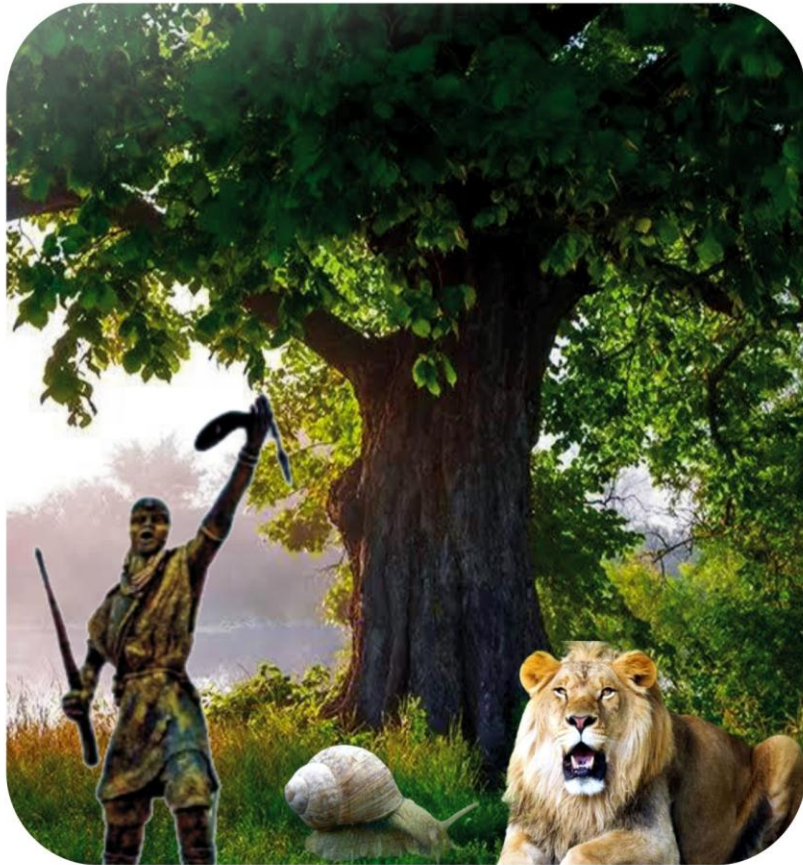


Lola Tomori

**THE REALITIES OF LAGELU'S FOUNDING
OF THE SECOND IBADAN AND THE DEVELOPMENT
HISTORY OF THE THIRD IBADAN
FROM 1825 TO BRITISH COLONIZATION**



IBADAN
1 City, 63 Towns, 3089 Villages,
6 Million People

By:

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SECOND IBADAN AND THE DEVELOPMENT HISTORY OF
THE THIRD IBADAN FROM 1825 TO BRITISH COLONIZATION**

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**1.0 THE EVOLUTION OF IBADAN AS ENGINE OF
ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL GROWTH**

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

According to the UN-Habitat report (2008), urbanization or city creation predates colonialism in many African countries. Apart from Egypt, where **urban civilization** dates back 5,000 years, several cities in other African regions have centuries old histories. Early urban development has been recorded during the Sudanese Empire of **800 A.D**; the Mali Empire of **1500AD** and Songhai Empire of **1800AD**. Those important historical artefacts, the cities, flourished as a result of their location along the trans-Saharan trade routes, emphasizing their importance as catalysts in socio-economic inter-relationships.

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

Ibadan, located at the interface of savannah and forest and the capital of Oyo State, is the **third largest city** in Nigeria by population after Lagos and Kano, Ibadan is however, **Nigeria's largest city in** geographical area with eleven administratively separate local government areas. In 1960, Ibadan was the **second- most populous city in Nigeria and the tenth largest in Africa after Alexandra, Algiers Cairo, Cape Town, Casablanca, Durban, East Rand, Johannesburg and Lagos**. It is located in south western Nigeria, 140 kilometres inland from Lagos and constitutes a prominent transition point between the coastal region and the Nigerian hinterland to the north.

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

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

2.0 INTRODUCTION

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

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

However, political situation in some areas of Yorubaland prepared the ground for the establishment of British rule. Before the intervention of the British, the history of pre-colonial Nigeria is a fluid history of **independent states**, losing their independence to 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

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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.

3.0 THE SPIRITUAL POWER OF YORUBA OBAS:

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

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

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

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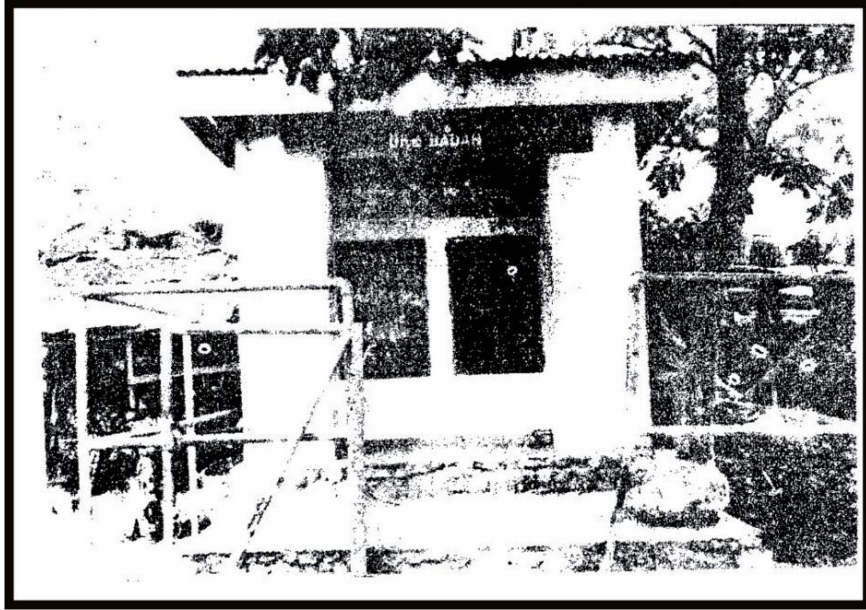
Adelegan Adegbola in 2009. **This was during the reign of Baale Ajayi Oyesile Olugbode (1851 – 1864) when Aboke Oyewole was recalled to Ibadan from Abeokuta**

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 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.

3.1 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

3.2 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).

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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.



3.3 Cultural Settlement and Development of Ibadan

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Fig. 2: Oke'badan Hill from Awotan:



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

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

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

4.1 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

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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, Iremo, 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)

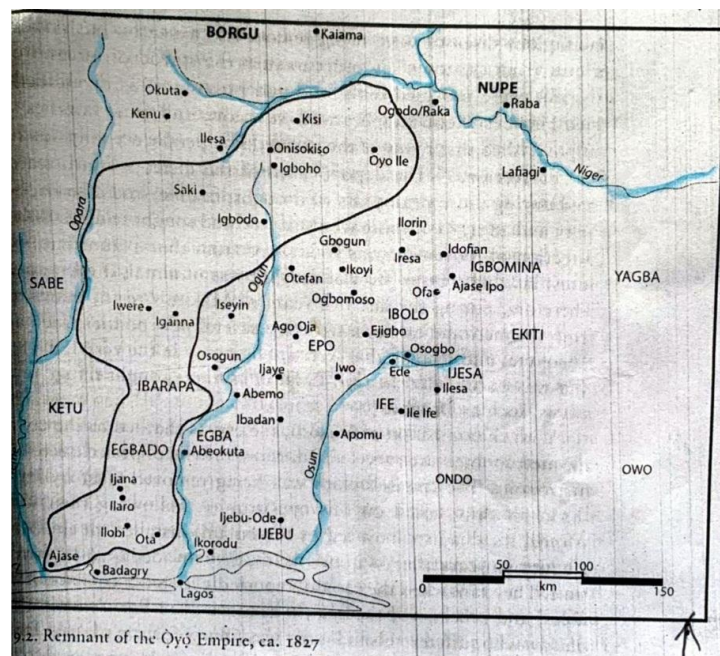
As the Hebrews were so grateful to their hills which according to their belief, had given them protection, so the children of Lagelu started expressing their gratitude to the hill that protected and fed them during the early periods on Eleyele Hills at Awotan. **Ogundowo**, one of the children of Lagelu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

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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 **1800**, 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.

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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 Erunmu.

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

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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,

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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 Identify** in the opposite manner to the Egba who preserved their original town and oven village identities within the single circumference of the walls of Abeokuta.

Ibadan system also had another significance for as positions within the internal hierarchy depend ended 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**

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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 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 benefitted 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 fame.

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 tended 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 famers 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:

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
Ikikunle	Ayeye	1850s
Deke	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.

8.0 HOW IBADAN ENGAGED IN WARS WITH OGEDEGBE

He was born in a small village called Atori, near Ilesa town. His parents were ordinary citizens, simple village folks. He was very wild as a young boy, always gathering around himself village children who regarded him as their hero because he was fearless. As he grew older, he became irresponsible, often getting into trouble in the village.

Several times, he was caught and beaten up by the villagers whom he had offended. This wild nature encouraged him to become a soldier, in which capacity he found the opportunity of making full use of his energy. In 1851, he fought on the side of the Ijesas against Ibadan in the Ijebu-Ere (Ijebu-Jesa) war, and in 1854, he fought in the Ara War.

About 1854, trouble broke out at Ilesa. The Odole, a chief in the town had become very unpopular because of his alleged influence over the Owa, the recognized ruler of the town. He was accused of usurping the Owa's authority and this made many of the Ijesa young men angry with him.

Some of the angry young men therefore left Ilesa to settle down in Ibadan. Among them was the wild and restive Ogedengbe.

In Ibadan, Ogedengbe offered his services to Ogunmola who made him a soldier in his private army and put him under the control of one of his brave soldiers, called Bacia Akiko. Under this soldier, Ogedengbe gained much experience in the art of warfare; in particular, he learnt how the Ibadans fought their wars.

After fighting on Ibadan side for some time, the urge to return home gripped him strongly, and luckily, he didn't have to wait for long before the opportunity came his way.

He heard the news at Ibadan that the other chiefs had quarreled with the Odole and that the Ijesas were preparing to attack Igbajo. He therefore secretly absconded and returned to Ilesa to fight on the side of Ilesa in the Igbajo war.

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Ibadan troops captured him (Ogedengbe) during the Igbajo War and brought him back to Ibadan as a prisoner.

He was handed over to Basorun Ogunmola, who accused him of being a traitor and ordered his execution before the shrine of Ogun, the Yoruba god of war (iron). But before he could be executed, Omole and Odo, two of his friends living in Ibadan at that time, begged Latoosa to help get him reprieved. ***Ogunmola loved and respected Latoosa and for his sake, he spared Ogedengbe's life. He however insisted on a milder punishment, so he ordered that Ogedengbe's face be disfigured with razor cuts to make him always remember that he was once a traitor. His order was carried out.***

Not long after this incident, Ogedengbe escaped from Ibadan again and returned to Ilesa. There, he became the leader of the youths and the leaders of Ilesa, who were opposed to the Odole. Civil disorder broke out in the town and Ogedengbe's followers fought and defeated Odole's supporters. The Odole himself became a prisoner in his own home where he later committed suicide.

Soon after the Odole's death, another trouble broke out at Ilesa; the Owa had died and there were two rival claimants to the throne, one of them was Prince Odigbadigba, Ogedengbe's candidate who was then in detention at Ibadan. The other was Prince Oweweniwe, who had the support of the Ibadan chiefs, except Balogun Ajobo; he was eventually crowned as the Owa at Ilesa. This led to yet another trouble which brought about the Ogedengbe War.

In 1871, Ogedengbe's candidate, Prince Odigbadigba was released from detention in Ibadan and was given an escort to take him back to Ilesa. However, on the way, the escort, acting on secret orders from the Prince's enemies, murdered him. When the news of the murder reached Ogedengbe at Ilesa, he got angry and called out his boys, who immediately marched to the palace, drove out the Owa (Oweweniwe), further went on rampage and began to molest the people in the town,

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kidnapping and selling them into slavery. This led to Ibadan's intervention. Ijesa chiefs became so afraid of Ogedengbe and his war boys that they sent to Aare Latoosa to send troops to drive Ogedengbe and his war boys out of Ilesa. In response, Aare Latoosa sent Ibadan troops to Ilesa under the command of Balogun Ajayi Jegede Ogboriefon. Latoosa gave them specific orders, either to capture Ogedengbe or drive him out of Ilesa, and then restore the Owa to the throne.

On 28th December 1872, the Ibadan War Standard was propitiated and on 30th December, Ibadan troops marched out.

They arrived the town wall of Ijebu-Ere (Ijebu-Ijesa) on 3rd January, 1873 and camped there. By then, Ogedengbe, who did not want to risk another war with Ibadan, had withdrawn with his men from Ilesa and had gone to Odo.

The wild chase of Ogedengbe by Ibadan army eventually led to the Igbo-Alawun (Igbo-Akunrin in Akure history) War near Igbara-Odo and Ikere, in which Ogboriefon overpowered Ogedengbe and he (Balogun Ogboriefon) was thus able to prove that he was worthy of the title of 'Balogun' conferred on him by Aare Latoosa and the people of Ibadan.

After this Igbo-Alawun War, Ogedengbe made peace with Aare Latoosa with plenty of gifts and undertaking never to fight against Ibadan again. This was August 1873.

This undertaking reverberated in the prelude to Ogedengbe's involvement in the Ekitiparapo War as mentioned above in the full account of the war.

At the end of Kiriji War, Ogedengbe was reported to have returned to a relatively peaceful life at Ilesa, where he died in 1910 as the Obanla of Ijeshaland.



9.0 THE IBADAN-IJAYE WAR (1861 -1862)

The Ibadan-Ijaye war broke out in 1861 between Ibadan and Ijaye over who to succeed the old Oyo Empire as the political head of Yorubaland. The two rebelling towns sprang up from the ruins of the Old Oyo Empire which was destroyed in 1836 by the Fulanis. Ibadan, Ijaye and the new Oyo, also called Oyo Atiba, succeeded the Old Oyo Empire after its destruction. According to Latoosa, Kakanfo of Ibadanland, "the war was a feud among three brothers over how to share common properties." The three brothers, Ibadan, Ijaye and Oyo-Atiba failed to reach conclusion on who should succeed the Old Oyo as the political head of Yorubaland.

In 1855, Ibadan being the largest and the most populated of the three towns convened a meeting with the other towns to carve out the best way of restoring the fading unity and dignity of the land. At the meeting, the Alafin of the new Oyo (Oyo-Atiba) was said to be the most senior among the three towns, and as a result of this, other towns in Yorubaland should pay tribute to the new Oyo. Finally, Yorubaland has another head therefore proposing peace among some Yoruba towns like Ijebu and among some Yoruba towns like Ijebu and Egba.

In the same atmosphere, the Ijayes, Egbas and Ijebus raised some doubts on the policies of the Ibadans. Kurumi of Ijaye suspected that Ibadan's intention was to create an empire of her own and not to set up the leadership of the New Oyo (Oyo-Atiba). This suspicion rose as Ibadan continue to accept annual tribute from her own subjects while she encouraged those of Ijaye to send theirs to the Alafin.

The last straw that broke the camel's back was the succession issue to the throne of Oyo-Atiba after the death of Atiba in 1859. Ibadan supported the idea that Atiba' son should succeed him so as to ensure the continuation of the Ibadan tribute policy. Kurumi of Ijaye opposed this claiming it was against the tradition of throne succession in Oyo. Kurumi's opposition was supported by the Egbas and the Ijebus. Ibadan saw this as another attempt to bring an end once more to the unity of

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Yorubaland and vowed to prevent this by all means. Ibadan didn't want Kurumi, the then Are-Ona-Kakanfo, to become another disobedient Afonja, and it was on this ground that the Ibadan-Ijaye war broke out.

The war was fought in the forest between Ibadan and Ijaye. The Egbas joined the war on the side of Ijaye in order to prevent Ibadan from becoming a colossus in Yorubaland. The form becoming a colossus in Yorubaland. The Ijebus also joined the Ijaye side in order to foil Ibadan's attempt of creating enmity between them and Remo in order to secure a route to the coast. Later on, the Fulanis also joined the Ijaye to punish Ibadan from preventing them to spread Islam in Yorubaland.

The Ibadan army camped at Ilora, 13 miles north of Ijaye while the Ijaye forces, led by Ogunbonna of Abeokuta, camped at Olokemeji on the River Ogun. The Ijaye, Egba, Fulani and Ijebu forces set a blockade to cut Ibadan off from the supplies from the British in Lagos. Ibadan retaliated by blockading Ijaye from food supplies. The British merchants in Lagos lobbied the Remos of Sagamu and the Ikorodus to smuggle ammunition from Lagos to Ibadan. The support Ibadan received from the British made her brought the Ijayes on their knees in 1862 following Kurunnni's death in 1851. **The cause of his death is still unknown, but however, it is believed he committed suicide.** Other towns supporting Ijaye retreated immediately. The Egbas were displeased with the actions of the Remos and Ikorodus and sought to punish them, but the British army prevented this by defeating the Egba army.

The Egbas avenged this in 1867 by expelling all British missionaries in Egbaland and burned the printing house of Iwe Irohin, the first newspaper in Nigeria by Rev. Henry Townsend. Prevented this by defeating the Egba army. The Egbas avenged this in 1867 by expelling all British missionaries in Egbaland and burned the printing house of Iwe Irohin, the first newspaper in Nigeria by Rev. Henry Townsend. The Ijebus also punished the British by not allowing any British nationals to enter

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Ijebuland. This was the foundation of the Battle of Imagbon (1892) also known as the 1892 Ijebu expedition.

10.0 HOW IBADAN BECAME AN EMPIRE

One of the most important consequences of the Ibadan victories over Ilorin at Osogbo and beyond Osogbo was the emergence of an Ibadan Empire. For the towns of the Osun Valley and those north of there to Offa, acceptance of Ibadan's protection occurred as a matter of course. They had joined hands with the Ibadan forces in dislodging those of Ilorin, and they needed Ibadan's protection against their return. As a result of the influence of a native son of Ikire, Ajobo, who had become a prominent chief in Ibadan, Ikire willingly accepted Ibadan's protection. Employing the well-trying system of provincial administration of the dissolved Oyo Empire, Ibadan placed Ajeles in all these towns and villages to watch over their security, to receive tributes for Ibadan, and to prod the local rulers to send troops and other types of help to Ibadan whenever such was needed.

Ibadan's attention was soon attracted to other areas beyond the Osun Valley. After some lull in Ilorin's military activities, its forces returned to the fight in about 1846. It was impossible for them to drive directly south as they had done before. Ibadan solidly barred the way in that direction. Therefore, they veered southeastwards into the Ekiti, Igbomina and Ijesa countries. In the thickly forested parts of these generally hilly countries, Ilorin forces, depending heavily on cavalry, fared badly. Making very good use of their hills and forests, the Ekiti and Ijesa people drew the Ilorin cavalry into an endless series of ambushes. As remnants of defeated cavalry troops tried to find their ways out of the forests, their pursuers, assisted by local farmers, chased them with shouts of "Pole! Pole!" (that is, "fall" or "drop", the cry with which farmers chased farm thieves). From this, Ilorin's abortive invasions of Ekiti and Ijesa became known as the Pole War. In the northernmost parts of Ekiti, as well as much of Igbomina, however, where the forests gave way to mostly tall grass,

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the Ilorin invaders fared somewhat better. The Ekiti kingdoms of Otun Moba and Obo came under intense pressure. The Ilorin forces occupied the town of Aye in the Moba kingdom (a town which had been in revolt against the Oore of Otun) and from there tried to subdue Moba's capital town of Otun. In about 1847 the Oore, king of Moba, sent to Ibadan for help. Ibadan armies therefore headed for northern Ekiti and the Igbomina country, against the Ilorin forces. After dislodging them from northern Ekiti and neighboring parts of Igbomina, the Ibadan armies fanned out into the rest of Ekiti, Ijesa — and, later, Akoko where Nupe raids were going on.

In most of Ekiti and Ijesa, the Ibadan forces met with varying degrees of resistance. The city of Ilesa had one of the best defenses in Yorubaland and had to be besieged again and again. The Ajero of Ijero put up a strong defence for the town of Ikoro in his kingdom and asked for help from other Ekiti kingdoms. Some of them sent help, and the Ibadan army found itself confronted by a fairly large and dogged coalition which was subdued only after many long and fierce encounters.

In northern Ekiti, a fairly formidable power emerged in the person of Esugbayibi, founder of a new kingdom named Aiyede. Esugbayibi was born in the small town of Iye in far northern Ekiti. As a young man, he won renown as an intrepid fighter against the Nupe and then the Ilorin invaders of his homeland. In about 1855, he migrated a little southwards to the woods between the kingdoms of Isan and Itaji in northern Ekiti, bringing with him some followers, mostly warlike young men. His plans were to establish this new settlement as a strong base for his war against Ilorin. More and more people came to join his new

The explosion finally came in 1860 when the Alaafin Atiba died and he was succeeded by his Aremo, Adelu. In his last days, Atiba had persuaded the Oyo chiefs to set aside the well-known traditional rule and to crown the Aremo after him. Atiba had also broached the matter to the Ibadan rulers and obtained their concurrence, but he had left Kurunmi, the Kakanfo, in the dark. Therefore, when Adelu was crowned

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Alaafin, Kurunmi flatly demanded that Adelu should die (as tradition demanded) and that another prince be crowned the Alaafin. He then greatly escalated hostile actions against the new Alaafin in the Upper Ogun area. War flared between Ibadan and Ijaye. Known to history as the Ijaye War, this war quickly developed into a siege of Ijaye by Ibadan. Abeokuta declared support for Ijaye and sent an army to its defence.

For five years the fighting raged. Ijaye was reduced to starvation but its defenders, commanded by Kurunmi, known to be the greatest general in the land, held their city. When it looked as if Ijaye might crumble, Kurunmi's valiant sons threw themselves into a series of vicious attempts to break the siege — and all died in the bloody clashes. Then, in 1865, Kurunmi himself, advanced in age and broken-hearted, died — and the defenses of Ijaye collapsed. Ogunmola, then the Balogun of Ibadan, led the final charge into the doomed city, and personally saw to the total destruction of every bit of it, compound by compound. Ijaye's people scattered in all directions, a large portion fleeing to Abeokuta while others fled to Oyo and the towns of the Upper Ogun and even to Ibadan. In later years, as wild vegetation established itself over the once proud city of Ijaye, people coined the sad saying, "Owo ope Ijaye l'a o ti beere ogun Ogunmola" ("Only from palm trees growing in Ijaye at the time will the world ever be able to ask questions about Ogunmola's assault on Ijaye."). With the elimination of Ijaye, Ibadan at last became the undisputed dominant power in Yorubaland.

11.0 IBADAN TERRITORIAL EXPANSION IN EKITI

After the defeat of the Ilorin Jihadist in the Osogbo War of 1840, the Ilorin army turned their attention to the Ekiti and Igbomina countries, Eastern Yorubaland and subjugated them; they had an easy access but their rapid expansion was hindered by thick forest, ruggedly high terrain and the prevalence of tsetse flies, all of which proved a big hindrance to the Iloring army (Dr. Jide Fatokun, 2011).

One of the underlying causes of the Ekitiparapo or Kiriji war was the internal strife among the different Ekiti groups which led one group to invite the Ibadans to come to their aid whilst the other group invited the Ilorins to come to their aid. Thus the Ekiti country became the battleground for every many years with the Ibadan supporting one group and the Ilorins the other (Kemi Morgan, 1971).

11.1 The War between Aye and Otun in 1847:

Ibadan intervened in the war between Aye and Otun in 1847. In the conflict between Aye and Otun, the ruler of Otun sent to Ibadan for help. **Balogun Oderinlo** led the Ibadan troops to Otun and from Otun they went and besieged **Aye**. **The ruler of Aye** therefore sent to Ilorin for help and the Ilorin Calvary under the command of Ajia, came to his help. However, as we have said before, the Ibadan troops and sacked Aye towns.

From Aye, the Ibadan troops went on to attack and capture other Ekiti towns like Oro, Iyapa, Usi, and Isan. They plundered these towns and captured many prisoners who were later brought to Ibadan wither to become the **domestic slaves of the chiefs** and noblemen of Ibadan or to be sold to the **Ijebu slave dealers** in exchange for arms and ammunition.

The Ibadan troops found this expedition so successful that they intensified their raids into the Ekiti country for more slaves. The result was that, according to kemi Moran, by the time **Latosisa became the Aare-Ona-Kakanfo of Ibadan**, the greater part of the Ekiti, Akoko and Ilesa country had come under the rule of Ibadan.

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It seemed at that time as if Ibadan was developing from an ordinary “state” into an Empire like the Old Oyo Empire.

For example, **Ayorinde Aje** conquered Ogbagi and a great part of the **Akoko** country and established himself there as overlord for many years before he returned to Ibadan. He fought on the side of Ibadan at Kiriji and lost his life there (Kemi Morgan).

12.0 THE ORIGIN OF EKITI PEOPLE AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

According to Msgr. A. Oguntuyi (1979), *“The History of many places tells the story of the wars waged by the countries in question. Their kings are great by the successes achieved in their war time. Their nobles show their nobility by their achievements at the war front.*

Ekiti has relatively little to be proud of as far as war is concerned. The history of Ekiti is to be considered under different aspects. If war comes in, as is the case of Ekiti parapo war, it is purely accidental and as result of the farmers being driven to the wall.

12.1 Ekiti Origin and Migration History:

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

The Ekiti Obas arrived in Ekiti one by one after the other. The coming covered a long period of time. To fix 15th century for their coming meant that their coming covered a period of about one hundred years or more. **At one state of Ekiti development, a beaded Crown was so invaluable** as to engage the attention of those who were anxious for it. To retain it later on, the wearer had to prove that he was a descendant of oduduwa; that he came from Ife and that he was invited to govern. Many historians maintain that after the death of Oduduwa; his children scattered all

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over the country. Those of them who came to Ekiti whether directly from Ife or indirectly from other places **asserted themselves over the aboriginal inhabitants of Ekiti as Olojas**. They were crowns similar to what they saw in Ife. They were not good farmers. But they had plenty of ambition and they were greedy for power. They were sophisticated and easily absorbed the inhabitants especially those in the central places. They got the people to build their palaces and established kingdoms.

12.2 Political Organization;

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

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

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

12.3 The Sixteen Ekiti Kingdoms:

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

All Ekiti Obas except the Oore claimed to be descendants of Oduduwa “**Olofin**”. The Oore traced his descent to the sea-god “**Olokun**”. He claimed to have met Oduduwa at the shore and cured him of his blindness. He gave water to the sons of Oduduwa. Hence, he was called “**Oloore**” contracted to Oore (Benefactor). *Rev.*

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Samuel Johnson (1921) did not mention any of the Ekiti Obas as being of the sons or grandsons of Odudua. This is not surprising at the material time Ekiti was looked upon as a vassal of Oyo.

List of EKiti Kingdom Given by various authors

	(A) GOVERNMENT SERVICE LIST 1909	(B) REV. S.A. JOHNSON 1 ST PUBLICATION 1921	(C) DR. S.A. AKIN AKINTOYE 1 ST PUBLICATION 1971	(D) MSGR. A. OGUNTUYI'S ENUMERATION HAS
1.	KINGDOM THE OBA Ado under Ewi	KINGDOM THE OBA Otun under Owore	KINGDOM THE OBA Otun under Oore	KINGDOM THE OBA Ado under Ewi
2.	Ijero under Ajero	Ijero under Ajero	Ikole under Elekole	Ijero under Ajero
3.	Ikere under Ogoga	Ado under Ewi	Ado under Ewi	Ikole under Elekole
4.	Ido under Olojida	Ikole under Elekole	Oye under Oloye	Otun under Owore
5.	Effon under Alaaye	Ara under Alara	Ijero under Ajero	Akure under Alapada
6.	Ise under Arinjale	Efon under Alaaye	Ido under Olojido	Ara under Alara
7.	Okemesi under Olajaoke	Akure under Alapada	Ikere under Ogoga	Ido under Olojido
8.	Ara under Alara	Ogotun under Alagotun	Akure under Alapada	Ikere under Ogoga
9.	Oye under Oloye	Ido under Olojido	ISe under Arinjale	Oye under Oloye
10.	Ogotun under Ologotun	Ayede under Ata	Emure under Elemure	Ise under Arinjale
11.	Ayede under Ata	Imesi under Oloja	Efon under Alaaye	Emure under Elemure
12.	Itaji under Onitaji	Oye under Oloye	Imesi under Olojaoke	Efon under Alaaye
13.	Isan under Onisan	Omuo under Olomuo	Ara under Alara	Itaji under Onitaji
14.		Ire under Onire	Isan under Onisan	Okemesi under Olajaoke
15.		ISe under Arinjale	Itaji under Onitaji	Isan under Onisan
16.		Itaji under Onitaji	Obo under Olobo	Ogotun under Ologotun
17.			Ogotun under Ologotun	Ire under Onire

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

12.4 The Tradition of Kingdom Founders

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

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

13.0 EKITIPARAPO AGAINST IGBAJO IN 1878:

On the 19th day of August, 1878, news reached Ibadan the Ekitis and their allies had marched against Igbajo, a town ten miles east of Ikirun and situated in beautiful hilly country. It was also a border town where people from different parts of the Yoruba country lived. This town had always been on friendly terms with Ibadan, according to Kemi Morgan.

When the **Arigbajo, the ruler of Igbajo**, saw that his town was under siege by the Ekitis and their allies, he hastily sent an urgent message to Ibadan to ask for troops to defend his town. Are Latosisa did not realize how serious the situation was at Igbajo because he only sent a small detachment of soldiers **under the command of Osuntoki, the Chief Maye Balogun of Ibadan**, to Igbajo to relieve the town.

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

13.1 Why The Ilorins Joined the Ekitis:

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

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

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

13.2 The Ikirun or the Jalumi War:

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

- The Ekiti and Ila troops, were under the command of Fabunmi of Oke-Imesi, and prince Adeyala of Ila.
- The Ijesa troops, under the command of Arimora and Ogunmodede.

The Ibadan army under the command of Ajayi Ogboriefon had to march to Ikirun during the raining season when the rivers were flooded. Several battles were fought. As a result of the heavy rains at the time, the River Otin was swollen. In an effort to escape from the fury of the Ibadan troops who were hotly pursuing the Ekitiparapo and Ilorin troops, the fleeing troops rushed headlong into the swollen river, both horses and men were drowned there. In describing this incident, the Rev. Samuel Johnson (1921) wrote:

“Here (River Otin) thousands upon thousands of men, women and horses perished. The river at one point was said to be so choked with human bodies and carcasses of horses that some fugitives who came later were to escape by walking over corpses”.

This mad plunge of the Ilorin troops into the swollen River Otin gave the swollen River Otin gave the name “**JAUMI**” (meaning plunging into water) to this war which is otherwise known as “**The Ikirun War**”

The Ibadan troops pursued their enemies to **Erin**, a town about eight (8) miles from **Ofa**. They captured several Ilorin men of note as prisoners and set them to Ibadan. Hower, Ajia, the commander of the Ilorin troops escaped.

The Balogun Ajayi Ogboriefon and his troops also attacked and destroyed the Ekiti and Ila camp near the Ilorin camp. **Adeyala**, the leader of the troops from Ila was killed but Fabunmi of Oke-Mosi managed to escape.

After the destruction of the Ekiti and Ila camp, the Balogun and his troops went and attacked other towns which had supported the Ekitis. The attacked and captured **Ila, Omu, Iresi, Ekan**, Erinmope and Igbajo which had earlier in the war been captured the subjugation of the Ekiti country and appoint new Ajeles for those towns. But treachery prevented him from completing the task. Ali Laluwoye was the Otun Balogun while Ilori, the son of Ogunmola who died in Ilorin camp, was the Osi Balogun. Blowgun Ajayi Jegede died at home in Ibadan in January **1880**.

14.0 EKITIPARAPO OR KIRIJI WAR (1880-1893)

“The motive which dreve the Ekitiparapos to declare war on Ibadan was a very strong one indeed and it was the motive which acted as the strong unifying force among them. This motive was desire to be free, to regain their independence from Ibadan and to take back from Ibadan, the lands and possession which belonged to their ancestors. And for freedom and independence, men throughout all ages had fought and are still fighting, even in this twenty century, and for a parcel of land, fertile or infertile, men still shed blood”. (Kemi Morgan).

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

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

14.1 Intrigues in Ibadan War-Camp at

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

14.2 Mogaji Akintola (Omo Ibikunle) Captured Ogegengbe Twice

- (a) To strengthen the Ibadan troops on the war front, Latosisa also recalled **Ali Luluwoye, the Otun Balogun**, and them with troops to Ibadan – war – camp at Imesi Kiriji. **Mogaji Akintola** and his troops were the first to arrive at the Ibadan war-camp. Not long after his arrival there, he and his troops matched to the battled field to prove their valour. In this **encounter with Ogedengbe**, Mogaji AKintola proved that he was a worthy son of his father, the late Balogun Ibikunle. He made a sudden and furious charge on Ogedengbe and his troops and **captured Ogedengbe**. But he allowed

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him to go free because the chiefs had decided not to help Aare Latoosa win the war.

(b) Second Capture of Ogedengbe by Mogaji Akintolas

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

14.3 Ibadan Army Returned Home

The Ibadans were hurried back home, arriving their town wall on 22nd March 1893. They returned home, following their usual mode of triumphal entry into the town after every successful war, after all, they had not suffered a defeat and their army was still intact.

As many historians have observed, Ibadan survived all attempts to subdue, destroy or capture it till the British came. And so the saying remains true for all time;

<i>Omo Ibadan kiiseru</i>	<i>Ibadans are not anyone's</i>
<i>enikokan,</i>	<i>slaves</i>
<i>Ogun ko kowon ri</i>	<i>They were never defeated in</i>
	<i>battle nor enslaved.</i>

They kept the night outside the wall, preparatory to their entry into the town the following day; they made all necessary preparation for the grand procession. Very early the following morning (23rd March 1893), they made a triumphal entry into the town, led by Sanusi, the late Aare Latoosa's son, with the bones of the latter in a coffin behind him. Balogun Osungbekun followed and all others followed him in order of seniority, all heading for the Aare's house on the hill (Oke Aare). Thousands of people lined the route to cheer and welcome them as well as witness the reception ceremony.

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After the Balogun gave an account of the war posthumously to the Aare (his bones) as if he were alive, Sanusi gave the war chiefs the customary gifts the Aare would have given if he had been alive.

Traditionally, the war chiefs were expected to follow the Balogun to his house, thereby acknowledging/ upholding his leadership. But since Osungbekun rejected the overtures of his chiefs to talk things over (as he and his children misbehaved grossly both at home and at Ikirun), each went to his father's house, Akintola, the Seriki taking the lead, *Se eyin ko nile baba te le lo? Emi nlo temi o.* (Don't you have fathers' houses to retire to? I am off to mine). Balogun Osungbekun was thus rejected.

Governor Carter entered Ibadan four days later (26th March 1893). He had all his dealings with Osungbekun since he wasn't aware of the rebellion against him. But the chiefs unanimously refused to sign the Peace Treaty he had prepared for them. They told him they had just returned home after some 17 years' absence ;and needed time to settle down to civil matters; besides, there was no one in particular in charge of the administration who had authority to sign treaties. Upon Carter's further insistence that they should sign, they rudely told him to go home and tell his master that he had accomplished his task of separating the warring parties! Carter was disappointed and immediately left for Lagos.

Balogun Osungbekun was consequently asked to go to sleep (commit suicide) or face open rebellion. It was said that, rather than subject their family fame to public ridicule, his children heeded the voice of reason of the Orowusi house (from which the Balogun hailed) and eventually clubbed him to death when all other devices failed.

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The Town Council Reconstituted

The town council was reconstituted and principal titles distributed among the chiefs as follows:

CIVIL		MILITARY	
NAME	TITLE	NAME	TITLE
Fijabi	Baale	Akintola	Balogun
Osuntoki	Otun Bale	Babalola	Otun Balogun
Fajinmi	Osi Bale	Kongi	Osi Balogun
Mosaderin	Ekerin Bale	Sunmonu	Asipa Balogun
Bamgbegbin	Areago Bale	Apampa	
Salako	Are Alasa	Suberu	Ekerin Balogun
Lanlatu	Iyalode	Ogungbesan	Ekarun Balogun
Ogundepo	Seriki	Akintunde	Ekefa Balogun
Mosanya	Otun Seriki	Olaifa	Asaju
Aina Fagbemi	Osi Seriki	Obisesan	Agbakin
Dada Ojo	Ekerin Seriki	Tanpe	Maye
		Enimowu	Abese
		Eweje	Sarumi

These men were collectively and officially responsible for the agreement, which practically made Ibadan and the whole of Yorubaland a British Protectorate. It was therefore commendable that they did not sign it 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.