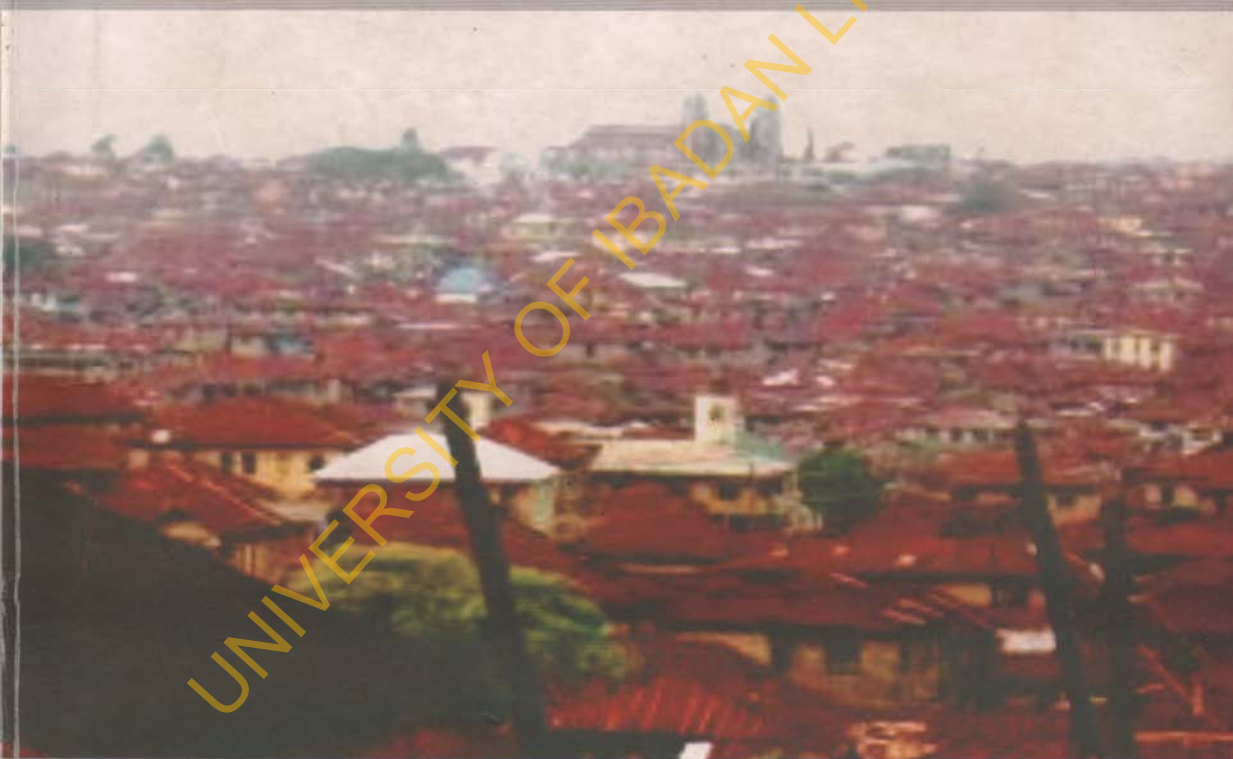
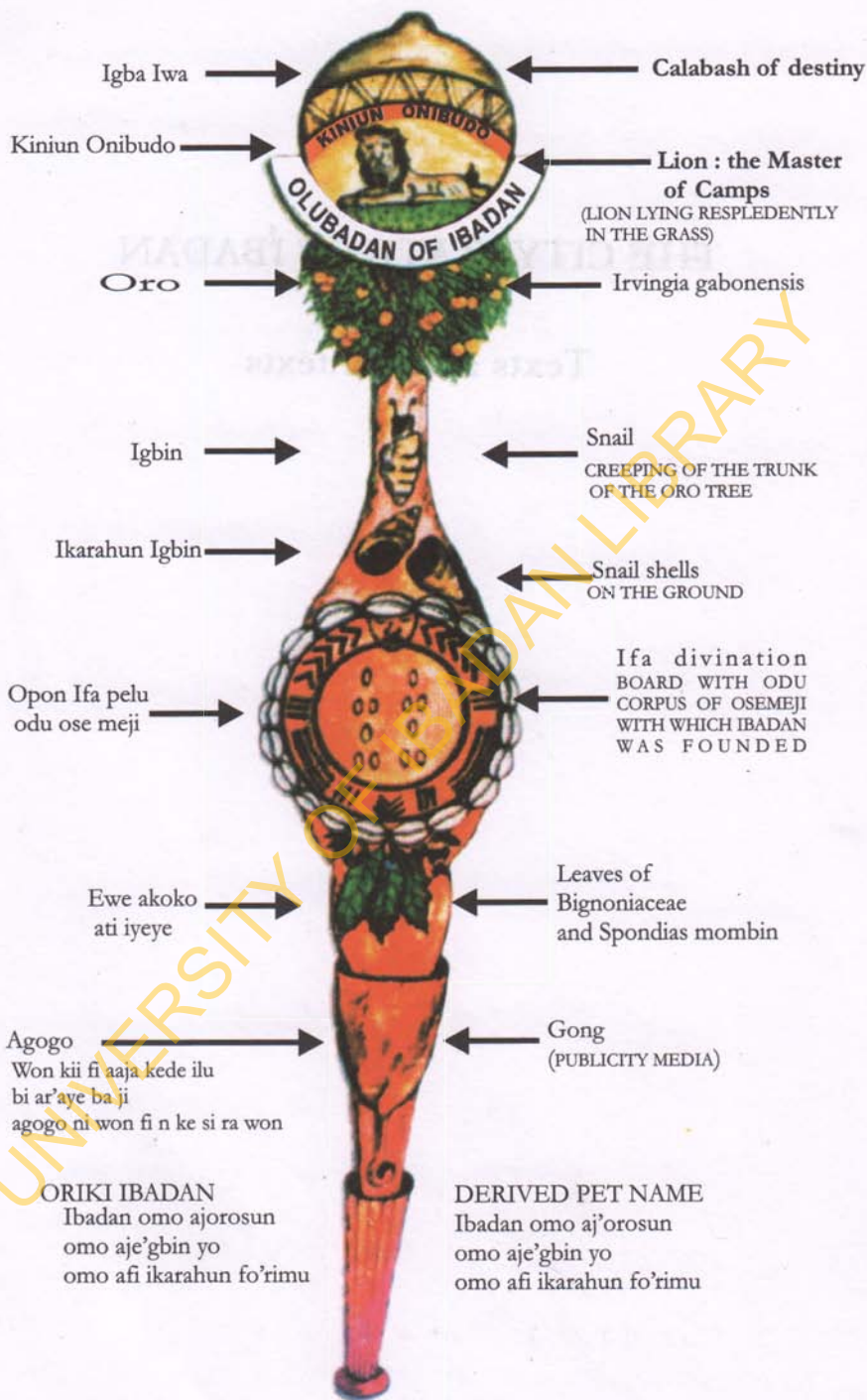


THE CITY STATE OF
IBADAN

Texts and Contexts



edited by
DELE LAYIWOLA



Igba Iwa

Calabash of destiny

Kiniun Onibudo

Lion : the Master of Camps
(LION LYING RESPLEDENTLY IN THE GRASS)

Oro

Irvingia gabonensis

Igbin

Snail
CREEPING OF THE TRUNK OF THE ORO TREE

Ikarahun Igbin

Snail shells ON THE GROUND

Opon Ifa pelu odu ose meji

Ifa divination BOARD WITH ODU CORPUS OF OSEMEJI WITH WHICH IBADAN WAS FOUNDED

Ewe akoko ati iyeye

Leaves of Bignoniaceae and Spondias mombin

Agogo
Won kii fi aaja kede ilu
bi ar'aye ba ji
agogo ni won fi n ke si ra won

Gong
(PUBLICITY MEDIA)

ORIKI IBADAN
Ibadan omo ajorosun
omo aje'gbin yo
omo afi ikarahun fo'rimu

DERIVED PET NAME
Ibadan omo aj'orosun
omo aje'gbin yo
omo afi ikarahun fo'rimu

BY LATE CHIEF J.A. AYORINDE, D.LITT' (HONS) IFE, MFR, MBE, JP

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*In memory of those good souls who
either directly or indirectly
helped to shape this publication*

Cornelius Oyeleke Adepegba, 1941–2002

Festus O Akintola, 1946–2013

John Adeyemi Abokede Ayorinde, 1907–1998

Barbara Best Barber, 1914–2012

Adeola Olapeju Kolawole, 1963–2002

Solomon Abidemi Layiwola, 1925–2004

Oyinade Ogunba, 1938–2008

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FOREWORD

It is an honour and privilege to be given the opportunity to view the invaluable contributions on Ibadan in this book by distinguished Africanists. The papers present vivid and fascinating pictures of Ibadan. However, there is this well known parlance, "iwo t'anwo Ibadan, apakan laari". When translated, this means, "irrespective of the perspective from which one views Ibadan, one can only see a side of it". This is true not only of its geographical spread but also of its socio-cultural features. This observation by no means discounts the invaluable contributions in this book. It is nevertheless important to make some comments which hopefully might provide some signposts for research.

The historical origins of Ibadan has never been in doubt. But when was Ibadan founded? This remains an open question. In *Iwe Itan Ibadan* (1930) by the highly revered Chief, later, Oba Akinyele, it was related how Lagelu, a warrior and a hunter, alias Oro Apata Maja, his family, and associates left Ile-Ife and founded a new settlement situated between a forest and the savannah which they called Eba Odan. This later came to be known as Ibadan. The first settlement was reported to have been destroyed at the behest of Alaafin Sango of Oyo following the desecration of an Egungun (a shrouded ancestral spirit) at an Egungun festival. The Olowo of Owo, the Awujale of Ijebu, the Alake of Abeokuta, Owa Ilesha, Orangun Ile Ila and others were reportedly involved in the destruction campaign that was said to have lasted for three years. It was reported that the incident took place long before the reign of Ajagbo, the 16th Alaafin.

If M.D.W. Jeffery is correct, then Ile Ife was founded by Oduduwa, the legendary father of the Yoruba, around 1050 - 80A.D. (*The Nigerian Field* vol. 23, 1958) Oduduwa was the first Oba and the first Alaafin. (*Old Oyo Empire* by Kolawole Balogun, 1985). Should Jeffery's estimation that each Alaafin would, on the average, have reigned for 20 years be correct, then Alaafin Oduduwa would have reigned around 1080 A.D.; Sango the fourth Alaafin would have reigned around 1160 A.D.; while Alaafin Ajagbo, the 16th Alaafin would have reigned around 1500 A.D., long after Lagelu whose reign and Sango's would

Economic History of Ibadan, 1830-1930

Rasheed Olaniyi**Introduction**

In the nearly six decades that preceded the British conquest of Yorubaland, Ibadan had gained overwhelming political and economic hegemony over the extensive region. The nexus between warfare, slavery, agriculture, commerce and migration remarkably shaped the economic history of Ibadan, most significantly during the early phase of its existence. Warfare not only provided Ibadan its distinctive political structure and organization, but significantly influenced its economic character. The institutionalization of warfare was guaranteed by the invaluable use of slaves in the domestic economy and as export commodities in exchange for firearms and other European commodities. Labour relations of production were gendered, as women crafted an economic niche out of militarism. Robin Law makes the point that, "war, therefore, was an economic activity, by which both the labour needed for domestic purposes and the purchasing power needed to acquire foreign imports was mobilized."²⁵ This paper is focussed on the economic changes that shaped the history of Ibadan between 1830 and 1930. The economic use of warfare was fundamental in the history of Ibadan. British conquest signalled the conflicts emanating from the modern economy, namely, the commercial rivalries between the Ibadan natives and migrant communities and the influence of cooperative associations in the informal sector.

25 Robin Law, "Horses, Firearms, and Political Power in Pre-Colonial West Africa", *Past and Present* 1976: 72.

In 1830, Ibadan emerged as the theatre of Yoruba political and economic modernity. The primacy of modernity that characterized warfare in the history of Ibadan was largely influenced by the political turbulence that followed the collapse of the Old Oyo Empire and the remarkable economic transitions. The Ibadan example set in motion new socioeconomic structures unprecedented in Yoruba history. Ibadan as a nineteenth century Yoruba town was a response to the series of external invasions in Yorubaland and the internal political upheavals. The modern city of Ibadan was built on the foundation of two earlier attempts. Ancient Ibadan settlements relied on foraging, hunting, farming and served as a trading outpost. Before the British overlordship, the internal economy of Ibadan had its foundation on the military power which the warriors possessed. Ibadan warrior chiefs relied on slaves for their private armies, agricultural workforce, commercial enterprises, social status and ultimately, political power.

The booty from the periodic warfare increased the economic strength of the warriors in the town. This was the reason for I. B. Akinyele's remark that "the leading enterprise was warfare, very few people were farmers, and traders were few".¹ This notion could be regarded as true, but not in absolute terms, as the military system only formed the basis of the economy. Bolanle Awe's description of the economy based on "fight, farm and trade" could be regarded as holistic in the discussion on the economic structure of Ibadan.² The gender dynamics of commerce in Ibadan prove that women displayed tremendous energy in the 'household industries', local market system and long-distance trade networks. In the 1850s for example, the women of Ibadan monopolized industries such as pottery making, resist pattern dyeing (*adire*), palm and nut oils processing and soap making.³ Ibadan's attempt to accomplish these economic traits and strategic interests (fight, farm and trade) made her clash with other powerful Yoruba

1 I.B. Akinyele, *Iwe Itan Ibadan* (England: James Townsend & Son., 1951), p. 26.

2 This was the description given by Bolanle Awe, "Militarism and Economic Development in Nineteenth Century Yoruba Country: The Ibadan Example". *Journal of African History*, 1973, 14(1): 65-77; A. Oroge, "The Institution of Slavery in Yorubaland with Particular Reference to the 19th Century", Ph.D Thesis, University of Birmingham, 1971: 158.

3 L. Denzer, "Yoruba Women: A Historiographical Study". *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 1994, 27(1): 6.

states. The strategic interests underpinned Ibadan's foreign relations with the British.

The relationship between Ibadan and the British provided a solid foreign policy framework which had favoured Ibadan interests even before the Ekitiparapo War. Falola explains the perception of the British government on Ibadan thus:

... to the British, Ibadan was not an aggressor nation; but one that was conscious of the importance of trade and was willing to use force to achieve a commercial end.⁴

Ultimately, the monopolistic attitude of the Egba/Ijebu to possess absolute control of trade routes to Lagos, largely attracted British interest to Ibadan. This was because Ibadan preferred a laissez-faire economy, which was also the preference of the British to enhance easy access to other parts of Yorubaland. The convergence of interests between Ibadan and the British characterized the economy throughout the colonial period. The main thrust of this chapter is to examine the indigenous structure and composition of the economy, the impact of the 1893 British intervention in the Kiriji War, and the aftermath of colonial rule on the economy of Ibadan up till 1930.

The foundation of Ibadan commerce

Before the advent of colonialism, the cultivation of the land towards the town gates manifested in the purposive division of the town into two sections. Much of the first section consisted of farmlands with fewer houses, while the other section was residential (along Oja'ba and Mapo areas). Awe's discussion on the economic life of Ibadan attached its sustenance to farming. The farmlands were categorized into two groups—*oko etile* (farmlands in the city surrounding) and *oko egan* (farmlands or plantations in remote areas outside of the city).⁵ *Okoko etile* was devoted to cultivation by the Ibadan indigenes, while the slaves and their families maintained the *oko egan* owned by their masters. The geographical division emanating from *oko etile* and *oko egan* accounted for the naming of settlements

4 T. Falola, *Politics and Economy in Ibadan 1830-1945* (Ibadan: Modelo Publishers, 1989), p.18.

5 Awe, 1963, 70.

and neighbourhoods in the city. For example, community names such as *Onirekee* — shows that the community was synonymous with sugar-cane farming; *alalubosa* — shows that the community crop specialization was onions; *Idi-Osan* — shows that the community specialized in oranges, while *Idi-Ikan* — shows that the community specialized in the cultivation of the aubergines—a vegetable. These arrays of agricultural practices enabled Ibadan to feed itself, even though the city was constantly at war.⁶

Having established the fact that militarism was the foundation of the agrarian nature of Ibadan economy, commerce in the city also benefitted from the military nature of the city. Hodder and Ukwu's extensive work made Ibadan markets exemplary in market formation analysis.⁷ The proceeds from *oko etile* and *oko egan*, which informed the naming of settlements, also paved the way for markets. The farm produce were brought to a central area at intervals of 3 - 8 days. They were displayed in front of a famous warrior or chief's house. The markets then were formed to maintain a balance between economic and social life, because the convergence at the market was an avenue to display the entertaining aspect of the Yoruba culture. More importantly, it was a space for women to display power in the community.⁸ For instance, two of the earliest markets in Ibadan were *Oja-Oba* and *Oje*. *Oja-Oba* has been located around the territory of Basorun Oluyole (one of the famous warriors) since the 1840s. The second ancient market was *Oje*, which was named after the sap found in plants. One of the privileged or chief slaves, Oloye Delesolu, was in charge of this market. Both markets were central markets for all the village markets that existed in Ibadan and its environs.

The continued increase in the number of settlers facilitated commercialization. The liberalism afforded by the relative anarchy provided avenues for

6 R. Watson, *Civil Disorder is the Disease of Ibadan, Chieftaincy and Civic Culture in a Yoruba City* (Oxford: James Currey, 2003), p. 5.

7 B.W. Hodder, "The Markets of Ibadan" in P.C. Lloyd, A.L. Mabogunje, and B. Awe, *The City of Ibadan* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1967), p. 173-190.

8 The concept of 'Militarism' as the foundation of Ibadan commerce has concentrated on the role of men. The power relations of women in the society were expressed through the market space. N. Sudarkasa, *Where Women Work: A Study of Yoruba Women in the Market Place* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1973).

the flourishing of commerce and crafts which originated in other Yoruba towns. At first, the society was anarchical, as individuals displayed power based on military might. But the military power was gradually consolidated throughout the 1870s. The military factor became an important determinant in the allocation and distribution of power as well as resources. In this way, warriors constituted the privileged class, who had the means to control the newly-emerged town.⁹ Of course, this militarism had socio-economic implications on the inhabitants. The military supported economic activities. Migrant traders were protected and enjoyed liberal accommodation until hostilities were encountered in the late 19th century. Since the survival of trade required security, nearly all strategic trading routes from the Yoruba hinterland linked Ibadan. For example, the trading routes through the Osun district to Ilorin, Igbomina and northern Ekiti through Ile-Ife and Ijesaland to Ekiti, Akoko, Owo and Benin converged at Ibadan.¹⁰ Hence, Ibadan was not merely a powerful military city, but a commercial hub where local textiles and primary produce such as yam, beans, corn, kolanut and palm oil were exchanged for imported goods. From the south came firearms, European cloth and salt, while the north provided slaves, livestock, swords, ivory and onion."¹¹

Out of militarism, women crafted their own economic niche. The commercial vacuum created by the large-scale conscription of men was occupied by women entrepreneurs. While men engaged in slave hunting, women sold cooked food, traded in other town markets and engaged in long-distance trade. The women also traded in arms and ammunition, cloth, kolanut and palm oil. Denzer makes the point that Yoruba women determined their own economic activities and controlled the accrued profits.¹² Accomplished women traders employed their own labour, composed of both slave and freeborn, fixed prices, controlled the movement of goods and organized trade associations.¹³ The

9 Johnson, p. 244.

10 O.C. Adesina, "Adebisi Sanusi Giwa (?-1938): The Life and Career of An Ibadan Entrepreneur and Community Leader". *Lagos Notes and Records*, 2006, xii: 29.

11 Watson p.5; and Awe, 1963, p. 71.

12 Denzer, p. 7.

13 Ibid.

commercial prowess of these wealthy women traders offered them powerful clout in politics. In Ibadan, both Iyalode Efunsetan Aniwura and Madam Omosa had enormous political influence and trading networks that linked the Yoruba interior with the European traders along the coast. They maintained large private armies and slaves for agricultural plantations and trading in slaves, food, arms and ammunition. Both women were indispensable to the wars of Ibadan. They offered loans, and supplied food and ammunition during wars. Efunsetan's opposition to the incessant warfare of Aare Onakakanfo Latosa and the subsequent withdrawal of her financial support to the war efforts led to her assassination in 1874. Male-dominated crafts existed as well. They included weaving, tanning and blacksmithing. The male slave soldiers protected the trade routes patronized by the women traders.

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. Though they may appear as remote causes, they are facts that cannot be excluded from the discourse of Yoruba history. In contradistinction to the nature of traditional Yoruba towns, the emergence of Ibadan at the initial stage was not planned. The bid to explore and exploit available resources for livelihood accounted for the expansion and subjugation of communities. According to Atanda, communities are formed when discontented or enterprising members hive off to settle in new areas.¹⁴

In the case of Ibadan, the works of Akinyele, Awe and Falola substantiate the evolution of Ibadan as a product of the nineteenth century wars.¹⁵ The evolution has been associated with an apt description of militarism. The town consisted of warriors that settled because of the geographical advantage the areas offered to further launch wars of conquest on surrounding communities. The hilltops and bushes around the settlement provided a hide-out that could prevent the invasion

14 J. A. Atanda, *Political Systems of Nigerian Peoples up to 1900* (Ibadan: John Archers, 2006), p. 3.

15 A careful appraisal of all these works among others explained the general history of Ibadan as evolving from military system and ideologies.

of enemies. In Askari's description of the geographical advantage which Ibadan possessed, it was a military alliance that grew out of:

Its position on the edge of the grassland, and the protection which it was afforded by the large expanse of lateritic outcrop in the area, made it an ideal place of refuge from the Fulani Calvary attacking from the north and from the Egba in the neighbourhood. What was intended primarily as a camp therefore soon became a permanent settlement . . . The Oyo and Ile-Ife (soldiers) settled around the present Oja-Oba and Mapo, the Ijebu at Isale-Ijebu, while the remaining Egba settled around Iyecosu.¹⁶

Given the heterogeneous nature of the population, it might seem difficult to give a precise date to the formation of Ibadan, but the series of warfare and the activities of Ibadan war heroes in the battle against the invasion of the Fulani and Dahomey makes it imperative to date the emergence of Ibadan to the 1830s. The period after the collapse of the Oyo Empire and the shift to Ago-Oja could be upheld to have marked the foundation year.

To an individual in the new settlement, the ability to spur conflicts and disturbances or organize violence could determine the rise to power and economic influence. The rise to power thus enhanced the economic status of individuals in the society. The explanation given by Ajayi and Smith to Yoruba warfare was that at the initial stage, it emanated from class struggles which was a consequence of the breach of laws and customs.¹⁷ According to Watson, ambitious soldiers used warfare for personal enrichment and as an economic enterprise.¹⁸ The internal conflicts were aggravated by the trans-Atlantic slave trade. The capture of slaves and the ability of warriors to increase their availability formed the economic basis that informed the wealth of the warriors in Ibadan. In Johnson's account:

. . . slave-raiding now became a trade to many who would get rich speedily, and hence those who felt themselves unlucky in one

16 E. K. Askari, *Yoruba Towns and Cities* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 5.

17 J.F. Ade-Ajayi and R. S. Smith, *Yoruba Warfare in the 19th Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), p. 63-75.

18 Watson, p. 32.

expedition, and others who quickly spent their ill-gotten gains in debauchery and all excesses would band together for a raiding expedition.¹⁹

For the purpose of slave-raiding, slave soldiers were never sold but integrated into the households of warriors.

The population was mainly dominated by the Oyo refugees. According to Awe, many of the Oyo refugees, who were dispersed from the Old Oyo Empire settled in neighbouring towns.²⁰ The settlement was quite easy, because the conservatism prominent in the traditions and customs of the ancient towns did not manifest in Ibadan. In other words, the founding of Ibadan followed the principle of political and economic liberalism. This was because the refugees were eager to associate with war chiefs in the neighbourhood, so as to provide some form of security and economic survival in the new settlement. The refugees (new migrants) settled according to their groups, especially where their warrior(s) settled. By the 1850s, the settlements were closely linked to one another. The town walls or boundaries were estimated to be about 10 miles in circumference. It comprised four main gates leading to other important territories of Ijebu, Abeokuta, Oyo and Iwo.²¹

The fact that other states in Yorubaland were engulfed by a series of internal and external wars contributed to the emergence of Ibadan as a famous state that could assist in repulsing the invasions. By the 1840s, the war accomplishments of Ibadan became a motivation for the expansionist drive. As described by Akinjogbin, at a point there was a perception that Ibadan might become the

19 Samuel Johnson, *The History of the Yorubas*, (Lagos: CSS Bookshops, 1921, reprinted 1937), p. 321.

20 Bolanle Awe's seminal work on the formation of Ibadan: "The Rise of Ibadan as a Yoruba Power in the 19th Century", her Ph. D Thesis, Oxford, 1964 remains a reference point for other scholars on Ibadan History.

21 S. A. Akintoye, "The Economic Foundations of Ibadan's Power in the Nineteenth Century" in I.A. Akinjogbin and S.O. Osoba, editors, *Topics on Nigerian Economic and Social History* (Ile Ife: University of Ife Press, 1986) p. 55.

"Master of the whole world."²² This was because, the towns of Iwo, Ede, Ikire and so on, which had been under the threat of the Fulani, naturally submitted their allegiance to Ibadan as a sign of honour, gratitude and loyalty.²³ A similar notion was held by the Ijebu and Egba kingdoms. The only exceptions to this perception were the Ekiti and Ijesa kingdoms, which refused to accept subjugation under Ibadan.²⁴ It could be said that the resistance displayed by Ekiti and Ijesa kingdoms also contributed to political cooperation in Ibadan.

By 1877, the political cooperation and expansion by Ibadan warriors were met with rivalry and fear of domination. In order to bring the expansionism to a halt, the Ekiti, Ijesa and other neighbouring kingdoms aligned to form the Ekitiparapo to fight a war of independence from Ibadan. The war is referred to as the Kiriji War.²⁵

The Kiriji War was a war of independence, a challenge to the hegemony of Ibadan over trading routes, slave raiding and excessive taxation. To the Ekitiparapo, the war was to avoid the subjugation of Ekiti-Ijesa territories, while to Ibadan, it was a war to sustain the economic gains that had been accrued since the 1840s. The differences in the political motives and ideologies of the Egba and Ijebu over the blockage of the routes that could link Ibadan to Lagos accounted for what could be termed an immediate cause to the war. The Ekitiparapo took advantage of the political differences between the Egba and the Ijebu people. Between 1830 and 1900, the economy of Ibadan was largely tied to its military power. This could be inferred from the praise poems (*oriki*) of some of the famous warriors, especially Balogun Ibikunle:

Ibikunle! The Lord of his Quarters
The Warrior! As regular as the Muslim prayers
The affluent with enough to spend and spare at the brewery
Owner of farmland at Ogbere
Ibikunle also has a farm at Odo-Ona

22 J. A. Akinjogbin, "War and Peace in Yorubaland, 1793-1893" (Ibadan: Heinemann Books, 1998), p. 33-52.

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid.

25 Ibid.

A wide expanse of farmland

Extensive as far as the city wall at Adesegun

Ibikunle (A stock list of bullet and gun powder).²⁶

This praise poem proffers an explanation on the economy of Ibadan in those days and the nature of the occupation in vogue then. The military strength of Ibadan had much impact on its economy. Most of the warriors acquired farmlands that extended to the borders of neighbouring towns. The Ibadan leaders built very large compounds that essentially accommodated the extended family life system. This implies that the size of the family or household determined the status of the warrior in the society. If the occupants in his compound were numerous, ultimately, the warriors would command a great deal of respect.

People captured as slaves were provided with accommodation and used as labourers on the warriors' farms. The ability of a warrior to acquire slaves, therefore, determined the extent of his wealth. The economic factor or the scale of wealth thus determined the political position a warrior was accorded in the chieftaincy hierarchy.²⁷ Gradually, the slaves were integrated into the warrior's compound by virtue of their loyalty. At this juncture, it is germane to emphasize the concepts of *iwofa* (pawnship), *oko mimu* (land distribution), and *Ise yiya* (allocation of work and responsibilities). The *iwofa* could be described as a temporary slave who enters into labour contract probably for a period of six days

26 Awe, 1973, p. 167.

27 Ibid., p. 66. There is also a correlation in T. Falola, "Power Relations and Social Interactions among Ibadan Slaves, 1850-1900". *African Economic History*, 1987; 16: p. 5-114.

to work for money borrowed from another person. As described by Johnson, the *iwofa* was a form of temporary slavery in the sense that it was not binding on the slave to live with the master.²⁸ It is important to bear in mind that those under slavery or pawnship worked on the warriors' farms. The plantations were divided based on crop viability, and from the groups, a chief slave or *iwofa* took charge of the plantation. Within the allotted farmland, young slaves took charge; this was referred to as *ise yiya*, whereby the individual ability of the young slaves determined the expanse of land allotted.

Falola's description of the power relations and social interactions among Ibadan slaves portrays the view that the political economy was sustained by the slaves.²⁹ Having participated in the wars of expansionism through the 1840s to the 1860s, the slaves became part of the political and economic structure, as they occupied prominent positions in Ibadan society. The subsequent organization of the political system transformed slaves into citizens who held political portfolios. Aside from the fact that they served as soldiers and assisted the famous warriors in warfare, their presence on the farm plantations also necessitated cooperation among the groups and craft guilds. Of course, as it was in every other African societies, the environment had much influence on craftsmanship. The need to develop the proceeds from the farm afforded blacksmiths, basket weavers, palm-oil producers and others prominence and prestige.

In the production of palm-oil and other byproducts from the palm-tree, female slaves became a force to reckon with. Beyond the social interaction that enabled marriage, it was also a source of integration and incorporation into the society. The young female slaves provided the labour needed at the palm-oil processing sites called *ebu*. Like the power relations among men, the husband of a female slave determined how influential such a woman was in the society. This might have generated some form of conflict, given the fact that the ambitions of hardworking slave women to assume management responsibilities at the worksites became jeopardized.

The chief slaves exercised power over their own slaves and those of their masters under their control. The chief slaves used the slaves for the primary purpose of wealth acquisition. The junior slaves were usually exploited. As

28 S. Johnson, p. 126.

29 T. Falola, 1987, p. 97.

described above, the concept of *oko mimu* (land distribution), which afforded chief slaves the opportunity to own land created the need to exploit slaves and acquire wealth. The disposition to social life and materialism also influenced the need to acquire wealth. The revenue realized was used in the competitive display of the ability to marry more wives and go on tobacco and alcohol buying sprees.³⁰ This social life portrayed the excessiveness in the exploitation of slaves, since enormous revenue was accrued from the sale of farm produce or the booties of wars.

In a way, the structure of slavery and its integration into the society had a great impact on the concept of identity and citizenship, as well as the distribution of resources. The rise to power as a chief slave implied absolute integration because the ability to control younger slaves and the loyalty to the warrior (master) had much to do with the conferment of a chieftaincy title on such a chief slave. For instance, the position of Chief Delesolu of Oje can be described in this connection, in that he rose to power after being captured as a slave from Ijeru in Ogbomoso. The power structure in the course of time placed him as a senior chief and *mogaji* (head of compound) under Bashorun Oluyole.³¹

Furthermore, the rise to power of slaves in economic terms could be associated with the primitive accumulation and extravagance displayed by the freeborn. For example, the praise poetry (*oriki*) of Sanusi, one of the heirs of Aare Latoosa, reads thus:

Sanusi the courageous
The fearful one who can trouble anybody
He has a number of slaves just as his father
He can do and undo with his slave
He can use the skulls of fifty of them to drink palmwine.³²

This pattern of social life was an opportunity for the chief slaves to attain an identity and acquire citizenship within the city. More fundamentally, the requirement involved, encompassed the need for absolute loyalty by capturing

30 Falola, p. 102.

31 B. Awe, P. C. Lloyd and A. Mabogunje, *The City of Ibadan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), p. 59-60.

32 Falola, p. 102.

more slaves for the master. By implication, the success of a chief slave in managing the enterprise of the master gradually ushered in political control and economic emancipation. The loyalty of chief slaves in the 1870s earned them the position of *ajele* (resident tribute collector).³³

Before the Kiriji War, the *ajele* were used by Ibadan warriors as representatives in conquered towns basically for economic reasons. The *ajele* was very important to Ibadan economy in the 1850s. They became residents in the territories and they discharged their duties with utmost responsibility. The communities/territories were responsible for their welfare, while they performed their duties by demanding a proportionate tax from every house, which had to be paid on a weekly basis. Each town had one of the chiefs from Ibadan who acted as *babakekere*. The function of the *babakekere* (patron or guardian/junior chief) was to compile the tributes and send them to Ibadan. He also offered military protection that could sustain Ibadan strategic interests. The *babakekere* reserved some of the tributes for personal use. By Akintoye's description of the *ajele* and *babakekere* institutions, they were a form of political hegemony on the Ekiti towns, because the booties and tributes further increased the rise to power of Ibadan.³⁴ The external sources of revenue through these institutions also expanded trade networks.

Tributes collected from the conquered territories ensured the adequate supply of labour and other economic resources to Ibadan. Vassal states paid annual tribute in the form of foodstuff, cowries, manufactured goods and, most significantly, slaves (both male and female). Since Ibadan had no central treasury, much of the tributes were personalized by the *babakekere*. This form of revenue collection and personal enrichment often led to civil disorder and power struggles among the Ibadan political elite.³⁵ Booty from warfare and tributes from vassal states formed a principal part of the accumulation of wealth by the chiefs. The produce, especially from slave labour, enriched Ibadan markets and fed households.

33 For further details see S.A. Akintoye, "The Economic Foundations of Ibadan's Power. . .", p. 60; and Falola, p. 101.

34 Akintoye, p. 60.

35 Watson, p. 31.

Emergence of a new economic order

The process of military expansionism from the 1840s was the basic cause of the Kiriji War in the 1870s. According to Akinjogbin, Ibadan's need for a direct route to Lagos for the regular supply of arms and ammunition to maintain its army and Egba-Ijebu's fear of an emerging domination by Ibadan were the factors which the Ekitiparapo took advantage of, as it was realized that the war would exhaust the military and economic power of Ibadan. The war which lasted from 1877 to 1893 came to an end with British intervention. Though attempts had been made to end the war through peaceful dialogue, the Egba-Ijebu insistence till 1892 led the colonial government in Lagos to adopt a forceful model to resolve the conflicts.³⁶

However, the British had their own motives for intervening in the war. From the 1860s, external commerce in Africa had become so competitive to the extent that there was Anglo-French commercial rivalry in export trade. In addition, the growing influence of Germany was another threat to the British and French traders. In the 1850s, Britain had already launched its plan in Lagos, which facilitated easy access to the Yoruba hinterland. The scramble to partition Africa thus gave way to British influence in Nigeria. The British intervention in the Kiriji War was to ensure continuity in external trade. The insistence of the Egba-Ijebu to disallow the Ibadan linkage to Lagos ushered in a new political and economic system in Yorubaland. At a stage in the war, the Ekitiparapo had the upper hand because the Ekiti elites in Lagos were ensuring the regular supply of firearms. In spite of this, there was the fear that British sympathy and support for Ibadan might place the town at a vantage position for economic development.

By 14 March 1893, Governor Gilbert Carter gathered the warring factions, comprising Ibadan, Ilorin and Ekiti to put an end to the conflict through a peace conference at Ikirun.³⁷ The agreements made on the part of Ibadan implied that their bid for domination would be restricted to areas that had a cultural and lingual affinity with Ibadan. These areas included Iwo, Ede, Osogbo, Iseyin, Ikirun, Ogbomoso and so on. It further implied that land would be made available to the colonial government in Ibadan. Amidst the series of agreements, the most cogent aspect that had to do with Ibadan was land availability. The

36 Akintoye, p. 279-290.

37 For further details, see S. Johnson, *op. cit.*

expansion of British trade in Nigeria was interconnected with land acquisition. By 1900, the aftermath of the peace conference was the Native Land Acquisition Proclamation, which stipulated that:

The lands of the colonies and protectorates of West Africa belong to her royal majesty — the Queen of England, and any non-native who wishes to obtain land must first seek and obtain the consent of the High Commissioner.³⁸

Arguably, the chiefs that agreed to the treaty had a myopic view of the future of the economy, but much resistance would not have been expected because the series of wars had already favoured trade and commerce from the traditional perspective. The military system had already provided a solid economic base. Therefore, it could be upheld that the land agreements facilitated urbanization in the early twentieth century.

The changing value of the land

The first step towards the use of land was the development of a transportation system, most especially road and rail transport systems. On 4 March 1901, the 200 kilometres Lagos-Ibadan railway line was commissioned for commercial purposes. By 1906, it was possible to travel by train from Lagos to Ibadan. The treaty signed on 14 December 1900, was a follow-up to that of 1893. Specifically, it stated that "all the pieces of land near Iddo Gate shall belong to the Queen of England." By implication, the railway, which had already been under construction under the Native Land Acquisition Proclamation was just a formality to secure the protection of British trade to other parts of Yorubaland.

Apart from the subsistence crops which were meant for local consumption and palm-produce, which was already being exported, cotton, cocoa and so on were part of the principal purpose for the new transportation system. This was used in networking all parts of Yorubaland to collect cash crops exported to feed the industrial economy in Europe. During World War I, some European companies established their subsidiaries in Ibadan.³⁹ The land acquisition

38 NAT, *The Nigerian Daily Telegraph*, 10 June 1933.

39 Africa's interaction with the international economy can be found in J.F. Munro, *Africa and the International Economy, 1800-1960* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1976); and R.O. Ekundare, *An Economic History of Nigeria 1860 - 1960* (London: Methuen, 1973).

proclamation favoured the establishment of these companies, in addition to the proximity to the railways.

Table 2.1 Business area allocation

Plot Number	Occupant/Holder
1	London and Kano Trading Company
2	John Walkden
3	African and Eastern Trading Company
4	John Holt and Co
5-7	A.J. Tangalakis & Co
8-16	Niger Company & Co
17-23	Ibadan Native Treasury

Source: NAI, Ibadan Div. 1/1, Ibadan Business Area.

The area around the business district spanned through *Onireke Aleshinloye, Dugbe, Ogunpa, Agbeni, Amunigun* and so on. Indigenous merchants and the Lebanese constituted the ownership of the land holdings in the other sections of the business area.⁴⁰ The business area was basically farmland. The owners were pacified by compensations to stand for a ninety-nine year lease.

Table 2.2 List of farmers in the business area who received compensation

Name	Area in sq. ft.	Amount paid		
		£	s.	d.
Arogundade	4320	21	10	0
Kokumo	540	2	15	0
Areago	180	1	0	0
Ojo	540	2	10	0
Osho	480	2	15	0
Lawani	200	1	0	0

⁴⁰ Other sections in the business area were shared between Europeans, Lebanese and indigenous merchants. They occupied the land as individuals.

Name	Area in sq. ft.	Amount paid		
		£	s.	d.
Otepolo	648	3	5	0
James Fabiyi	720	3	10	0
Adeyoshun	1200	4	10	0
Ola (F)	500	2	10	0
Fatuma (F)	625	2	0	0
Kayola	1200	5	0	0
Fasoyin	600	3	0	0
Fabisiye	1350	6	15	0
Oyerinde	2700	12	0	0
Kudayisi	300	1	10	0
Agbeni	480	2	10	0
Momo	300	1	10	0
Idowu	300	1	10	0
Oke	648	5	0	0
Aina	564	3	0	0
Fasanya	450	2	5	0
Osa	900	4	10	0
Akande	180	1	0	0
Latunde	300	1	0	0
		L97	15	0

Table 2.3 List of farmers in the reservation area who received compensation

Name	Amount		
	£	s.	d.
Oso	4	0	0
Oyedeggi	9	0	0
Sanni	57	13	0
Laogun	39	0	0

Name	Amount		
	£.	s.	d.
Otokiti	0	8	0
Fasoyin	4	10	0
Ayigbe	4	18	0
Fabayo	3	2	0
Ilori	13	8	0
Ipaye	5	0	0
Fajenise	5	12	0
Oyerinde	12	5	0
Laojo	17	3	0
Sunmola	12	8	0
Idowu	8	2	0
Babalola	7	12	0
Ogundipe	6	4	0
Oyadiji	3	18	0
Kudayisi	33	8	0
Fasanya	63	15	0
Opakunle	10	0	0
Awoyemi	4	0	0
Layide	0	16	0
Momo	39	13	6
Amodu	10	13	0
Fatundun	18	5	0
Fatona	18	5	0
Okesiji	5	0	0
Babatunde	1	19	0
Owoade	8	19	0
Faleti	15	0	0

Name	Amount		
	£.	s.	d.
Suberu	15	0	0
Ayenigun	1	10	0
Jinadu	2	0	0
Gbadamosi	3	10	0
Arogundade	11	0	0
Ojo I	13	0	0
Ojo II	9	8	0
Farinto	5	10	0
Salu	7	0	0
Oke	7	10	0
Ayeni	3	17	0
Awe	0	10	0
Tairu	2	10	0
Omoladun	7	6	0
Kekere Ekun	2	10	0
B.N. Phillips	7	12	0
Lawani	2	0	0
Buraimo	5.	0	0
Adeosun	2	0	0
Bambi	2	8	0
Labisi	9	8	0
Oketoyin	1	13	0
Taiwo	103	13	0
Oyemuyiwa	1	4	0
Sanusi	2	2	0
Lagunju	5	8	0
Ajibola	0	10	0

Name	Amount		
	£	s.	d.
Akande	80	2	0
Latunji	8	6	0
Bakare	8	4	0
Adejumo	0	7	0
Oke	39	0	0
Idowu	38	1	0
Osu	117	12	0
Are-Ago	5	16	0

Source: NAI, Oyo Prof 1/1 544 Vol. I Native Administration in Dugbe Market

Before 1903, tolls were allowed as an important aspect of commerce. *Owo Onibode*, as the toll system was referred to, was one of the virile sources of revenue established through the *ajele* and *babakekere* institutions. The internal movement of goods from one town to another, especially for the purpose of market days necessitated the payment of tolls, which were used in traditional community development. It was also a source of revenue to the palace and chiefs. By the end of the *Kiriji War* in 1893, there ensued conflicts in the control of toll houses since the powers of Ibadan had been reduced. The traditional chiefs disagreed on how the proceeds should be shared and there were attempts at increasing duties on items to increase the revenue base.

In the bid to resolve the conflicts, Captain Bower of the Native Administration moved a motion to stop the operation of toll houses. However, the intricacies and fear of a recurring war ushered in the need for reforms, which started in 1897.⁴¹ Efforts were made at converting the toll houses to custom gates. As discussed earlier in the geographical description of Ibadan, the city has four gates. *Iddo gate* was in close proximity to the railway. It therefore became a virile source of revenue. Furthermore, the incessant imposition of duties by the local toll collectors was curbed with the introduction of tariff duties. With the knowledge and cooperation of the chiefs, the duties were modified.

41 Falola, p.78.

In spite of the modification, the chiefs were not satisfied because it was perceived as a measure to degrade their political status and economic power. Thus, the traditional toll system continued, which to the colonial government, was a hindrance to the free flow of goods. Furthermore, the toll reapers failed to recognize the need to exempt colonial agents from payment, while the European firms failed to cooperate. The problems generated from toll collection on the part of Ibadan chiefs were in a bid to attain economic security. On the part of the colonial government, the modification was planned to their advantage. In other words, both parties were concerned with economic security. In order to resolve the conflict, in 1903, Governor McGregor visited Ibadan and gave two options — the Ibadan chiefs should accept subsidies in the place of tolls or they should continue to collect tolls on six conditions:

- i. that the estimate of revenue and expenditure be submitted each year to the secretary of state for approval
- ii. that no increase in tolls as regulated in the new tariff be made without the previous sanction of the secretary of state
- iii. that all goods, that were not products of the Ibadan province, be exempted from dues in transit to the railway station
- iv. that draw back in full be allowed on goods re-exported
- v. that they employ a qualified inspector of dues to be selected by the governor and paid a sufficient salary
- vi. that the resident audit the toll accounts monthly.⁴²

By implication, neither of the two options would have been agreed upon. It was feared that even with the two options, the French might have a stake in commerce in Ibadan. Hence, it was suggested that the custom gates should be abolished. However, it was considered that it could create problems from the interior of Yorubaland, because it was a means of generating revenue. Despite the fears, the first option of giving subsidies to chiefs and handing over the control of custom gates was adopted in 1904. The agreement decided to abolish the payment of tolls on all goods. The basic argument or reason behind the abolition was the need to internally generate revenue that could enhance colonial administration.

42 Ibid, p.80.

On the contrary, new measures were innovated towards the establishment of colonial economy, with much emphasis on cash crops. The re-orientation necessitated the need for labour to facilitate all stages of production towards exportation. The need for land was far more important for cash crop cultivation, especially cotton, cocoa and rubber.⁴³ The British Cotton Growing Association was formed in 1902 for the purpose of sending cotton experts to examine the scientific and technological propensity for a plantation at *Olokemeji* village in Ibadan. However, the experiment was not as successful as expected and there was a shift to cocoa production. Cocoa production reached Ibadan through traders, members and agents of the Church Missionary Society (CMS).⁴⁴ The position of CMS in the production of cocoa could be described with the view that Christianity was also an agent of imperialism. Though it might not have had a manifest impact on the economy, yet it had much impact on culture. It was believed that economic development was a twin concept with evangelization, and both must be simultaneous. The role of CMS accounted for the involvement of early Christian converts in the production of cocoa.

Table 2.4 Cocoa plantation areas in Ibadan

Date	Village
Before 1892	Agbaakin
1890s	Otun-Agbaakin
c.1900	Arun
before 1907	Kute
1907 - 1910	Iroko
1892	Eripa
1890s	Onipe
1890s (after Eripa)	Isokun
1890s (after Isokun)	Gbedun
1901-1902	Olojuoro

43 For further readings on the colonial economy, see the following: R.O. Ekundare, op cit., and A.G. O. Hopkins, *An Economic History of West Africa* (London: Longman, 1973).

44 Falola, p. 103.

Date	Village
1901-1902	Ayorinde
c.1904	Idi-Ose
c.1905	Ogbere
c.1905	Alabidun
1904-1907	Alagutan
1907-1910	Olorunda
1907-1910	Aladun
1907-1910	Onimo
1907-1910	Akinboade
1910-1912	Laogun
1910-1912	Abalega
1911	Ajugbona
1914	Araromi-Aperin
1915	Amodu Afunsho

Source: T. Falola, *Politics and Economy in Ibadan 1830 - 1945* (Ibadan: Modelor Publishers), pp. 103-104.

Of the three cash crops, cocoa was given much concentration because it thrived very much on the land. There was also concentration on the production of corn, which also served numerous purposes in Britain.⁴⁵ Hence, the presence of European firms gave much relevance to commerce in Ibadan. The traditional crafts and industries were grappling with the new economy during this period.

Migration and urbanization in Ibadan

Although colonial influence also manifested in the concentration of other crafts in Ibadan, the gradual urbanization of Ibadan, as described by Mabogunje, brought in migrants from other parts of Yorubaland. The presence of the migrants facilitated the expansion of local crafts, while also increasing the impact

45 Ibid, p. 105.

of modernization on its development.⁴⁶ In her early history, Ibadan could be seen as a convergence of migrants from various parts of Yorubaland. This also applied to non-Yoruba migrants, most especially the peoples from the northern region. In Abner Cohen's analysis, the Hausa communities in Yorubaland were formed in line with the development and organizational requirements of long distance trade, in which they were directly or indirectly involved.⁴⁷ The main commodities of the long distance trade between the Hausa and Yoruba were kolanut and cattle. These commodities had much cultural significance during festivals and ceremonies among African communities. Hausa migration can be dated to the early years of Ibadan history. Since the 16th century, Hausa traders and Muslim scholars have traversed Yorubaland. Many Hausa slaves were used to prosecute the Ibadan wars and constituted the workforce on the farm plantations.

With the emergence of the railway, the movement of Hausa people into Ibadan basically for trade in kolanuts and cattle increased dramatically. The increase at first did not mean that they were concentrated in a settlement; they were spread, especially to the rural areas.

The Hausa settlements existed in smaller communities. There is the possibility that their presence facilitated the expansion of village markets. In the period of economic transition following the end of the Yoruba wars, some of the Hausa under the patronage of some Ibadan chiefs were involved in burglary activities. In a large measure, they constituted a threat to the new urban life in the early 20th century in Ibadan. In the 1920s, the *Sarkin Hausa* demanded a separate area around Mokola, which is referred to as Sabo, in order to fully control the kolanuts and cattle trade, and the emergent criminal tendencies in the community.⁴⁸ The name Mokola, as described by Mabogunje, was derived from

46 See A. L. Mabogunje, *Urbanisation in Nigeria* (London: University of London Press, 1968), and A. Callaway, "From Traditional Crafts to Modern Industries" in P. C. Lloyd, A. L. Mabogunje and B. Awe, 1967, op cit.

47 A. Cohen, "Politics of Kola Trade. Some Processes of Tribal Community Formation among Migrants in West African Towns", *Journal of the International African Institute* 1996, 36(1): 19-20.

48 National Archives Ibadan (NAI) Ibadan Div. 1/1, Hausa Settlement in Ibadan.

a Nupe language (Mokanla). They were early settlers in the area.⁴⁹ The Hausa migrants decided to settle there because of the conflicts arising from the accusations by the indigenes that they were a threat to peace and security in Ibadan. It was equally in the interest of the colonial state to create hierarchies and segregation between natives and migrants.

After the Kiriji War, Ibadan developed xenophobia towards all immigrants, including the Ijesa, Egba and Ijebu, who were conspirators against Ibadan during the war. Ibadan succeeded in expelling the Fante people who dominated the rubber industry in the city.⁵⁰ The presence of the railway along Dugbe could also have accounted for the massive settlement of migrants along these areas. The Ijebu were largely concentrated around Oke-Ado, and the Lagos migrants around Ekotedo and Mokola.⁵¹ This geographical distribution and migrant cluster can be associated with the presence of modern trade and facilities that could enhance them. The railways, the European firms (trade stations) along Dugbe-Ogunpa and the migrant cluster, contributed to the emergence of the Old Gbagi Market. During the first three decades of colonial rule, the emergence of the market expanded the economic strength of Ibadan. Ultimately, Yoruba towns were very much connected with the new trade relations and the process of urbanization. The *Osomaalo* itinerant traders from Ilesa had much contact with the European firms, as well as Yoruba men from Ibadan, Ijebu and Lagos.⁵²

The rise of the modern Ibadan economic elite

The Ibadan economic elite adapted to the changing economic transition ushered in by colonialism. Some were involved in the distribution of European general

49 A. L. Mabogunje, "The Growth of Residential Districts in Ibadan" . *Geographical Review* 1962, 52(1): 68.

50 I. O. Albert "Urban Migrant Settlements in Nigeria: A Historical Comparison of the 'Sabon Garis' in Kano and Ibadan. 1893-1991" (Ibadan Ph.D Thesis, African Studies, University of Ibadan, 1994), p. 87.

51 As explained by Mabogunje, it is apparent that the 20th century migrants settled in different sections separate from the indigenous inhabitants. The migrants cluster in the same area (along the railway lines), suggesting that they all migrated for commercial purpose.

52 J.A. Aluko, *Osomaalo: The Early Exploits of the Ijesha Entrepreneur* (Ibadan: African Book Builders, 1993), p. 14, 15.

merchandise, while others engaged in the trading of locally-produced goods and foodstuff. Unlike in the past, merchants, not the military men, became the new revered citizens. In Ibadan, the likes of Chief Salami Agbaje and Chief Adebisi Idikan were some of the most prominent early traders in textiles. In addition, both of them were general merchants in the colonial economy. They served as middlemen between the European and the Ibadan people. In particular, Salami Agbaje was the first Ibadan native to operate a motor transport business, with the use of lorries to move imported goods between rural communities and Ibadan.⁵³ Agbaje established a mechanical workshop which possibly competed with the one established by the Railway Corporation. Part of his investment included estates and a printing press. He traded in timber, palm produce, maize and cocoa that offered cash income. He exported these locally produced commodities directly. On the other hand, he imported building materials, alcoholic drinks (spirits) and other European manufactured items. In the 1920s, he was considered Ibadan's richest native merchant.

Before his ascendancy to the throne of Ibadan, Okunola Abasi was an influential Muslim trader. He virtually monopolized trade in yam flour. By 1908, when the railway reached Jebba from Lagos, he pioneered the transportation of foodstuff from Jebba to Ibadan. He made substantial profits by selling for twice the price.⁵⁴ Akinpelu Obisesan, an Ibadan Christian merchant, started his career by working for the Lagos Railway and European mercantile firms. He subsequently engaged in produce buying. Many indigenous traders were involved in the importation of gold. Chief among them was Mr. I. M. Odunsi of Idepo Chambers, Ogunpa, Ibadan. He imported gold directly from England financed through the Bank of British West Africa. The value of his orders of gold carat ranged from £90 to £315 per importation.⁵⁵ Some raw gold found their way to Ibadan through Hausa traders. Ibadan had a sizeable number of goldsmiths who employed workers, women hawkers as well as trained apprentices. The goldsmiths established their workshops at *Oja-Igbo, Isale-Ijebu, Ekotedo, Oja-Iba,*

53 The biography written by O.S. Ojo, "Life and Times of Chief Salami Agbaje", Unpublished B.A. History Project, Department of History, University of Ibadan, 1988 was found very useful.

54 Watson, p. 105.

55 NAI Oyo Prof. /153/EHLRIW/General Goods Department. The United Africa Company, Ibadan, 1935.

Ayeye, Agbeni, Labiran, Aremo, Oluokun, Onidundu, Amunigun and Isale-Osi areas of Ibadan. The new moneyed men and merchants of Ibadan played dramatic roles in the socioeconomic development and politics of the city. They formed community development organizations to articulate their positions on the development of the city, in relation with the colonial authority and the *Alaafin* of Oyo. Their conspicuous consumption and new culture of consumerism reshaped social life and class relations in Ibadan.

The textile, gold and jewellery industries did not directly boost the traditional economy, because the natural resources were not in the absolute control of the artisans.⁵⁶ The traditional apprenticeship system was subjugated under colonial control to ensure that its practice added to the revenue base of the colonial administration. Under the Goldsmith Ordinance, women had to obtain a hawker's licence. After the failure of the British Cattle Growers Association experiment, aimed towards exportation, textile training schemes were developed as a means of maintaining control of production.

In the case of gold mining, which was very prominent at Ilesa, the process of mining was restricted because it was lucrative for indigenous merchants and not for colonial merchants.⁵⁷ In addition, the concentration of miners in the goldfield was a threat to the availability of labour at the tin mines in the Bauchi-Plateau region.⁵⁸ Trade in gold was not viable for exportation, because of the huge investment involved in the process of mining; it was converted to a source of income for the colonial administration in Ibadan. This was done through the control and regulation of mining and smithing activities. The particular emphasis on the textile and gold industries among other crafts was because the raw materials were once viable for exportation.

However, the prosperity achieved by the traders and artisans was faced with commercial challenges from domestic and foreign middlemen traders. The internal rivalry was very much inherent with the Ijebu, Ijesa and Lagos migrants,

56 The particular reference to cotton and gold is to expose the nature or impact of colonial control on the artisanship and apprenticeship system, since both products were no more profitable for exportation, the trade practice was regulated to ensure that it contributed to the revenue base of colonial government.

57 NAI, Ibadan Div. 1/1 1354/1 Goldsmiths Ordinance/Licence.

58 NAI, CSO, 0164/s.1 Gold Mining in Nigeria.

who settled around the business area for the purpose of trade. Foreign competition was encountered with the presence of Lebanese and Syrian traders.⁵⁹ The Lebanese emerged as migrants in search of better opportunities, because there was economic depression in their home country. They became more prosperous because the European firms gave them better recognition, credit and preference as middlemen. The preference given to them could be associated with racism, monopolistic tendencies and attempts to undermine the entrepreneurial potentials of the indigenes.

The presence of the Lebanese generally subjugated indigenous participation in the modern economy. The Lebanese business empire expanded into various aspects of merchandising to the extent that they absolutely determined to buy on lease all developed and undeveloped lands along the market.⁶⁰ This further generated a series of conflicts and reactions beyond the 1930s.

Conclusion

From a small war camp, Ibadan transformed into the focal point of modernity in Yorubaland. Trade and commerce in the early years of the town's formation till the end of the nineteenth century thrived as a result of the military system of government, which accounted for its rise to power among other towns in Yorubaland. The system of government that was clearly distinct from the Yoruba traditional political system provided an avenue for a laissez-faire society, providing a conducive atmosphere for the refugees and slaves to live a defined and settled life. They enjoyed geographical and military protection. Women controlled their own economic sphere despite militarism and patriarchal structures. It might have been imagined that the seeming victory of Ekitiparapo and other opponents would have led to the fall of Ibadan in the 1890s. However, it ushered in a new order of socio-political and economic power in the colonial period. Ibadan was the toast of the British imperialists and European merchants due to its impressive size, economic liberalism and, of course, military power. The existence of modern facilities, most especially the transport system, favoured

59 T. Falola, "The Lebanese Traders in South-Western Nigeria, 1900-1960". *African Affairs*, 1990, 89(357): 524-525.

60 NAI, OY/1674, Lebanese in Ibadan.

internal and foreign immigrant settlements in Ibadan, all of which contributed largely to its urbanization.

Although, the abolition of the traditional toll system and the failure to pay tributes to the traditional authorities was to the disadvantage of the traditional economy, the traditional political system was also subjugated by the modern government. The series of conflicts and discontentment that emanated from the colonial imposition and the competition encountered with the migrants was responsible for the craft industries, farmers and traders making use of *egbe* (cooperative associations and social networks) as a means of articulating views and grievances in the colonial economy, most especially with the introduction of taxation, which was not totally alien in the traditional economy, though its modus operandi was different. The cooperative system could thus be defined as a redemption strategy that continued beyond the 1930s. The colonial economic transition equally gave impetus to the competition and construction of identities between indigenes and non-indigenes of Ibadan.