ile Ode, requested and got help from Ibadan. Between 1835 and 1836, Kurunmi and his warriors were part of the final Yoruba military coalition in the failed Eleduwe war to take Ilorin back from the Fulani hegemony.

7.0 THE NEW OYO TOWN UNDER ATIBA'S LEADERSHIP:

The new Oyo under Prince Atiba's leadership grew into large city like **Ibadan** and **Ijaye** until **1835**, Prince Atiba continued as the prince of the **dying Old Oyo kingdom**, to take part in the affairs of the Old Oyo kingdom while slowly building his new town. He was in the Alaafin Oluewu's campaign against Ilorin in 1835, the campaign in which Oluewu perished resulting in the abandonment of Oyo-Ile. After that terminal disaster of the Old empire, according to Professor S. Adebajji Akintoye (2010), **Prince Atiba was crowned Alaafin of Oyo in his new town.** Many urged him to return to the **abandoned Oyo-Ile** and rebuild it, but it choose to establish a new centre for the Oyo kingdom. Atiba embarked on a very intelligent and expertly orchestrated effort to substitute **his new Oyo for** the dead Oyo-Ile, and to make

himself the direct inheritor of the power, greatness and glory of the Alaafin's of the imperial era and the new **Oyo would be the new imperial capital.**

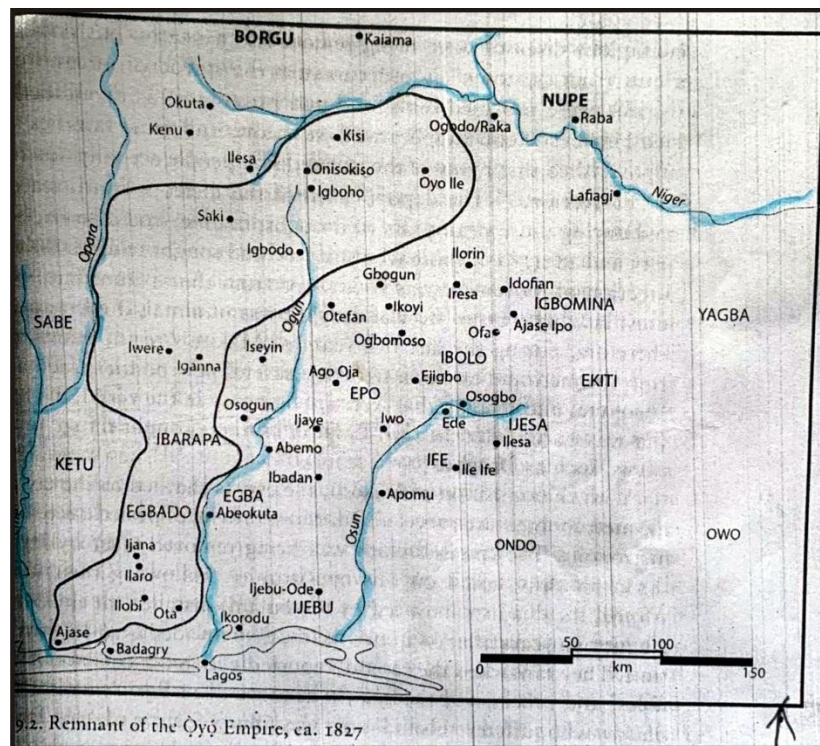
The rulers of **Ibadan** and **Ijaye** would be the **Alaafin's Basorun and Kakanfo** respectively. **Ibadan** would defend the **Ekun Osi** of the empire (that is, the Osun and Ibolu areas) and **Ijaye** would defend its **Ikun Otun** (that is, the upper Ogun region and the region to the west). Ultimately, the **revamped empire** would drive the Fulani out of Ilorin. The very important step was taken of conferring the titles of **Basorun on Oluyole of Ibadan and Kakanfo on Kurumi of Ijaye.**

At Oyo, the Alaafin began to build a large prestigious palace befitting the dignity of the new imperial capital, a beautiful though smaller replica of the great palace of Oyo-Ile. ***Beyond those steps, However, Alaafin Atiba was not able to go. It soon became clear that Ibadan and Ijaye, not Atiba's Oyo were the real centers of power and that each had expansionist or imperial ambition of its own.***

Yoruba towns in the north and northeast. ***In 1847, Oluyole died during his life time and leadership in Ibadan, the relationship with Kurunmi was mostly cordial and respectful. But it was at that time Ibadan grew and became a military powerhouse; it subdued many towns and villages, and checkmated the Fulani of Ilorin*** war lasted two years. Ibadan and its allies defeated Ijaye and destroyed the town. In retaliation, Egba and Ijebu attacked and took Remo; Ijebu took Iperu and Egba seized Makun. These effectively closed the two main trade routes to the coast by the Ibadan.

In an attack led by Ogunmola, Otun or right-hand man of Ibadan, at Iwawun, cut off food supplies to Ijaye, through **Oke-Ogun** towns. Five of Kurunmi's sons was caught and killed, which dealt him a severe blow. He died in June 1861 and was buried in a secret place by Abogunrin, his head of slaves along with the two slaves who dug his grave. ***When his burial ground was***

later found, his head was cut off and taken to Adelu, as the custom for holders of Are-ona-kakanfo or Yoruba Field Marshall title demanded. Abogunrin took over the rulership of Ijaye town and all of Kurunmi's treasures and properties including war weapons devolved to Abomerin. He took all civil and military decisions. On the 17th of March 1862, Ijaye fell to the hands of the Ibadan army. Abogunrin and other chiefs escaped to Abeokuta, where they were allocated portions of land to build their tents and houses to re-establish themselves, named **Ago Ijaye**.



5.4 Aftermath of Ijaye War:

The vicious war of Ijaye was achieved by massive destruction of farmland, people, and properties; and starvation accomplished by the raised siege on the city town. Ibadan military moved its permanent base to Alabata camp, which later grew into a village. Several Ijaye citizens migrated to the big towns of **Ibadan, Abeokuta, Oyo, Lagos**, and many other surrounding towns. Many Ijaye migrants who arrived in Ibadan came to join their relatives. Some came as captives and were employed in Ibadan farms or joined the military and were involved in expeditions. Some bought farmland but were excessively taxed. Ijaye refugees in Abeokuta came to meet the ones who had been displaced by Kurunmi in 1833. Those had settled in locations called Ijaye Kukudi and Ijaye Obirinti. The new refugees settled in Sokenu landmarks where they received protection through the *Christian missions in Abeokuta. A village called Ijaye-Ojutaye was established as a settlement for Ijaye migrant's to Oyo; while those who relocated was established as a settlement to a far place in Lagos, settled mostly in Abule-Ijaye around the Agege area.*

In the 1870s, relations of Kurunmi who were stationed in Abeokuta formed the Ijaye society and another Egbe Agba Ijaye society. The main objective was to reestablish and resettle back in their land. By 1893 they were encouraged by the fact that Ibadan needed bigger farmland for cocoa, cotton, and rubber cash crops for the British.

In 1895, **Orile Ijaye** was established. The early settlers were able to acquire huge land, for cocoa farming and would later lease the land to late entrants. *In the newly established Orile Ijaye, Kurunmi relations were rejected to lead their monarchical-republican systems and they got support from Ibadan who had to impose a man called Olaniya. When Olaniya was deposed, another man, Fajinmi replaced him.* But unlike the thriving Ijaye city-town destroyed by the war, Orile-Ijaye was and has since been a small village under Ibadan's influence.

6.0 THE COLLAPSE OF OLD OYO EMPIRE AND THE RISE OF IBADAN TO THE MOST POWERFUL STATE IN YORUBALAND:

The **magnitude of instability** that swept across the Yoruba World between **1796** (the death of Alaafin Aole) and **1837** (the final collapse of the empire and evacuation of the capital) was the first since the atrophy of the **1450's-1560's**. According to Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran (2020), the immediate perpetrators of this second and more profound blanket of upheaval were however, homegrown, not external invaders like the first.

Alaafin Majotu died in **1830** or **1831** without achieving his ambition of rebuilding his father's house, the empire which revolts of Afonja and the underclass revolts had reduced to rubble and a shell of its old glory. He was one of the longest-reigning kings in Oyo history, ruling for about twenty-eight (28) years. His reign witnessed several calamities events. These included the **underclass revolts of 1817**; the **collapse of Owu in 1822**, and the **killing of Afonja** and many of his supporters in **1823**.

Following the killing of Afonja, **the jihadists (now led by the Fulani) installed an emir in Ilorin**. About two years after Majotu's death, they invaded Oyo-Ile for the first time. **They ransacked the capital, reportedly looted the palace of valuables, and proclaimed Alaafin as a vassal of Ilorin emir**. The new Alaafin who suffered this indignity was **Oluewu**, a descendant of Alaafin **Obalokun** and **Ajagbo**, and son of **Alaafin Aole**. In his effort to fight for the restoration of the dignity of the institution of Alaafin and the survival of the empire, many **Ibariba chieftains** considered it necessary to ally with Oyo in order to also save themselves.

7.1 The Alliance between Oyo and The Ibariba's

Alaafin Oluewu was able to form alliance with at least four Ibariba kingdoms and principalities such as **Nikki, Busa, Kaiana, and Wawa** who responded to Oluewu's appeal by sending strong military contingents to the war efforts. Oluewu also rallied the support of several Oyo provinces and new Oyo towns that had emerged in the south, especially **Ibadan, Ijaye, and Ago-Oja**.

In the final effort to remove the thorn of Ilorin jihadists already buried deep in their flesh, **the combined forces of Ibariba under Siru Kpera, the king of Nikki and Oyo under Oluewu**, according to Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran (2020), **marched in the dry season of 1837 against Ilorin**. Revealing the religious character of the war, Ilorin was supported by soldiers from the **Gwando Emirate** (the patron of Ilorin) and fought under the banner of the Sokoto Caliphate.

The Ibariba proved to be a formidable ally, but Oluewu did not seem to have received the full support he desperately needed from many of the chieftains of the metropolis and provinces. The evacuation of Oyo-Ile and the collapse of the empire was the end of an era in the history of the Yoruba world.

7.2 Ibadan stopped the Advancing Ilorin Jihadists Army:

With the defeat of Alaafin Oluewu-led forces, **the jihadists of Ilorin** and their allies were intoxicated by the fermented fruit of victory and were determined to take over the entire Yoruba region. They therefore, shifted their focus toward those new Oyo towns already planted in the upper reaches of the rain forest. Their goal was to ***"dip the Koran in the sea" a metaphor for subjugating the Yoruba world to the control of the Sokoto caliphate via the emirate of Ilorin.***

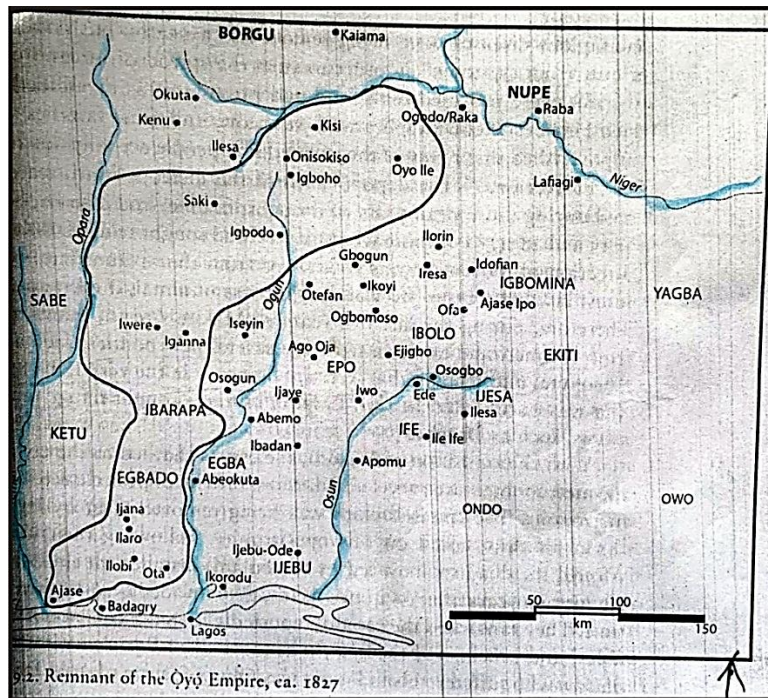
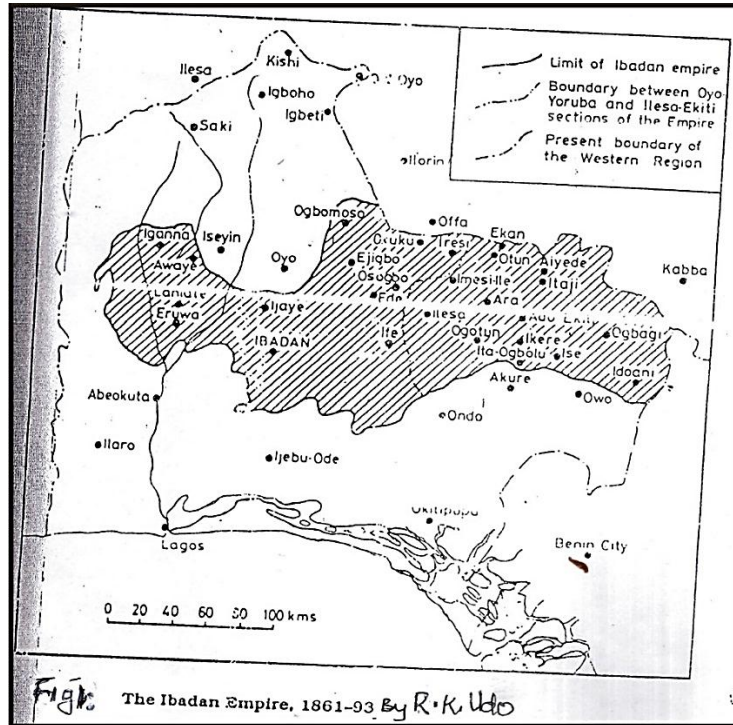
Displaced and demoralized, most of the Yoruba region, especially in the old territory of the Oyo Empire, was still licking its wounds. The only Yoruba polity, according to Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran (2020), brave enough to confront the

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jihadist's threat was Ibadan. ***It was a new kid on the block of regional politics, but it was a rising military power in the aftermath of the fall of Oyo Empire.***

While the Ilorin army was advancing south-ward, Basorun Oluyole, the third ruler of third and present Ibadan and **the son of Olukoye through Agborin the daughter of Alaafin Abiodun**, rallied to confront the enemy. He presided over the military plans to stop the advancing Ilorin army. He mobilized other scattered Oyo elements to the cause of saving their ancestral land from what he rightfully considered as a foreign invasion, although there were high-ranking Yoruba soldiers in the Ilorin contingent under the command and leadership of his war commander Balogun Odeyinka Oderinlo, the advance of Ilorin's ambition was halted on the outskirts of Osogbo in **1840**. The Ilorin army was thoroughly beaten. ***The victory put to rest the threat of the jihadists agenda in the Yoruba world. With this, Oluyole achieved what had eluded Oluewu and five other Alaafin's.*** The military victory was the most consequential event in Yoruba history during the nineteenth century.

According to the patriarch of Yoruba historiography, Samuel Johnson (1921), ***the outcome of the war marked "a turning point in Yoruba history." It saved Yoruba country from total absorption by the Fulani's.*** If not for Basorun Oluyole and his military superstars, **many beaded crown kings** and potentates of Yoruba kingdoms would have since been replaced by turban wearing emirs.



7.3 THE AFTERMATH OF THE 16 YEAR EKITIPARAPO WARS (1877-1893)

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** and **1837**. During that long night of confusion, *the underclass revolt in Oyo and the Ife-Ijebu siege of Owu were particularly momentous, worst region-wide crisis since the second half of the fifteenth century*. The aftermath culminated in the collapse of the Oyo empire in **1837** (Professor Akinwunmi Ogundiran, 2020).

(a) **The New Power Structure:** The competition to fill the vacuum of hegemony created by Oyo's fall fueled more wars. *Ibadan emerged as a dominant state in the region 1840 following its defeat of Ilorin jihadists. The young state have proved to be the most resilient avenger of Oyo humiliation during the Eleduwe war three earlier, but its own draconian style of imperialism led to provincial revolts and a sixteen-year war (Ekitiparopo war) that pitted a regional alliance against Ibadan between 1877 and 1893* (Akinwunmi Ogundiran, 2020).

(b) **Slavery and Demographic Displacement:** Between the *death of Aole in 1796 and the British annexation of Lagos in 1861*, more than half a million Yoruba, mostly of the *Oyo, Yewa, Ketu, Idasa, Egba, Ibarapa, and Ijesa* subgroups, crossed the Atlantic in chains. Hundreds of thousands died as a result of the wars, displacement, fatigue, famine, and disease that accompanies the instability. Millions more were permanently displaced. Hundreds of thousands were enslaved locally as a source of labour for the burgeoning export trade in agricultural products, especially palm oil and cotton. A few thousand more, especially from the

Okun subgroup, also crossed the River Niger in chains to enter the Sokoto Caliphate. ***In all, about three quarters of the Yoruba region witnessed majors demographic displacement.***

- (c) **Modification of Traditional Government Structure:** In the aftermath, new political experiments developed among the new and reconstituted polities, ranging from ***military aristocracy*** to ***military republicanism*** and the ***federation system***. ***The institution of Obas remained the apex of social order*** in most areas, but it remained subject to the militaristic ethos of the time in which ***warlords*** often usurped the powers of the Oba and the civil authorities.

With regard to Federation system, the structure was one in which a town had a ***single head chief*** called an Oba (or a Baale in the case of uncrowned heads) assisted by a ***council of state***. As a result of massive demographic displacement, the entire people of some towns were forced to seek refuge in another town with greater security, and in doing so they transported interact their machinery of government to their host town. The ***federation town*** council that evolved, consisted of the head chief of the agglomerating towns plus one or two of the senior chief in each case to serve as the central government of the enlarged town. The head chief of the host town was recognized as the overall leader of the head chiefs and ***he was therefore chairman or president of the federal council***. However, the individual councils of the agglomerating towns still functions and looked after the affairs of their respective peoples who now settled in different quarters in the enlarged town.

As the chairman of the federal council, the uncrowned head became superior to a crowned head. This violed the Yoruba tradition in which an Oba was superior to a Baale. Ogbomoso, where the Baale of Ogbomoso had to herd it over the Onipetu, was a typical example of this (Dr. J.A. Atanda, 1980).

Uniquely, ***Ibadan (a former war camp) rejected monarchy and adopted military republicanism as the model of its governance.*** In all these experiments the ***Ile*** continued to serve as the basic unit of organization. Its membership was now far more heterogeneous than ever before because of the ***massive region-wide demographic break-up and displacement,*** leading to the aggregation of people of diverse backgrounds into the new ***Ile*** and ***Ilu*** that sprouted up throughout the region. There was a silver lining to that century of confusion and suffering.

(d) Preservation of Yoruba Political Heritage: Through the Ibadan-led defense against the advancing Ilorin Jihadists, ***the political heritage of the Yoruba was preserved. And the cultural project of the new Yoruba intelligent on the coast set the tone for Yoruba modernization in the era of the European Enlightenment.***

In these two respects, ***Basorun Oluyole*** and ***Samuel Ajayi Crwother*** were the most consequential figures in the nineteenth century Yoruba history. According to oral tradition, both were from Old Oyo Kingdom and Oyo Empire, in fact, Oluyole was the grandson of Basorun Yamba of the Old Oyo Empire before its fall.

The Yoruba people came under British Rule: The war (Kiriji) involved practically the whole of Yorubaland and caused much loss of lives, distress, mystery, destruction of towns and forceful subjugation of the Ijebus by the British Government. Above all, it brought about the reduction of the military power of Ibadan, the placing of a British Resident in the town as well as District Commissioners (D.C.'s.) in the principal towns of Yorubaland.

The Ibadan chiefs nursed the hope and desire of attacking and conquering Ilorin with the support of British troops and thereby bring all Yoruba country once more under Ibadan Empire, but this was not so till all the war chiefs died and will never be. Peace has come to reign!

It needs be mentioned that even after Governor Carter dispersed the warning parties and broke up their camps in March 1893, the Ilorins kept raiding the Ikirun and Odo Otin area in general for a long time. Captain Bower, the first British Resident of Ibadan and Travelling Commissioner of the Interior, had to set up a camp at the Otin Riverbank, with some Hausa soldiers, to protect the northern provinces of Yorubaland against Ilorin encroachments.

This situation continued till February 1896, when Captain (later Sir) Robert Bower decided to subjugate the Ilorins once for all. He raised two battalions at Ibadan and joined them with the troops of the Royal Niger Company based at Lokoja. He personally commanded the battalions, which he stationed on the bank of Otin River at Inisa; he lived in a dug-out and personally operated a machine gun.

In the early hours of 31st March, 1896, (about 7am), the Ilorins attacked Ibadan (Bower's) camp! In response to this attack, Bower's troops overpowered the Ilorins and dealt a decisive blow on them. The surviving troops took to their heels and were chased right to the Ilorin gate. After a short single battle outside the gate the Ilorins bowed to the superior troops of Captain Bower, who entered and took the town. ***A resident was finally stationed there and so Ilorin stood subjugated since then.***

It was in memory of this valiant act of Captain Robert Bower, that the Colonial Government in 1942 erected small Artillery at the Otin River bank at Inisa, pointing in the direction of Ilorin. It was unveiled at a colourful ceremony on 31st March, 1942.

The Peregun (*Drascaena manni*) tree on either side of the monument represent the position of Ekitiparapo (left) and Ibadan (Right) at the signing while the monument stands at the position of the Special Commissioners.

Lola Tomori

The object of the treaty was the termination of the war between the Ibadans and their allies on the one hand, and the Ekitiparapo Confederacy on the other. ***Thus ended the sixteen years' war (1877 - 1893).***

The Commissioners finally dispersed the parties at Kiriji on Thursday 23rd September. Ibadan army, led by its Balogun Osungbekun, left Kiriji Camp for Ikirun on 26th September. Ogedengbe, on hearing that the Ibadans had left, also left same day for Imesin Ipole.

The firing up of the camps, (Kiriji for Ibadans and Oke Mesin for the Ekitiparapo) took place on Tuesday 28th September 1886 as follows, being an excerpt from the Commissioners' Report (Johnson 9.551):

Tuesday, September 28th. There was heavy rain during the night, and the thermometer registered 66 degrees, the lowest temperature we had experienced. The morning was fine though cloudy, and there was a slight breeze.

Mr. Johnson left for Ikirun with presents from us to the kings and chiefs whose sudden departure from Kiriji had not allowed us the opportunity of giving them prior to their leaving the camp.

We sent 50 of our carriers to either camp to be in readiness to fire them on the signal gun being fired at 12 o'clock, and three minutes later both camps were in flames.

7.4 DEVELOPMENT OF NEW POLITICAL EXPERIMENT

In the aftermath of FULANI WAR and the final fall of the old Oyo Empire, new political experiments developed among the new and reconstituted polities, ranging **from military aristocracy to military republicanism** and the **federation system**.

(i) Military Republicanism:

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 during the reign **of Baale Ajayi Oyesile Olubode** (1851-1864) after improving the cahier military aristocracy adopted by **Are Oluyedun** and **Basorun Oluyole** (1833-1850). The system comprised two civil chieftaincy lines (Baale and Iyalode Lines) and two military chieftaincy line (Balogun and Seriki lines). ***This was an open participatory meritocracy, and of compounds each of which housed not a lineage bound together by common ancestry but people bound together by allegiance to one leader.*** For instance, headship of the compound is hereditary and the heir apparent is the descendant of the head while **ara-ile** are strangers who do not belong to the ancestral founder of the compound and only be the Bale, Olori-ebi of **ara-ile**.

As noted above, ***the institution of Obaship in Ibadan remained subject to the militaristic ethos of the time in which warlords often usurped the powers of the Oba and the civil authorities.*** The membership of its compound in Yorubaland generally was now for more heterogeneous than ever before because of the massive region-wide demographic break-up and displacement, lead to the aggregation of people of diverse backgrounds into the new compounds that sprouted up throughout the region.

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

(ii) Federation System:

Abeokuta sought security in one large city of many kingdoms. In effect, for most of the 19th century, the leading chiefs *(that is, the Olorogun Chiefs from the three sectors of the Egba, and the chiefs of the Owu kingdom)* provided the functional government of the city. And, judged by the prosperity of Abeokuta and its ability to defend itself, the system worked, although not without difficulties. *Since each of the component Egba kingdoms had its own Olorogun chiefs, a federal Olorogun command needed to be setup.*

Choosing the leader of the federal Olorogun proved to be a sticky point at the beginning. A contest ensued between **Sodeke from Iporo in the Ake Kingdom and Deliyi from Ijemo**, with the Ijemo people claiming that since they owned the land on which Abeokuta was founded, their own chief should lead the federal Olorogun.

A civil war nearly ensued at this point, and was averted only by the Ifa oracle's warnings that a civil war in Abeokuta would gravely displease the gods. Sodeke became leader of the federal Olorogun and thus lead Abeokuta until his death in 1847. Later in the century, the Alake was promoted as the most senior of the Abeokuta kings, not, however, without resistance by the other kings, until British rule took over (Prof. Banji Akintoye, 2020)

We have seen that the vast multitudes of Yoruba polities were products of different experiences of time, not a spontaneous eruption on a timeless landscape or a product of one movement of migration from a single point of origin, according to Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran (2010).

He went further, one should, therefore, be wary of the sort of **static hierarchical relationships that several political dispensations since the early twentieth century have sought to impose on the history of Yoruba kingdoms the their royal dynasties.**

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 the Oyo Empire, the instability of the nineteenth century, and the imposition of the British colonial rule. These gazette and standardized official template of hierarchies among the Yoruba kings during the early twentieth century was created at the instigation of the colonial officers, who needed this narrative to implement British policy and indirect rule. And the hierarchies have been revised several times since independence to accommodate the changing political configurations in postcolonial Nigerian.

7.5 Danger of Self Immortalization

The article of Dr. Lasisi Olagunju in the usual Monday lines column of Nigerian Tribune of Monday, 27 January 2025 was a satire and a timely advice for our PRESIDENT, His excellency; Senator Ahmed Tinubu. However without bothering you with American examples and that of Kamuzu Banda who was president of Malawi from 1964 to 1994, I will invite your attention to this few comments in his long essay.

In “The art of war” Sun Tzu says “the superior man must be watchful over himself when he is alone” Tinubu is the superior man here. You would think he would be watchful over himself” from the assaults of sycophants and parasites. But no. He enjoys every bit of the game. He is too big to be bothered about external corruption and internal corruptive tendencies. A large mirror is placed before him everywhere he goes, and he loves the big, ‘beautiful’ something he sees in that mirror.

Lola Tomori

So, why risk his anger by warning him about his nakedness? I also join my voice to the voices of his worshippers and adherents, people who say he is an idol.

But why are the president's friends and fans making a Banda out of him? The old man can still get all the honor being dashed him later when he is done and is found to have done well with the power he has. Obafemi Awolowo, Muritala Muhammed, Nnamdi Azikwe, Tafawa Balewa are some examples he can copy. But he is not looking the way of those legends. He has not done well by not stopping all sycophantic drooling around him. He is an elder who ought to know that there are implications and consequences for the wealthy who choose to eat salt according to the size of their wealth. The president's morsel is in improper dalliance with soup that draws and soils the breast embroidery.

When a democracy grows old and wrong, it becomes an oligarchy. Someone said that in a democracy, the key actors are idolators; in an oligarchy, they are idols. I know that in vain are all the same lines and calls for sanity and moderation. Idolators must worship their idols. So I plead that if we all want to survive the courtiers of this president, all of us-Journalists, lawyers, judges, lawmakers, law breakers, and law enforcers, will perform one last duty. We should join voices and forces, rename our country, rebuild the presidential villa and the FCT and make all of them bear the name and logo of Bola Ahmed Tinubu. He deserves the honour.

7.6 LESSONS FROM HISTORY

Like the most empires, Oyo was an exploitative economic system especially from the point of view of its client states and tributary appendages. The Old Oyo Empire's military and political institutions were geared toward achieving its economic interests, expansion, taxes, tributes, and creating favorable markets for the empires products. This led to the crisis between **Oyomesi** and the Alaafin for the control of the spouts of military expansion.

With Basorun Gaha out of the way, the spender of the Alaafin blossomed under Alaafin Abiodun Adegolu. His reign marked Oyo's golden age. Traders and artists flooded to the **capital** in search of profits and patrons. The following song captures the spirit of the time (Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran 2020):

Laye Olugbon mo ge'borun meta
E o ma koyi lorin
Laye Aresa, mo ge'borun mefa
E o ma ko yi lorin
Laye Abiodun, emi ra koko,
Mo ra aran, mo ra sanyan baba aso,
Af'ole lo le pe'le yi odun
Afo'le

Translation:

In the time of Olugbon, I made three shawls,
Join me in this chorus,
In the time of Aresa, I made six shawls,
Join me in this chorus,
In the reign of Abiodun, I bought koko,
I bought velvets, and sanyan, the father of all cloths,
Only a lazy man would say the empire is not pleasant, only a lazy man.

Oyo became increasingly reckless in exploiting its tributary provinces and buffer zones for these human resources in the eighteenth century. For many of its tributary provinces after **1750**, however, this **Calvary state** was an agent of instability and pain.

Since the death of king Abiodun Adegolu, the ambition to create individual principalities for the different warlords, and to wrest more powers from the Alaafin had been the objective of high officials of the empire. This trait could be seen exhibited by Kaakanfo Afonja of Ilorin, Kurumi of Ijaye, Oluyole of Ibadan, Edun of Gbongun, and Teyeje of Ogbomoso. **Atiba's plan to assume the throne and transfer the seat of government to Ago-Ol'Oyo was therefore, one of the many schemes that led to the final collapse of Oyo Empire (Chief M.O. Ogunmola, 1997).**

Consequently, **the power politics and the 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 Yoruba region to reach its socio-political breaking point between 1790 and 1837.**

During that long night of confusion, the **underclass revolt in Oyo** and **Ife-Ijebu siege of Owu** were particularly momentous. Both events launched the Yoruba world into its worst region-wide crisis since the second half of the fifteenth century. **The aftermath culminated in the collapse of the Oyo Empire in 1837.** The evacuation of Oyo-Ile and the collapse of the empire was the end of an era in the history of the Yoruba world.

8.0 LESSONS FROM DESIRE TO BUILD EMPIRES IN YORUBALAND AND EXPLOITATION OF THE GOVERNED FOR ECONOMIC GAINS

8.1 Modern Development of Yoruba Towns:

The extreme draughts of the 1380's through 1550's in the Southern hemisphere (equivalent to the little Ice Age in the Northern hemisphere) led to sub-continental population redistribution, conflicts, and the reconfiguration of the political landscape in different ecological zones of West Africa. Those processes put enormous pressure on the Yoruba World (Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran 2020).

The turmoil that accompanied the slow collapse of the **Mali Empire**, the meteoric rise of the **Songhai Empire**, and the ascendancy of **House city-states** in Western and Central Sudan sent waves of terror across the Northern Yoruba and deep into the central part of the region. The recurrent multiyear draught shriveled the wooded landscape and paved the way for Nupe horsemen to cause mayhem in the Yoruba world, C.A 1450-1550.

Life in the growing city of Yorubaland was changing in many ways. The ebi (Lineage) and its agbo-ile (lineage compound) remained the basic building block of society in the new urban setting (and would so remain till the twentieth century), but urban life rubbed off much of the Pre-Oduduwa rigidities and exclusiveness of that structure. Tradesmen, Artisans, artists, traders had larger customer base to serve in one single community, an unprecedented opportunity to prosper, and urban competition stimulated professionalism and Excellency.

8.2 The Governance System of Yoruba Kingdoms:

The foundational model replicated from kingdom to kingdom was basically the same namely; the system that had evolved in the villages or settlements of the widespread **elu** in Pre-Oduduwa times. However, circumstance and historical experiences varied from kingdom to kingdom and consequently, the ultimate details of government come to vary in subtle ways from kingdom to kingdom.

8.3 The Generation of Victorious War Veterans:

The Emergence of generation of **various was veterans and their immediate successors who ended the Nupe militarists crises** proved to be the masterful agents of change who used power, politics, diplomacy and military strategies to reconfigure the regional political landscape. They were sometimes brutal conquerors, but they were also **state-builders who forged regional alliances**. Notable among them according to Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran (2020) were: Abipa, Obalokun, and Ajagbo of Oyo, Obaraborabara, Olokumesin, Owaluse, and Atakumosa of Ilesa, and Orhogbua and Ehengbuda of Benin. Two hundred years later, when the Yoruba of the woodland savanna faced the Jihadists crisis, the Oyo, the Ibariba, and a section of the Nupe would again form alliances to repel the menace but unsuccessful.

8.4 Reckless Exploitation and Abuse of Power:

Like most empires, Oyo was an exploitative economic system, especially from the point of view of its **client states** and tributary appendages. The empires military and political institutions were geared toward achieving its economic interest, expansion, taxes, tributes and creating favorable markets for the empires products. Oyo became increasingly reckless in exploiting its tributary provinces and buffer zones for these hummer resources, Oyo was no doubt “the radder for stabilizing the ship of commerce on the turbulent political waters of the Bight of Benin during the eighteenth century. However, for many of its tributary provinces after **1750**, this **calvary state** was an agent of instability and gain.

The disruption created in the local hierarchies of power by the merchant capital revolution also made the **Ogboni** to play major roles in the governance of most **Ijebu polities**, although some was a provinces of Oyo. **In the case of both the Egba and Ijebu during the eighteenth century, the Ogboni institution became the mediator between the merchant class and the political authorities.**

As a result, in **Ijebu-Ode**, the Ogboni (or Osugbo) served as one of the three major pillars of government mediating between the powerful **Ipampa** (chamber of commerce) on one hand and the **civil authority** of the king (**Awujale**) and the **traditional aristocrats** (Ilamuren) on the other. The **Awujale, Ilamuren** and **Ipampa** had representatives in the Ogboni society.

8.5 The Collapse of Oyo Empire and Failure of Ibariba External Support Against Fulanis:

The Magnitude of instability that swept across the Yoruba world between 1796 (the death of Alaafin Aole) and 1837 (the final collapse of the empire and evacuation of the capital) was the first since the return of the Oyo from exile in Ibariba after Nupe attack (1530-15420. The death of Afonja and other Yoruba elements (including muslims) at the hands of their former allies, Hausa and Fulani rattled the metropolis and its loyal provinces. There was an urgency to act against the fostering trouble in Ilorin. Therefore, Majotu forged an alliance with the Nupe in **1825** to subdue Ilorin and expel the Jihadists but the coalition was defeated.

However, during the reign of Alaafin Oluewu, at least four Ibariba kingdoms and principalities, **Nikki, Bussa, Kaima**, and **wawa** responded to Oluewu's appeal by sending strong military contingents to the war efforts but Oyo finally collapsed in 1837. The evacuation of Oyo-Ile and the collapse of the empire was the end of an era in the history of the Yoruba World.

In **1840**, however, the tide suddenly turned according to Professor Adebajji Akintoye (2010), Ibadan had started to confront the Ilorin forces by **1838**. At Osogbo in **1840**, the Ibadan army met formidable Ilorin forces and routed them very decisively, destroying their already cavalry, killing or capturing most of their horses, and capturing many of the Ilorin commanders. There up, Ibadan pushed forces northwards, dislodging Ilorin forces and pushing them all the way beyond Offa, to only a short distance from Ilorin itself. Ibadan decided not to make any attempt on the narrow territory between Offa and Ilorin because it was too firmly controlled by the Ilorin cavalry. The boundary of Ilorin's domain came to stabilize at this time.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CELEBRATING THE MILITARISTIC STATE BUILDERS WHO ESTABLISHED AND NURTURED THE THIRD IBADAN FROM 1825 TO 1900

1.0 THE SECOND IBADAN BEFORE THE OUTBREAK

OF OWU WAR BETWEEN 1814 AND 1822

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 Adegolu** soon after the destruction of the first Ibadan by the army of the Oyo Empire. According to Chief Ifamapowa, the Priest of Oke-badan at Awotan hills, the Egbas attacked Lagelu and his children in **1785** after **Lisabi-led Egba Revolution** against the turani and domination of Oyo Empire. **Awotan, Apete** and **Ido** towns still remain today under Ibadan Authority.

1.1 The Structure of Second Ibadan Settlement at Oja'ba

1. Itun Elemo	-	Aboke's Quarters
2. Oke Igbede	-	Oba (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.

Oke - Igede was where **Olubadan Adesina**, the second son of Lagelu resided as his palace now occupied by **Labosinde** whose father was Lagelu's Ifa Priest in Ile-Ife. In front of the palace was located Oke'badan shrine and Osemeji Shrine where Baales and later Olubadan installation rituals and crowning ceremonies are carried out.

Rev, Samuel Johnson in his book **“The History of the Yorubas”** published in **1921**, said among other things after the Gbanamu war of **1833** that **“Ibadan at that time consisted of the central market and about half a mile of houses around. The town wall was where the principal mosque now stands at Oja’ba.** Oja’ba was formally known as Labosinde market until it was changed in **1839** after the conferment of Basorun by the Alaafin Atiba (1839-1876) to Oja-Iba market.

The first mosque located at the market was demolished by Oluyole while **Baale Omololu Ope-** agbe (1850-1851) donated the land near **Kure’s compound** where the present central mosque was built.

1.2 Conflicts between Ibadan and Owu-Ogbere in 1824

In both accounts of Oba Akinyele of Ibadan and the Baale of Erunmu, **Owu was stated to be just out-side 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 Akinjobi** had married a daughter of the Baale (or Olubadan) of Ibadan whose name ‘**NKAN**’, meant **“something”**. The Olowu went on raiding expedition across **Oba River** and as he crossed the river, he promised that **if waters stayed low to allow his return he would sacrifice something** to the stream. On his return, however, he found the river in flood and he and his men were trapped on the wrong side. As they waited in vain for the waters to subside the chiefs began to murmur, reminding the Olowu of his promise to the river and of the fact that **“something”** was his wife’s name.

Finally, the Olowu agreed to the sacrifice of his wife and soon afterwards, the flood went down and he was able to return home. **But the (Baale (or Olubadan) of Ibadan was so infuriated at the death of his daughter that he made war on Owu-Ogbere and called in allies from far flung places. Owu-Ogbere was then destroyed and many of its inhabitants fled to Erunmu.**

According the Professors Akinlawon Mabogunfe and J.Omer – Cooper in the book. **Owu In Yoruba History**” published in 1971 at page 64. “The most likely explanation seems to be that a quarrel between Ibadan and the **refugee settlement of Owu-Ogbere** broke out and the allied army of Ife, Ijebu, Oyo and EGba was called in as it had been in the struggle between **Orun and Idomapa. Owu – Ogbere was destroyed and the army took possession of Ibadan, squeezing out the original Lagelu descendants (not Egba) population.** The settlement of the composite army in Ibadan market the beginning of a new phase in the long chain of events which began at the Apomu market between 1814 and 1820 according

Rev. Samuel Johnson (1921). “**This historical accounts of how the thus Ibadan emerged was quite different from Rev. Samuel Johnson narratives in “The History of the Yorubas”**

1.3 Cultural Settlement and Development of Ibadan:

Any Yoruba settlement, thus inaugurated solid tradition, is often assured of its safety and stability (Bolaji Iolowu, 2015).

It was reported that Ifa divination was performed when some traditional religious leaders arrived to sanctify Ibadan with sacrifices on the Eleyele hills. The resulting **odu** was “**Ose Meji This sign became the guidance Odu of the new city.** The city patriarch, **Lagelu, and six diviner-priests** were present on that first occasion. The same **odu sign** then appeared again on three critical occasions in the life of the city. According to Bolaji Idowu on Religion in Ibadan: Traditional Religion and Christianity in Bolanle Awe, et al, p. 235 – 247, these were when:

- he populace sought divine blessings on the new settlement for prosperity. Then, the **Oke- badan** (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 merging prosperity.

- A siege was laid on Ibadan and its expansion and security was threatened. **Ose Meji** (meaning double victory) appeared again to reassure the inhabitants of a slow but **steady and persistent growth as in the movement of snails**

According to Bolaji Idowu, it seems, 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 division the is concerned with;

- (a) survival,
- (b) wealth,
- (c) fertility, and
- (d) victory

These are consistent with the **preoccupations identified with the founders of the city in its early stage**. The cultural importance of this point is that Ibadan, in spite of the pure serendipity connected with its location and founding, is still a traditional and spiritual home to its inhabitants. It shows that all care was taken as to its establishment and contrary to the manner of settlement, nothing was given up to chance.

2.0 HEROES AND STATE BUILDERS OF THE THIRD IBADAN SETTLEMENT (1825 – 1900)

1.0 MAYE OKUNADE (1825 – 1832)

Maye Okunade was from Ile-Ife and the generalissimo in the absence of Singuisin that destroyed Egba towns when the rest of the allied armies with Oyo refugees were invited from Ipara after the destruction of Owu town (Owu-Orile). Labosinde was one of the leading Ife wars-chiefs in the camp. Maye Okunade had been the head of the allied army and his military qualities made him the most distinguished of all the warriors in Ibadan war camp. He was actively involved in the

Lola Tomori

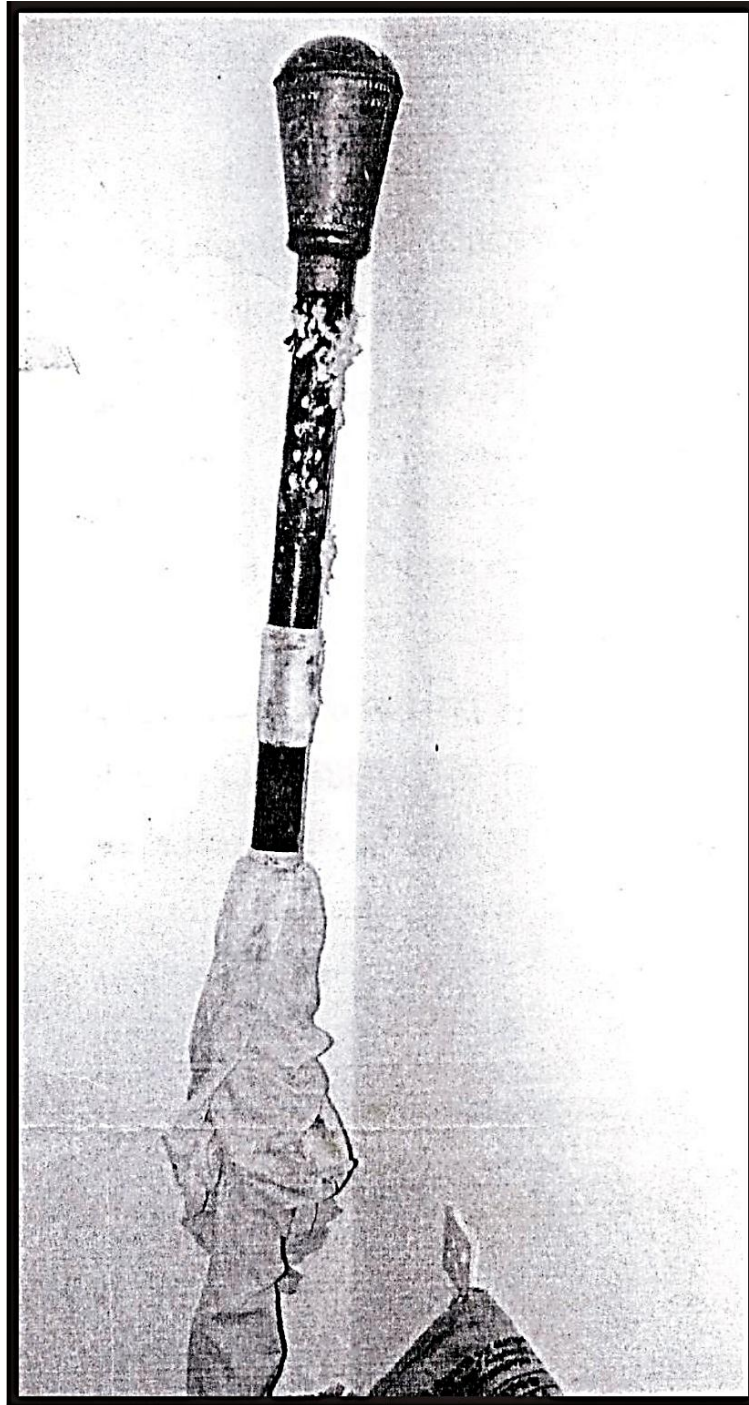
conflicts among the leading generals representing the three major groups, Ife, Egba, and Oyo.

The allied army of Ife and Ijebu that destroyed Owu-Ipole between 1814 and 1820 pursued Olowu to Ibadan where he sought refuge. While others returned to their base, Maye and others did not return. He as an Ife General with Lankanle a leader of the Oyo refugees shifted their base to Iperu where they were invited by the reigning Olubadan, a grandchild Lagelu to avenge the death of 'NKAN LOLA' the daughter of Olubadan Oluole, the first son of Lagelu, sacrificed by Olowu Akinjobi to Oba river. Another Owu war broke out in the crises, the original settlers were also displaced by the allied army and Maye Okunade became the first Ba'ale of the third Ibadan settlement and Labosinde, another Ife Chief became the second in command. ***During his reign, the Egbas were forced to leave Ibadan to found Abeokuta in 1830.*** Maye Okunade was overthrown during the Gbanamu war of 1832 by the Oyo Settlers and escaped to Erunmu. He was pursued to Erunmu where he was killed along with Oluwole of Idomapa, Oluroko of Erunmu and Olowu Akinjobi. ***The Owus and Erunmu people migrated to Abeokuta to join the Egbas in 1834 and Oluyedun was installed the second Baale of the third Ibadan.***

In the Nigerian Tribune of 10th September, 2010 Oba Adedapo Tejuoso records:

".... (my) Tejuoso was the Chief High Priest who led the five high priests that confirmed the suitability of the Egba to settle in Abeokuta. The Egbas arrived in Abeokuta (under Olumo Rock) on August 5, 1830, that is, Egba Alake, Oke-Ona, and Gbagura. The Owu came in 1834. Oba Tejuoso's maternal Great-Grandfather Karunwi was crowned as the first Osile Oke-Ona Egba in Abeokuta in 1890".

Lola Tomori



Symbol of Authority of Balogun of Ibadan

The collapse of one of the four corners of Yorubaland had entailed a tremendous upheaval and the virtual obliteration of the old pattern of relationships in southern Yorubaland. **It had called into existence the two great metropolitan towns of Ibadan and Abeokuta which were to be the main poles of the new order** which emerged out of the final collapse of the Old Oyo Empire and the system of inter-state relationships of which it had been grantor. (Professor Akinlawon Mabogunje and Professor J. Omer-Cooper 1971). ***On August 5, 1975, Oba Onipede, the Alake was crowned in Abeokuta a reminiscence of 1830 day in August as above.***

The end of the struggle with Maye Okunade during the **Gbanamu war of 1833** meant the end of the most serious communal tensions within the erstwhile marauding army. It was now possible to establish a regular governmental hierarchy and at a public meeting at Isale-Ijebu quarters of Ibadan, it was decided to introduce regular chieftaincy titles. On the face of it, the expulsion of Maye Okunade and many of the Ife elites left Ibadan an Oyo settlement. In fact, however though the Oyo group was predominant, the community retained the composite character it had community retained the composite character it had possessed as a wandering military horde. Its leading men were not necessarily all Oyo. Indeed, **Labosinde**, the other Ife war leader and one time second in command to Maye Okunade, remained in the town as a respected figure. What is more, in the circumstances of prolonged warfare, hereditary authority had been of little account.

With the stabilization of the Ibadan community the story of the **Owu war** really ends. The army which had been called into existence to besiege **the city of Asunkungbade** had at least settled down and taken on the features of an established polity.

2.0 OLUYEDUN'S FAMILY BACKGROUND IN ILORIN:

Laderin, Ojo Onisekuse (Ijesa) and **Eninla** from Ila were hunters at Oko-Erin. **Laderin** later stayed behind after the exit of Ojo-Onisekuse and Eninla and he eventually became the first Baale of Ilorin in the 17th Century. He was succeeded by his son, **Pasin** a valiant chief who opposed the renowned **Basorun Gaha** when he was at the zenith of his glory. Fearing his power, Gaha drove him out of Ilorin and escaped to **Ola**. He sent an army after him the he reduced the town and **Pasin** was taken and slain.

Alagbin the son of **Pasin** succeeded his father, and in turn handed the governmental affairs to his valiant son **Afonja** with whom the rule ended. One of Afonja's sons **Oluyedun** (Johnson pg. 224, 1978). According to Comrade Olola Kasunmu, following the death of Afonja, his people ran away to resettle at **Ganmo**, at a place called "**Maaro River**" while their **ancestral home, Idi-Ape in Ilorin** was rebuilt and exist till today. It was **Afonja** who killed **Ojo-Agun bambaru**, the son of Basorun Gaha in a battle during the reign of **Alaafin Adebo** (1811).

During the rivalry between **Toyeje** the Kakanfo who succeeded Afonja and the Baale of Ogbomoso and **Adegun**, the Onikoyi. The alliance of Ilorin with the Onikoyi eventually led to a war between the two where Timi of Ede, who supported Ogbomoso, was killed in **Pamo war**.

Adegun then proclaimed **Edun**, the Baale of Gbongun, as his Aare Ona Kakanfo to rival Toyeye of Ogbomoso. In succession, and sometimes during the life of the incumbent. **Edun of Gbangun, Ojo Amepo** and **Oluyedun** claimed the title of Aare-Ona-Kakanfo of Oyo Kingdom. **Aare Oluyedun** ended up coming to Ibadan between **1823-1825** to join the allied army that destroyed **Owu Ipole**, while **Adegun** and **Ojo Amepo** were killed at **kaula** war organized by Alaafin Anado. On the occasion **Kurunmi** and **Dodo**, important **Ikoyi war chiefs** and generals of the

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Alaafin escaped from Ikoyi, first to **Akese**, then finally to **Ijaiye Edun** fled to **Gbodo** where he was killed by the people.



Oluyedun joined the allied army at Ibadan with Oluyole and Oyo refugees at Idi Ogungun to wage to war against the Owu-ogbere in Ibadan on the invitation of the then Olubadan. Maye and other Ife Chiefs in the ruling class were eliminated during the Gbanamu war with the assistance of Kurumi of Ijaye. Oluyedun was installed the second Ba'ale of the third Ibadan. He took the title of his late father, the Are Ona Kakanfo; Lakanle became the Otun Kakanfo and Oluyole the Osi Kakanfo. A Chief of Calvary, with the title “**Sarumi**” was also created. All the eight military title holders were the eight leading military figures in Ibadan. Only a single civilian title, the “**Babasale**”, “Chief Adviser” was created held by Labosinde, an Ife war-chief.

3.0 BA'ALE LAKANLE 1835

Lakanle was one of the leading Oyo Chiefs that took part in the final destruction of Owu Ogbere. Thereafter, the Egba towns were destroyed from their base at Iperu before taking over the control of Ibadan. Other war-chiefs were Oluyedun, Olunloyo, Osun, Bankole and Adalakun. He was the Commander-in Chief of Ibadan army to the Arakanga war and Iperu war during the reign of Oluyedun. He also played prominent role during the Gbanamu and Erunmu wars against Maye Okunade, the first Bale of the present Ibadan.

Lakanle, the Otun Kakanfo, succeeded Oluyedun, but on the return of Oluyole from Ota war, he staged a coup which forced Lakanle to commit suicide by tearing his stomach open with a knife and tied the lungs round his head. He rode on his horse to Oluyole to bid him good-bye before he fell in front of his house. **His friend Agbeni from Apomu**, occupied his farm which became Agbeni Quarters till today. Chief Agbeni survived Lakanle and died in 1860. Akinyele described him as a wealthy and very powerful man but out of mere jealousy and petty rivalry by the chiefs coupled with the ambition of Basorun Oluyole to become the Ba'ale of Ibadan, he was eliminated.



Iba Oluyole: at Bere Round-about, Ibadan

4.0 BASORUN OLUYOLE (1835 – 1850)

He was the son of Ajala Oluokuoye, the grandson of Basorun Yamba from Ajase near Ogbomosho in Surulere Local Government Area. His mother was Agbonrin, the daughter of Alaafin of Oyo, Oba Abiodun Adegolu (1774 –1789). He joined Ibadan army during the reign of Maale Maye Okunade from Fulani Jihadist war in the northern part of Oyo Kingdom or Empire at the time there was civil disorder between the ifes and the Egbas. Lamodi the leaders of the Egbas killed Ege a leader of Ife army. According to I.B. Akinyele in his book ***“Iwe Itan Ibadan, 1911, Oluyole was not one of the warlords that participated in the Owu-ogbere war between Lagelu descendants and Olowu Akinjobi led Owu Ogbere war led by Maye***

Okunade in 1825. In fact, Professor Toyin Toyin Falola said Oluyole came to Ibadan after Oluyedun who gave him a piece of land at Ile-Iba in Isale Ijebu but expanded the compound to Oja'ba when he became the ruler.

He succeeded Lakanle as Ba'ale of Ibadan. Oderinlo from Agberi, became the second Balogun of Ibadan. During his reign; the republican system of traditional local governance started, he was both the civil and military government and Hausas came to settle in Ibadan and Islam was introduced. The first Chief Imam of Ibadan was Uthman Abu-Bakar (1839 – 1871).

In 1835, Oluyole led Ibadan army to join Kurumi, Bamgboye, the Timi of Ede, Prince Atiba and others in the Eleduwe war to save the total collapse of Oyo Empire at Ogbomoso. But the Oyo army lost the battle and Alaafin Oluewu was killed with Eleduwe, the King of Ibariba.

The Oyo Empire capital was moved to Ago Oja with the installation of Prince Atiba as the first Alaafin of Oyo at the new capital who changed it to Ago Doyo and later Oyo. It was after this war that Alaafin Atiba conferred the Chieftaincy title of Basorun on Oluyole and Aare Ona-Kakanfo on Kurumi of Ijaiye.

The conferment of Chieftaincy titles by Alaafin Atiba in 1839 on Oluyole and Aare Ona Kakanfo on Kurunmi respectively was Alaafin's rewards for their roles during Eleduwe war and in ensuring his installation as Alaafin of Oyo. Basorun, the first title conferred on a Chief outside Oyo was to secure the reign of Atiba and protect the new capital. Oluyole died in 1847.

Oluyole, the second ruler who succeeded Oluyedun in the mid-1830s and who ruled until 1850, firmly established the military system known as (Military **Aristocracy** Republicanism). Military titles were given specific military-cum-administrative functions. Oluyole himself assumed the Oyo title of Basorun, and the next person to him was made the Balogun, that is, commander of the army.

The Balogun also had two principal lieutenants, the **Otun** “general commanding the right wing of the army”, and the **Osi**, general commanding the left wing of the army”. Three important new military titles were created; the Seriki; the head of another group of junior warriors to Balogun, the Agbaakin and Are Agoro, both for the brave generals. Oluyole extended the city of Ibadan and built **the second town wall** around Odo-Eleegun after Ita Baale Olugbode.

4.1 How Ibadan Checkmated Fulani Jihadist:

After the conferment of the title, Basorun Oluyole by Alaafin Atiba (1839 – 1876), there was no Yoruba state bold enough to confront Ilorin army. **The only Yoruba polity brave enough to confront the jihadist threat was Ibadan. It was a new kid on the block of regional politics, but it was arising military power in the aftermath of the fall of Old Oyo Empire.**

While the Ilorin army was advancing southward, Oluyole rallied to confront the enemy. He presided over the military plans as the Basorun of oyo Kingdom and particularly **Ibadan City-State** to stop the advancing Ilorin army. He mobilized other scattered Oyo elements in addition to his own military team in Ibadan, to the cause of saving their ancestral land from what the rightfully considered a foreign invasion, although there were high – ranking Yoruba soldiers in the Ilorin contingent (Prof. Akinwunmi Ogundiran, 2020).

Basorun Oluyole’s military Generals comprised;

- Oluyole Iyanda; Baale and later Basorun
- Bankole Alosinloye - First Balogun
- Odeyale Oderinlo - Second Balogun
- Lajumoke - Otun Balogun
- Opeagbe Omolou - Sarumi and later Osi Balogun
- Toki Onibudo - First Seriki
- Babalola a (Father in Fijabi) - Asipa Balogun
- Ajayi Oyesile Olugbode - Abese Balogun

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- Ogunremi - Sarumi
- Yerombi - Agbaakin Balogun
- Dele Oje or Delosolu - Aare-Agoro (Aareago).

Ilorin forces pushed southwards until they came to the Osun Valley and even harassed towns and villages as far as Ife Kingdom. About **1835**, the populations of the Ife towns of Ikire, Gbongan, and the Origbo villages, were forced to flee into Ile-Ife. In the last years of the **1830s**, it looked as if nothing could stop the Ilorin from pushing all the way to the coast to “**dip the Korean in the sea**”. The fate of the new towns, Ibadan Ijaiye, Oyo and Abeokuta, as well as of the old kingdoms south of them in the Awori countries to hand in the balance.

In **1840**, however, the tide suddenly turned. Ibadan, led by Balogun Oderinlo had started to confront the Ilorin forces by **1838**. **At Osogbo in 1840**, the Ibadan army met formidable Ilorin forces and routed them very decisively, destroying their dreaded Calvary, killing or capturing most of their horses, and capturing many of the Ilorin commanders. Ibadan thus saved the consolidation of the new towns and cities in the middle belt of Yorubaland.



Basorun Oderinlo: At Mapo Round-about, Ibadan

5.0 BALOGUN ODERINLO (1835-1850)

Balogun Oderinlo (father of Tampe) was born in Agberi in the present Osun State. He was the second Balogun of Ibadan after Balogun Bankole Alesinloye. He was a very considerate and humble person. When Elepo usurped his position as Balogun during the raid of Ilobu, he did not take offence until Oluyole resolved the matter and the greatest supporter and friend of Oluyole was eventually expelled from Ibadan.

During the Batedo war of 1844, Balogun Oderinlo made friends with Balogun Ogunroju of Ijaiye to reduce tension in the war of superiority between Basorun Oluyole and Aare Kurunmi of Ijaiye and also prevented Sagamu in Igbo-Ora from being captured by Ijaiye.

He was the Balogun of the army that crushed Ilorin Army at Osogbo in 1840 on the invitation of Ataoja of Osogbo. The success in the war saved the Yoruba race from the Fulani incursion. He also led the Batedo war of 1844 where he made friends with Balogun Ogunkoroju of Ijaiye to reduce tension in the war of superiority between Oluyole and Aare Kurunmi of Ijaiye. After Batedo war Oderinlo saved Igbo-Ora which supported Ibadan against Ijaiye during Batedo war by warning his friend, Balogun Lasilo of Ijaiye to withdraw from the battle to avoid being disgraced. Lasilo and his men accordingly retreated from Sagamu before the town was captured on the very day. Sagamu had since become part of Igbo-Ora till today.

As a compassionate and level headed leader, on his return from Sagamu war, Oluyole fell ill and died. People were ready to pull and plunder his house on account of atrocities perpetuated by him during his reign and Oderinlo prevented this by posting **Agbakin Yerombi** with his men at the entrance of Oluyole palace to prevent any outrage or disorder (Yerombi was the father of Basorun Fajimi (1897-1900)).

Balogun Oderinlo, during his life time, allotted land around Bere-Mapo to some Ibadan warlords as Balogun of Ibadanland, prominent among them were Sunmola Alao Laamo from Ikoyi, who rose to the position of Otun Bale Oyesile Olugbode (1851), Ogunmola from Fesu and Dada-Opadare; who was a close relative of Balogun Oderinlo.

Balogun ruled Ibadan for only one year without assuming the title of the prestigious Baale because he was not disposed to assume a higher title of Baale until the return of important chiefs and himself from Oke-Ogun war. He died in 1850.

6.0 BA'ALE OMOLOLU OPEAGBE (1850-1851)

Balogun Oderinlo refused to be installed as Ba'ale after Balogun Oluyole until he returned from war but he died shortly after his return paving ways for Opeagbe because Lajumoke the Otun Balogun for Oderinlo had died. Ba'ale Opeagbe had a short and peaceful reign. He was a native of Ogbomosho and he lived in Kure's compound (one of the ruling houses in Ibadan). Opeagbe took part in the wars fought at Batedo, Oshogbo and Sagamu. He was very rich and influential. He allocated the land for the construction of the central mosque after Oluyole had destroyed the one built at Oja Iba. Opeagbe's lineage had produced Omiyale as Balogun during the reign of Ba'ale Dada Opadare (1904-1907) and the late Balogun Omiyale.

During his reign, the C.M.S came to Ibadan but did not settle down until the reign of Ba'ale Olugbode in 1951. He was like a father to many influential ruling houses in Ibadan today namely: Ojo-kure, Oke Eleta, Elekuro, Orowusi, Ogundepo and Abayomi.

7.0 MIGRATION HISTORY OF AJAYI OYESILE OLUGBODE

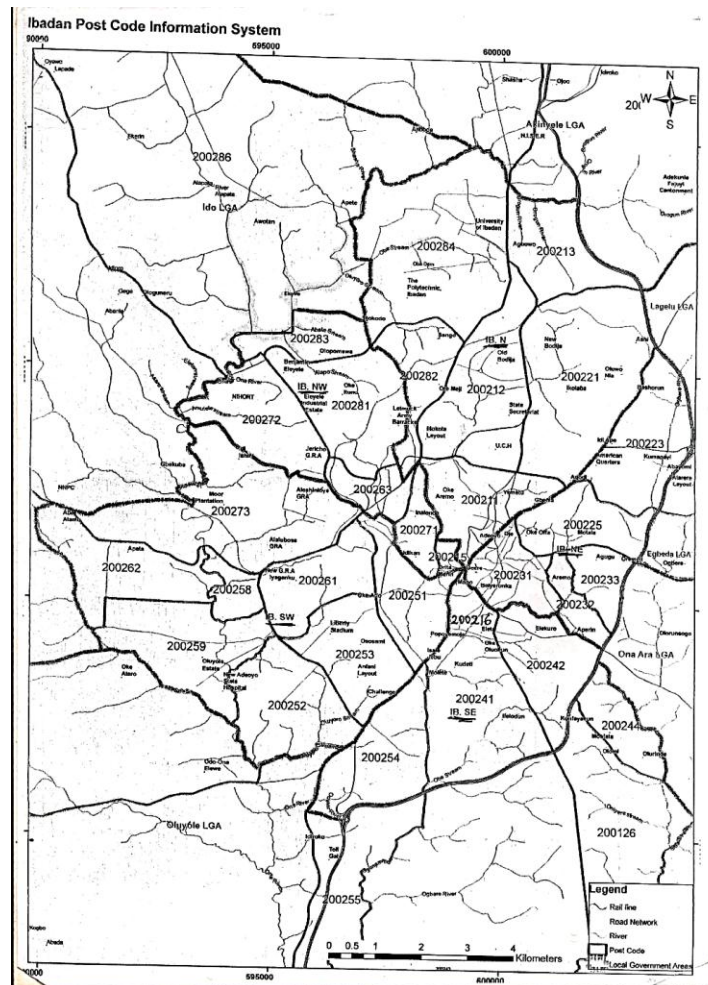
In Ibadan, the Owu were much intermixed with the rest of the heterogeneous population and had no separate quarter of their own until one of their members rose to a position of eminence in the city. This was Olugbode in 1851, barely thirty (30) years after Ibadan was reconstituted, rose to become the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

Oyesile Olugbode was born at Kuta, near Iwo town. His fathers' name was Basorun, a native of Owu-Orile. During the reign of Olowu Akitoba Basorun migrated to Kuta where Oyesile Olugbode was born. He came to Ibadan as a warrior with some ESOS and stayed at Idiape where it was believed ALUGBUA, the great

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general disappeared and who it was claimed could in the past be summoned by pulling on a chain which he drew under the earth with him when there was war.

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



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

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

After the death of baale Omiololu Opeagbe, oyesile Olugbode was installed Baaale of Ibadan between (1851-1854). During the reign, Okebadan was resuscitated **Okebadan festival** which was earlier abolished from the days of Maye Okunade. Owu established villages at various locations such as: **Idi-Ape, Ojoo, Aroro, Alugbo, Araromi-Owu, Seriki village, Olokuta village, Owobale and Erunmu.**

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

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

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

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

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

7.1 Consequences of Owu War (1814-1825):

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

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

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

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

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

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

8.0 BALOGUN IBIKUNLE (1851 – 1864)

Ibikunle who was Seriki during the reign of Basorun Oluyole was advised to bid for the title of Balogun when Oyesile Olugbode became the Baale of Ibadan in 1851. He refused to do so with words which have become memorable, showing the character and quality of the man; “A ki ifi owo du oye alagbara”, i.e. the title of the valiant should never be contested with money. As the most worthy of his peers, the title of Balogun was conferred upon him with no dissent voice. (Samuel Johnson: 309).

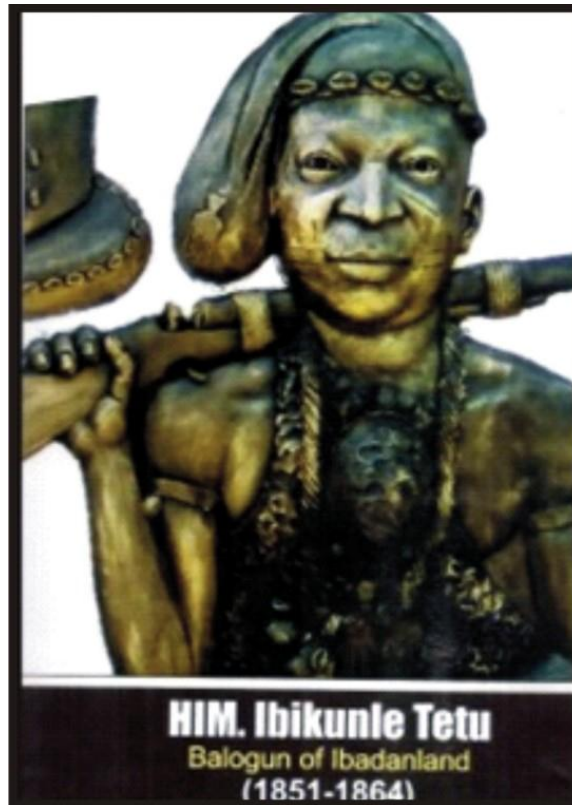
Balogun Ibikunle led the famous Ijaye and Kutuje wars of 1859-1862. He was a disciplined fighter, courageous warrior and a highly influential man but he never became Ba’ale. He was the Seriki during the reign of Oluyole and fought along with Oderinlo to defend Asu at Fiditi against Aare Kurunmi who expelled him from Ijaiye. He rose from Seriki to Balogun of Ibadan during the reign of Baale Oyesile Olugbode in 1851.

He subjected many satellite towns to the dictates of Ibadan rulers. After the Ijaye war, Bashorun Ibikunle led Ibadan army against the Egbas and Ijaye people in a warfare known as Kutuje war. Notable soldiers in Ibadan like Seriki Odunjo and Osi Balogun Osundina died in the war.

Rev. Samuel Johnson had this to say on Iperu war retreat: ***“But the Egbas were pressing closely endeavoring to take Balogun alive. When they reached the river Omi, the Balogun ordered his carriers to put him down and that the Egbas be driven back from that place. Akere the Ashipa Balogun was the only war-chief who waited to protect the Balogun besides his own men and bodyguards. Here, when they had rallied armies arranged themselves in order of battle, they made a furious charge on the Egba pursuers and drove them dean away with a heavy loss”.*** This

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was the last courageous act of a great Balogun of Ibadan, if not the greatest. From that time, Omi River had been the boundary between Ibadan and Ijebu-Ode.



Ibikunle had an accident while sacrificing a dog to Ogun deity. This severe wound led to his death after the Iperu retreat because the army left Ijaye war to meet the Egbas that invaded Iperu for supporting Ibadan during the Ijaye war. Balogun Ibikunle died shortly on arrival. Sunmola Laamo, the Otun Ba'ale died in the war and Ba'ale Oyesile Olugbode also died shortly after arrival. So the mantle of leadership fell on Ogunmola, the Otun Balogun. He built the third town wall in 1858 (Samuel Johnson: 327) this was called "Odi Ibikunle".



Basorun Ogunmola on horseback: At Total Garden Roundabout, Ibadan

9.0 BASORUN OGUNMOLA (1865-1867)

Ogunmola's father migrated from Odogbo near Ikoyi, in Ogbomoso to from Fesu village near Iwo. He was an herbalist according to I.B. Akinyele in "Iwe Itan Ibadan". He became one of the private soldiers under Basorun Oluyole. He became Otun Balogun during the reign of Ba'ale Oyesile Olugbade. He took part in the first Ijaye war, second Ijaye war, Iperu war, Igbajo war (1866) and Kutuje war. Akere was the Balogun and Osuntoki, the Maye Balogun. Osuntoki was sent to Igbajo against Ijesa, before Balogun Akere joined them to strengthen Ibadan army. Ijesa army was routed with heavy casualty during the reign of Basorun Ogunmola

Ogunmola succeeded Ba'ale Oyesile Olugbode because Balogun Ibikunle, Otun Ba'ale, the veteran Sumola Alao Laamo and Ba'ale Oyesile had died after the Iperu retreat in 1864. According to Akinyele (1921), Ibadan army returned from Ijaye to march on Egba and Ijebu called Kutuje war (1862-1864) and Ba'ale Olugbode died on his house on their return and Otun Bale, Sumola Laamo also died at Iperu retreat. Thus, Ogunmola was installed the head of Ibadan but requested for Basorun title from Alaafin Adelu who promised to honour him for his role during Ijaye war fought to protect Alaafin of Oyo. Ogunmola introduced the Chieftaincy title of Oota and Gbonka for the first time in Ibadan Chieftaincy hierarchy and displayed uncommon courage and wisdom in the administration of justice. He also installed Aiyejenku as Foko. Ogunmola had two male children, Osun and Ilori, and a female by name Omosa the wife of Eniowu Arulogun. His grandson, Kongi was Balogun between (1902 and 1904) and Balogun Akanmu (1937) and Ilori, the Osi Balogun (1878) who died at Ilorin war camp.

During his time, Alli Okunmade, the Balogun of Iwo came to settle in Ibadan and his descendants had become the Olubadan, so also Senator (Dr) Lekan Balogun the present Otun Olubadan of Ibadanland.

10.0 BALOGUN AKERE (1867-1870)

Balogun Akere migrated from Igbeti to Ogbomosho where he lived. He became the Balogun of Ibadan during the reign of Ogunmola but he refused to become Ba'ale of Ibadan after the death of Ogunmola. He wanted to capture Ilesa before he became the Ba'ale in 1870.

Akere was part of the warriors who fought in Oniyefun war, Sagamu war, Iberekodo war, Aye war, Osogbo war, Oke Bode war, Efon war, Ijero war, Ijaye war and Kutuje war. One of Akere's chiefs, Ajobo, who accompanied him to fight Ijesha war used a powerful medicinal belt (Bante) to prostrate for Akere. Akere died on the

third day at Ibadan camp that is on 15th of February, 1869. The war continued until Ijesa was defeated and Ilesa was taken on June 4th, 1870. The war lasted for three years.

This was how power was trusted to Orowusi: But his reign was short. Although he promoted wise administration, he died in September 1871, shortly after Ajobo's expulsion from the town and the burning of his house. Orowusi originally came from Ogbagba near Iwo. An elephant hunter, he rose quickly under Balogun Ibikunle and Ogunmola who were senior veterans. The Ijesas thought they were Orowusi's son, discovered his terminus, scared away the few sentinels around; and with the help of the whole of the Ibadan army, trailing after him Ijesas were rushed and defeated. According to Chief M.O Ogunmola (2010), the Otun o Oyo, Latosisa and Ajayi Ogboriefon were other Ibadan Chiefs who displayed singular valour in these campaigns. Ogedengbe eventually arranged for terms of surrender and Ibadan subsequently entered Ilesa to pillage for loots and slaves.

According to Dr. J.A. Atanda (1973, 1979 p.6): "With respect to Ilesa, it will be recalled that the attempt which Old Oyo made in the seventeenth century, during the reign of Obalokun, to reduce Ilesa to submission resulted in heavy losses for Oyo. Since that time, no further attempt was made by Oyo to control Ilesa. In fact, until the beginning of the Yoruba wars, Ilesa held sway over the whole of Ijesaland." So what Ibadan army did under Balogun Akere was a great feat.

11.0 BA'ALE OROWUSI AWARUN OSOSO (1870 – 1871)

Orowusi was from Ogbagba near Iwo. He was the Ekerin Balogun during the reign of Ba'ale Oyesile Olugbode, Asipa Balogun during the time of Basorun Ogunmola and Ba'ale in 1870 because Tubosun, the Otun Balogun and Abayomi, Osi Balogun had died in Ilesa war with Balogun Akere. During the reign of Orowusi, Ajobo was the Balogun and he was the first Ba'ale to receive Christian group to his palace for

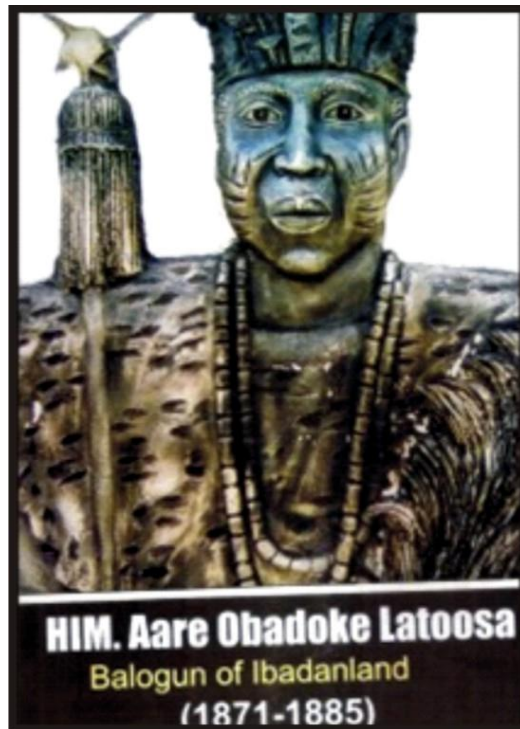
worship. His reign was peaceful as there was no war. However, crisis in the city among the Chiefs led to the expulsion of Balogun Ajobo from Ibadan because he made an attempt to install Oba of Ilesa without consultation with other Chiefs and partly because of his role in the death of Balogun Akere.

12.0 ARE LATOSISA (1871-1885)

Obadoke Latosisa was born in Ilora in Afijio Local Government Area. His father was Ore Orisa and his mother was a princess of Oyo Alaafin. Latosisa migrated from Ilora as a protest to the shabby treatment of his people by Alaafin. He was the BA'ALE and the ARE ONA KAKANFO when Ajayi Ogboriefon became the Balogun.

Are Latosisa fought many wars to keep Yorubas united against foreign invasions. He was a nationalist, motivator and a good leader because of his tact. The Efunsetan episode (the second Iyalode of Ibadan) occurred during his reign. A residential quarter (Oke-Are) and a City hall (called Oke-Are Court hall) was named after him. The hill which stratus from Bere and continues with its peak at Bower' Tower is Are Latosa Hill.

The Aare Latosisa took over office in October 1891. His preference of title was Aare Ona-Kakanfo because he argued, as a Modern, none of that faith had ascended Ibadan Baaleship; and Ojo Amepo, an earlier Moslem, assumed the headship of the town as an Aare. In the end, Latosisa convinced his opponents; and was duly installed. His assumption of office was a usurpation of Ojo Aburumaku's office. The latter was the head of Ogbomoso town. But earlier from Ibadan, Ogunmola had taken on the title of Basorun when the aged Gbenla of Oyo was still an incumbent. ***Might was dictating the tempo and course of these chieftaincy events; and yet the Alaafin as the sovereign, was forced to accede to the request of Ibadan Chiefs.*** (Chief M.O. Ogunmola, 2010).



While the Aare had commended the policy of installing yonder elements into chieftaincies instead of mature and elderly members of the renowned families as enunciated and practiced by Baale Orowusi, he developed an obsession of finding excuses for liquidating them physically as well.

In 1873, the Aare Had been displaying the dreadful traits of all Kakanfos. He lacked mercy, encouraged intrigues, murder, usurpation of titles and all forms of arbitrariness. In 1874, he got Efunsetan, the Iyalode of Ibadan, to be murdered; and installed Ola, he Otun, in her palace. Through cunning, he got chiefs like Seriki Iyapo, the son of late Ibikunle, to hound Aijenku who committed suicide and his property was looted.

Moreover, Aare's kidnapping raids against the Egbas, according to Chief M.O. Ogunmola (2010), an incident that followed the expedition which the Alaafin's gun powder from Porto Novo in 1877, did not meet the consensus of Ibadan Chiefs.

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With all the different objects of discontent raked up against the Aare, a secret meeting was held in Ogboni house in Basorun's Market in 1877 to assassinate him. When this plot leaked, it was Iyapo who was forced to commit suicide.

The following are the wars he fought:

1874 – Ado war, Emure war and Ogedengbe war

1876 – Eletu war

1877 – Igbe Igbin and Atadi war

1878 – Igbe Erinele (Osiele)

1878 – 1879 – Jalumi war

1880 – 1893 – Ekiti- parapo or Kiriji war

According to Kemi Morgan in the Outline History of Ibadan, “Are Latosisa and his Chiefs granted asylum to Lawani, the exiled Crown Prince of Oyo and son of the Late Alaafin Adelu (1858-1875) after losing to Adeyemi Alowolodu I, the Alafin of Oyo (1875-1905)”. Prince Lawani Agogoiya domiciled in Ibadan with his son Ladigbolu Siyanbola until 1905 when he succeeded Alaafin Adeyemi I. Lawani compound is located at Oke Aremo and the neighbourhood where the compound is located was named Adeoyo after Prince Lawani Agogoiya Mohamed.

13.0 BALOGUN AJAI-OSUNGBEKUN (1885-1893)

He was the second or third son of Orowusi. He was made Balogun after the death of Are Latosisa and other war leaders at the Kiriji war. It was alleged that his slaves maltreated the citizens and people rose against him and he had to commit suicide despite the intervention of Governor Carter. He was never allowed to become the Ba'ale of Ibadan on the return of war Chiefs from Ekitiparapo war (Akinyele, 1911, 1981).

14.0 BA'ALE FIJABI (1893 – 1895)

Ba'ale Fijabi had a very peaceful reign. He became the Ba'ale of Ibadan in June 1893. He was one of the sons of Babalola, one of the warriors who funded Ibadan. Ibadan became a British Protectorate after Baale Fijabi and his chiefs signed the peace Treaty while Captain Denton and Captain Bower signed the Treaty for the British government. The St James School Ogunpa was opened during his reign. Baale Fijabi was loved by all. He died in 1895 after ruling for 3 years.

15.0 BA'ALE OSUNTOKI (BAALE OLOSUN (1895 – 1897)

Baale Osuntoki was the head of Osun deity worshippers. He was the first Otun Baale to become Baale in Ibadan because Balogun Akintola refused to become Baale. His reign was peaceful as there were no wars. He was Maye Balogun during the time of Basorun Ogunmola and took part in Igbajo war against Ijesa and many others including Ekitiparapo war along with Akintola, Babalola, Kongi, Fijabi, Fajimi, Bamgbegbin, Sanusi (Omo Are), Tanpe (Omo Oderinlo) and Akinwale.

The Europeans used the seed of Jathropha (Lapalapa) as shrub for fence during Osuntoki's reign. The indigenes were happy because the plant became an economic crop in his time. The Oja'Iba Central Mosque was built. "Laiye Olosun lapalapa dowo Osun yio gbe o, baba Olosun" osuntoki died in 1897"

1.5 INFLUENTIAL BALOGUNS AND WAR CHIEFS IN IBADAN

(i) BALOGUN BANKOLE ALESINLOYE

Balogun Alesinloye was from Ofa and among the Oyo army that initially occupied Abemo while Ikoyi chiefs led by Kurunmi occupied Ijaye. During the reign of Oluyedun, both Bankole Alesinloye and Oluyole joined Ibadan camp. Other important war-chiefs were Elepo, Oderinlo, Lajumoke, Ogundiwin, Dele, Olufajo and Aiyejenku.

During the Iperu war, on the invitation of the Ijebus at Remo, all the war chiefs were sent forward including Bankole Alesinloye, except Lakanle who later joined them when the war was getting difficult to win. It was a victory over the Egbas under the command of Lakanle. On getting home, he lost his life in the civil war caused by the rift between him and Oluyole.

When Oluyole took over Baaleship of Ibadan after the death of Lakanle, he sent his Balogun, Bankole Alesinloye, to Ijebu Remo war which he refused (I.B. Akinyele: 38). When Oluyole was coming from Ijebu Remo where he was invited for help by Prince at Remo where Oluyole sold Egun to the Ijebus there was a plan not to allow Oluyole to enter the town. The plan was leaked to Oluyole and he entered through Bode Elekuro (Elekuro Border). A civil war ensued, and Bankole Alesinloye was killed by one Temileke, one of Oluyole men paving way for Oderinlo to be appointed the second Balogun when Elepo refused. Oluyole's house was burnt and he had to relocate to Oja Iba after the incidence

However, his son Abass Okunola became the Baale of Ibadan in 1930 and later Olubadan between 1936 and 1946. During his reign, Ibadan became independent of Oyo as a Native Authority and the Ibadan title was changed from Baale to Olubadan.

(ii) OSI BALOGUN OSUNDINA

Osundina was the Osi Balogun during the reign of Baale Oyesile Olugbode (1851-1864) and the father of Basorun Apampa. He fought in Ijebu Ere war, the Ara war and the relief of Otun in Ekiti area which ended in 1854. He was also involved in Ijaiye war and played a major role in the company of Ogunmola, the Otun Balogun and Ajayi Ogboriefon during the battle of Iwawun and Erin, where six of Are Kurunmi's sons were caught and killed including Arawole his eldest surviving son. Osi Osundina was the only chief of note that fell after he was shut in the knee. He

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kept on until the Ijaye war was over and died a few days after. A quarter (ISALE OSI) in Ibadan Township was named after him.

His son became Asipa Balogun during the reign of Baale Fijabi (1893-1895), Osi Balogun during the reign of Fajimi and later Otun Balogun when Kongi became the Balogun for Basorun Fajimi. He rose to the position of Balogun when Balogun Kongi went into exile. He changed Otun Baale Dada-Opadare during the constitutional crisis to have the opportunity achieved between (1907 and 1910). During his reign, Odeomu was established with the Agreement signed by Basorun Apampa, the Ooni of Ife, Oba Adelekan Olubuse I (1894-1910) and Baale of Modakeke, Chief Akinsanya when Modakeke broke up in 1909, they returned in 1921 (M.A. Fabunmi, 1985)

(iii) BALOGUN AJAI JEGEDE OGBORIEFON

Ajai Jegede came from Ejigbo and Ogboriefon was a nick name (Ogbori-Efon-Sa-filAfila). He was Bada during the reign of Baale Oyesile Olugbode and rose to the rank of Abese Balogun during the time of Ogunmola. He became Osi Balogun during the reign of Baale Orowusi while Ajobo was the Balogun and Latosa the Otun Balogun. He was the hero of Jalumi war in 1878 including that of Osiele, Efon Alaye. He died after successfully leaders Jalumi war at Ikirun on 1880. His son, Babalola became Otun Balogun during the reign of Baale Fijabi and later became Balogun during the reign of Basorun Fajinmi and died in 1899.

(iv) YEROMBI

Yerombi was from Ilora. He rose to the rank of Agbakin Balogun during the reign of Basorun Oluyole (1835-1847). He was the father of Fajimi who became Basorun of Ibadan (1897-1902). Yerombi took part in many wars including Eleduwe, Batedo, Owiwi and Arakanga, Osogbo war against the Fulanis and Sagamu under the command of Oderinlo.

(v) AIYEJENKU FOKO

He was a wealthy man from Eju who rode on a horse to Ibadan during the time of Oluyedun. He was one of the war-boys of Lakanle. He participated in all the wars during Oluyedun's time as Baale of Ibadan who took the title of Are-Ona-Kakanfo. On the return of Oluyole, the Osi Kakanfo, a civil war broke out in the town between Oluyole men and Lakanle men and Aiyejenku was sent to Lakanle his friend to leave the town or commit suicide.

Aiyejenku was installed Foko, (a lieutenant to Basorun Ogunmola). He was the first Oyo-Ibadan to hold the title of Foko (Fowoko). He sought refuge at Akura's compound during his crisis as a result of misunderstanding with some chiefs during the reign of Are Latosa. Shortly, after leaving the compound, he committed suicide. In this honour, a neighbourhood of Oke-Foko in Ibadan was named after him. His son, Oyewole Foko rose to the rank of Balogun during the time of Baale Situ (Omo Are) and later succeeded him as Baale of Ibadan (1925-1929). Another offspring of the compound is High Chief Eddy Oyewole Foko is also the current Asipa Olubadan (2016).

(vi) AWANIBAKU ELENPE (Father of Baale Akintayo)

Okunmoyejo Awanibakun Elenpe came from Agbegbede compound of Ile-Ife. He left Ile-Ife to settle at Baraloje, Ile-Olugbin at Ikire. When Awanibaku got to Ibadan from Ikire, he stayed at Oderinlo's House before he later went to settle at Agodi. Realizing that he was a great warrior, Oderinolo, Oluyole and Ogunmola convinced him to come to Ibadan and he settled at Isale Osun. When he wanted to leave Agodi, he made sure he put his people there. This is the reason why they used to call him "*Awanibaku Agodi soro*" Baale Akintayo was the first child born in Ibadan; others were born outside Ibadan during the war days. Balogun Akintayo was installed Baale, the first after 1893 others were from Otun Baale.

During the time of Baale Olugbode, Awanibaku was the person who went to Igbo Egba to bring Akinwale as the head of Oke-Badan Shrine. Akinwale was the son of Ogundowo, a direct son of Lagelu of Ile-Aboke, Bere Ibadan. Awanibaku contributed to the settlement of land and boundary disputes between Ibadan and Ijebu.

**(vii) THE EXPLOIT OF ENIMOWU ARULOGUN AT
OFA WAR IN 1886**

After the breakup of the car-camps at Kiriji in Spetember 1886 and after the Ibadan troops at Kiriji had gone to Ikirun, Ogedengbe, the leaders of the Ekitiparapos was still anxious that peace should be restored at Ofa. He continued to send messages to persuade Karara to accept the peace and let the Ekitiparapo troops fighting on his (Karara's) side return home, but Karara's reply to Ogedengbe was "Let my men perish with you and let your men perish with me".

Ogedengbe also sent a message to the Balogun of Ibadan at Ikirun asking him not to do anything to make it impossible for him to effect a settlement of the war at Ofa. "The recall of the Ekiti troops from Ofa might make Karara more ready to accept a peace settlement" he said. *The Ibadan Balogun agreed to this request from Ogedengbe although he demanded that Ogedengbe must give a guarantee that Karara would not destroy Ofa town in the Ibadan troops fighting there were withdrawn. But all these attempts to end the war at Ofa failed because the Ilorins and the Ibadans did not trust each other.*

When there seemed to be no hope of a settlement of the Ofa war, the Ibadan war-Chiefs at Ikirun held a meeting to decide whether they should send more troops to Ofa to reinforce the Ibadan troops already fighting there, there was a sharp division of opinion among them on the issues. The senior war-chiefs did not want to take any steps which might annoy Ogedengbe and which might make him break the peace they

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had agreed to at Kiriji. But some of **the junior war-chiefs** were in favour of sending more troops to Ofa. The meeting was a storm one. **It was at the meeting that Enimowu Arulogun, the husband of Madam Omosa and Basorun Ogunmola's son-in-law decided to take his soldiers to fight at Ofa if the senior war-chiefs would not go.** Without waiting to obtain permission from the senior war-chiefs, Arulogun left the meeting in anger to make preparations for leading his troops to fight at Ofa.

Enimowu Arulogun led his troops to Erin, a small town, not far from Ofa and camped there. Among the soldiers who followed him to Erin were sons of famous Ibadan families. They were Kongi, the late Basorun Ogunmola's grandson, Winfunke, the son of the late **Chief Tubosun. Molade**, the son of Seriki Odunjo and Salako the Mogaji of Aiyejenku Foko family.

At Erin they learnt that Karara was in the habit of sending his horsemen to intercept caravans carrying supplies of food and ammunition to the Ibadan war-camp at Ofa. So, Enimowu decided to check them. One day, the Ilorin horsemen attacked a caravan carrying food-stuffs to the Ibadan troops in their camp. On this occasion, Enimowu and his troops made a counter-attack on the Ilorin horsemen and succeeded in driving them away. Instead of returning to their base after this encounter, Enimowu and his men began to pursue the Ilorin horsemen in the hope of capturing some of them and making them prisoners. They continued the pursuit until they were very far away from their base at Erin. When they became tired of the pursuit, they decided to rest for a while. Enimowu sat on a keg of gun-powder, fanning himself and joking with his men who sat around him. He was very pleased at their success in driving the Ilorin horsemen away.

Whilst they were resting a famous Ilorin horseman called Gata-Ikoko returned to attack them. With a few specially trained horsemen. Gata-Ikoko had taken another route and had suddenly reappeared behind them. They attacked Enimowu and his men from the rear and with their long spears, they killed many of them. They captured alive Enimowu, his son, Oyewo. Winfunke, Molade and Salako. When they wanted to take them prisoners to Ilorin, Salako refused to go with them and they killed him on the spot. The rest of them were then taken prisoners to Ilorin.

At Ilorin, Enimowu and the other prisoners were taken to the Emir and his chiefs who were to decide their fate. They had to decide whether to order their execution or to keep them prisoners. When they began to interrogate them, they asked Enimowu who Oyewo was. Enimowu thought the Emir might order Oyewo's execution if he knew that Oyewo was his son. He told the Emir that Oyewo was just one of his ordinary soldiers. But to the great astonishment of the Emir and his chiefs, Oyewo suddenly cried out, "No, no, no, I am Enimowu's son; Enimowu is my father. If you kill, do not spare me; kill me too for I am not afraid of death". The Emir and his chiefs were moved by this young soldier's courage and because of him, they decided not to kill any of them but to keep them prisoners at Ilorin.

Kongi managed to escape back to the Ibadan camp at Ikirun. There, he told the Balogun and his war-chiefs about the disaster that befell Enimowu and his troops. The chiefs did not show much sympathy for Enimowu and his troops. The chiefs did not show much sympathy for Enimowu because they did not like the arrogant way in which he took it upon himself to go and fight the Ilorin's. They felt that Enimowu's intention was to show them up as cowards. But they were very angry with Kongi for deserting Enimowu. For some time, they refused to speak to him or to let him attend their meetings. He had to pay a heavy fine before he was allowed to re-occupy his former position. When they returned that he deserved. Bravery counted much in the Ibadan army

(viii) Akintola's Victory Over Ilorin Army

The Ibadan war-chiefs at Ikirun however knew about the Ilorin plan the they sent Chief Akintola with a detachment of sliders to guard the road lining Ilobu with Ikirun, Chief Akintola and his solder's camped inside Ilobu town.

The Ilorin horsemen who camped at Toribola soon made their first move. There was a small town called Ile Aron which was near Ilobu. The Ilorin horsemen made a sudden attack on this town, captured it and carried its inhabitants away as prisoners.

They were already on their way back to their camp at Toribola when Chief Akintola heard the news of the attack on Ile Aro. Immediately he called out his solders and they gave chase to the Ilorin horsemen. Chief Akintola and his men caught up with them before they reached Toribola and the opposing troops began to fight. In this fight, the famous Ilorin horseman called Nasamu and nick-named "Gata-ikoko", riding his famous horse called "Arasi: soon came face to face for the first time with the equally famous Ibadan horseman called Latunji and nick-named "Okiti kan". Latunji was riding his favourite horse called "Nasankore". Describing what happened when they met, the Rev. Samuel Johnson wrote:

"Both of them had heard of each other's frame and exploits on various battlefields, and had been longing to meet each other in a trial of valour. They now accosted each other, "is that you"? "is that you?" and then the single combat began according to their accepted rules, with spear on either side; and the hosts on both sides stood holding their breath, and watching these two chiefs of strength. The combat lasted for some time, which shows they were equally matched; but by a skillful turn, Nasamu with his spear knocked Latunji's spear off his hand, and then went about to throw him off his horse and spear him on the ground, when Latunji hastily whipped out his revolver from his side and wounded Nasamu in the right hand,

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causing his spear to fall off his hand. With the left, Nasamu gathered up his reins, put spurs to his horse and escaped; the Ilorins with one accord gave way and were hotly pursued and badly beaten; all their captives and booty being recovered.”

Akintola’s men picked up Nasami’s spear from the battlefield and carrying it before their Chief, they returned to Ilobu town in triumph, there was great rejoicing among the Ibadan army at Ikirun when they heard the news of this victory because if the Ilorin troops had succeeded they would have gone to attack Ofa-tedo, Ede and Ikirun.

(ix) THE RELEASE OF ENIMOWU ARULOGUN

In November 1981, Aliyu the Emir of Ilorin died and Momo succeeded him as the new Emir. Momo was partly Fulani and partly Yoruba. His mother was a Yoruba woman who came from Ipapo, a town near Iseyin, because he was related to the Yoruba’s, he was willing to negotiate peace terms with the Ibadan chiefs. He began to exchange messages and gifts with the Alafin Adeyemi I, of Oyo. Some of the princes of Oyo also exchanged presents with the Ilorin princes.

About this time too, Karara died in the Ilorin war camp at Yanayo and his son Adamu succeeded him as the new Hausa Balogun of Ilorin. With the deaths of Aliyu and Karara, the way seemed clear for a peaceful settlement of the Ibadan-Ilorin war.

Madam Omosa, alias Iya Ofa, the very wealthy wife of Enimowu Arulogun who had been a prisoner at Ilorin since 1887 began to send presents and messages to the Alafin of Oyo begging him to use his influence to get her husband released. Madam Omosa also sent slaves and expensive European cloths through the Alafin of Oyo to the new Emir of Ilorin. The Alafin of Oyo also sent messages and gifts to the new Emir of Ilorin and asked him to release Enimowu Arulogun and the other Ibadan prisoners at Ilorin.

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In that year, 1891, the new Emir of Ilorin released Enimowu Arulogun who had grown a long Beard and who had not had a hair-cut since 1887. The Emir also released Oyewo, Enimowu's son as well as Molade and two nephews of the Balogun of Ibadan. Unfortunately Winfunke, the son of Tubosun had died in prison before Momo became the new Emir.

The released men went from Ilorin to Oyo taking the Ogbomoso route to Oyo to thank the Alafin for his efforts in getting them released and to pay homage to him. From Oyo, they travelled back to the Ibadan camp at Ikirun where they were received with great joy.

But although the way seemed clear for a peaceful settlement of the Ibadan-Ilorin war, yet both parties fighting- in the war refused to break up their camps and return to their respective homes. The Ibadan troops at Ikirun had in the meantime, become better equipped for fighting because they had been able to exchange slaves for guns, and gun-powder in Lagos. They therefore felt that they were in a superior position to fight and defeat the Ilorin troops, mostly cavalry, armed with spears and arrows.

(x) BAALE DADA OPADARE (1904 – 1907)

Baale Dada Opadare became Baale of Ibadan in 1904 and he came from Ajagba town within Oyo province. He was a close relative of Balogun Oderinlo who settled at "Oke Apaso" (now referred to Okedada, Mapo neighbourhood in the central area of Ibadan South East Local Government Area). He was also a close friend of Basorun Ogunmola (1867-1871) and they used to go to war together and were victorious.

According to Professor Toyin Falola (1989), Baale Dada Opadare was the one who stopped the people of **Ijebu, Egba, Ijaye, Ojoo, Moniya, Iroko** etc. from Payina tribute to Alaafin of Oyo. He decided to encamp himself with some of his

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people at Alore village where he had parcels of land, and he made he put a stop to people passing through the village to see the Alaafin of Oyo, Oba Adeyemi Alowolodu I.

Baale Dada gave out part of his land at “**Oke Apaso**” to Christ Anglican Church, Oke-Apaso for building of a church in **1898**. The church is now called Christ Church, Mapo, Ibadan. He did this oven before he became a chief in Ibadan. The Christ Church, Mapo, was only church then with an established elementary school out of the Anglican Churches in Ibadan the school was named Central School, Mapo Ibadan.

3.0 THE DEFENCE OF IBADAN AGAINST EGBA AND IJEBU HOSTILITIES BY THE WAR VATERANS

The vision of Ibadan warlords during the reign of **Baale Ajayi Oyesile Olugbode (1851-1864)** by creating the Otun Baale line made up of retired war valerians to stay at home when the Balogun and is team went to war was a wise one. The veteran, Sunmola Alao Laamo was the first Otun Baale who died at Iperu war between **1862 and 1854**.

As part of their plan to weaken Ibadan militarily during the Ekiti parapo war, they also began to raid the Ibadan farms near their territories and to kidnap any Ibadan man, woman or child found there. This was done to cause panic as well as famine in the town (Kemi Morgan).

(a) An Act of Courage, Diplomacy and Good Leadership:

The Strategic adopted:

The **civil chiefs of Ibadan**, under the leadership of Chief Tajo, the Otun Are Latosisa, had to make arrangements to defend the town against the raiders. They built forts at three strategic places where the Egbas and the Ijebus could enter the town to sack it.

- i) The first fort was built near the farms adjacent to the Egba farms. This fort was guarded by hunters who were always on the lookout for the Egba raiders.
- ii) The second fort was built on the Akanran road leading to Ijebu Igbo. This was guarded by famous Ibadan hunters of elephants like Obisesan, the ancestor of the famous family of Ibadan, Ajiya and Odeyale.

According to the Captain Ward Price, a former British Resident at Ibadan.

The South of Ibadan lay forest land, the boundary with the Ijebus not being settled at the time. Aperin (Obisesan) was a man sent to this area to guard against the Ijebu raiders while the Ibadan army went north. Aperin took the opportunity to "take" land in the vicinity for himself, and he took a large amount, which was eventually distributed among his sons and others. The Ijebus were coming nearer and nearer to Ibadan and it was Aperin and his sons who held them off and retained an extensive areas as Ibadanland, which would otherwise have gone to Ijebu-Ode. Later on, the land became Ibadanland, possibly because of the efforts of the Aperins.

But for the vigilance of Obisesan, the hunter of elephants, his sons and others, the Ijebus might have succeeded in attacking Ibadan through this road leading from Ijebu-Igbo.

- iii) The third fort was built near Idi Ayunre, along the Ijebu-Ode road, near the place where the road crossed the Ijebu Remo and leading to Ipara and Ikorodu. Chief Sodeinde, an Ijebu-Remo man who had made Ibadan his home and who had been installed the Balogun of the Ibadan Calvary was put in charge of this fort. He and his sons, Solaia and Sonikan had the responsibility of preventing the Ijebus from attacking Ibadan through this road.

In the year 1881, some Ijebu raiders attempted to capture the fort built near Idi Ayunre. But Solaja and his sons, riding on their horses, made a sudden dash against the raiders and captured a man named Omitogun who was a brother of Onafowokan Otutunibon, the Balogun of the Ijebu army.

Solaia and his sons returned to Ibadan town with their prisoner. They handed him over to the Ibadan Civil Chiefs who treated him with courtesy when they heard that he was the brother of the Balogun of the Ijebu army stationed at Oru. They allowed him to return to Ijebu-Ode to arrange for his own ransom and also asked him to try and persuade Awujale Fidipote and his Chiefs to agree to the opening of the coastal roads passing through Ijebu territory to the Ibadan traders. But what impressed Omitugun most was the fact that the Ibadans were not short of food as the ijebus had thought they were. Rather, he found that food was plentiful and cheap at Ibadan, whereas, food was very scarce at ijobu-Ode.

(b) The Vision of the Founding Fathers on Civil Line of Chiefs

In 1851, a well-defined political arrangement which put the military at the helm of affairs had been fashioned out. The creation 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, Ekerin, 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 subgroup and their neighbours.

(c) Order of Succession to Olubadan Stool:

For purposes of regulating Chieftaincy succession in Ibadan land, Ibadan Native Authority made a declaration of Native Law and Custom on 19th August 1946 was later amended in 1959. The declaration stated that succession to the stool of the Olubadan shall be in strict rotation between the following major Chieftaincy Lines:

- The Olubadan line
- The Balogun line

There were eleven kingmakers before another major amendments in 2023 was made and the field of selection for the purpose of the foregoing provision shall not extend beyond the Ekerin Olubadan on the Olubadan Line and the Ekenn-Balogun on the Balogun Line.

The Line whose turn it is to present a candidate shall nominate a candidate for the senior Chief of the Chieftaincy Line not presenting the candidate.

According to Dr. Lasisi Olagunju in the Nigerian Tribune on Monday, 10 July, 2023, “The ascendancy of Ibadan from war camp to city and the distinctiveness of its Olubadan kingship are products of constant change and reforms. All through its modern history, every major improvement or amendment or adjustment to the Ibadan Chieftaincy law has had streaks of controversies.

According to the New Amendment in 2023; i. These are the Kingmakers of Olubadan:

- Otun Olubadan The Balogun
- Osi Olubadan Otun Baiogun
- Ashipa Olubadan Osi Balogun
- Ekerin Olubadan Ashipa Balogun
- Ekarun Olubadan Ekerin Balogun
- The lyalode Ekarun Balogun

The person who may be proposed as candidate by line whose turn is to fill a vacancy in the of Olubadan shall be the most Senior Beaded Crown Oba in that line provided that the most Senior Beaded Crown Oba shall be succeeded by a Junior Beaded Crown Oba on the conditions stated in paragraph 10 (2) of the Chiefs Law, 1957.

An further provided that:-

- a. The field of selection for the purpose of the fo/going provision shall not extend beyond the Ekarun Olubadan on the Olubadan line and the Ekarun Balogun on the Balogun Line.
- b. No Beaded Crown Oba from any of those embraced in provision above found guilty by a meeting of the Chieftaincy Committee (at the Olubadan shall not be present) or disregard of, or disrespect to the position or authority of the Olubadan, or of a Senior Beaded Crown Oba under Native Law and Custom shall be eligible for Nomination.

The method of selection is as follows:

The line whose turn it is to present a candidate shall nominate a candidate for the Chieftaincy at a meeting of the Kingmakers to be summoned by the most Senior Beaded Crown Oba of the Chieftaincy line not presenting the candidate.

CHAPTER NINE

THE RISE OF IBADAN TO A DOMINANT STATE IN YORUBALAND BETWEEN 1877 AND 1900

1.0 EXTENT OF OLD OYO EMPIRE:

Rev. Samuel Johnson's neat definition of the boundaries towards the end of the nineteenth century by the time of Alaafin Agboluaje that the Old Oyo Empire had extended to utmost limit, bounded by the river Niger on the North and a portion of the **Tapa** (Nupe) and **Bariba** (Borgu) countries, on the East by the lower Niger, on the South by the sea-coast, and on the West it includes the Popos and Dahomey implies that the whole of Yorubaland and Dahomey were included in the empire.

According to Dr. J.A. Atanda in his book "The New Oyo Empire (1973, 1979), this erroneous idea about the extent of the Old Oyo Empire was also shared by British Officials, probably through the influence of men like Ajayi Crowther and Johnson.

The fact was that the Old Oyo Empire of which the Alaafin was the head, never embraced the whole of Yorubaland. Some parts of Yorubaland were tributary to the Kingdom of Benin and were never controlled by Oyo, as Benin itself was not. Benin tradition shows that **Ekiti, Owo and Ondo** areas were for a long time under the rule or influence of the kingdom of Benin.

Ilesa, Ile-Ife and **Ila** were kingdoms, each with a considerable area of influence and independent of Old Oyo. With respect to Ilesa, it will be recalled that the attempt which Old Oyo made in the **seventeenth century**, during the reign of **Obalokun**, to reduce Ilesa to submission resulted in heavy losses for Oyo since that time, no further attempt was made by Oyo to Ilesa (Dr. J.A. Atanda, 1973).

In fact, he went further until the beginning of the Yoruba wars, Ilesa held sway over the whole of Ijesaland whose western boundary, with the territory under Old Oyo probably along a line between **Ede and Osogbo**. Ada was founded on the

joint, as a sort of boundary point between the territories of the two kingdoms. From its foundation until c. 1835, Osogbo was under the control of Ilesa when it passed into the control of Ibadan so that Osogbo was never under the control of old Oyo Empire.

The fall of the Old Oyo Empire, arising from the combination of internal constitutional debates, power tussles and conflicts, and the rise of militant Islam in Ilorin played significant roles in the emergence of Ibadan as a dominant state in the nineteenth century. **The republican nature of Ibadan civil and military population partly explains** why it quickly and effortlessly succeeded old Oyo Empire as the military headquarters of the Yoruba Empire in the nineteenth century.

The wars generated by the process of disintegration and final collapse of the Oyo Empire, and of the Oyo Kingdom that constituted the core of the empire, according to Professor S. Adebajji Akintoye (2010), were not merely the first wars in **nineteenth century Yoruba history**, they proved to be the precursors of wider storms of war that came to rage all over Yorubaland for the rest of the century.

The disintegration of the Oyo Empire and kingdom destroyed the pre-existing system of order and security in Yorubaland and created a situation whereby all centres of power, old and new, had to scramble to establish new system and patterns that would guarantee order and security. Aftermath of the events that culminated in the collapse of the Oyo Empire in 1837, the competition to fill the vacuum of hegemony created by Oyo's fuelled more wars. **Ibadan emerged as the dominant state in the region in 1840 following its defeat of Ilorin jihadists.** The young state had proved to be the most resilient avenger of Oyo humiliation during the **Eleduwe War** three years earlier, but its own draconian and a sixteen-year war (the Ekiti-parapo War) that **pitied a regional alliance** against Ibadan between 1877 and 1893.

2.0 THE THIRD EMERGENCE OF IBADAN

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

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

According to Rev. Samuel Johnson in “The History of the Yorubas (1921)” at page (224-225) - 1976 edition): of all the towns overrun the previous might such as Ojokodo, Iwohala, Ojoo, Ikerekuiwere, Ijaiye-maja etc. Ibadan alone they found not destroyed by fire, and so this marauding band hastily **occupied it. The war-chiefs taking possession of any compound they chose, and their men with them and thus Ibadan was again re-people but nor by the owners of the town**, but by a composite band of marauders, consisting of Oyos, Ifes, Ijebus, and some friendly Egbas.

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

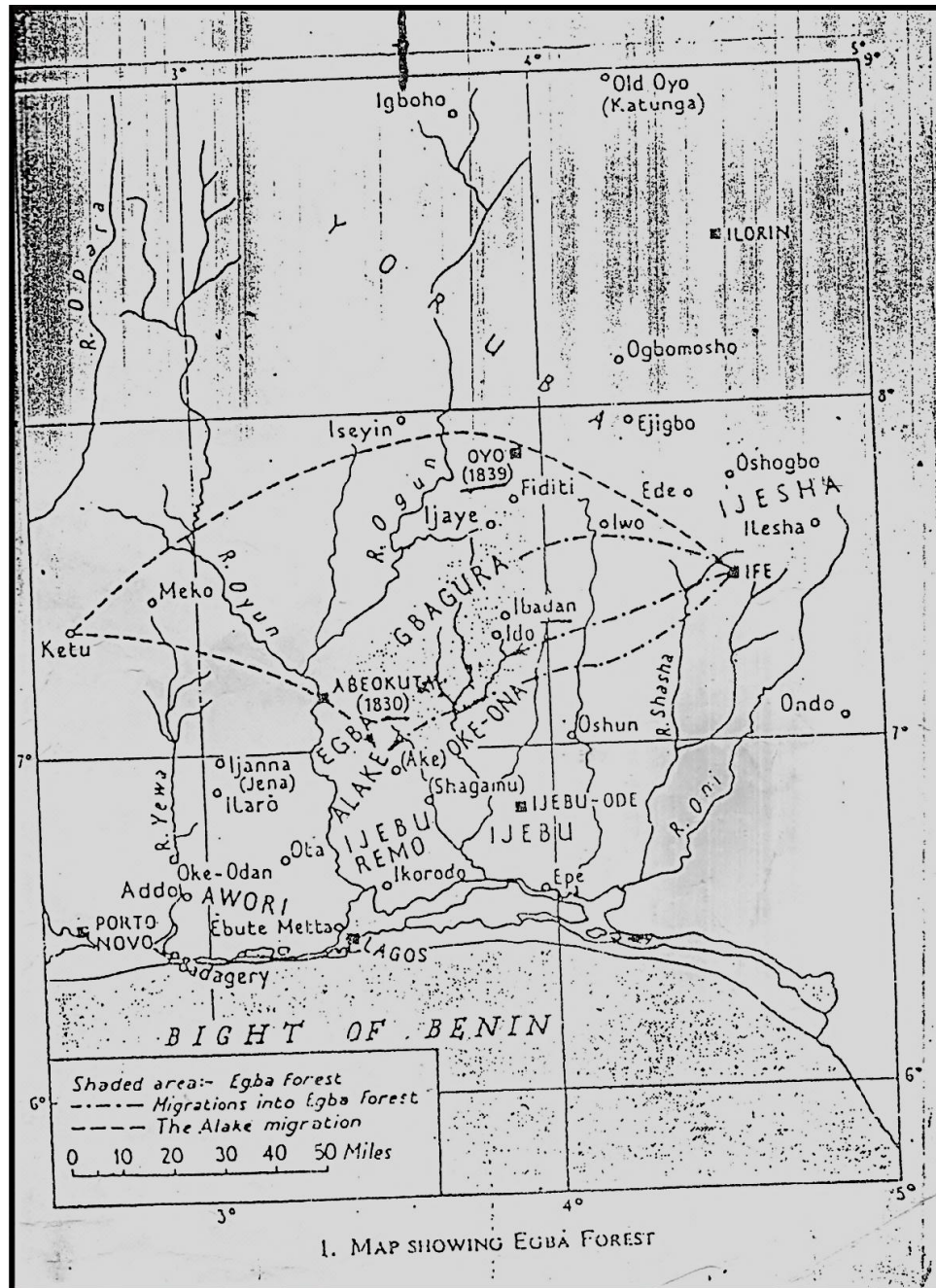
Ibadan then consisted of the **central market** and about half a mile of houses around. The town. (Johnson, 1921 pg. 244). The central market at Ibadan known as “**Oja Iba**” was so named after Oluyole when he became Ibasorun; formally it was **Oja Labosinde** named after the Baba-Isale of the early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

However the initial congregation was along ethnic lines, the 42-numerically superior Ife soldiers and Oyo Yoruba refugees chose Oriyangi (now known as Oja-Iba), the **Ijebu** lived in the south, at **Isale-Ijebu**, the **Egba** moved far away from their conquerors and settled at **Yiosa**.

In the atmosphere of intense personal rivalry between the war chiefs, quarrels were not infrequent and soon after the third settlement at Ibadan. **Lamodi**, according to Professor Mabogunje (1971), Ajisafe, S.O. Biobaku and Samuel Johnson (1921 pp 230-233) a prominent Egba leader, shot an influential Ife leader, named **Ege**, with a pistol in the course of an altercation. A scrimmage at once broke out. Lamodi was killed and considerable body of Egba, fearing further vengeance, fled the town/under the leadership of Sodeke, they succeeded in beating off all attacks and making their way to the naturally defensible site of Abeokuta in **1830**.

Consequently the power tussle was limited to the Ife and Oyo elite. Since the Owu war, Ife leaders. Maye Okunade and Labosinde, had acquired tremendous respect and power (Dr. Toyin Falola, 1989). The 1820s was also a period of strength for the Ife kingdom which saw the camp at Ibadan as an extension of its territory and power.

One day, according to Rev. Samuel Johnson (1921), two neighbours, one an Owu ex-captive and follower of Maye Okunade and the other an Oyo, were quarrelling over a piece of land. Maye intervened and without asking questions drew his sword and cut off the head of the Oyo man. This led to an upheaval and eventually Gbanamu war in 1833.



3.0 THE GBANAMU WAR AND THE EXPULSION OF IFE GROUP:

The logical consequence of the failure of the attack on Ibadan which was launched from **Erunmu** was Ibadan assault on the town. The town (Erunmu) as captured and its ruler, the **Oluroko**, and the ruler of **Idomapa**, **Oluwole** were caught and put to death. The Olowu was also captured but he was a full oba traditionally vested with aura of divinity, the chiefs did not dare to order his execution. They sought instead to ensure his death while avoiding direct responsibility (Owu in Yorba History page 68).

The end of the struggle with Maye Okunade meant the end of the most serious communal tensions within the erstwhile marauding army. After the Gbanamu war, it was now possible to establish a regular governmental hierarchy and at a public meeting it was decided to introduce regular chieftaincy titles. On the face of it, the expulsion of Maye Okunade and many of the Ife Chiefs left Ibadan an Oyo settlement. In fact, however, though the Oyo group was predominant, the community retained the **composites character** it had possessed as a wandering military horde.

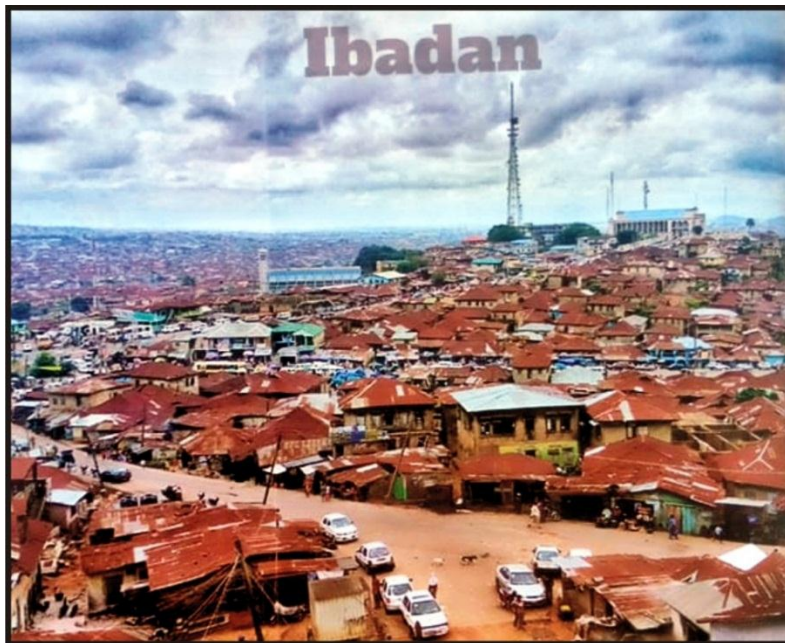
Its leading men were not necessarily all Oyo. Indeed, **Labosinde**, the Other Ife war leader and one time rival of Maye Okunade, remained in the town as a respected figure. What is more, in the circumstances of prolonged warfare, hereditary authority had been of little account.

In establishing the **military aristocracy** constitutions for the town, the cosmopolitan characteristics were preserved so that although **the chieftaincy titles adopted was traditional ones** the system itself was quite different from the normal Yoruba tradition. **The titles were not hereditary** but were given in accordance with the effective position of the holder in society and it was possible progress from one title to another in the hierarchy even to the very top position of Baale. It was a career open to talent. This meant that persons of very **diverse origin** could aspire to position

Lola Tomori

of Baale (later Olubadan). Indeed, the title of Iyalode and subordinate titles were later extended to the female in the community.

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



3.1 The Structure and Growth of Ibadan in The Nineteenth Century

Isaac Babalola Akinyele (1911) wrote at page 44 of “**Iwe Itan Ibadan**” that the present and third Ibadan started from Oja’ba and that the **first town wall** was behind **Iyalode house** and extended to Alekuso and Kure refuse dumping ground. This enclosure within the first wall contained the following compounds which did not include **Maye, Oluyedun, and Lakanle Compounds** but included Oluyole, Ile Labosinde, Ile Ogundiwin, Ile Adelakun, Ile Lajumoke, Ile Kofo, Ile Ojo Kure, Ile Babalola (Baba Bale Fijabi, 1893) and Ile Alekuso.

Reverend Samuel Johnson at page 244 of the “History of the Yoruba (1921) described Ibadan after the Occupation as consisting of the central market and about **half a mile** of houses around. The **town** wall was where the principal mosque (Central Mosque) now stands, the land on which the mosque was built was donated by Baale Opeagbe (1850-1851) after the destruction of the first site by his predecessor, Basorun Oluyole (1835-1849).

Dr. Toyin Falola at page 1 of “Politics and Economy In IBADAN-1893-1945” (1989) explained that, the initial congregation at Ibadan was along ethnic lines: the numerically superior Ife soldiers and Oyo Yoruba refugees chose **Oja-Iba**; the Ijebu lived in the south, at **Isale-Ijebu**; the Egba moved far away from their conquerors and settled at **Yiosa**. This pattern of settlement was a clear indication of the existing political cleavages in this **war camp**. Each group had its leaders, and the people looked upon them for authority.

However, during the reign of Basorun Oluyole, the **second town wall** was constructed which extended to behind Baale Olugbode’s palace around “**Odo Elegun**” (Elegun Stream). The **third town wall** was constructed in **1856** known as Balogun **Ibikunle town wall** (Odi-Ibikunle) during the reign of Baale Oyesile Olugbode which passed through **Aremo, Agodi, Dugbe, and Molete** via Ibadan Grammar School. The wall was **sixteen (16) Kilometers** in circumference with **four (4) gates** leading to Abeokuta, Oyo, Iwo and Ijebu, and several minor ones to various farms and villages (see map fig 2).

As Anna Hinderer observed in the early- 1850s, the site of the present Ibadan was not only found to be suitable, but it also had an extensive land reserve to expansion. The availability of a large tract of land was necessary because of the people’s farming system of shifting cultivation.

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**THE FOUNDERS AND BUILDERS OF IBADAN
TRADITIONAL SOCIETY FROM 1785-1800**

S/NO	PERIOD	RULER	TITLE	BALOGHN	OTUN BAALE
1.	1785-1825	LAGELU	OLUBADAN		
2.	1825 – 1833	Maye Okunade	Baale	Labosunde	Lakanle
3.	1833 – 1835	Oluyedun Afonja	Aare-Ona Kakan fo	Lakanle	Oluyole
4.	1835 – 1836	Lakanle	Baale	None	None
5.	1836 – 1850	Oluyele	Baale/ Basorun	Alesinoleye Oderinlo	None
6.	1840 – 1850	Oderinlo	Balogun	None	None
7.	1850 – 1851	Opeagbe	Baale	None	None
8.	1851 – 1864	Oyesile Olugbode	Baale	Ibikunle	Summela laamo
9.	1864 – 1815	Ibikunle	Balogun	None	None
10.	1865 – 1867	Ogunmola	Basorun	Akere	None
11.	1867 – 1869	Akere	Balogun	None	None
12.	1869 – 1874	Orowusi	Baale	Ajobo	Tahajo
13.	1871 – 1885	Latosisa	Aare-Ona Kakanfoi	Ajayi Agboriefon	Tahajo
14.	1885 – 1893	Ajayi Osungbekun	Balogun	None	Tahajo
15.	1893 – 1893	Fijabi Babalola	Baale	Akintola Ibikunle	Osuntoki
16.	1895 – 1897	Osuntoki Olosun	Baale	Akintola Ibikunle	Fajinmi
17.	1897 – 1902	Fajinmi Yorombi	Baale/ Basorun	Akintola Kongi	Mosaderin

By 1851, Ibadan had grown into a huge centre with an estimated population figure of 100,000 (David Hinderer, 1873). New areas, notably in the north-east had to be occupied, and the town covered an **estimated twenty-six (26) square kilometers in the 1850s.**

Within the wall were hundreds of compounds, churches at Kudeti, in the South, Ogunpa in the north-west, and Aremo in the north-east, all belonging to the church, Missionary Society, and also mosques, with another large praying ground (YIDI) in the north-east of the city. Thus, within a short time, Ibadan grew to become the largest city-state in nineteenth century Yorubaland.

The element of the fortification system of Yoruba cities were defence walls, trenches, and green belts. It is significant to note that the ancient and older Yoruba cities had only one wall of monumental proportion like the walls of Old Oyo and Ijebu Ode.

Erection of the second and third walls was a feature of the 19th century civil wars when most towns and cities underwent accelerated growth consequent upon the influx of refugees. Commenting on the walls of Ile-Ife. For instance, Makinde M.A. (December, 1970) pointed out that “The inner wall is very old and the outer is very recent”.

In the 19th century, various estimates of the circuits of the urban walls were made by foreign visitors. Specifically, Milson’s estimate of the outer wall (**Ibikunle Wall**) of Ibadan built in 1856 was 29km (18 miles), Ojo claimed it measured 38.6km (24 miles).

Ibadan has always been great with an outstanding history. Ibadan is what Professor Toyin Falola (2012) labeled as a “**city of heroes**”. “Its rise to the level of a **city-state**, and then an empire in the nineteenth century was phenomenal. Its **success in transforming Yoruba political institutions** and adapting them to a new age during the nineteenth (19th) century was remarkable. Its ability to survive as an hinterland empire, intricately surviving the menace and hostility of its sworn enemies to the south became a manifestation of its power and its diplomacy”.

Finally, the sustained growth of Ibadan over the years, from its occupation in 1825 to become the largest urban centre in Nigeria in geographical area with eleven administratively separate local governments areas, a population of **2.55 million** in 2006 and a land area of **3,145.96sq. kilometers**, owes a lot to its location in the heart of the Yoruba ethnic territory as well as to its location in relation to the older Yoruba **city-states** of Abeokuta, Oyo, Ijebu-Ode and Ife. Its central location and accessibility from the colonial capital city of Lagos were major considerations in the choice of

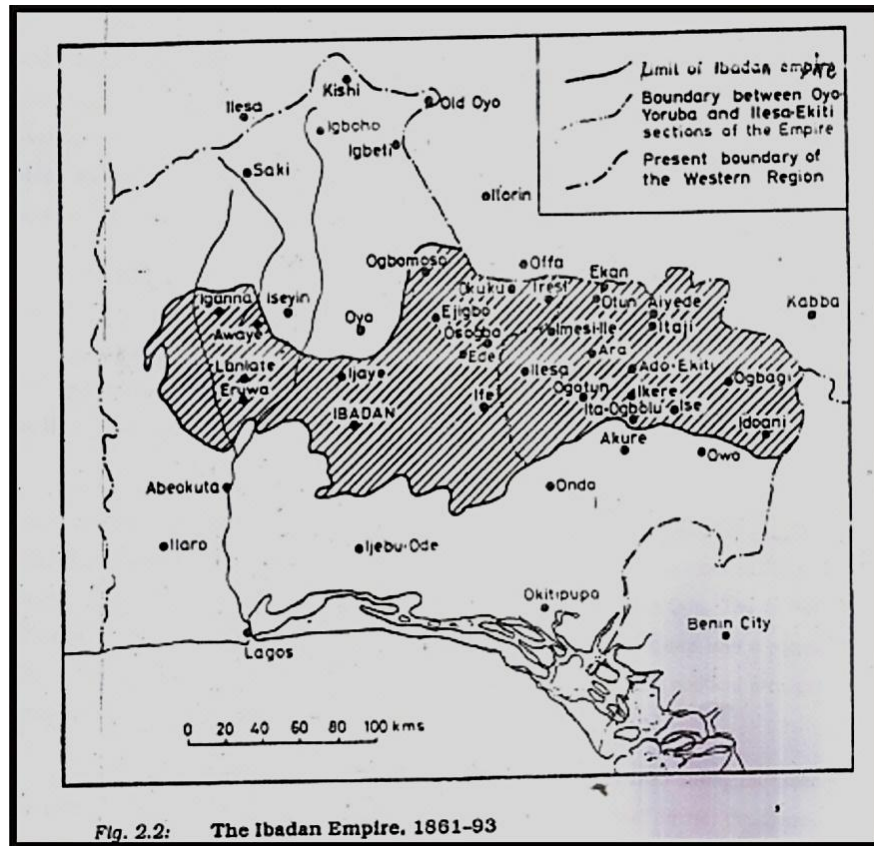
Ibadan as the headquarters of the western provinces which later became the Western Region of Nigeria.

3.2 The Relocation of Oyo Capital to Ago-Oja:

Once the collapse of old Oyo was complete, a prince of Oyo by the name Atiba decided to re-settle the new capital of Oyo on the present site then named Ago. He gathered people from neighbouring settlements to populate the new capital. He was an astute leader, conscious of the traditions of his fathers. He built palace based on the old models and kept the ceremonies of the king's court. **He reached out to the new warlord of Ibadan called Oluyole and made him the Basorun. The charismatic leader of Ijaye, Kurumi, he made the generalissimo, the Are-Ona-Kakanfo. They had instructions to defend the territory of the dying kingdom. The chiefs were grateful for the honour and recognition, but they were quasi-independent because of their military capabilities.** It was clear that in place of one monolithic and influential kingdom, there were several in its stead. Though Ijaye quickly emerged as a military power, Ibadan soon overtook her to become the most dominant of the three; Oyo became a cultural headquarters and a rallying point for all the fragmented bits of a once formidable empire. (Professor Dele Layiwola, 2015)

4.0 THE EMERGENCE OF IBADAN EMPIRE

Prof. Bolanle Awe had written on the rise of Ibadan as a Yoruba super power and empire' At Ijaye, Kurumi subjugated the inhabitants of the town and brought the town under his firm control such that he dared anyone to dare him. In Ibadan, the situation was different. The city gradually got filled up. All those seeking refuge from the turbulence of the 19TH century steadily poured in from the four winds. The continued weakness of the Alaafinate inspite of its relocation to New Oyo and the effective opposition passed by the army of the Fulani Jihadist forces based in Ilorin ensured the loyalty of the major settlements in the eastern half of the Oyo Empire.



i) The Origin of Oyo Empire Crisis:

The quest for imperial expansion and establishment of unique military institution of the 17th and 18th centuries were prompted mainly by hostilities of invaders from the neighbouring Nupe and Borgu countries. Between (1660-1668), Alaafin Ajagbo, the son of Alaafin Obalokun (1590-1600) established the military institutions of the 17th century in most advanced forms. The disgrace of removal and evacuation of the Oyo capital to Igboho from Gbere in Ibaraiba country, during the reign of Alaafin Onigbogi (1530-1542), had driven all the subsequent Alaafins into heavy investment in military training and imperial expansion. (Chief M.O. Ogumola, 2000).

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

ii) Constitutional Breakdown in Oyo Empire

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

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

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

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

iii) The Transformation of Ilorin to an Emirate:

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

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

iv) Crisis Between Aole and Afonja

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

Afonja was appointed Aare Ona-Kakanfo shortly before the death of Alaafin Abiodun Adegolu because of his maternal connection with Abiodun. Chief M.O. Ogunmola, 1997). **Alaafin Aole** who succeeded Abiodun had an old dispute with Afonja when he punished him (Awole) while in Ilorin for a misdeed before his ascending to the thrones.

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

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

v) Wars to Save Ilorin from the Fulani Invasion

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

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

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

vi) Rivalry and Treachery in the Oyo Camp:

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

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

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

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

vii) Dispersal of Oyo Military Generals

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

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

to **Ijaiye. Edun** fled to Gbodo where he was killed by the people. Prince Atiba and Elebu of Oja fled to Oja from where they prepare for failed Eleduwe war.

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

viii) How Ibadan Checkmated the Fulanis in 1840:

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

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

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

After holding several war-councils' meetings to decide where and when to attack the Ilorin camp, they attacked the camp from all sides at about midnight. **Chiefs Abitiko**, and **Lajubu** commanded the right wing, **Balogun Oderinlo** with the

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rest of Ibadan war-chiefs commanded the left wing. The Ilorin army was then attacked in the mid-night.

The attack was a success for Ibadan army. Some Ilorin war-chiefs were captured in the attack. Prominent ones were; the head slave of the Emir, One of the sons of Ali, the Commander-in-Chief of Ilorin army, Chief Lateju and Ajikobo, the Yoruba Balogun of Ilorin. The first two were released while the latter two, being Yoruba by birth, were regarded as **traitors and were executed**.

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

ix) Consequences of Fulani Wars on Ilorin

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

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

groups in Ilorin was indeed a diplomatic concession to ensure the full support of the local population in Ilorin (Omoiya S.Y. 9188).

x) The Building of Ibadan Empire

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

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

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

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

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

Second, the unsettled political crisis in Yorubaland early in the nineteenth century called for "**a state of military preparedness**", which enabled Ibadan to develop a "military propensity". To survive among the competing Yoruba states and withstand the Fulani attack, Ibadan needed soldiers who were endowed with the qualities of bravery, youthful vigour, and leadership skills.

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

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

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

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

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

Similarly, the displaced Egba who had settled at Abeokuta were ambitious to build their own empire, which would expand at least to incorporate the Egbado territory formerly dominates new states want political power, they also wanted to control the economy, particularly the trade routes to the coast. Apart from these, Ilorin and Dahomey wanted to annex as much as possible of Yorubaland.

The result of the incessant struggle for power among the states was a series of civil wars that plagued the Yoruba country throughout the nineteenth century. The most celebrated of these were the Ijaye war of **1859-1862** and the consequent Kutuje war of **1862-1865** which resulted among other things in the destruction of Ijaiye and the Kiriji or Ekitiparapo war of **1878-1893**. Practically the whole of Yorubaland was involved in these wars, and it required the combination of efforts of the Christian Missionaries and the British Lagos Government to put an end to them towards the close of the century (J.A. Atanda, 1980).

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

5.0 IBADAN WARS OF EXPANSION

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

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

i) Ibadan and Fulani Jihadists

The power struggle which started as a competition for the north-east of Yorubaland between Ibadan and Ilorin was to regain areas lost to Ilorin in the 1820s and 1830s. In 1840, Ibadan won a decisive war at Osogbo and gained some immediate advantages:

- i) Ilorin dropped its imperial ambition towards the south of Yorubaland
- ii) Ibadan became the dominant power in Oyo-Yorubaland
- iii) Ibadan gained immediate vassal states and incorporated them into its empire, for example: Osogbo, Ikirun, Ede and Iwo.

Using the war against Ilorin as an excuse, according to Professor Toyin Falola (2002), Ibadan gradually invaded Ijesa, Ekiti and Akoko countries from 1845 to the 1870s. In 1845, it intervened in the Ilesa-Osogbo border crisis, and consequently attacked Ilesa over Ijebu-Ijesa crisis, and consequently attacked Ilesa and Ijebu-Ijesa. In 1847, it responded to the invitation of OTUN against Ilorin to Ekitiland,

conquering in the process Ikoro, Ijero, Ara and later Effon Oro, Iyapa (now Aiyetoro), Isan and Itaji. Ajeles were posted too these places as soon as the conquest were over.

ii) Intervention in Ife and Modakeke Wars

By the Fulani conquest of all the principal towns in Yoruba proper, according to Rev. Samuel Johnson, 1976 pp. 230-234, fugitive from all parts escaped sotuhwards and settled in Ife surrounding towns such as Edunabon, Yakoyo, IFelende, Sope, Waro, Ogi as well as Apomu Ikire.

The Ilorin army later came on the instigation of Muslims in Iwo and overran these towns. The settlers' comprising Oyo refugees escaped to Ile-Ife and were welcomed and protected by Ooni Akinmoyaro (alias Odunle-bi-Ojo) between 1770 and 1800.

The people of Ife, after the reign of Ooni Akinmoyeroo had grown to regard the Oyo refugees living amongst them as kinsmen of the Oyo-Ibadan who fought and drove them away from Ibadan during the Gbanamu war of 1833. This hatred led into murder of three Oonis of Ife between 1800-1839. It was Ooni Abewela (1839-1849) who resettled them outside Ife town.

Twice, the Ifes attacked the new settlement of Modakeke but each time, the Oyo settlers living there repulsed them. As a reprisal for these attacks on their new settlement, Oyo settlers sacked Ife on their new settlement, Oyo settles sacked Ife town in 1849. The Ifes escaped to Isoya, Oke-Igbo and other Ife towns where they remained until 1854 when Ibadan was at Ijebu Ere war. Ibadan under Bale Oyesile Olugbode offered to settle the differences between the Ife people and the Oyo settler. Balogun Ibikunle was sent there to mediate and the mission to Ile-Ife was successful. Thereafter the new settlement formerly called Ogunsua was renamed Modakeke.

In 1882, according to Chief (Dr.) M.A. Fabunmi (1985), during the Ekitiparapo Kiriji war, the Ibadan's wanted to pass through Ife territory to attack the Ijesas from the rear but the Ife refused and their contingent left the Ibadan camp at

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Igbajo to join Ekitiparapo. The Modakekes therefore attacked Ife, drove the inhabitants away and burnt the town in 1882.

The Modakekes sold many Ife into slavery and levelled all their houses to the ground. Some escaped to Oke-Ogun, and others to Itajamo, Isoya, Iwara, Iloro, Olojoda. That was the second fall of Ife and they only returned home in 1894 under the leadership of Ooni Adelekan Olubosos I after the end of Ekitiparapo war in 1893.

iii) Ibadan and Ijaiye Wars

The almost equal strength and similar interests generated conflicts between the Ijaiye and Ibadan elite. The ambition of Oluyole to acquire more power led to the inconclusive Batedo war of 1844.

After the death of Alaafin Atiba in 1859m Prince Adelu, his first son was appointed to succeed him with the support of Ibadan against the tradition and in compliance with the Alabaja Conference of 1855 resolutions initiated by Baale Olugbode. Aare Kurunmi opposed the choice of Adelu because it was against the tradition of Oyo Empire and that Alaafin Adelu would be pro-Ibadan like his father, the late Alaafin Atiba.

To check Ijaiye and maintain political dominance Ibadan proclaimed war on Ijaiye in 1860. The war was fought with much bitterness and Ibadan eventually won in March, 1862. Therefore, the post-Ijaiye war campaigns in Easter Yorubaland after 1865 were to consolidate the territorial gains in this area

iv) The Conquest of Ijesa (1866-1870)

Between 1866 and 1870, Ibadan forces fought against the Ijesa who they conquered in 1870 for the first since the seventeenth (17th) century, when Alaafin Obalokun unsuccessfully attacked Ilesa to reduce the town to submission which resulted in heavy loss for old Oyo Empire (Dr. J.A. Atanda (1979). As a result of the conquest of the Ijesa, it instilled fears into the minds of the Ekiti people.

In 1872, Ibadan intervened in a succession dispute at Ilesa to the annoyance of Ogedengbe who withdrew to the neighbourhood of Akure where he made alliances with some Ekiti kingdoms. This followed the Igbo Alawun war which saw the humiliation of Ibadan for the first time by Ogedengbe's army after Ogedengbe's candidate as Owa was killed in Ibadan.

To redeem their image, Ibadan's army led by Aare Latosa himself set out against Yoruba country securely under Ibadan. At the peak of its glory in the mid-1870s therefore, the Ibadan empire was made up of Ibarapa, metropolitan Ibadan, Ife, Osun, Ijesa, Ekiti, Akoko and most of Igbomina (Abiodun Adediran of O.A.U. Ife, 2000)

v) War and Diplomacy

The territorial acquisitions of Ibadan, were not only by war. Diplomacy was also employed to take control or at least have significant influence in some areas. It was largely through diplomatic means that in 1850s, Ibadan incorporated the Ife kingdom into the empire through their mediation in Ife and Modakeke affairs. By the 1870s they had extended their influence eastwards to the Ondo kingdoms through an interference in Ondo-Akoko-Igbo affairs.

The Kiriji War or Ekitiparapo Wars

The **Ekiti-parapo** people comprised of war leaders from Ilesa, Ekiti, Efon, Yagba, and Akoko led by Ogedengbe's troops. Others were Baloguns from Ila, Otun, Ekiti and Akure while the Elekole, the Alara, the Alaaye and Ajero personally led their own contingents to Oke-Imesi to join Ogedengbe. Altogether, sixteen Ekiti kings sent contingents to Oke-Imesi to fight under the leadership of Ogedengbe.

During the Ekitiparapo (or Kiriji) war, the Ilorins became the ally of the Ekitiparapo. The Egbas and Ijebus also closed their trade routes to the coast against Ibadans so that their troops might not be able to obtain arms and ammunition from the traders on the coast.

Ibadan's policy was seriously undermined by these disturbances. To solve the problem, Ibadan adopted two urgent steps. The first was to use diplomacy to win more friends and create an atmosphere of temporary peace in Yorubaland. This diplomatic onslaught was directed at Ilorin in order to prevent it from supporting Ibadan's enemies, then Ijebu and later Ondo (1872-1875) in order to secure passage to the coast.

This was the war that brought Ibadan Empire to an end in 1893. It started in 1877 at Okemesi. By this date, Ibadan had acquired several enemies in Yorubaland because, throughout 1877 and 1878, Ibadan continued armed conflicts with the Egbas in one guise or the other, while the fundamental cause of Kiriji war was a desire for freedom by Ekiti Ijesa and others, the immediate causes were:

- (ii) An intermittent antagonism between Igbajo and Ilesha ;
- (iii) Fabunmi, the eldest son of Oba (Oloja) Oke-Imesi, appealed to the Aare of Ibadan so he could secure the marriage of a woman called Fasola already in traditional wedlock with an Igbajo man. Although the Aare had taken money and a horse, he did not support Fabunmi, and rather the Aare's messenger, Orimogunje, committed an obscenity in the palace of the Oloja Oke-Imesi, which led to a widespread riot in which many Oyos were killed. Odeyale, the oldest son of Orangun Ila, supported Fabunmi immediately.
- (iv) The aim of Ekiti alliance was to strip Ibadan of all its dependencies and ensure it had no town to administer beyond river Oba (Chief M.O, Ogunmola, the Otun of Oyo in "A New Perspective to OYO EMPIRE HISTORY 1530-1944", 1977, 2000, 2010).

The hostilities from the Ekitiparapo started from Ikirun where they engaged Ibadan in battle. The Ibadan answer to the alliance resulted in Jalumi war.

vi) JALUMI WAR

The War was so named because the battle took place in October when the Rivers Oba, Osun, Otin and others in the areas of war were in great floods; and many of the combatants from all the sides the Ilorins and the Ekitis got drowned in the course of either fighting or escaping.

In this encounter which in history is referred to as **Jalumi War**, Ibadan came to the rescue of Ikirun and the town was successfully liberated. Although the *osi* Balogun, Chief Ilori; the son of Ogunmola, was slain, the war was not lost.

vii) ILA WAR

A prince of Ila Orangun, Adeyalo, and two prominent citizens of Oke-Imesi, Fabunmi and Odeyale, united together in raising a rebellion against Ibadan and Oyo agents in their district. In the battle at Ila, about 1,000 Oyos were killed. Although Ayikiti, the Oni of Ife, installed by Aare of Ibadan, pillaged Ipindun, Ifewara and Osu to recoup himself of expenses of his installation. The Ijesa realizing the consequences of offending Ibadan, accepted the indignity without joining the alliance.

viii) IGBAJO WAR

In 1878, the Ekiti allies besieged Igbajo and repelled the contingent from Ibadan that would have given succour to the former, but Ibadan also came to the rescue and Igbajo was successfully liberated like Ikirun.

The Ekitiparapo included Ijesas, Efons, and Ekitis. The death of Balogun Ajayi Jegede Ogboriefon in 1879 invigorated the members. When the Aare got the help of the Ijebus living in Ibadan to mediate on the issue of peace between Ijebu-Ode and Ibadan, the Awujale only catalogued his grievances as follows:

- (i) That Ajobo was expelled from Ibadan and his corpse was not allowed to be brought into the town (Ibadan); and
- (ii) That in the disagreement with Efunsetan, Aijenku and Iyapo, Ijebu's mediations was rejected. If the Aare wanted support he should settle with the Egbas first and then commit suicide to pave the way for

peace. Ibadan was also asked to withdraw its troops from Offa and Ikirun. The Ondos kept their neutrality

However, diplomatically, Ibadan Civic Chiefs at home led by Otun Baale Tajo did not allow the son of Balogun of Ijebu, Onafowokan, to be killed when he was captured by the sons of Sodeinde, an Ijebu man in Ibadan. He was asked to arrange for his ransom while they gave him corns, and other farms which surprised Balogun and the Ogboni Chiefs. Eventually, Awujale Fidipote was expelled from Ijebu-Ode and the route to Lagos was opened for Ibadan to buy ammunition (Kemi Morgan).

In 1885, Aare Latosa died. The leadership of Ibadan and conduct of the war devolved on Ajayi Osungbekun who assumed the title of Balogun from Seriki. He was able to direct the conduct of war on the fronts: Offa, Kiriji and Modakeke. The Ijebus under Ogunsun were assisted by ex-Awujale's men from Epe, but the whole of Ekitiparapo alliance found adequate match in Akintola (the grandson of Ibikunle), Apampa (the son of Osi Balogun Osundina) and the Balogun.

In January, 1886, Captain A.C. Moloney took over the autonomous administration of Lagos and his contributions to promote peace in interior. He enlisted the services of Messrs Samuel Johnson and C, Phillip both C.M.S. agents. These revered gentleman were dispatched separately to Ibadan and Ekiti camps with definite instructions and terms to negotiate with combatants in Kiriji war.

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

Oyo Empire. Both Oluyole and Kurunmi had instructions to defend the territory Kurunmi had instructions to defend the territory of the dying Old Oyo Kingdom.

According to Professor Dele Layiwola in the book; “The City State of Ibadan” texts ad Contexts, 2015” the Chiefs were grateful from the honour ad recognition, **but they were quasi-independent because of their military capabilities. It was clear hat in place one monolithic and influential kingdom, there were several in its stead.** Though Ijaiye quickly emerged as a military power, Ibadan soon overtook there military power, Ibadan soon overtook there to become the most dominant of the three states. Oyo became a cultural headquarters and a rallying point for all the fragmented bits of once a formidable empire.

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

6.0 YORUBALAND UNDER THE BRITISH COLONIAL RULE

The misfortune of the Yorubas was compounded by their inability to co-operate to present a united front against the Fulanis until Ibadan rose to the occasion and checked their invasion of the Yorubaland in **1840** after the Owu war of about 1814-1820 according to Rev. Samuel Johnson (1921). Consequently, following the success of Ibadan in **1862** in destroying the powerful Ijaiye, Ibadan began the to expand her territory and brought many towns and kingdoms under her control until the Ekiti people under the leadership of Ogedengbe which resulted into Ekitiparapo war that ended in **1886**.

Therefore, the political situation in some areas of Yorubaland prepared the ground for the establishment of British rule. For instance, the British intervened in the war between the **Ekiti-Parapo** and Ibadan and successfully brokered a peace Treaty in **1886**. Although, the **peace Treaty** had been signed, there were conflicts and wars in other areas of the Yoruba nation. The situation remained so until 1893 when the British Government acted decisively through the **signing of protectorate Treaties** with the various Yoruba groups. **The Pax Britannica** thus ushered in the Age of Transition.

For the purpose of protecting the interest of British traders on the Nigerian coast, John Bee craft was appointed a **British Consul** in late 1840. The appointment marked the beginning of Britain's influence and control over Yorubaland.

(a) Annexation of Lagos:

By 1840s, slave trade had declined considerably on the coast of the West Africa but was still flourishing on the coast of Yorubaland and Benin (Dahomey) where the Yoruba/Dahomey wars supplied a large number of captives for sale as slaves.

Finding Kosoko, the king of Lagos, too militant and uncompromising to succumb to British whims on the abolition of slave trade. Bee craft, with a naval squadron, attacked Lagos in December **1851** and took it further four days of bitter fighting. Prior to the attack, the strategic and commercial significance of Lagos had been realized by the British.

In spite of the British intervention, slave trade still lingered on. In august 1861, Dosunmu, the then king of Lagos, was coerced by **Ben Compbell** to cede the **port and Island and Lagos** to Britain. **Thus Lagos became a British Colony in 1861.**

(b) The Rest of Yorubaland:

British territorial interest did not stop with the acquisition of Lagos. In **1863** the Colony of Lagos was extended to include the Palms and Lekki districts to the east of Lagos as well as Badagry. In the same year, **Ado** and **Oke-Odan** towns to the west of Lagos, were declared a Lagos protectorate; between **1883 and 1895**, the eastern coastlands of Yorubaland were included in the Lagos territory.

(i) ABEOKUTA:

In January 1893, Governor Carter visited Abeokuta with whom the **Alake and his chiefs** signed a Treaty of **Friendship** and freedom of trade. **The Treaty also guaranteed the independence of Egbaland**, a pledge that the treaty will not be annexed or declared a protectorate by the British. Egbaland remained independent until the unification of Nigeria in **1914**.

(ii) OYO

The Governor then proceeded to Oyo where the Alaafin Adeyemi I signed a **Treaty of friendship and commerce 1888 with the British**. Next, the Governor visited Ilorin to secure the Emir's friendship. On his way back, the Governor negotiated peace on the field between the rival armies of Ibadan and Ilorin which, for the last **sixteen years**, had engaged each other. Although, both armies yielded and withdrew, but Ibadan refused to sign the Agreement.

(iii) Ibadan came under the British rule:

After bale Fijabi had conferred the new chieftaincy titles on his chiefs and peace had returned to the town, the bale and the chiefs met to re-consider the Agreement which Governor Carter brought to them before and which they refused to sign because of the reasons we have stated earlier on. The Bale and the chiefs took a decision at the meeting to write to Governor Carter to inform him that they would be prepared to sign the Agreement if the Governor gave due consideration to their objections.

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When their letter was brought to Lagos, Governor Carter had gone to England on leave. But after informing the British Home Government about it, the Acting Governor, George Denton was instructed by the British Home Government to go to Ibadan to see the chiefs there and to discuss the terms of the Agreement with them.

In August 1893, the Acting Governor arrived in Ibadan. He met the chiefs and with the help of his interpreter, he read and interpreted the terms of the Agreement to them again. The chiefs then asked for time to reconsider the matter; the acting Governor agreed.

In the end, the chiefs decided to write a letter to the Acting Governor stating clearly in writing their objections to the Agreement.

When the Acting Governor received the letter, he immediately sent back the following reply to them:

Ibadan,
August 14th, 1893

7.0 CULTURAL TRANSFORMATION OF YORUBALAND UNDER THE BRITISH ADMINISTRATION

Since, the establishment, of British suzerainty over Yorubaland in 1893, Yoruba towns and cities have been experiencing cultural meta-morphosis - absorbing and assimilating Western culture. The transformation has altered not only the socio-economic life of the .people but also the physical characteristics of their urban settlements.

The rate and scale at which the Yoruba people have absorbed Western culture have been phenomenal. The dynamics of the cultural transformation are their disposition to new ideas, religion, education, economic growth, transportation and communication and local government system.

(a) Disposition to New Ideas

Some human societies readily accept new ideas. For instance, southern Nigerians are more disposed to absorbing new ideas than northern Nigerians; the Yorubas and Ibos in particular contrast with the Hausas and Fulanis.

The sensitivity of the Yorubas to socio-economic opportunities is almost certainly due to their extra-ordinary ethnocentrism and superiority complex. They believe that they are culturally superior to other fellow Africans. This psychological disposition stems from their historical and past cultural achievement. It explains their cultural dynamism and economic success which propel them to always seek improved opportunities for social cultural and economic progress.

(b) Religion: Islam and Christianity

Exotic religions; Islam and Christianity have played, a key role in the cultural transformation of Yoruba cites.

Islam was introduced into Yorubaland in the first quarter of the 19th century by the Fulanis and Hausas brought into the civil wars by Afonja. The advent of Christianity dates from the early 1840s. In 1841, a Wesleyan (Methodist) missionary landed at Badagry and reached Abeokuta in 1843

The year 1842 witnessed the arrival at Badagry of the priests of the Church Missionary Society who proceeded to Abeokuta in 1846. It was from Badagry as their base that the Methodist and Anglican missionaries penetrated Yorubaland.

The exotic religions, Christianity in particular, have had disintegrating impact on Yoruba culture. By discouraging paganism and ancestor worship, they helped to loosen traditional kinship ties which, in turn, promoted residential dissolution and segregation. Both religions sometimes required their converts to reside separately from the pagan members of their extended family. Even if the religions did not deliberately do this, the refusal of their converts to participate in traditional religious worships and festivals socially and culturally segregated them from the pagan members of their families. Social and cultural cleavage breeds residential separation. Even if the adult converts lived with their pagan relatives and refrained from taking part in their traditional religious activities, it was difficult to restrain their children from partaking in sacrificial feasts. Thus religious cleavage naturally brought about residential segregation.

Another centrifugal factor is the manual work undertaken on Sundays by the pagans. It annoyed converts away from their family compounds and loosened kinship bonds.

By encouraging monogamy, the Christian religion weakened the extended family system. The Christian nuclear family preferred to stay separate from the pagan members of their extended family.

Apart from loosening family bonds and sentiments, residential differentiation discouraged conservatism and traditionalism which constituted a barrier to the adoption of new ideas. Residential separation thus aided westernization of Yoruba culture and cities.

(c) Foundation For Formal Education;

In addition to propagating the gospel, **British missionaries laid the foundations of formal education Yorubaland** notwithstanding limited human and material resources. Indeed until the mid-20th century most of the schools in Yorubaland were church-owned. The churches probably realized that formal education was the key to the rapid spread of Christianity and Western culture.

The missionaries gave the Yoruba people British education which was a pragmatic way of imposing Western culture on the people. It is only natural that the African heirs of Western culture would want to live and behave like Europeans. The more educated Yoruba elements went to Britain for higher studies where they became more acculturated.

In this way the social and urban characteristics of Western Europeans were grafted on to Yoruba urban centres.

(d) Economic Growth

Pax Britannica brought about accelerated economic activities and growth. Initially, the educated elements were employed as school teachers, catechists, pastors and clerks. The less educated found employment in the construction and transportation industries as well as in Government and commercial establishments.

A large number of people became traders and artisans. Such trades as black-gold; and silver-smithing, carpentering, bricklaying and tailoring (dress making) became popular among the semi-illiterates. This period witnessed this decline of the traditional craft industry.

The foregoing characterized the Pre-World War 1 years of British rule - the early phase of the Age of Transition. The period also witnessed the establishment of extensive plantations of cocoa which until the 1970s was the economic spine of Yorubaland. As the Age of Transition advanced Westernization gathered momentum resulting in the economic metamorphosis of today.

The negative repercussion of the economic growth was the loosening of family ties and sentiments, the growth of individualism and residential differentiation. With economic independence, the Yoruba youth was no longer tied to his extended family. He could afford to live away from them or erect his own dwelling.

(e) Transportation and Communication

In addition to affording employment of opportunities, transportation and communication systems facilitated the growth of erotic religions, education and economy which, as, we have seen contributed significantly to the spread of Western culture.

The return of peace to Yorubaland in 1893 saw the beginning of the construction and installation of transportation and communication facilities. The Lagos-Ibadan railway, whose construction began in 1896, was open in 1901, Motor road *construction* followed and gathered momentum after World War I. Telegraph lines were also installed. The construction and development of the Lagos Harbour was completed in 1914, a project which enhanced the importance of Lagos as the main gateway of Western culture into the Yoruba country.

(f) Local Government

Thus Yoruba administrative institutions were broken down by British introduction of Indirect Rule, a system whereby the traditional rulers alone undertook local rule under the control and supervision of British officials. The people's democratic three-tier local government system make up of the lineage council, the quarter (ward) council, and the council of elders (state executive) was jettisoned.

Local administration on the basis of *indirect rule* was adopted and justified for the people on the following grounds.

- (a) the large staff needed for direct rule was not available;
- (b) the successful application of the policy in India; and
- (c) the need to avoid drastic reforms which would dislocate the traditional administration of a country the knowledge of whose local conditions was circumscribed.

Indirect rule was first, applied in northern Nigeria by Sir (later/Lord) Frederick Lugard, the first Governor-General of Nigeria. The success of the system in northern Nigeria led to its application, in Yorubaland in 1914.

As Okoi Arikpo noted, the successful application of the system of indirect rule hinged on the existence off three socio-cultural factors:

- (a) a stratified pyramidal society;
- (b) some degree of social immobility; and
- (c) a coincidence of political interests between the native rulers and their colonial suzerains.

During its life span, indirect rule; continually underwent appraisal and modifications. The 1930s and early 1940s saw bitter attacks on the system not only by the educated Yoruba elements who were denied participation in it but also by Europeans. The intense criticism led to its overhaul after World War II and its replacement by the British - type local government system.

7.1 Effects on Internal Structure of Yoruba Towns

Where the introduction of Western Culture has brought an economic revolution as well as new ideas, the interplay of contrasting culture has had a striking effect on the structure of the indigenous city. The result of the interaction of Western and native cultures is most clearly seen where a basically Western City has been grafted to a pre-existing indigenous city leading to “a twin-city” dual structure of a colonial city where old and new urban development are juxtaposed and served as a

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visible indication of the distinctiveness of two cultures-Western and indigenous urban tradition.

In a “twin-city” or “mixed” cities development, the old city is surrounded by wall and the remains of a moat. Within the walls there is a high density of buildings, which are used for both residential and commercial purposes, the streets show an irregular pattern and swellings are arranged around central courtyards. Outside the old city lie modern shops and offices, the equivalent of the Western central District, a railway quarter and modern residential areas. Here too are such features as government areas and military cantonment. The old city of Delhi in India, Lahore in Pakistan, Ibadan in Nigeria are good examples.

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

The pattern of development is therefore not of one city but an amalgam of two making it difficult to apply any of the theories of urban structure. For example, gradient analysis, using simple

i) The Division of Yoruba Towns into Wards or Quarters:

Administratively and judicially, each town in Yorubaland was divided into wards or quarters known generally as adugbo with specific names. Compound is at the lowest level of structure of the Yoruba hierarchy of administrative strut in the city where we have Mogaji and the head of the compound in Ibadan. Thus, right from the

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time of Oduduwa, the quarter comprised the compounds and the lineages. But today from the colonial era, the wards became the platform for political activities.

However, these wards organizations constitute the very frameworks on which their information is based. It is the fourth level of political level where councilors are chosen also the senators by the dividing the State into three. While the number of wards in a Local Government constitute the electoral ward for the Chairman.

Following the enactment of the Western Region Local Government Law of 1952 (No. 1 of 1953), the Ibadan District Council (IDC) was established by the instrument on 20 November 1953 and came into being on 1 April 1954. It consisted of **93 members, 20 were traditional chiefs and 73 were elected councilors, of the 73 elected members**, according to Professor Toriola Oyewo (2016), NCNC won 56 seats, while the Action Group won 17 seats. 43 wards in Ibadan Township and 30 wards in the Districts or occupied distinct quarters in those cities outside their homelands. Oke-Ado for example was originally an Ijebu locality at Isale-Ijebu in Ibadan. Ijebu quarters were also founded in several eastern and northern Yoruba cities. The mobility of the Ijebus results from their genius for trade.

According to Professor Olatoye Ojo (2014) at Lecture delivered at AOU DAY; Like the Jews, based on biblical account, the dispersion of Jews in today's context is prophecy fulfilled. God is very much at the centre of the dispersion of the Jewish people and he leads them as they move in different direction and with great promises (Deut 4:27; Deut 28:37). The Owu today are particularly important in Ijebu, Abeokuta, in Ibadan and Oyo. In all these places, they have managed to preserve their identity and cultural distinctiveness. This is true whether they form a separate community, living all by themselves, or whether are part of a larger community; whether they live in urban centres or are scattered about in small, rural settlements.

In the two decades of the 20th century, **ethnic quarters** have been experiencing residential metamorphosis consequent upon the inflow of other ethnic and linguistic groups following construction of railway from Lagos to Ibadan and Cocoa business and opening of internal roads.

In Ibadan, about 1912, several thousands of non-Yoruba elements migrated into the city. These people settled in fairly distinct separate mixed population of Ibadan to most Yorubaland.

As one might expect, there was a positive relationship between the size of the city and the number of its constituent quarters; the larger the city the greater the number of quarters it had as shown in the table below:

Table: Number of Residential Quarters in Selected Yoruba Urban Centres in 1952

Urban Centre	Population 1952	No. of Quarters 1952	Mean Quarter Population
SHAKI	23,000	17	1,353
IJEBU-ODE	27,000	20	1,380
ONDO	36,000	40	905
ISEYIN	49,000	15	3,313
OYO	72,000	27	2,670
IBADAN	459,200	65	7,065

*Source: National Population Commission
Oluremi I. Obateru, 2003 and 2006*

ii) Dissolution of the Lineage Compounds:

The dissolution of the lineage compound was without doubt, one of the greatest and most profound transformation of Yoruba society in the twentieth (20th) century. The process of the dissolution has not yet certain. However, it is fairly well known from family traditions, court records, and published accounts in various media, that the process was rocky in many places, **emotional attachment to the ancestral compound usually** resulted in the circumstance that persons with financial resources for building new homes often sought to take a piece of the **old compound**, tear it down and build the new house in its place.

The fact that the dissolution was effected, in most cases, piece by piece over a long time and without any coordination, but in disorder on the sites of once beautiful compounds, **large quarters impossible to provide with paved roads**, serious problems of **hygiene** arising from **lack sewage** and **trash disposal** arrangements.

By the last decades of the 20th century; persons desiring to build new houses tended mostly to beyond the **old towns walls**, to land that used to be farmland. As a result, by, say, the year 200, every sizeable Yoruba town had two segments, the old town within the old town walls and then the new town beyond them. The latter, being usually a place of land with layouts and building plan (planned layouts) approved by the Planning Authority, which are normally much more orderly and attractive than unplanned core areas.

iii) Change in the Composition of the New Quarters;

From the end of the Yoruba civil wars up to about the end of World War II, the spatial growth of Yoruba cities was still by **accretion of residential quarters** (i.e. peripheral expansion). However, the **composition of the new quarters changed from clan to ethnic and linguistic bases**. For instance, such Yoruba subgroups as the **Ijebus, Ijeshas and Egba** established.

CHAPTER TEN

IBADAN-OYO RELATIONS IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE FROM 1825 TO 1836

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.

1.1 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-Ile 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 Ilesha, 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 Eluyomi, "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

1.2 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

1.3 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 **Alafin 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

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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.

2.0 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

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).

2.1 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

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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 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.

3.0 DISINTEGRATION AND COLLAPSE OF THE OLD OYO EMPIRE

The wars generated by the process of disintegration and final collapse of the Oyo Empire, and of the Oyo Kingdom that constituted the core of the empire, according to Professor S. Adebajji Akintoye (2010), were not merely the first wars in **nineteenth century Yoruba history**, they proved to be the precursors of wider storms of war that came to rage all over Yorubaland for the rest of the century.

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

Aftermath of the fall of the Old Oyo Empire, new political experiments developed among the new and constructed polities, ranging from **military autocracy** by Oluyole regime to military dictatorship by Kurunmi and the federation system by the Egbas and Ogbomoso District. The **institution of Oba** remained the apex social order in most areas, but it remained subject to the militaristic ethos of the time in which **warlords** often usurped the powers of the **Oba** and the civil authorities. Uniquely, Ibadan (a former war camp) **rejected monarchy** and adopted **military republicanism** as the model of its governance after Basorun Oluyole in **1851** during the reign of Baale Ajayi Oyesile Olugbode (1851 – 1864).

Other prominent people then were: Ogun-Elu, Ogundiwin, Ogidi who founded Oja'gbo, Ibikunle (Toki Onibudo's nephew who succeeded him as Seriki), Ojo Kure, Alekuso, Akere, Sunmola Alao Laamo and Ogunmola



The Wars/Civil Strife of Oluyole's time

Oluyole himself being a war-monger, it was not surprising that there were many wars and civil strife in his time. The major ones were:

- **aristocracy.** To survive among the competing Yoruba states and withstand the **Fulani attack**, Ibadan Distinguish warriors, irrespective of their lineage and background, could be rewarded with titles and promoted from a lower to a higher office. Because of the **promotional system** many soldiers who believed they were competent aspired to power.

(a) The Structure of Olubadan-in-Council:

According to Yoruba tradition, an **Oba or Baale** does not rule the town or kingdom alone but he does it with the assistance of Council of chiefs (IGBIMO) such as Oyo Mesi, Ilamuren, Ogboni and Ihare.

Ibadan, Ife, Apomu, Ode-Omu, settled for **unique bicameral system of government by creating two legislative houses** although **Obalufe** is the head of kingmakers in Ile-Ife, in **Ibadan** bicameral house headship is **rotated between Otun Olubadan and the Balogun**.

In the **unicameral system**; Basorun is the head of Oyo Mesi, High Chief Obanla of Ilesa is the head of the kingmakers, Lisa of Ondo Kingdom is the head of Iwarefa or kingmakers same with Ijebu-ode. **Risapetu is the head of Iwarefa and second in command** to the **Oba-Ajalaye of Ipetu-Ijesa**, who form **Ajalaiye-in-Council** (Prince Adelegan Adegbola 2009).

In Ibadan, from **1850** of the 19th century, all the principal figures, according to Professor Toyin Falola (2012), in the two principal categories of chiefs (i.e. the **Balogun** and the **Baale**) must be represented in the Igbimo Ilu (town council) or the Baale-in-Council. These were about ten in number: **Baale, Balogun, Otun Baale, Otun Balogun; Osi Baale, Osi Balogun, Asipa Baale, Asipa Balogun, Ekerin Baale, and Ekerin Balogun**. They all met in **Baale's residence** to deliberate on important matters of administration, laws were made and reviewed, **consuls** were appointed to represent Ibadan in other towns and wars were declared when necessary.

(b) THE FOUNDERS AND BUILDERS OF IBADAN
TRADITIONAL SOCIETY FROM 1785-1800

S/NO	PERIOD	RULER	TITLE	BALOGHN	OTUN BAALE
1.	1785-1825	LAGELU	OLUBADAN		
2.	1825 – 1833	Maye Okunade	Baale	Labosunde	Lakanle
3.	1833 – 1835	Oluyedun Afonja	Aare-Ona Kakan fo	Lakanle	Oluyole
4.	1835 – 1836	Lakanle	Baale	None	None
5.	1836 – 1850	Oluyele	Baale/ Basorun	Alesinoleye Oderinlo	None
6.	1840 – 1850	Oderinlo	Balogun	None	None
7.	1850 – 1851	Opeagbe	Baale	None	None
8.	1851 – 1864	Oyesile Olugbode	Baale	Ibikunle	Summela laamo
9.	1864 – 1815	Ibikunle	Balogun	None	None
10.	1865 – 1867	Ogunmola	Basorun	Akere	None
11.	1867 – 1869	Akere	Balogun	None	None
12.	1869 – 1874	Orowusi	Baale	Ajobo	Tahajo
13.	1871 – 1885	Latosisa	Aare-Ona Kakanfoi	Ajayi Agboriefon	Tahajo
14.	1885 – 1893	Ajayi Osungbekun	Balogun	None	Tahajo

15.	1893 – 1893	Fijabi Babalola	Baale	Akintola Ibikunle	Osuntoki
16.	1895 – 1897	Osuntoki Olosun	Baale	Akintola Ibikunle	Fajinmi
17.	1897 – 1902	Fajinmi Yorombi	Baale/ Basorun	Akintola Kongi	Mosaderin

By 1851, Ibadan had grown into a huge centre with an estimated population figure of 100,000 (David Hinderer, 1873). New areas, notably in the north-east had to be occupied, and the town covered an **estimated twenty-six (26) square kilometers in the 1850s.**

Within the wall were hundreds of compounds, churches at Kudeti, in the South, Ogunpa in the north-west, and Aremo in the north-east, all belonging to the church, Missionary Society, and also mosques, with another large praying ground (YIDI) in the north-east of the city. Thus, within a short time, Ibadan grew to become the largest city-state in nineteenth century Yorubaland.

The element of the fortification system of Yoruba cities were defence walls, trenches, and green belts. It is significant to note that the ancient and older Yoruba cities had only one wall of monumental proportion like the walls of Old Oyo and Ijebu Ode.

Erection of the second and third walls was a feature of the 19th century civil wars when most towns and cities underwent accelerated growth consequent upon the influx of refugees. Commenting on the walls of Ile-Ife. For instance, Makinde M.A. (December, 1970) pointed out that “The inner wall is very old and the outer is very recent”.

In the 19th century, various estimates of the circuits of the urban walls were made by foreign visitors. Specifically, Milson’s estimate of the outer wall (**Ibikunle Wall**) of Ibadan built in 1856 was 29km (18 miles), Ojo claimed it measured 38.6km (24 miles).

Ibadan has always been great with an outstanding history. Ibadan is what Professor Toyin Falola (2012) labeled as a “**city of heroes**”. “Its rise to the level of a **city-state**, and then an empire in the nineteenth century was phenomenal. Its **success in transforming Yoruba political institutions** and adapting them to a new age during the nineteenth (19th) century was remarkable. Its ability to survive as an hinterland empire, intricately surviving the menace and hostility of its sworn enemies to the south became a manifestation of its power and its diplomacy”.

Finally, the sustained growth of Ibadan over the years, from its occupation in 1825 to become the largest urban centre in Nigeria in geographical area with eleven administratively separate local governments areas, a population of **2.55 million** in 2006 and a land area of **3,145.96sq. kilometers**, owes a lot to its location in the heart of the Yoruba ethnic territory as well as to its location in relation to the older Yoruba **city-states** of Abeokuta, Oyo, Ijebu-Ode and Ife. Its central location and accessibility from the colonial capital city of Lagos were major considerations in the choice of Ibadan as the headquarters of the western provinces which later became the Western Region of Nigeria

4.0 THE NATURE AND PATTERN OF RELATIONS BETWEEN IBADAN AND OYO FROM THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

According to Professor Akin Alao (2000), the nature and pattern of relations between Ibadan and Oyo from **1829** could be best understood and appreciated, if set against the circumstances surrounding the foundation of the third and present Ibadan, the dynamics of machinery of administration and the ideological predisposition of the early generation of Ibadan Military leaders and statesmen. In spite of their ignorance of what Europe and America experienced in the 18th century, the 19th century Ibadan leaders had a profoundly perceptive definition and understanding of the idea of progress within the context and milieu of egalitarianism and equal access to opportunities and power. **The circumstances of birth was completely de-emphasized and subsumed under proven personal achievements and**

accomplishments. For the first time in Yorubaland, the quest for, and acquisition of power and leadership became open to every individual who possessed the ability and wherewithal.

The disintegration of Old Oyo and the eventual collapse of the central authority system could not be divorced from the insensibility of its constitution to changes and the intensity of intra-class conflict amongst members of the ruling class. By 1835, it became obvious that the Oyo edifice was at its end, and Ibadan, one of the three successor states (Ibadan, Abeokuta, and Ijaiye) had consolidated its hold on power in Yorubaland. Ibadan became the best in terms of military capability and political ascendancy.

According to Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran (2020), 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 and 1837.** During that **long night of confusion, the underclass revolt in Oyo and the Ife-Ijebu siege of Owu-Ipole (1814 – 1822)** were particularly momentous. Both events launched the Yoruba world into its worst region-wide crisis since the second half of the fifteenth century. The aftermath culminated in the collapse of the Oyo Empire in 1837.

The competition to fill the *vacuum of hegemony created by Oyo's fall fuelled more wars. Ibadan emerged as the dominant state in the region in 1840 following its defeat of Ilorin jihadist.* The young state had proved to be the most resilient avenger of Oyo humiliation during the Eleduwe War three years earlier (1837), 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.**

The Batedo War of 1844:

The war also awakened the **Alaafin Atiba** to the reality that Ibadan would soon be champion of all Yorubaland, according to professor Akin Alao (200). Efforts were therefore made to check the growing stature of Ibadan. **The Alaafin, covertly, encouraged Aare Kurumi** against Ibadan in **1844 at the Batedo War**. According to Professor Toyin Falola (2012), *the battle with Ijaiye in 1844 was motivated by Basorun Oluyole's desire to expand towards the Western and Northwestern territories, areas under Ijaiye's protection. Oluyole seized the opportunity of a conflict between Kurunmi and Asu (one of Kurunmi's military chiefs) to invade Ijaiye in 1844. Asu was the founder of Fidit.* In the military encounter that followed both Oluyole and Kurunmi's armies fought themselves to a stalemate, and Alaafin Atiba had to intervene to make peace between them. Alaafin Atiba died in **1859**.

Oluyole was not only famous for his wars, he had remarkable achievements at home as well. *He contributed to the commercial development of Ibadan by making Ojaba (named after him Oja-Iba, i.e. Basorun's market) a major regional market and by encouraging the Hausa to settle in Ibadan in order to establish trade links with the major commercial centres in the Sokoto Caliphate (the area of modern day northern Nigeria).*

By the time Basorun Oluyole died in **1847**, according to Professor Akin Alao (2000), the Ibadan's hold on Yoruba land was virtually total. The **military aristocracy** established by the military leaders from 1833 after the Gbanamu war, mainly by the Oyo-Yoruba refugees led by **Aare Oluyedun** had been firmly entrenched in Ibadan culture and militarism had been successfully established as a career.

However, by about **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 line initially (military aristocracy) 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.

5.0 THE FOUNDING OF THE PRESENT OYO FROM THE RUINS OF THE OLD OYO WITH THE SUPPORT OF IBADAN AND KURUNMI

Since the death of King Abiodun, the ambition to create individual principalities for the different warlords, and to wrest more powers from the Alaafin had been the objective of high officials of the Empire. The subsequent Alaafins were weak and ruled at the behest of these warlords, particularly the Oyomesi and the Kakanfo. This trait could be seen exhibited by Kakanfo Afonja of Ilorin, Kurunmi of Ijaiye, Oluyole of Ibadan, Edun of Gbogun and Teyeje of Ogbomoso. Atiba's plan to assume the throne and transfer the seat of government to Ago d'Oyo was, therefore, one of the many schemes that led to the final collapse of Oyo Empire. The purifying factors of his ambition lay in his qualities as a Prince, a ruler and an arbiter in those troublous days.

The image of King Abiodun, his father, had endeared Prince Atiba to his supporters. As **a person, he was a warrior at the head of his own Jamaa**, with his, headquarters quite as safe and fortified as Ilorin. The tragic unfolding scenes of Yoruba History had swept off Afonja of Ilorin and Adegun of Ikoyi, defeating their aims either in opposing or competing with Prince Atiba.

The Prince had also methodically marshalled his support in Epo Province. He had made the area his base. Under Abiodun, the tributes of the region accrued to him and his mother. His jamaa were recruited from the area. The rising imperial war generals of the province like Kurunmi and Oluyole were in league with him. **While liquidating Oja brothers, he had enlarged their settlement, built moats around it and had drawn most of the neighboring towns into its enlarged precincts. Such towns include Akeetan, Apaara, Idoodo, Ajagba, Iseke, Gudugbu, Jabata,**

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Ojongbodu, Olori, Amoru, Agodongbo, Imeleke, Aguwo, Opapa and lyopa, which communities he evacuated to Oyo before 1839.

At this crucial period, Atiba called on Oluyole, Kurunmi, the Okere of Saki, Timi of Ede and Baale of Ogbomoso to ensure his enthronement; and they all lent the support of their influential

Remember the saying: Agodongbo ko gbodo r'oko, Ojongbodu ko gbodo r'odo

The message of invitation for Atiba to come and assume the throne Mas dispatched by the Oyomesi from Igboho and Kisi through Prince Lajide, son of Onsolu and one Fabiyi with thirty-two messengers. Atiba delayed the return of all the messengers, ascended the throne and conferred oh Lajide the chieftaincy of Ona-Isokun. Chief Lakonu was then sent to Igboho and Kisi to fetch to new Oyo the remnant of the King's eunuchs, wives and state functionaries.

Atiba acted with firmness in filling the chieftaincies of the new town. Where an incumbent or a right candidate came forward to demonstrate faith in the success of the new Oyo, he ensured such a candidate was rewarded. In other circumstances, he appointed his friends, relations and those who had subscribed to the triumph of his military expeditions. The titles of Ohota, Agbaakin and Samu were conferred on Makaaye, Odusola and Ariori respectively. Though the following titles normally went to Princes, Atiba conferred them on his veteran friends:

Holder	-	Chieftaincy
Falade	-	Agunpopo
Lakonu	-	Ogigimagi
Ladejobi	-	Olosun
Toki	-	Ladilu

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The following went to members of the royal family as tradition demanded:

Holder - Chieftaincy

Olukokun (grandson of Alaafin Onisile) Atingisi Tela Okokii (son of Oba Abiodun) - Baba Iyaji Abioro (grandson of King Ojigi) – Olusami

Among the following new appointees were friend who assisted Atiba at crucial points of his career:

Holder - Chieftaincy

Obagbolu - Onamodeke

Gbenla - Lagunna

Ayewun - Alapinni

Ajokidero - Lemomu

Ailesio - Tetu

Adcfulu - Olokunesin

Ailumo (Oja's Descendant) Asipa

Yesufu (Atiba's uncle) Parakoyi

5.1 Administration of the New Oyo Capital:

Reviewed also was the administrative set-up of the Empire. Kurunmi and Oluyole had applied for and got the titles of Kakanfo and Basorun respectively, and they had duly organized their capitals of Ijaiye and Ibadan. The basis for these conferments was settled in Eleduwe war. As a further step of guaranteeing stability in the new Oyo, all accord was reached through which the Alaafin assigned areas of military protection to different chiefs. To assuage the pride of 'the towns concerned, Iluku, Saki, Igboho, and Kisi were directly placed under the King. This decision would also remind Atiba to ensure the return of the seat of government to the Old Capital as soon as favourable conditions allowed. Ibadan was given the charge Ekun Osi or the North-East, while Ijaiye superintended the Sabes and the Popos or the South-West.

The Alaafin was forbidden to go to war any longer, but should confine himself to civil, religious and judicial duties including the foreign policy of what remained of the Empire. If it were not for Alaafin Atiba, Oyo as a city would have gone in Co oblivion.

In the set-up of the new Oyo, Atiba had recognized the quality of the bravery, loyalty and soldiery of Gbenla, a native of Ooke, near Ofa. Having spent some time as the Lagunna, he raised him to the Basorun of Oyo town.

If we follow Professor Abdullahi Smith's chronology, the Eleduwe war would probably have taken place at the end of 1837 to the beginning of 1838; then one could safely assume that Prince Atiba ascended the Oyo throne in the new southern capital about 1839. Further, the research findings of Professor Akinjogbin have confirmed that the death of Alaafin Abiodun was in 1789. Up to this point, in computing dates, these milestones have guided the author as well as those from Chief Bada of Saki and Dr. J. A. Atanda.

9.2 Alabaja Conference Organized By Ibadan

Thus the stabilizing force which Oyo-Ile provided wasthen.; vested and actualized in new Oyo though with less authority and inadequate military force to ensure complete control.

Before the King's death and with the help of Ibadan, principally, and the generality of Oyo Nobility, a crucial law of succession was enacted through a Consultative Council. The inheritance of a deceased person had always first gone to his brothers and sisters sometimes to the exclusion of the children. The toils of the present actors like Oluyole, Ibikunle, Kurunmni, Ogunmola and others reminded the Yoruba Nobility that if *the* father worked hard, the children should have access to the process of such toil in a legally guaranteed form of inheritance which wench the children first before the brothers and other relations of the dead. Thus, while other relations could have a share of moveable articles substantial properties like farms, house and slaves went to the eldest surviving son and his successors.

King Atiba was definitely in favour of the law. Having laboured hard to establish his throne in a virgin region; and with many princes from the old scion of the dynasty lurking about in Saki, Igboho, Kisi, Iganna and Ijaiye, he had a definite stake in the success of the customary law. ***When the Council of State sent the decision him for assent, it met his favour and the Sovereign announced an extension of the law, that his nobility should concede to the Oyo throne that the Crown Prince, the Aremo, should not die with the king, but was to be given opportunity of royal succession. It was paramount in his thought that Adelu, his eldest son that had shared in the perils and toils of nation building should have his own chance of glory on the Oyo throne.*** The corollary and the new custom were accepted and communicated to other Oyo-speaking city-states. But as we would see later, it was not clear if Kurunmi of Ijaiye accepted the change.

From the period of the settlement and assimilation of the Northern Yoruba Metropolitan people into towns like New Oya Ijaiye, Ibadan, Iseyin, Okeho, Kisi, Ikire, Ogbomoso, Gbongan Ikirun, Apomu, Modakeke, Iwo, Ede, Ode-Omu and Osogbo, trend unleashed by the revolt of the Slaves in 1817 and abating or attaining equilibrium by about 1844 when Atiba, Oluyole and Kurunmi had earned titular incumbencies. ***The main thrust of external diplomacy of Oyo-speaking people, either of peace covenants, or military intervention, had progressively been on Ibadan and Ijaiye, with the greater luster and intensity of the affair accruing to the former.*** It was not until 1862 that the ultimacy of ascendancy of these Northerners became the prerogative of Ibadan government; and New Oyo City and the Alaafin had to be content with a father figure role whose chemistry of power could uplift, complicate or mar issue depending on how the constitutional rights of the monarch was approached.

A situation in which a crowned king shared the precincts of the same Town with a colleague of the same status as the head of the settlement such as operates in Okeho, Igboho, Ogbomoso and elsewhere could not evolve in Oyo, Ijaiye and Ibadan; and so a clear line of hierarchy of chieftaincies was established for administration of the three cities. Power constitutionally, rested with a supreme titular incumbent.

The Alaafins either were unable or deliberately avoided intervention of installing, removing or reinstating heads of big and controversial towns such as dragged Ibadan into Ogedengbe war, in Ilesa, and the subsequent Ekiti chieftaincy imbroglio. Though Ibadans were able to polish their military prowess, the dissipation of energy emanating from the Ekiti wars did reduce the pace of the town's progress in the peaceful pursuits of farming, industry and commerce.

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Because Atiba wanted to secure the throne for Adelu, his crown prince, after his death, he got Ibadan to promise him on oath that the chiefs would uphold the terms of the new law of succession and, in particular that they would enthronement of his eldest son. Thus, the transition from the reign of Atiba to that of his son was smooth. The chiefs in Oyo, the palace officials and Ibadan accepted the installation of Alaafin Adelu, but Kurunmi, the Aare Ona-Kakanfo was of different disposition. With a desire to abort the arrangement, Kurunmi started scouting for candidates from among Princes of the previous Alaafins still resident in Kisi or Igboho. Further, he refused to pay the traditional homage of a courtesy call on the new Alaafin. Thus, when the Alaafin Adelu was for reconciliation, the Aare Kurunmi charted a stubborn course of defiance and hostility that caused second Ijaiye war between **1859** and **1862**

5.2 Effect of Ijaiye War on Oyo Kingdom:

The consequences of Ijaiye war were manifold during the reign of **Alaafin Adelu Agunloye (1858-1876)**. What was lost to Oyo in **lusture and flat** fell on Abeokuta and Ibadan, and latter was challenging Oyo to a degree unknown to earlier history of its relationship with the Alaafin. Dr. J. A. Atandals appraisal in his **Chiefs in Yorubaland: Three Studies in Indirect Rule** (West African Chiefs) edited by Michael Crowder and Obaro Ikime records;

“Except in name, it (Ibadan) became the Alaafin’s master, too. Indeed, outside Oyo town and a few villages around it, the Alaafin had nowhere to exercise his authority without a challenge from Ibadan. And as the Rev. J. B. Wood rightly observed in the middle of the 19th Century, the fear was that Ibadan might absorb whatever remained of the authority of the Alaafin and establish a Yoruba King in Ibadan in place of the Alaafin. However, the inability to win a decisive victory in the Kiriji. War probably what prevented Ibadan from taking this step”.

Adelu’s Crown Prince, Lawani Agogo-Ija had moved to Ibadan to share in the joy of the conquests that the town had won through the energies of her new generations. He Joined the Ibadan in ekitiparapo campaigns, although he was always in the camp accompanied by his friend, **Oyerinde** playing **ayo** game (Chiefs M.O. Ogumnola, the Otun of Oyo, 1997).

For Oyo town and the immediate neighbourhood, Alaafin **Adelu Agunloye’s** reign (1858-1978), was on law and order, there was tranquility. The turmoil that arose from Ibadan’s unfriendly interactions with the **Ijesa, Ekitis, Egbas Ilorins** and **Ijeba’s** did not affect Oyo.

(a) The Crisis of Succession to Alaafin’s Stool;

The succession struggle was a tricky affair, although the **Oyomesi** wanted **Prince Adeyemi** while **Lawan Agogo-Ija**, Adelu’s Crown Prince was expecting a repeat of his father’s from of succession. While he rejected Oyomesi’s instruction that he should die, he made an elaborate plan to supply weapons to his supporters in **Apaara, Ajagba, Iseke, and Akeetan**

The Oyomesi persuaded Prince Lawani not to resort to arms so that he would not destroy the edifice erected at great cost by his father. **The official intimation of the result of the contest was within the purview of duties of Baba Iyaji** who cautioned him to leave the town forth with.

He got his slave and some relations that had moved to his **Agodongbo Farm**, a distance of about two miles to Oyo, to salvage and carry his movable belongings to **Ibadan where Are Latosisa** accepted and gave him quarters in Yametu area of the town.

(b) Why Alaafin Adeyemi/Requested For Sword from Ife:

In the rite of crowning an Alaafin, Ile Ife still retains two functions, the dispatch of Igba-Iwa (a rite of divination) and sword of justice. The former is made up of a set of two **covered calabash bowls** in which separate parties are put. In a calabash, cowries, cloth, beads, etc would be enclosed to portend growth of industry, peace and general well-being.

The second would hold **miniature spear**, gun powder, bullets, etc **portraying the omen of war and instability**. When the two identical calabashes reached Oyo, the monarch would be asked to make his own choice in addition to the **sword**.

In the case of Alaafin Adeyemi Alowolodu I his choice fell on the calabash with miniature spear, knife, etc. **The royal diviners** know straightaway that turmoil awaited the reign of in the domestic and external policies. The importance of the **sword** centred on the crux **that an Alaafin, before the advent of the British** could not order the execution of an offender without the dispatch and possession of the sword from Ile-Ife.

5.3 Distortion of Yoruba History by Alaafin:

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

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

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

I deliberately made the above reference with a view to affirming the Alaafin's. Consistency in his proclamation of his status as political head of Yoruba; who administered Oyo Empire with efficiency which enthralled the British Colonial Officials to have preserved the status quo before and after the amalgamation of the Northern Protectorate with the Southern Protectorate with the Southern Protectorate in January 1914 by the Governor-General, Sir Lord Fedrick Lugard” It was in honour of the hegemonic structure by the British that the Alaafin was the only Yoruba traditional ruler who was signatory to the historic amalgamation agreement, which gave birth to Nigeria other royal fathers, who appended their signatories, were the Sultan of Sokoto, the Sheu of Borno, the Emir of Kano. It was also in recognition of that rank that no other first class traditional ruler earned as the Alaafin in the colonial salary scale. Suffice here is list of the first class and second class traditional rulers according to the British salary scale as contained in the report of 1938;

(a) First Class

- The Alaafin of Oyo - £4,200 per annum
- The Alake of Abeokuta - £2,250
- The Awujale of Ijebu - £1,700
- The Oba of Benin - £1,650
- The Ooni of Ife - £1,440

(b) Second Class

- The Olubadan of Ibadan - £2,400 per annum
- The Owa of Ilesha - £1,450
- The Osemawe of Ondo - £350
- The Orangun of Ila - £200

According to Professor Bolaji Akinyemi in the Nation Newspaper of Monay, September 10 on the 21st Anniversary of the creation of Jigawa State, in Dutse, **both the Fulani and the Yoruba Empires exhibit variants of federal structure.** The outcome of the Fulani Jihad under **Othman** dan Fodio led by 1809 to the establishment of a Sokoto Caliphate/Empire of 30 emirates which owed allegiance to the Sultan of Sokoto while enjoying considerable independence.

The Yoruba Empire, owing spiritual and political allegiance to Ife, spread from Warri to present day Togo and had a complex structure of independent kingdoms whose royalty was subject to confirmation by Ife.

6.0 THE GENESIS OF PARAMOUNCY OF YORUBA OBAS;

Indirect Rule was easier to implement in **districts where one paramount ruler** was easy to identify, like the **Alaafin** in Oyo, or the **Owa** of Ilesa Kingdom. In many **district** where there was a **plurality of equal traditional rulers**, however, distortions crept. The attempt by the British officials to simplify the situation by enforcing a **paramount ruler** of their own creation was, ultimately, an attempt to create **illegitimate authority**. For instance, the attempt to **elevate** one of the many **Ekiti Kings** to a **position of paramouncy** over the rest led to protests in the **1930s**, protests so serious that the attempt had to be abandoned. A worse case occurred in

Egbado where a commoner, **Seriki Abbas**, was elevated to a position of **Paramount Chief** of the Western District in **1913** when all this has been said, however, it still remains true that Indirect Rule under the British tended on the whole, to preserve some of the prestige and dignity of the Yoruba kings whereas French rule resulted in almost total destruction of Yoruba traditional political institutions (Professor S.A Akintoye, 2010).

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

Inspite of this, Atanda went further, **the fact was that Old Oyo Empire of which the Alafin was the head, never embraced the whole of Yorubaland**. Some parts of Yorubaland were tributary to the kingdom of Benin and were never controlled by Oyo, as Benin itself was not. For example, Benin tradition shows that Ekiti, Owo, Ondo areas were for a long time under the rule or influence of the kingdom of Benin including Ado-Ekiti

Ilesa, Ile-Ife and Ila were kingdoms, each with a considerable area of influence and independent of Old Oyo. With respect to Ilesa, it will be recalled that the attempt which Old Oyo made in the seventeenth (17th) century, during the reign of **Obalokun**, to reduce, Ilesa to submission resulted in heavy losses for Oyo. Since that time, no further attempt was made by Oyo to control Ilesa. **Not until when**

Balogun Akere I, led Ibadan army to subdue Ilesa between 1869 and 1871 (I.B. Akinyele, 1991).

7.0 THE ORIGIN OF CONSENTING AUTHORITY

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

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

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

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

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

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

In effect, instead of a province where the Alaafin was the most powerful paramount chief, there came to be five Independent Native Authorities and five subordinate ones. And even the subordinate ones were not under the Alaafin but subordinates to the Baale of **Ibadan and Council. The Alaafin was left with only the Oyo Division**. This structure was also approved and implemented by Governor David Jembewon when he constituted the twelve (12) membership of the council of Obas and Chiefs in 1977. (See the Supplement to the Nigeria Gazette Extraordinary, NO. 17 of 3 April 1934, pp. I and II).

Quoting Dr. J.A. Atanda (1979), Captain Ross (1913-1931) left Oyo and Nigeria for good on 1st September, 1931. Barely three years after his departure, the **New Oyo Empire**, which he spent a quarter of a century building up, was no more.

The doctrine that jurisdiction of a Native Authority must be based on the consent of the people over whom such authority would be exercised.

7.1 Concerning Alaafin and Other Obas' Salaries

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

During the time, Ross unilaterally raised the grant payable per annum to the Alaafin from the Ibadan Treasury by **£2,400** per annum to augment the salary of the Alaafin. In a bid to enhance the status of the Alaafin, Captain Ross managed to raise the Alaafin's salary to **£4,500** per annum. The **£2,400** taken annually from the Ibadan Treasury formed part of this salary. The remaining **£2,100** came from the Oyo Treasury. But the same year, the amount taken from Oyo Treasury was increased to **£2,400**. Consequently, the Alaafin's salary finally stood at **£4,800 per annum**. With this figure, the Alaafin Siyanbola Oladigbolu I, received the highest salary in the province (Dr. J.A. Atanda, 1979 pg. 14-146).

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

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

succeed in this and had to pay the required part of the Alaafin's salary up to the end of **1944** when Siyanbola Ladigbolu died.

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

7.2 The British Pro-Oyo Policy:

In 1900 MacGregor had noted that there was a decided tendency for many inferior chiefs to free themselves from the control of the superior chiefs. This to him was a tendency that must be checked. Consequently, he immediately advised the **Alaafin of Oyo** and the **Basorun Fajimi of Ibadan** to strengthen their hold on these "inferior Chiefs". *He suggested how this was to be achieved. Each "inferior chief" was to be formally or ceremoniously installed by the superior chief (J.A. Atanda, 1973).*

But as soon indirect administration began to be systematized in **1897**, it was discovered that the arrangement of **1893** could not last. And within the next year, steps were taken to restore to Oyo parts of its lost territory according to Dr. J.A. Atanda, 1979.

Thus, in **1898 – 99**, Governor Mc Callum and resident Fuller **initiated the policy of reviving what they conceived as the ancient powers of the Alaafin.** However, it was Governor William MacGregor who advanced what Mc callum and Robert Fuller started. *Besides, MacGregor supplied the philosophy which, from 1901 onwards, was to lead to the supremacy of the Alaafin among the Yoruba rulers in Oyo Province.*

Capt. W.L. Ross's (1913 - 1931) posture and actions, which forcibly subjected Ibadan to the Alaafin and thereby sowed the seed of disaffection between Oyo and Ibadan has no historical. He established a practice where the will of the Alaafin, rather than that of the Ibadan City Council and people of Ibadan, became the deciding factor in the appointment of the **Baale of Ibadan**. He merely distorted and perverted civil authority in Ibadan.

a) Victims of Alaafin's Imposition on Ibadan:

Captain Ross saw Ibadan as obstacle extending the power of the Alaafin. Historically, Ibadan had been granted wide areas to administer by the **Treaty of 1893 between Ibadan and the British**. Besides, by making it the seat of the resident since the beginning of the British rule, Ibadan had been recognized as the **de facto** if not **de jure** "**Head of Yorubaland**". Ross considered the prime place which the British had accorded to Ibadan too much and a mistake.

The Ibadan Traditional Council, before the advent of the British colonial administration, was the supreme organ of state while in the exercise of power, the Baale was the chief executive. The membership of the council was made up of High Chiefs from both the **Baale** and the **Balogun** Lines and Council's decisions on most issues were final of the authority of the Alaafin Ladigbolu of Oyo.

i) Basorun Apampa (1907 – 1910):

He became the Baale of Ibadan after the death of Baale Dada Opadare in 1907 to 1910 and was conferred with Balogun by Alaafin of Oyo. Apampa and the Ooni of Ife, Oba Olubuse I settled the people of Modakeke at Ode-Omu in **1910**. However, Ibadan people abolished the title of Basorun after his death and made it Honourary title of which Chief M.K.O. Abiola and Chief Kola Daisi are the beneficiaries.

ii) Baale Akintayo Awanibaku Elempe (1910– 1912):

After the death of Balogun Omiyale, who was formerly the Ekarun balogun but got promoted to the rank of Balogun in preference to Akintayo, the Otun Balogun. After the ddeath of Basorun Apampa, Akintayo became the Baale of Ibadan from his previous status as Balogun. He was the first Balogun to become Baale peacefully. Lafa, the **Otun Baale**, who could have been a threat to Akintayo becoming the Baale was **too old, lame and unable to attend public functions**.

iii) Baale Irefin ogundeyi (1912– 1914):

After the reign of Baale Akintayo in **1912, Baale irefin ogundeyi became the Baale of Ibadan despite the opposition from the Chiefs in Balogun Line who wanted to return to old practice.**

But unfortunately, all the Chiefs on the two sides (Baale line and balogun line) **betrayed him, because of their plans to get to him out of throne wither by committing suicide or by going on exile.**

They believed that he was the one who enslaved and ruined them under Alaafin of Oyo because Captain W.A. Ross was in control as that time. He maltreated them unlike other predecessors and he was in support of the Alaafin of Oyo against to Captain Ross where they showed all the grievances only to deny him latter of such action.

Baale Irefin tried all his possible best to change the minds of his Chiefs to support him so that he could get back to the throne but all was in vein. He later took decision to commit suicide in his house in **1914**.

iv) Baale Shittu (Aare latoosa II (1914 – 1925):

Baale Shittu was the biological son of Aare Latoosa I, the Aare-Ona-Kakanfo between 1871 and 1885. When Prince Lawani Agogoja lost to Prince Adeyemi I the bid to become Alaafin of Oyo after the death of Alaafin Adelu, he provided an asylum for Prince Lawani Agogoja and his son Ladigbolu at **Oke-Aremo** within Yemetu

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neighbourhood where they stayed for about 28 years until the death of Alaafin Adeyemi I early in the nineteenth century.

Throughout his reign, he never surrendered to Alaafin's Authority (Alaafin Ladigbolu). He was forced by Captain W.A. Ross to go and pay homage to Alaafin in Oyo from where he was exiled at Oke-Ogun where he died. He was succeeded by Baale Oyewole Foko (1925 – 1930).

7.3 How Alaafin Took Over Selection and Installation of Baale of Ibadan:

In the selection of Baale, from among the members of Ibadan Council, it should be by the majority of members' votes, and the support of minor chiefs and religious Heads. **It was clear that prior to the time of Captain Ross 91913 – 1931), the Alaafin's approval would not take pre-eminence over the choice made through an election by the members of the council. But** this process was reversed in 1912 after the death of Baale Akintayo Elempe Awanibaku to ensure the primacy of the authority of the Alaafin of Oyo.

Eventually, the crisis between **Irefin and Sittu** (the son of Aare Latosisa) was resolved in favour of **Irefin Ogundeyi** by the Alaafin Ladigbolu. He was equally installed at the Palace of Alaafin of Oyo on 26 September **1912**.

Thus, a new era dawned in Ibadan, era in which the Baale's nomination must not only be at the pleasure of the Alaafin of Oyo, but also at his installation, the Baale must take oath of office, pledging loyalty to the Alaafin of oyo.

7.4 The Break-up of the new Oyo Empire (1931 – 1934)

Captain Ross left Oyo and Nigeria for good on 1 September 1931. Barely three years after his departure, **the New Oyo Empire, which he spent a quarter of a century building up, was no more.**

The reason being that the doctrine that the jurisdiction of any Native Authority must be based on the consent of the people over whom such authority would be exercised. The application of this principle of indirect rule to Oyo province meant

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that the people who had been forcibly subordinated to Oyo on the ground that at one time the authority of the Alaafin must have extended to that area would be liberated.

The result was that **in April 1934**, Ibadan Division was officially recognized as an Independent native Authority so also Ife, Ilesha, Ila and Oyo. In effect, according to Dr. J.A. Atanda, 1979, **instead of a province where the Alaafin was the most powerful paramount chiefs**, there came to be five independent native Authorities and five subordinate ones. And even the subordinate ones were not under the Alaafin but subordinate to the Baale of Ibadan and council. The Alaafin was left with only the Oyo Division.

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

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

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE GROWTH AND STRATEGIC URBAN DEVELOPMENT OF IBADAN METROPOLITAN AREA

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.

1.0 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.

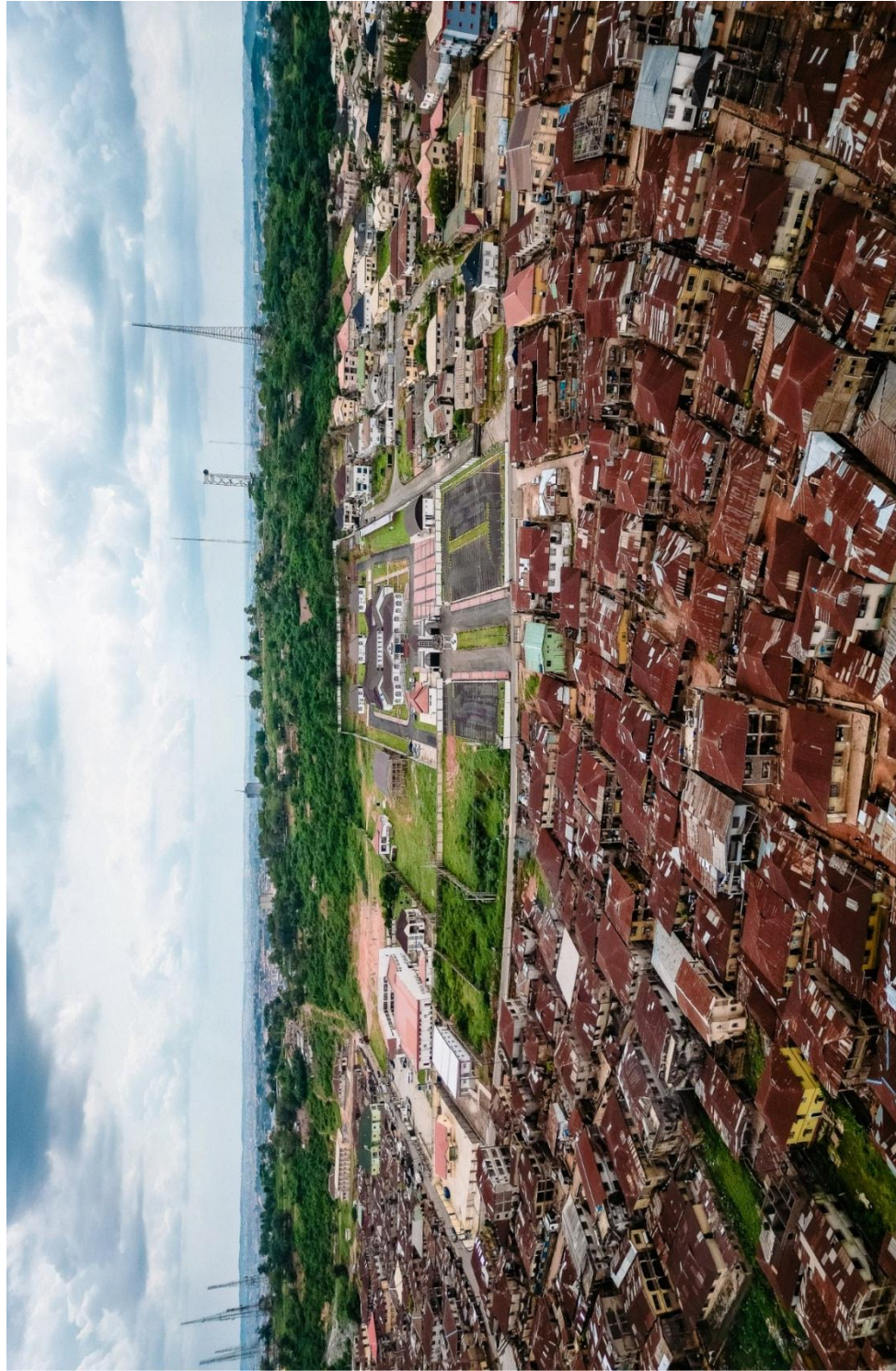
1.1 Physical Location and Strategic Developments of Ibadan:

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,

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(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:

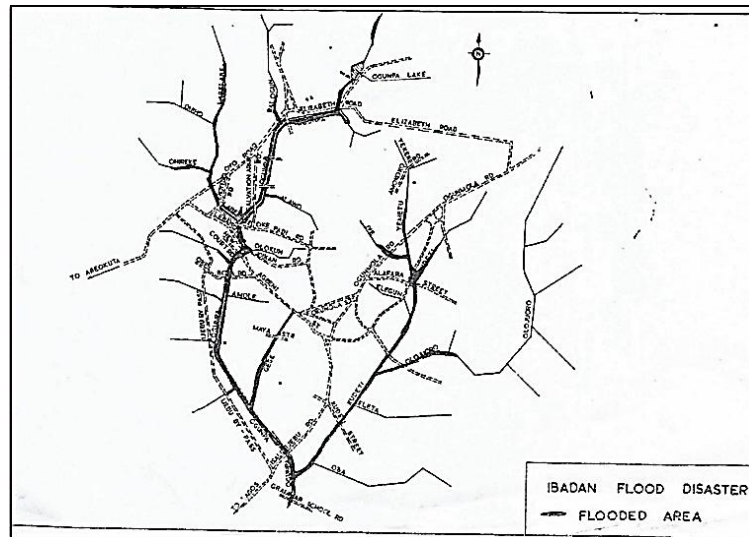
Ibadan lies within the tropical forest zone but close to the boundary between the Forest and the Savannah. It is characterized by **rugged terrain with steep slopes** creating a very dense network of streams with wide valley plains. The city ranges in elevation from **150 metres** in the valley area, 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.



1.2 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**.

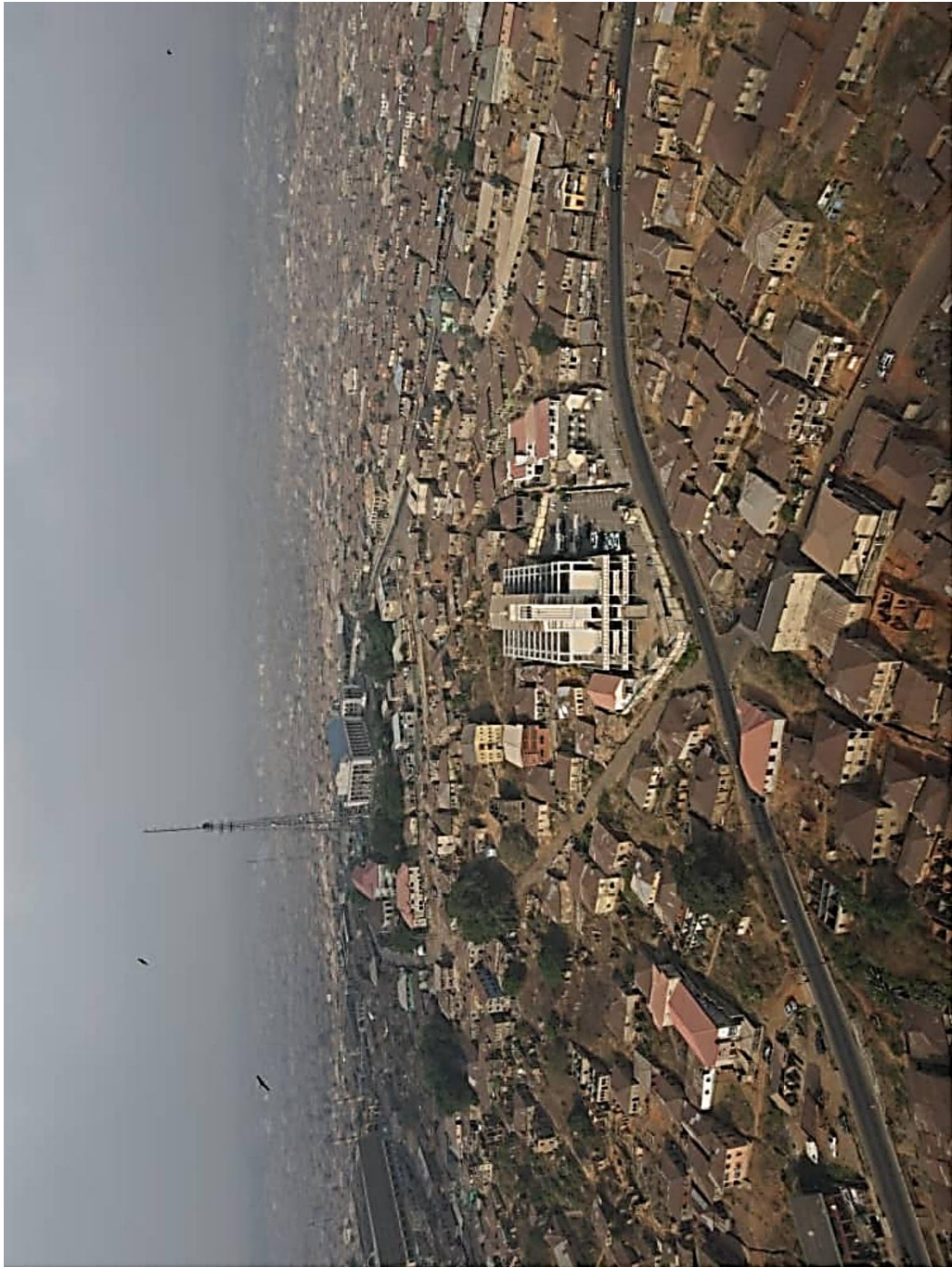
An influx of settlers was noticeable with the arrival of the railway in **1901**. A new suburb grew with the arrival of **Lagosians** and descendants of freed slaves who had settled in Lagos. This area, slightly north of the railway terminus became known as **Ekotedo** or **Lagos settlement**. The railway 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”.

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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.

1.3 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.

1.4 Historical Development of Transportation:

(i) Development of Road Transportation System

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).

The Colonial economic goals inevitably was to include the incorporation of the **local economy** into that of Europe and the global. This incorporation was important for all at least three reasons which have been outlined by Walter Rodney:

- (a) to protect national interest against competition from other capitalists;
- (b) to arbitrate the conflicts between their own capitalist; and

- (c) to guarantee optimum conditions under which private companies could exploit

(a) Construction of New Roads in Ibadan:

Ibadan, especially since independence, has witnessed unprecedented urbanization, accompanied by rapid growth of her population and spatial extent. In order to connect the new areas with older areas, open up new areas, ease traffic flow and relieve traffic congestion, some new roads were constructed. Such roads include the Sango-Eleiyele Roads, Dugbe Eleiyele Road, Ring-Road Challenge, and Mokola Onireke –Dugbe Road (Jenbewon Road). The Mokola-Onireke Road, formerly opened for use on 1 July 1977, was constructed in order to ease the traffic flow problem on the hitherto heavily congested Mokola-Dugbe Road, which at that time was the main road connecting Abeokuta, Ijebu-Ode and Lagos.

(b) Dualization of Exits in Roads

In 1977, work also started on some roads earmarked for dualization. These included the University of Ibadan - Orita Mefa Road, Orita Mefa-Adeoyo-Bere Road and South West Ring Road. After **2010**, some roads in Ibadan have been expanded and/or dualized. They included Ojoo-Sango-Mokola Road; Dugbe- Molete Road, Challenge-Old Lagos- Ibadan Toll Gate Road, Challenge Orita-Challenge New Garage Road; Dugbe-Eleiyele Road; and Dugbe-Jericho-Onireke-Sabo Road. **₦2 billion Mokola flyover** was built in order to reduce traffic congestion in and around Mokola. Construction of a 110km Ibadan Circular Road named after Senator Rashidi Adewolu Ladoja was also embarked upon between **2033 and 2025**.

(c) Railway System:

In March 1896, construction began on a railway from Lagos to Ofa. The track was designed with a narrow gauge of 3'6 to pass through the region **where cash crops** were available for quick transportation to Lagos. The railway arrived in Ibadan in 1900 and was opened on March 4, 1901. The line continued northwards, reaching

Jebba in 1910. By 1918, a total of **£8,670,145** had been expended on railways and a total **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**. However, there is faster railway system different from Locomotive of old order now from **Lagos to Alabata** in Ibadan where a Dry-Port is also being constructed.

1.5 Township and Segregation:

There was also establishment of Township area in Nigeria according to the Township Ordinance of 1917. Its mean purpose, according to Professor Toyin Falola (2012 pg. 516), Fredrick Lugard explained that, Township was established based on broad principle of municipal responsibility, graduated according to the importance of the community, and the measure of its stability to accept, and discharge satisfactorily the conduct of its own affairs.

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

The **Ibadan Township Area** was located in parts of the southwest. It encompassed part of what later became known as the **New Reservation (or Jericho)** where Hericho Nursing home was built in 1905, the **railway Station, Iyanganku, Ido Gate, and Lebanon Street**. It was conceived to be autonomous in administration, and chiefs were not supposed to exercise power in the township.

The township was primarily intended to promote a deliberate policy of segregation and urban fragmentation. Urban fragmentation typically creates two cities within the city. The urban poor live in high urban densities with unplanned **urban spatial layout** and mostly deprived of access to adequate housing residential land, municipal services and other urban benefits. The better off tend to reside in the

ordered, *formally planned and structured higher-income areas that enjoy municipal services.*

1.6 Urban Renewal” AS “Community Development”

Some of the policies around urban renewal began to change under President Lyndon Johnson and War on Poverty and in 1968. The Housing and Urban Development Act and The New Communities Act of 1968 guaranteed private financing for private entrepreneurs to plan and develop new communities. Subsequently, the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 established the **Community Development Block Grant Programme (CDBG)** which began in earnest. **The focus was on redevelopment of existing neighbourhoods and properties, rather than demolition of substandard housing and economically depressed areas.**

Unfortunately there was no Ibadan city’s original master plan to show or identify the shanty towns or slums or twilight areas of the core area but the city had the opportunity of having Aerial Survey in 1991/1992 which covered the Metropolis and some parts of sub-burbs. The defunct Ibadan Metropolitan Planning Authorities initiated the urban renewal as Community Improvement Programme (CIP) having identified three areas: Yemetu, Mokola and Agugu/Oremeji Communities which was integrated into the Oyo State Urban Project (IDF II) in 1990s.

The sectoral actions were conceived and classified into four components or Action fronts: Physical infrastructure, community infrastructure, education and strategies, the project was designed to systematically aimed at the three (3) locations, which were thus grouped into three areas according to the following criteria;

- proximity between the project areas
- identify number of dwellings and families, to establish the demand for social facilities and services
- location and service capacity of existing facilities;

- interrelationship with surrounding areas vis-à-vis utilization of existing infrastructure;
- mapping as recorded in the Aerial survey map of 1991 or draft Ibadan Master Plan by the defunct Ibadan Metropolitan Planning Authority (IMPA); and
- existing occupation dynamics

Through formal representation of Community Association and results of the field research, actions were designed for each of the three locations. (See the maps of the three locations of the three locations in Ibadan Metropolis).

Prior to formulating these town centre redevelopment proposals, the IMPA has made an objective appraisal of the core Ibadan neighbourhoods, having regard to its function, assets and deficiencies in terms of infrastructure and safety, usefulness by day and night of shopping, commercial and social centres, and its civic character and architectural qualities.

The growth of Ibadan city could easily be measured in three dimensions such as **population, geographical size/spread and physical facilities. The population as at 2006 was 2,550,598 while the total area is 3,145.96sq.km.** The city grew physically from about 10 hectares in 1851 to about 214 square kilometers in 1988. It expanded to 1,600sq.km in urban sprawl with incorporation of many villages and small towns. Thus, the trend towards a mega-city is evidenced by the decreasing percentage of the land being used for non-urban purposes, such as forestry and farming.

As part of the physical development programme to transform Ibadan City and provide social amenities, tarring of roads in the city started in 1939 with the dualization of Mapo-Agodi Road. Bower's Tower was erected on top of Are Latosa hill in memory of Captain Bower who was the first Travelling Commissioner and Resident in Ibadan. Mapo Hall was also started as the first Civic Building and

Administrative headquarter of Ibadan Native Authority in 1925 and was completed in 1929.

(i) Central Business District Redevelopment

Dugbe market was burnt down in 1905 and re-planned in 1909 when it was laid out into plots. Land was acquired up to Ogunpa River for commercial/business activities endangered by the establishment of Railway Station in 1901 and the influx of Lebanese and other foreigners. In 1957, a 10-Storey building was built by the Cooperative Society, named Cooperative Building; 27-Storey Cocoa House was built in 1961; and 12 Storey Western State Agricultural Investment Cooperative Building was built in 1961; and 20 Storey Femi Johnson's Building (Broken House) was built in 1982. The Liberty Stadium (now Obafemi Awolowo Stadium) was commissioned in 1960. The Old Sabo Race Course was turned to Lekan Salami Stadium Complex (formerly Adamasingba Stadium) in 1978.

In 1970s, the dualization of major city roads started by the Military Government to reduce traffic gridlocks at Bere, Molete, Agodi, Mokola, U.I. junction and Dugbe. Sango-Ijokodo-Eleiyele dualization was carried out to reduce the traffic flow through Mokola to Dugbe. Eleiyele-Dugbe road was dualized in year 2014 at the same time, Alesinloye bye-pass and Onireke-Dugbe roads were dualized between 2012-2015. Mokola-UI , Iwo Road to Olodo; Dugbe to Molete, Akala Road at Orita Challenge were all dualized by the Civilian Administration between 2003 and 2011.

The revolution in transportation and communication systems has transformed Ibadan to a regional hub of social and economic activities in the South Western part of Nigeria drawing human, financial and other resources away from other major cities in the region thus, creating a localized development. ***Ibadan is also within the urban corridor that spans key cities in four West African Countries namely; Lagos in Nigeria, Cotonou in the Republic of Benin, Lome in Togo and Accra in Ghana.***

1.7 Perspectives on Ibadan Master Plan

(a) Imperative of Good Urban Planning

Good urban planning is the most important prerequisite to urban construction and management. This is due to the fact that urban settlements are the major centres of capital investments, especially in industrial and commercial enterprises. The extent of the planned growth of cities determines the extent of the living standards of their residents.

Only few cities in Nigeria such as: Kaduna, Owerri and Abuja had plans before they were built; Minna Bida, Ilorin and few others had master plans which were not implemented. Others, like Lagos, had master plan prepared with the assistance of the UNDP. Many so called urban centres today came to existence by virtue of their strategic locations as state capitals and Local Government headquarters.

The total area of Ibadan is 3,148.54sq.km while the urban land-use was 156.15km² in 1972 or 5%; 437.22km² or 14% in 1984 and 468.45km² in 2006. The use of Aerial map or Satellite Images would be useful in measuring the growth of Ibadan City apart from its resources. Currently, the sub-urban land use is 1,976km² or 63% of the total area. Therefore, the extent of the planned growth of Ibadan would determine the extent of the living standards of the residents.

The present Government of Governor Ajimobi must be commended for embarking on the preparation of Ibadan Master Plan which was initiated in 2006 and probably not completed by 2007. However, the preparation of Ibadan Master Plan must avoid the pitfalls in the scheme which had been highlighted by experts. Most master plans have failed for a number of reasons:

- (i) the city's master plan are too static;
- (ii) they place too much emphasis on detailed layouts and zoning of supposed future land use;

- (iii) they do not offer guidance on the phasing of implementation or technology to be adopted;
- (iv) most importantly, these planning approaches do not consider actual economic demands for space, thus ignoring the capacity of households and business to pay for land and properties; and
- (v) government officials frequently treat the plan as prescriptions of what should or out to be , and therefore programme infrastructure into areas where there is limited demand.

(b) Aims and Objectives of Ibadan Master Plan

At the Consultative Meeting with the World Bank Officials on DRAFT IBADAN CITY MASTER PLAN held IBADAN HOUSE OKE-AREMO, IBADAN hosted by the Central Council of Ibadan Indigenes (CCII) and co-hosted by the Olubadan-in-Council

- Provision for population growth
- Preventing future flooding episodes
- Attracting investment and business growth
- Providing better infrastructure
- Giving better transport connections
- The location and quality of houses
- Providing land for new jobs
- The location of open spaces and recreational areas
- Environmental, historic ad culturally important areas which need protection
- Who implements the strategy and how?

(c) Scope of the Work

The draft “Ibadan City Master Plan” covers the eleven Local Government Area as indicated at page 3 of the project document summary of 23/23/2017. The plan would cover the following areas:

- i) Flooding
- ii) Core Area of Ibadan
- iii) Heritage
- iv) Population
- v) Employment
- vi) Housing
- vii) Infrastructure
- viii) Transport
- ix) Institutional Framework
- x) Natural Environment

(d) Occupancy Surveys

The establishment population (2016-2036) was based on 80 areas covering 936 hectares of residential areas containing 140,000 houses were counted. 8000 houses covering 2,400 households and 10,000 people of 4.167 or 4.2HH or average of 3 households/buildings

Note: Land Area of Ibadan is **3,145.96sq.km** or **(314.596hectares)** the largest in the country with eleven (11) Local Government Areas. The total land area of the eleven LGAs in the sampled survey was 936 hectares out of 85,864 hectares.

1km² = 100 hectares. 1 hectare contains 150 buildings in high density area.

Table 10: Population per Hectare on Local Government Areas:

<i>S/No.</i>	<i>LGA</i>	<i>Gross Areas (HA)</i>	<i>Population Census (2006)</i>	<i>Population Per (Hec.)</i>	<i>Population (2015)</i>	<i>Population Per (Hec.)</i>
1.	Ibadan North	14,556	308,119	21.17	347,143	23.85
2.	Ibadan North East	5,137	331,444	64.52	339,410	66.07
3.	Ibadan North West	3,138	154,029	30.53	155,239	49.47
4.	Ibadan South East	5,045	266,457	52.82	296,23	58.72
5.	Ibadan South West	12,455	283,098	22.73	368,141	29.26
6.	Akinyele	42,426	211,811	4.99	625,542	14.74
7.	Egbeda	13,683	283,643	20.73	755,102	55.19
8.	Ido	86,549	104,087	1,20	843,540	9.75
9.	Lagelu	28,392	148,133	5.22	588,533	20.73
10.	Oluyole	63,538	203,461	3.20	880,215	13.85
11.	Ona-Ara	42,594	205,571	4.83	818,017	19.20
	Total	349,015	2,560,853	7.34	6,017,709	17.24

Sources:

- i. Land Mass from OYS Office of Surveyor General
- ii. 2006 Population from Federal Government Gazette No. 2 Vol. 96 of 2nd of February, 2009
- iii. World Bank Consultants on Ibadan City Master Plan, march, 2017

Therefore, the state government should look into the urban planning laws; the urban planning process; and the urban planning practice. The structural plans which have been variously described as outline plans or strategic plans, provide the framework for the physical development of an urban area like Ibadan and other urban areas. Also, subject plans relate to planning for specific features of urban land-scape

Perhaps the largest flaw in Abuja master plan, according to Professor Akin Mabogunje 2001, is that of the failure to develop housing to keep pace with the growth of the city as the capital relocation intensified, as this led to the extensive development of unauthorized housing areas outside of the parameters of the plan.

The staggering speed of the city's growth, from under 100,00 in 1986 to more than 170,000 just five years later, practically made these problems inevitable (Ikejiofor 1998). Abuja then continue to increase in size and population in the next

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decade, and it continues to grow at a pace far greater than what any of its planners anticipated or any of its managers can handle (Iman et al. 2008).

Of course, another important issue arising from Abuja master plan was the evident contempt of Nigeria Official for the idea of low-cost self-help housing of Nyanya village studied by Adama 2007; 54-8. The contempt of many of these same officials for the places like Nyanya, too, has led to ruthless attempt to enforce Abuja's Master Plan to the detriment of its poor majority, whose house got demolished and whose rights to the city got restricted.

From the forgoing expert opinions on Abuja Master Plan, in preparing Ibadan master plan, there must be correspondence between the plan and the actual pattern of residential development because Ibadan is not a virgin land like Abuja. The consultants must acquire Satellite Images of Ibadan Metropolitan Area to show the extent of development, particularly, the new areas.

1.8 Upgrading of Ibadan City Infrastructure and Economic Expansion

In the two one decade, Oyo State Government has done a lot in the area of infrastructure and resuscitation of moribund factories and upgrading of **Ibadan Airport at Alakia**. These infrastructural facilities are targeted at the economy such as **Moniya-Ijaiye-Iseyin** rehabilitated and reconstructed road commissioned in June, 2021. **Apete-Awotan Concrete Road** serving the Akufo Dumpsite to Land Fill Site while Lapite Land is Open for Dumpsite of Refuse. At Olorisa Oko is **Ibadan Inland Cargo Dry Port** served by Lagos-Ibadan Railway Commissioned on 10th June, 2021.

There is also the **Ajia-Airport Road with spur to Amuloko** and the idea is to link up with the circular Road while the state government has made necessary contribution to facilitate the upgrading of **Ibadan Airport** to a category 6 airport big enough to take bigger 707 Airplanes with the extension of the Tarmac (Runway) from 2400metters to 3500 meters and the provision of Aviation Fuel.

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The government has used concession to resuscitate moribund cottage industries such as Quarry and Asphalt Plant in Ijaye, Fruits Processing Plant in Oko in Ogbomoso and Red Bricks Factory at Odo-Oba.

There is on-going improvement in Health Infrastructural at **Adeoyo Hospital, Oranyan Maternity Centre, Ibadan, Old 100bed Infections Disease Centre, aawe Primary Health Care Centre, Aafin Oyo Primary Health Care Centre, Oyo** and Primary Health Care Centres in each of the 351 wards of the State.

The State Government also establish Oyo State Investment and Public-Private Partnership Agency (OYSIPA) with the mandate to manage what is called the Alternative Project Funding Approach used to put certain moribund assets under PPP such as Agodi Gardens, Cultural Centre, Bower's Tower, Lekan Salami Sports Complex, Eleyele Cashew Processing Industry and Iyake Lake at Ado-Awaye (Suspended Lake). The Photographs attached speaks as evidence of urban improvements in infrastructure developments and resuscitation of moribund industries.

According to Jack Welsh (2016), ***“Old Organizations were built on control, but the world has changed. The world is moving at such a pace that control has become a limitation. It slows you down. You’ve got to balance freedom with some control, but you’ve got to have more freedom than you ever dreamt of. Results and what you contribute are the measures of value, not what you control.*”**

Transformation is an essential element of asset optimization. It begins with establishing initiative, ownership, responsibility, and accountability. This is combined with knowledge and empowerment that maximizes individual contribution, rewards initiative and results, and accelerates the decision-making process, and supervisory functions are streamlined. **Waste and non value-added** elements such as bureaucracy, compartmentalization, hierarchical decision-making, excessive handoffs from one individual or function to another, and redundant approvals are eliminated.

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An aerial view of the completed 65 kilometre Moniya-Iseyin Road



An aerial view of the 12 kilometre Apete-Awotan Concrete Road

CHAPTER TWELVE

CONSTANT CHANGE AND REFORMS OF OLUBADAN KINGSHIP SYSTEM REFLECTS THE CULTURAL GROWTH AND POLITICAL DYNAMISM OF IBADAN PEOPLE

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

In the aftermath of the end of **Lagelu’s reign in 1825 with the Owu-Ogbere war**, new political experiments developed among the new **and reconstructed city-states**, ranging from **military autocracy** started by Oluyedun and Oluyole and Opeagbe (1833 to 1851), to **military dictatorship** by **Kurunmi of Ijaiye**, **military republicanism** and the **federation system** by **Ogbomoso** and **Okeiho** including **Abeokuta**.

The **institution of Oba** remained the apex of social order in most areas, but remained subject to the **militaristic ethos** of the time in which **warlords** often usurped the powers of the **Oba and the civil authorities**. Uniquely, **Ibadan (a former war camp)** rejected monarchy and adopted **military republicanism** as its **model of its governance during the reign of Baale Ajayi Oyesile Olugbode between 1851 and 1864**.

1.0 CONSTANT CHANGES AND REFORMS OF TRADITIONAL OLUBADAN KINGSHIP SYSTEM

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 starting 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

1.1 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 primal 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 freight policies of every major Yoruba sub-group and their neighbours.

1.2 The Hierarchy of Yoruba Obaship Institution:

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

These gazette and standardized official template of hierarchies among the Yoruba kings during the early twentieth century was created at the instigation of the colonial officers, who policy of indirect rule.

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

(a) Compound Chief

Nevertheless, the baale performed very useful functions at the lowest level of the, administrative and judicial hierarchy. With the assistance of the other senior members in the compound, the baale saw to the general welfare of the members of his compound. He settled disputes among the members. To this end he had a court. This was an informal type of court. It charged no fees and imposed no fines. In fact, its main concern was to settle disputes with a view to ensuring harmony and solidarity

in the compound. However, he also assisted in apprehending any outlaw who had committed serious crimes which only higher courts could try.

(b) Ward or Neighbourhood chief:

The next higher level in the administrative and judicial hierarchy was that of the ijoye ward chief saw to the welfare of the members of the ward. He served as their mouthpiece in the central government of the town. Since he had a larger area to govern and more complex problems to solve than the baale, the ward chief often had his own igbimo of chiefs of appropriate titles and grades assisting him in the administration of the ward. He also performed judicial functions.

To this end, he had a court which, unlike that of the baale, was a formal one. The court tried all civil cases involving persons belonging to the different compounds within his ward. As a formal court, it imposed punishments, mostly fines on guilty persons. Besides, the ward chief's court conducted preliminary investigations into criminal cases, which could only be tried by the highest court in the town.

(c) The Baales

These are of towns and villages **head chiefs** who were not entitled to wear a crown. Before the crisis of the nineteenth century, there was usually only one. **Oba** or **Baale** in a town. The functions performed by an oba and a baale were similar.

(d) Changes and Reform of the Traditional Government Structure:

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

In the federation system, it was no longer possible to run the affairs of the enlarged town on the basis of the **pre-1800A.D** structure featuring the Oba and council of the Lost town e.g. **Oke-Iko, Ogbomos, and Abcokuta**. The EGBas established

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Abeokuta in 1830 and comprised, **Egba Ake, Egba Oke-Ona, Egba Gbagura** and **Owu** that joined them in 1833. The government was based **federation system**.

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

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

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

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

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

1.3 BRITISH INFLUENCE ON IBADAN CITY'S GOVERNANCE SYSTEM

(a) Ibadan Under the British Rule:

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

(a) Civil Line (Baale Line):

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

(b) MILITARY (BALOGUN LINE)

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

(c) SERIKI TITLE

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

These men were collectively and officially responsible for the 1886 Agreement, which practically made Ibadan and the whole of Yorubaland a **British Protectorate**. It was therefore commendable that they did not sign **the Agreement earlier brought by Governor Cater hurriedly**, though at the end of the day, they really had no choice, the British were resolute in their desire to colonize Ibadan, and they (the British) had superior military might.

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

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

1.4 The Inauguration of Indirect Rule:

Major Henry E. McCullum, according to Dr. J.A. Atanda (1973 and 1979), who introduced Indirect Rule, was appointed Governor of Lagos Colony and he assumed office in April 1897 in succession to Sr. G.T. Carter. To a large extent, McCallum was faithful to his declared belief. For, during the tenure of his office, he began the experiment in **Indirect Rule in Yorubaland**. He depended largely on the **Residents** appointed to the area to translate the principle into practice to the various

Districts. In the area later constituted into Oyo Province, this duty was performed by Resident F.C. Fuller.

The first major step taken in **1897** in inaugurating indirect rule in this area was the formation, in important administrative centres, of councils of chiefs of which the Resident was the President. It must be remarked that the **conciliar system** was not new in this area in **1897**. As has been mentioned earlier, **each Yoruba town was governed by a head chief and his council of state (Oba-in-Council)**. The new element in the councils established in **1897** was in their composition. The number of chiefs sitting on each of the new councils was often less than those who sat on the traditional ones. The resident is to give the chiefs effective guidance and supervisions in their task of administration.

The Ibadan Council was the first of such Councils to be constituted in August **1897**. Originally, the council was composed of the Resident, the Baale, the Otun Baale, the Osi Baale, the Balogun, and eight to twelve minor chiefs. Later the number of chiefs in the **council was fixed at eleven** of the most senior chiefs (see the table below).

Table 1: The Town Council Reconstituted in 1897:

Civil Line		Military Line	
Name	Title	Name	Title
Fajinmi	Baale	Akintola	Balogun
Mosaderin	Otun Baale	Babalola	Otun Balogun
Ogungbesan	Osi Baale	Kongi	Osi Balogun
Dada Opadare	Ekerin	Apampa	Asipa Balogun
Laafa	Baale	Suberu	Ekerin Balogun
	Maye Bale	Bamgbegbin	Aare-Ago
			Balogun

Source: Ibadan: facts and Figures by Dr. Jide Fatokun

NB: This was the beginning of what we now have as Olubadan Advisory Council or sometimes, Olubadan-in-Council. Oyo Council was the second, and until 1900, the only other council. The Oyo Council consisted of at first **five** and later seven of the most senior of the Alaafin's Chiefs.

The native Councils Ordinance of **1901** provided for provincial, district, town and village councils. Where such council were already in existence, they were only to be recognized by the Governor. But where there were no such councils, the Governor would constituted them having ascertained the wishes of the principal chiefs and people of the province or district. One significant provision of the new Ordinance was that Residents were no longer to, preside over council meeting. The **paramount chief of the province or district was the president**, the British officer in the province or district was, when present, only to “assist” the council by giving advice or counsel.

The provincial or district council had authority to deal with all matters of internal administration or matters affecting the people within its area of jurisdiction.

1.5 THE REFORM OF IBADAN CHIEFTAINCY SYSTEM:

In the close of 19th century, **Balogun Akintola** refused to become Bale giving way to Otun Bale Osuntoki to become the first civil chief to be installed Bale of Ibadan and also Bale Fajimi who later became Basorun, the title he acquired from Alaafin Adeyemi I of Oyo kingdom. **Balogun Kongi was rejected by the Chiefs and so he died in exile at Fesu in Iwo. Balogun Apampa had to cross to the civil line to become Bale of Ibadan and also became the fourth and last Basorun of Ibadan.** Consequently, Balogun Akintayo became the first Bale of Ibadan from Balogun Line in Ibadan Chieftaincy history (1910-1912). He was succeeded by Irefin from civil line inspite of protests from Balogun Chiefs because majority of the populace wanted him.

The reform started with the new policy of the colonial government as explained by Dr J.A Atanda and quoted by Toyin Falola (1989 p. 242) that: the doctrine that the jurisdiction of any Native Authority must be based on the consent of the people over whom such authority would be exercised. The administration (of

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Oyo province) was considered by Lagos to be too centralized.... (with an) Alaafin who would not readily be persuaded to change the status quo.

In 1934, during the time of Resident Ward-Price, a new Ibadan Native Authority, independent of Oyo, was constituted. While Oyo was opposed to this, Ibadan welcomed the change with the deepest satisfaction. In the same year, the headquarters of Oyo province was transferred to Ibadan from Oyo where it remained until **1938** as headquarters of the Chief Commissioner, Western Provinces. The title **changed from Baale to Olubadan, in 1936.**

Ibadan Chiefs responded to the **1934 reform** as Oliver Twist would do, they wanted other changes. What became their second major grievance was the title of **Baale** which they now wanted to change to the Olubadan which carried with it **the aura of an Oba and not that of Village head. To them, the Baale title had become a derogatory one for the status of their ruler** and too common, because it was borne by the heads of tiny villages, palm wine sellers, and farmers guilds. In making a request for a change in **July 1936**, they indicated a preference for the **OLUBADAN, and alluded to other related issues in order to obtain the consent of government.** (Toyin Falola 1989 p.244).

The request was granted in October and gazatted on the 29th of the same month in 1936 by the Colonial Government in Lagos. The notice in the gazette did not fail to recognize the opposition to the change by the Alaafin Ladigbolu 1, while it also emphasized the fact that it was a mere cosmetic – that is, the title of “Olubadan” does not confer upon the holder the right to wear beaded crown, and that it is hoped that no holder of it either in the future shall have such aspiration. This clause was part of the issues alluded to in their application in order to obtain the approval of the government in Lagos headed by Governor Burdillion through Gazette Notice No. 1424.

Baale Okunola Abass Alesinloye became the first Olubadan in 1936 after reigning for six years as Baale of Ibadan 1930-1936. In 1946 For purpose of **regulating chieftaincy succession** in the land, Ibadan Native Authority made a Declaration of Native Law and custom on 19th August, 1946, based on the appeal made by the then reigning Olubadan Oyetunde I. The Declaration was amended on 16th January, 1950 to cater for succession to other traditional officers left out in the 1946 declaration. Specifically as regards other chiefs, the Declaration stated:

“APPOINTMENT Of Chiefs other than Olubadan, shall be effected by automatic promotion of the chiefs next in seniority in either the Olubadan or Balogun line Chiefs”

1.6 Why Ibadan changed its title from Baale of Olubadan.

The civil wars of the nineteenth century produced a far-reaching and lasting modification of Yoruba traditional governmental structure. That structure was one in which a town had a single **head-chief** called an **Oba** (or **Baale**) in the case of **uncrowned** heads) assisted by a council of state (Dr. J.A. Atanda 1980).

In **1904**, Ibadan had jurisdiction over some eighty six (86) tributary towns, where, Ibadan chiefs were overlords and gazette as **“Yorubaland Jurisdiction Ordinance 1904 “signed by Baale Mosaderin of Ibadan and his chiefs** on the one hand, and **Charles Herbert Harley Moseley, CMG**, Acting Governor of the Colony of Lagos on behalf of the British Monarch, His Most Excellent Majesty, King Edward VII on the other. There were **sixteen (16) crowned Obas** and **seventy (70) Baales**, mostly in Osun Division including Iwo, Ejigbo and Osogbo etc. These tributaries excluded Ife, Ilesha and Ila jurisdictions.

The **nine chiefs and Obas** constituted the Council. They could bring to Council **advisers** of their chose, and some chose educated men. Council meetings were held at Mapo Hall in Ibadan, and discussions general centered on the affairs of the Divisions.

However, a permanent source of trouble was that the **Obas and Chiefs** regarded the administration of the Division as a **federal system** in which the Olubadan should not be allowed to enjoy the status of Alaafin before 1934. In 1938 **Oluwo made it clear that he was not subordinate to the Olubadan**, and this generated hostility between the two. The crisis came into the open in the same year at Ile-Ife during the **Conference of Obas and Chiefs. the Oluwo wa not invited, and he was humiliated for attending** since no place was reserved for him. The Olubadan, Oba Bankole Alesinloye Abass had the support of British Administrators. However, these Obas were allowed not to prostrate for Olubadan again (Toyin Falola, 1989).

Earlier on, Ibadan Chiefs had responded to the **1934 reform** as Oliver Twist would do. What became their second major grouse was to change to Olubadan title which carried with it the aura of an Oba and not that of a village head. The request was granted in October and gazetted on the 29th of the same month, 1936. The notice, according to Toyin Falola (1989) in the gazette did not fail to recognize the opposition to the change by the **Alaafin Ladigbolu I** of Oyo.

1.7 Events that Led to Chieftaincy Declaration;

From inception of the “third Ibadan” in 1825 the rulers of Ibadan had been the military head (i.e. Balogun) of the town until the British took over in **1893**. The “Constitution” was tampered with in 1895 when Balogun Akintola declined the office of Baale. Since they did not want to promote his junior in the Balogun line above him, an Otun Baale Osuntoki, was chosen, and this was the first time when the Otun had the opportunity to become Baale. Hitherto, the post of Otun represented the apex of the career of the Baales line of chiefs. In 1902, when Balogun Kongi wanted to become the Baale, he was denied the opportunity to occupy the post (Toyin Falola 1989 p.51).

The Otun Baale succeeded in the end .In 1904 a constitutional amendment was made to the effect that only the Otun Baale could become the Baale and Balogun Apampa had to become an Otun Baale in order to become eligible for the Baaleship. Apampa had to engage in a reckless power rivalry with Baale Dada Opadare who was forced to live only for a short period in the throne (1904-1907). From 1895 till 1914, all the Baales held the title of Otun-Baale prior to their appointment and were generally opposed by the Balogun.

The Balogun chiefs did not, however give up the struggle to have an automatic promotion to the Baaleship. After Baale Ireferins death in 1914, the struggle of the Balogun chiefs materialized as one of them (Situ, son of Aare Latoosa) was made the Baale in the same year.

During the reign of Olubadan Abass Alesinloye, Iyalode Rukayat Ajisomo Arogubodi (1851-1951) was deeply involved in the protest against Oba Alesinloye Okunola Abass, the first Olubadan of Ibadan. The protest hinged on widespread suspicion that Olubadan Abass wanted to promote the claim of Bello Okunola Abass, the President of Egbe Omo Ibile Ibadan (Ibadan Descendants Union) from 1930 to 1950 as his successor.

During the reign of Olubadan Oyetunde I, for the purposes of regulating chieftaincy succession, Ibadan Native Authority made a Declaration of Native Law and Custom of on August, 1946 based on the appeal made by the then Olubadan.

There emerged in the nineteenth (19th) century at least four distinguished IYALODES, the most famous of them being the much misunderstood **Iyalode Efunsetan Aniwura**. Also was long serving 4th Iyalode, **Iyalode Lanlatu Giwa who was one of the signatories to the 1893 Agreement** between the British Government and Ibadan. The **Head of Iyalode Chieftaincy Line is a member of Olubadan-in-Council**, the practice that still subsist till today.

Ile-Ife started the **unique system of bicameral system of government** by creating two legislative houses. One is the **8 wise men**, the **outer chiefs**, headed by **Obalufe**. The **inner chiefs** were **8 special chiefs** led by **Lowa**. Ibadan adopted the same system in **1851** during the reign of Baale Olugbode. The Otun-Olubadan Line or (Egbe Agba) is headed by Otun Olubadan. The military or Balogun Line is headed by Otun Olubadan or Balogun of Ibadanland. **Each member from Ekerin in Olubadan or Balogun Line is entitled to become Olubadan on Rotational Basis. The Iyalode though a member of Olubadan-in-Council is not qualified to become Olubadan.**

The rest of the Yoruba Kingdoms settled for the **unicameral system**. System of single legislative house called **Oyomesi**, headed by Basorun. ***High Chief Obanla of Ilesa** is the head of kingmakers and legislative house; ***Lisa of Ondo** Kingdom is the head of **Iwarefa** or kingmakers; ***Also Lisa of Ijebu-Ode** is the head of Kingmakers; ***Risapetu** is the **head of Iwarefa** and second in command to the Oba-Ajalaiye of Ipetu-Ijesa, who form **Ajalaiye-in-Council** (Prince Adelegan Adegbola, 2009). There is **Alaiye-in-council** of **Efon Alaye** in Ekiti

However, according to Otun Balogun of Ibadanland, the followings are the anticipated reform in Ibadan traditional system with the amendment to section 28 of the chieftaincy laws of Oyo State, 2023 passed by the state assembly:

- Olubadan of Ibadanland - His Imperial Majesty
- Members of Olubadan-in-Council - His Royal Majesties
- Senior Chiefs in Olubadan Line and Balogun Line Become High Chief of Ibadanland
- The Mogajis become – Chiefs
- Baales become - His Royal Highnesses (HRH)

1.8 THE VARIETIES IN STRUCTURES AND LEADERSHIP OF COUNCIL OF CHIEFS (IGBIMO ILU) IN YORUBALAND

(c) Introduction:

In the pre-colonial political system, there were also **sectional heads** who are responsible to the **Council of Chiefs** for smooth administration of the kingdom. **Sectional heads** play important roles in the community. At the head of the government was the Oba who is the centre of attraction in any community.

Truly, **no Yoruba actually made decisions for his people. The decisions were made by the Council of Chief's or Oba-in-Council, and often all he did was to uphold the decisions and** announce them through the chiefs as his decisions.

(d) Structure and Leadership of Council of Chiefs:

v) **Ile-Ife:** The Ife kingdom started the unique system of **bicameral system** of government by creating **two legislative houses**; one is **the 8 wise men, the Outer chiefs headed by Obalufe of Ife (or Orunto). The Inner Chiefs were 8 special men lead by Lowa.**

vi) **Ibadan:** The Ibadan kingdom, or city state also **adopted bicameral system** of government under the military republican system by creating two legislative houses, one is led by **Otun Olubadan** (former Otun Baale) and the other **Balogun**. The council chiefs are also the Kingmakers.

The rest of the Yoruba Kingdoms settled for the **unicameral system of single legislative house**. For example:

vii) **Oyo Kingdom:** Oyo kingdom adopted **unicameral system**. **High Chief Basorun of Qyo** is the head of the king makers and legislative house. It is called **Oyomesi**.

In the Council of state of the Alaafin and So of Oyo Empire, the members of the military professions, (represented by the Esos and headed by the Ona-Kakanfo), were not included. The **Ibadans solved the problem in their local administration by alternating the headship of the**

settlement between the civil and the military establishments [N.A. Fadipe in his Sociology of the Yoruba).

viii) Other Kingdoms:

- **High Chief Obanla of Mesa** is the head of Kingmakers and legislative house.
- **Lisa of Ondo Kingdom** is the head of Iwarefa or kingmakers.
- Also **Lisa of Ijebu-Ode** is the head of kingmakers.

Separation of power between the **Oba** as the **executive**, the **Iwarefa**, as the **legislative** and the **Osugbo or Ogboni**, as the judiciary, was then direct system of democracy; that had been in existence before the arrival of the colonial masters.

A 19th century white American missionary, William H. Clarke, has this to say about the Yoruba system of government.

“The highest excellence of the best government among the white people consists in constitutional check and balances, to prevent abuses of power. Strange as it may seem, the Yoruba people had studied out the balances of power and reduced it to practice long before the barons of England had extorted the great charter.

1.9 Dynamic Change and Reforms of Olubadan Kingship System:

In 2017, the eleven High Chiefs in Ibadan first became Obas in 2017 when there was mass coronation but failed with Governor Abiola Ajimobi’s government and was successful with the administration of Governor Oluseyi Abiodun Makinde due to approach and lessons taught by history. In Ile-Ife in 2009, it was then Ooni of Ife, Oba Okunade Sijuwade Olubose II, crowned his Senior Chiefs and Baales in February **2009**.

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 own, all on the same day and directly from the hands of the Ooni of Ife. Since then, there

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has been peace of the Ooni of Ife. Since then, there has been peace now and forever in Ile-Ife Kingdom, “**The Source of Yoruba Civilization**”.

It was in 2023 when Oba Senator (dr.) Mohood Lekan Balogun wrote to Governor Seyi Makinde, seeking **approval to crown his chiefs and Baales**. The Olubadan got the approval and did the crowning of his chiefs himself on Friday, 7 July, 2023. They are:

Members of Olubadan-in-Council

A. BALOGUN LINE AS AT 2025:

1. HRM OBA Tajudeen Abimbola Ajibola -	Balogun of Ibadanland
2. HRM OBA (Dr.) Kola Adegbola -	Otun Balogun
3. HRM OBA John Olubunmi Isioye Dada -	Osi Balogun
4. HRM OBA Abiodun Azeez Agagagudu -	Asipa Balogun
5. High Chief Akeem Bolaji Adewoyin -	Ekerin Balogun
6. High Chief (Barr) Sharafadeen Abiodun Alli	Ekarun Balogun

B. OTUN LINE AS AT 2025:

1. HRM OBA Adewolu Ladoja -	Otun Olubadan
2. HRM OBA Eddy Oyewole -	Osi Olubadan
3. HRM OBA Biodun Kola Daisi -	Asipa Olubadan
4. HRM OBA Hamidu Ajibade -	Ekerin Olubadan
5. HRM OBA Adebayo Akande -	Ekarun Olubadan

In conclusion, **Ibadan now, has a Senior King and many junior kings**. There are ten junior kings in the city. It has evolved from a **city of kinglets with a reluctant crown to a city of major and minor royals** in competition for eras. They are in these categories

1. The Olubadan of Ibadanland -	His Imperial Majesty
2. Members of Olubadan-in-Council -	His Royal Majesties
3. The Baales -	His Royal Highnesses

Only Otun Olbadan, Senator Rasheed Adewolu Ladoja did refused to wear the crown. ***However, it should be noted that in Yoruba culture and Tradition, the Oba presides over the Council of state (Igbimo Ilu), the Council of state acts only with the Oba's authority. This is why in Ibadan traditional system, members of the Olubadan-in-Council represent His Imperial Majesty in all the eleven Local Government Traditional Councils as Chairmen.*** Thus, Ibadan has evolved from a long reluctant to wear a beaded crown to a city of major any minor royals in their respective Local Governments.

According to Professor Adebajji S. Akintoye (2010) circumstances and historical experience varied from kingdom to kingdom and consequently, the ultimate details of government came to vary in subtle ways from kingdom to kingdom. This is the reason why there is no central government for the whole of Yorubaland.

With this multiple crowned Obas, only he Olubadan of Ibadanland could be installed by the Oluwo of Ibadanland and be subjected to all traditional rights at OKE'BADAN SHRINE while he only can receive the staff of office from the Governor of the state. Minor Royal, that is, crowned members of Olubadan-in-Council act on Olubadan's authority and they are to be crowned by Olubadan of Ibadanland.

In the PUNCH of Wednesday, August 30, 2017, **Chief Yemi Soladoye**, the then President General of the Central Council of Ibadan Indigene (C.C.I.I.) at a press conference, said, there was a history of Chieftaincy reforms dating back to the 19th century in the city, noting that the flawless succession in Ibadan was the result of several reviews. ***The new Obas, that is the High Chiefs wearing beaded crowns had no domain, meaning that Ibadan land remains under the Olubadan Authority.***

Chief Yemi Soladoye said, ***"Constant changes and reviews are in fact the ingredients that have sustained our well-organized and rancor-free ascension to the throne of Olubadan of Ibadanland in almost 200 years of our existence"***. He

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went further, during the time of Lagelu, our progenitor, up to the dissolution of the second Ibadan, we were using various titles including Olubadan and since the **emergence of this third Ibadan around 1820**, titles like Basorun, Balogun, and Aare have been used.

More importantly, **Chief Yemi Soladoye** said “**nobody has created any new ruling house (with the new system)**”. The former High Chiefs can now physically carry the authority of the Olubadan for development in their communities and create flamboyancy around the Kabiyesi at public functions. The new kings are not kings of anywhere and they are still in the queue to become Olubadan and the imperial power over the entire Ibadanland still resides in the Olubadan of Ibadanland.

Chief Yemi Soladoye explained that the Baales that were elevated to king status were from satellite towns that were subdued by Ibadan warriors many years ago, adding that it was not an attempt to divide Ibadan into several parts. (They are referred to as subordinate towns and villages of the 19th century). **The new arrangement is a manifestation of the usual magnanimity and hospitality of Ibadan people but the Baales wear coronet crown** from the Olubadan with the title “**His Royal Highness**” and **not their ancestral crowns** in the new dispensation. Some of the crowns were also granted to protect our border towns such as Ogburo, Offatedo etc. **This has helped us to maintain common Ibadan Identity, one language and one culture.**

Obas in Ibadan owe their allegiance to Olubadan of Ibadanland unlike Oke-Ogun and Ibarapa Obas owing their allegiance to Alaafin of Oyo. While Ibadan has one body of kingmakers as stated in **Olubadan Declaration of 1959**, each of the town in Oke-Ogun and Ibarapa has its kingmakers. The Alaafin of Oyo performs the installation of their respective Obas as the Paramount Ruler. Alake of Egbaland is the Paramount Ruler of Egbaland but cannot install Osile of Oke-Ona, Oba Agura of Gbagura and Olowu of Owu.

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Finally, the Ooni of Ife today, in his majesty and glory, wears his crown, his to chiefs wear their own crowns with the understanding that **Cat will remain cat and Tiger will remain Tiger**. It was an unusual arrangement but the decision was a **compromise for peace**, a key component of the **package that resolved the 100-year-old Ife-Modakeke problem**. Ife **Senior Chiefs got beaded crowns**, **Ogunsua of Modakeke** got his too, all on the same day and directly from the hands of the Ooni of Ife. Since then, there has been peace now and forever more.

Since the approval of beaded crown for Olubadan of Ibadanland, the wearing of beaded crowns has become the Sword of Damocles dangling over the Ibadan Traditional System because some unwary Baales in Ibadanland have been surreptitiously lured into turning themselves into pawns in the hands of politicians with the juicy carrot of wearing of beaded crowns even if the heads are nothing more than Chinese-made artificial beads. The hood does not make the monk (Chief T.A. Akinyele July, 2011).

The 2017 mass coronation unraveled soon after it was done. That it failed with the last government and a successful with the incumbent is a testament to two factors; approach and lessons taught by history in Ile-Ife in 2009, it was the Ooni of Ife who granted and gave the crowns to the Chiefs with the approval of the Governor

In 2023, the reigning Olubadan, Oba Lekan Balogun, wrote to Governor Oluseyi Makinde, seeking approval to crown his chiefs. The Olubadan got the approval and did the crowning of his Chiefs himself on Friday, 7 July, 2023 unlike what happened in 2017.

**i) THE TRADITIONAL RITES ASSOCIATED WITH THE
INSTALLATION AND CORONATION OF OLUBADAN**

The coronation and installation of Oba Owolabi Olalere Ige Olakulehin I as the 43rd Olubadan of Ibadanland took place on 12th July, 2024 by the Governor of Oyo State, His Excellency, Engr. Oluseyi Abiodun Makinde, who **approved the selection by the Ibadan kingmakers and presented the staff of office** confirmed distinctiveness of Olubadan kingship which are products of constant change and reforms.

However from 1895 when **Balogun Akintola** (son of Ibikunle) who refused to become Baale and tradition did not favour superceding the junior chief over the senior Chief, **Osuntoki from Otun Baale Line became Baale for the first time in the history of Ibadan**. Since then, every major improvement or amendment or adjustment to the Ibadan Chieftaincy Law had streaks of controversies. Ibadan's ways will continue to excite the human sense. *The city won't be tired of stirring crisis and controversies that are soon resolved in its own peculiar way. And that is because it is a composite city of varieties in human values and opinions.*

Labosinde was installed the Oluwo of Ibadan by Basorun Oluyole Iyanda (1836 – 1849) (to perform all the traditional rites at the **Oke'badan Shrine** located at Oja'ba (formerly Labosinde market) before the installation of the Baales (1836 – 1936) and **Olubadan from 1936** by his descendants thereafter from 1976. Starting from Olubadan Gbadamosi Adebimpe, the crowning ceremony was performed at OSEMEJI SHRINE at Oja'ba opposite Labosinde's compound. This position was confirmed by the OLUWO of Ibadan on **Agbami Oselu** anchored and directed by Alagba Abolade Salami of fresh FM on Sunday 7th July, 2024

Oluwo said, only Olubadan, His Imperial Majesty would go through the Traditional Rights at ILEDI in Labosinde Compound before the **crowning at Osemeji Shrine** while thereafter, the Olubadan will go for Coronation and

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presentation of Staff of Office by His Excellency, Engineer Oluseyi Abiodun Makinde, the Governor of Oyo State on 12th July, 2024 as programmed.

As regards High Chiefs wearing crowns, they are acting on the authority of the Olubadan of Ibadanland as they also represent the Olubadan at the eleven (11) Local Government Traditional Councils meeting as chairman. **That a Cat will remain cat and Tiger will remain Tiger.**

The Olubadan today, **in His Imperial Majesty** and glory,, wears his crown, his to Chiefs (members of Olubadan-in-Council) wear the crowns as **His Royal Majesties** and the Baales wear their crowns as **His Royal Highness**. The categorization of titles and crowns is clear in Ibadan Chieftaincy System.

ii) THE STRUCTURE OF IBADAN TRADITIONAL CHIEFTAINCY SYSTEM

A. THE OLUBADAN-IN-COUNCIL OLUBADAN

1. Otun Olubadan	1. Balogun
2. Osi Olubadan	2. Otun Balogun
3. Ashipa Olubadan	3. Osi Balogun
4. Ekerin Olubadan	4. Ashipa Balogun
5. Iyalode	5. Ekerin Balogun
6. Ekarun Olubadan	6. Ekarun Balogun

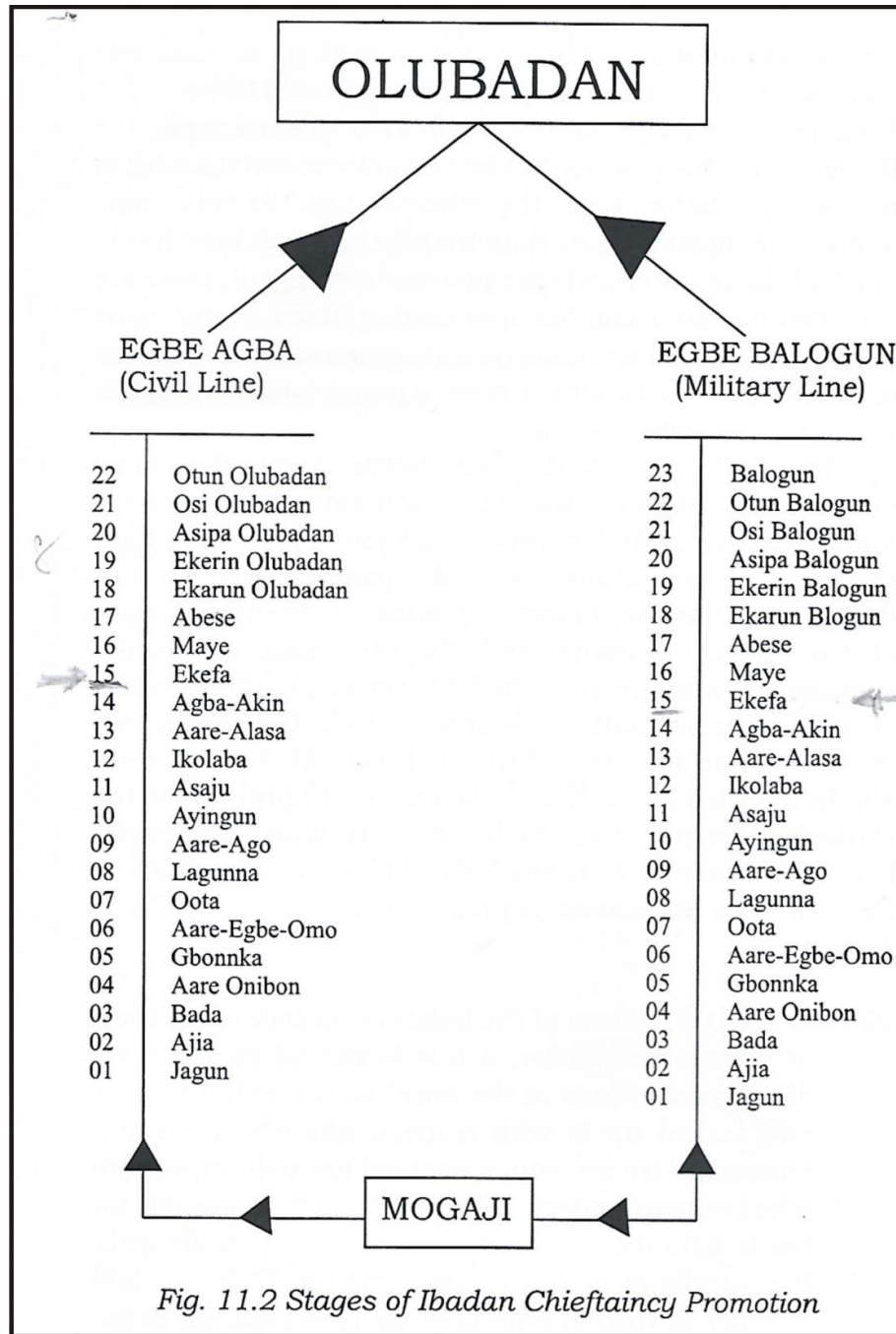
B. THE KING MAKERS

(i) The Balogun	(i) Otun Olubadan
(ii) Otun Balogun	(ii) Osi Olubadan
(iii) Osi Balogun	(iii) Ashipa Olubadan
(iv) Ashipa Balogun	(iv) Ekerin Oluabadan
(v) Ekerin Balogun	(v) Iyalode

***Note:** This is the situation when the Olubadan emerges from Otun Olubadan Line. The field of selection is limited to Ekerin Balogun or Ekrin Olubadan but the junior can superseded the senior unless something happens.*

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was so admitted in 1946 and that since then no other one had been so honoured. The present Mogaji said he had been Mogaji for over ten years, yet, much as he desired to join the Balogun line, the powers that be had not granted the wish of his family. Rather than the whether case of this some animals being more equal than the others; It was later found out that the requirements are now more stringent; there are over two hundred families now having Mogajis and some basic minimum educational qualification is required. These might be the reasons why it takes a longer time for Mogajis to enter the Chieftaincy lines.



The Balogun, Baale and Seriki were the most significant; these were war titles and since Ibadan was a military State, the Balogun was even more significant than the Baale. Some situations in the past attested to this; though very humble, Balogun Ibikunle (1851-64), because of his military prowess and the attendant popularity, commanded more respect than his Baale, Olugbode (same period); whereas Balogun Akintola (1892-99) was a real terror and had little regard for his last Baale Fijabi (1892-99). In the Civil Lines, Iyalode League is subordinate to the Olubadan League while in the Military Lines, the Seriki League is subordinate to the Balogun League. The Order of Seniority and Succession is presented graphically in figure 11.2.

IYALODE - Queen of the ladies or mother of the town or woman counsellor, a title bestowed on the most distinguished lady in the town, with much influence and looked up to with respect. She was usually a successful trader, which enabled her to interact with other women traders. Her wealth made it possible for her to help the army in times of war, especially with, the supply of food and ammunition. Only a select number of Ibadan elite families (descendants of the original settlers), had the right to offer candidates for election when a vacancy occurred in the line. She has her lieutenants - Otun, Osi etc as for the other chieftaincy leagues, but in pre-colonial days, there were only four (4) chiefs, that is, Iyalode and her Otun, Balogun and Osi. See table 11.1 for the expansion of the Iyalode line to a full-blown league. Through her, the women of the town could make their voices heard in municipal and other affairs. The State also usually kept women offenders in her custody.

Table 11.1: Expansion of Iyalode League of Chiefs from 1893 to date

1893	1951	1965	1975	1985	1990 to date
Iyalode Otun Balogun Osi	Iyalode Otun Balogun Osi Iyalaje Asipa Ekerin	Iyalode Otun Balogun Osi Iyalaje Asipa Ekerin Ekarun Abese Maye	Iyalode Otun Balogun Osi Iyalaje Asipa Ekerin Ekarun Abese Maye Asiwaju Ekefa	Iyalode Otun Balogun Osi Iyalaje Asipa Ekerin Ekarun Abese Maye Asiwaju Ekefa Agbaakin Aare Alasa Ikolaba Asiwaju Ayingun Aare Ago Lagunna Oota Aare Egbe Omo	Iyalode Otun Balogun Osi Iyalaje Asipa Ekerin Ekarun Abese Maye Asiwaju Ekefa Agbaakin Aare Alasa Ikolaba Asiwaju Ayingun Aare Ago Lagunna Oota Aare Egbe Omo Gbonka Aare Onibon Bada Ajia Jagun

As the time of publishing this book, the following was the complete list of Iyalodes of Ibadanland.

IYALODES OF IBADANLAND FROM 1850 TO DATE AT A GLANCE

S/N	Name	Period	Quarters/Community
1.	Iyalode Subuola	1850-1867	
2.	Efunsetan Aniwura	1871-1874	Ojaba (Efunsetan Compound)
3.	Iyaola	1874-1891	
4.	Lanlatu Asabi Giwa	1893-1913	Ile Onireke
5.	Iya Isale Osun	1914-1917	Isale Osun
6.	Lamiatu Ajisomo	1917-1934	Ita Aregbe Omo
7.	Rukayat Amosa Akande	1935-1951	Ojaba
8.	Abimbola	1953-1961	
9.	Adebisi Abeo	1961-1974	Ile Gbajero, Ojaba
10.	Wuraola Esan	1975-1985	Molete
11.	Humani Alade	1985-1995	Opopo Yeosa
12.	Wuraola Akintola	1995-2007	Ayeye, Ibikunle Compound
13.	Alhaja Aminat Abiodun	2007 to date	Idi Arere
14.	Theresa	2001	Still above

It is important to note that most titles did not reflect the functions attached to them, but their relative positions and statuses in the hierarchy. Similarly, the positions were not necessarily fixed for all time; for instance, the titles were not many, prior to 1850 and were not more than 25 up till implied in the titles or expected of incumbents was always underscored by the fact that the titles were usually conferred on deserving men immediately before or after a war. **The titles of Lagunna, Oota, Gbonka and Are-Egbe Omo Balogun were introduced as reward for competence by Basorun Fajinmi (1899 - 1902), though the criteria for selection were not clearly defined.** The titles were not hereditary and could be competed for by several brave soldiers of Oyo-Yoruba origin. This system enabled the most competent military talents and leaders to emerge while the incompetent ones fell out.

iii) OLD DECLARATION

- i) Succession Stool of the Olubadan shall be in strict rotation between the following major Chieftaincy lines.
The Otun Olubadan line
The Balogun Line
- ii) The order of rotation in which the respective Ruling Chieftaincy lines are entitled to provide candidates to fill successive vacancies in the chieftaincy shall be:
 - (a) The Otun Olubadan Line
 - (b) The Balogun line (Present Ruling Chieftaincy Line)
- iii) There are eleven kingmakers as under:

Otun Olubadan	The Balogun
Osi Olubadan	Otun Balogun
Ashipa Olubadan	Osi Balogun
Ekerin Olubadan	Ashipa Balogun
The Iyalode	Ekarun Balogun
	Seriki
- iv) The person who may be proposed as candidate by line whose turn it is to fill a vacancy in the Office of Olubadan shall be the most Senior Chief in that Line.

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Provided that the most Senior Chief in that line may be superseded by a Junior Chief if such senior chief is found to be disqualified as a candidate under the provision of section 10(2)

And further provided that:

- (a) The field of selection for the purpose of foregoing proviso shall not extend beyond the Ekerin Olubadan on the Olubadan line and the Ekerin Balogun on the Balogun line.
- (b) any chief from any of these embraced in proviso (a) above found guilty by a meeting of the Chiefs who are traditional members of the Council (at which the nominated candidate shall not be present) of disregard of, or disrespect to the position or authority of the Olubadan, or of a Senior Chief under Native Law and Customs may not be eligible for nominations.

Disregard or disrespect shall mean acts of contumely; refusal to pay necessary customary obeisance and flouting of superior customary authority.

The method of selection is as follows:

The line whose turn it is to present a Candidate shall nominate a Candidate for the Chieftaincy at a meeting of the Kingmakers to be summoned by the most Senior Chief of the Chieftaincy line not presenting the Candidate.

The kingmakers shall if satisfied as to the candidate right of Succession declare him appointed.

Provided that should a dispute arise among the line presenting the Candidate the majority decision of the Kingmakers shall be final.

The Declaration of Native Law and Custom dated 19th August, 1946 made by the Ibadan Native Authority regarding the appointment of a new Olubadan and Seniority of Chief and, later amended on 16th January, 1950, is hereby revoked.

Made by the Chieftaincy Committee of the Ibadan District Council which has been designated as the competent Council by Western Regional Legal Notice No. 22 of 1959, and signed by the Chairman and Secretary of the Committee this....8th of....August.....1959.....

iv) NEW DECLARATION

1. Succession to the Stool of the Olubadan shall be in strict rotation between the following major Chieftaincy lines;

The Otun Olubadan line

The Balogun Line

2. The Order of Rotation: - The Order of rotation in which the respective Ruling Chieftaincy lines are entitled to provide candidates to fill successive vacancies in the chieftaincy shall be:

(a) The Otun Olubadan Line (present Ruling House)

(b) The Balogun Line

3. This are kingmakers of Olubadan:

Otun Olubadan	The Balogun

Osi Olubadan	Otun Balogun

Ashipa Olubadan	Osi Balogun

Ekerin Olubadan	Ashipa Balogun

Ekarun Olubadan	Ekarun Balogun

The Iyalode	Ekarun Balogun

4. The person who may be proposed as candidate by line whose turn it is to fill a vacancy in the Office of Olubadan shall be the most Senior Chief in Beaded Crown in that Line.

Provided that the most beaded Chief Oba Shall be superseded by a Junior Beaded Crown on the Conditions stated in paragraph 10(2) of the Chiefs Law, 1975.

And further provided that:

(a) The field of selection for the purpose of foregoing proviso shall not extend beyond the Ekarun Olubadan on the Olubadan line and the Ekarun Balogun on the Balogun line.

(b) No Beaded Crown Oba from any of those embraced in provision:

(a) above found guilty by a meeting of the Chieftaincy Committee (at which the Olubadan shall not be present) or disregard of, or disrespect to the position or authority of the Olubadan, or of a Senior Beaded Crown Oba under native law and Custom shall be eligible for Nomination.

Disregard or disrespect shall mean acts of contumely; refusal to pay necessary customary obeisance and flouting of superior customary authority.

5. The method of selection is as follows: -

The line whose turn it is to present a candidate shall nominate a Candidate for the Chieftaincy at a meeting of the kingmakers to be summoned by the most Senior Beaded Crown Oba of the Chieftaincy line not presenting the candidate.

The kingmakers shall if satisfied as to the candidate's right of succession declare him appointed.

Provided that should a dispute arise among the line presenting the candidate the majority decision of the kingmakers shall be final.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

DECORATIVE ELEMENTS IN YORUBA PALACE ARCHITECTURE AND CULTURAL VALUES OF THE NEW OLUBADAN PALACE

1.0 THE YORUBA PLACE IN HISTORY:

Usually, the first public facility constructed in every royal city was the palace. For this, an effort was usually made to find a distinctive location, normally a low hill around which the new city could evolve. In many kingdoms, the main palace buildings were surrounded by many acres of ground, most of which was left under virgin forest. A **wall** (known as **gbagede**) was then built to surround the palace and its grounds, with access through one large gate. It was a measure of a king's success that he added to, or improved upon, the palace buildings, especially its **gate structure**. As a result, the growth of the palace constitutes an important Yoruba kingdoms. The biggest and most powerful kingdoms had the most impressive palaces.

According to Professor S. Adebajji Akintoye (2010), **Imade** built the first **Owo palace** on the low hill known as **Oke Asegbo** (Asegbo Hill), where the **Owo City Hall** now stands. His successors moved it to a better location on **Oke Ekusi** (Ekusi Hill) where it now stands. **Awamaro** built the **Ado (Ekiti) palace** on the **gently rising hill known as Oke-Adodo**, where it served as the hub linking the group of quarters of the old settlers (at Odo-Ado) and those of the immigrants (at Oke-Ewi), and where it stands today. The Ijebu kingdom of **Ofin** built the **Akarigbo's palace** on **Oko hill**, a beautiful location overlooking most of the royal town. In the **hilltop city of Efon in Ekiti**, the **Alaaye's palace** was built on a distinct little peak.

The present **Oyo Palace**, built in **1839** covering **6.9 hectares** is said to be a replica of the classic destroyed in **1837**. Its **small size** and **triangular shape** are due to the fact that it was erected on the heat and confusion of the civil wars and in an

already built-up area (Ago Oja), a fact that explains its lack of the traditional royal park which normally constituted the greater part (roughly between 50 and 90 percent) of the classic Yoruba palace ground.

No Yoruba palace, according to Oluremi I. Obateru (2006), has been able to withstand the test of the **cultural metamorphosis**. However, they are not all on the same level of cultural decay but at various stages of cultural transformation. At one end of the continuum is **Akure Palace** which has abjectively been resisting **Western acculturation** while at the other end is the **Ilorin palace of Ijebu-Ode** which has completely disappeared and whose site has been taken over by several public buildings, religious, educational and residential uses. However, most of the palaces have not attained their terminal stage of extinction.

Due to neglect and disuse, many palace buildings have collapsed and disintegrated, some of which have been replaced by modern buildings; several have deliberately demolished and replaced by modern ones either for the use of the royal households or for the use of the general public.

2.0 THE BUILT-UP AREA OF THE PALACE

The developed land of the palace is divisible into two areas: the public and residential areas. Land use specialization is a noteworthy feature of the Yoruba Palace. The various functions and activities of the Palace were segregated but they were not haphazardly sited. The ordered use of the Palace ground is based on the functional relationship of the apartments.

Table: Yoruba Palaces; Built-up Area and Royal Parks

Palace	Total Palace Area	Built-up Area	% of Palace Area	Royal Park	% of Palace Area
Owo	43.9ha	3.8ha	8.8%	40.1ha	91.2%
Ilesha	20.6ha	2.4ha	11.8%	18.2ha	88.2%
Ondo	17.4ha	2.0ha	11.6%	15.4ha	88.4%
Ado-Ekiti	10.9ha	5.3ha	48.1%	5.7ha	51.9%
Ile-Ife	8.1ha	1.8ha	22.0%	6.3ha	78.0%
Ijebu-Ode	7.7ha	2.8ha	36.8%	4.9ha	63.2%
Akure (a)	8.3ha	1.5ha	17.6%	6.8ha	82.4%
Oyo	6.9ha	6.9ha	100.0%	-	-
Ila (b)	5.8ha	4.7ha	81.0%	1.1ha	19.0%
Ake (Abeokuta)	2.5ha	2.5ha	100.0%	-	-
Ibadan	9.8ha	5.98ha	61.0%	3.91ha	39.0%

Sources: Oyo, Yoruba Palaces, 1966, P.27 Annual Ibadan Week Programme, 2001

(a) Public Areas

The public areas were devoted to governmental activities, the most important being legislative, executive, judicial and administrative functions. The most important of the public areas were the courtyards for public assembly which is the front courtyard of the palace. It is used for the various public assembly purposes, religious ceremonies as well as political and socio-cultural activities. Others are state Council meetings, public reception, entertainment and homage payment as well as those for religious purpose: religious worship and sacrifices, oracle consultation, Oath taking, and festivities.

(b) Residential Area

The residential area consists of the private apartments of the king; the private apartments of the king's wives; the apartments of the princes and princesses; the apartments of the king's retainers; and the apartment of solves.

(c) The Royal Park

The king's park was the most extensive land-use element of the ancient Yoruba Palace. The park was a multi-purpose public establishment, however, such 19th Century cities as Oyo and Abeokuta lack palace parks but alternative areas are provided in their outskirts for royal recreation.

Secondly, the park was also a zoo where special and rare animals were conserved for medicinal purposes. It was a botanical garden where rare and special medicinal plants were cultivated and conserved.

Thirdly, it was a mausoleum, a place where deceased monarchs were buried. A small section of this park is set aside for this purpose.

3.0 LOCATION OF THE PALACE IN THE CITY

The position of the palace was invariably the city's geographical centre or close to it as much as possible if there were physical constraint. The arteries of communication converge on it as the embodiment of the city and the foundation of city life. Exceptions were Abeokuta and Shagamu where you have more than one palace, this also include Igboho.

The sitting of the royal palace on an elevated land is not peculiar to the Yoruba city. Urban history, since the early dynastic periods in Mesopotamia, reveals that the palace and the great temple have almost everywhere been associated with low hills, or an extensive eminence in the city centre where the sheer magnitude and upward thrust of the palace usually dominated the rest of the city.

The hill in the ancient time was a military device. It was a natural fortress commonly walled to protect the king against enemies within the city and without. The Greeks associated the hill with kings, oligarchies and tyrants, and the lowland with democracy. (R.E. Wycherley on "How the Greeks Built Cities, P. 37).

Ibadan has no central palace because of its social system. The residences of the ruling class were always converted to a palace when they become the Bale or Olubadan. Those that resemble old Yoruba palace structures in traditional architecture are the palaces of Oluyole, Alesinloye, Ogunmola, Foko and Irefin. The choice of the new Olubadan Palace at the slope of Sapati Hill at Oke-Aremo at the centre of the city is in line with Yoruba tradition for the following reasons;

- (i) Apart from the environmental qualities, a hilltop or elevated landscape is a lookout a palace from which the surrounding urbanscape and the countryside beyond could be viewed.
- (ii) A buildings erected on a hilltop was an eye-target for people as it was readily seen.
- (iii) Eminences afforded their occupiers usually privacy, protection against overlooking by neighbouring residents.
- (iv) Elevated grounds were well drained contrasting with low grounds and valleys which might be played by flooding, river pollution and diseases.

3.1 Shape and Size of Palace

The large size of ancient Yoruba palace was due to the fact that it was a public edifice, built and maintained not only by the population of the royal capital but also by the entire population of the kingdom. Consequently, the larger the populations of a kingdom the greater were the human and material resources available for its establishment and sustenance.

In terms of size and magnificence, the ancient Yoruba palace was the grandest residential unit in both the royal capital and its kingdom. The palace was a highly elaborate complex of the contemporary courtyard compounds.

According to Oluremi I. Obateru (2006), the palaces of Oyo built in 1839 covering 6.9 hectares and that of Abeokuta around 1830 are products of the civil strife. This is why they are relatively small in size; they also lack royal parks of Old Oyo and Owu covering about 259 hectares. The present day sizes of Yoruba palaces are: Ife total palace area cover about 8.1 hectares, Ijebu-Ode about 7.7 hectares; Akure about 8.3 hectares; Oyo about 6.9 hectares; Ila 5.8 hectares, Abeokuta (Ake) about 2.5 hectares. Out of these palaces, Oyo and Ake are fully built while others have Royal Parks of 78% for Ife; 63.2% for Ijebu-Ode; 82.4% for Akure; and 19.0% for Ila (Ojo, Yoruba Palaces, 1966, P. 27). Thus, of all the Yoruba Palaces, that of the present Oyo, 6.9 hectares, has the largest built-up area. However, the New Olubadan Palace has an area of 9.89 hectares with a built up area of 5.98 hectares, while the old Irefin palace in Ibadan was built on 4.0 Acres of land.

4.0 DECORATIVE ELEMENTS IN YORUBA PALACE ARCHITECTURE

Palace in Yorùbáland plays a significant role in the life of the Yorùbá people. As part of Yorùbá institutional buildings, palaces are held in high esteem by the culture and the people. As such, palace shrines and rituals contribute to the authority they hold within the town, hence they are centrally located in the planning of Yorùbá towns. They are a place for public assembly and state gods or deities and final resting place of deceased obas. As all power and authority lead to the divine king so is the road network and paths converge towards the àfin. The àfin serves as the fountain to the culture and identity of the kingdom it governs over.

i) The Perimeter Wall Fence

The place of the palace in Yorùbá land cannot be overemphasized and they are institutional structures that have withstood the test of time despite introduction of modern ideology and technology of construction. ***Palaces are regarded emblems of what constitutes Yorùbá architecture and in entirety the culture of the people. Reflecting their belief system on the status and sacredness of the oba, the perimeter***

of the palace grounds is usually walled. Constructed of earth, they are usual about 3feet wide and up to 12 - 18 feet in height to retain its prominence. Though conspicuous, the wall provides a sense of privacy for the oba according to Yorùbá culture. *The wall can be easily noticed from whichever direction the palace is approached since it is situated in the middle of the town (an example is the Alaafin's palace in Oyo town).*

Like every Yorùbá traditional architectural construction, the palace is a reflection of an intimate association with their vegetal environment as it reflects in the use of thatch and other vegetation in their roofing [9, 19]. Before contact with the west and introduction of new construction materials, Yorùbá palaces and houses were constructed to protect the people from the weather especially rain. As a result, more, attention is paid to making their structures rain proof. Adoption of the high-pitched roof allows for easy drain off of rain water. Same style roofing is adopted in a large scale for Yorùbá palaces.

The perimeter walls are often left bare and unfinished on purpose. It is left uncovered to inform the visitors and indigenes about the wealth surrounding the Yorùbá seat of power [12]. Different region have varied colour of laterite that ranges from cool reddish colour to lighter yellow that serves as identity marker. Besides the unfinished wall allows the visitor appreciate the good quality of laterite used for the construction. In some instances, the laterite elements used in constructing the wall is sometimes mixed with shear butter and palm oil instead of water thus, increasing the durability for much longer period.

ii) Oja Oba (Oja-abata)

Major architectural element of the Yorùbá palaces is the **entrance gate called oju abata**. Ojo argued that the gate is usually positioned along the side of the wall facing the marketplace known as **oja-oba** (king's market). The idea of the oja oba directly opposite the entrance gate to the palace is a common feature in Yorùbá towns.

This is evident in major palaces like that of the Alaafin of Oyo with an elaborately designed oju abata. Oju abata is not a mere gate or gateway but one that informs visitors about the history, identity and culture of the people as zoomorphic representations are used as decorative elements. According to Ojo oju abata is like a tunnel connecting the outer world of the town with the inner world of the palace. In some cases, oju abata opens to a large open space overlooking the inner palace wall that has the entrance to the palace. In other instances, it opens to a large courtyard that serves as a communal space for different activities.

iii) Courtyard

Courtyard forms one of the five major element of Yorùbá architecture. Their palaces consist of many courtyards (ka) of varied sizes for different functions. The biggest of the **numerous courtyards is designed to break the massiveness of the built-up area of the palace.** Sizes of the courtyards vary greatly from palace to palace and dependent on the expanse of land occupied by the palace. Palace of the Alaafin of Oyo in the past had 100 courtyards which has been reduce to expand the built-up area. The function of the courtyards within the Yorùbá palaces includes enhancement of private family cohesion, ventilation, lighting, food storage, stable for horses, space for settling disputes, and spaces for various deities to mention a few. The courtyards contribute to the division of spaces into zones and help maintain the private area from the public and semi-public zones. Multiplicity of courtyards (ka) within Yorùbá palace has become a common element of their traditional architectural design and planning.

iv) Palace Entrance Porches

Protruding from the main palace wall to either the major road or the main courtyard are several porches that serves as an architectural element of Yorùbá palaces [12]. The porches tend to break the monotony of the stretched rectangular shape The courtyards are surrounded by verandas with roof supported on earthen

columns or carved wooden posts. Wooden posts are another important element of Yorùbá architecture. It is one element that also signifies status of the budling and the owner within the Yorùbá town. Carved posts in Yorùbá architecture are decorative elements that enhances the budling structurally and aesthetically.

v) Columns

The use of columns as architectural elements in Yorùbá palaces predates the contact with the west. The columns were used as structural elements in carrying roofs. The importance of the column is highlighted in the Yoruba proverb that distinct various uses and types of columns. They are usually carved with inscriptions and decorative motifs that tells a story and serves as tangible reminder of beliefs and culture. Such artistic skills are carried out by designated families known as the Olona who are carvers charged with the duty of carving. Their works included carved wooden veranda posts and carved wooden door panels, found in palaces and house of nobles. Such works are evident in Yoruba palaces as testaments to Yoruba artistic representation ingenuity and creativity. From the choice of hardwood to the distinct motifs demands a creative skill that is second to none.

Decorative and artistic taste of the Yorùbá people is determined by their environment, immediate society and their intangible spiritual orientation. As a result, Yorùbá architecture is emphasized through the use of decorative elements such as murals, motifs and carvings that indicates their religious affiliations, status and financial capability. Hence, the best of Yorùbá decorative elements is easily identified in palaces as the highest structure revered aside shrines. Long before colonization and influence, Yorùbá architectural main features are ornamentation in wood and carved motifs on doors and roof supports especially within palaces. Ornamentation is reflected in architectural elements fabricated by woodcarvers such as veranda post, doors panels, facia boards, doors and windows. Murals are also common place on the walls of palaces where animals and objects connected to

divinity of the obas are depicted. A good example is the oju abata to the Alaafin of Oyo's palace with over 300 zoomorphic murals.

Àfin in Yorùbá land are built to house the whole community wealth, riches, cultural artifacts, beliefs and tradition that is reflected in the ornamentation [2]. Thus, the decorative and ornamental elements found in the Àfin (palace) are reflections of the rank and prestige of the Oba. This structural support though artistically finished are integral and functional element of the building [12]. However, as decorative elements, they constitute master pieces of Yorùbá carvings and depicts integral part of their culture. As a result, each carved posts tells a story as it is used to record events in the absence of writing. Thus, serve as visual markers of identity and culture. In modern Yorùbá architecture, traditional decorative mouldings and ornamentations are nearly eliminated, paving way for a clean aesthetic where materials such as wood, brick and stone are used unornamented. Hence, the tradition is gradually fading away as modern designs emerge.

5.0 THE IREFIN PALACE DECORATIVE ELEMENTS

Àfin Irefin was built in the year 1910 on about 4 acres of land. It is an elaborate structure with 62 rooms contrary to 125 mentioned by the Oyo state government [14]. The four acre palace is bounded by Irefin oje road and Oke adu road. Today Àfin Irefin has lost most part of the palace grounds to remain only the palace structure. The palace structure constitutes four zones surrounding four courtyards with the largest measuring about 300sqm. It is situated on a hill top that allows a good view of surrounding landscape of Ibadan from the roof terrace. Bounded by Irefin Oje road by the side and the main entrance (Figure 1). Irefin Oje road can be accessed either through two major roads - Bashorun gate or oke adu road. The main entrance consists of five gable porches that serves as a market place (Figure 2). The market is in line with Yorùbá culture where the king's market is before the palace. A position that further highlights the relationship between both institutions of authority where the market is a citadel of political power and the Oba is the Oloja and oversee all activity within it.

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Irefin Google Earth Map





6.0 THE WINDS OF CULTURAL TRANSFORMATION

The basis of social, political and economic organizations in the traditional society is traditional religion. Religion permeated every aspect of the society. Not only the land and its resources but also the people belonged to the gods. Every act and every pronouncement of the divine rulers were regarded as coming from the gods.

However, more than other factors, foreign religions and education have dealt a crippling, if not crushing blow on Yoruba traditional religion, social and political institutions. With the coming of Islam and Christianity, the latter in particular, to Yorubaland, the tight grip of traditional religion on the people began to loosen, and the myth of divine kingship began to dissolve.

The problem of neglect and disuse is compounded by the fact that the palace is today no longer the principal focus of religious, social and political life of the city. Most of the palace functions have been taken over by such public establishments as churches, mosque, town halls, court houses, local council offices, sports ground among others. For instance, the Itoro palace of Ijebu-Ode has been taken over by several buildings of public, religious, educational and residential uses. However, most of the palaces have not attained this terminal stage of extinction.

Most of the Yoruba palaces have not been able to withstand the test of the cultural metamorphoses, or cultural decay, while some are at various stages of cultural transformation.

Due to neglect and disuse, many palace buildings have collapsed and have been replaced by modern buildings to befit both socio-political status of the Oba and keep abreast of cultural transformation. As pointed out earlier, the Yoruba Palace is functionally multi-purpose, most notable being residential, religious, governmental, industrial, socio-cultural, and recreational and storage.

7.0 THE PRESENT STATUS OF IBADAN

According to the UN-Habitat report of 2008, Ibadan located at the interface of savannah and forests and the capital of Oyo State, is the **third largest** city in Nigeria by population after Lagos and Kano. Ibadan is however, Nigeria's **largest city in geographical area (3,146.98 sq.km)** with **eleven** administratively separate Local Government area. In 1960, Ibadan was the **second-most populous** city in Nigeria and the **tenth largest** in Africa after **Alexandra, Algeria, Cairo, Cape Town, Casablanca, Durban, East Rand, Johannesburg, and Lagos**. It is located in south-western Nigeria, 140 kilometres inland from Lagos and **constitutes a prominent transit point** between the coastal region and the Nigerian hinterland to the North. Its population was 2.55 million according to the Nigerian 2006 census and 2.67 million in 2007. Ibadan had been the centres of administration of Nigeria's old Western Region since the days of British colonial rule when Ibadan grew into an impressive and sprawling urban centre. Ibadanland now had **1 city, 63 Towns and 3,089 central villages**.

In her praise for the book published by professor Toyin Falola (2012) titled: **IBADAN: Foundation, Growth and Change**; the Emeritus Professor Bolanle Awe described Ibadan as the largest indigenes African town south of the Sahara, has grown from its humble origin as a refugee settlement in the nineteenth century into a

sprawling cosmopolitan city that is now home to many millions and serves as the intellectual capital of Nigeria. **A city of contrasts, of tradition struggling with modernity** and Ibadan's unique history has engaged the attention of writers and scholars right from the nineteenth century to date.

8.0 THE NEED FOR A NEW OLUBADAN PALACE COMPLEX

The old Olubadan Central Palace at Oja'ba is located close to Mapo Hall and Oja'ba Central Mosque in Ibadan South East Local Government and also very close to the central market established by the descendants of Lagelu as part of the second Ibadan.

The building of the first Olubadan Palace at Oja'ba is a reflection of cultural transformation of the Yoruba traditional, religious, social and political institutions. In the **1980s**, according to Asiwaju Bode Amoo, Ibadan elites made efforts to construct a located at Oja'ba, in the centre of the town. Before then, each individual Olubadan lived in his personal house. Unfortunately, the Olubadan Palace had some inadequacies such as;

- That it is rather chunky for present day usage and because of constraint of space, it has no room for expansion
- That there is no open space for ceremonies and other out-door activities.
- That the environment falls short of a befitting Palace of the most populous, indigenous African city.
- Therefore, Oja'ba Palace serves only as an occasional meeting venue of the Olubadan Advisory Council and the meetings of the Association of Mogajis

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Professor Toyin Falola (2012). In the exercise of power, the **Baale** was the **Chief Executive**. There were cases when the overall civil and military authorities were combined in one person (for instance, **Oluyole, Ogunmola, Latosa**) but when the power was separated between the **Baale** and the **Balogun**, the former was supposed to preside at meetings.

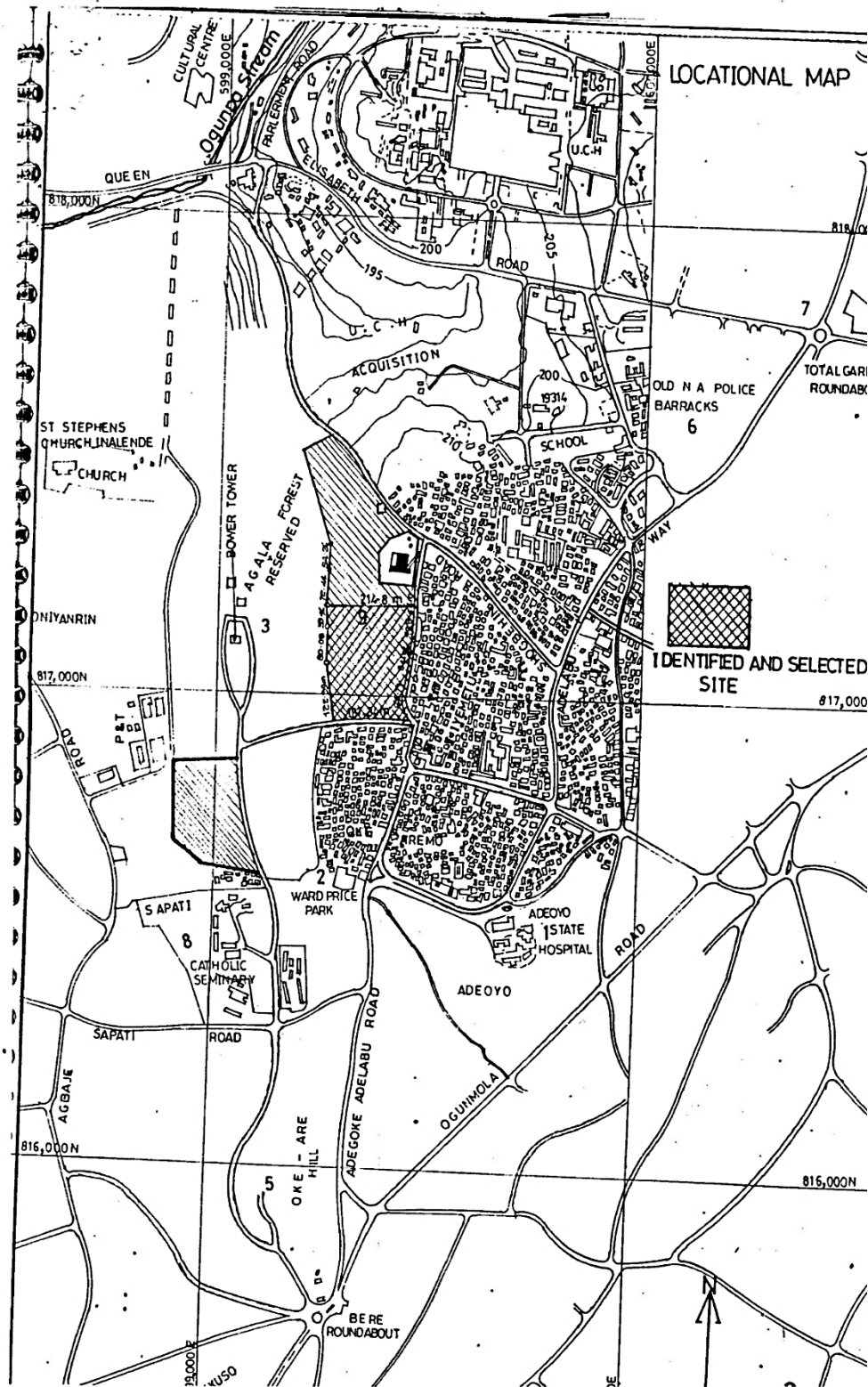


8.1 Accessibility Evaluation Criteria Required;

- (i) Availability of sizeable land that has no other development plans are considered for the same land
- (ii) The site has a suitable topography for building a befitting New Olubadan Palace on a gentle slope (if possible), that is the change in elevation is rather gradual similar to the location of palaces.
- (iii) The location of the site must be close to the central area of the city that is accessible from all directions to the inhabitants and visitors to the palace.
- (iv) The location is close to water and electricity resources
- (v) Identification of the main features of the new Olubadan Palace Complex location
- (vi) Environment Impact Assessment.

Detailed plans and engineering designs have been made for the Olubadan Palace and Ibadan House, including other various infrastructure facilities, such as the road system, the sanitation, drainage, electricity, drinking water supply systems, police station and car-parks.

Unfortunately, all of the above mentioned studies were carried out using traditional procedures without any involvement of Geographic Information System (GIS) analysis.



8.2 Site Selected For the New Olubadan Palace:

The Committee of five identified and selected the Oke-Aremo (Agala Forest Reserve) at the slope of the Bower's Tower located on the highest point of Aare Hill, one of the range of hills that run from Mapo towards North-east-west of Ibadan and divide the city up to Mokola Hill.

His Excellency, Governor Olawuyi Kolapo Ishola granted a Certificate of Statutory Right of Occupancy (C of O) on the surveyed parcel of land at the slope of **Aare Latosa Hill and below the Bower's Tower monument Oke-Aremo area covering 5.233 Hectares** in favour of Ibadan Traditional Council. **The C of O was registered as No. 4 page 24 in volume 32381 dated 13 October, 1993 with Survey Plan No. IB 1932.**



8.3 The Old Ibadan and New Traditional Palaces

Like their Middle East precursors, Yoruba palaces were walled rectangular enclosures with one main gate in front. Both Olubadan Alli-iwo and Irefin Palaces are rectangular in appearances and consist of 2 to 3 core areas. The inner core area served as the palace which faced a larger inner court in Alli-Iwo's palace which served as the festival palace. The last core area served as the Oba's residence. The rigidity of the Irefin Palace Fencing wall portrayed the exclusiveness of the Oba's of yester years.

FROM TRADITIONAL TO MODERN PALACE



(a) Front View of Irefin Palace Built in 1910 on 4 Acres of Land Picture



(b) Perspective View of New Olubadan Palace To be built on 9.87 Hectares of land

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The palaces of Alli-Iwo and Irefin portrayed the African architecture in its originality which has been in existence before the proliferation of the Western civilization.

However, Balogun Adebisi's Palace was a classic example of the early thirties in Yorubaland as a result of cultural transformation. Similar architectural features of the building could be noticed in few notable structures in Ibadanland. The buildings are the Oke-Are court house, the Agbaje Family Palace and the Mopo Hall to name a few. These English Architecture, seconded to the Yoruba race were also available in other Yoruba cities, like Atiba hall in ancient Oyo town and Ilesha City Hall.

8.4 The Concept of the New Olubadan Palace

The palace site is at the foot of the rugged Shapati Hill which occupies the gently sloppy area of Agala Forest Reserve. The critical analysis of the natural and man-made physical development constraints showed that the site is free from any serious constraints which may limit urban developments, the like of Olubadan Palace Complex and Ibadan House.

The inadequacies of the first central palace built for Olubadan at Oja'-ba are as follows;

- (a) That it is rather choky for present day usage and because of constraint of space, it has no room for expansion.
- (b) That there is no open space for ceremonies and other out-door activities.
- (c) That the environment falls short of a befitting Palace of the most populous, indigenous African city.

8.5 The Land-Use Analysis

From the viewpoints of location, adjoining properties, site coverage (about 9.87 Hectares) accessibility, existing/proposed infrastructural services, security, centrality of the site to the Ibadan indigenous population, land morphology, natural man-made physical development constraints and the location was found suitable for the construction of the New Olubadan Palace Complex.

The Olubadan Palace Project will consist of the following

• Residential Area	* Power House
• Royal Guest House	* Police Post
• Ceremonial Pavilion	* Fire Station
• Reception Block	* Wood Land
• Main Gate House	* Existing Ibadan House
• Festivities Ground	* Olubadan Market (Oja'ba)
• Car Parks	* Future Development
• Palace Transport Pool`	* Gate House

Thus the modern Olubadan Palace Complex Buildings provide both office and residential accommodation including other infrastructure, and services that would befit the social and political status of the monarch in conformity with the prevailing physical and cultural transformation.

NOTE: - The writer was the Secretary of the Olubadan Palace Site Selection and Appraisal Committee (SSAC) set up by the Central Council of Ibadan Indigene (CCII) in 1993 under the Chairmanship of Chief (TPL) Late Chief Dosu Babatunde and three other professionals.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE ORIGIN OF BASORUN TITLE CONFERRED ON IBADAN TRADITIONAL RULERS AND THE HISTORY OF LEGENDARY EFUNSETAN ANIWURA AND SUNMOLA ALAO LAAMO

1.0 THE SECOND EMERGENCE OF OLD OYO KINGDOM:

The quest for imperial expansion and establishment of unique military institution of the 17th and 18th centuries were prompted mainly by hostilities of invaders from Nupe and Borgu, although the Oyo, under Alaafin Kori and Oluaso stood their ground, against the Nupe invasion during their time.

In the early **sixteenth century**, disaster befell the Oyo-Ile Kingdom. The Nupe, who had been divided into many small chiefdoms throughout all their early, kingdom became unified, according to Professor S. Adeniyi Akintoye (2010) about the time into one kingdom under **Edegi**, also known as **Tsoede in Nupe traditions**. A strong Nupe army invaded Oyo-Ile, overcame the defenses of Oyo-Ile and over ran Oyo-Ile city itself. The reigning **Alaafin was Onigbobi (1530 – 1540)** successor to **Oluaso**, Oyo-Ile was sacked and its inhabitants fled in all directions. Onigbogi fled northwestwards **into the Bariba country** where, fortunately, one **Bariba chief** offered him hospitality. The **Oyo-Ile kingdom ceased to exist**; only the Alaafin Onigbogi and the few chiefs and attendants around him remained as testimony to his existence. (Dr. J.A. Atanda, 1973)

The displaced Oyo population, according to, Akinwumi Ogundiran (2020), set up new homes in **Saki, Kisi, Igboho** and **Igbeti**, as well as an **Ibariba country**. A section of the **Oyo royal House**, managed to keep the idea of the kingdom alive by **relocating the seat of power to Igboho, where four Alaafins (King of Oyo) ruled in the sixteenth century**. Tasting the sweetness of victory in the North, the Nupe militarists penetrated deep into **Igbomina, Ekiti** and **Ibolo, all Ife central areas**. Massive abandonment of towns and villages preceded and followed those attacks.

From **Igboho**, the reign of **Alaafin Abipa** who brought the government back to Oyo-Ile has been dated to about the last quarter of the sixteenth (16th) century about **1570 – 1590**. Back in Oyo-Ile, the government settled down remarkably quickly, the **monarchy, the palace organization, the chieftaincy system, and all other institutions**.

Abipa's successor, Obalokun, who began to reign probably in 1590, is credited with initiation of a deliberate policy of territorial expansion. After him, for nearly 200 years (until about 1780), there followed a long list of kings under whom, in general, more and more territories were added to the empire. **Alaafin Ajagbo established the institution of Aare Ona Kakanfo (Commander of the Army) in 1640**.

The reign of the Alaafin Abipa who brought the government back to Oyo-Ile has been dated to about the last quarter of the sixteenth century — about 1570–90. Back in Oyo-Ile, the government settled down remarkably quickly — the monarchy, the palace organization, the chieftaincy system, and all other institutions. The explanation for such an accomplishment must be that all arms of the government had remained functional during the years of exile, especially in the years spent at Igboho. Moreover, while the Alaafins had moved gradually towards home, many important families seem to have also taken steps to return from the places to which they had been scattered.

8.1 Oyo Became an Empire after its Sack by Nupe Militarist

The years following the return of the Alaafin to Oyo-Ile proved to be years of phenomenal achievements by the kingdom. From being a small kingdom, it expanded rapidly to become an empire, so that the Alaafin became an emperor whose territories included Yoruba kingdoms and non-Yoruba peoples. At the peak of the greatness of the Oyo Empire in about the middle of the eighteenth century, its main components were as follows: First, the country of the Oyo subgroup

became what may be described as the metropolitan province of the empire. The Alaafin ceased being merely the king of Oyo-Ile and became the king of a consolidated kingdom of all the Oyo people, with Oyo-Ile as his capital city. Of the other Yoruba included in the empire, the Egbado were in many respects close to the Oyo; the Alaafin became effectively the king of all the Egbado. In the other Yoruba provinces of the empire - Owu, Egba, Igbomina, some far western kingdoms in Idassa and others — the kingdoms accepted the Alaafin as their overlord and protector, and paid regular tribute to him. Then, there were the non-Yoruba provinces, made up of some part of the country of the Nupe on the southern banks of the Middle Niger, much of the Bariba country all the way west to the River Moshi, and the country of the Aja all the way southwest to include their coastal towns and west to their boundaries with the Ewe and Akan.

The expansion of the Alaafin's authority over all these territories was accomplished at a fast pace. The chronological growth of the expansion is difficult to trace, but it is well known that its ways and means differed from province to province.

8.2 Clarification by Alaafin Lamidi Adeyemi III:

According to Professor Robin Law: "The Oyo Empire C. 1600-1836; which records that *the transfer of the Alaafinate from Onigbogi to Ofinran might camouflage a change to an Ibariba or Borgu dynasty.* The same interpretations are echoed by Professor Smith in "**Kingdoms of the Yoruba**" and Professor Babatunde Agiri in "**Early Oyo History Reconsidered**" in *history in Africa* 2, **1975 page 1-16.** These historians, according to Chief M.O Ogunmola, Otun of Oyo (1997) drew the conclusion from this issue that **since, further Ogbomoso, Kisi, and Saki have ruling families who came from Borgu, the whole group must take the same cue.**

On the first of July, 1995, while conferring a chieftaincy title on His Excellency, Mr. Yasin Nasir Hussain, his Majesty, the Alayeluwa, Oba Lamidi Olayiwola Adeyemi III, J.P C.F.R, *and the Alaafin of Oyo observed the assertion of*

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the historian based on deductions and not on sources erred objectly on the important issue. Alaafin went further that, Robin Law opined that the story of the movement of the Alaafin to Gbere in Ibariba kingdom by Onigbogi succeeded by his son, Ofinran might camouflage a change to an Ibariba dynasty. Egungunju, Ofinran's son transferred the seat of government from Kyushu in Ibariba area to Saki owing to quarrels with his host. It was Egungunju who took the kingdom's seat of administration to Igboho.

Undisputably, movement of seats of power was rampant. Afterall, Owu was displaced from the North (perhaps from the vicinity of Ogboro) to **Owu-Ipole. The Owu around Ibadan is Owu-Ogbere.** Similarly, **Ogbomoso, Saki, and Kisi** have **succeeded in having Ibariba dynasties.** The change of all the towns was about the same period.



As explained by Professor Jide Osuntokun (2004), *the fact that Ogbomoso, Kisi, Igbeti, by inference that they have Ibariba dynasties does not mean that they are not originally of Yoruba descent.*

History therefore is not to be limited to a simple record of what is known or believed to have occurred; history is more properly concerned with examining, analyzing, and explaining past events, particularly in human affairs, and in the words of R.G. Collingwood, “to tell man what man is by telling him what man has done”.

The oral traditions of primitive peoples which are obscured by mists of legend and of miracle are not so much history as the source of history. The written records of more advanced peoples may similarly be but the materials of history.” History has to be examined, analyzed and updated in the light of new developments.

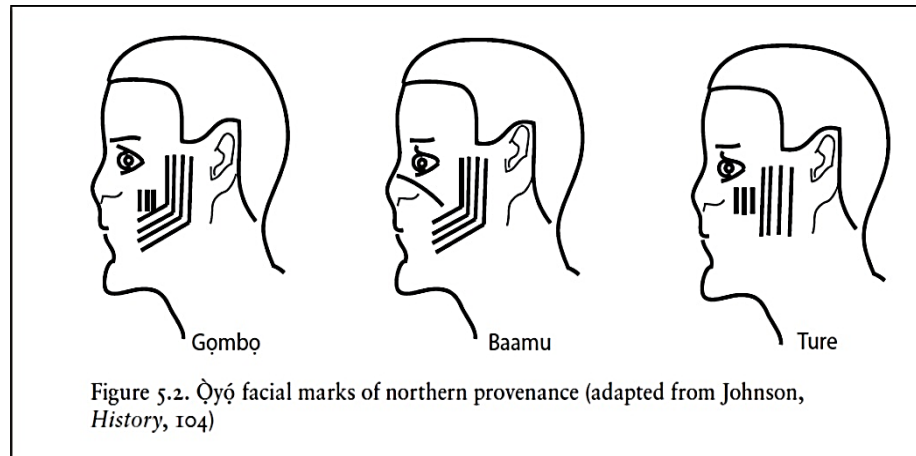
8.3 Multicultural Composition of the New Oyo Polity

The new Oyo polity that emerged from the turbulence of the **fifteenth and sixteenth centuries retained the ethnic diversity that must have characterized the earlier Oyo Kingdom, but more so now than ever before.** According to Akinwumi Ogundiran (2020), the Yoruba elements remained the dominant population in the reconstituted polity. Next to them in influence were the **Ibariba**, and joining this multiethnic polity were elements of **Nupe** and **Songhai – Mossi**. **The presence of Ibariba, Songhai, and Mossi facial marks such as gombo, baamu, mande, ture, and jangbadi** among the Oyo population provides the direct evidence for this **multiethnic and multicultural integration** in the formation of **the Oyo** identity after **1570**. (See Samuel Johnson’s book 1921).

The **baamu** facial mark, for example, is of **Ibariba origin, and the royal House of Ogbomoso has historically used this mark to associate with the Ibariba origins of its founding ancestor, Ogunlola.** The Ibariba were the most populous allies of the coalition that the Oyo built to ward off the menace of Nupe militarist.

Hence, the political arrangement that emerged in the revitalized Oyo polity after **1570** bore the strong marks of power sharing between the two.

The Yoruba branch of the coalition retained the office of the **Alaafin**, the king of Oyo, whereas the **Ibariba families** controlled the office of **Basorun**, an office likened to that of the Prime Minister and Chancellor highest ranking **non-royal lords** of the state, collectively called the **Oyomesi**: This was the **council of nobility**. *Each noble of lord (Iba) represented a mega-House in the metropolis, and the council advised the king on state matters. Together, these lords represented the interests of the non-royal majority in the central government headed by the Alaafin.*



8.4 System of Government in Oyo Kingdom:

(d) The Alaafin and His Aremo:

At the head of **Oyo-Ile Kingdom** was the **Alaafin**, a typical Yoruba divine king. Like the kings of all Yoruba kingdoms, **the Alaafin** was selected from the pool of **princes of one royal lineage**. For the selection, all princes (sons and grandson) were eligible with the singular exception of the oldest son of the recently deceased king (Prof. S.A. Akintoye 2010). From the early seventeenth century, this one prince with the title of **Aremo**, was allowed to be freely associated with his reigning father in matters of government, and then he had to die (by committing suicide) when his father died. **Succession by primogeniture** was, as would be remembered, generally

rejected by Yoruba kingdoms, Oyo-Ile's requirement that the **Aremo** must die represent a particularly drastic rejection of it. *The purpose, as in all Yoruba kingdoms, was to ensure that the right of the people to select the king would not be interfered with by one privileged prince.*

(e) The Oyo-Mesi (Council of State):

The highest officer in the Oyo Mesi was the **Basorun** who bore responsibilities akin to those of Prime Minister or Chancellor and presided over the Oyo Mesi Council. Of the other members of the Oyo Mesi, the **Agbakin's** had charge of the worship of Oranmiyan in addition to other duties, the **Laguna** was the kingdom's highest ambassador (a sort of foreign minister) in the most critical situations; the **Asipa** was, in the council of the Oyo Mesi; the **Ojuwa** (he who distributed parents given to the Oyo mesi etc.). The lineage to which the **Alapinnin** title belonged to an old Nupe lineage.

(f) Aare Ona Kakanfo

The Alaafin Ajagbo's intention in the **seventeenth century** in creating the title of Aare Ona Kakanfo (to which the Alaafin alone could appoint any citizen of his choice), was to establish a counterbalance to the growing influence to the great war chief of the **Oyo Mesi** (it is significant that Ajagbo's first choice for the post of Aare Ona Kakanfo was his personal friend, kokoro-gangan, from outsider Oyo-Ile). In that case, the provision, made later by the government, that the **Kakanfo must never live inside the capital city** was an act of damage control by the Oyo Mesi.

The above, then, is a brief summary of *the central government of the Oyo Empire. Outside Oyo-Ile, the rest of the Oyo country constituted the metropolitan homeland of the empire, its base and main support. This Oyo country was made up of many kingdoms, each with its capital city (where its king lived) and smaller towns and villages (where Baales lived). All these kings accepted the Alaafin as the supreme king of all Oyo people, paid tribute to him, and held all the human and*

material resources of their kingdoms available and expendable in his service. It is important to repeat the fact that these kings were not Baales under the Alaafin; they were kings (Obas) over their own kingdoms — kings in a “consolidated kingdom” of all Oyo people, over which the Alaafin was unanimously accepted as supreme king and commander in chief.

(g) The Provincial of Administration of the Empire;

The whole Oyo homeland was conceived as comprising three provinces called **Ekun Otun** and **Ekun Osi** (both belonging to the center), and the **Epo province** (in the far south). **These three, plus the Ibolu country** in the east, constituted what may be described as the metropolitan heart of the empire. The **Ekun Otun** province comprised some Oyo towns and all the small Ibarapa country. In the **Ekun Osi** (to the east of Oyo-Ile), the main kingdoms were **Ikoyi under the Onikoyi, Igbon under the Olugbon, Iresa under the Aresa, Ijeru under the Ompetu, Ogbomoso under the Soun**. In the **Ekun Otun** (to the west of Oyo-Ile) the main kingdoms were the kingdoms of **Iganna under the Sabigana, Iwere under the Oniwere, Asia under the Alasia, Okeho under the Onjo, Igijan under the Bagijan, Saki under the Okere, Ibode under the Alapata, Igboho under the Ona Onibode, Ipapo under the Elerinpo, Kisi under the Ikisi, Iseyin under the Aseyin, Ado under the Alado, the Ibarapa kingdom of Eruwa under the Eleruwa, Oje under the Oloje**. In the **Ibolu province**, the main kingdoms were **Ikirun under the Akirun, Ilobu under the Olobu, Ife-Odan under the Adimula, Offa under the Olofa**. In the **Epo province**, the kingdoms were few: **Iwo under the Oluwo, Idese under the Ondese and Ede under the Timi**. By the late eighteenth century, Osogbo, originally a frontier Ijesa town, had become an important cosmopolitan center of trade, and had received so many Oyo settlers as to become predominantly Oyo. As a result, it was regarded generally as a kingdom in the Epo province of the Oyo Empire. (Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran, 2020)

Outside of these provinces of the metropolitan center, the common *characteristic of Oyo's imperial administration of each subordinate kingdom was the stationing of an official representative of the Alaafin's government, with the title of Ajele, in every important town.* The main duty of the Ajele was to collect the tributes and send them to Oyo-Ile. However, Oyo traders and others away from home regarded the Ajele as the Oyo official at whose residence they could receive hospitality and protection. The Ajele also ensured that the local authorities maintained and protected the trade routes. As would be remembered, in a number of Egbado towns regarded by Oyo authorities as especially important for commercial or strategic reasons, the Alaafin's government established various kinds of nearly direct control.

At the peak of the greatness of the Oyo Empire by about 1750, the Alaafin's government controlled an enormous treasury — from the regular tributes, from the tolls on trade, and from, according to the Oyo traditions, a seemingly endless stream of gifts from all over the empire. The positioning of an Ajele in important towns of every vassal state to collect the tributes made their collection generally very efficient.

For most vassal rulers, the annual delivery of the tributes was usually a festive occasion. No vassal ruler or Ajele wished for a situation in which the tributes were not rendered in full when due. In this regard, more information is available about Dahomey's experience than about any other vassal state of the Oyo Empire, because of Dahomey's close contact with literate European traders on the coast. From such information, it is known that the Dahomey economy, which came to depend heavily on the slave trade, declined considerably from about the 1740s. As a result, until the end of the century, there were some years when Dahomey could not come up with all its tributes when due. Whenever that happened, the Dahomey rulers incurred the intense displeasure of the Alaafin. In fact, on some occasions, Dahomey found itself

on the verge of being punished like a vassal state in full rebellion against the Alaafin — to the Dahomey rulers a very frightening predicament. It would seem, therefore, that the Alaafin's government did not tolerate any laxity in the payment of the tributes by the vassal states; after all, payment of the tributes was the most measurable proof of a vassal state's loyalty.

Imperial revenues from tolls and dues on commerce, most certainly, also grew as the empire expanded. Trade was always a major factor in Oyo-Ile's strength; and the empire, as it grew, became one sprawling trading state. To traders from all parts of the Oyo homeland, the empire was a vast land of opportunity. By the late eighteenth century, many prominent men in Oyo-Ile were building wealth from trading; even most of the Alaafins of the period were rich traders before they came to the throne, and some of them continued to own large trading establishments.

2.0 GENESIS OF THE FINAL FALL OF THE OLD OYO EMPIRE:

Like most empires, according to Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran (2020), *Oyo was an exploitative economic system, especially from the point of view its client states and tributary appendages.* The empire's military and political institutions were geared toward achieving its economic interests, expansion, taxes, tributes and creating favourable markets for the empire's products.

Oyo became increasingly reckless in exploiting its tributary provinces and buffer zones for the human resources. Oyo was no doubt "the rudder for stabilizing the ship of commerce on the turbulent political water of the Bight of Benin during the eighteenth (18th) century. For many of its tributary provinces after 1750, however, *this Calvary state was an agent of instability and pain. There was a dramatic increase in the number of Yoruba captives entering the Middle Passage between 1750 and 1775 because of the direct link between Oyo's expansionist programme and its slave-trading machine.*

2.1 RECKLESS EXPLOITATION AND ABUSE OF POWER

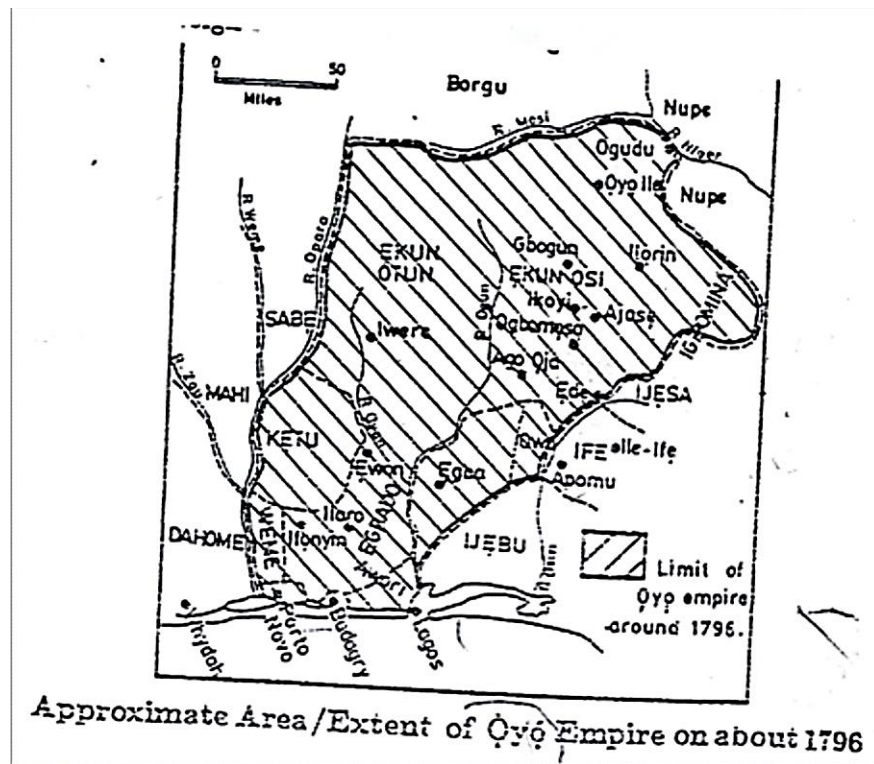
(i) Before and during Alaafin Abiodun's Reign;

Alaafin Abiodun Adegolu and his immediate successor, Alaafin Aole Arogangan (1789-96) ordered attacks on the province whose leaders they accused of insubordination during their princely years. (Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran 2020), **Alaafin Abiodun's Reign (1774-1789):**

He claimed that the son of the potentate of Ijaye, and Egba town, insulted him during the throne, according Rev. Samuel Johnson (1921), he avenged the alleged insult by ordering the destruction of the prominent trade town.

In effect, *Abiodun's attack on Ijaye hardened the resolve of Egba provinces for independence and it galvanized their mobilization for the removal of the yoke of Oyo imperialism.* As a result, full blown uprisings dogged Oyo's rule among the Egba at different periods between **1790s and 1820** and the Owu war of the 19th century.

According to Chief M.O. Ogunmola (1997), the Otun of Oyo, the Egba under *Lisabi of Itoku (Agbein_) revolted and killed the Ilaris of Alaafin; Amosu of Ikija, in Oke-Ona; Arinokotu of Ojoo and Akila of Ido joined Lisabi in the revolt.* Assembled at Abeokuta in about **1830**, they competed with **Ibadan** and **Ijaiye** for hegemony. In Owu in Yoruba History, Professor Mabogunje and J. Omer Cooper claimed that about **600 Ilaris** were killed.



(ii) Destruction of First Ibadan in 1785:

The first Ibadan located in Epo province of the Old Oyo Empire was established in the 16th century by Lagelu, the Jagun of Ife, at the interface of the forest belt and the savannah region. *He was conferred with Jagunmolu of Yoruba land by Alaafin Obalokun (not Alaafin Sango) for his bravery and contribution to the growth of and development of Oyo kingdom which later became an empire, according to I.B. Akinyele and Alaafin Adeyemi III. The town was destroyed by the Oyo army in 1785 for exposing the secret cult of the Egungun masquerade.*

The **Second Ibadan** was established at **Oriyangi** now known as Oja'ba (Iba Market) while the **third Ibadan** emerged after the **Owu-Ogbere war** against the **descendants of Lagelu** in 1825 (Professor Toyin Falola, 2011, Professor Akin Mabogunje & Prof. J. Omer-Copper, 1971).

(a) Alaafin Aole's Reign (1789-1796):

During the reign of Alaafin Aole who succeeded Alaafin Abiodun Adegolu, he ordered military action against **Apomu, a provincial town of Ile-Ife**, in order to avenge his humiliation at the hands of the **Baale** (head) of the town during his princely years as a trader. He also took a wrong decision of ordering an attack against **Iwere** (Ibarapa area), reputed to be the **maternal town of Alaafin Ajagbo**.

According to Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran (2020), such attacks against the tributary towns and provinces of the empire abused the honour of the military, undermined respect for the Alaafin's institution, and did not endear the loyalty of the provinces toward the Oyo metropolis. The attacks also divided the loyalty of the metropolis population, some of whom had relatives in those tributary towns.

(b) The Cracks in the wall of the Oyo Empire

At around **1750**, the authority of the rulers of Oyo Empire had covered **the Oyo Yoruba Region** completely as shown in the map, the provinces of **Egba, Egbado, Dahomey, Popo** and the greater parts of **Ketu and Borgu**. Oyo administration provided the power base whose authority made challenge and aggression by other Yoruba units and foreign neighbours unenviable until early 19th Century when the fabric of the Empire suffered violent fissures (Chief M.O. Ogunmola, 1997).

A negative political episode of the magnitude of the fall of Oyo Empire must attract theories and those from great historians. One school of thought ascribes the event to:

- (i) a breakdown of the fundamental law or the constitution of the state functionaries as evidenced by Basorun **Gaha** oppressive rule of **1754 to 1774;**
- (ii) the rebellion from the provinces especially, like the Egba example who were led by **Lisabi** to seek independence and

- (iii) the death of Alaafin Abiodun with the appearance on the historical scene of ambitious officers like **Aare Ona-kakanfo, Afonja, Basorun Asamu and Owota Lafinu.**
- (iv) The blunder in which Aole ordered the sacking of Apomu, an Ife town, was a sacrilege. **At every coronation of an Alaafin, the sword of justice from Ife was released after the solemn oath that Ife would never be attacked with the weapon.**
- (v) The army became weak as evidenced by the defeat of Oyo army by Borgu in **1783**, and Nupe in 1791, a trend that stifled the supply of both horses and slaves when trade in and use of fire-arms was assuming frightening proportions.
- (vi) The pressure of the Jihadists that culminated in the sacking of Old Oyo in 1835 destroyed the last vestiges of hope

While the **Owota chieftaincy title** is **Eso**, one of the mighty seventy (70) **imperia guards**, the **Basorun** is head of **Oyomes** or the **Alaafin's Council of state**. An extension of this spirit of **over-ambition** was exhibited by **Prince Atiba**, the founder of **Ago d'Oyo, Kurunmi**, the head of Ijaiye; and **Basorun Oluyole** of Ibadan; and the effect was that **the wars by the remnant Oyo Empire** and the Muslim Jihadists between **1820 and 1829**, particularly the **Ogele, Mugbamugba, Kanla** and **Eleduwe** wars were irretrievably lost. **Every Oyo actor mentioned, wanted an empire of his own.**

2.2 THE FINAL COLLAPSE OF THE OLD OYO EMPIRE IN 1837:

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 underuse power, wealth, and social in equality** pushed the Yoruba region to reach its sociopolitical breaking point between **1790 and 1837**. During that long night confusion, the **underclass revolt** in Oyo and the **Ife-Ijeba siege of Owu (1814-1822)**, were particularly momentous. Both events, according to Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran (2020), launched the Yoruba world into its worst **region-wide crisis** since the second half of the fifteenth century.

This magnitude of instability that swept across the Yoruba world between **1796** (the death of Alaafin Aole) and **1837** (the final collapse of the empire and evacuation of the capital) was the **first** since the atrophy of the **1450s-1560s**. This was the period of rebuilding of Oyo Kingdom after the Nupe attack and Oyo went into exile at Ibaripa country. The immediate perpetrators, according to Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran (2020) of this **Second** and more profound blanket of upheaval were, however, home grown, not external invaders like the first one.

Alaafin Majotu died in 1830 or 1831 without achieving his ambition of rebuilding his father's house, the empire, which the revolts of Afonja and the underclass revolt had reduced to rubble and shell of its old glory. He was of the longest-reigning kings in Oyo history, ruling for about twenty-eight years. His reign witnessed several calamitous events. These included the **underclass revolt of 1817**; **the collapse Owu Ipole in 1822**; and **the killing of Afonja and many of his supporters in 1823**.

The deaths of Afonja and other Yoruba elements (including Muslims) at the hands of their former allies, **Housa and Fulani**, rattled the metropolis and its loyal provinces. There was an urgency to act against the fostering trouble in Ilorin.

Therefore **Alaafin Majotu** forged an alliance with the Nupe in **1825** to subdue Ilorin and expel the Jihadist, but the coalition was defeated.

With the **transition of Alaafin Mojotu**, the events that led to the collapse of the metropolitan area accelerated. **More provinces peeled away from the metropolis** (see the maps). For their killing of Afonja, the Jihadist (*now led by the Fulani*) installed an emir in Ilorin. About two years after Majotu's death, they invaded Oyo-Ile for the first time. They ransacked the capital, reportedly looted the palace of its valuables, and prod aimed the Alaafin as a vassal of Ilorin's emir.

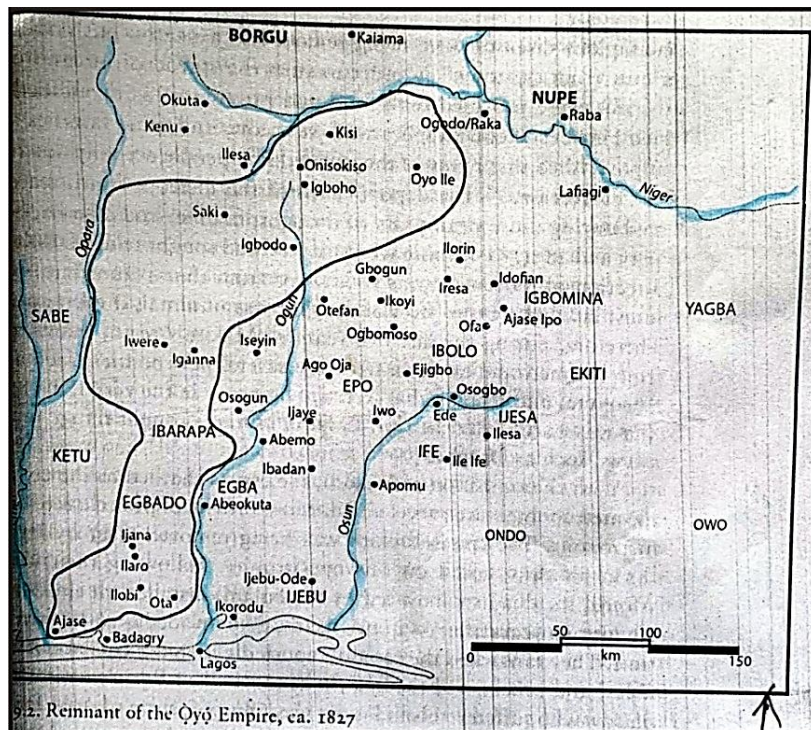


Fig 2: Reminant of the Oyo Empire, ca 1827

3.0 HOW IBADAN MILITARY POWER HALTED THE INVASION OF YORUBALAND BY FULANI JIHADIST IN 1840

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

With the defeat of Olúewu-led forces, the jihadists of Ìlorin and their allies were intoxicated by the fermented fruit of victory and were determined to take over the entire Yorùbá region. They, therefore, shifted their focus toward those new Òyó towns already planted in the upper reaches of the rain forest. **Their goal was to “dip the Koran in the sea,” a metaphor for subjugating the Yorùbá world to the control of the Sokoto Caliphate via the emirate of Ìlorin.** For what this implied, no existential crisis that enormous had ever confronted the Yorùbá, not even the Nupe crisis of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Displaced and demoralized, most of the Yorùbá region, especially in the old territory of the Òyó Empire, was still licking its wounds. The only Yorùbá polity brave enough to confront the jihadist threat was Ìbàdàn. It was a new kid on the block of regional politics, but it was a rising military power in the aftermath of the fall of Òyó Empire. *While the Ìlorin army was advancing southward, Olúyolé, the second ruler of Ìbàdàn and a grandson of Aláàfin Abíódún, rallied to confront the enemy. He presided over the military plans to stop the advancing Ìlorin army. He mobilized other scattered Òyó elements to the cause of saving their ancestral land from what he rightfully considered a foreign invasion, although there were high-ranking Yorùbá soldiers in the Ìlorin contingent. There was nothing in his favor to assure victory, but his*

foresight, audacity to act, and timely intervention paid off. Under the command and leadership of his war commander Balógun Odérinlo, the advance of Ìlorin's ambition was halted on the outskirts of Òsogbo in 1840. The Ìlorin army was thoroughly beaten. The victory put to rest the threat of the jihadist agenda in the Yorùbá world. With this, Olúyolé achieved what had eluded Olúewu and five other Alààfin. This military victory was the most consequential event in Yorùbá history during the nineteenth century. According to the patriarch of Yorùbá historiography, Samuel Johnson, the outcome of the war marked “a turning point in Yorùbá history. It saved the Yorùbá country from total absorption by the Fulanis.” If not for Olúyolé and his military superstars, many beaded crown kings and potentates of Yorùbá kingdoms would have since been replaced by turban-wearing emirs. Ìbàdàn's victory over Ìlorin saved the House of Odùduwà (Ilé-Ifè), the House of Sàngó (Òyó), the House of Obòkun (Ilésà), the House of Òràngún (Ìlá), the House of Obánta (Ìjèbú-Òde), and others from becoming emirates. The victory was not only over Ìlorin. It was also a defeat of its patron, the Gwandu emirate, and of the Sokoto Caliphate as a whole.



FIG. 3: THE STATUE OF BALOGUN ODEYIKA ODERINLO 1836 - 1850

Olúyolé must have felt a sense of pride and satisfaction that he had avenged the desecration of his ancestral home by preventing the Ìlorin jihadists from overrunning the Yorùbá region and dipping the Koran in the ocean. ***The victory energized Ìbàdàn to embark on an ambitious expansionist program across central and eastern Yorùbá region, a process that kicked off its short-lived empire, 1840-93. Nevertheless, that victory did not lead to peace and stability for the Yorùbá world. It was only the beginning of more than fifty years of wars defined by;***

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

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

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

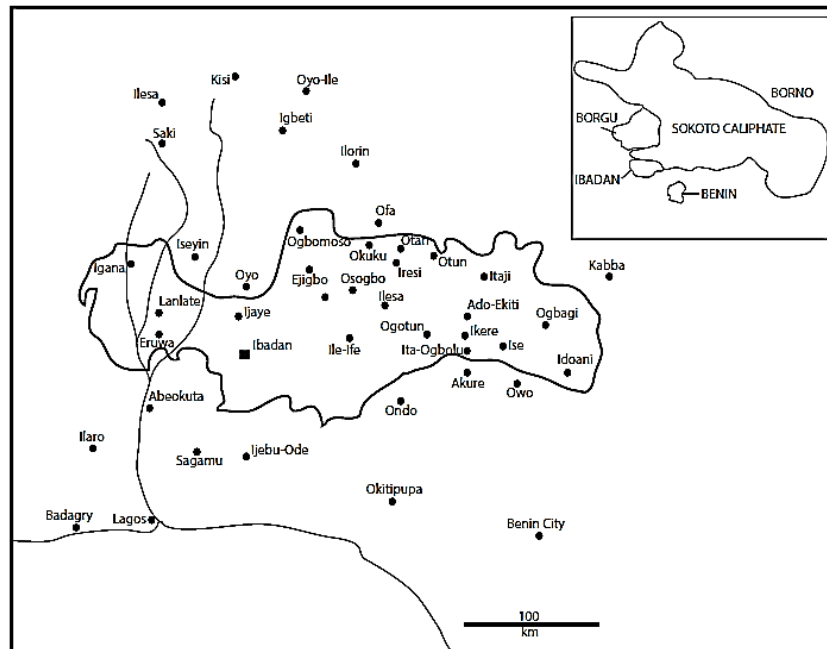


Figure 9.3: Ibadan Empire

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



Fig. 4: The Statue of Basorun Oluyole at Bere Roundabout (1836 – 1849)

4.0 ORIGIN OF BASORUN TITLES IN IBADAN CHIEFTAINCY SYSTEM

Oluyole Iyanda was the son of Ajala Olukuloye, the grandson of Basorun Yamba from Ajase near Ogbomoso in Surulere, Local Government area. His mother was Agbonrin, the daughter of Alaafin of Oyo, Oba Abiodun Adegolu (1774-1789). He joined Ibadan army during the reign of Baale Maye Okunade from Fulani jihadist war in the northern part of Oyo Kingdom or Empire at the time there was civil disorder between the Ifes and the Egbas during which the Egbas migrated to found Abeokuta in 1830 A.D. he succeeded Lakanle after the palace coup during which Lakanle committed Suicide in 1836 after ruling Ibadan for less than one year. Bankole Alesinloye, the first balogun of Ibadan also died.

Oluyole who reigned first as **Baale of Ibadan** between **1836-1839** did not adopt the title of Aare Ona Kakanfo like Oluyedun, because **Alaafin Atiba** who wanted to build up a new Oyo from the ruins of the old Oyo, according to Professor Toyin Falola (2012), **wanted to gain the support of Kurunmi and Oluyole**, two notable, distinguished, and highly respected warriors of the time who posed a threat to Alaafin Atiba. Alaafin Atiba (1839 – *1858 also wanted to make use of the two warriors in building up his own power and in creating a new Oyo-Yoruba Confederacy with him as the overall head, even if only ceremonial.* Alaafin Atiba therefore made Kurunmi the Aare Ona Kakanfo, the commander in chief of the armed forces and Oluyole, said to be his close relation, the **Basorun, the next man to the king**” for details Johnson, the History of Yoruba Page 281.

In 1864 when Baale Oyesile Olugbode died, Ogunmola became the only qualified candidate to become the head of Ibadan because **Ibikunle** had died and **Sunmola Alao Laamo**, the Otun Baale, had also lost his life in the **Iperu** campaign (1862-1865), Ogunmola thus became the head in **1865**, and adopted the title of Basorun, which was superior to that of the Baale, thus becoming the second Ibadan ruler to adopt that title after Oluyole (1836-1849). This was during the Agunloye

Lola Tomori

reign of Alaafin Adelu, the Prince of Alaafin Atiba His reing Basorun was still alive but Ogunmola had to force his way because of his role in Ijaiye war (1859 – 1862). That was an evidence of Ogunmola's autocratic style of governance (1865-1867) real but functional Basorun.

Fajimi became the Baale of Ibadan in 1897 after Basorun Osuntoki Olosun while Akintola (omo Ibikunle) was the Balogun. During his reign, new roads were constructed from Agodi Barracks to Oja'ba, Ojaba to Oke-Ado via Bode, and from Ojaba to Bode Iddo (Iddo Gate) and Railway station. Baale Fajimi sent a message to the Alaafin of Oyo, Oba Adeyemi Alowoluolu I, that he wanted to be installed as Basorun of Ibadnaland. He became Basorun in July 1899, after the death of Balogun Akintola. Basorun Fakimi died in April, 1902.

Balogun Osundina who was the father of Basorun Sunmola Apampa was Osi Balogun to Balogun Ibikunle during the reign of Baale Ajayi Oyesile Olugbode in 1851. All Laluwoye, who was the senior brother of Basorun Apampa was the Otun Balogun during the reign of Aare Latoosa and he died at the Kiriji war in 1882.

Basorun Apampa became the ruler of Ibadanland after the death of Baale Dada Opadare. He reigned from 1907 to September 1910 when he died. From Basorun Ogunmola, the history of Barosun in Ibadan became less colourful and non-controversial until the time when it was conferred as honorary title on Basorun M.K.O. Abiola and thereafter, Basorun Kola Daisi. Basorun Apampa, the last of the Barosun as the Baale of Ibadan was installed in **1910. After him, the Ibadnsna Authority rejected publicly the title of Basorun for their future rulers from 1910 and became Honorary Title.**

4.1 HIERARCHY OF CHIEFTAINCY TITLES IN YORUBALAND:

As in all Yoruba kingdoms, according to Professor Banji Akintoye (2011), in theory, by popular sayings, and as demonstrated in civic ceremonies and rituals, the government was Alaafins government, and he was supposed to have the power of life and death over his subjects. *But in reality, in the Yoruba system of limited monarchy over which he reigned, he was subject to well established, powerful, institutions, as well as to elaborated rules and prohibitions.*

The High Inner Council of Chiefs, named the Oyo Mesi, consisting of *seven of the most powerful quarter chiefs of the capital city of Oyo-Ile; 8 High Inner Chiefs in Ile-Ife and 11 members of Olubadan-in-Council in Ile-Ife and Ewarefa in Ondo, Osugbo in Ijebu-Ode and Ogboni in Abeokuta.* They all met with the king of each kingdoms regularly and with Alaafin in the case of Oyo daily in the palace to make all laws and take the highest decision of government such laws and decisions were then announced to the kingdom as Alaafins word. The High chiefs of the Oyo Mesi were also the highest military chiefs. They also bore the responsibility of selecting new kings, and of removing an unpopular king by asking him, if matters came to such and end, *“to go to sleep”*.

The highest Officer in the Oyo mesi was the Basorun; in Ile-Ife, it was Obalufe or Orunto; in Ibadan it was rotated between Balogun and Otun Olubadan, **Olisa in Ijebu-Ode, Lisa in Ondo, High Chew if Obanla in Ilesa, Risapetu** is the head of Iwarefa and second in command to the Oba-Ajalaiye of Ipetu Ijesa.

Thus, Yoruba chieftaincy titles were hierarchical that is ranked in grades, broadly, there was **the king of the pinnacle of the state pyramid**, followed by the **senior chiefs**, the **quarter chiefs**, with the **Baale** as the base.

4.2 EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS OF TRADITIONAL RULERS:

The executive responsibilities of the Oba-in-Council involved the formulation and taking of policy decisions regarding such matters as:

- a. The internal affairs of the state such as the relationship between the royal capital and the rest of the kingdom,
- b. Revenues and expenditures,
- c. Public works carried out through communal efforts,
- d. The protection and promotion of public health, safety and welfare
- e. They also perform legislative and judicial functions.

Since 1910, the title of Basorun has become honourary and Chief M.K.O. Abiola was conferred with the title of Basorun of Ibadanland in recognition of his contribution to the development of Yorubaland and business Mongol. His family migrated from Ojoo in Ibadan to Abeokuta in 183. Chief Kola Daisi, the founder of Kola Daisi University and many event centres also succeeded him as Basorun of Ibadan. He is from Itabale Quarters of Ibadan.

The Chief's law – Cap 2, section 22(1) and its schedule constituted. The Olubadan of Ibadan as the Prescribed Authority for Ibadan District. The powers conferred on the governor in Council by sections (1) and (2) and section 26 are delegated to the prescribed authorities in various Districts of Oyo State. This means that for all minor chieftaincy titles in Ibadan District, the Olubadan is given the power to appoint and install all minor chiefs and Baale or Obas within the district. There are only three titles for which the approval of the governor in council is required. These are the Olubadan of Ibadan, the Otun Olubadan and the Balogun.

5.0 THE IYALODE IN IBADAN POLITICS AND SOCIETY:

In a lecture delivered by La Ray Denzer, he said that, every Yoruba kingdom had a female hierarchy of Chiefs, usually headed by the **Iyalode**. The extent of the Iyalode's authority varied from the kingdom to kingdom, according to changing historical contexts. During the eighteenth century, hierarchies of titles palace women in the centralized kingdoms of Oyo and Ife wielded much greater authority and influence than the Iyalode, relegating the latter to an ancillary role, serving as intermediary between the royal administration and the towns women. Following the **upheavals of the civil wars** of the early nineteenth century, powerful new states, of which the most important were the **kingdoms of Abeokuta, founded in 1830** and the **warrior republic of the third and present Ibadan, founded in 1825**. Founded on revolutionary new values and constitutional structures, they produced a socio-political environment that allowed astute, enterprising, wealthy women to assume roles of power and authority hitherto reserve for male tilted hierarchies and military rulers. *In Ibadan and Abeokuta, new styles of governance downplayed hereditary rights in favour of proven merit based on leadership and entrepreneurial ability, wealth and patriotism. Successful war and trade leaders were appointed to High military and civil office, including some notable wealthy female traders who won acclaim became of their patriotic loyalty, their economic acumen, their financial support in state expansion and defence, and other community and state services.*

Their power and authority lasted on their control of immense trading and organizational networks, the acquisition of lager personal followings, their ability to extend substantial credit facilities to military leaders, and their generous gifts to their constituents. Oral traditions and contemporary observers recorded that they owned substantial farms and large slave labour forces. They also commented on their vast trade networks of female agents that penetrated into distant locations in every direction, to the Atlantic coast in the south, Ilorin in the north, and Whydah to the

west. They translated their economic power into political power and sometimes even military power. Some of them raised and equipped their own armies which served in the state military force, allowing them a share in war booty, including captives. This marked a significance departure from women's roles in the older kingdoms of Yorubaland, Oyo and Ife, where their female counterparts occupied strategic positions in royal administrations and selection of rulers within the confines of the palace and ritual centres, but did not wield such visible personal public influence and autonomy.

In her pioneer study of the office of the Iyalode, Bolanle Awe has analyzed the range of attributes, meanings, and duties associated with women in high office. Apart from this study and Awe's brief biography of Efunsetan, not much detailed historical work has appeared on Yoruba women chiefs. The purpose of this paper is to extend the discussion about the evolution of the Iyalode line in Ibadan from the nineteenth century to the present day. Ibadan provides a particularly important instance for a study of the transformations that occurred in this office for two main reasons. First, the occupancy of the title has been unbroken, unlike Abeokuta, where only three Iyalodes, however famous, have held the title of Iyalode Egbaland. A long interregnum occurred between the death in 1930 of Jojolola, the second Iyalode, and the installation of the late Madam Bisoye Tejuoso, the third Iyalode. More importantly, in the case of Ibadan we are able to assemble fairly rich life history data concerning six of the Iyalodes: one for the precolonial era, three for the colonial period, and two for the period of independence as well as fragmentary data for the remaining title holders. Research is still in progress, so we hope that additional collection of material will enable us to form a more complete analysis of the Ibadan title as well as life histories of the women who have held it. In this study we rely heavily on interviews and newspaper accounts, with supplementary material from archive collections and secondary sources.

The Iyalode line constitutes the fourth line in the Ibadan Chieftaincy, following the Olubadan, Balogun and Seriki lines. A civil title, only a select number of Ibadan elite families, descendants of the original settlers, has the right to offer candidates when vacancies occur in the line. Indeed three Iyalodes came from the same family. Although the Iyalode is one of the kingmakers, she is specifically excluded from eligibility to the office of Olubadan. She heads her own household and a line of subordinate chiefs, the number of which has expanded from (perhaps) four in the precolonial times to twenty-five today.

EXPANSION OF THE IYALODE LINE OF CHIEFS, 1951 TO PRESENT

1893	1951	1965	1975	1985	1990
Iyalode Otun Balogun Osi	Iyalode Otun Balogun Osi Iyalaje Asipa Ekerin	Iyalode Otun Balogun Osi Iyalaje Asipa Ekerin Ekarun Abese Maye	Iyalode Otun Balogun Osi Iyalaje Asipa Ekerin Ekarun Abese Maye Asiwaju Ekefa	Iyalode Otun Balogun Osi Iyalaje Asipa Ekerin Ekarun Abese Maye Asiwaju Ekefa Agbaakin Are Alaasa Ikolaba Asiwaju Ayingun Aare Ago Lagunwa Oota Are Egbe Omo	Iyalode Otun Balogun Osi Iyalaje Asipa Ekerin Ekarun Abese Maye Asiwaju Ekefa Agbaakin Are Alaasa Ikolaba Asiwaju Ayingun Aare Ago Lagunwa Oota Are Egbe Omo Gbonka Are Onibon Bada Ajia Jagun

Sources: Kenneth Dike Memorial Library, Obisesan papers, Box 38, File 1: Petirion from the Iyalode and her subordinate chiefs.

Though some chronology remains uncertain, so far as we have been able to determine, the following women have occupied the office:

PAST IYALODES OF IBADANLAND

S/N	NAMES OF IYALODE	COMPOUND	PERIOD
1.	Subuola	-	1851 – 1867
2.	Efunsetan Aniwura	Ojaba	1867 – 1874
3.	Iyaola	-	1874 – 1893
4.	Lanlatu Asabi Giwa	Onireke	1893 – 1913
5.	Iya Isale Osun	Isale Osun	1913 – 1917
6.	Lanlatu Ajisomo	Ita Aregbe	1917 – 1934
7.	Rukayat AMosa Akande	Oja’ba	1935 – 1951
8.	Abimbola	-	1951 – 1961
9.	Adebisi Abeo	Oja’ba	1961 – 1974
10.	Wuraola Esan	Molete	1975 – 1985
11.	Humani Alade	Opo-Yeosa	1985 - 1995
12.	Wuraola Akintola	Ayeye	1995 – 2007
13.	Aminat Abiodun	Idi-Arere	2007 – 2018
14.	Teresa Laduntan Oyekanmi	-	2018 -

Otun Iyalode, supervised the Iyalode’s warders and police, and also facilitated the smooth running of her household, trade and farm work. Specific rights and prerogatives changed according to different historical contexts and constitution systems. The Iyalode’s tenure of office was for life, but she could be removed if she blatantly transgressed Yoruba norms of good behavior or leadership.

When Awe wrote her justly influential study, she wrote at a time when one of the foci of feminist scholars concerned the so-called “lost” women’s institutions. Then historians of African female achievement focused on a seemingly glorious past when some women exercised power and influence nearly equal to that of men and displayed an independence that few western women had from the nineteenth century onwards. When they investigated the colonial period, however, they failed to find such female leaders in the foreground and concluded that the colonial state had marginalized women and subordinated them to male-determined, male-dominated

development. With reference to women, recent studies of colonialism and imperialism question such simplistic interpretation. They underscore the complexities involved at the interface between the indigenous structures and the imposed structures of the colonial state, emphasizing continuities as well as changes.

Since the 1980s, a number of African-based studies on women during the period of colonialism and the independent state suggest that women's institutions and opportunities did not decline nearly so absolutely as maintained by some scholars. Rather these institutions proved highly adaptable and were transformed by new circumstances and constitutional contexts. Like women's institutions elsewhere in Nigeria, the Iyalode line continued to play an important role in community administration, though not always publicly recognized, throughout the colonial and the independent states. Our informants intend that even during colonialism, no District Officer in Ibadan ever risked confrontation with the Iyalode and her subordinates. The fact that there was rarely any prolonged crisis in the operation of the markets, unlike the various (sometimes prolonged) disturbances in Lagos, Abeokuta and Ijebu Remo might indicate a degree of truth of this assessment. Moreover, they declare that today's rulers would also hesitate going against the women chiefs and traders' association. Since independence, women have repeatedly demonstrated, and often not so peacefully, against attempts to ignore their interest and rights.

5.1 THE PRE-COLONIAL ERA

From early times, a few exceptional women from highly placed families have always taken a keen interest in the affairs of Ibadan. According to Morgan, one of them was Yade, (also known as Oluyade) meaning she who tears the crown). A Bale's daughter, she joined forces with the other Ibadan warriors to terrorize the surrounding villages as a reprisal against the sacking of Ibadan. During a raid on one town, she captured the crown of its king. This event is commemorated annually during the

Oke'badan festival, when the Aboke (high priest) visits her gave to pay homage. A second woman identified only by her title and place or origin, Iyalaje Ijaiye, said to be very beautiful, wealthy and influential in the market system, produced two daughters who became Iyalodes of Ibadan: Lanlatu and Ajisomo.

The first woman to receive the Iyalode title was Subuola, which was the Iyalode so eloquently described by Anna Hinderer in 1854. Hindered describes her as "the mother of the town, to whom all the women's players (disputes) are brought before they are taken to the king. She is, in fact, a sort of queen, a person of much inflnce, and looked up to with much respect. On the occasion of her visit, the Iyalode appeared a "motherly looking person, surrounded by her attendants and people. Akinyele, the historian of Ibadan, comments only that she was rich, beautiful and kind, while his niece, Kemi Morgan adds that she was industrious. Awe provides additional information that she was a wealthy trader who not only supplied the town's war chief with liberal credit to purchase firearms and ammunition but also fielded her own contingent of soldiers. Her rise power and influence rested on her wealth, her position in the mark and distribution networks, and an immense following of kin, client and, no doubt, slaves. In recognition of her power, patriotism and contribution to Ibadan's expansion, the chiefs made her Iyalode. Unfortunately, she lost her wealth, and was deposed from office in 1867. None of her descendants had been appointed to high office in the Iyalode line.

Much more is known about Efunsetan, the second Iyalode, immortalized first by Samuel Johnson in 1897, whose brief life history forms the basis for later accounts by Akinyele, Morgan, and Awe. Collectively, these biographical accounts provide valuable information about a powerful woman's rise and decline in the pre-colonial period. They reveal the range of her economic and political activities and her alliances. In addition, they show how she deployed her wealth to maximum advantage, to consolidate economic and political resources. Nevertheless, the

Iyalode's autonomy could not withstand confrontation with the Bale, backed by the full weight of male determination to eliminate her, she lost her life.

5.2 ABOUT EFUNSETAN ANIWURA (1871-1874)

Efunsetan's father, Fadaiya, was one of the first settlers in Ibadan. He became a confidant of Lakanle, who ruled Ibadan in the early 1830s. By about **1833** a dispute arose in Ibadan between the Oyo settlers, who were more numerous and militant, and **the non-Oyo** immigrants which led to the deposition of Lakanle and the establishment of Oyo military domination over the new town. Thereafter, non-Oyo and non-military leaders did not play a prominent role in Ibadan politics, **Fadiya, however, returned to his role as a herbalist.** There is some doubt whether his wife Kaletu (or Aliatu) , a woman from the **Oje quarter** of Ibadan, was the biological mother of Efunsetan, but she assumed responsibility for the small child and trained her in the marketing of adire and foodstuffs. **Efunsetan married Epo, a warrior who was a close associate of Oluyole.** Johnson states that Efunsetan brought her trade acumen to her marital house where she sold corn beer (otika) and firearms, and foodstuff. Her customers were mainly soldiers and chiefs, to whom she often extended credit. **Their debts might be repaid in slaves and firearms. She owned farms near Ikija Karao; and at Odo Ona on Ijebu Ode and Abeokuta roads.** Slaves, claimed to number one thousand, operated these plantations, producing palm oil and food. We do not know when Efunsetan entered the Iyalode one, but by the late 1860s, she had attained the rank of Otun Iyalode.

She definitely was in office as Iyalode in about 1871, when Latoosa became Are (Commander in Chief), surrounding himself with young warriors. Efunsetan's wealth would have attracted him as he desired assistance in underwriting his plans for military expansion. Strong and ambitious, she organized a personal military unit that fought alongside the Ibadan army and from which she obtained her share of war booty. Until her refusal to support his campaign for expansion in northeast

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Yorubaland, she had cooperated in coordinating the supply of war provisions, especially foodstuffs to Ibadan soldiers on the war front. At what stage she fell out with Latoosa, we do not know, but at some point between **1871 and 1874**, he began to perceive her as a threat to his ambitions to secure his family's position in the state, and Instinet's. This period was marked by periodical skirmishes among Ibadan, Egba and Ijebu troops over their control of the Atlantic trade in slaves and palm oil, **Efusetan, an Egba, did not fully support Ibadan's moves, especially as her slave farmers along the Ijebu and Abeokuta road and trade is along the coast came under constant threat of destruction Nevertheless, as the Iyalode, she was expected to finance some of the ventures.** Are Latoosa made his final move when he returned from his successful expedition to Akure and Ile-Ife, where he had taken sizeable booty. On the pretext of intervening in a domestic dispute in her household, he engineered his council into ordering her execution and the destruction of her house in June 1874.



THE IYALODE EFUNSETAN ANIWURA (1871 – 1874)

5.3 THE AUTHENTIC HISTORY OF EFUNSETAN ANIWURA: THE CONTROVERSIAL IYALODE OF IBADAN BY THE FAMILY

a) Historical Background

Iyalode Efunsetan was an Egba and was born in Abeokuta. Her father was Ogundipe, “**Arapa Sowu**”, a renowned Egba Warrior. **Ogundipe founded Ikija which is now a popular village under Ibadan District on Ibadan Shagamu Road.** When the town was ruined by war, the inhabitants fled to Abeokuta. It was during their sojourn at Abeokuta when Efunsetan was born. She then started trading expedition between Ibadan and Abeokuta. She later became wealthy and had many slaves.

b) Her Migration to Ibadan during the peak of her trading expedition.

The Ibadan as warriors, lured her to settle in Ibadan where she sold arms and ammunition to them. This was during the reign of Orowusi the then Bale of Ibadan. When Orowusi died, Latosisa became the ruler of the town with the title of Are Onakakanfo. There was a chief called Tajo who was then the Otun Bale and he too was vying for the post but Arae won. Efunsetan had already become Iyalode before this period. Latosisa (Are) was wealthier than Tajo but EFunsetan gave money to Tajo to vie for the post against Latosisa. Eventually Are became the ruler and Tajo remained as Otun. Are then wanted to take vengeance against Efunsetan because of her support for Tajo but Efunsetan was too strong for Are and it resulted into internal dispute.

c) The Plot Against Efunsetan

In order to get rid of Efunsetan, Are befriended one Kumoyelo, Efunsetan’s brother. The promised Kumoyelo heavy compensation and that he would be made the Mogaji of the compound if he could conquer Efunsetan. They planned and prepared allegations against Efunsetan with Kumoyelo spear headed the charges.

Among the allegations leveled against Efunsetan were victimization and killing of her slaves unnecessarily.

Not allowing the mature female slaves to marry and killing of those put in the family ways by unknown men. Kumoyelo alleged that he put one of them in the family way and EFunsetan wanted to kill her in spite of his passionate appeal to her. Eventually, according to him, Efunsetan killed the pregnant slave.

d) Mogaji's Comments

“Even if the allegations of human killing were correct, it could not be a surprise as that was the practice by powerful rulers in those days, but the allegations were not correct”.

e) The Beginning of the Open Rebellion. And the Tragic End of Efunsetan:

Are then presented these allegations through Kumoyelo to the Council of Chiefs. Efunsetan was then summoned to the Council and she was given six days within which to leave the town or commit suicide, and if she could not do either of the two options, she should get prepared for war by Ibadan people.

Before the sixth day, Efunsetan had started spending money for the chiefs to appease them. She relied on her appeal to the chiefs and presumed that the matter had been settled. But on the sixth day, Kumoyelo had information that people had gathered at Are's Palace to wage war against Efunsetan and he feared that the people would ruin EFunsetan's Compound. He then filled a big pot called “ladugbo” with water and climbed the ceiling at the point of Efunsetan's resting room and smashed her head with the big pot while Efunsetan died on the spot. When he was convinced that Efunsetan had died, he went on his way to meet the people who gathered at Are's Palace to inform them of Efunsetan's death but met them at Bere where he confirmed to them the EFunsetan's death. But the people insisted that they would go to Efunsetan's house to see her corpse. When they got to her house, they confirmed her death as narrated by Kumoyelo but they still looted her compound and carted away her properties and slaves. However, they did not touch her corpse. When the information of Efunsetan's death got to Abeokuta, the

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Egba sent a delegation of six people to Ibadan to inquire about her death. When they got Are, he denied knowledge of Efunsetan's death. He told the delegation that one of her slave killed her and the slaves had fled the town. The delegation returned to Abeokuta to inform the EGba that EFunsetan was not killed by the Ibadans but by one of her slaves and the matter ended there.

Kumoyelo was later made the Mogaji (heir) of Efunsetan's Compound as promised by Are.

Later on Aare sent Ibadan Warriors to a battle and Kumoyelo was one of them. Kumoyelo died on the battle field.

After Kumoyelo, Omoko became Mogaji of Efunsetan's Compound. The subsequent Mogajis are as follows: Akala, Obasa who was the father of the present Mogaji, Faluade, Salami Shangowemimo-Bale, Raji Oyebamiji the reigning Mogaji of the Compound.

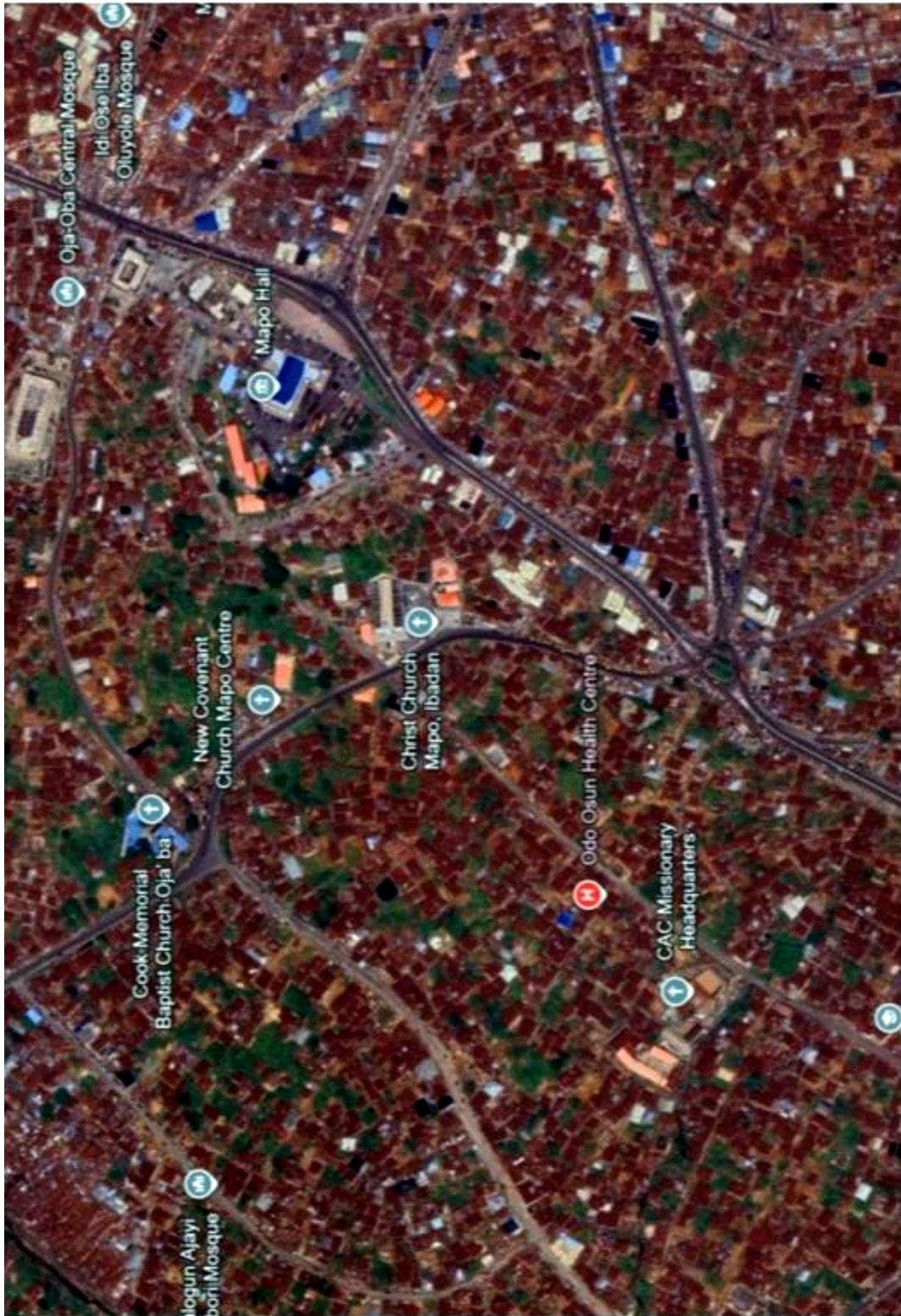
Ikija town founded by Ogundipe which later became a village under Ibadan was given to EFunsetan as her subject by the Ibadan when the going was good and before her rebellion started. Up till today, the Ikija Village is under the Mogaji of Efunsetan's Compound.

Kumoyelo had no issue when he died and his lineage in the EFunsetan's Compound had disappeared.

Thus ended the life and career of EFunsetan "Aniwura, the celebrated Second Iyalode of Ibadan. Subuola was the first Iyalode and incidentally, her Compound (still in existence) is adjacent to that of EFunsetan, both in SI Ward Area of Ibadan

N:B. The Mogaji, Alhaji Raji Oyebanji died on Sunday, 6 September,

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6.0 THE ROLE OF SUNMOLA ALAO LAAMO IN IBADAN POLITICS

He was born in Ikoyo-Ile near Ogbomoso and migrated to Ibadan during the reign of Oluyole (1836-1849) and established himself at Laamo's Compound on land allocated to him by Balogun Oderinlo. At that time, Ibadan was composed of numerous **idile** (lineages living in different **agbo-Ile** clomp ands. This division into various **idile** and compounds started with the earliest settlers who continued the tradition practiced in their former towns of grouping themselves along different lineages and kingship affiliations.

Members of the same idile (lineage) were normally distinguished and recognized by their common attributes and symbols like **common names, praise poems, cults, and facial marks**. More importantly, members of the same **idile** lived together and occupied one compound. This helped to promote and strengthen a symbiotic socioeconomic existence

The liberal attitude to strangers, a product of **Ibadan's turbulent foundation and militarizing**, resulted in sprawling compounds where the number of the **ara ile** (strangers), in some cases, could be more than that of the **omo-ile**- the core members of the house, related to the founder of the compounds.

Laamo's compound in **1902** allowed the major road from Lagos passed through to Agodi where the Government House was built. Therefore, the components of the Original compound are now separated by- Bere-Agodi Gate (Basorun Oganmola Road), Oranyan-Bioku Road, Alekus Agbeni Road while C1 and C2 retained the compound but divide into separate wards.

Sumola Alao Laamo participated in all the wars during the reign of Basorun Oluyole and his contemporaries were; Elepo, Bankole Alosinloye, Balogun Odermlo, Baale Opeagbe, Ogunmola, Osundina, Akere, Oluokun, and Ibikunle, Toki, Dele-Oje and Ogunmola joined them later from Fesu via Iseyin.

After the subjugation of Ijesas and Ekitis, Chief Ajayi Oyesile Olugbode, the Abese Balogun during the reign of Basorun Oluyole in **1851**, was regularly and formerly into office as the Baale of **Ibadan. Ibadan army as now constituted being the instrument**

of raising the reputation of that military state to its highest pitch of fame, which was maintained for many years afterwards and has never been surpassed, according to Rev. Samuel Johnson (1921). The names of the principal leaders and the offices were:

a) BAALE AJAYI OYESILE OLUGBODE (1851-1864)

Balogun Line

- Ibikunle - Balogun
- Ogunmola - Otun Balogun
- Osundina - Osi Balogun
- Akere - Asipa Balogun
- Orowusi - Ekerun Balogun
- Oyasawe - Ekerun Balogun
- Ajayi Jegede - Seriki
- Madrikan - Asaju
- Aijenku Foko - Areago Balogun

Civil Line

- Sumola Laamo - Otun Baale
- Tubosun - Osi Baale
- Abayomi - Ajia Baale

Chief Sumola Laamo, the Otun Baale always accompanied the chiefs to the battle field to administer the war-comp while Chief Abayomi and Tubosin would take care of the town. When Rev. David Hinderer visited Ibadan and Christianity was introduced, a place of residence was assigned to him, the house of **Chief Ogidi** (an Ife war General who later left Kudeti to establish Ojagbo) and he was placed under the special care of **Chief Abayomi**; the **Ajiya** Baale who intern entrusted him to his Balogun whose house was not far from the **mission premises at Kudeti**. Olunloyo lived at **Oke Oluokun**. The **Oke Oluokun** garters has produced many prominent Ibadan elites namely **Alhaji Adegate Adelabu Aboderin, Dr. Omololu Olunloyo** etc.

During Ara war, **Mogobo an Ilorn war-Chief** was riding through Ibadan camp but was spotted by **Chief Sunola**, the Otun Baale, while his people were marching past. But as a chief on horsebacks rode past, a man eyed him closely and recognized in him as **Ilorin man and at once took his gun and shut him dead on the spot**. Being now discovered, they took to their heels and were pursued and many were caught, by a few swift-footed escaped. Another discovered and captured.

Sumola Alao Laamo during the Iperu war (1862-1864) which followed Ijaiye war. In **1865** when Balogun Ibikunle died, Ogumola became the only qualified candidate to become the head of Ibadan because Sunmola the Otun Baale had lost his life in the Iporu campaign (1862-1865), according to professor Toyin Falola (2012) at page 144 adopted the title of Basorun conferred on him by Alaafin Adelu Agunloye in appreciation of his role during the earlier Ijaye war (1859-1862). Thus becoming the second Ibadan ruler to adopt that title (Oluyole was the first).

b) SUMOLA ALAO LAAMO DUNSTY FROM 1851

- Sunmola - Otun Baale Olugbode
- Ajayi - Ekerin Latosisa
- Mokebe - Mogaji
- Ariwoola - Otun Omo-Ile
- Fabiyi - Asaju
- Akinleye - Deposed
- Olukunle - Are-Egbe-omo Olubadan (1925)

c) THE SOCIAL ORGANISATION IN IBADAN

Relationship between Sunmola Laamo and Farounbi:

Sumola Alao Laamo and his children established villages in different location such as: **Laamo's Village** at Isebo in Egbeda Local Government Area; **Laamo's Village:** at Basorun in Ibadan North Local Government Area; **Olukunle Village** at Osegere in the same Egbeda Area. There are Oyewoles, Ibikunle and a lot of educate elites in the family and prominent lineage of Farounbi, the ancestor of Tomoris living within the some compound since the time of Basorun Oluyole. Chief Richard Akinjide's wife and the wife of General Manager of B.C.O.S from Ogbomoso were direct descendants of Sunmola Laamo; while the wife of Tomori Olatuniji, by name; Morawo, was the daughter of Omololu Opeagbe, the Baale of Ibadan between **1850 and 1851**. Pa Tomori Olatunji died in 1930 and was buried at Laamo's Compound in his house. His mother was **the daughter of Jagun Abagbe** from Ile-Ife and his father was Owolabi the second son of Farounbi.

Farounbi and his four Children (3males and 1 female) migrated from Ogbaagba with **Orowusi** but first settled at **Fogbayibi Compound** in Iwo Town before coming down to Ibadan and settled at **Ojagbo** founded by Chief **Ogodi** from Ile-Ife with his relatives now at **Apatere**, a satellite town of Ibadan in Lagelu Local Government area. They all have tribal marks (Gombo with Birumu). However, Sunmola Alao Laamo invited Farounbi to join him at Laamo's Compound and his Trumpeter married the younger sister of Farounbi. The Trumpeter called **TORIO** lost his life together with his mater, Chief Sunmola Alao Laamo at Iperu war that followed Ijaye war between **1859 and 1862**. Iperu war ended in **1864**.

However Farounbi adopted Gombo tribal mark for his children to conform with Sunmola Alao Laamo's dynasty traditional mark ***Despite relationship with Basorun Ogunmola, Baale Orowusi and Baale Omolola Opeagbe***.

Farounbi lineage, our prayers has also been in the spirit of Ibadan common identity for a well-established idiles and the importance attached to lineage solidarity in Ibadan and Yoruba in general.

d) VARYING SIZE OF COMPOUNDS IN IBADAN:

Those men who came to Ibadan to try their fortune first attached themselves to some compounds but as soon as they succeed in their ambition, they would acquire land, establish new compounds, and thus become the founders of new idile. **Irrespective of the qualifications of the title, according to Professor Toyin Falola (2012 pg. 37), the Bale or the Mogaji Performed similar functions.** His primary concern was to preserve the harmony and the continuity of the compound as its disruption could affect the economic fortune of its members.

- (i) When Ibikunle came to Ibadan from Ogbomoso, he first attached himself to **Toki's Compound** in Ayeye area but when assumed power, **he founded independent and autonomous compound** in Ayeye Area.

- (ii) When Ogunmola migrated to Ibadan from **Fesu** near Iwo, he was settled on land allocated to Sunmola Laamo, thus having a common boundary separated by wall, but different compounds. During the adoption of **Military Republican System** between **1851 and 1864** at the time Ajayi Oyesile Olugbode Olugbode was Baale of Ibadan, **Ibikunle** became Balogun, **Ogumola** became Otun Balogun, while Sunmola Laamo became Otun Baale. Hence, Olubadan, Oba **Yusuf Asnike** described me at his Idi-Aro palace as “**Omo-Oloye-Meji**” because of the titles of both Ogunmola and Sunmola Laamo within the same Bere area having a common boundary.
- (iii) In another development, those compounds created by **Omo-Ile who broke away from the mother compound** recognized the people in their mother compound as **ibatan** (relatives) and continued to have socio-economic ties with them. But in contrast, **Kobomoje Quarters** can boast of many compounds with several Mogajis without breaking away that is the lineages are still intact. Orowusi, the ancestor of many eminent personalities include: Ogundepo, **Architect Layi Balogun, Alhaja Suliat Adeaeji, Balogun Ajayi Osungbekun.** Balogun Ola,

e) REINSTATEMENT OF OKE-BADAN FESTIVAL AND THE RETURN OF ABOKE

The lineages were united in the Egungun ancestor (cult) celebration, usually held in June shortly before the yam harvest. There was also an **annual communal festival, the Oke badan** held for **fertility rites** and prosperity which was reintegrated into the city military republican system during the reign of Baale Ajayi Oyesile Olugbode (1851-1864) when **Ogundowo** was sent to recall **Okewole** his son from Abeokuta where he was residing after the **Owu-Ogbere** war against the descendants of Lagely who were in control of second Ibadan at **Oriyangi** (now called Oja-Iba) in **1825**.

In the early stage of the present Ibadan, which is the third one, Maye Okunade-led allied army of Ife, Oyo, Ijebu and Egba, abolished the title of **Olubadan Aboke** and the worship of Oke-badan. The Okebadan was dedicated both to the spirit of the hill as thanksgiving 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 rules and their policies.

f) PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE BETWEEN THE INDIGENES AND THE STRANGERS

The nucleus of a British government in Nigeria was constituted with the annexation of Lagos in **1861** from then on, Lagos became the major base from which the British operated in Southwestern Nigeria. In **1917**, the British Government introduced **Township and Segregation** by passing the **Township Ordinance**. Townships were graded into three classes, from first to third, according to the degree of control and responsibility rested in the governing authority, and they include practically all centres where European(s) reside. Only Lagos was a first-class township, and Ibadan was one of the **eighteen second class townships**.

Urban fragmentation typically creates two cities within the city as clearly illustrated with the satellite image of Ibadan. The urban poor live in high urban densities, with unplanned urban spatial layout and mostly deprived of access to adequate housing, residential land, municipal services and other urban benefits. The interplay of two cultures as a result of fragmentation of the city by the British can be seen in the morphology of Ibadan. Although the **town wall** has now gone, within its former limits is an area with high residential densities, inhabited by population of local origin, with commercial activity in the form of **traditional markets**. The modern commercial and government areas are located on one side of this cove. The **outer zones of the city of Ibadan include the homes of immigrants** from elsewhere

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in Nigeria as from overseas, and they also include areas devoted to modern education uses.

Therefore, when Ibadan Municipal Government was split into five in August, 1991, Bere Square was used as the centre where all the emerging new Local Governments Converge by adopting **centri concept** to merge the core area with the modern settlements, that is, the areas like GRAS, Iwo Road, Basorun, Orogun and Felele.

- Ibadan North Local Government Area started with Oke-Are(N2)
- Ibadan North East Local Government started with Aboke-Awanibaku Elempe Compounds (EI)
- Ibadan North West Local Government started with Ile-Agbo-Asukuna-Alekuso compounds (NI)
- Ibadan South East Local Government Area started with Sunmola Laamo / Ogunmolas' Compounds (CI)
- Ibadan South West Local Government Area started with Sunmola Laamo / Akinyo / Mapo, Oritamerin and Akere / Fijabi Compounds (C2)

This administrative structure of Ibadan Metropolitan Area ensured the core areas and the new areas co-exist politically and economically under five autonomous Local Government Authorities and serving as the capital of Oyo State. Ibadan is the third most populous state after Lagos and Kano and the largest metropolitan city in Nigeria having eleven Local Governments.

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CHAPTER FIFTEEN

CULTURAL HERITAGE AND TOURIST ATTRACTIONS IN IBADAN METROPOLITAN AREA

1.0 CONCEPT OF CULTURAL HERITAGE

Ibadan contains many buildings of historic and cultural value. *The history of the city can be read through the built environment; including traditional Nigerian structures, colonial British architecture and modern buildings* and in the mid-20th century such as Irefin Palace, Adebisi Mansion, Agbaje Building, Mapo Hall and the new Olubadan Palace. *The act of designating particular building and areas as heritage assets is to acknowledge their contribution to the urban environment and culture of the city.* The action and regulations that accompany heritage designation will vary depending on individual buildings and areas.

However, *Heritage is defined as the objects, custom or qualities which are passed down over many years within a family, social group or nation and thought of belonging to all its members. In this sense, historic sites and buildings are physically embodiment of Ibadan culture.*

On the other hand, *culture encompasses the belief, norms and values, customs and practices that characterize group of people. Culture is known as a shared identity. It provides a shared identity among members of a society.* It shapes how individuals see themselves and their place within the community, fostering a sense of belonging; serves as social cohesion. It promotes social cohesion by establish common values and norms that guide behavior

Cultural heritage broadens opportunities for education and lifelong learning including a better understanding of history.

Lastly, culture helps build social capital, the glue that holds communities together. By bringing people together. Cultural activities such as festivals, fairs, or classes create social solidarity and cohesion, fostering social inclusion, community empowerment, and capacity building, and enhancing confidence, civic pride, and tolerance to mention a few.

2.0 CEMETARY HERITAGE AND MAUSOLEUM CULTURE

In the modern age, **funeral constructions** do not have the dimensions and grandeur they did in ancient times but there are still **construction with relevant architectural interests**, built in perpetuate the memory of important families such as Balewa, Awolowo and Nnamdi Azikwe. In arched a **cemetery**, located in Coimbra, Portugal, a vast and **diverse funeral heritage exists**. Possessing various architectural styles, almost all but built with limestone from the region, the **narrow mausoleum** stand out from this **heritage** (i.e. funeral heritage). **Keywords: funeral heritage; mausoleum; architecture; construction architectural styles.**

2.1 Cemetery Heritage:

Secular cemetery spaces are usually spaces of great historical; architectural, artistic, symbolic, and social value. They are also a testimony to the **heritage of collective memory** and to **trends and traditions** associated with the **cult of death** throughout the ages. The perception of death depends on the historical moment, as the social and cultural context in which it is inserted. During the Ages, there was a proximity between the dead and the living, in which the living usually shared the space with the dead. During this period, burials were carried out in **necropolises** outside the cities.

Burial places emerged as a place of maintaining the memory of the dead. This objective, allied with the needs for preventive actions against contagious diseases, improvement of hygiene conditions, and population increase in urban centres, demanded the development of structures that could simultaneously attend to all these

objectives at once. Thus, **public cemeteries** located in the cities, outskirts started to be designed by religious organizations and Local governments.

2.2 The Values of Mausoleum Heritage:

A mausoleum fulfilled a pervasive social expectation, one that so engrained the local attitude that the moment was able to convey the ideals of the peer group visually and from a distance. The News Agency of Nigeria (NAN) describes Mausoleums as special buildings, built in style to accommodate graves of the beloved ones. Such buildings could be made public or private and managed for religious, social, historical and economic purposes.

In the Oyo State government in designing a tourism master plan in 2024 should work hard to integrate gravels and houses of prominent people in the state to tourist centres and museums along with historical sites already highlighted by the Ministry of Tourism and Culture.

For instance, the Royal Park behind the New Olubadan Palace at Oke-Aremo should be used partly for **historical graves of the late royal fathers** as it exists Ile-Ife where the late four royal's fathers were within the premises of Ooni's palace namely the graves of Oba Adelekan Olubuse 1 (1894 - 1910); Oba Ajagun Ademoluyi, (1910 - 1930); Sir Adesoji Aderemi (1930 - 1980) and Oba Okunade Sijuwade Olubuse II, (1980 - 2015) which were preserved in the Ooni's palace.

2.3 THE TOURISM POTENTIAL OF MAUSOLEUM SITES

The burial place of the first prime minister was first declared monument 1979.

The word "mausoleum" is derived from Greek from the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, near modern-day Bodrum in Turkey, the grave of King Mausolus, the satrap of the Archaemenid Empire in Caria. His large tomb was one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World. Mausolea are large and impressive constructions for the deceased leader of a tribe, race or group, or another person of importance. Soon after, smaller mausolea became common and popular with the advent of the gentry and noble class in many countries.

A mausoleum is an external free-standing building constructed as a monument enclosing the interment space or burial chamber of a dead person or dead people. A mausoleum may be regarded as a type of tomb, or the tomb may be inside the mausoleum. A mausoleum without a person's remains is called a cenotaph. A single mausoleum may be permanently sealed. It encloses a burial chamber either wholly above the ground or within a burial vault below the superstructure.

a) Balewa's Mausoleum in Bauchi

One of the notable mausolea in Africa is the Abubakar Tafawa Balewa Mausoleum. It is the burial place of Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, who was the only prime minister of Nigeria. During the 1966 coup d'état in Nigeria, Balewa was kidnapped and his body was found by the roadside six days later. He was consequently buried in Bauchi where he was born. The Government of Bauchi first declared his tomb as a nationwide monument on August 29, 1979 by the military administrator of the state, Brigadier Garba Duba.

In November 2017, the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari declared the tomb as a national monument. The Minister of Information and Culture, Alhaji Lai Mohammed, disclosed it in Abuja at a one-day exhibition of the 100 proposed national monuments in the country. The tomb is located along Ran Road in Bauchi State. The tomb has a very large tower-like structure in front of it. With this, it is indeed a beautiful sight to behold. The monument attracts a number of people every year.

Construction of the tomb and the building that encloses the grave began in 1977 and it was commissioned in 1979. The majestic site includes a reference library and a mosque. The mausoleum is also a museum which houses the personal effects of late Sir Tafawa Balewa, which includes his wristwatch, radio and cap which were displayed in glass cases. Some visitors go to the tomb to pray. Cameras are also allowed at the site.

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This masterpiece befits the person of the former and pioneer leader of Nigeria. People have reported it to be breathtaking. The gigantic walls around it tower up to 17 feet. That is the equivalent of more than five meters. The walls enclose a modest marble structure. The monument was often referred to as the tomb of the Golden Voice of Africa. The tomb is one of the many in the country which house the remains of notable figures.

In 2017, while the Federal Government declared the Abubakar Tafawa Balewa Mausoleum as monument, it also declared the tombs of Nigeria's first governor-general and president, Dr Nnamdi Azikwa, and that of Head of State, General Murtala Mohammed. These three tombs are also mentioned when others that house the remains of other notable African leaders are mentioned. They include the Kwame Nkrumah Mausoleum, Laurent Kabila's mausoleum, Royal Mausoleum of Mauretania, Al Hussein Mosque (Cairo) and many others.



2.4 Situation of Mausoleum in the Landscape

Most mausolea were sited within one or two locations, wither in cemeteries outside towns or in isolation in the country side. Even when cemeteries associated with towns included mausolea as in the case of Aremo church and Kudeti church, the large tombs may have predated other grace types before the British colonization in 1893. City-dwellers might also place their mausolea along the main transportation routes outside the town.

The more common situation for a **mausoleum** was an **isolated location**, separate from any other structures and placed in a remote yet visually prominent position in the landscape. At most ancient sites, there is only one **mausoleum** recorded, standing in isolation; at sites with more than one **mausoleum**, the mausolea are most often not in close proximity to one another or any other structures.

Nnamdi Azikwe's Mausoleum was completed under President Muhammadu Buhari, in spite of being abandoned for decades by past administration.

In Ilorin, Kwara, the Mausoleum of the late Islamic Scholar, popularly called Sheikh Muhammad Awwal Otolorin, buried in Omupi, Ifelodun Local Government area of Kwara state attracting many religious tourists to the site during the Maulud Nabbiyy. The **mausoleum** is being housed within a complex, comprising of an Islamic Primary School and worship centre. People pay homage to the mausoleum and engage in a tow day prayer to mark the Maulud Nabbiyy.

2.5 Concluding Remarks

For the average owner of a mausoleum, the tomb's value did not lie in its accessibility, in the ability to list lifetime achievements, or in the potential to record financial investment. From afar, the monument visually conveyed all that the **tomb** owner wanted to communicate. Few details needed to be seen in closer proximity, so most **epitaphs were limited to a brief identification of the deceased and the statement that the tomb owner himself** had taken responsibility for having the mausoleum built. In fact, a tomb owner who provided more details might unwittingly

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reveal that his lifetime achievements had not been so worthy of semi-divine status as his mausoleum might suggest.

Finally, the Royal Park behind the new Olubadan palace should be laid out to accommodate Royal burial grounds, gardens, open recreational ground for Kabiyesi and public. The mausoleum of the dead kings will serve as tourist centres and preservation of historical legacy for the new generation of young residents.

3.0 OVERVIEW OF CULTURAL HERITAGE AND CULTURAL CENTRES:

Heritage is defined by the World Bank in Ibadan City Master Plan (2019) as the objects, custom or qualities which are passed down over many years within a family, social group or nation and thought of belonging to all its members. In this sense, **historic sites** and buildings are physically embodiment of Ibadan culture and Yoruba generally. They are fundamental to a “**sense of place**” and engender a feeling of connection to the city. The act of protecting and enhancing heritage buildings is known as conservation.

Historic sites are increasingly recognized as important **economic resources** in both developed and developing countries. Improving the conservation and management of the heritage is not only important for preserving historic significance, but also for its potential to increase income – earning opportunities, and community competitiveness.

The location, conservation and preservation of cultural and natural heritage sites is of paramount importance to the level of success for a given area in attracting heritage tourism. Aside posterity, heritage has been viewed as an avenue for attracting investment and tourism.

The concern, therefore, is that the inability of heritage sites in Ibadan Metropolitan Area to contribute to the rich national and world heritage lists is due to some surmountable challenges. These include environmental degradation, development and modernization impact, lack of political will, **inadequate inventory**

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and documentation, **non-categorization of** heritage sites; lack of heritage specified legislation, **official neglect** and low awareness and community participation.

The historic cover areas in of cities in Oyo State have been allowed to decay and largely abandoned. **The absence of conservation plans and documentation** procedures for most of the heritage sites in the state make them to be physically disrupted by **insensitive to modern development**.

Finally, heritage consecration is a cost-effective method of regenerating urban areas by brining value back to existing buildings; new business and residents are attracted without the need for large scale construction, it has been observed throughout the world that buildings in historic, areas have higher property values and appreciate at greater rates them the local market overall. Heritage tourism can result in huge direct and in direct revenue for the local economy (e.g. Mapo Hall; Bower's Tower; and Oke'badan at Eleyele).

Ibadan has a rich history which is evident in the urban form, it is vital that historic structures be recognized as tourist sites and as part a tourism strategy. Promoting heritage in the city will attract tourists in the cities culture and history.

3.1 CULTURAL CENTRES CONCEPT AND SCOPE:

(a) DEFINITION

Cultural centres are places where cultural activities take place, such as art exhibitions, concerts, festivals, and other **events that promote local traditions and heritage**. They serve as hubs for community engagement and social interaction, providing opportunities for people to connect with each other through shared interests and experiences. These spaces may be physical buildings or out areas, such as **parks** or **plazas**, and they often have a specific focus on certain cultures or ethnic groups within a society. In some cases, cultural centres may also function as educational institutions, offering classes and workshops in various arts and crafts. Overall,

cultural centres play an important role in preserving and promoting diverse cultures while fostering a sense of belonging and inclusion within communities.

(b) Types of Cultural Centres;

There are several types of cultural centres that serve to preserve and promote various aspects of culture. Some examples include;

(i) Artistic Cultural Centre;

These centres focus on promoting art in all its forms, including visual arts, music, dance, and drama. They often host exhibitions, performances, workshops, and other events related to art such as the cultural Centres at Mokola Hill, Ibadan.

(ii) Historical Cultural Centre;

These centres aim to preserve and showcase the history and heritage of a particular region or community. They may feature artifacts, documents, and other items related to local history, as well as offer educational programmes and tours for visitors.

(iii) Ethnic Cultural Centre;

These centres celebrate and promote the unique cultures and traditions of specific ethnic groups. They may feature food, clothing, language, music and dance associated with that group. Many ethnic cultural centres also provide social services and support for their communities.

(iv) Role in preserving culture

Cultural centres play an important role in preserving and promoting cultural heritage. They serve as repositories of traditional knowledge, art forms, languages, and other aspects of local cultures. These institutions provide opportunities for people to learn about their own culture and also expose them to different cultures from around the world.

One way that cultural centres preserve culture is by hosting events such as festivals, concerts, and exhibitions, these event showcase traditional art forms, music, dance, and cuisine, which help keep these practices alive. Additionally, cultural centres often offer workshops and classes on various aspects of culture, allowing individuals to learn more about their own traditions or those of others.

Another key function of cultural centres is documentation. Many of these institutions collect and archive artifacts, stories and other items, related to local history and culture. This information serves as a valuable resource for researchers, educators, and members of the community who want to learn more about their cultural heritage. Finally, cultural centres act as advocates for marginalized communities, ensuring that their voice are heard and their contributions recognized.

3.2 OYO STATE CULTURAL CENTRE

The Oyo state Cultural Centre, situated at Mokola Hill, Ibadan is managed by a body known as the Oyo State Council for Arts and Cultures established with Edict No. 14 of 1977, the Board formulates guidelines for the centre with regard to the states Cultural and Arts collections, documentation and preservation. The Centre caters for visual arts, theatre management, field research and documentation.



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Facilities available for use at the centre comprise the following

- (a) The main theatre, a multi-purpose auditorium with a seating capacity of 1,300 with 800 standing
- (b) Music Rehearsal Hall, with a seating capacity of 500, which also caters for wedding receptions, seminars, symposia, meetings etc.
- (c) Cinema hall, with a seating capacity of 250
- (d) A large parking space that can accommodate 500 cars
- (e) A spacious foyer for permanent and temporary exhibitions, Open Theatre Stage that could be set up on two available open spaces for drama
- (f) A modern hair-dressing saloon for both traditional and modern styles
- (g) A Craft Shop
- (h) A modern Photographic studio for all photographic needs and
- (i) An Ultra-modern Executive Gymnasium

Also available at the centre are such programmes as children Ensemble, Craft Village, the replication of an ancient palace within the centre complex, children Museum etc.

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Figure (a): Exterior or Entrance of Cultural Centre



Figure (b): Exterior view toward the entrance of the Mokola cultural center showing sculptures of Yoruba music makers.



Fig. (c): The main building of Cultural Centre

This particular building does not heavily incorporate local materials as major building elements. Except for certain interior areas where wood was used for flooring and ceilings, all other materials used in this development were not locally sourced.

Indigenous art and crafts are graciously celebrated in this building, with wall murals (Figure 9) and the sculptures at the entrance (Figure 7) being the most evident examples of local craftsmanship. The location of the art and craft village also highlights the significance of art in the area and reflects the living style of the community.

As a cultural center, the building reveals aspects of the Indigenous lifestyle. The activities carried out in the various spaces within the complex are culturally inspired. In addition, the building incorporates the courtyard system, adopted from Nigerian traditional architecture. It effectively showcases various crafts and skills of the local people, particularly the Ibadan community.

4.0 CULTURAL SETTLEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF IBADAN:

In the ancient Itoro palace of Ijebu-Ode is the shrine (Oju osi) of Obanta, the first Awujale of Ijebuland. At the bank of the Osun River in Osogbo is the **Shrine of Osun**, the **river goddess**. At the outskirt of Abeokuta is **Olumo Rock**, a **shrine** that is sacred to all the Egbas. **The titular hill goddess of Ibadan is Oke Badan** beside the Eleiyele Reservoir at the city's western outskirt. In the words of **G Parrinder**, the shrine "consists simply of two large pots at the foot of a tree, and some small brick-like stones, all in the open air. Here kola-nuts are placed by praying women, at any time of the year and a bull is sacrificed at the annual festival".

According to tradition **Ifa divination** was performed before Lagelu left Ile-Ife and when religious leaders arrived to sanctify with sacrifice on the Eleiyele Hills. The resulting **odu** was "**Ose Meji**". This sign became the **guardian Odu** of the new city. According to **Bolaji Idowu** in "Religion in Ibadan: Traditional Religion and Christianity" in **Bolanle Awe**, et al p. 235-247, 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. This 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 a slow but steady and persistent growth, as in the movement of snails.

A close study of **Ose Meji** at Oja'ba reveals that under the major thematic and material divisions, the sign is concerned with **(a) survival (b) wealth (c) fertility and (d) victory**. These are consistent with the preoccupations identified with the founders of the city in the early stages, according to professor Dele Layiwola in his contribution to the book: "The City State of Ibadan: Text & Contexts published by the University of Ibadan in 2015.

The **cultural importance** of this point is that Ibadan, in spite of the pure serendipity connected with its location and founding, **is still a traditional and spiritual home to its inhabitants**. It shows that all care was taken as to its inhabitant and, contrary to the manner of settlement, nothing was given up to chance. **Any Yoruba settlement, thus inaugurated by solid tradition, is often assured of its safety and stability.**

The city was soon to attract settlers from the four winds, expanding by leaps and bounds. The **cultural idealism** of the founding fathers was balanced by the empirical arrangement of its migrant settlers. A war camp back then, was convenient and central to the rest of Yoruba people. Moreover, it proved to be a crucial location between forest and savannah belts, a suitable **mercantilist base** and centre for the exchange of cultural links.

4.1 OBELISK OF STATE BUILDERS OF THE THIRD IBADAN

Obelisks are cultural and aesthetic elements of some Yoruba cities, particularly **Ife, Ijebu-Ode, Ilesa** and **Shagamu**. As in Egypt from where the culture of obelisk derived, the Yorubas produced obelisks to commemorate their dead **kings and heroes**.

In Ijebu-Ode is the **Obanta memorial staff** at the **shrine of Obanta** (near the grave of Obanta), the first Awujale of Ijebuland. The **obelisk of Ogedengbe in Ilesa** is in the central market in front of the royal palace. It was erected in honour of **Ogedengbe**, a renowned Ilesa warrior of the **Kiriji war of 1879-1886** who died in **1910**. In Shagamu is another obelisk of Akarigbo erected in front of the royal palace in memory of the first Akarigbo of Ijebu-Remo. So also at Bere Round-About was erected the **Obelisk of Basorun Oluyole**, the famous warrior and bale of Ibadan (1835-1849). Another obelisk erected at Mapo Round-About is **Obelisk of Balogun Oderinlo**. Who led the Yoruba army to check the invasion of the Fulani Jihadist at Osogbo in 1840 A.D.

When the quarrel broke out between the descendants of Lagelu who were in control of second Ibadan at Oriyangi and the refugee settlement of **Owu-Ogbere** and the allied army of Ife, Ijebu, Oyo and Egba were called in as it had been in the struggle between **Orun and Idomapa**. **Owu-Ogbere** was destroyed and the allied army then took possession of second Ibadan, squeezing out its original Lagelu descendants. The settlement of the composite army in Ibadan marked the beginning of a new phase in the long chain of events which began at the Apomu market between 1810 and 1825 (Professor Toyin Falola, 2012 pg. 2)

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**THE STATUTES OF FAMOUS BASORUN AND BALOGUN
OF IBADAN IN THE 19TH CENTURY AT BERE AND MAPO**



BASORUN OLUYOLE IYANDA (1835 -1849)



BALOGUN ODEYINKA ODERINLO (1835 - 1850)

At this juncture, it is write to quote Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran (2020) who said; “Although **warrior-kings** were the major actors during the regeneration and restoration of Yoruba kingdoms between 1570s and 1650, others with less dramatic powers also mobilized their agentive resources from below and made indelible marks on the Yoruba political topography. There was rebuilding of old kingdoms and foundation of new ones this transforming the political landscape by **warrior-kings** like **Owaluse**, Alaafin Abipa, Oba of Benin while Lagelu founded and Olumade PArin, Sodeke of Egba, Soun Ogunlola and others founded militaristic states.

With the occupation of the **second Ibadan** by the allied army of Ife, Ijebu, Oyo, Egba, the foundation of a new state, described as the **third Ibadan**, was thus laid by this **motely crowd of soldiers-of-fortune** and hundreds of Oyo-Yoruba refugees. Each of the major Yoruba subgroups in the settlement had its separate quarter and government, according to Professor Toyin Falola (2012 pg. 2). The Ife and Oyo, the most predominant groups in the community, inhabited the hilly area of **Ojaba and Mapo**; the Ijebu lived in **Isale-Ijebu** to the southeast of Mapo; and the Egba clustered together around **Yeosa**.

The powerful warriors that came to Ibadn Are:

Ife: Maye, Ege, Labosinde, Oro Singunsin, and Ogidi

Oyo and Osun: Oluyedun, Oluyole, Babalola (FIjabi’s father), ODerinlo, Ope-Agbe, Lakanle, Bankole, Agbeni, Toki Onibudo, Olupoyi, Ayeye, Lajumoke,

Egba: Lamodi (the leader), Sodeke their Seriki, others were Apati, Ogunbona, Oso, Gbewiri and Inakoju

Ijebu: Kalejaye, Osunlalu, Arowosanle

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 **agriculture-military, complex** to produce an energetic and ever-expanding economy. They rejected old Oyo hereditary monarchical system, and first adopted a **military aristocracy** where most of the notable warriors of the **1830s** controlled the reins of government between **1830s** during the regime of Aare Oluyedun and Basorun Oluyole and Baale Opeagbe that ended in **1850**.

By 1851, Ibadan adopted military republican system 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 line 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.

This system is such that persons of very diverse origin could aspire to the position of Baale and later Olubadan. Thus **communal differences** had little political significance and the diverse groups tended to fuse together in a common Ibadan identity in the opposite manner to the Egba who preserved their original town and even ‘**village identities**’ within the single circumference of the walls of Abeokuta founded in 1830.

5.0 DECORATIVE ELEMENTS IN IBADAN PALACE ARCHITECTURE

Palace in Yorùbáland plays a significant role in the life of the Yorùbá people. As part of Yorùbá institutional buildings, palaces are held in high esteem by the culture and the people. As such, palace shrines and rituals contributes to the authority they hold within the town, hence they are centrally located in the planning of Yorùbá towns. They are a place for public assembly and state gods or deities and final resting place of deceased obas. As all power and authority lead to the divine king so is the road network and paths converge towards the àfin. The àfin serves as the fountain to the culture and identity of the kingdom it governs over.

vi) The Perimeter Wall Fence

The place of the palace in Yorùbá land cannot be overemphasized and they are institutional structures that have withstood the test of time despite introduction of modern ideology and technology of construction. ***Palaces are regarded emblems of what constitutes Yorùbá architecture and in entirety the culture of the people. Reflecting their belief system on the status and sacredness of the oba, the perimeter of the palace grounds is usually walled.*** Constructed of earth, they are usual about 3feet wide and up to 12 - 18 feet in height to retain its prominence. Though conspicuous, the wall provides a sense of privacy for the oba according to Yorùbá culture. ***The wall can be easily noticed from whichever direction the palace is approached since it is situated in the middle of the town (an example is the Alaafin's palace in Oyo town).***

Like every Yorùbá traditional architectural construction, the palace is a reflection of an intimate association with their vegetal environment as it reflects in the use of thatch and other vegetation in their roofing [9, 19]. Before contact with the west and introduction of new construction materials, Yorùbá palaces and houses were constructed to protect the people from the weather especially rain. As a result, more, attention is paid to making their structures rain proof. Adoption of the high-pitched

roof allows for easy drain off of rain water. Same style roofing is adopted in a large scale for Yorùbá palaces.

The perimeter walls are often left bare and unfinished on purpose. It is left uncovered to inform the visitors and indigenes about the wealth surrounding the Yorùbá seat of power [12]. Different region have varied colour of laterite that ranges from cool reddish colour to lighter yellow that serves as identity marker. Besides the unfinished wall allows the visitor appreciate the good quality of laterite used for the construction. In some instances, the laterite elements used in constructing the wall is sometimes mixed with shear butter and palm oil instead of water thus, increasing the durability for much longer period.

vii) Oja Oba

Major architectural element of the Yorùbá palaces is the **entrance gate called oju abata**. Ojo argued that the gate is usually positioned along the side of the wall facing the marketplace known as **oja-oba** (king's market). The idea of the oja oba directly opposite the entrance gate to the palace is a common feature in Yorùbá towns. This is evident in major palaces like that of the Alaafin of Oyo with an elaborately designed oju abata. Oju abata is not a mere gate or gateway but one that informs visitors about the history, identity and culture of the people as zoomorphic representations are used as decorative elements. According to Ojo oju abata is like a tunnel connecting the outer world of the town with the inner world of the palace. In some cases, oju abata opens to a large open space overlooking the inner palace wall that has the entrance to the palace. In other instances, it opens to a large courtyard that serves as a communal space for different activities.

viii) Courtyard

Courtyard forms one of the five major element of Yorùbá architecture. Their palaces consist of many courtyards (ka) of varied sizes for different functions. The biggest of the **numerous courtyards is designed to break the massiveness of the built-up area of the palace.** Sizes of the courtyards vary greatly from palace to palace and dependent on the expanse of land occupied by the palace. Palace of the Alaafin of Oyo in the past had 100 courtyards which has been reduce to expand the built-up area. The function of the courtyards within the Yorùbá palaces includes enhancement of private family cohesion, ventilation, lighting, food storage, stable for horses, space for settling disputes, and spaces for various deities to mention a few. The courtyards contribute to the division of spaces into zones and help maintain the private area from the public and semi-public zones. Multiplicity of courtyards (ka) within Yorùbá palace has become a common element of their traditional architectural design and planning.

ix) Palace Entrance Porches

Protruding from the main palace wall to either the major road or the main courtyard are several porches that serves as an architectural element of Yorùbá palaces [12]. The porches tend to break the monotony of the stretched rectangular shape The courtyards are surrounded by verandas with roof supported on earthen columns or carved wooden posts. Wooden posts are another important element of Yorùbá architecture. It is one element that also signifies status of the budling and the owner within the Yorùbá town. Carved posts in Yorùbá architecture are decorative elements that enhances the budling structurally and aesthetically.

x) Columns

The use of columns as architectural elements in Yorùbá palaces predates the contact with the west. The columns were used as structural elements in carrying roofs. The importance of the column is highlighted in the Yoruba proverb that distinct

various uses and types of columns. They are usually carved with inscriptions and decorative motifs that tells a story and serves as tangible reminder of beliefs and culture. Such artistic skills are carried out by designated families known as the Olona who are carvers charged with the duty of carving. Their works included carved wooden veranda posts and carved wooden door panels, found in palaces and house of nobles. Such works are evident in Yoruba palaces as testaments to Yoruba artistic representation ingenuity and creativity. From the choice of hardwood to the distinct motifs demands a creative skill that is second to none.

Decorative and artistic taste of the Yorùbá people is determined by their environment, immediate society and their intangible spiritual orientation. As a result, Yorùbá architecture is emphasized through the use of decorative elements such as murals, motifs and carvings that indicates their religious affiliations, status and financial capability. Hence, the best of Yorùbá decorative elements is easily identified in palaces as the highest structure revered aside shrines. Long before colonization and influence, Yorùbá architectural main features are ornamentation in wood and carved motifs on doors and roof supports especially within palaces. Ornamentation is reflected in architectural elements fabricated by woodcarvers such as veranda post, doors panels, facia boards, doors and windows. Murals are also common place on the walls of palaces where animals and objects connected to divinity of the obas are depicted. A good example is the oju abata to the Alaafin of Oyo's palace with over 300 zoomorphic murals.

Àfins in Yorùbá land are built to house the whole community wealth, riches, cultural artifacts, beliefs and tradition that is reflected in the ornamentation [2]. Thus, the decorative and ornamental elements found in the Àfin (palace) are reflections of the rank and prestige of the Oba. This structural support though artistically finished are integral and functional element of the building [12]. However, as decorative elements, they constitute master pieces of Yorùbá carvings and depicts integral part

of their culture. As a result, each carved posts tells a story as it is used to record events in the absence of writing. Thus, serve as visual markers of identity and culture. In modern Yorùbá architecture, traditional decorative mouldings and ornamentations are nearly eliminated, paving way for a clean aesthetic where materials such as wood, brick and stone are used unornamented. Hence, the tradition is gradually fading away as modern designs emerge.

5.1 THE IREFIN PALACE DECORATIVE ELEMENTS

Àfin Irefin was built in the year 1910 on about 4 acres of land. It is an elaborate structure with 62 rooms contrary to 125 mentioned by the Oyo state government [14]. The four acre palace is bounded by Irefin oje road and Oke adu road. Today Àfin Irefin has lost most part of the palace grounds to remain only the palace structure. The palace structure constitutes four zones surrounding four courtyards with the largest measuring about 300sqm. It is situated on a hill top that allows a good view of surrounding landscape of Ibadan from the roof terrace. Bounded by Irefin Oje road by the side and the main entrance (Figure 1). Irefin Oje road can be accessed either through two major roads - Bashorun gate or oke adu road. The main entrance consists of five gable porches that serves as a market place (Figure 2). The market is in line with Yorùbá culture where the king's market is before the palace. A position that further highlights the relationship between both institutions of authority where the market is a citadel of political power and the Oba is the Oloja and oversee all activity within it.

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Irefin Google Earth Map



5.2 DESIRE TO BUILD NEW OLUBADAN PALACE

The basis of social, political and economic organizations in the traditional society is traditional religion. Religion permeated every aspect of the society. Not only the land and its resources but also the people belonged to the gods. Every act and every pronouncement of the divine rulers were regarded as coming from the gods.

However, more than other factors, foreign religions and education have dealt a crippling, if not crushing blow on Yoruba traditional religion, social and political institutions. With the coming of Islam and Christianity, the latter in particular, to Yorubaland, the tight grip of traditional religion on the people began to loosen, and the myth of divine kingship began to dissolve.

The problem of neglect and disuse is compounded by the fact that the palace is today no longer the principal focus of religious, social and political life of the city. Most of the palace functions have been taken over by such public establishments as churches, mosque, town halls, court houses, local council offices, sports ground among others. For instance, the Ito palace of Ijebu-Ode has been taken over by several building of public, religious, educational and residential uses. However, most of the palaces have not attained this terminal stage of extinction.

Most of the Yoruba palaces have not been able to withstand the test of the cultural metamorphoses, or cultural decay, while some are at various stages of cultural transformation.

Due to neglect and disuse, many palace buildings have collapsed and have been replaced by modern buildings to befit both socio-political status of the Oba and keep abreast of cultural transformation. As pointed out earlier, the Yoruba Palace is functionally multi-purpose, most notable being residential, religious, governmental, industrial, socio-cultural, and recreational and storage.

The palace site is at the foot of the rugged Shapati Hill which occupies the gently sloppy area of Agala Forest Reserve. The critical analysis of the natural and man-made physical development constraints showed that the site is free from any serious constraints which may limit urban developments, the like of Olubadan Palace Complex and Ibadan House.

The inadequacies of the first central palace built for Olubadan at Oja'-ba are as follows;

- (d) That it is rather choky for present day usage and because of constraint of space, it has no room for expansion.
- (e) That there is no open space for ceremonies and other out-door activities.
- (f) That the environment falls short of a befitting Palace of the most populous, indigenous African city.

a) The Land-Use Analysis

From the viewpoints of location, adjoining properties, site coverage (about 9.87 Hectares) accessibility, existing/proposed infrastructural services, security, centrality of the site to the Ibadan indigenous population, land morphology, natural man-made physical development constraints and the location was found suitable for the construction of the New Olubadan Palace Complex.

The Olubadan Palace Project will consist of the following

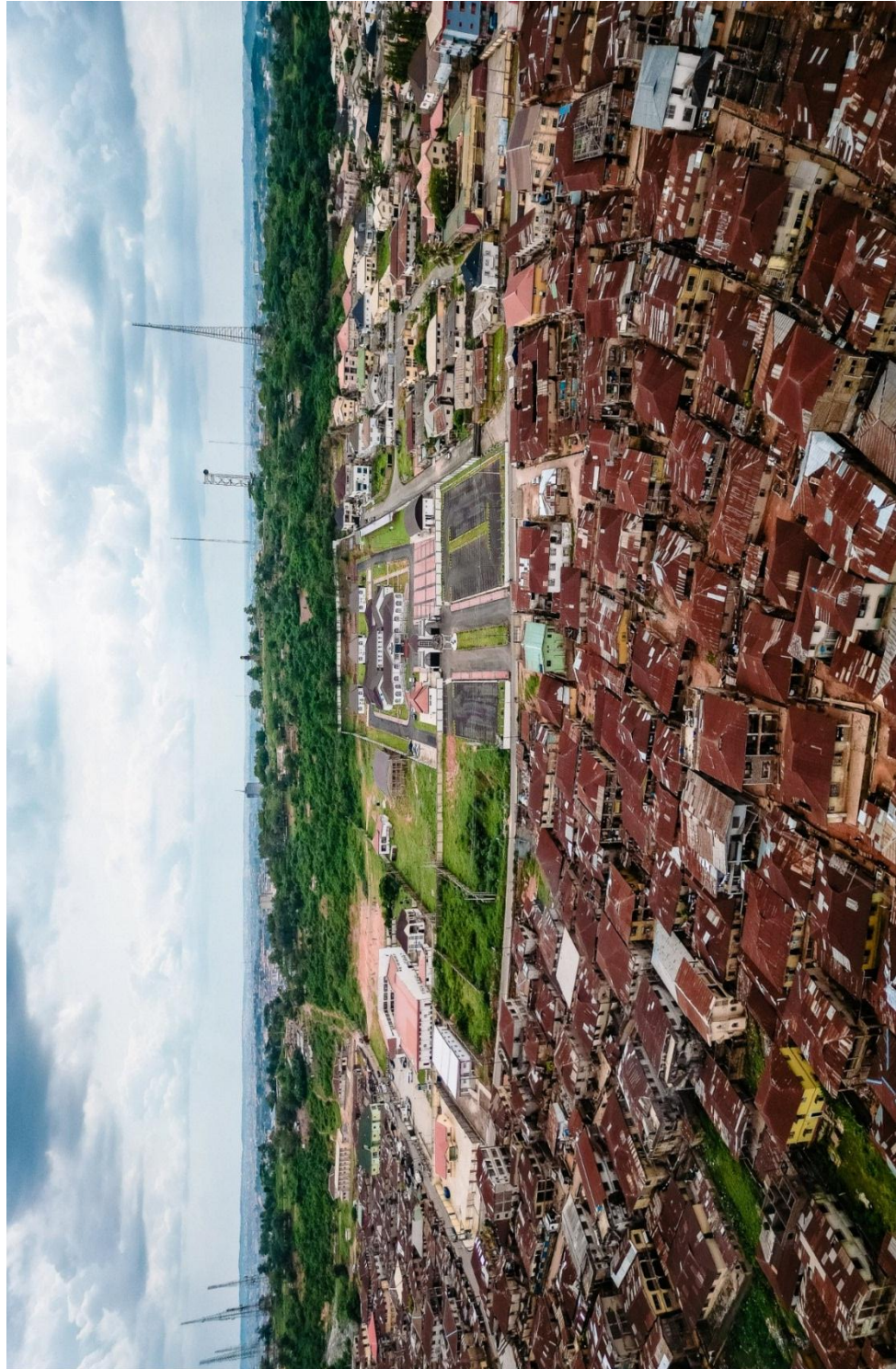
• Residential Area	* Power House
• Royal Guest House	* Police Post
• Ceremonial Pavilion	* Fire Station
• Reception Block	* Wood Land
• Main Gate House	* Existing Ibadan House
• Festivities Ground	* Olubadan Market (Oja'ba)
• Car Parks	* Future Development
• Palace Transport Pool`	* Gate House

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Thus the modern Olubadan Palace Complex Buildings provide both office and residential accommodation including other infrastructure, and services that would befit the social and political status of the monarch in conformity with the prevailing physical and cultural transformation.

NOTE: - The writer was the Secretary of the Olubadan Palace Site Selection and Appraisal Committee (SSAC) set up by the Central Council of Ibadan Indigene (CCII) in 1993 under the Chairmanship of Chief (TPL) Late Chief Dosu Babatunde and three other professionals.

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5.3 MULTIPURPOSE FUNCTIONS OF THE PALACE:

(i) Location and Security:

Usually the first public facility constitution in every royal city was the **palace**. For this, an effort was usually made to find a distinctive location, normally a low hill around which the new city could evolve. **A wall (known as gbagede)** or fence was then built round the palace and its grounds, with access through one **large gate**. The **gate structure** was a measure of king's success as an improvement upon the palace. There is a police station as integral part of the New Olubadan Palace.

(ii) Marketplace:

The **creation of a king's market place** or **Oja-ba** was one of the most important developments in every new royal city. Trade was very important to Yoruba people, and the kings took seriously the provision of facilities for its proper running. As soon as the building of the place commenced, therefore, an area its foreground, a short distance beyond the **palace gate**, was declared and measured out for the king's market place. A market place close to the palace, usually located just outside its front wall, became an unalterable attribute of the Yoruba royal city or town. Today, market is still an integral part of the palace:

(iii) OPEN SQUARE:

The palace is also a place for **socio-cultural activities**, for functions and annual festivals in particular. Various associations and societies hold their meetings in the palace. It is there also that dancers and masquerades entertain the king and the community.

(iv) POLICE POST:

For the security of the Palace Complex and the immediate neighbourhood, a Police Post was built near Ibadan House facing Olubadan Palace Road

(v) The Advantage of Hilly Location of the Palace;

The hill was also a military device. It was a **nature fortress** commonly walled to protect the king against enemies within the city and without. The Greek associated the hill with kings, oligarchies and tyrants, and the **lowland** with democracy. According to **Aristotle**, *“an acropolis, I suitable for oligarchy and monarchy, level ground for democracy”*.

The choice of a hilltop for palace erection may be explained also by its environment qualities

- **Firstly**, a hilltop was a lookout, a place from which the surrounding urbane and the countryside beyond could be viewed.
- **Secondly**, a building erected on a hilltop was an eye-target for people as it was readily seen.
- **Thirdly**, eminences afforded their occupiers visual privacy, protection against overlooking by neighbouring residents.
- **Lastly, elevated grounds** were well drained contrasting with low grounds and valleys which might be plagued by flooding, river pollution and diseases, particularly malaria.

6.0 TOURISM IN IBADAN METROPOLITAN AREA, NIGERIA

i) Upper Ogunpa Dam/Agodi Gardens

The Forest reserves that covers the top and eastern slope of Mokola and Premier Hotel Hills has an area of **8.2 hectares**. Mokola and premier Hills are elements of the central's ridge of Ibadan. *The eastern part of the forest reserves is drained north-south by Ogunpa stream which has tributaries like the Oniyere from the west and Onireke from the east. Ogunpa Stream which was dammed to produce Ogunpa Lake whose area was initially 24.6 hectares.*



The lake was established to supply water for Ibadan prior to the creation of Eleiyele Lake in 1941. During the reign of Olubadan Bankole Alesinloye (1930 - 1946) the President of Ibadan Native Authority with Ward Price facilitating the project as the British Resident in Ibadan. The Lake was later managed by the fisheries Department of the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development.

The primary purpose of establishing Ogunpa Forest reserve in **1936** was to protect the lake from ***intense evaporation, soil erosion from the slopes and its sedimentation from there and upstream.*** In 1965, 53 hectares of the forest reserve land was excised to create Agodi Gardens which was commissioned in December, **1967** by the military administration of Governor Adeyinka Adebayo. The land-fragile makes it ideal for a recreation and park. Its central location also further enhances its value. The whole are is undergoing urban renewal with the construction of Oba Akinbiyi High School II (a model school, constructed by Governor Isiaka Abiola Ajimobi (2012-2019), Baywood Housing Estate and reconstruction of Agodi Garden by the same Construction Company, Facilitated by Oyo state Government under the

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Leadership of Governor Oluseyi Makinde (2019-2027). The fishery occupies 1.2 hectares, Agodi Gardens occupies 9.1 hectares, Beywood Estate occupies 4.4 hectares.

ii) Mapo the Rallying Point of Ibadan Indigenes:

MAPO HALL



Fig. b: Aerial View of Mapo Hall

Mapo Hall was opened for use on October 5, 1929. The hall was the **first office administrative building** in Western Nigeria. It has served as a town hall for Ibadan people and remains a prominent rallying point for Ibadan Indigenes at home and in diaspora. The ancient hall was built on 5,969 acres of land and was designed by the then provincial Engineer Taffy Jones, with the idea of setting up a structure that will reflect the history and culture of Ibadan people. With a seating capacity of about 7000, **it currently serves as a major meeting point for politicians and cultural promoters alike.** This major tourist attraction is situated on the crest of Mapo Hill, one of the famous seven hills of Ibadan.

iii) Captain Ross Lister Bower's Tower Tourist Potential



Bower's Tower

One of the awesome treasures of Ibadan is the 60 feet Bower's Tower, also known as **Layipo** (meaning maneuvering) located at the heart of the **Igboagala** forest, Oke-Are. This prominent landmark, is reputed to be the highest point in Ibadan. It was unveiled on the 15th of December, **1936** in honour and memory of Captain Ross L. Bower, the first British Resident posted to Ibadan in **1893** and the first Resident to occupy the Government House on Agodi Hill in **1893** when Ibadan

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became a British Protectorate. Captain Bower served as the Travelling Commissioner of the Interior of Yorubaland and his tenure was reputed to be a period of peace, stability and progress in Ibadan.

The 60 feet high tower also provided, and still provides a good opportunity for a panoramic view of the city of Ibadan at a glance. From the top of this monument, it is possible to see the large size of Ibadan city, even standing any point of the square shaped gallery, it is possible to view the large expanse of Ibadan metropolis at a glance.

The slope on the eastern site of Bower's Tower is the site of the new Olubadan Palace Complex occupying about 9.68 Hectares

7.0 THE IMPACT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN ON THE INTELLECTUAL AND CULTURAL LIFE OF IBADAN

In **1948**, the University of Ibadan was established to provide Africans and, in this case, Nigerians, their educational needs, when put side-by-side with some of their European counterparts. The relationship between the city of Ibadan and the University has been in place even before the establishment of the University itself. The present location of the University of over **2,550 acres (or 1.032 hectares) of land, after it moved from the old location at Eleyele, was willfully leased to the university for an impressive period of 999 years** by the Ibadan Native Authority. That is an obvious case that the city must have recognized the positive influence and interaction that would potentially ensure from the establishment of the University, according to Professor Toyin Falola (2002). Eleyele was the 56th Military General Hospital.



The establishment of the institution has been able to instill the principle of nationalism in the heart of Nigerians when moves for independence were hatched. This made Ibadan a stakeholder city in the agitation for Nigeria independence.

The University of Ibadan was established as a College of the University of London; it later opened its Medical School at the **University college Hospital (UCH)**. The University became autonomous in **1962**. The UCH, together with its Nursing School, Eleyele Schools of Nursing and Hygiene, provided a comprehensive training for Doctors, Nurses, Mid-wives and Para-medical staff. From its inception in 1948 in Nigeria's independence in 1960, the University of Ibadan (U.I.) was the only University in Nigeria. It is noteworthy that it lived up to its expectation of training students from all English-speaking West African countries, namely Ghana; Sierra Leone and the Gambia, many of whom were trained in its Medical School I, University College Hospital (UCH), opened by Queen Elizabeth II, the Princess Royal of Britain on 20th November, 1957. It had **500 beds**, which later expansions increased to **800 beds**.



In addition to academic teaching, the hospital provides research facilities for the Faculty of Medicine; it runs a School of Nursing and Midwifery and also trains its paramedical staff.

The city's intellectuals embody a pluralism that reflects the diversity of Nigeria society itself, according to Professor Toyin Falola (2025) at the coronation Lecture of His Royal Majesty, Oba Rashidi Adewolu Ladoja, Arusa I. as Nigeria grapples with identity, stateness, and development, ***Ibadan's intellectual culture also serves to remind us that knowledge, born of history, pluralism, and exercised with integrity, remains the pivot of natural change.***

The lives of these great Ibadan sons and daughters repeat the city's reputation as **Nigeri's crucible of culture**, intellect, and leadership. Their stories are not isolated accomplishments but interconnected articulations of Ibadan's excellence culture. University of Ibadan (UI) is also the university most identified with the city of Ibadan as a cultural, political, and social centre. UI is not just an academic citadel but a cultural window in the evolution of Ibadan.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

IMPLICATION OF URBANIZATION AND POPULATION CENSUS FOR DEVELOPMENT OF IBADAN

1.0 EVOLUTION OF CITIES IN YORUBALAND:

P.C. Lloyd is of the view that the capital cities of Yorubaland between before 1793 when the civil wars started had the population of 15,000 to 50,000. Although he did not state the basis of his view, the figure appears reasonable. Professor Mabogunje and Professor J. Omer-Cooper (1971) estimated a population of about 40,000 for the destroyed city of Owu. According to Oluremi I. Obateru, it is probable that the cities had population of at least 50,000 to 200,000 with Old Oyo having at least 200,000 at the height of its splendor about the middle of the 18th century.

During the civil disorders, urban population growth took three forms: **natural increase, rural-urban migration;** and **under-urban migration**. The refugees from the rural areas and the destroyed settlements were accommodated by enlarging the limits of the urban centres as well as by developing the open spaces (vacant lands) within them.

The Fulani invasions of northwestern Yorubaland in the early 19th century, the Owu war of about **1814-1820**, according Samuel Johnson (1921) also the 2nd **Owu Ogbere** war in **1821-1825**, the intermittent Dahomey raids and attacks from the west resulted in mass population shift from the **open savanna** and **woodland** country of the northwest into the **traditional open forest** of the central or middle-belt zone which trends north east across central Yorubaland. The Southeast ward population displacement explains not only the high population density of the open forest zone, but also the phenomenal growth of such urban centres as Ibadan, present day **Oyo, Ogbomoso, Oshogbo, Iwo, Ede, Iseyin, Ikirun, Ile-Ife, and Ilesa** in the early and middle 19th century.

Abeokuta and Ilorin in similarly experienced spiral growth- Abeokuta came into being through constipation of Several Egba villages and towns, while Ilorin became the focus of centripetal population movement from the surrounding districts. The growth of Ilorin, like that of the present- day Oyo was not organic: growth was for cattily imposed upon it by Afonja in order to strengthen his politico- military position.

When the great empire of Oyo collapsed, and states were created, heroes emerged as state founders, worriers in defence of their polities, and warlords, according Professor Toyin Falola (2012), extracting tributes from their colonies. The states with the most developed military machines and more warrior heroes than other. Thus, Ibadan, which built an empire, had a long list, comprising such generals as Oluyole, Oluyedun, Oderinlo, Ibikunle, Ogunmola and Latosa, the Aare Ona-Kakanfo and Balogun Ogboriefon.

The **present and third Ibadan** when the allied army took over in 1825 was not more than a Kilometer in all directions from Oja'ba at the centre. The layout, according to Toyin Falola (2012 pg7) closely followed the pattern of the older towns. The second Ibadan had a market centrally located at "**Oriyangi**" and later became **Labosinde market** after 1825 and the **town wall** was where the **principal mosque** now stands (page 244 of Johnson), during the reign of Baale Omololu Opeagbe (1850- 1851).

The market is surrounded in all ideations by the earliest compounds of the Military Chiefs and other notable warriors. All the initial wars were offensive but Ibadan itself was not attacked, making it a safe place for its inhabitants. It also made it a favoured place for refuges. Indeed, Ibadan maintained an open door policy (Toyin Falola, 1989).

By 1851, Ibadan had grown into huge urban centre with an estimated population figure of between 60,000 and 100,000. New areas, notably in the **north-east**, had to be occupied as indicated later in the map, and the **town covered an estimated area of twenty six (26) square kilometers in 1850.**

The **town wall** enclosing the built up area was **sixteen (16) kilometers in circumference**, with four major gates leading to **Abeokuta, Oyo, Iwo**, and **Ijebu**, and several minor ones to various farms and villages.

Within the town wall built in 1856 and known as **Ibikunle town wall**, were hundreds of compounds, church e.g. Kudeti in the South, Ogunpa in the north-west and Aremo in the north-east, all belonging to the Church Missionary Society and also mosques, with another **large praying ground** (Yidi) in the north east. Thus, within a short time (1825-1900), Ibadan grew to become the **largest city-state** in the nineteenth (19TH) century Yorubaland.

1.1 Agriculture in the 19th Century in Ibadan:

Farmland outside the town wall also expanded. This was inevitable if the large population had to feed without reliance on importation. Whilst the farmlands were no more than eight (8) Kilometres to the **town wall built by Basorun Oluyole** in the 1840s, they had become so extensive in the late 1850s that Daniel May reckoned them to be as far as thirty (30) Kilometres to the walls. Daniel may also note the existence of **farm villages**, the number of which Alvan Millson put at one hundred and ninety three (193) in 1891.

1.2 Synergy between Rural and Urban Economies:

Interdependence is particularly evident in sub-Saharan Africa, where **town and village households** maintain multiple ties through seasonal migration and remittances, creating an informal safety net. Resources and income shift between rural and urban markets as the national economy grows and transforms structurally, and productivity changes unevenly across areas (World Bank in Cities in Transition, (September, 2000)).

Ibadan has **a large number of satellite villages** which supplied the town with agricultural products. The extensive farmlands of the war chiefs, cultivated mainly by slaves were located in these villages. Growth of secondary and market towns, where value is added to agriculture generates demand for agricultural goods and labour, raising rural incomes when markets are allowed to work (USAID 1991).

The large population and the viable agricultural base encouraged the development of agriculture encouraged the development of a market system and rapid expansion in commerce. Within the **city state** itself, the internal markets thrived on the basis of large demands and on the wide network of exchange between the town and the villages. More importantly, Ibadan became a notable economic centre in Yorubaland, largely because of its favorable **geographical location** which made it possible for the Ijebu and Egba middlemen who dealt in coastal goods to interact with others from the hinterland.

1.3 Ibadan Urban Transition in the Regional Context in the 20th Century:

Sustainable cities and towns fulfill the promises of development for their inhabitants, in particular, by facilitating upward mobility for the poor, while contributing to regional (Yorubaland) progress. **Urbanization is more than a demographic along a rural-urban Continuum (World Bank, 2000).**

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Urbanization is characterized, and, even defined, by fundamental changes in the physical concentration of **economic production**, in **land use**, and in **social structures** and **patterns of interaction**. Changes in all these dimension affects the lives of individuals and the requirements for resources and governance.



Site of Central Mosque built in 1850 of Oja'ba Ibadan



Oke-Badan and Eleyele Reservoir



Panoramic View of Ibadan from Oke-Are



The Statute of Balogun Oderinlo (1835-1850) at Mapo Roundabout

- As industry and services become more important in production, they demand more infrastructures, generate technology and information exchange, and provide diverse employment options.
- Densification of settlement directs land and wealth into housing and related infrastructure and increases the need for complex systems to provide water and energy, market food, transport goods and people, remove wastes, and protect public health and safety.

- Land became more intensively developed, and the resulting spatial layout affects accessibility, physical contacts among communities, environment (encompassing **agricultural land** at the urban periphery), and the costs of fixed infrastructure.
- Throughout this transition, families and communities are deeply affected; more women work outside home, children and adults confront diverse opportunities as well as risks, cultures mingle, new ideas multiply, and disparities in wealth become more apparent.

The **urban transition** translates into different systems of urban settlements in different countries. Even cities and towns in Yorubaland as well as in Nigeria show very dissimilar outcomes in the extent and nature of poverty, in the pattern and growth rates of investments and employment, in the spatial dispersion (“sprawl”) of residential and commercial areas, and in environmental quality and **cultural amenities** and **Heritage sites** as reflected in pictures

1.4 The Effect of Township Ordinance of 1917:

The **Urban Fragmentation** typically create two cities within city, as illustrated in the panoramic view of Ibadan from Mapo hill and Oke-Are (Aare Hill) dividing the city centre with the highest point at Sapati Hill where the Bower’s Tower is located. The structure of which is described by Professor Akin Mabogunje in his book “**Yoruba Towns**”. The interplay of two cultures can be seen in the morphology of Ibadan city. Within the formal **Ibikunle Town Wall**, built in 1856, within its former limits is an area with high residential densities, is an area with high residential densities inhabited by a population of local origin (Ibadan indigenes), with commercial activity in the form of traditional markets such as, **Oja’ba, Oje Ode-Olo, Oritamerin, Gege, Agbeni etc.** The Modern Commercial and government residential areas are located one side of the Core area. **The outer zones of the city include** the homes of immigrants from elsewhere in Nigeria as from overseas, and

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they also include areas devoted to modern education areas like polytechnic and University of Ibadan, Government Reservation Areas, Bodija Housing Estates and Oluyole Estates.

As the capital of Oyo state, Ibadan occupies a strategic **regional position** with Nigeria. With a population of **4million in 2020** at a growth rate of **2.75%** projected by the UN-Habitat in 2008, it is the most populous city in Oyo State and the **third** most populous in Nigeria after Kano and Lagos. It is the country's largest city in geographical area with an area of **3,145.96**, which is nearly 11percent of Oyo state in land mass.

In 1893, the city became a British Protectorate with a population of **150, 000**. It developed as the centre for the colonial administration of the Western Province, which reinforced the position as a focal point for trade, and commerce. Post-independence Ibadan retained its administrative and political importance its administrative and political importance in the old Western Province, which reinforced the position as a focal point for trade, and commerce. Post-independence Ibadan retained its administrative and political importance in the old Western Region and today is the capital of Oyo state and the hub of Regional activities.

The physical growth and expansion of Ibadan like many other cities was influenced by its **transport network in 1901**, when the **railway** from Lagos was constructed pass Ibadan and later extended northwards to Kano, ensuring the economic significance of Ibadan and further contributing to it becoming to it becoming a major trading centre. A road building project which started in **1897** in Lagos linked Ibadan by October, **1906**.

The Ibadan-Lagos Expressway commissioned in 1976 further led to rapid urbanization in the eastern and northern part of the city, followed by the Eleyele Expressway in the west of the city. Since then, the **Ibadan urban area** has spread further into all parts of the neighboring local government areas. The Federal

Government has also constructed a new Lagos-Ibadan high-speed rail lines with Inland-try-port at Olorisa-Oko near Moniya in Akinyele Local Government Area. The high-speed rail-line will also link up Kaduna and Kano and provide opportunity to open up the city to further investment and increases commercial activity between the two cities ”To ease congestion and traffic grid lock in the city, Ibadan Circular Road is being constructed under public-private partnership. It covers about 117Kilometers with Toll-Gates. This will also open up rural areas for development and further investment in Housing going on at Ajida New Town and Private Estates springing up in the less City Local Governments.

The major **spatial growth** of Ibadan urban area occurred mainly in the periods from **1964 to 1984** and **2000 to 2020**. Of the total land area of the city covering **3,145.96 sq. Kilometre**, only **546sq. Kilometre (17.4%)** is urbanized whereas **164. 76 sq. kilometer** of built development lies within the **villages** and the peripheral areas of the city. The undeveloped area comprising agricultural land, forests, and open spaces total **2, 435 sq. Kilometre (74. 5%)** (Ibadan Master Plan March, 2017).

1.5 Hierarchy of Yoruba Cities and Towns:

The immediate, most visible, result of the creation of each kingdom as the emergence of the new king’s city, “**Ilualade**, which we shall here call the **royal city or royal town**. In every kingdom, the **royal city** amalgamated the populations of the **pre-existing** settlements and the immigrant founders of the kingdom. The most important consequence of the amalgamation was the almost sudden rise of a town of considerable population. From about the considerable population. From about the eleventh century to about the eighteenth century, then, Yoruba people saw such significant centres of population springing up all over their homeland (Professor S. Adebajji Akintayo, 2010).

How large in population the cities were by **1800** is indicated here and there in the traditions. As earlier pointed out, some scholars have estimated that at the peak of the growth of Ile-Ife by the **thirteenth or fourteenth century**, its population was probably about **70,000**. Oyo-Ile would seem to have been more than twice that number by **1800**.

- (i) The cities that are reputed to have been **the largest in Yorubaland, outside the Oyo area**; namely Ilesa, Ijebu-Ofe, Owu Ipole, Owo, de-Ondo, Ado (ekiti), Akure and Ikere, reached the peak of their growth considerably later than Ile-Ife. The fairly definite impression conveyed by the traditions is that, by about **1800** (by which time Ile-Ife's population had declined), some of these cities were larger than Ile-Ife in population and physical size.
- (ii) **Below the level of these largest cities**, there were **many royal towns of fairly large size** all over the country such as: Ila in the Igbomina country; the Ekiti towns of Otun, Ikole, Ara, Ijero and Efon, Idoani, in the Owo Country; Ifewura, Ketu, Sabe, Egba towns of **Iddo**, Ilugun, Kesi and Ake.
- (iii) **Royal towns of the Akoko country were generously**. Generally small too were those of western Yorubaland from the Egbado country westwards, with the exception of the political dominance of Oyo-Ile to these western regions in the seventeenth century and the coming of many Oyo settlers, boosted the population of some of the towns there, especially ketu, Ifonyin, and the Egbado towns of Ilaro and Ijana.
- (iv) **Mode of Creating Yoruba Cities:** In most cases, it would seem, the creation of the **royal city** was affected by destroying the pre-existing settlements and massing all their population and that of the immigrants together in one area, just as had happened in the case of

Ile-Ife. The founders of **Ilesa** destroyed many pre-existing settlements, and so did the founders of **Owo** through a long-drawn-out war.

In Ijebu-Ode, however, **Obanta** and his followers simply took control of the Ijebu-Ode founded by Olu-Iwa (his mother's father) and began to build on it. The founder of Ado kingdom under **Awomaro** in Ekiti did much as the same as Obanta. The old settlements here were stretched out around the foot of the Olota Rock. Awomaro left them where they were, and settled his immigrants followers as a continuation of the chain around the foot of the rock. Then he established a place and the king's market place, and began to build the city wall.

2.0 THE ROLE OF CITIES IN THE TRANSFORMATION OF TRADITIONAL SOCIETY:

2.1 Introduction:

Oyo State has the largest number of urban centres compared to any other state in Nigeria, most of these towns are situated in the Cocoa and Kolanut growing area in the southern and eastern parts of the state. There were 58 towns having population of 20,000 and above in 1980 and accordingly, the percentage of urban population in Oyo State worked out to be around 81.5% while it was about 60.5% in 1963. This is a rare phenomenon in developing countries, but this is a special feature of Oyo State in particular.

Only one railway line passes through Oyo State, connecting Lagos to the North. Ibadan and Lagos are connected by a new Expressway of 130 kilometres, and a network of highways link the State Capital with other towns and neighbouring states. There are two airports at Ibadan and air strip at Ede. Ibadan and Ile-Ife are the headquarters of universities and important educational institutions as at 1980 but now increased to about seven universities in Oyo State while the **Alakia Airport** (Ladoke Akintola Airport) has been upgraded to an International Airport.

The growth of cities is inextricably linked to economic development. The form of urban growth influenced and continued to influence the nature of economic change and development. Cities are also places where ambitions, aspirations and other aspects of life are realized, providing contentment and happiness and increasing the prospects of individual and collective well-being. Cities in Africa generally are places where most of the population find satisfaction of basic needs and essential public goods.

By and large, cities as crucibles of economic change have not received the amount of attention they deserve. And yet ***there is a symbiotic relationship between urban development and economic development; economic growth decline are intimately associated with urban expansion and contraction.***

Cities vary in size. The words we use to describe urban places contain some indication of the differences: **village, town, city, megapolis**. The works suggest an upward movement in size and influence. The Arab geographer, Al Muqaddasi classified cities, towns, and villages in term of nested hierarchy.

2.2 Establishment of Subordinate Towns and Villages in Yorubaland

Many kingdoms never expanded their sovereignty beyond the royal city and its farmland. All of the Akoko and Ikale kingdoms. Some of the Ekiti, Ijesa and Egbado Kingdoms, and most of the far western Yoruba kingdoms stagnated in their royal cities.

(a) Ekiti and Ondo Kingdoms

Of the rest, some acquired only a few towns and villages, while others acquired quite considerable territory with many towns and villages in it. The Ekiti kingdoms were generally small territorially, the three largest ones being Ado, Akure, and Moba (with Otun as capital). During the first two or three centuries of the history of the **Ado kingdom**, it gradually expanded the territory under its control until it came to rule over twenty subordinate towns in a kingdom stretching from northwest

to southeast for some sixty miles, the largest kingdom in Ekiti. The **Owo kingdom** was somewhat larger than that, consisting of forest territory more than seventy miles in length from north to south with more than twenty towns. The **Ilesa kingdom** quickly became the largest Ijesa kingdomde, while the Olowu's kingdom dwarfed the other kingdoms of the Owu. The **Osemowe of Ondo** ruled over a large forest kingdom extending all the way from the Oni River in the north to boundaries with the Ikale and Ilaje in the coastal lagoon country, and from the Owena River in the east to indefinite forest boundaries with the Ijebu in the west, certainly one of the market kingdoms in Yorubaland.

(b) Egba and Awori Kingdoms

Among the Egba, the Gbagura are said to have had some 144 small towns located at short distances from one another, of which seventy-two came to owe allegiance to the Agura of Iddo and seventy-two to the Onigun of Ilugun. Each of the other Egba Kingdoms. Kesi ruled by the Ojoko. Ake under the Alake, and Oko under the Oshile or Oloko – also came to rule over tens of small towns. By about the eighteenth century, the Ijebu-Ode kingdom was perhaps the largest forest kingdom of the Yoruba people. To the south, this kingdom shared a boundary with the Awon of the Lagos kingdom on the coast; to the east it shared a boundary with the Ondo; to the northeast with the Owu and Ife, and to the west with the Egba and the small kingdoms of the Ijebu-Remo province.

These territorial expansions were accomplished in diverse ways during the long period starting from the founding of the first kingdoms in about the eleventh century to the eighteenth century. As earlier pointed out, in most kingdoms, when the royal city was being established people came out to it from the neighboring forests. The traditions of many kingdoms show that these immigrants to the city usually continued to preserve their farming and land-use interests in their former villages, ultimately producing the situation whereby the city regarded those villages as subject

to itself. Often, farming, fishing or trading activities by city people resulted in the emergence of subordinate villages and towns in the neighboring forests.

(c) Unassimilated Villages and Old Settlements:

Quite often also, villages, unassimilated old settlements or mini-states, and independently emerging settlements, sought protection of the nearby city. Most such protected settlements became fully absorbed as subjects of the city government. In some cases, however, such towns or villages acquired a status of semi independence, or even maintained their independence, within the kingdom, each thus existing as a state within the state. In Ode-Ondo, for instance, the Oloja of Idoko, in return for special religious services done for the Oemawe was allowed to keep his own hierarchy of chiefs very much like the Osemawe's, even after Idoko had become absorbed into the kingdom of Ode-Ondo. **The relationships of Igbara-Oke** to the Akure kingdom, and Ilawe and Igbara-Odo to the Ado kingdom, seem to have belonged to this type. **Finally, every ultimately large kingdom contained towns and villages that were conquered by the armed forces of the royal city.**

It would seem, as Ade Obayemi has suggested, that by about 1600, absorption, destruction and conquest of independent mini-states and settlements by centralized kingdoms had been completed in most parts of Yorubaland. By then, in effect, centralized kingdoms shared boundaries with one another all over Yorubaland. In many cases, kingdoms responded to the situation by setting up border posts as a means of protecting and stabilizing their boundaries. For instance, when the Oyo-Ile kingdom and the Ilesa kingdom came to share a border. Oyo-Ile established Ede, and Ilesa established Osogbo, as border, Oyo-Ile established Ede, and Ilesa established Osogbo, as border posts.

Subordinate towns and villages were known as ereko – that is **settlements of the farmlands**. Usually, a subordinate town or village retained the line of rulers it had before coming under the authority of the city. In some cases, however the city authorities placed their own nominee over an ereko town or village, usually in instances where some vital interest (like an important road junction) required special control.

(d) Baale Heads the Ereko Settlement:

Every substantial ereko settlement was organized like its city, under the headship of a local ruler called the Baale, and cadres of chiefs. The Baale, followed by his chiefs, owed allegiance to the king in the city. Usually, a high chief in the city government was appointed to act as liaison between the city government and the government of a particular ereko town or village. This usually meant that the high chief transmitted messages between the king's government and the ereko government, received in his compound the Baale and his chiefs on their official visits to the city, and led them to the palace if they had business to do in the palace.

(e) Relationship Between Baale and the King:

The king's government owed the ereko towns and villages the duty of defending them, of coming to their aid in emergencies, and of intervening to sort out their most difficult disputes. The king's palace also served as the final court of appeal in any cases arising in an ereko town or village. On their part, ereko towns and villages owed the king the duty of contributing men and materials to his army in time of war, as well as to repairs, expansions or improvements of the palace or the city wall. Routine levies and impositions on subordinate communities were not usually part of the Yoruba system; instead there was a general culture of support and gifts to the king on important festivals and jubilees.

(f) Establishment of Subordinate Towns and Villages in Ibadan

In Ibadan, farming was by far the most widely practiced of all occupations and was regarded as the most important of all activities. There were four type of field, the **oko aba or abuleko** (farmstead) in distant places where, unlike the **oko etile** the farmer stayed for days.

The **abandoned Egba settlements of Okoo, Ika, Iroko, Ikeye**, and those of Ou became Ibadan's famous farmstead. These farmsteads kept on multiplying in response to demand for foodstuffs to about one hundred and sixty three (163) in 1891 according to an European traveler after Daniel May, an European missionary in **1850s**.

The farming zone stretched to the neighborhoods of Apomu in the east and Lalupon in the northeast. The establishment of the numerous farmstead was one of the significant developments in the **agricultural history** of the post-1860 era.

It created a rural economy distinct from the urban economy. The major occupation in the farmsteads were farming. All of them were closely tied to the capital (synergy between the rural and urban economy) forming an economic zone from where the Ibadan metropolis drew foodstuff to feed its urban population. Those located farmsteads on the highway could however sell cooked food to travelers and such farmstead were known as **majeroku** ('do not let traveler die') because of the services they rendered.

Every **abuleko** (farmstead) was connected with an **idile** (lineage) in Ibadan. It was the members of an **Idile** who established a farmstead and the name of the **Idile** as given to it. For example, the **Ile Ago (Agbo compound at Bere)** Ibadan had its farm, called **aba agbo**, about twenty kilometers east of the town through other names were derived from the historical circumstances leading to their establishment or the peculiar geographical features of the area, the close connections with the idile's abuleko (lineage farmsteads) associated with them were known.

In administration the **abuleko** was just an extension of the **agbo ile** (compound). The **Baale or Mogaji** was the head and also the **olori oko** who had the final say on matters relating to the use and allocation of farmlands.

2.3 Pattern of Settlements of Yoruba Towns:

The patterns of settlement and type of government varied widely. Reviewing the ways the 19th-century wars affected the structure, layout, and governance of the cities, earlier scholars have identified two broad models: the first was the traditional monarchical style, represented by Ijebu and Ile-Ife, where kings and their council of chiefs commanded affairs; the second was the “republican” style, represented by Ibadan, with a deliberate avoidance of the monarchy. Instead, this paper finds six different styles or models. (Akanmu G. Adebayo, 2020).

- (i) The first model was re-creation.** This settlement style applied principally to New Oyo, which was built up as a replica and replacement of the Old Oyo capital. New Oyo emerged from Ago Oja, a pre-existing small village or camp. The new town was the handiwork of Alaafin Atiba and the aristocracy, as well as soldiers, commoners, and slaves that followed him from Old Oyo. In this new capital, the Alaafin continued to enjoy the direct stewardship of towns in western Yorubaland and Upper Ogun, such as Saki, Kishi, and Igboho.
- (ii) The second model was separation.** This applied to Ile-Ife in relation to Modakeke. As Oyo refugees moved into Ife kingdom, the Ooni (paramount ruler of Ile-Ife) decided to separate the newcomers from the Ife population and settled them at Modakeke, a location that was about five miles southwest of Ile-Ife.⁴¹ The ensuing twin cities grew towards each other and the distance between them shrank until there was hardly a noticeable boundary. The Ife–Modakeke model yielded two towns that developed separately, each maintaining its sub-ethnic

traditions. This model also reveals the risks of separation, and these could be observed in the protracted Ife–Modakeke conflicts that have characterized communal relationships, with conflagrations at various times since the 19th century.

- (iii) **The third model was co-creation**, and Ibadan was its prime example. Ijaye would also have been an example of co-creation but for two issues: the conflict between Ijaye’s principal leaders, Kurunmi and Dado, and the utter destruction of Ijaye by Ibadan in 1862. The “republican” structure and emphasis of Ibadan probably played a role in its emergence and success as a military camp of Oyo refugees. The co-creation model also allowed innovation to thrive. Co-creation promoted competition and, ultimately, merit; all refugees had a role to play in the development, security, and stability of the city.⁴² Scholars of Ibadan have revealed that the lineage system guaranteed access to land and eligibility for a chieftaincy title. According to Professor Toyin Falola:

Ownership and control [of land] were instead exercised by the few military chiefs, brave men, and other idile heads who roughly divided the small town into neighbourhoods. These earliest or “original” owners of the land within the town were few and most of them were influential men. They had their ile ile or idile (family’s land) which they in turn gave to their relatives, followers, and retainers free of charge. There were no landless individuals since everybody belonged to or was attached to a compound and each compound had sufficient land to give its members.

Lloyd had explained the connections of this pattern of development to Ibadan's burgeoning bureaucracy and political power: members of the lineage "elect from among the male members a **mogaji** who represents their interests in the traditional governing councils and who aspires to a chieftaincy title, setting him on the ladder towards the highest political offices."

Another aspect of Ibadan's co-creation was militancy. In her analysis of a murder case in early colonial Ibadan, Ruth Watson laid out the connection between domestic politics, imperial relations, and military interactions in Ibadan in the 19th century. Her point was that, even in their rivalries for power and influence at home, and in their fierce competition for military laurels in various battles, Ibadan warlords and "war-boys" collaborated for the common good. According to Watson:

State formation actually occurred on the battlefield, where competing warrior chiefs and their followers transformed their rival military households into the "Ibadan army." Collective warfare was a practical way to win greater spoils; it was more effective than numerous raiding bands.

Ibadan's co-creation also promoted a republican system, which operated relatively smoothly by rotation and promotion and ensured that only the tried and tested would emerge at the top of the administration. Although a promotion did not occur unless there was a vacancy, and the vacancy was by the death of the occupant, in the 19th-century context many did not have to wait too long. Vacancies occurred relatively quickly, due to untimely deaths at war, internal Ibadan violent conflicts, or an epidemic.

- (iv) **The fourth model was confederation.** Abeokuta was the prime example of this. As in the cocreation model, all immigrating refugees and lineages were important in city governance and defense. In Abeokuta, however, the groups of refugees gave support to their

respective sections of the city and each section was organized as a kingdom headed by its own monarch. For collective security and to wage war, the sections came together to present a united front.

- (v) **The fifth (rejection) and sixth (integration) models were on opposite ends.** They were the options available to pre-existing Yoruba cities that did not suffer a direct attack. Examples of rejection were Ijebu Ode and Ondo, non-Oyo cities which rejected refugee resettlement en masse. In the case of Ijebu, there was a long-standing law that barred other groups from trading inside Ijebuland: no “stranger,” including members of other Yoruba groups, should ever enter Ijebu territory. Instant death awaited any stranger who contravened this law.
- (vi) **Despite this law and attitude,** there was probably some infiltration of Oyo refugees along the border villages but not in sufficient numbers to change the culture or alter the composition of the leadership elite. Ondo’s location deep in eastern Yorubaland made it unattractive to Oyo refugees. As Olasiji Oshin has shown, probably the only Oyo elements that saw Ondo in the 19th century were Oyo mercenaries engaged by Ile-Ife in the conflict between Ondo and Ife over Oke-Igbo.
- (vii) **In the sixth model (integration),** which applied to the Yoruba cities located in central Yorubaland, the leadership admitted and resettled the refugees and provided them safe havens. The cities included Iwo, Ogbomoso, Osogbo, and Ede. The population of those cities grew rapidly. The initial encounters put pressure on housing and food supply, but altogether integration was successful.

The categories in this typology overlap. Categories 3 and 4, for instance, were refugee resettlements or military camps, but they were different. While administration in Ibadan was centralized in the Bale or Olubadan, administration in Abeokuta was diffused in a confederal arrangement featuring four sectional kings, with the Alake of Egba as the primus inter pares. According to S.O. Biobaku, the Alake's authority over the Egba began in the Egba forest and continued after the people's migration to Abeokuta. This authority was "judicial rather than executive. [...] Ake was the venue of the highest court of appeal and the Alake the ultimate or chief judge of all the Egba." The three other rulers at Abeokuta were the **Olowu of Owu** (ruling over refugees from Owu War), **Oshile of Oke-Ona**, and the **Agura of Gbagura**. *Also, while Category 3 and Category 6 were integrative, the people and their leaders in Ibadan (Category 3) were refugees attempting to carve out a new settlement, while in Iwo (Category 6) the pre-existing royal authority remained intact to accommodate new arrivals.*

2.4 Rural Settlements:

For integrated rural development the policy should be to increase the opportunities for employment by the introduction of intensive agriculture, industries for processing agricultural products and workshops for repairing agricultural implements. In addition to employment, basic amenities like health, education and welfare services have to be provided of larger population with easy access to rural people, as centres where small-scale industries and community facilities can be economically operated. These villages, serving as central villages for the surrounding area can attract, by their enhanced job opportunities, migrants who might otherwise move to bigger towns. The infrastructural facilities needed in these selected villages are explained in Annex 9, Report on Infrastructural Development (Ch. 5).

There are 9,526 villages in Oyo State distributed in different local government area as shown in figure 8.1 and table 1

2.5 Rural Settlement Pattern:

General occurrence of human settlements depends on the opportunity to work and earn the livelihood. This 'work-home relationship' decides the innumerable pattern of human settlements. Quite a number of them prosper and some decline and vanish when job opportunities cease. That explains the reason for many of the rural settlements declining in Oyo State. **In order to stabilize the rural population and attract people to take up agriculture and allied occupations in future**, it is necessary to develop rural settlements in a planned manner. The hierarchical system of settlements works well if proper selection of central villages and service towns is made. The State has to take the initiative in identifying such villages and towns in each local government area and put in investment by way of industrial units, infrastructure, housing and other developments under each Five Year Plan programme. As an alternative, group of 3 or 4 villages was considered for location of infrastructural facilities, but it was found that a Central Village would be preferable for economic reasons, instead of scattering the facilities. Figure 8.2 illustrates the inter-dependence of settlement at the rural level.

On the basis of the concept (Catchment Area), a settlement pattern can be worked out for each Local Government Area. This exercise should cover all the 42 local government areas by studying local conditions and possible trends. The rural settlement pattern worked out above, broadly based on physical and demographic considerations, can be adapted while detailed physical development plans are prepared for sub- region of the state.

It is interesting to find that settlements in the northern portion of Oranmiyan Local Government Area, for example, have easy access to the community facilities like schools, hospitals, banks and cooperatives due to the closeness of their occurrence, while those in the southern part are farther apart. The picture will be more revealing when similar plans are prepared for the local government areas of Ibarapa,

Kajola, Ifedapo, Irepo, Iseyin and Oyo where some hamlets are more than 19 kilometres away from important villages having community facilities and shops.

Table 1: Rural Settlement Occurrence in Oyo State (1977)

S/No.	Local Government Area	Area (Sq. kms)	No. of villages	No. of villages per sq.kms
1.	Akinyele	1,351	1,312	97.2
2.	Atakumosa	1,198	212	17.2
3.	Ede	602	469	77.9
4.	Ejigbo	597	197	33.0
5.	Ibarapa	3,084	387	12.6
6.	Ifedapo	5,810	75	1.3
7.	Ifeladun	331	472	142.6
8.	Ila	501	61	12.2
9.	Irepo	2,907	330	11.4
10.	Irepodun	457	85	18.6
11.	Irewole	1,441	626	43.4
12.	Iseyin	3,417	201	5.9
13.	Iwo	520	629	120.4
14.	Kajola	2,983	98	3.3
15.	Lagelu	417	671	160.9
16.	Obokun	990	313	31.6
17.	Odo-Otin	325	45	13.8
18.	Ogbomoso	1,220	532	43.6
19.	Oluyole	945	1,086	114.9
20.	Oranmiyan	1,545	477	31.0
21.	Osogbo	138	159	115.2
22.	Oyo	4,999	1,089	21.8
	Oyo State (minus Ibadan & Ilesa)	35,778	9,526	26.6

Note: Ibadan and Ilesa Local Government Areas are considered Urban.

2.6 Criteria For Selecting Central Villages:

Therefore, it is recommended that the following criteria be adapted in selecting a Central Village:

- (1) It should not be more than 5 kilometres away from the remotest village of its catchment area in the thickly populated zone and not more than 10 kilometres in the sparsely populated area.

- (2) The village should have a minimum population of say 250 people in the sparsely developed area and 500 in the thickly populated area.
- (3) It should have at least two local roads or highway touching it for easy communication. The selected village, call it a Central Village or Key Village, should be used for gradually building up infrastructure – physical and social needed for growth in the rural area. A number of these villages will in turn look to the nearest town for higher facilities and the hierarchical pattern evolves up to the Metropolitan City or the Capital, thus developing each part of the whole State.

2.7 Urban Pattern:

The **regional development plan** has to take into consideration both rural and urban settlements together and integrate the three factors of development - **economic**, **social** and **physical**. Their components are housing, infrastructure, industry, health, education, recreation and so on. The investment on these change the physical character of the region and the human settlements therein. Investments in public transport infrastructure and related reform including finance and regulations, deliver major economic benefits, contributing to poverty alleviation and improving quality of life.

2.8 The Global Hierarchy of Cities

Cities have been growing in size and number over the past 300 years. In **1800** only about three in **every hundred people** lived in towns with a population greater than **5,000**. The population of the world was overwhelmingly **rural**, living on the land (Jane Jacobs in *Cities and the Wealth of Nations*, 1984, 232). Cities were small, like tiny pin-prick islands in a vast rural area. There were only a handful of cities with a population greater than half a million. By **1900** almost **one in every ten people** lived in town, and the number of cities were more than half a million increased to **twenty**. By **1990**, of the 5,300 million on the planet, **four out of every ten** lived in

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towns, and the number of cities with over half a million people had increased to almost **600**.

A global hierarchy of cities can be identified. At the top are the command centres of the world economy. **Three world cities can be identified London, New York, and Tokyo.** These three cities constitutes the main nodes of a global circuit of information, capital, and investment flows. They represent the centres of global power of the last 100 years. Below this the secondary financial centres compete for dominance and in some cases edge close to the world cities in influence and power. Such cities include San Francisco, Hong Kong, Zurich, and Paris.

Mere size does not correspond with global influence. Some of largest cities in the world do not have great world influence. Mexico, for example, had a population of 5 million in **1950**; in **1990** this had increased to **16 million**, and estimates suggest that the figure will read 25 million by the end of the century. **However, this population growth reflects demographic shifts rather than changing global positions.** The global hierarchy reflects and embodies social, economic and demographic changes.

According to Mayers and Owusu, (2008), cities existed in many areas of Africa prior to the 1500s and a few (Cairo, Tunis, Ibadan, Janne, or Kano, for example_ were comparable to many European cities in size prior to he rise of European power, while others areas were essentially devoid of large-scale urbanism. **Liberia** was technically never colonized (although it certainly was an **American Colony** economically, its elites were African-American settlers, and it two largest urban areas, **Monrovia** and **Buchanan**, are named for US presidents.

Table 2: Analysis of Spatial Growth Rates of Nigerian Cities:

Meanwhile, comparative studies of the population growth of old regional capitals in Nigeria such as Ibadan, Enugu, Kaduna and other major cities showed that Ibadan has the least growth rate inspite of being a regional capital since 1940s.

S/N	Urban Centres	Population Census 1952	Population Census 1963	Growth Rate 1952/1963	Population Census 1991	Growth Rate 1963/1991	Population 2006	Growth Rate 1991/2006
1.	Ibadan Municipality	459,196	627,379	2.9%	1,228,663	2.50%	3,338,039	0.57%
2.	Greater Lagos	267,000	665,000	8.65%	1,238,137	3.93%	1,436,398	1.05%
3.	Kano Municipality	130,173	295,432	7.7%	406,601	1.23%	586,893	2.86%
4.	Abeokuta	85,451	187,297	7.5%	376,894	2.51%	451,607	1.21%
5.	Onisha	76,921	163,031	7.1%	221,691	2.46%	261,604	8.50%
6.	Port Harcourt	71,634	179,563	8.7%	406,000	12.96%	541,115	1.93%
7.	Enugu	62,734	138,457	7.5%	464,514	4.44%	531,340	2.99%
8.	Aba	57,787	131,003	7.7%	500,183	4.84%	531,340	0.40%
9.	Zaria	53,753	100,694	5.9%	180,000	7.59%	289,205	2.41%
10.	Benin City	53,753	100,694	5.9%	180,000	7.59%	289,205	2.41%
11.	Calabar	46,705	76,418	4.5%	320,000	5.25%	371,022	0.99%
12.	Ilorin	40,994	108,546	9.2%	578,429	3.81%	77,667	2.02%
13.	Kaduna	38,794	149,910	13.1%	348,000	3.81%	760,084	5.35%
14.	Jos	38,527	90,402	8.1%	623,000	7.14%	821,618	1.57%
15.	Ondo	36,233	74,343	6.8%	252,347	8.5%	358,480	2.37%
16.	Maiduguri	54,646	140,000	8.6%	627,000	1.12%	732,696	8.55%

Source: Central Council of Ibadan Indigenes census committee

2.9 The Impact and Legacies of Colonialisms:

Whenever the colonial powers grabbed territory, **they set about establishing towns and cities as control centres. New towns were established or old ones were transformed with the infrastructure of imperial and colonial control, barracks, prisons, courthouses, government offices, the residential quarters of the ruling elite.**

The cities today face both the traditional architectural. Superimposed on this vernacular tradition is the spatial manifestation of foreign economic control; the grid street pattern, the ornate public buildings and, more recently, the architecture of international modernization, the central business district (CBDs) that loo the same all over the world. The **dual cities or twin cities** of the Third World embody the incorporation of the periphery into the core of the world economy. In the past this

was done through formal imperialism and colonialism. Today it is achieved by the operation of multinational corporations, investment and disinvestment, capital flows, and the workings of the capitalist market.

Colonialism's other urban legacies concern **internal form and spatial structure**. These legacies in African cities are well known and widely studied (Celik 1997; Winters 1982; Mayers 203). Is the **segregation and segmentating of the urban landscape**, and another is the related high degree of inequality. Often, the most obvious dimension of the **segmentation** was **racial segregation**, with separate areas for business or residence restricted to Europeans, Asians, and Africans, respectively, in many colonial cities, justified by rhetorical concerns with health (Swanson 1977).

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

2.10 The Phenomenon of Urban Fragmentation

Growing inequality and socio-spatial fragmentation of urban life reflects widening gap between the rich and the poor that translates into urban division between the **enabled** and the **disfranchised**. While the majority of the poor inhabit informal settlements and slums, the upper and the emerging African middle class retreat into the **voluntary segregation of residential gated communities**,

surrounded by high, spiked or barbed fences and protected by armed private guards.

Although this social and physical fragmentation is more visible in large cities like Lagos, Ibadan and Kano (Nigeria), Accra and Kumasi (Ghana), Freetown, (Liberia) or Monrovia (Sierra Leone), it is nevertheless a pervasive urban phenomenon found in urban centres of all sizes and in towns that have seen significant growth over the past three or four decades.

Urban fragmenting typically created two cities within the city as clearly illustrated with the satellite image of Ibadan, Maputo, and Mozambique and even Abeokuta and many cities created or transformed during the British Colonial administration in the 20th century in Nigeria. The urban poor live in high urban densities, with **unplanned urban spatial layout and mostly deprived of access to adequate housing, residential land, municipal; services and other urban benefits**. The better off tend to reside in the ordered, formally planned and structured higher-income areas that enjoy municipal services such as Oluyole estate, Okebadan Estate and Bodija Estates apart from Government Residential Areas.

2.11 Housing Conditions and Access to Land:

With limited resources, West and Central African nations are attempting to provide dwelling units in the shortest possible time. The process involves bringing together **labour, land, finance, construction materials** and **governance process** in partnerships that include the **private sector** and at times the **community sector** as well. The trend is an increasing interest by the private sector in housing production.

In Nigeria, this is an outcome of 2002 National Housing Policy coupled with re-invigoration of **housing finance system** access to the **National Housing Fund (NHF)**, by primary mortgage institution and the advent of a new democratic system. The market-driven housing delivery system, however, unequivocally favours the interest of higher-income groups in up-market neighbourhoods. Few, if any of the

housing units provided across the region are **tenement housing**, the type an average Ghanaian, Nigerian or Sierra Leonean or Congo lean would readily rent. The increased number units produced by the private sector, therefore, did little for average households.

The unprecedented expansion of urban populations causes rapid increase in the demand for urban land. But urban land is location-specific and urban plots cannot easily be reproduced and the demand met by converting rural land largely determine the ease or difficulty of land acquisition and assembly. In the case of Nigerian, they **make expansion of urban area difficult and raise transfer cost** to levels that are not attainable by the poor.

3.0 POPULATION AND URBANIZATION OF NIGERIA CITIES:

According to the census, the annual growth rates of Yoruba urban centres ranged from Ile-Ife 1.6 to Ado Ekiti's population of 24,645 in 1952 incredibly skyrocketed to 157,519 in 1963. Ila's population of 25,745 in 1952 astronomically rose to 114,688 in 1963, a growth rate of 31.4 percent per year. Ogbomosho had an annual growth rate of 11.8 percent, Lagos 8.6 and Ibadan 3.3 percent.

With the exception of Lagos, it is unlikely that any other Yoruba city is growing at a faster rate than 5 percent per annum. The 1963 census-ascribed 3.3% to Ibadan which was then the capital of the Western State of Nigeria (now Ogun, Osun, Ekiti, Ondo and Oyo states) in addition to being the most important employment centre in the Western State. (See table 1)

By 1991, some cities in Nigeria have developed into metropolitan areas such as Lagos, Ibadan and Kano with population ranging from 1 million to above 3.0million. Consequently, these cities were broken into more sizeable urban local government. For instance, Lagos metropolis had a population of about 3.98million and Ibadan, 1.84million, Kano 1.58 million and Abuja (FCT) with 371 thousand. But Lagos now being a mega-city has limited space for expansion having a total area

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of 3,345.00km while cities like Ibadan, Abeokuta and some areas in Ogun State will continue to absorb the spillover of the population from Lagos State.

Nigeria experiences serve problems associated with unbalanced population distribution and increasing rapid urbanization in the absence of well-articulated and comprehensive urban planning, development control and urban social policy. Lagos is the classic example of a developing megacity, combining haphazard, uncontrolled and unrestrained population and spatial growth with little corresponding expansion in housing, infrastructure, services and livelihood opportunities. Lagos growth did not appear among the world's 30 largest urban agglomeration until 1995 when it occupied a modest 30th position. By 2000 Lagos had risen to 26th and by 2005 it was the 24th largest. By 2010, had become 2nd largest in Africa and the world's 18th largest urban agglomeration.

Lagos exhibit exceptional character as most populous city in Sub-Saharan Africa. Lagos constitutes less than one percent of Nigeria's land area, its 2007 metropolitan agglomeration accounted for 6.5 percent of the nation's urban population while hosting about 70.0 percent of all Nigerian industries.

The development of urban areas is closely tied to the rural economy through exchanges of goods, labour, services, capital, social transactions, information, and technology that benefit residents in both locations. A well-integrated national labour market carries growth across regions and urban areas provide alternative employment for rural households even where agriculture thrives.

Thus the interdependencies between urban areas and their hinterlands provide positive synergies that can be further developed to promote national poverty reduction and growth, by making cities and towns efficient market places for the country as well as the South-Western States

(a) Growth Rate of Yoruba Cities

The average annual growth rates of Yoruba cities have varied considerably since the end of the civil upheavals in 19th century. Lagos grew at the rate of 5.68 percent between 1931 and 1932 6.29percent between 1860 and 1890. Ogbomoso and Iwo grew at the rate of 2.90 percent and 3.57 percent respectively between 1931 and 1952.

During the period of 1893-1921, only Ibadan and Ogbomoso experienced continued growth. The reasons for the rapid growth of Ibadan are probably economic factors and being the Yoruba capital.

- Firstly, the railway from Lagos (whose construction began in 1896) was extended to Ibadan in 1901;
- Secondly, Ibadan occupies the centre of the most productive farmland of the Yoruba country, that of cocoa in particular; and
- Thirdly, on account of its central location, Ibadan has been the most important commercial and service centre of central Yorubaland. Consequently, transportation routes converge on the city form Yorubaland.

This development is an indication that the growth of cities is inextricably linked to economic development. The form of urban growth influenced and continues to influence the nature of economic change and development taking place.

**TABLE 2: POPULATION OF MAJOR URBAN CENTRES OF YORUBALAND
NATIONAL POPULATION CENSUS:**

S/N	Urban Centre	1911 Census	1921 Census	1931 Census	1952 Census	1963 Census	1991 Census
1.	Ibadan	175,000	238,094	387,133	459,196	627,379	1,835,300
2.	Lagos	73,766	99,690	126,108	271,800	665,000	3,988,700
3.	Ogbomoso	80,00	84,860	86,744	139,535	319,881	170,249
4.	Osogbo	59,821	51,418	49,599	122,728	208,966	106,386
5.	Ile-Ife	36,231	22,184	24,170	110,790	130,000	256,222
6.	Iwo	60,000	53,588	57,191	100,069	158,583	105,401
7.	Abeokuta	51,255	23,941	45,763	84,451	187,397	375,000
8.	Oyo	45,438	40,356	48,733	72,133	112,349	221,222
9.	Ilesha	-	-	21,892	72,029	165,822	139,445
10	Iseyin	33,262	28,601	38,805	49,680	76,418	79,838
11	Ede	26,577	48,360	52,392	44,808	134,550	142,363
12	Ilorin	36,342	38,668	47,590	40,994	108,546	309,000
13	Ondo	-	-	20,859	36,233	74,343	252,347
14	Ijebu-Ode	-	-	27,909	27,588	68,543	246,687S

Source: * *United Nations, Selected Indicators for African Countries, 1970-200, New York, June, 1979.*

* *National population Commission and Federal Office of Statistics 1996.*

The growth rate of Osogbo (7.02) m Ife (17.07) and Ilesha (10.91) between 1931-52 appear incredible. During the growth rate periods, the cities experienced no significant economic boom or rural insecurity that generated a trend of rural urban migration and it was unlikely that the natural increase of their populations exceeded the 0.5 percent of 1952 for both Yorubaland and Nigeria.

Since the 1952 census, no clear picture of the growth rates of Yoruba cities has been gained. The controversial 19653 census returns are unreliable, at least for most of Yoruba towns and cities. As numerical strength conferred economic and political advantages, some census figures were almost certainly inflated.

(b) The Growth of Primate Cities in Africa

In 2010, for forty-six (46) of the African continent's fifty-three (53) independent states, the primate city in the urban hierarchy is the colonial capital, primary part, or part-capital. As table 2 shows, the dominance of the largest of these urban types has actually increased on the continent since 1980, rather than decreased (UN-Habitat 2008).

**TABLE 3: AFRICA’S LARGEST CITIES: POPULATION (IN MILLIONS)
FOR THE TWENTY LARGEST CITIES ON THE CONTINENT**

Rank	Cities	Population 1980	Rank	Cities	Population 2010
1	Cairo	7.349	1	Cairo	12.504
2	Lagos	2.572	2	Lagos	10.872
3	Alexandria	2.519	3	Kinshasa	9.052
4	Casablanca	2.109	4	Khartoum	5.085
5	Kinshasa	2.053	5	Luanda	4.775
6	Cape Town	1.900	6	Alexandria	4.421
7	Johannesburg	1.656	7	Abidjan	4.175
8	Algiers	1.621	8	Johannesburg	3.618
9	Abidjan	1.384	9	Algiers	3.574
10	Kano	1.350	10	Addis Ababa	3.453
11	Durban	1.214	11	Kano	3.393
12	Ibadan	1.186	12	Nairobi	3.363
13	Addis Ababa	1.175	13	Dares Salaam	3.319
14	Khartoum	1.164	14	Cape Town	3.269
15	Ekurhuleni (east rand)	1.1.07	15	Casablanca	3.267
16	Luanda	0.962	16	Ekurhuleni	3.157
17	Dakar	0.957	17	Dakar	2.856
18	Accra	0.863	18	Durban	2.839
19	Nairobi	0.862	19	Ibadan	2.835
20	Dares Salaam	0.836	20	Accra	2.332

***Notes:** *Cities that served as colonial capitals, primary colonial ports, or both. Data for Johannesburg’s consolidated metropolitan area in 2010 would yield a much larger populations, of more than eight million.*

***Source:** UN-Habitat (2008: 174-7)*

In the abstract, high primacy ratios are not immediately disastrous for a country’s development, but what makes the twin challenges of primacy and a thin urban hierarchy more daunting in many African countries is that the causes for rapid growth are commonly seen to be not directly attributable to economic growth and industrialization, with exceptions here and there (Becker et al. 1994; Brycesson 2006).

Twenty-two out which thirteen (13) largest cities are in Nigeria and South Africa, pointing to another related element of the colonial legacy; most African countries other than Nigeria and South Africa have what mainstream Western

geographers would consider to be poorly developed urban hierarchies, so that very high rates of primacy and the absence of significant secondary cities are still rather common.

3.1 THE POPULATION PROFILE OF OYO STATE

The Federal Republic of Nigeria covers an area of 923,768 square kilometers and consists of 36 states and a Federal Capital Territory (FCT). The States and FCT are subdivided into 774 local Government Areas. The country extends from the Atlantic coast in the south to the edges of the Sahara Desert in the north. It is linguistically, culturally and ethnically diverse.

(i) Population Size:

Nigeria is by far the most populous country in Africa and is among the ten most populous countries in the world. According to the 1991 census. Nigeria had a population of about 89 million persons. The 2006. Population figure is 140,903,542.

(ii) Population Growth Rate:

Population growth rate is determined by three main factor, fertility, mortality and migration. International migration has played a negligible role in determining the population growth rate of Nigeria. Rather, it is past fertility and mortality trends that have resulted in a very high rate of population growth. The Nigerian population is now estimated to be growing by about 2.9 percent per year. At that rate, the population will double in size in just 24 years. This means that Nigeria has one of fastest growing populations in the world.

(iii)Age Structure

As a result of fertility and mortality trends, there is a preponderance of young persons in the population. About 44 percent of Nigerians are currently under 15 years of age. Consequently, the nation has a high dependency ration of **89 dependents** to 100 persons in the

**TABLE SHOWING DETAILS OF 1991 AND 2006
TOTALS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS IN OYO STATE**

LGA	1991 Population	2006 Population
Afijio	82,792	134,173
Akinyele	140,118	211,359
Atiba	99,388	169,702
Atisbo	58,565	110,792
Egbeda	129,461	281,573
Ibadan North	302,271	306,795
Ibadan North West	147,918	152,834
Ibadan South West	277,047	282,585
Ibadan South East	225,800	266,046
Ibadan North East	275,627	330,399
Ibarapa North	42,558	101,092
Ibarapa Central	59,197	102,979
Ibarapa East	65,897	118,226
Ido	53,897	103,261
Irepo	65,541	122,553
Itesiwaju	52,269	128,652
Iseyin	118,667	256,926
Iwajowa	56,254	102,980
Kajola	112,006	200,997
Lagelu	68,901	147,957
Ogooluwa	36,188	65,184
Ogbomosho South	65,959	100,815
Ogbomosho North	104,295	198,720
Olorunsogo	39,298	81,759
Oluyole	91,527	202,725
Ona Ara	123,048	265,059
Orelope	68,566	104,441
Ori Ire	103,611	150,628
Oyo East	82,323	123,846
Oyo West	79,187	136,236
Saki East	51,326	110,223
Saki West	109,437	278,002
Surulere	64,097	142,070
Total	3,452,720	5,591,589

Federal Republic of Nigeria Official Gazette No. 25 Vol. 84 of 15th April, 1997

**DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION AND LOCAL
GOVERNMENTS IN NIGERIA AT 2006**

S/N	STATES	POPULATION 2006	NO. OF LGAS 1996	GEOPOLITICAL ZONE
1.	Abia	2,645,380	17	South East
2.	Adamawa	3,178,950	21	North Central
3.	Akwa Ibom	3,902,051	30	South South
4.	Anambra	4,177,828	21	South East
5.	Bauchi	4,653,066	20	North East
6.	Bayelsa	1,704,515	8	South South
7.	Benue	4,253,641	23	North Central
8.	Borno	4,171,104	27	North East
9.	Cross River	2,892,986	18	South South
10.	Delta	4,112,448	25	South South
11.	Ebonyi	2,176,947	14	South East
12.	Edo	3,233,366	18	South South
13.	Ekiti	2,398,957	16	South West
14.	Enugu	3,267,827	17	South East
15.	Gome	2,365,040	11	North East
16.	Imo	3,927,563	27	South East
17.	Jigawa	4,361,002	27	North West
18.	Kaduna	6,113,503	23	North West
19.	Kano	9,401,288	44	North West
20.	Katsina	5,801,564	34	North West
21.	Kebbi	3,256,541	12	North West
22.	Kogi	3,314,043	18	North Central
23.	Kwara	2,365,353	16	North Central
24.	Lagos	9,113,605	20	South West
25.	Nasarawa	1,869,377	13	North East
26.	Niger	3,954,772	25	North Central
27.	Ogun	3,751,140	21	South West
28.	Ondo	3,460,877	18	South West
29.	Osun	3,416,959	30	South West
30.	Oyo	5,580,894	33	South West
31.	Plateau	3,206,531	17	North Central
32.	Rivers	5,198,716	23	South South
33.	Sokoto	3,702,676	12	North West
34.	Taraba	2,294,800	16	North East
35.	Yobe	2,321,339	17	North East
36.	Zamfara	3,270,873	11	North Central
37.	FCT	1,406,239	6	Abuja
	TOTAL	140,421,790	774	

4.0 URBANIZATION AND URBAN POPULATION GROWTH

The issue with the urbanization of Ibadan is not so much the level but rather the overwhelmingly **rapid rate of change**. The speed with which the urban transition is taking place exceeds the response capabilities of most of West Africa's and Nigerian urban managers and those of the larger cities in particular. Inadequate capacities, resources and capabilities assure that the region's cities fall further and further behind the growing demands for effective urban governance, housing, infrastructure, services and jobs.

Nigeria experiences severe problems associated with unbalance population distribution and increasingly rapid urbanization in the absence of well-articulated and comprehensive physical planning, development control and urban social policy. Lagos, according to UN-Habitat, 2008 report, is the classic example of a developing country mega-city, combining haphazard, uncontrolled and unrestrained population and spatial growth with little corresponding expansion in housing, infrastructure, services and livelihood opportunities.

4.1 The Phenomenon of Urban Fragmentation:

The structure of Ibadan in Western Nigeria is described by Professor Akinlawon Mabogunje in his book "**Yoruba Towns**". The city grew during the nineteenth century before Western European influence became effective. **The interplay of two** cultures can be seen in the morphology of the town. Although the town wall has now gone, within the former limit is an area with high residential densities, inhabited by a population of local origin, with commercial activity in the form of traditional markets. The modern commercial and government of this core area. The outer zones of the city include the homes of immigrants from Lagos, Northern Nigeria and Eastern Nigeria and overseas, and they also include areas devoted to modern education uses.

Urban fragmentation typically creates two cities within the city as clearly illustrated with the satellite image of Ibadan. The urban poor live in high urban densities, with unplanned urban special layout and mostly deprived of access to adequate housing, residential land, municipal services and other urban services. The better of tend to reside in the ordered, **formally planned and structured high-income areas** that enjoy municipal services.

Ibadan, located at the interface of savannah and forest and the capital of Oyo State, is the **third largest city in Nigeria by population after Lagos and Kano**. Ibadan is however, **Nigeria's largest city in geographical area** with eleven administratively separate local government areas.

In 1960, Ibadan was the second-most populous city in Nigeria and the tenth largest in Africa after Alexandria, Algeria, Cairo, Cape-town, Casablanca, Durban, East Rand, Johannesburg, and Lagos. It is located in south-western Nigeria, **140 kilometres** in land from Lagos and constitutes a prominent transit point between the coastal region and the North.

4.2 Population Growth of Ibadan from 1856 to 2006

The population of Ibadan grows progressively from **100,000 in 1851, 175,000 in 1911 and 745,488 in 1952**. In tabular form as follow:

Year/Period	Population	Remarks	Growth Rate %	Average Growth Rate %
1856	70,000	Estimated	-	-
1860	150,000	Estimated	-	-
1890	150,000	Estimated	0.0	0.0
1911	175,000	Census	0.79	0.79
1921	238,094	Urban	3.60	3.60
1931	287,133	Urban	6.29	6.29
1952	745,488	Urban = 459,196 Rural = 286,252	0.89 -	0.89 -
1963	1,141,677	Urban = 627,376 Rural = 514,298	2.80% 5.7%	3.95%
1991	1,829,300	Urban = 1,222,663 Rural = 606,639	2.43% 0.50%	1.65%
2006	2,550,593	Urban = 1,338,659 Rural = 1,211,934	0.47% 2.22%	2.43%

Sources: Census Ordinance of October 25, 1917,

National Population commission 1991 and Federal Office of Statistics, 1963

Between 1931 and 1952, Ibadan City's population increased from 389,133 to 459,196 inhabitants, which amounted to a drop in population to an annual growth rate of 0.8% from 6.29%. The low growth rate was attributed to the temporary movement of people from the older (traditional) parts of the city to the farms and newly developing areas. The population of the less city (suburban area) was 286,252 where the census was conducted for the first time. Between 1952 and 1963, the population of the city increased slightly to 627,379 with an annual growth rate increasing to 2.80% due to increasing flow of people into the city from the enhanced status of the city in the socio-economic and political arenas of the country.

The rural populations in 1963 increased tremendously to **514,298**, accompanied by an annual population growth rate of 5.7%. While the total population for Ibadan city and its suburb increased tremendously to **1,141,667** at an annual population growth rate of 3.95% and Ibadan became the largest city in Nigeria, followed by Lagos.

Between 1963 and 1991, the Ibadan Municipal Government now comprising five Urban Local Governments had a population of 1,228,663 which amounted to annual growth rate of 2.43% from 2.80% in 1963. The less city population increased marginally to 606,639 from 514,298 in 1963, which accounted for annual growth rate of 0.50%. The total population for Ibadan and its suburb increased marginally to 1,829,300 in 1991 accompanied by a drop in the annual exponential growth rate to 1.65%.

As Akintola observed in 1963, there were **3,000 villages** established in Ibadan within a radius of **40 kilometres** within 130 years or so of building the city. Settlements listed for Ibadan Division in 1963 census **1,184** but these are **central villages** selected for census purposes (catchment Areas).

According to the Physical Development for the Old Oyo State in 1990 by the UNCHS (Habitat) which in collaboration with the Ministry of Physical Planning, it

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stated that in **1977** Akinyele had **1,312 villages**; within an area of **417sq.km**; Lagelu had **671 villages** within an area of **1,351sq.km** and Oluyole had **1,087 villages** within an area of **945sq.kilometres**. This was the period when the six (6) Less City Local Governments was merged into three (3) LGAS.

Ibadan is now moving towards becoming a megapolis, a city without bounds, big and large enough to be not just a state but qualifies to be a nation on its own, bigger than either Senegal or Gambia in terms of landmass and Population size, even with economic resources.

The result of population census conducted by the National Population Commission has only confirmed that Ibadan population has continuously been on the increase, **while the low rate of growth as recorded for Ibadan City is due to mainly to bonifide errors and undercounting of population of Ibadan city** by the National Population Commission and Agencies according to Professor Ayeni of the University of Ibadan as contested by the Central Council of Ibadan Indigenes at the Census Tribunals.

The criteria adopted in selecting central villages were a minimum of 250 people in the sparsely developed area and 500 people in the thirdly populated area. These villages, serving as central villages for the surrounding area can attract by their enhanced job opportunities, migrants who might otherwise move to bigger towns. The infrastructural facilities needed in these selected villages are provided in order to stabilize the rural population and attract people to take agriculture and allied occupations in future.

The period between 1963 and 1991 witnessed a remarkable feature of the growth of Ibadan with the urban landscape spreading over about **101.9sq.km in 1973** and about **130.5sq.km in 1982**. The 1980s developments like the construction of expressways along Sango-Eleyele and Lagos/Ibadan Express road engendered a rapid spate of building construction to the south and east of the Eleyele reservoir and Ojoo-

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Olorunsogo axis of the eastern part of the city. The built-up area of the city in 1989 was approximately 240sq.km. and a population density of 5,094 persons per sq.km. Ibadan City further declined to an annual growth rate of 0.47% in 2006 from 2.43% in 1991. The graph/histogram clearly shows the growth rate pattern of both the city and the surrounding rural population (1991-2006).

It is observed that the population of Ibadan has continuously been on the increase and these low rates of growth might be due to imperfections and inaccuracies of census estimates by the National Population Commission (NPC).

4.3 The Politics of Population Census:

The importance of population census figures to planning and national development is widely acknowledged. Its significance transcends politics but borders more on the welfare of the people of a nation and its component units. Therefore accurate information of the total number of people is a vital tool for effective and good governance.

Experts have generally defined population census as “the total process of collecting, compliancy, evaluation, analyzing and publishing or otherwise disseminating democratic, economic and social data pertaining to an area at a specified time to all persons in a country or a well delineated part of the country”.

Census figures are important in the administrative budgetary, political education and manpower planning, infrastructure planning, demographic studies among others.

Under the Census Ordinance of 1863, the first census recorded in any part of the country took place in 1866 and covered only the Lagos Colony. The next was in 1871 and marked the beginning of conducting census every ten years following the British tradition.

It was 1921 census that covered the whole country following the amalgamation of Nigeria in 1914. The first census that was documented according to expert came in 1931. By 1952, the three regions which made up the country namely: western, eastern north regions were getting ready for internal self-government from the colonial administration. In preparation for elections into the Federal House of Representatives, the data from the 1952/52 census were used as the basis for allocation 50 percent representation to the Northern Region.

Gradually, from 1952 onwards, the people became aware that political power arising from the number of elected members of parliament or Local Council as well as the allocation of government amenities such as school, hospital, pipe borne water and electricity depended largely on the size of the population.

4.4 ANALYSIS OF HOUSING AND POPULATION DATA

Between 1963 and 1991, Ibadan grew at the rate of 2.5% per annum. Lagos at 3.93% per annum. Ogbomoso's population reduced from 319,881 in 1963 to 170,249 in 1991. Oyo grew at 2.5% per annum while other towns in Oyo State recorded below 1% growth rates between 1963 and 1991 census.

Research Work on Population of Ibadan

In 1990, there was a study carried out by human resources research unit of the University of Lagos in collaboration with the United Nations center for human settlements (habitat) Nairobi which was commissioned by the old Oyo state government. The finding showed that the growth rate of Nigeria was between **3.21%** and **3.36%** while the annual growth rate of population of the old state (Old + Osun) would be about **3.25%** between 19080 1990.

The report formed, the growth rate of major cities in Old Oyo State were found to be between 5% and 2% with Ibadan having the highest growth rate of 5 percent, Oyo had 3.5 percent, Ogbomoso, Iseyin and Saki had 3.0 percent each within the same period.

The high growth rates of major cities could be explained by the facts that they are either major political, economic or administrative center of regional or national significance. Ibadan had been the political economic and administrative headquarter of western region since 1946.

4.5 Housing Parameters:

The number of residential building and household size had relationship with the growth of population since both are determined by Annual Exponential Growth Rate (AEGR). Therefore, the number of house is an important factor in determining the population of a city.

In 1996, the World Bank commissioned 10 Registered Estate surveyor and value in collaboration with Oyo state government under the state urban development Program (IDFII) to carry out building enumeration and valuation to determine the property tax base (PTB) in Ibadan.

The result of the exercise was compared with the number of houses enumerated by national population commission in 1991. The findings were as follows.

Table 1: *Analysis of Number of Buildings on Local Government Basis (1991 - 1996)*

S/N	Local Government	No of Building		Percentage Increase	Growth Rate
		1991	1996		
1.	Ibadan North	21,649	27,612	27.28%	5.0%
2.	Ibadan North East	25,329	29,215	15.34%	2.75%
3.	Ibadan North West	13,491	14,192	5.20%	1.20%
4.	Ibadan South East	18,354	35,985	97.14%	14.50%
5.	Ibadan South West	20,323	27,938	37.47%	6.5%
	Total	99,091	134,442	32.86%	5.75%

Source: * National population commission, 1991

*Ministry of Finance budget and planning, 1996

Table 2: Relationship between number of Building and City Population

S/N	Local Government Area	Population IPC 1996	Estimated No of Bldgs 1996	No of Person Bldgs	Projected population 1996
1.	Ibadan North	348,869	27,612	12	418,675
2.	Ibadan North East	318,142	29,215	31	905,665
3.	Ibadan North West	170,734	14,192	19	269,648
4.	Ibadan South East	260,629	35,985	17	617,745
5.	Ibadan South West	319,781	27,938	28	782,264
	TOTAL	1,418,182	134,442	21	2,993,997

The 5.7% growth rate for Ibadan municipal area was a confirmation of the result and findings of UCHS (habitat, Nairobi, on the growth rate of Yoruba cities which gave the growth of Ibadan as ranging between 6.5 percent to 4percent from 1980 to 2000AD.

Table 3 also revealed the disparity between the NPC projected 1996 population of Ibadan municipality (1,418,182) and the projected population of 2,993,997 based on poetry enumeration in 1996 by real estate consultants appointed by the World Bank.

Another studies was carried out by Osot associates consulting engineers led by engineer A. Tokun on water supply to Ibadan metropolitan Area. The studies revealed that demographic statistic such as birth rates, deaths, marriages and migration were not available in Nigeria. Despite this, the consultant made attempt to estimate different population growth rate each of the high, medium and low density areas of Ibadan metropolis.

Table 3: Projected Population for Ibadan Metropolis

S/N	Grouping	Total Area (km ²)	Average Pop/ House	Growth Rate	Total Population 1990
1.	Low density	64.462	14	4.64%	477,794
2.	Medium density	36.279	21	4.06%	859,929
3.	High density	27.217	23	2.25%	1,663,968
4.	Institutional	42.032	-	-	91,123
	Total	169.99	19	3.98%	3,092,815

The growth rate for each zone was for the period between 1990 and 2010 and the population of people living in the periphery of the city was not included in the population estimate exercise. The average rate was 4 percent between 1990 and 2000.

This independent studies carried out but Osot associate consulting engineers Ibadan is very important as the findings on average growth rate and average number of person per building tallied with the result of earlier research work.

We can therefore reasonably assume that the average of Ibadan population is 4 percent per annum while the average number of people per house lies between 19 and 21. This is clearer when population arrived at by different groups area compared graphically for Ibadan municipal Area.

**HOUSING AND POPULATION DATA FOR IBADAN
METROPOLITAN AREA (1991/2006) OYO STATE CAPITAL**

S/NO.	Local Government Area	Population 1991	No. Of Households	Population 2006	Projected Households
1.	Ibadan North	302,271	68,464	308,119	70,669
2.	Ibadan North East	275,637	65,335	331,44	76,019
3.	Ibadan North West	147,918	36,667	154,029	35,328
4.	Ibadan South East	225,800	18,554	266,457	61,114
5.	Ibadan South West	377,047	64,333	283,098	64,931
	SUB-TOTAL	1,228,663	287,077	1,343,147	308,061
6.	Akinyele	140,118	31,845	211,359	48,477
7.	Egbeda	129,461	29,423	281,573	64,581
8.	Ido	53,897	12,249	103,261	23,684
9.	Lagelu	68,901	15,659	147,957	33,935
10.	Oluyole	91,527	20,802	202,725	46,497
11.	Ona-Ara	123048	27,965	269,059	61,711
	SUB-TOTAL	1,617,952	137,943	1,216,706	278,885
	GRAND-TOTAL	1,835,615	425,020	2,559,853	586,946
	STATE TOTAL	3,452,720	799,511	5,580,894	1,279,681
	% OF STATE TOTAL	53.16%	53.16%	45.87%	45.87%

*Source: National Population Commission, Oyo State Local Government
Figure, 2006, and 2009 published on 25th June, 2007 and 2009.*

APPENDIX I
WHY OBA ALAAFIN LAIMIDI ADEYEMI III RELIED
ON HISTORY BY REV. SAMUEL JOHNSON AND THE OFTEN
CLAIMED SUPREMACY OF OYO EMPIRE

History shall be kind to the late Alaafin Lamidi Adeyemi (III), for putting up a good fight to avenge the political victimization of his father, Oba Adeniran Adeyemi II (1945-1965).

History had it that Oba Adéyemi II, was dethroned in 1954 for been disrespectful to the Action Group 1 Deputy Leader, Chief Bode Thomas, who was also the Oyo Divisional Council Manager. Oba Adeniran Adeyemi (II), was a staunch supporter of Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe's Party-National Convention of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC).

There was altercation between the Alaafin and the Council Manager over Alaafin's refusal to observe the protocols of remaining standing when the Chairman entered. The aftermath of exchange of harsh words was the barking to death by Chief Bode Thomas on the command of Alaafin Adeyemi II, who was allegedly cited some incantations (Ayájó Ohún Ifé) on Chief Bode Thomas. The rest is history.

Inspite of vigorous attempts by Oba Lamidi Adeyemi (III) to pervert the course of history because of the past glory of his defunct Empire, the Ooni of Ife remains the recognized Spiritual Father of the Yorubas. He is co-Chairman of the National Council of Nigeria Traditional Rulers. This body was established by the Federal government and is composed of selected First Class Obas, Emirs and Chiefs in Nigeria.

In 1903, Ooni Adelekan Olubuse I (1894-1910), was invited by the British Colonial Governor, Sir William Macgregor, to travel to Lagos to settle a dispute over the rights to wear Crown between the Olu and Olojà of Épe. Why was Alaafin Lamidi Amubieya Agogojá (1899-1919), not the one invited?

While I did not, in actuality pre-empt any rude reaction, I did reference that Lagelu, an Ife man, who founded what is Ibadan today, was installed the Jagun of Yorubaland (military commander of the entire Yorubaland) by the Alaafin Sango in recognition of Lagelu's enviable profile in wars. Significantly, there was no objection from any section of Yorubaland to the appointment which obligated Lagelu to go to battle declared by the Alaafin. The History of Ibadan, authored by the late Oba Isaac Babalola Akinyele and first printed in 1911, further confirms this claim in Chapter 1, pages 15. On point of correction this was in the 16th century during the reign of Alaafin Obalokun (1590-1600). Similarly, the Alaafin Gbadegesin installed the late Premier of the defunct Western Region, Chief Samuel Ladoke Akintola, the 13th Aare Ona Kakanfo of Yorubaland at a grand event attended among other prominent traditional rulers, by the late Ooni of Ife, Oba Adesoji Aderemi at the Aganju forecourt. Till Akintola passed away on January 15, 1966 and afterwards, no contrary voice rose to query the Alaafin's appropriateness or otherwise for bestowing that title on the Ogbomoso-born Akintola. Closely related to this is the world acclaimed legal giant, Chief Afe Babalola whom I installed the Aare Bamofin of Yorubaland having proved beyond reasonable doubt his unmatched exploits in his chosen profession, in spite of his humble background in his Ado-Ekiti hometown.

I deliberately made the above references with a view to affirming the Alaafin's consistency in his proclamation of his status as a political head of Yoruba; who administered Oyo Empire with efficiency, which enthralled the British Colonial officials to have preserved the status quo before and after the amalgamation of the Northern Protectorate with the Southern Protectorate in January 1914 by the Governor, Sir Lord Frederick Lugard.

It was in honour of that hegemonic structure by the British that the Alaafin was the only Yoruba traditional ruler who was signatory to the historic amalgamation agreement, which gave birth to Nigeria. Other Nigerian royal fathers,

who appended their signatures, were the Sultan of Sokoto, the Sheu of Borne, the Emir of Kano. It was also in recognition of the rank that no other first class traditional ruler earned as much as the Alaafin in the colonial salary scale. **Suffice here is list of the first class and second class traditional rulers according to the British salary scale as contained in the government report of 1938.**

First Class

The Alaafin of Oyo	4200 pounds per annum
The Alake of Abeokuta	2250 Pounds
The Awujale of Ijebu	1700 Pounds
The Oba of Benin	1650 Pounds
The Ooni of Ife	1440 Pounds

Second Class

The Olubadan of Ibadan	2400 Pounds
The Owa of Ilesa	1450 Pounds
The Oshemowe of Ondo	350 Pounds
The Orangun of Ila	200 Pounds

Before any traditional ruler should enter debate floor over any claim made by the Alaafin, such king is expected to do so from an informed angle in order to save himself an intellectual embarrassment awaiting him. Can anything be more shameful if a supposed embodiment of cultural heritage publicly expresses a crass ignorance of his purposes on the throne? Traditional rulers must lead in area of preservation and defense of history of their domains with a view to educating and ultimately guiding their subjects to make right decisions.

And regardless of any misinterpretation or mischief from any quarter and in any guise, I shall continue to make landmark proclamations to refresh our memories of where we were, where we are and where we head to as a people. After all, the great Athenian Philosopher, Plato (c 428-347B.C) espoused that the earth was circular but paid the price

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with his life when he was accused of heresy by the authorizes. Wasn't be vindicated many years after subsequent discovery established brilliant submission?

I am imploring traditional rulers to use archival materials in their palaces to earn respect when they are called upon to address sensitive subjects of interest. We must know our past as recorded by the colonial authorities. That hunger to know makes the Alaafin who he is in the eyes scholars and lovers of knowledge globally.

Finally, I make bold to say that on my declaration at the recent installation in Oyo, I firmly stand on the strength of my unfettered access to an appreciable number of archival items, which do not only uphold my claim, but copies of which are available in my library as they ought to be available in libraries of other palaces.

For instance, August 19, 1914 letter from the Colonial Secretary office of Southern Province titled "Grading of Chiefs in Oyo Province 1914", is contained in Oyo Prof 6/1, C924/1914. Another one is January 31, 1938 letter, titled "Grading of Obas", under the file number CS026/33044. Any traditional ruler in doubt should visit the national archive section of the Federal Ministry of information of the Alaafin's Secretariat, where arrangement to retrieve and make photocopies of the letter, and other materials of historical significance, will be coordinated.

I will henceforth begin, for the sake of posterity to reveal many other historic letters which colonial authorities sent to Yoruba paramount rulers in addition to what was called Information Box, which they supplied the Obas- for safekeeping for their successors-in-title. If you, as a paramount ruler, cannot find the Information Box in your palace, then something must have happened to it during incumbency of your predecessors. Again, at appropriate times and when occasions demand, I shall be revealing those invaluable documents to general public.

In conclusion, the new Alaafin of should be wary of the people around him for the kind of advice they offer him. He shouldn't be held hostage by the few Oyomesi on his side, The Abobakus; Ilaris; and the Drummers, are most likely to be competing for

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attention to carry unmerited favours. The monarch should subject their advice to critical thinking. Not to be swallowed hook, line and sinker.

The contentious Oyo State Council of Obas bill was passed in **June, 2025**. The new Alaafin and his towns' people are not happy with that bill. ***But the authors of the Bill originally proposed making Alaafin the permanent chairman; in his absence, Olubadan and Soun were to serve as concurrent chairmen in that order of ranking*** very loud protest by Alaafin's people that their king would not share the seat with anyone even when he is absent woke up the other side-Ibadan and Ogbomosho. They reacted by rejecting the bill as originally drafted, and demanded a rotation of the chairmanship. They will share the seat two years apiece.

Professor Bolanle Awe in 1965 piece wrote that ***Ogunmola and, much later, Aare Latosa while establishing an Ibadan Empire stretching over the whole of Yorubaland openly discarded the support and friendship of the Alaafin of Oyo.*** Of the two leaders, according to Dr. Lasisi Olagunju in the Nigerian Tribune of Monday, 26 May, 2025 said, however, Ogunmola was the wiser, in that he replaced the Alaafin's friendship with that of the British government. The effect foundational friendship with the new power, the British, is what we see later in the colonial government acknowledging Ibadan over Oyo as the new power centre.

In conclusion, vision is the art of seeing what is invisible to others, according to Jonathan Swift. Yoruba ancestors saw today and made a **rule of behaviour that Obas must never leave their kingdoms. They also decreed it a taboo for Obas to meet face to face.** Throughout the period of obedience, no Oba compared his height with another and none talked down on another. But the British broke the pot, **first** in **1886** to sign a treaty; **second** in **1925** at a Dabar for the visiting Prince of Wales. The really bad one was in **1937** when the British called and held a **Conference of Obas** in Western Province. Since then, intrigues and fights over who sits where have combined to ruin the family.

APPENDIX II

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	⚔	⚔	⚔
3.	1832-1835	Oluyedun Afonja	Aare-Ona Kakanfo	⚔	⚔	⚔
4.	1835-1836	Lakanle	Baale	Bankole Alesinloye	⚔	⚔
5.	1836-1849	Oluyole	Basorun	Oderinlo	⚔	⚔
6.	1849-1850	Oderinlo	Balogun	None	⚔	⚔
7.	1850-1851	Opeagbe	Baale	Vacant	⚔	⚔
8.	1851-1864	Oyesile Olugbode	Bale	Ibikunle	Sunmola Laamo	Subuola
9.	1864-1865	Ibikunle	Balogun	None	Vacant	Subuola
10.	1865-1867	Ogunmola	Basorun	Akere		Subuola
11.	1867-1869	Akere I	Balogun	None	Vacant	Subuola
12.	1869-1871	Orowusi	Baale	Ajobo	Iahajo	Efunsetan
13.	1871-1885	Latosisa	Aare-Ona Kakanfo	Ajayi Ogboriefon		Efunsetan
14.	1885-1893	Ajayi Osungbekun	Balogun	None	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)
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

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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	• S.L. Durosaro • S.O. Lana • Lateef Omotoso	• Wura Akintola (1995-2007) • Aminat Abiodun
41.	2007-2016	Oba Samuel Odulana Odugade	Olubadan	S.A. Omiyale	• Oyeleke Ajani • Omowale Kuye	• Aminat Abiodun
42.	2016-2021	Oba Adetunji Aje Ogunguniso	Olubadan	Olakulehin	• Adewolu Ladoja	• Laduntan Oyekan
43.	2021-2024	Oba Mahood Balogun	Olubadan	Olakulehin	• Adewolu Ladoja	• Laduntan Oyekan
44.	2024-2025	Oba Owolabi Ige Olakulehin I	Olubadan	Ajibola	• Adewolu Ladoja	• Laduntan Oyekan
45.	2025	Oba Rasheed Adewolu Ladoja Arusa I	Olubadan	Ajibola Tajudeen	• Oyewole Foko	• 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.

APPENDIX III

PROFILE OF ESV. TOMORI MOSHOOD ADIJOLOLA



Esv. Moshood Adijolola Tomori was born in Ibadan at Laamo's Compound into the Farounbi Lineage, Bere Ibadan in Ibadan South East Local Government Area of Oyo State on 4th January, 1950. His father was Late Pa. Salawu Akinlabi Tomori and Mother, late Madam Mojinyinola Abeke Tomori.

He attended Christ Church Primary School, Mapo, Ibadan, St. James Primary School, Idi-Aba, Abeokuta and St. John Primary School, Iloro, Ilesha, Lagelu Grammar School, Ibadan (1968-1972), Government College, Ibadan (1973-1974), University of Ife, now Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife (1974-1979).

SCHOLARSHIP

He enjoyed Western State Scholarship at Lagelu Grammar School Ibadan, and Federal Government Scholarship at the University of Ife, (now Obafemi Awolowo University) Ile-Ife in Osun State, Nigeria.

PERSONAL QUALIFICATIONS

He had a Bachelor's Degree in Estate Management in 1979 and became a registered member of the Nigerian Institution of Estate Surveyor & Valuer (ANIVS), He is a Registered Member of Estate Surveyors and Valuer Registration Board (RSV). He is a member of the Nigerian Institute of Management (NIM) and Associate of London Rating and Valuation (ARVA)

WORKING EXPERIENCE

Esv. Tomori M. A. started his professional career in the Ministry of Lands Housing and Survey, Oyo State from 1980 to February, 1991 and rose to the rank of Principal Lands Officer.

He transferred his service to the Local Government Service Commission of Oyo State in 1991 from where he served in the three Local Governments before he was seconded to the Ministry of Finance & Economic Planning, and the Ministry of Local Government and Chieftaincy Matters as Oyo State Rating and Valuation Coordinator between 1996 and 2009.

SPECIAL PROFESSIONAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE ASSIGNMENTS

While in the public service of Oyo State, he served as member of many Panel on Inquires on Chieftaincy and Land Matters as follows:

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1. In December 2001, he was appointed a member of the Multi-Sectoral Preparation Team for the participation of Oyo State Government in the World Bank sponsored Local Empowerment and Environmental Management Programme (LEEMP).
2. Member of Administrative Panel of Inquiry into OLOBA OF OBA CHIEFTAINCY DISPUTE (1988) in Ibarapa Central Local Government.
3. Member of Administration Panel of Inquiry into IRAWO CHIEFTAINCY AND LAND DISPUTE (1998) in Atisbo Local Government.
4. Member of Administration Panel of Inquiry into the Activities of Local Area Government Properties Company Limited (October, 1999 to January, 2001)
5. Chairman, Panel of Enquiry to determine the appropriate person to fill vacant tool of Baale of Ajia in Ona-Ara Local Government Area, Oyo State (May, 2003).
6. Member of Oyo State Advisory Sub-Committee on Boundary Dispute Between Oyo and Osun States.

BOOK PUBLICATION

Esv. Tomori is an author and a prolific writer with six books to his credit

- i) The Role of Local Government in the Development and Management of Real Estate 1997
- ii) Principles and Practice of Urban Property Taxation 2002

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iii)	IBADAN OMO AJOROSUN: A New Perspective of Ibadan History and Physical Development	2004
iv)	Ibadan in the 21 st Century: “A Model of Sustainable City”	2013
v)	IBADAN: A City Built by Warriors	2016
vi)	The Owu Factor in The History of Ibadan	2017
vii)	The Urban and Socio-Economic Transformation of Ibadan Traditional Society	2018
viii)	A New Perspective of Integration GIS with Land Administration Systems and Property Taxation	2018
ix)	Strategies for Developing Asset Management Systems to Protect, Restore and Maximize Value	2018
x)	Ibadan: A Cosmopolitan African City and Imperial Legacy	2018
xi)	Land and Housing Market Assessment As A Tool For Land Management and Property Tax Development	2019
xii)	IBADAN: A City of Contrast Between Tradition and Modernity	2022
xiii)	A New Perspective of Ibadan History from Origin and Transformation from War amp to Megapolis 1580 – 2000	2022
xiv)	The Political Foundation of Yoruba Kingdoms and the Evolution of Cities and Metropolitan Areas in Nigeria	2023
xv)	The Evolution and Transformation of Ibadan Traditional Society in Historical Perspective from Origin to Post-Colonia Era	2024
xvi)	Ibadan Factor in the Cultural History of Yoruba and Socio-Economic Transformation	2025

WHATSAPP PUBLICATION AND DATABASE

- 1.0 Revolution and Power Politics in Yorubaland: The Consequences of Fulani and Kiriji Wars from 1793 to 1893
- 2.0 The Impact of Ibadan Imperialism and the Rise of Ekitiparapo in the Nineteenth Century
- 3.0 The Building of Olubadan Palace And Evaluation of the Potentials of Tourism and Cultural Value of the Heritage
- 4.0 Power and Chieftaincy politics in Ibadanland and the Cosmopolitan Structure of the Society
- 5.0 The Iyalode in the Traditional Yoruba Political System
- 6.0 The Cultural Settlement of Ibadan and Development of the City from 1785 to 2024
- 7.0 Preservation of Ibadan Traditional System and Cultural heritage: An Instrument for Stability and Development
- 8.0 The Diverstating Effect of the Collapse of Old Oyo Empire on Regional Instability and Trans-Regional Alliance
- 9.0 The War Veterans and Professional War Leaders who Built and Nurtured Ibadan, from 1825 to 1900
- 10.0 Background History of Ibadan Circular Road Across the six Outer City Local Government Areas; Issues and Challenges
- 11.0 Urban Management Financing and Institutional Arrangement for Urban Infrastructure and Services in Nigeria
- 12.0 Prospects for And Politics of Addressing urban Fiscal problems in Nigeria: Challenges and Opportunities
- 13.0 Evolution of Local Government System in Nigeria; Expenditure and Revenue Structure of Local Governments for Service Delivery
- 14.0 The Political and Fiscal Implications on the Creation of States and Local Governments in Nigeria
- 15.0 The Attributes of Effective Leadership and the Imperative of Good Governances of Traditional Institution

INTELLECTUAL RESEARCH RECOGNITION

Our levels of desire, patience, persistence, and confidence end up playing a much larger successful achievement in life. ***This has motivated and energized me to overcome my weakness, discover my task and obligation to the society! This was how I contributed to good governance and sustainable development in the PUBLIC SERVICE. This confirm the saying that “Mastery make better individuals”.***

ESV. Tomori has presented many professional papers on Property Taxation and Local Government Finance at various Seminar and Workshops. He also participated in many World Bank and UN-Habitat Workshops and Discussion Groups such as Sustainable Ibadan

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Project (SIP), Community Improvement Projects (CIP) including Community and Social Development Project (CSDP). He contributed a Chapter to the book published by the Estate Department, University of Lagos on “LAND MANAGEMENT AND PROPERTY TAX REFORM IN NIGERIA” in 2003. In 2022, he presented a paper at a symposium organized by the Central Council of Ibadan Indigenes titled: Ibadan Empire: THE KIRIJI WAR AND YORUBA PEACE TREATY.

Also, in 2022; he contributed to the tribute in Honour of the Late Professor Akin Mabogunje organized by the Geography Department, University of Ibadan. The Committee was headed by Professor Isaac Megbolugbe.

MEMBERSHIP OF CULTURAL ASSOCIATIONS

Esv. Lola Tomori is a member of Ibadan One Society and a former member of Lagelu Indigenes Club at the Formative Stage. He represented Ibadan One Society at the Central Council of Ibadan Indigenes (CCII) from 1989 to 2003. He was the 2nd and 1st Assistant Secretary General of CCII from 1992 to 1999. He had also served the CCII in various capacities as:

- i. Secretary, CCII Chieftaincy Committee on OLOKO Commission of Inquiry (1993)
- ii. Secretary, New Olubadan Palace Site Selection Committee and Preparation of Site Development Plan (1992/1994)
- iii. Oyo State Stakeholder Committee Member on Creation of States in Oyo State 2013/2014.
- iv. Member – CCII Legal Committee on Boundary Dispute between Ibadan and Iwo on Ogburo
- v. A member of CCII 5man Committee on the Olubadan Chieftaincy Review Panel on 23rd May, 2017.
- vi. Member of Ibadan One Society

AWARDS & HONOURS

In appreciation of his contribution to the Estate and Valuation Profession and Community Service, he has received the following Awards:

- ★ “Professional Development and Empowerment of Members Awards” by the Nigerian Institution of Estate Surveyor & Valuer, (NIESV) Oyo State Branch in July, 2009;
- ★ An Award of “Professional Excellence” by the Conference of Local Government Lands and Estate Officers (Oyo State Branch) in recognition of Professional Excellence and dedication to the Public Service of Oyo State Government both at the State and Local Government Levels.
- ★ Central Council of Ibadan Indigene “**Merit Award**” in Recognition of his Outstanding Service to Ibadanland” on Saturday 22nd November, 2014.
- ★ Central Council of Ibadan Indigenes (CCII) Cultural Festival Week honourary award of **Grand Ambassador of Ibadan Culture** - March 2022

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- ★ **Pillar of Support for Oluyole Progressive Front 91'** in November 2022
- ★ **Leadership Impact Award** from Geoinformation Society of Nigeria (GEOSON)
Oyo State Chapter Tuesday, 31st October, 2023
- ★ **Award of Excellence** by the Association of the Ancient Ibadan Warlords Families
Esv. Lola Tomori is happily married and blessed with children. He retired from the
Public Service of Oyo State on 31st December, 2009 after a mandatory of 60 years of age.

December, 2025

APPENDIX IV

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