THE DYNAMICS OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN A MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY: THE CASE OF ILORIN DURING THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES.

BY

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2015

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the grace of Almighty God this far and to my family for their concern, understanding, support and love.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the dissertation is a product of my own effort, and it has never been presented for any scholarly endeavour anywhere. As such, all sources of information quoted herein have been duly acknowledged in footnotes and accommodated in the bibliography.

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Sa'ad Hadi **Date**

CERTIFICATION

This dissertation has been read and approved as meeting the requirement of the postgraduate school, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, for the award of degree of Doctor of Philosophy (History).

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ABSTRACT

The study is about the dynamics of political development in a multicultural society: The case of Ilorin during the 19th and 20th centuries. It is conceive to help us appreciate the impact of the interplay of the dynamics of politics and the multicultural nature of the society on social relations among groups of varying political, economic, religious and cultural backgrounds and interests. More importantly, how these relate to interactions in political affairs and developments in Ilorin Emirate and of which were not given a prominent place by earlier studies also attracts the attention of this study. It is an attempt at searching out the processes of community formation as well as its many dimensions, and ramifications for development in an ever-changing society as well as providing explanations and justifications for developments in the polity and social relations in terms of migration, political struggles, interactions, conflicts, accommodation, cooperation, integration, as well as socio-political structures and arrangements in the area. In this regard, explaining from historical perspective, political changes and the influence of the convergences of different cultural groups whose interest were based on economic, political and other opportunities prevalent in the area. This is to provide basis to discussing the poverty of ethnic interpretations and explanations of issues and phenomenon in the genesis of conflicts, political struggles and attendant socio-cultural relations in Ilorin from 1800 to around 1996 contrary to assumptions held by certain observers on Ilorin history. For effective and in-depth inquiry, a multi-disciplinary approach was employed in the research. First, basic background knowledge was provided as theoretical framework which equipped us with a discourse of the concepts that underpin the study which generally provide the researcher with the tools for analyzing the historical sources and the possible results of these on the subject matter. Through these, an explanation for the dynamics of political development in multicultural Ilorin and influence on social relations was garnered for the historical reconstruction, analysis and interpretation. These were examined against the background of written sources, especially secondary sources. Archival materials were also examined. This was corroborated with oral interviews conducted with people within Ilorin community. These two form the primary sources of information. The secondary sources were obtained by examining different literature from different libraries. From this study, we find that Ilorin in its evolutionary history transformed, through immigration of individuals and groups of varying cultural background, from a settlement of scattered hamlets and at various stages into a rebel camp/political sanctuary, urbanizing polity, city-state, and an Emirate. It traverses these stages with diversity, integration, dynamism and processes of interplay of political, economic, multicultural and religious forces and influence on group relations.

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Preamble

Ilorin is an old settlement that predated Afonja and Alimi but it is qualified in various studies, as Ilorin Afonja (Ilorin the city of Afonja) or Ilorin *Gari* Alimi (Ilorin the city of Alimi). This is because Afonja and Alimi are the more prominent among immigrants of various cultural backgrounds that came to settled at Ilorin. The activities of the two personages were to have remarkable influence in the political evolution of the city. The qualifications in the name of the town were the result of the political developments during the formative stages of the city. Contact and interaction between the two personages was to have ramifications in the course of political developments and socio-cultural relations in the city from about 1817 to 1823 when an Emirate was established in Ilorin. The establishment of the Emirate, its administration and policies had subsequent far-reaching influences on the dynamics of political developments against the background of the multicultural nature of Ilorin and interactions between and among groups of varying economic, political, religious and cultural background and interests up till the 20th century.

Political struggle have been a reoccurring issue in the political changes in Ilorin and this have dominated relations among socio-cultural, politico-economic and politico-cultural groups in the Emirate. This has, at various levels, resulted at times into conflicts, cooperation or accommodation. These developments were not put into proper perspective of factors of dynamism of political development in a multicultural society. The study has been explored with the aid of migration, multicultural, resistance, conflict, accommodation, integration and power play that characterized developments in the polity from the 19th century through the 20th

century. These are seen within the context of the interplay of political development and cultural plurality. Political developments and the attendant problems were the result of the multicultural nature of the society, with the consequent social relations manifested in struggle for domination of available economic and political advantages among the diverse cultural groups.

There is no doubt that a major feature of human communities is interdependence. By human community, we mean the people living in one particular area or people who are considered as a unit because of their common interest. This could be a social group or nationality. The interdependence feature of human community is not just a fact, but one, which is globally constant and basic. Therefore, this makes contact and interaction a must between human groups whether consciously or unconsciously. Invariably, conflict, accommodation and integration are part of the process of interaction between political development and cultural plurality present within a society and this take place over a long period. More importantly, since human society is not static we can infer that political development, cultural process and attendant social relation are ever changing in nature, form and content. Hardly can cultural groups remain homogeneous as they are influenced by migration, which resulted into cultural contacts, accommodation and integration with resultant cultural hybrid or a fusion of cultural identities in many societies. Hybridism attempts to “destabilize” traditional binaries and myths of cultural homogeneity. This contradicts the very concept of a static ‘ethnic group’. Specific and situational instances in development of the human society serve as the causative agent of the changing nature, form and content of social relations.

This explained why, in all political organizations, the process of integration and accommodation is constantly threatened by various disagreements. Every political set up contains several types of relations between diverse groups signifying agreement or disagreement, which could be regional, racial, religious, political, economical, class etc in nature. At a given point in time, one of these several disagreements will be dominant and the others assume subordinate positions. While historical analysis has to show the historical developments that led to the dominance of a particular inter or intra-group disagreement at a given point in time, theoretical analysis must identify the factors and show the logical relationships that explain the dominance of different inter or intra-group disagreement at different point in time. The intensity of disagreements – economic, racial, political, religious, regional etc, in a political set up at any given moment depends primarily on the historical processes that brought the groups together and the level of development of the polity.

The Multicultural nature of a society and political development are interconnected, influence, and even sometimes determine the development of one another as well as the nature and level of political, economic, social and religious development in the society. Hence, invariably political, economic, religious and sociological development is influenced and directed by the nature of social relations consequent on the process of diverse associations and relations and how they tend to change over time.

The issue of dynamics of political development and social relations, consequent on the process of cultural diversity are therefore integral parts of every society. History of multicultural societies or communities have also revealed that

interactions between and among people largely was influenced by certain political and economic policies by the ruling class. Therefore, the prevailing political cum economic circumstances as it affects the people often determines the level and nature of interaction that usually took place. Political development, which is more of a product of relations, interactions and consequences, is a particularly important variable in a multicultural society and social relations derivable from this, precisely because it is one of the criteria found throughout the world by which groups are regularly assigned superior and inferior places or dominant and subservient positions which are usually the root of political crisis.

1.2 Area of Study/Topography

Ilorin city, which is the capital of the present day Kwara State of Nigeria is a city, located between North and South of river Niger. It is situated on latitude $8^{0}30$ North and Longitude $4^{0}35$ East. It is a transitional Zone between the open savannah belt, of which Ilorin is an integral part, and the forest area some distance to the south of Ilorin.[1] Ilorin consisted of strip of territory situated on the right bank of the River Niger from Jebba to a point opposite Idah, comprising about 18,000 square miles. To the west and North of the town, is open and undulating land with marsh along the banks of the River Niger. Forest commenced towards Otun now in (Ekiti State). In the South and East well-wooded iron stone hills, abound though nowhere rising to a greater height than 500 feet. By boundary description[2], it was bounded on the east by the River Niger from a part three miles above Eggan (Kogi State) to a point eight miles above Rofia (Kebbi State) from the said point above Rofia to a point close to and south of Samia. On the west it was bounded by Dahomey now part of the Benin republic, from the said point south of Samia to the point of confluence or rivers Okpara and Kobo and by Oyo, from that point by a boundary demarcated and redemarcated piecemeal at various times starting by wash-Dew up to Messr Jones Bamfield and Mathews in 1927 to 1936 when Otun (Now in Ekiti State) was excised from the Emirate. The soil is fertile and the city is well watered by the various tributaries of the Niger River which run through hills and valleys, none of which rise to any great height. The Western section of the state is at a slightly higher altitude than the eastern section. There is a summer rainfall area, with an annual rainfall

[1] Zakariyau Sadiq Sambo and Kafilah Lola Gold. "The Hausa Women in Contemporary Political Economy of Ilorin City, Nigeria. Implications for public Policy" in Helen E, Adebola and Nkasiobi S. Oguzor, Gender, Development and the Society, *Afro-Euro Centre for Development Studies*, Spain, 2009, p.201.

[2] Sheikh Ahmad Tijani Adisa Onikoko, *A short History of Ilorin Emirate.* Sat Adis Press services Enterprises, 1992, p.1.

range of 1000mm to 1,500mm. The months of December and January coincide with the cold and dry harmattan period. Average maximum temperatures vary between 30^0c and 35^0c. It should be noted that the derived open savannah vegetation stretches through Ilorin to Ibadan from where Ibadan name is derived. The above features provided for an environment and conditions suitable for farming, hunting and animal husbandry. This perhaps explains why the area was attractive to various groups of people and occupational activities that migrated to the area. For instance, the earliest known migrant settlers or "founders" of Ilorin were said to be hunters and perhaps iron workers who were probably attracted to the area from such areas as Oyo and Bariba from Borgu for hunting wild animal and iron working activities. Added to this was that the location is good as an Centerport of trade from both the northern and southern parts of the river Niger, particularly from Hausaland to its north and Yoruba land to its south. Therefore, the city commanded a strategic position right from the beginning. These advantages, taken together, have assisted its career as a major political, economic, social and cultural centre.

1.3 Statement of Problem

The research is informed by the fact that little attention was paid to the impact of the interplay of the dynamics of politics and the multicultural nature of the society on social relations among groups of varying political, economic, religious and cultural backgrounds and interests. More importantly, how these relate to interactions in political affairs and developments in Ilorin Emirate was not given a prominent place by earlier studies. It is this gap in the history of Ilorin Emirate that the research attempted to fill.

For instance, from the 19th century, Ilorin Emirate has been bedeviled by recurrent problems chief among which is political and which resulted into conflicts and wars, integration and accommodation among the people, which changes in nature and form in relation to the political situation of the different periods. Certain observers have tried to explain these political problems as expression or manifestation of 'tribalism' or 'ethnicity'. An examination of the views on politics in the problems of group relations in Ilorin contends that the problem was the result of the early struggles and conflicts for the control of the emerging polity and its administration, based on the assumption that the basis movement of Ilorin history is the struggle and conflict of 'ethnic' groups. This is seen as occurring between two groups-Afonja (and his descendants) and Alimi (and his descendants) - representing two different ethno-regional blocs. The two blocs refer to the northern (Sokoto) Muslim-Fulani and the Southern Non-Muslim and nominal Muslim Yoruba. These views regarded 'Fulani' as "invaders" and "usurpers", and the 'Yoruba' as indigenous contenders. Therefore, the dominant categories used in the writings of some studies on Ilorin history are "Fulani" and "Yoruba", which when considered against the reality of historical process that they suppose to define only hint at a very general level. The way they are used in most of these writings as given and fixed entities, blocks our comprehension of the extent, nature and significance of the diversity of Ilorin. The ethnic (or 'tribal') categories as used in the explanations of political developments and attendants social relations and interactions could be called to question. Reference to 'Yoruba' as a homogeneous group in this regard, for instance, is found to be 'quite anachronistic in pre-colonial contexts'.[3] More so,

[3] See Ade Obayemi, 'History, Culture, Yoruba And Northern Factors' in G.O. Olusanya (edited), *Studies in Yoruba History*

when we considered the role of religion (Islam) and the political expediency that encouraged cultural fusion one cannot but understand that Ilorin culture is hybrid since the pre-colonial period.

Whitaker C.S. a major proponent of this ethnic conflict framework considers the political struggle as 'a recurrent menace against which the Ilorin Emirate headed by Fulani had to defend itself'[4], from resistance by the 'Yoruba'. The peculiar circumstance that informed the radical political reforms and changes that Ilorin experienced during the colonial period were also presented within the context of power struggle between the Yoruba and Fulani. Like others, the author equally analyses the emergence of party politics in Ilorin in the 1950s and developments that followed along ethnic perspective. The electoral and conciliar struggle for power and supremacy of the period was seen as been between a dominated "Yoruba" ITP and the Fulani led traditional elite. He failed to take into cognizance the cultural background of the ITP members and supporters as well as some aspects of the ITP's initial ideology and commitment to traditionalism, which manifested in their initial defence of the traditional elites.

The resistance voting against their overlord by the grass-root population as noted by Ann O' Hear, though acknowledged as a class struggle, was also said to have had ethnic influence with the assistance the struggle got from outside[5]. It has also been acknowledged that ethnic affinities were of considerable significance in the relationship between the Emirs and their Chiefs-the *Baloguns* or warlords[6]. The relationship especially in the period's 1870 and 1880s exhibited the dominance of

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and Culture, University Press Limited, Ibadan, 1983, p.73.

[4] C.S., Whitaker, *The Politics of Traditions, Change and Continuity in Northern Nigeria, 1946-1966*. New Jersey, USA, 1970. Chapter 3 titled "Ilorin Revolution and Counter Revolution", pp.121-174.

[5] Ann O' Hear, *Power Relations in Nigeria: Ilorin Slaves and Their Successors*, University of Rochester, USA. 1977.

[6] See, H.O. Danmole, "*The Frontier Emirate. A History of Islam in Ilorin*". PhD Thesis, Centre for West Africa Studies, University of Birmingham, 1980, p.63.

the Yoruba *Baloguns* and their chronic struggle for power and supremacy with the Emir. A.O. Mayowa's "Indigenous Governance and the Management of Conflict and Stability in the Multi-Ethnic Community of Ilorin",[7] is as well a Ph.D thesis that considers, particularly, the crisis between the Fulani ruling elites and the Afonja descendants as an ethnic conflict. T.G.O. Gbadamosi also expressed this view when he describes the Yoruba groups as having lost out in the earlier struggles to the "Sokoto (Muslim) forces".[8]

It is clear from the above that Ilorin was one of the areas in which political, cultural, economic and even religious developments from 1800 had lasting consequences for inter 'group' relations up till 1983. It is our contention however that these developments rather than being perceived within the context of mono causal factor, need to be seen in a broader context. The factors are complex and revolve around politics, multicultural nature of the Ilorin Emirate and the attendant social relations, which are ever dynamic throughout the course of the 19th and 20th centuries. Politics and influence of the multicultural nature of the society were dominant and are the lenses through which the interplay of other factors is to be assessed in the historical development, and socio-cultural relations, within Ilorin Emirate and her neighbours to South West headed by Oyo.

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[7] A.O. Mayowa, "*Idigeneous Governance and the Management of Conflict and Stability in the Multi-Ethnic Community of Ilorin*", Ph.D. thesis, Public Administration Department, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, 2000.

[8] T.G.O., Gbadamosi "*The Growth of Islam Among the Yoruba, 1840-1908*". Ph.D. Thesis, University of Ibadan, 1968, pp.24-25.

1.4 The Objectives of Study

The evaluation of the dynamics of political development in the multicultural society of Ilorin is aimed at providing explanations and justifications for developments in the polity and social relations in terms of migration, political struggles, interactions, conflicts, accommodation, cooperation, integration, as well as socio-political structures and arrangements in the area. In this regard, the study aims at:

1. Giving a historical analysis of the major trends of relations among the people of Ilorin and the dynamics of these relations in a changing society in which political disagreements have remained dominant consequent to the presence of cultural diversity.
2. Analyzing the dynamics of political development and social relations in a multicultural society characterized with migration, group conflicts, accommodation, integration and differences that facilitates understanding of the nature of interaction between social groups and among groups whose interest were based on economic, political and other opportunities prevalent in the area.
3. Examining cultural groups' formation and political developments in the processes of growth and development of Ilorin into a multicultural society and influence on social relations within and with her neighbour to the South West in the pre-colonial, colonial, and postcolonial period.
4. Discussing the poverty of ethnic interpretations and explanations of issues and phenomenon in the genesis of conflicts, political struggles and attendant socio-cultural relations in Ilorin from 1800 to around 1996.

In order to achieve these objectives, the critical appraisal of migration and settlement pattern would lead to the understanding of the evolution of the political structures and the institution that helped in the growth of Ilorin and its multicultural population. From this, it will be discernible how crucial and important is the influence of the interaction of political development and cultural plurality on socio-historical evolution of a society.

1.5 Scope of the study

Ilorin Emirate, the area of focus of this research, is presented as multicultural settlements, which in their manifestations developed and transformed collectively through the interplay of factors such as demographic, socio-cultural, economic, religious and political into a single unit. In the light of this, the study is primarily focused on pre colonial, colonial and post colonial periods. This start from about 1817, which mark the contact and alliance between Afonja and Mallam Alimi, two prominent later immigrants from different cultural backgrounds, Yoruba and Fulani respectively, against a common enemy (Oyo). In addition, the period onwards mark the influx of new waves of immigrants which was engendered by the presence of the two personalities. For instance, some migrants dispersed into the town of Ilorin as a result of the activities of the Fulani invaders headed by Mallam Alimi. Yet others migrated there for the protection, which the town provided under Afonja and later Mallam Alimi. In these circumstances, migration was a *sine qua non* in the formation and political development of Ilorin.

It is against the above background that a survey of the concepts of political development and multicultural are to be undertaken. These will be use to analyze the Ilorin example. In this regard, peopling and early history of Ilorin will be examined with a view to analyze the importance of migration to cultural groups' formation, growth of the city, political developments and influence on social relations between and among groups in the pre-colonial, colonial and post colonial periods. This would be done to provide the framework of interactions, accommodation, integration and cooperation that characterizes relations amongst the various cultural groups and basis for features like conflicts, hostilities and domination of migrant groups, which

dictated the framework and evolution of a common political system and administration. It will be followed by the study of the stages of state formation in its transformation into a multicultural settlement and influence on political development and structure.

Multicultural formation of the community and political development would also be critically examined under three periods during the pre colonial period. These were: The pre-Emirate period, the period of the rise of the *Jama'a* as a new community increasingly bounded by common religion in addition to various forms of political and economic associations associated with the development of a new urban centre. The third period was the establishment of the Emirate. Critical appraisal of the events in the pre colonial period that led to the establishment of Emirate, its operation, structure, administration and social relations, will help to explain political changes and developments before the advent of colonial rule.

The nature of the British colonialism on the affairs of Ilorin Emirate from the 1890s to 1940s will be equally looked at, particularly its effects on Ilorin as it relates to political development and social relations in the heterogeneous society. This will be examined against the background of the inherited political problems, which had manifested itself, internally, in tussle for power, as well as problem of legitimacy faced by the Emirate administration and various measures put in place to contain it and ensure internal political and administrative cohesion as well as social integration. Alongside this situation, the defensive and aggressive imperial policy of Ilorin and the Yoruba states which kept many Yoruba states in permanent state of war, Ilorin not the least, before the British intervention will be critically examined so that the motives and causes of the wars and implications on the polity could be

explained. The focus of the study shall also address an examination of the reactions (resistant or accommodation) of the people of Ilorin Emirate (the ruling elites and subjects) to their new masters (the British). This will concentrate on issues relating to British Administrative trends, which bordered on policies of Native Authority, Territorial Re-organization and District Administration as it affects geo-political, economic, and cultural relations. The extent to which colonialism actually restructured political developments in a multicultural society, and the prevailing social relations during the period under consideration will be assessed. The impact of British colonial domination as impetus for continuity and change in these developments is examined vis-à-vis various incidents and issues arising from the political and economic developments as well as the multicultural nature of the Emirate.

Certain issues, which have emerged and catalyzed into Nigeria's independence and influence on our area of focus will also be examined. In order to place this examination in perspective, a brief background of the historical experience will be provided as well as a consideration of the basic issues relating to this phenomenon, important ones of which were nationalism and the emergence of party politics, and its ramification on the multicultural nature of the Emirate and group relations.

This will be done in order to make manifest that the manipulation of 'ethnicity' by the Nigerian elites was at the forefront of party formations and that this has its roots in colonialism because the policies of the British Colonial Administration in Nigeria tended to encourage ethnic consciousness and exclusiveness. For example, the local administration, which was based on indirect

rule system, depended on the utilization of pre-colonial institutions, which were modified to suit the purposes of colonial ideology. The colonial constitutions were also tailored along perceived 'ethnic' groups, when the contrary was the case given the cultural configuration of various societies in Nigeria, as it is the case in Ilorin emirate, which is clearly multicultural.

Finally, the impact of state creations as a means of assuaging problems of national, regional and local integration created by ethnic consciousness will be examined. In particular, how this political step had affected social relations in Ilorin from 1967 to 1979 and analysis of facts that seemed to reveal endemic problems associated with perceived 'ethnic' dissatisfaction with the political order and events of the period. A consideration of economic and political policies of the state authorities will be presented and analyzed vis-à-vis the perceived 'ethnic' factor in explaining the nature of social interactions and relations in the era of state and local government creations in the area under consideration. This is with a view to arrive at an explanation that, perhaps 'ethnic' sentiment was used as protest against economic and political imbalance in the state structure and administrative policies.

1.6 Methodology

Every subject has its own methodology and the methodology of history lies in the use of sources as well as theoretical framework in the study of this nature. Nevertheless, all sources of history must be subjected to critical analysis against the background of the framework so that historical fact could be easily shifted from emotional or sentimental evidence. For effective and in-depth inquiry, a multi-disciplinary approach would be employ in the research.

First, basic background knowledge would be acquired from theoretical framework which equipped us with a discourse of the concepts that underpin the study as well as the possible results of these on the subject matter. These would be examined against the background of written sources, especially secondary sources. Through this, an idea of the explanations for multicultural processes and political developments and influence on social relations could be garnered for historical reconstruction, analysis and interpretation within the period under review. In addition, by going through the work of professional colleagues, useful guides to the study could be learnt as well as acquaintance with further references such as archival sources. In this way, archival sources relevant to the study would be consulted. Long essays, dissertations and thesis will also be consulted to up-date the researchers' knowledge on other researchers' findings and interpretations on the subject. More importantly, these will enable us to identify where further advancement in terms of knowledge is needed in the history of Ilorin Emirate.

In a research of this nature, oral sources cannot be left out. This is taken as an integral and essential part of the method in the research. This shall be thoroughly explored through interview of participants or their immediate descendants that are

well informed of political developments and nature of cultural or group relations, particularly in the decade preceding independence and after. The information that is obtained through this method will be used to substantiate other sources so as to ascertain the real value of the information. The researcher's personal experience and observation on the recent interplay between political developments, multicultural nature of the society and group relations shall also be brought to bear on the study. All these sources shall be used in a corroborative and complementary manner to provide a balanced historical appraisal devoid of sentiments and propaganda.

1.7 Review of Literature

Many literatures are available on the history of Ilorin by indigenous as well as foreign authors, professional and non-professional historians. However, available written works has paid little attention to the dynamics of political development against the background of the multicultural nature of Ilorin and between the people of Ilorin and their neighbours to the South and North of the geo-political divide in which Ilorin fall in to in Nigeria polity. In this regard, we are concerned with the southwestern neigbour within the ambit of old Oyo Empire and Northern Nigeria within the ambit of Sokoto caliphate (Ilorin Emirate). In other words, we are saying that there is paucity of literature on the dynamics of political development as it relates to Ilorin with its multicultural population during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. But despite this scarcity of source material, some published textbooks, journals and unpublished thesis and manuscripts were found to be relevant as a useful guide and reference materials which are relevant to the present undertaking.

Among these was, *The Gazetteer of Ilorin Province* by Hermon-Hodge. The Gazetteer, a narration of historical precedence as colonialist historiography, provided information on the historical background of Ilorin and circumstances leading to the emergence of Ilorin Emirate. Useful information on events before as well as, after the arrival of the British, especially important political developments of the period, was also provided. However, the Gazetteer fails to discuss the details of these historical cum political developments in the light of multicultural process or cultural relations arisen from the developments spanning the pre-colonial and the colonial period and does not cover the postcolonial period.

Samuel Johnson, *History of the Yorubas* complemented the information provided by the Gazetteer. In particular were the Afonja's revolt and the beginning of Muslim or Islamic influence in Ilorin and consequent death of Afonja at the hand of the *Jamaa* under the leadership of a Fulani. The book also gave account of the various wars of survival fought by the established Emirate authority and their forces against the Yorubas. Though ethnocentric in presentations and submissions, it however provided information through which the pre-colonial relations between Ilorin and her southwestern neighbours could be reconstructed. The work also provided evidence on the early history of Ilorin and its multicultural foundation.

R.A Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria 1804-1906 and Ikime O. The Fall of Nigeria* through their analysis of British imperial interest in Nigeria particularly Northern Nigeria, were found to be important in the consideration of the British bombardment and conquest of Ilorin. And also of interest is information and analysis of events preceding the conquest, an examination of which could enrich our findings on the relations between political developments and cultural relations during the period. T.N Tamuno, *The Evolution of the Nigeria States. The Southern Phase 1989-1914* through its description of the boundary controversies between Ilorin Emirate and her Southern neigbours during the colonial period, as well as the analysis of settlement of the controversies provided further valuable information through which the influence of British administrative policies, as regards boundary controversies between Ilorin Emirate and her Southern neighbours is examined. These provided insights into economic considerations as one of the basis for political struggles for territorial control.

Analysis of the concepts of ethnocentrism and ethnic group in the work by Roy Preisewerk and Dominique Perrot, *Ethnocentrism and History; Africa, Asia and Indian America in Western Textbooks*, provided useful guide through which relations among groups could be mirrored. Critical appraisal of ethnocentrism and history in the work provide inferences that assisted in the re-examination of issues involved in the factors presented for the political crisis and struggles in our area of focus. Also found complementary in this regard is the book, *Beyond Fairy Tales: Selected Historical Writings* of Dr. Yusuf Bala Usman. In addition is that of Abdullahi Smith, *A Little New Light*. In particular his consideration of the collapse of Oyo Empire provided a little new light on the contradictions in the reportage of events within the Empire. This has a very important bearing on our area of study.

The book by Obaro Ikime, *History, The Historian and the Nation* was also found useful as a source material. Though, the book does not discuss matters of cultural relations as relates directly to Ilorin, a perusal of its chapters on inter-group relations as it concern other societies and states provides useful guides on our subject matter. Akin to this is Olayemi Akinwumi, Okpeh Ochayi Okpeh, Jr. and Gwamna, D. Je'adayibe (ed.), *Inter-group Relations in Nigeria during the 19th and 20th Centuries,* though on inter-group relations provide inferences, which are of immense value to the understanding of the concept and processes of multiculturalism and related issues on our area of study.

Scholarly, work by C.S Whitaker, *The Politics of Tradition Continuity and Change* and that by R.L. Sklar, *Nigeria Political Parties, Power in an Emergent African Nation,* are useful source material particularly in the area of political developments in the Emirate in the period just before independence and the

operation of British administrative system in Ilorin. This information provided the background for the evaluation of the developments as it affects the dynamics of political development in the Ilorin Emirate as a multicultural society. Particular interest in the work, are discussions on issues involved in the colonial democratic experiments and developments in the emergent party politics in the Emirate and influence on social relations.

Power relations in Nigeria: Ilorin slaves and their successors by Ann O'Hear, is an available published text which used Ilorin as its centre of focus. It provides information on the sequence of progresses and problems confronted by the Emirate in the course of its political development up to the contemporary time. This is found useful in providing general information on the political and economic setting of Ilorin. The discussion however concentrated on the influence of the political setting on slave population and not interrelation of the political development and the multicultural population. Importantly, the information on the oppressive control over the rural population by the Ilorin elites, with the support of the British is useful in our explanation of the influence of the cultural nature of the society on political development and social relation. The homogeneity of deprivation and repression by rural population provided the economic basis for the struggle of the heterogeneous and economic rural populace against the political system during the colonial period. This also explained the struggle in the late1950s between the northern peoples' congress, hegemonic political party of the urban elite, and the resistant Ilorin *Talaka Parapo,* or commoners' party with a large resistant wing among the rural poor.

A history of political theory by George H. Sabine is a source found useful in understanding the concept of political institution, the existence of which is a concomitant to political development. This assisted the researcher in identifying the main features of a political community as represented by our area of focus. Through this, inferences are drawn as regards relationship between political development and a multicultural society.

Cyril Udebunu's *Nigeria and dialectics of multiculturalism* is another source that provided definitions and explanation of multiculturalism. These provided the framework for the interpretation and explanation of group's reactions to developments in the polity as well as interactions within and among groups of varying cultural backgrounds and interests. Adeyinka O. Banwo's *The colonial state and Ilorin Emirate economy*, provides a general information on the colonial economy in Ilorin. This gives a good background to the economic factor as a basis of group conflict and interactions in relation to state economic policies and impact on the populace. His explanation of the struggle that characterized the ruling hierarchy as the result of desire to gain economic advantages by extension provided ground for a search for such factor in the political changes generally recorded in Ilorin under colonial rule and the effect of such changes on social relations.

Obaro Ikime, *The fall of Nigeria*, provided an account of colonial conquest of Ilorin. Economic factor is indicated as important in the reasons for the conquest, and how the impact of the defeat in 1897 fully reflected in subsequent relations with the British. Of particular note in the relation as discussed in the study was the sour relationship between the traditional political title holders in Ilorin and the British on one hand and between them and the Emir who is seen as being amenable to

instructions from the British agents, which is antithetical to the economic interest of the title holders. The information contained in this work provides what is required to understand the power play in Ilorin as a result of the establishment of colonial rule. Genesis of the power play was clearly beyond the cultural background of the protagonists but the policy of the ruling elites in respect of the economic affairs.

"The problem of the ethnic categories in the study of the historical development of the central Sudan: A critique of M.G. Smith and others", an essay in *Beyond Fairy Tales: Selected Historical Writings of Dr. Yusuf Bala Usman* is among very relevant and useful source material for the study. The article reflected the primary burden of the historian. This, it presented as the consistent questioning of the various misconceptions that continue to colour the way Nigerian and indeed African history and current realities are portrayed. The discussion in the essay provided useful framework on which development in our area of study is mirrored as regards the wrong notion of ethnic category as used in some works in explaining political struggles and changes in Ilorin.

Equally found relevant is the work of Idris Sha'aba Jimada titled '*The Nupe and the origins of the Yoruba C.1275 – 1897.'* The book is a product of cross-cultural research in the area of diversity and cultural relations, with particular focus on Yoruba (Oyo). The influence of Nupe on the origin and political development of Oyo, as discussed in the book, clearly debunked the historical misconception, that nationalities that constitute the modern Nigeria, had distinct and separate origins, and different paths of pre-colonial historical evolution, which made them monolithic 'ethnic' groups that were forced together, into modern nation states by the accident of colonial conquest. The book brings out, substantial historical evidence that has

bearing on our area of study. The relevance of the information in the book is that it provides evidences, though not directly related to Ilorin, but assisted in challenging the historical basis of the tribal and ethnic explanation of political struggles and group conflicts in Ilorin in the pre-colonial period. This therefore, enhances our evidences in an attempt to present the actual experiences in the past as it relates to interrelationship between growth, political development and multicultural in the socio-political development of Ilorin during the 19th and 20th centuries. The book, however, concentrated discussions on issues in the 19th century.

Studies in Yoruba history and culture, edited by G. O. Olusanya is also found useful. The book is a collection of studies on various aspects of Yoruba history, which provides an understanding of Yoruba culture in relation to other peoples. Ade Obayemi's contribution in the book title "*History, cultures, Yoruba and northern factors*" is particularly useful to our work. His discussion and examination on the consideration of the Yoruba as a homogeneous ethnic group is highly revealing. It provides evidences that are used for better appreciation of the events of history in Ilorin and Yorubaland. However, the particular example of political development and social relations in our area of focus are not contained in the work.

The book by Mohmood Madani, *citizen and subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*, though not directly related to our area of study is also found relevant. The general information on the colonial ideology underlining the indirect rule and Native Authority as contained in the work gave a useful inference for the operation of colonial administration in Ilorin which as noted, corresponded "roughly to ethnic or tribal grouping", and the rule through it. The information thus provides evidences that were used for better appreciation of

colonial administration in Ilorin as it relates to political developments and influence. It equally deepens the understanding of the researcher on the disintegrative policies of ethnocentric and exclusion that colonial power pursued, which fan the ember of ethnic consciousness particularly among the predominantly group in Ilorin.

M.A. Thesis by Salihu Ismail, 'the Contest for Ilorin: *A Study of Political Struggles for Ascendancy and Supremacy in the 19th and 20th Centuries'*, is a related work that provided very useful information to this study. It focus on the history of the controversy over the control of Ilorin and examined those episodes and issues connected with the primordial and recurring contests for political ascendancy and supremacy in Ilorin Emirate as well as analysis of various factors and processes which have contributed to the intensification of the struggles at different point in time. The information provided in respect of the political struggles in the work is subjected to a reinterpretation in view of this search's perception that the multicultural nature of Ilorin and group political and economic interest are at the root of the various struggles. This perception is contrary to Ismail's work which perceived groups in Ilorin as homogeneous i.e. Fulani or Yoruba even though he agreed that the struggles are not 'ethnic' struggles.

Moreso, the work is more elitist focused as it discussed the struggles more as it affected the elite class while the struggles as well as their causes between the elites and the general masses were not given prominent attention. Such causes that emanated from Ilorin Emirate administrative policies on land, trading and district administration as it affects the masses and resistances put up was given little or no attention. A holistic approach was therefore not adopted in the study.

Sa'ad Hadi, '*Ilorin From 1800 to 1960: A Study of Political Development and Integration'*, is another M.A. thesis which provided further information found valuable to this study. Because harmonious relationship exist between cultural pluralism and integration, the work contained ideas and information that are complementary to this present work but which were used not in a duplicate manner as the approach in this present work differ from the work under review. For instance, the thesis examined the relationship between political development and integration in Ilorin Emirate. This was done through an analysis of political variables that came into play in the integration of the diverse 'ethnic groups' as well as political situations that posed serious threat to integration and measures taken to contained them.

This present research, however, focuses on the multicultural processes that integrated the diverse cultural groups and attempted an analysis of factors for political struggles, conflicts and accommodation between and among the various groups against the background of the prevailing political and economic situations of different periods and how this influences or affects social relations. In this respect, the discourse in the M.A. thesis on 'March Towards Independence and Political Developments', particularly the discussion bordering on democratic experience 1950 – 1960; party politics and Ilorin Talaka Parapo (Commoners United Party) and Ilorin – West Merger Campaign provided information that have direct bearing on this study and a reinterpretation of which are found relevant in enriching the study of the dynamics of political development in Ilorin.

Ph.D work of H.O. Danmole, "*The Frontier Emirate: A History of Islam in Ilorin*" was also consulted. The work, gave a brief background on the founding of

Ilorin and the establishment of Emirate administration and political structure. The information on the circumstances for the appointment of *Baloguns* (warlords) amongst the diverse cultural groups as discussed in the work, illustrates the multicultural setting on which the political structure operates. Although the work acknowledges the existence of many cultural groups in the Emirate, it did not go further to examine the changes in the polity, interaction among groups and within groups and influence on political development.

"*Politics of Protest: A study of the Ilorin Talaka Parapo (ITP) 1954 – 1966*" M. A. Thesis By Abdul Fatai Bello is found useful in evaluating politics and changes, as they affected socio-political development of Ilorin Emirate, particularly in the decade preceding independence. The limitation of the work is its restriction to politics and its influence on political changes and social interactions. More so, the impact on the post independence development was not examined in the work.

Complementing the above mentioned thesis were also those by Catherine O.O Pariola Agboola, "*Administrative Groupings and Inter-Group relations in Southern Ilorin Emirate, 1893-1976*", Adesina Olamide Yusuf Raji, "*Demystifying the Proselytizing Mission: A Study of Ilorin Overrule in Igbomina land C. 1835-1968*"; and Emmanuel Olaniyi Ibitoye, : *"Igbomina land under Ilorin Imperialism 1830-1949".*

The literatures as reviewed offer a contrasting pre-colonial terminology and perspective. They share common colonial or ethnocentric vision. However, exceptions are available among the literatures and these exceptions provided evidences or facts for a consideration of the dynamics of political developments and interplay of the multicultural nature of our area of study. This is done against the

background of works with perceived ethnocentric factor in processes of social, economic, religious and political developments and against the background of those that have exceptions to ethnic factor in the determination of social, economic, religious and political processes in the evolution and development of polity and attendant social relations.

1.8 Conceptual Framework.

It is impossible to reconstruct history without having some specific categories, conceptions and assumptions. This is done bearing in mind that problems do not occur in nature but in the minds of people, and that problems cannot be articulated except within a conceptual system, consequent on the fact that no inquirer can investigate a problem from all perspectives simultaneously. Particular choice of conceptual framework to adopt, however, usually poses problems. The problems seem soluble in terms of the purpose of historical study. The purpose has to be the grasp of historical process in order to properly comprehend the movement of contemporary forces and make informed decisions in the present and for the future. Political development and cultural plurality (multicultural) is presented here as, perhaps, very strong factors in the socio-political history of Ilorin. A theoretical consideration of this study is necessary as it gives the basis for critical analysis and discourse as well as framework for interpreting data that might be collected during the course of the research.

By political development, we mean all process of changes or events causing changes in the organization, structure and administrative policies in the administration of named geopolitical entity over a number of years. The concept is also taken to mean 'men's cultivation of forms of political power and authority that enable them to meet external and internal needs'.[9] It is also seen as a process of the evolution and establishment of institutions, attitudes, and values that form the political power system of a society by which new goals and demands are to be

[9] John, S. Saul, "The Dialectics of Class and Tribe", *Studies in Political Economy*, Volume 1, 1979. Web. 2 March 2012.

fulfilled.[10] It is important as a guide to the origins of social institutions. Political institutions as they are today are simply a continual transformation and reorganization.[11] This fact implies that knowledge of the historical origins of these changes helps us understand the nature of the resulting political institution[12] and the society. This is because political institutions aim to relate people, objects, and happenings under some notion of common good or common interests.[13] The institutions in a society designated political represent an arrangement of power and authority.[14] If such institutions are not present in a given area or among a given group of people, then it would be difficult to say that a genuine society or political community, as represented by our area of study, exists.[15] The attention of groups and individuals whose interests and purposes will be affected by these institutions is naturally attracted by decisions taken in or by these institutions.[16]

It is common knowledge that there are many different cultures throughout the world. Many people throughout the world identify themselves by their cultural background. They may be define by their culture through their cultural beliefs, morals, values as well as race, religion, gender and social orientation. Multicultural is a concept uses in acknowledging various (ethnic) cultures within the same area. A multicultural society, therefore, is a society characterized by cultural pluralism. A society is tagged multicultural insofar as it presents a model of political society in

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[10] Lucian W. Pye, "The Concept of Political Development," *Anti Essay*. Web. 8 April 2015.
[11] Stephen Chilton, "Defining Political Development", Regents of the University of Minesota, 2005, Web. 4 June 2015. (http://www.d.umn.edu/schilton/index.html).
[12] Ibid.
[13] George H Sabine, *A History of Political Theory*, Fourth edition, Oxford & IBH Publishing Co. PVT. Ltd., New Delhi, 1973. P. 5.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid.

which cultural diversity is valued and understood as an organic whole.[17] Even though boundaries are often fluid among African states, for instance, such pluralism might, among other things, may be the result of migration of people with different cultures, religious, languages, and origins, which is common in most societies. In popular discussion culture, in particular, is frequently run together with race, ethnicity and religion. Connections between these concepts do not however made them synonyms.[18] Communities in general, and cultural identities in particular, are not only multiple and varied but also inclusive, multicultural, fluid and always in a continuous process of change. A multicultural society, therefore, usually implies presence of cultural diversity in the demographic make-up of a specific place such as our area of focus. By description,[19] it is a concept that

> Recognizes the multiplicity of cultures and subcultures, rather than their imposed singularity, as the basis for the organization, formation and management of human societies, communities and states… and has always defined the evolution of human civilization throughout the ages.[20]

Looked at broadly, therefore, the term is often used to describe societies which have many distinct cultural groups, usually as a result of immigration. It calls attention to the distinctive, common or composite characteristics of different cultures, especially as they relate to one another in a geo-political setting. Interaction

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[17] John Hoffman and Paul Graham, *Introduction to Political Theory*, Second Edition, Pearson, Longman, 2009, p. 349.

[18] See for instance, Ibid. p.343.

[19] Christine Inglis, *Multiculturalism: New Policy Responses to Diversity, Management of Social Transformation (MOST) UNESCO, Policy Paper – No.4.*Web 5 April 2015.; See also, Cyril Udebunu, *Nigeria and the Dialectics of Multiculturalism*, African Journals online, vol. 8 2011. Web. 2 March 2012.

[20] Sule Bello, "The Enemy Within: The Challenges of Managing Multiculturalism in Nigeria", in *Political Stability and Democratic Imperatives in a Dynamic International Environment, Nigerian Journal of Policy and Strategy,* volume 16, No. 1, December 2010, pp. 71-99.

and communication between different cultures provide opportunities for the cultural differences to communicate and interact to make a society multicultural.

Multicultural processes in human settings are a complex phenomenon. This is because they are products of intricately linked political, economic, historical, sociological and attitudinal forces. These forces are dynamic. In other words, they change with time and situation. They are equally interdependent. For instance, migration and urbanization in Nigeria have clearly exhibited the predominance of economic consideration in the decision to migrate from one place to another. In most cases, migrants move from economically disadvantaged geographical location to a location, which has abundant economic opportunities. The decision to migrate could also be taken for social, religious and political reasons so as to improve the condition of the migrants. It has been observed, however, that in the pursuit of economic improvement and other motives the migrant often comes into conflict with his host population as a result of the degree of competing claims among cultural and political groups. They also more often cooperate and develop together. Such conflicting claims may be in reference to the economic and political problems of the society. Cultural plurality and political development within any given society are, therefore, interconnected, influence, and even sometimes determine the development of one another as well as the nature and level of political, economic, social and religious development in the society. Hence, invariably political, economic, religious and sociological development is influenced and directed by the nature of social relations consequent on the process of diverse associations and relations, and how they tend to change over time.

It is discernible from the above, how crucial and important is the subject of dynamics of political development in a multicultural society and influences on socio-historical evolution of a society. The issue of dynamics of political development consequent on the process of cultural plurality is therefore integral parts of every society. It is no wonder therefore that political development and its influence on multicultural societies is exhibited in conflicts, cooperation and accommodation, which characterize relations between various groups and among particular groups. Group conflict may take the form of bargaining process in which each side seeks an accommodation and cooperation with the other, or of a struggling relationship in which each side dictate the terms of peace to the other. Therefore, relations do not necessarily take a rigid form. It varies according to whether interaction is at group or individual level and the prevailing political, economic, social and religious situations.

In view of the foregoing, the dynamics of political development in Ilorin Emirate is seen as an all-embracing phenomenon informed at different times by multicultural processes. This is because multicultural processes are major factor through which human societies are founded, developed and transformed. Even if at times they tend to exhibit a dominant influence of one particular language, custom or traditions, as is the case in Ilorin Emirate, it is noted that:

> A group of people sharing a common language, as is commonly depicted, do not form an "ethnic" group but rather a linguistic group. Similarly a group of people sharing common customs and traditions, or constituting a cultural zone, are not usually defined or bounded by any particular language but are usually multilingual comprising a variety of languages other artistic skills operating at several, as well as different, levels

> of political and socio-economic activities in the same zone, polity or society.[21]

Therefore, the nature and explanation, of social cooperation or competition, as well as peace or conflict, in any given situation, is to be sought for not in the mere cultural differences of the protagonists but also in the very character of prevailing political, economic and cultural relations on which the conflict is based, defined and contextualized. Multicultural perspectives has gained wide currency in both academic and popular debate and its employment is used in political theory or political science, social sciences, humanities and even in natural sciences.[22]

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[21] Sule Bello*, "Emerging Perspectives on the Origins, Functions and Consequences of Ethnocentrism in African Affairs"*, in Okafor V.O. (ed.) The state of African Studies today: Essays on scholarship and Pedagogy, New York, Edwin Mallan press Ltd. p.4.

[22] John Hoffman and Paul Graham, *Introduction to Political Theory*…. P. 342.

CHAPTER TWO

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL FEATURES OF ILORIN UNDER THE ADMINISTRATION OF OYO KINGDOM

2.1 Migration, Settlements and Early History of the People of Ilorin

2.1.1 Migratory History

Migration is an important part of Ilorin history in that the people trace their origins to early trans-regional migrations from different cultural background and this no doubt have ramification for the process of community formation, development of polity and attendant social relations in the town. Migration, diversity and association are therefore, important phenomena in deciphering issues, processes and explanations for political developments and social relations resulting from the formation and transformation of various types of cultural and community identities as well as other forms of identity that are more of economic and political associations, categories, or communities.

A little explanation on the concept of migration as subordinate to the subject under consideration becomes relevant here. In this context, we are concern with human migration which generally constitutes movement of individual or groups of peoples from place to place on continuous, consistent, temporary or permanent basis. It could also be taken to mean a relatively permanent movement of individual or a group over a significant distance. 'History of mankind is rich with varying pattern of migrations both internal and trans-regional'.[23] People or individuals in history of societies migrated into virgin area or area hitherto deserted by previous

[23] Lemuel Ekedegwa Odeh, "Tradition of origin and migrations", *UNIZIK JOURNAL OF ARTS AND HUMANITY, (UJAH)* Vol. 10, No.2, October, 2009, P. 97.

inhabitants or migrated to join others already in an area. This movement may be prompted by differing factors among which are natural causes occasioned by, for instance, negative impact of weather and climate, or ecological such as the exhaustion of natural resources or famine.

Migration may also be voluntarily undertaken as a result of pressure of enemies or as a result of local dispute on land or chieftaincy title. Availability of games for hunting and conducive environment for settlement may also attract migrant to a particular settlement. In most cases, migrants move from economically disadvantaged geographical location to location, which has abundant economic opportunities. The decision to migrate could also be taken for social, religious and political reasons so as to improve the condition of the migrants. It has been observed, however, that in the pursuit of economic improvement and other motives the migrants often engage in conflict as a result of the degree of competing claims among the migrant groups. Such competing claims may be in reference to the economic and political problems of the society. Considering these varying factors of migration, it is no doubt an integral part of the history of mankind. Trans-regional or border migrations have been background to the evolution of societies and nation state in all parts of the globe. This made "migration" to become an issue of interest among scholars in diverse disciplines including demographers, inter-group analysts, geographers and historians etc.[24] Historians in particular are, among other things, interested in knowing the connection between migration and the history of a people.

Given the above background, it is no gain saying therefore to assert that migration is central to the history of Ilorin Emirate. This is also reflected in the

[24] *Ibid.*

history of many socio-cultural groups in Nigeria. For instance, Yoruba associated the origin of Yoruba to migrations from Mecca. The Ife Yoruba believe that it was as a result of migration of Oduduwa from Mecca to Ile-Ife that gave birth to Yoruba kingdom, [25] though there were arguments that tend to suggest the migration of Yoruba ancestors from elsewhere, the fact still remains that the origin of Yoruba kingdom was a subject of migration. The same goes with the Bayajida of Daura legend and the origin of Hausa *Bakwoi* (seven) states. Migration is not seen on the basis of myth alone. It is established that the waves of human migration constitutes a major feature of the pre-colonial history of Nigeria[26]. Numerous examples were given and these include the case of the Ijo fishing people of the Niger Delta and the various fishing peoples of the Cross River estuary who migrated there from inland forest environments where they had lived as settled cultivators, and of the hill peoples of the Jos Plateau and north Adamawa. It is also said of the Shuwa Arabs. They were originally a nomadic pastoral people, but later settled down to cultivate the land when they lost almost all their cattle during a major cattle disease epidemic. Invariably, therefore, migration is fundamental in the history of socio-cultural groups, as it is for Ilorin Emirate, and in effect must have played an important role in the state-formation processes, the development of polity and social relations.

In the light of the above, migrations of Individuals and groups spanning over several centuries was responsible for the present pattern of settlement, its multicultural nature and consequent course of social relations. The people of Ilorin are heterogeneous; they migrated to the present place of settlement from various

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[25] E.O. Ibiloye, "The Relevance of Migration to Settlement Pattern in Igbomina land", *African Journal of History and Culture,* Vol. 3 (3) p. 32, April, 2011.

[26] Reuben K. Udo, "Environments and Peoples of Nigeria: A Geographical Introduction to the History of Nigeria", in Obaro Ikime, (ed), *Ground Work of Nigerian History,* Heinemann Educational Books, Reprinted, 2001, p. 12.

locations and at different times as it is revealed in its early history. The strategic location, ecological and economic advantages, such as hunting, trading, farming, animal husbandry, etc. in Ilorin city attracted various groups of people of differing ethnic origins, occupational and religious beliefs. This led to the eventual growth and development of the town as a melting pot of various peoples and cultures. Dominant language groups include the Yoruba (predominantly of Oyo stock), Bariba, Hausa, Fulani, Nupe and Kanuri. The contiguity of the place of origin of these cultural groups to Ilorin and the geographical advantage enjoyed by Ilorin, perhaps, among other reasons informed the settlements of these groups. The settlement of the groups was also no doubt assisted by the position of the town as an entreport of trade, particularly, long distance trade and availability of pasture.

At what point did these groups or their progenitors came has been very difficult to determined. This has been subject of controversy. Indeed, all but the period immediately preceding the Fulani conquest is not very clear[27]. This is as a result of historical conjectures, claims and counter claims that appeared in various sources concerning the origin and foundation of the town as a political entity. Therefore its early history as a collective settlement or single town is uncertain and as yet confused when viewed from a historical perspective. This also goes for how the name Ilorin evolved. All that we have are not too clear linkages with the history of the old Oyo Empire, especially at the peak of its decline. Available chronicles however enabled us to reconstruct the sequence of arrival and from where of some individuals and group as shall be subsequently revealed.

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[27] Hermon Hodge, *Gazeteer of Ilorin Province*, London, 1929, p 63.

A look at the available sources on the origin of the town revealed that Ilorin was probably first inhabited by a certain Baruba hermit before the arrival of Ojo Isekuse and Emilla[28] from Oyo Ile. Not much is known of the Baruba hermit except that his place of abode became known as Baruba quarters perhaps to immortalize his origin and the quarter is popular and exists to date. Possibility of a prior Baruba settler and influence in Ilorin history appears to have some parallels in other predominantly Yoruba towns, such as Igboho, Saki and Ogbomoso, as examined by R.C.C. Law.[29] He established strong tradition of Baruba factor variously in the founding, royal dynasty or ruler of these predominantly Yoruba speaking towns. In his opinion, the few Baruba conquerors were assimilated in the long run by the Yoruba speakers, who seemed to have come later and become more dominant demographically, culturally and politically. So also are Sabe and Kishi. The traditions of the ruling dynasties in these Northern Yoruba Kingdoms is said to have given clear impressions of the Baruba influence on the political establishments.[30] Oyo Ile itself has a Baruba connection in its foundation. The land settled by Oranyan, the founder of Oyo was said to have been a piece of land pointed out to him by the king of Bariba (Borgu) after he had been opposed in his forward march by the Tapa (Nupe) at the banks of the River Niger. The site was called Oyo Ajaka and remained the capital[31]. Ofinran, the successor to Onigbogi (Oyo king) was said to have been partly Bariba through his mother. It is further revealed that early mix

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28 LA.K. Jimoh, *Ilorin: The Journey so Far*, Atoto press, 1994, p26.

29 R.C.C. Law, "How many times can History Repeat Itself? Some Problems in the Traditional history of Oyo in *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 18, no 1 (1985) pp. 33-51; see also Salihu Ismail, *"The contest for Ilorin: A Study of Political Struggle for Ascendancy and Supremacy in the 19th and 20th Centuries".* Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Ilorin, 2004, p.20.

30 G.O. Olusanya, (ed), "Studies in Yoruba History and Culture", University Press Ltd., Ibadan, 1983, p. 29.

31 S. Johnson, *History of the Yorubas from the earliest times to the beginning of the British Protectorate*, C.S.S. Book shop, Lagos, Nigeria, Reprint 1976, Pp. 10-11. See also I. A. Akijogbin and E. A. Ayandele, Yorubaland up to 1800; in Obaro Ikime (ed*), Groundwork of Nigerian history*, Heinemann, Nigera PLC, 1980. Pp 127-129.

with non-Yoruba elements, the Tapa and the Bariba with whom they intermarried played a part in its historical development, moulded its monarch, and enriched its cultural growth. It is also pointed out that some Yoruba traditions suggest that inhabitants from Nupe and probably Baruba founded the dynasty of the Alafins of Oyo.[32] This is further supported by Leo Frobenius, on the foundation of Oyo. He suggested that the first dynasty of the Oyo originated from Nupe while the second from Baruba.[33] These views on a possible invasion, conquest, domination and influence of the Baruba in the foundation and political development in old Oyo area before the 16th century made the claim of earlier Baruba settlement in Ilorin very plausible.

The most popular view,[34] however, seemed to link the founding of Ilorin to Ojo, a hunter from Gambe near Oyo Ile. He was said to have sought refuge in an area now called Okelele in present Ilorin city, having been exiled from Gambe because of incest with his daughter. This licentious act earned him the nick name Ojo Isekuse meaning 'Ojo' the immoral'. Ojo was eventually driven out by a new settler, Emilla, another hunter who also migrated from Oyo-Ile. Emilla was said to be on punitive expedition to Ilorin so that Ojo could be punished for being a disgrace to fellow hunters. Ojo abandoned the area before the arrival of Emilla and was believed to thereafter settle at Shawo Ile,[35] a location of about 5 kilometers from Ilorin. This assertion is inconsistence with Johnson's account that Laderin, the

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[32] Law, R.C.C. *The Oyo Empire C. 1600-C. 1836: A West Africa Imperialism in the Era of the Atlantic Slave Trade;* London, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1977, p. ; see also Idris Sha'aba Jimada, *The Nupe and the Origins and Evolution of the Yoruba c. 1275-1897,* Abdullahi Smith Centre for Historical Research Zaria, Nigeria, 2005, p.32.

[33] Leo Frobenius, The Voice of Africa: Being an Account of the Travels of the German Inner African Exploration in the years 1910-1912 (Translated by Rudolf Blind), London, 1913, vol. 1, pp. 177.

[34] S. Johson, History of the Yorubas… P.29.

[35] Ahmad Ibn Abubakar (Abu Ikokoro), *Talif Akbar al-gurum min umara bilad Ilurin,* here after refer to as *Talif*, chapter 1.

grandfather of Afonja, was the founder and its first ruler.[36] The latter also contradicted the claim by Abu Ikokoro in his book, *Ta'lif Akhbar al qurum min umara bilad Ilurin,* and which is the earliest written history of Ilorin hereinafter refer to as *Ta'lif* that Ilorin's founder was a hunter named Ayinla, a name he presented as Ojo cognomen.[37] The *Ta'lif* which is the earliest written history of Ilorin is silent on Laderin. Johnson's claim was corroborated by M.Sulu, in his History of Ilorin but described Laderin as the father of Afonja.[38] Arrival of Laderin is suggested to be around the 1740s and 1750s perhaps in line with Oyo's tradition that the royal members of Oyo holding no high state offices often resided in the *Ekun Osi* of the old Oyo Empire within which Ilorin was located.[39] Laderin and Afonja were said to be connected to the royal family at Oyo.[40] Our sources, therefore, do not agree on the founder or who first inhabited Ilorin. This problem is as a result of inadequate information arising from the problems of sources relied on. One of the shortcomings is that sources usually focus on the "Victorious" and the "powerful" rather than the "Vanquished" or ordinary people. Perhaps the sources tend to forget the era of previous settlers and relate the history of the town to the advantage of the victorious. This perhaps explained why there is no record of inter-action between the early settlers and later day immigrants.

As the sources posed a challenge on the research for truth for the original founder of the town, so also it poses challenge as to the derivation of its name. Some account held that the name Ilorin was derived from the word "sharpening of Iron"

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[36] S. Johnson, *The history of the Yorubas…* p. 274.

[37] Ahmad Ibn Abubakar, *Talif…*chapter 1.

[38] M.Sulu, "the history of Ilorin", as cited in Isiaka Aliagan, *Ilorin Badari ward in History,* a commissioned History project, ch. 1 p.3. In Press.

[39] Ahmad Ibn Abubakar, *Talif,* chapter 1.

[40] L.A.K. Jimoh, *Ilorin: The Journey so far ... p.26*

(*Ilo-Irin*). This is in reference to a rock at Bamidele compound in Idi Ape area of the town. The rock or stone is believed to be the stone on which implements were being sharpened.[41] It was on this stone that Ojo Isekuse was said to have used in sharpening his hunting implements, hence, "*Ilo-rin*", meaning iron sharpener. However, this assertion makes one wonder if Ojo was the same person who uses to sharpen his hunting or farming implements at Bamidele compound? This question became pertinent considering the fact that Okelele and Idi Ape are separate settlements but quite close to one another. Nonetheless, L.A.K Jimoh noted that Ojo lived in Idi Ape area and that his descendants are found at Ile Ala'ase in Idi ape area.[42] This notwithstanding, it is important to stress that the mere presence of the much talked about rock on which the hunting implements were said to have been sharpened is not evidence enough for the origin of the name "Ilorin". Doubt is also created considering that there is equally no evidence to show that many hunters within the area or the population in general at the area at the time used the stone as a sharpening implement that could have warranted the popular usage of the word Ilorin. In another account, it is reported that it is called Ilorin because of a search made there for a piece of Iron but which was never found.[43]

Another tradition holds that the name Ilorin was derived from Ilu Erin, meaning the town of elephant. This is because of the elephant bush there.[44] There may be credence in this assumption as a village exists in the outskirt of the town called *Oko Erin*, meaning village of elephant. A European explorer, W.B Clarke, expressed that this assumption was plausible given the fact that many elephants were

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[41] M. Sulu, "The history of Ilorin" as cited in *Ilorin Badari in History…*

[42] L.A.K. Jimoh, *Ilorin: Journey So Far…*

[43] Saliu Ismail, *"The contest for Ilorin…* p.21.

[44] *Ibid.*

found in that area at some point.[45] Writers have challenged this view on the ground that the only allusion to elephant in Ilorin area was incident of a stray elephant killed around Oko-Erin area of the town in 1824.[46] A more recent view canvassed that the origin of the name could be linked to a Baruba word '*ironi*' which means alligator pepper.[47]The Baruba were said to be famous for medicine of some sort and they used alligator pepper often in their medicinal preparation. The postulation is that the Bariba word '*Ironi*' was corrupted by the Yoruba to the word 'Ilorin.' This view also deserves consideration, especially, if we accept probability of earlier Baruba settlement that was subjugated, assimilated and dominated by later immigrants, as is postulated in the case of Oyo and some northern Yoruba kingdoms. Interestingly, the Bariba quarter and Idi Ape are quite close as they are almost within the same vicinity. Therefore, the foundation of the town and origin of its name may be given consideration in the activities of the early settlers in these two settlements.

Therefore, the early history of Ilorin particularly, the period before the 18th century is as yet not clear because of claims and counter claims as contained in the various sources on the Origin and foundation of the town. Our information left puzzles which needs to be filled with many missing parts. We can however tentatively hold that Idi-Ape area is the fountain from where the town began its growth and development. Perhaps, the contradictory versions surrounding the foundation of Ilorin reflect the attempts by different individuals or groups that are progenitor of the early immigrant personages in Ilorin history, to establish control or

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[45] H.A. Saliu & I.A. Jawondo "Ilorin Emirate: Its people and politics," in Jimoh S.A.(ed.), *Ilorin centre of Learning*, Jimson Publishers, Ilorin
2006, pp. 1-20.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid.

right over Ilorin. It is not unlikely that there were cases of dislodgement or overthrow of an earlier settler (s) by later comers. Once the initial settler(s) became the ‘vanquished’, they receded into oblivion or were given less attention in traditional and recorded history. It is quite revealing, nonetheless, that Ilorin was founded and developed as a multicultural settlement for diverse categories of people-hunters, iron workers, farmers, clerics, traders, herbalists, etc. To clear the cog in the early history of Ilorin so that we can adequately reconstruct its history, archaeologist, linguists, anthropologists and other researchers need to lend a helping hand in enriching our knowledge on the history of the early beginning of the town.

2.1.2 Immigrants' Sequence of arrival and Settlements

Information on the probable sequence of arrival of individuals and groups provided the pattern of migration. Considering the pattern, it is plausible to conclude that migration and settlement in Ilorin should be view under two phases: the phase of the early immigrants and that of the later immigrants. The settlement of the later immigrants succeeded the early settlers – Ojo, Emilla, and probably a Baruba hermit. Though it is not yet clear which among Ojo and the Baruba hermit came first or wether Emilla also preceded the Baruba hermit.

The various later immigrant groups were located and predominated in four quarters of the settlement. These were the Yoruba at Idi Ape, the Fulani at *Gaa* Olufadi (Olufadi's camp) and the Hausa, Nupe, Gwari etc at Gambari quarters. There was also *Oke Suna*, settled exclusively by Muslims of various origins (Kanuri, Nupe, Yoruba, Baruba, etc.).[48] These groups were later organized into wards within Ilorin city at the transformation of the settlements under the Ilorin Emirate. (See map 1 and 2). Why the town is host to conglomerate of immigrant groups of diverse culture was, perhaps, as a result of the strategic, ecological and economic advantages of the town as described in chapter one. Her position as a gateway settlement between her neighbours especially the Hausa states and Yoruba kingdoms must also have played a very important role in the attraction. Trading, hunting, mining, pastoral, military, religion as well as search for safety and security are some factors which also assisted the influx of, particularly, later immigrant individuals and people into the town. Later developments, especially the Afonja rebellion and the

[48] Saka Balogun, "*Gwandu Emirate in the 19th century, with Particular Reference to Political Relations 1817 – 1903*", unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Ibadan, 1970, p.41.

establishment of Ilorin Emirate revealed these as shall be subsequently discuss. This led to the eventual growth and development of the town as a melting pot of various peoples or groups and cultures into what is refer to as Ilorin.

The savannah environment on which Ilorin is located provides a good grazing land for pastoralist. This ecological condition may have attracted the pastoral Fulani as, perhaps, the first group of later immigrant to settle in Ilorin, The first settlement of the Fulani in Ilorin goes back to late eighteenth century. Lander dates their first settlement at c. 1770. The Landers in May 1830 observed that it was about 40 years (1770) since the Fulanis came to settle at Ilorin. Sheikh Alimi a Fulani, on arrival met the Fulani pastoralists under the leadership of Olufadi, a nickname by the natives to describe him. His real name is not yet certain as two names have been ascribed to him, but was popularly called *Olufa-odi*, one who built a cow shed, which transformed to Olufadi in usage.[49] Ahmad Ibn Abibakr in his *Talif* narrated that Olufadi was the first to assist Alimi and to help him in his affairs, for he spoke the Fulani language and became Alimi's interpreter in Ilorin in c.1817. This he did between Alimi and his entourage, who joined him in each of the places where he sojourned along the route to Ilorin from Oyo where he was expelled as well as between Alimi and those that joined him at Ilorin where he settled in c. 1817.[50]

This entourage was Alimi's followers and admirers who were from places such as Iseyin, Ikoyi, Kuwo and Ogbomoso. At Oyo, for instance, as documented by L.A.K. Jimoh,[51] one of the prominent admirers who joined the entourage was a man

[49]Isiaka Aliagan Ph.D, "Migration and Settlement Pattern in Ilorin History" in *Ilorin Badari Ward in History*… P5.
[50]Ahmad Ibn Abibakr, *Talif*, ... Ch.1.
[51]L.A.K. Jimoh *Ilorin: The Journey So Far*... pp.50-51.

called Abdullahi Lateju who later became the first *Magaji* Abudu of Ilorin and a notable man from Iseyin, called Usman, who became the first *Balogun* Ajikobi of Ilorin. The account also included Se'eni who joined the entourage from Kuwo and later became the first *Balogun* Alanamu of Ilorin, and Muhammodu Yahaya, son of a Kanuri emigrant in Oyo through the daughter of Alafin Abiodun. He was the progenitor of the Oju-Ekun family in Ilorin and was later made the *Mogaji* Oju-Ekun. Other prominent personalities mentioned in the entourage were those whose descendants became *Sarkin* Gobir and others such as *Magaji* Nda. Also included was Aliyu, a Hausa man from Katsina, who was met by the Sheu at Shaki. He was among those that later came to join Sheu Alimi in Ilorin at the instance of the Sheu and was later appointed the second *Balogun* Gambari (*Balogun* Ali). Fulani fugitives from Nupe are also among those that later came to settle with Sheu Alimi. The entourage, which arrived with Sheu Alimi and those that later joined him were therefore multi-cultural. They included Yorubas (Predominantly Oyo), Fulanis, Kanuris, Gobirawas, Nupes and Hausas.

An account however seemed to suggest that another group leader, Afonja arrived before Olufadi after what might be considered as period after the disappearance of the early settlers, those considered as the founder of the town Ojo Emila and a Bariba hermit, as well as the four generations of Afonja whom were believed to be *Baales* in Ilorin before Afonja's arrival. His origin and at what point he became associated with Ilorin is a point of conflict. A source revealed that Afonja,s great grandfather, Laderin had settled there since 18th century.[52] Another account even listed four generations of Afonja whom were believed to be *Baales* in

[52]Samuel Johnson, *The history of the Yorubas…* p. 274.

Ilorin before Afonja's arrival and the other groups. Granted that Afonja descendants had migrated to Ilorin perhaps informed the choice of Ilorin by Afonja has a refugee after his fall out with the *Alafin*. Critical examinations of various sources of Oyo history indicated that Afonja's appointment as the *Kakanfo* was most likely made by Alafin Aole in the early 1790s. His placement in Ilorin, as suggested, appeared to have been to stop further incursions of the Nupe state into Oyo territories and to insulate the 'over ambitious prince' from the politics of the metropolis rather than "to check the spread of the Fulani jihad" into the empire.[53] Ilorin accounts insist that Afonja "arrived" or "settled" in the town shortly after the mutiny of Oyo army led by him at Iwere and the overthrow of *Alafin* Aole. These events are now widely agreed to have taken place in c.1796 rather than c.1817 hitherto suggested.[54] From available sources therefore, it is possible that Afonja was stationed at Ilorin by the Alafin as an official, being the leader of the Oyo army, before things fell apart between him and the *Alafin*. After the fall out, he became a refugee at his station as he could no longer go back to Oyo because of the mutiny by his army.

Evidence of the *Ta'lif* corroborated the 1796 date as it specifically placed Afonja's settlement "after a war at Iwere".[55] A 1936 petition by the heirs of Afonja, which made reference to the period of Afonja, by analysis also agreed with the 1796 date.[56] If Afonja's predecessors, Laderin, Pashin and Alagbin were actually *Baales* in Ilorin before Afonja came, as mentioned in account on Ilorin, sources were however silence on who their contemporaries were. We do not know if they lived in

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[53] See R.C.C. Law, "The chronology of the Yoruba Warfare of the Early 19th c.: A reconsideration" in *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria (JHSN)* v,(2) 1970, pp. 211-222; Atanda J.A "The fall of Old Oyo Empire: A reconsideration of its Causes" in *JHSN*, V (4), June 1971,pp 477-490.

[54] *Ibid.*

[55] Ahmad Ibn Abibakr *Talif* ... Ch. 1.

[56] The Petition to the Resident, Ilorin Province by the Magaji Are and Baba Isale in 1936 a copy of which was published in the Akede Eko of December 5, 1936, Oju Ewe kerin (page 4) as reproduced by L.A.K. Jimoh, *Ilorin: Journey So Far*... PP 415 – 418.

Ilorin at the same time as Ojo and Emilla. Sources however agreed on the contemporaries of Afonja as Olufadi, Solagberu, Alimi and others who we regarded as later immigrants and settlers.

Another personality among the immigrant group was the Beriberi cleric, Al Tahir whom the natives called Solagberu. Samuel Johnson however said he was a Yoruba man,[57] but other sources have revealed that he was not of Yoruba origin nor his settlement essentially Yoruba as it also comprises other settlers such as the Baruba, Nupe, Gwari, etc, all being muslims.[58] Johnson referred to all the people of the community collectively as 'Yoruba', perhaps, as a result of the fact that they had been resident in different parts of Yoruba land before they relocated to Ilorin [or] because of the Yoruba names and cognomen adopted by some of the leading members of the immigrant community. This situation also explains, possibly in part, why dual identity was ascribed to Solagberu by Hogben and Kirk-Greene who describe him first as "a powerful Yoruba Chief" and "a Kanuri."[59] Ilorin sources are agreed that the founding of his settlement predated the coming of Afonja and Alimi. He settled on a hill called *Okesuna* which was a secluded Muslim community in Ilorin. He was the leader of the community. Under Solagbeeru, Muslims from Yoruba towns flocked into Okesuna over which he presided. It was postulated that Solagberu's Muslim enclave was populated by these Muslims who are early Muslims suffering persecution in the old Oyo empire, from Kobayi and other places

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[57] Samuel Johnson, *History of the Yorubas*, ... P. 194.

[58] M. Zulu, "The History of Ilorin" pp. 10 – 11; See also Memorandum of the Descendants of Solagberu on the need to accord the Solagberu family a chieftaincy status in Ilorin Emirate, attached as appendix III.

[59] Hogben and Kirk Greene, *The Emirates of Northern Nigeria: A preliminary survey of their Historical Traditions*, Oxford university press, Reprint 1993 PP. 286 and 289.

in Yoruba land such as Gbada, Agoho, Kuwo and Igboho.[60] These persecuted Muslims, perhaps, found refuge in Ilorin and some of them might have become followers of Al Tahir (Solagberu). Being Muslim faithful they restricted themselves to Okesuna and insulated themselves from those that practice traditional religion. It is established that a Muslim community existed in old Oyo by the middle of the seventeenth century and by the eighteenth century; Islam had spread to places like Igboho, Ikoyi, Ogbomoso, etc.[61] They however remained in the minority and were treated as suspects and intimidated which made some to flee and others remained.[62] It is plausible to conclude, given these available evidences, that Okesuna under Solagberu was populated by Muslim immigrants from various places in Yoruba land as mentioned above. For instance, Muslims under Solagberu do not suffer persecution due to, probably, the fact that his enclave is separated from other communities that practiced traditional religion.

Eleven of the contemporaries of Solagberu that are scholars and lived with him in Okesuna were mentioned by a source.[63] These learned men, in addition to Solagberu were: Sheikh Usmam Matase, Sheikh Sherif Musa Agbaji, Shekh Saliu Ojibara, Sheikh Ibraheem Bature, Sheikh Male Bogobira, Sheikh Imam Shitta, Sheikh Muhammad Belgore, Sheikh Muhammad Ibn Sani (Imam Tooka), Sheikh Aliyu Ibn Imam Saliu, Shekh Dohty Musa and Sheikh Muhammad Ameenullahi. They were said to be in Okesuna before the arrival of Alimi.[64]

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[60] M. Zulu, *History of Ilorin* ... p.2; Sheikh Ahmad Tijani Adisa Onikoko, *A short History of Ilorin Emirate*, Atoto Press Limited, Ilorin, P.2.

[61] S. K. Balogun, "History of Islam up to 1800" *in Ground work of Nigeria History*, (ed), Obaro Ikime, Historical Society of Nigeria, Heinemann Educational Books (Nigeria) Plc, Reprinted 2001, P. 219.

[62] *Ibid.*

[63] Isiaka Ali Agan Ph.D., "Migration and settlement pattern in Ilorin History" ... Ch.1, P. 10 – 11.

[64] *Ibid.*

Apart from the above groups, there were the Hausa traders and artisans from the northern-long distance trade under the leadership of Ibrahim Bako who seemed to have settled in Ilorin in c.1813.[65] His group was probably resident northern traders at Oyo-Ile. These were those referred to as "a resident 'Gambari community' at the Oyo capital" by Abdullhai Smith.[66] They were forced to relocate to Ilorin after the breakdown of law and order and the insecurity of life and property of both foreigners and citizens that attended the collapse of the central administration at Oyo capital.[67] The community also includes, perhaps, those of the northern long-distance traders encouraged to settle in Ilorin with its 'entreport role for commerce',[68] between the north and south of present day Nigeria, particularly after the establishment of the Ilorin Emirate. The city was well placed to perform an entrepot function between these zones, and on a wider plane, it was a clearing house for the exchange of higher value of goods between a number of powerful economic systems to the north of which lay the vast economic zone whose unification under the political patronage of the Sokoto Caliphate coincided with the emergence of Ilorin itself which became the Caliphates southernmost Emirate. The relative security and presence of other peoples from the north in the town might also be an encouragement for the later trader settlers of predominantly Hausa stock. As noted by Gavin, 'free labourers among the carriers (in the long-distance trade) would not

[65] Hogben and Kirk Greene, *The Emirates of Northern Nigeria: ...* P. 288.

[66] Abdullahi Smith, "A little New light on the Collapse of the Alafinate of Yoruba" in Olusanya, G. (ed) *Studies in Yoruba History and Culture*, University of Ibadan Press, 1983 PP. 42 – 71.

[67] *Ibid.*

[68] Gavin R.J. *The Impact of Colonial Rule on the Ilorin Economy, 1897-1930*, UNILORIN. P.18.

be happy to travel on into strange areas beyond the confines of the caliphate'[69] among other reasons. In effect, it

> Required that a good part of mass of men and animals in the 19th century long distance trade, should make a halt somewhere in Ilorin's region as further movement southeastward toward the tsetse infested forest raised death rates among donkeys to unappreciable levels.[70]

Furthermore, the policies pursued by the rulers of the city assisted in the maximization of this natural advantage in relation to commerce as the whole polity was so ordered as to emphasis, indeed exaggerate its mediatory role between north and south. Perhaps, because of the turbulent times in the nineteenth century Yoruba land, caravan leaders from the north needed go no further than the friendly and understanding markets of Ilorin. This would have been probably resented by the Ilorin Emirate administration as it is pointed out that at the end of the century a law forbade the southward movement of caravans through or past the city.[71] The principal international market was situated in the Gambari (Hausa) quarter where the northern caravans discharged their goods. These groups of northern caravans were those whom Bako was leader as *Sarki* Gambari.

To the above mentioned groups were later joined by Mualim Salih Ibn Janta his *Jama'a* (Muslim community). He was widely known as Mallam Alimi, derived from the Arabic *mualim*. Conflicting accounts were available on his origin. Some claim that he came to Ilorin northwards from Sokoto or Niger.[72] Others mentioned

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[69] *Ibid.*
[70] *Ibid.*
[71] *Ibid.*
[72] M. Zulu, *The History of Ilorin*, ... P.1; see Jimoh, L.A.K., *Ilorin: Journey So Far...*, on where Alimi came from.

places like Masina.[73] or Tankara in French territory of Niger.[74] However, the popular view was that he immigrated into Sokoto region from the present day republic of Niger. Most accounts said he migrated to Yorubaland via Bida.[75] He was given the name al-Alim, which means the learned in view of his superiority in knowledge to the Muslims he met at Ilorin upon his arrival.[76] He was a religious reformer which records indicated had earlier passed through the town in c.1812-13.[77] Four years interval between his first visit and settlement in c.1817 was recorded.[78] Places he had visited before his second coming to Ilorin were listed as Oyo-Ile, Ogbomoso, Ikoyi and Kuwo, preaching and ransoming slaves,[79] and probably selling charms and amulets as it is the tradition in the history of itinerant Muslim scholars and preachers in West Africa. His visit to these places was said to be after he was expelled from Oyo-Ile by *Alafin*.[80] He was said to have been expelled as a result of his religious activities and popularity but continued his travels and reformist preaching in those Northern part of Oyo.[81] In reaction Oyo Muslims decided to flock to him where ever he went. This was because of their emotional attachment to him and because he has became a symbol of Islamic eminence and a source of scholastic inspiration to them.[82] See appendix III. Feeling of insecurity may also be an additional factor.

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[73] Imam Umar's account is the only source that linked Alimi's origin to Masina. see Stefan Reichmuth, "Imam Umaru's Account on the origin of the Ilorin Emirate: A manuscript in the Heinz Solken collection, Frankfurt", Sudanic Africa, iv, 1993, PP. 155 – 173.

[74] Elphinstone quoted in Stefan Reichmuth "Imam Umaru's Account of the origin of Ilorin Emirate" says Alimi came from Tankara, French territory of Niger, the same area where Usman DanFodio came from.

[75] See L.A.K. Jimoh, *Ilorin: Journey So Far*... on his pattern of Migration from Bida to Yoruba Land.

[76] See *Ibid*. P.35.

[77] H.O. Danmole, "The Frontier Emirate"....

[78] Ahmad Ibn Abibakr. *Talif*. ... Ch. 1.

[79] See Ibid and M. Sulu, *History of Ilorin*,....

[80] T.G.O. Gbadamosi, *The Growth of Islam Among the Yoruba, 1841-1908*. Longman, 1978, p.8.

[81] L.A.K. Jimoh, *Ilorin: Journey So Far*p. 49.

[82] *Ibid*. P. 50.

This being so, because since their leader has been expelled, focus of attention may eventually shift to them as followers.

Mallam Alimi's fame and efficacy of his spiritual talent increased as a result of his followers which keep on increasing with more followers which came to join him from far and near, all over Yorubaland. This made him to be invited as guest of Toyeje, the *Ba'al*e of Ogbomoso who was Afonja's friend and the then Deputy Aare Onakakanfo. Alimi was said to have assisted Toyeje with some charms and prayer for the security of Ogbomoso against military conquest.[83] Through the *Ba'ale*, Afonja made invitation to Alimi and induced him to bring his followers and sons, to which the Alimi accepted, requesting him to come over to Ilorin to give spiritual assistance in the face of impeding military invasion of Ilorin by the Alafin's forces. Afonja must have heard of Alimi's spiritual powers, and how these could provide for success in his revolt against the Alafin Oyo. With this invitation, Afonja perhaps, hoped to found in Alimi an ally which could be use against a common enemy (*Alafin*). He might have also hoped in finding a strong and powerful force in Alimi's growing Muslim entourage quite a number of which followed him to Ilorin,[84] comprising various groups of northern origin which include "Hausa slaves in adjacent towns hitherto employed as barbers, rope makers, and cowherds",[85] traders, Muslim scholars**,** charm makers etc. Afonja's step paid off as the invasion of the Oyo army led by Ojo Agunbambaru was amazingly crushed. Afonja believed this was due primarily to the efficacy of Mallam Alimi's spiritual prowess and the

[83] Ibid pp. 47 – 48.

[84] Samuel Johnson, *History of the Yorubas, ...* p. 193**.**

[85] L.A.K. Jimoh, *Ilorin: Journey So Far...* p. 45.

alliance of the *Jama'a* by the Kakanfo. With this victory, the Kakanfo beyond all doubts became a force to reckon with in the affairs of Oyo Empire.

Records on Mallam Alimi's missionary activities' link with the religious reformer, Uthman Dan Fodio are a subject of controversy. L. A. K. Jimoh stated neither that nowhere in the writings of Dan Fodio nor that of his brother Abdullahi who was the first Sultan or of his son Muhammad Bello was any mention of Alimi.[86] Thus Alimi was not listed as surbodinate or lieutenant of Dan Fodio. Yet a reference by I.M. Lewis where he quoted Peter Morton- Williams, on the presence of "two missionaries/colleagues or kinsmen of Dan Fodio" sent to Yorubaland and Nupe in the nineteenth century seems to link Alimi with Dan Fodio. They were said to have served as missionaries for some years before taken part in warfare.[87] When this is considered alongside the claim that there was no other missionary in Yorubaland within this period, except Alimi,[88] one may want to believe that Alimi, perhaps, was one of the Dan Fodio colleagues mention by William-Morton. However, El-Gambari insisted that Alimi was one of the 14 flag bearers of Dan Fodio. He arrived at this conclusion on the evidence of history book of Ilorin written by one of the scholars of Alimi's time, which showed that Alimi's second entrance to Ilorin was in 1814 and that he spent 10 years of travels in Yorubaland before this time. This, according to his analysis meant that Alimi first arrived in Ilorin towards the end of 1804, the time that Dan Fodio gave the first batch of 14 flags.[89] This analysis is nonetheless contradicted by another source which said Alimi had nothing to do with Dan Fodio

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[86] *Ibid.* p.46.
[87] *Ibid.*
[88] *Ibid.*
[89] EL Gambari "Sheikh Alimi in the History of Sokoto Caliphate" quoted in Ali Agan, "Migration and Settlement Pattern" ... p. 13.

as he was already in seclusion at Sifawa when the reformation in Ilorin started.[90] Information on the development in Ilorin as shall be discus in the subsequent chapter as regard the reformation in Ilorin revealed that Ilorin reformation was actually led by Abd al-Salam and not Alimi as some of the sources would want us believe and no link either with Dan Fodio. This could be buttress by the interpretation of reply from Gwandu to a letter written by Abd al-Salam, the first Emir of Ilorin.[91] The tone of ignorance of Alimi's origin or his son Abd al-Salam is obvious in the Gwandu's response to the letter. Abd al-Salam was a local force who only acquired the blessings of the Sokoto rulers. It is probable, however, that the jihad in Ilorin could have been instigated by the jihads in Hausa land and Nupe.

[90] See Stefan Reichmuth, Imam Umaru's Account of the Origin of Ilorin Emirate….

[91] See appendix (1) for the letter.

2.2 Spatial and Socio-Political Organizations on the Eve of the Jihad / Ilorin under Oyo Empire

From the preceding discussion, it is clear therefore that the peopling of Ilorin was clearly influenced by immigration into the town of people of various cultural backgrounds. Her strategic location, ecological and economic advantages as a gate-way settlement between the North and the South of present day Nigeria attracted various groups of people of differing ethnic and occupation. The influx of people into Ilorin was also aided by the socio-political upheaval that characterized old Oyo in the 19th century. Population movements, demographic changes and emergence of new settlements, among others, occasioned by socio-political changes in various polities, as well as trade, enslavement, scholarship, etc are among the major phenomena in most parts of what is today Nigeria, Ilorin not an exception. This led to the eventual growth and development of the town as a melting pot of various peoples and cultures.

When Alimi arrived, there were four scattered quarters which are semi autonomous in nature. These comprise Idi-Ape of the descendants of Ojo, Emilla and Laderin, the great grandfather of Afonja; the pastoral Fulani group with Olufadi as their head; the Hausa settlement with Mallam Bako as their *Sark*i and their neighbours, the Nupe and Baruba. There was also the secluded quarters known as Okesuna, which was predominated by Muslim population and separated from the other quarters by some distance with the Muslim cleric, Solagberu, as head.[92] It should be noted that the migrant individuals and groups mentioned is not to say that some other groups or individuals did not arrive independently. Not all groups and

[92] Jimoh, L.A.K., *Ilorin: Journey So Far*... p. 52; M. Zulu, *History of Ilorin*, ... P.3.

families came with the prominent settlers Afonja, Olufadi, Bako, Solagberu and Alimi. Some settled in Ilorin after the destruction of their former settlements or as slaves in Ilorin wars. Although there was no established rule as to where a new comer was to reside, available evidence tends to suggest that each of the leaders of the settlements was responsible for the lodging and or permanent settlement of other arrivals especially in cases where the arrival of such new comers was occasioned by the influence or activities of established resident leaders. For instance, in attempt to boost the population of Ilorin and Okesuna, both Afonja and Solagberu are reported to have made efforts through conquest or diplomacy to attract new settlers to their respective sides of Ilorin.[93] It is explained that prominent members of Mallam Alimi's retinue that arrived with him from different parts of Yoruba land-Oyo Ile, Ogbomoso, Ikoyi and Kuwo, where Alimi had visited and stayed between c.1812/13 and1817, were lodged and settled with their fellow cultural groups already resident in the area.[94] In this way Mallam Alimi lodged with Olufadi, the head of the pastoral Fulani and the Yoruba leaders in his entourage were hosted by the Ala'ase family at Idi-Ape whose progenitors were Yoruba.[95]

The turbulent period in old Oyo, which, among other things added to the demographic transformation of Ilorin, in effect was also to affect the political fortune of the town, a northern outpost of Oyo. Paucity of information on the socio-political structure that sustain Ilorin before the establishment of Emirate compelled most writers to start an examination of its political arrangement from c.1817, the

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[93] See for instance P.C. Lloyd, *The political development of Yoruba kingdom in the 18th and 19th centuries*, Royal Anthropological Institute London, 1971, chapter 3 titled "Ilorin, pp. 40 – 47; Samuel Johnson, *The History of Yorubas*, ... p. 194.

[94] See L.A.K. Jimoh, *Ilorin: Journey So Far*... 50-52; Adisa Onikoko, *A Short History of Ilorin Emirate*. ... pp.8-9.

[95] Jimoh, L.A.K., *Ilorin: Journey So Far*... p. 52; See also M. Zulu, *History of Ilorin*. ... P.2.

year of Afonja's alliance with Mallam Alimi. From available evidence it is safe to conclude that a political system was in place before the advent of Afonja and Mallam Alimi, albeit, evolutionary in nature.

Up to the advent of Afonja in the late 1790s, what became Ilorin started as a small settlement predominantly Yoruba of Oyo confined to the Idi-Ape area and other scattered settlements occupied by other cultural groups as discussed above. As part of the Oyo kingdom, it is expected that its administration would follow the old Oyo political tradition. As explained by Johnson, a subordinate town or village under Oyo was headed by an "*Oba*" or "*Baale*" (a crowned or uncrowned ruler respectively), assisted by a council of titled advisers.[96] In the case of Ilorin sources revealed that the settlement had a head whose title is no more than a *Baale*[97] who did not seem to have had a council of advisers, perhaps, because of the smallness of the settlement. Head of small communities under Oyo political tradition are called by the title *Baale* and wears no crown which is an insignia of office only wore by an *Oba* who head large community and higher in status than a *Baale* and assisted by council of advisers in the administration of his domain.

The immigration of Afonja and assumption of rulership seemed to have led to the relegation of the title or office of *Baale,* as records did not mention Afonja to have used the title. This is probably because the title is lower than Are Ona Kakanfo office he then occupied and perhaps because of his aspiration for the Oyo throne. That be as it may, his overthrown or removal of the *Baale* Alugbin could possibly be explained to be as a result of the 'emergency' situation in the Yoruba society

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[96] Samuel Johnson, *History of the Yorubas*, ... p.75; see also Falola T. and Oguntomisin, D. (ed) The *Military in 19th Century Yoruba politics*, University of Ife Press Ltd., 1984, p. 35.

[97] H.O. Danmole "The Frontier Emirate" ... p.63.

occasioned by the disintegration of the Old Oyo which conferred much authority on emergent military leaders such as Afonja than the traditional civil rulers in some Yoruba towns. This situation, as revealed by Falola and Oguntomisin, explains why the three successor states of Oyo-Ilorin, Ibadan and Ijaye-had no kings at their foundation.[98] It thus appears that Afonja's taken of refuge from Oyo in Ilorin and the transformation of the town into a war camp for defence and preparation of attack on Oyo in the late 1790s raised some military issues, which the existing civil authority represented by '*Baale*' could not handle effectively. As noted, the replacement of *Baale* by Afonja himself could therefore not be a surprise, more so, considering the pro-Oyo attitude and sympathy of the *Baale* Alugbin, which Johnson account dates to the reign of Alafin Abiodun.[99]

If we are to go by the claim above that the *Baale* in Ilorin did not seem to have had an advisory council, it is probable therefore that Afonja did not also had advisory council but headed the town only as a military power. More so considering his status under Oyo political organization and his scheme over the Oyo throne, his focus might have been on the conquest of Oyo and the overthrow of the Alafin rather than establish himself as ruler of a small settlement, the head of which could not be more than a *Baale* and which may not have jurisdiction over the emergent communities of Okesuna, Gambari, and Fulani quarters as obtained in Ilorin.[100]A typical example was Okesuna whose founding and initial growth predated the advent and activities of Afonja. There are indications that Solagberu existed largely independent of Afonja's Ilorin before 1817. Johnson listed Okesuna as among the

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[98]Falola and Oguntomisin, *The Military in 19th c. Yoruba Politics…* p. 35.

[99] Salihu Ismail, "*The Political Contest for Ilorin*: ... pp. 29-30.

[100] *Ibid*. p. 30.

several towns and villages around at no very great distance from Ilorin.[101]Some considerable degree of mutual understanding and cooperation had, however, existed between the two leaders, but there is no indication that they co-ruled or controlled the affairs of Ilorin area before the establishment of Ilorin Emirate. According to Lloyd Peter, each leader was supreme at his base or side of Ilorin making efforts to attract followers to strengthen his settlement or "town" through conquest or connection.[102]

Political, and perhaps military authority exercised by Solagberu in his settlement appears to have been along the line of Islamic or Muslim tradition. This no doubt explains the derivation of the name 'Okesuna' which technically translate to mean 'abode of the Sunnites i.e. the upholder of the traditions (Sunnah) of Prophet Muhammad). He was said to have enforced the Maliki code of Islamic law.[103] This may however likely be by convention. We do not know of the existence of a formal court system. Settlement of disputes or dispensation of justice is probably done through the most pious and learned among the resident Mallams, which would suggest that there is likely to be an informal 'council' or congregation of Ulama responsible for giving legal and religious opinions on issues that arises in the community.[104] Solagberu retained his political leadership and supremacy at Okesuna, as well as the autonomy enjoyed by his community, even with the transfer of spiritual leadership to Mallam Alimi after 1817, and the appointment of Abdul-

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[101]Samuel Johnson, *History of the Yorubas* ... p. 200.

[102]Lloyd, P.C. *The political development of Yoruba Kingdom*….p.40 – 47; see also Samuel Johnson, *History of the Yorubas*, ... pp. 193 – 194.

[103]Salihu Ismail, "*The Political Contest for Ilorin* ... p. 30; Musa Ali Ajetunmobi "The scope of Islamic Law in Ilorin Traditional courts, 1900 -1980: An Analytical survey" in *ALORE, Ilorin journal of the Humanities*, published by the faculty of Arts, University of Ilorin, Nos. 3 and 4, 1987/88, pp.55-67.

[104]*Ibid*.

Salami as Mallam Alimi's successor and Emir in c.1823.[105]

Spatially and politically, the other communities could not enjoy such autonomy as enjoyed by Okesuna. Given the circumstances and the proximity of the other two settlements to Afonja's base at Idi-Ape, they could not have maintained independent political existence from Afonja's authority. For instance, whatever autonomy the group of Olufadi, the head of the pastoral Fulani, might have enjoyed, their apparent small number seemed to have unable to insulate them from the overall government of Afonja. It is reported that the Fulani chief served as interpreter between the cultural groups that settled with Mallam Alimi in c. 1817 and between Alimi and Afonja.[106] He therefore played an important role towards understanding between the different groups among which were Fulani, Hausa and Yoruba from Oyo-Ile, Ogbomoso, Ikoyi and Kuwo.

The preceding discussion represents the spatial and social-political relations such that by 1800s the two quarters i.e. those under Afonja's authority and that of Solagberu were autonomous within Ilorin and its area. A major change was brought into the political relations and existing social arrangement in Ilorin with the arrival, in about 1813, of Ibrahim Bako, the *Sarkin* Gambari and his group of Hausa immigrants. Bako and his group were long- distance traders of various groups of northern origin predominantly Hausa.[107] Wherever they settle among their host communities during their trade journeys, they usually appointed a leader "*Sarkin Hausawa*" (or Gambari in Ilorin). The leader played liaison and mediatory roles between the Hausa immigrants and their host communities. He also arbitrated in

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[105] Ahmad Ibn Abibakr, *Talif*. Ch. 1.

[106] H.O. Danmole, "*The Frontier Emirate*…..P.7; Samuel Johnson, *History of the Yorubas*, ... p.194 and 199.

[107] Mahdi Admu, *Hausa factors in West African History*, Zaria, 1978, P.6.

disputes within the Hausa quarters and at times appointed men to various positions to regulate the affairs of the community as shown in various studies on Hausa Political System.[108]

Afonja could not but recognize the leadership of Bako on Hausa immigrants as a result of the above roles and, perhaps in conjunction, because of the royal ancestry of Bako. A major symbol of his power and influence in Hausa community were said to be his use of the *Kakaki* and *Tambari*-royal trumpet and drum respectively.[109] Thus the arrival of such an organized group of free migrants, who often numbered several hundreds and in some instances thousands,[110] with lots of economic and probably military potentials must have brought about some changes in the existing socio-political relations between Afonja and the community of the ex-"Hausa" slaves who were mainly recruited into his army. This being so because with the settlement and recognition of the *Sarkin* Gambari, all northern elements in Ilorin, except the Fulani and those at Okesuna (and perhaps those recruited into Afonja's army), came under the direct influence and authority of Ibrahim Bako. The entire Hausa community under *Sarkin* Gambari enjoyed considerable influence and a semblance of autonomy because of the recognition of its leader in Afonja's Ilorin before and after the arrival of Mallam Alimi. The leader was reported to have acquired "considerable power, prestige and influence" in Ilorin before the arrival of Mallam Alimi.[111]

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[108] See for instance, Olawale Albert,"Hausa political system in the Diasporal: The Sarkin Hausawa Institution in Ibadan, 1914 – 1993" In *African Notes*, vol xxi, nos. 1 and 2, 1997, pp. 43 –74.; Cohen, A. " The Hausa" in P.C. Lloyd, Mabogunje A.L and Awe B. (ed). *The city of Ibadan*, Cambridge University press, 1967, pp. 117 127 and Mahdi, *Adamu, the Hausa factor*, ...

[109] Hogben and kirk – Greene, *The Emirate of Northern Nigeria*. ... p.288.

[110] Olawale Albert, "Hausa political system.…

[111] Hogben and Kirk – Greene, *The Emirate of Northern Nigeria.* ...

Spatially therefore three distinct largely semi-autonomous communities were identified as been within Ilorin, 'under Oyo' up till the eve of the jihad. All apparently under the authority of Afonja, while the forth one (Okesuna) could be said to have enjoyed full autonomy. Unlike Okesuna, the three other communities namely: the essentially Yoruba area at Idi-Ape, the Fulani at *Gaa* Olufadi and the "Hausa" or "Gambari" at Gambari quarters were located very close to each other.

Socio-Politically, the nature of social and political relations between the various cultural groups that inhabited Ilorin before the arrival of Mallam Alimi had given rise to different postulations on the probable political arrangement that had sustained the pre Alimi Ilorin up till about c.1817, the year of Afonja's alliance with Mallam Alimi. One of such postulations was that early 19th century Ilorin was a 'war camp' i.e. a place where Afonja chose to prepare war against the Alafin. Therefore Ilorin Afonja era must have been sustained by a military structure or a military stronghold that lacked a formal hierarchy of chieftaincy titles but with Afonja as the military leader.[112] Other accounts would want to see the political structure as a decentralized one made up of quarters, each maintaining a separate political existence, only becoming united after the settlement of Mallam Alimi.[113] Yet others suggest a sort of joint rule (condominium arrangement) between three personalities-Afonja, Solagberu and Alimi- as a result of alliance between them. This arrangement was said to eventually give way to diarchy in which Ilorin affairs are jointly controlled by Afonja and *Amir al-Mu'minin* Alimi; the former exercising military authority and the latter the spiritual.[114]

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[112] L.A.K. Jimoh, *Ilorin: The Journey So Far*... p. 52.

[113] M. Zulu, *The History of Ilorin*. ...; Ahmad Ibn Abibakr, *Talif*.

[114] H.O. Damole, "The frontier Emirate", ... p. 69.

These postulations apparently failed to take a number of things into consideration. In the first place, they did not take cognizance of the dynamism in the demographic growth and changes in the town and implication(s) such must have had on political or power relations and system in Ilorin. More so, what was in place before Afonja, was not given an important consideration. They also ignore the fact that the settlements were not founded and settled upon at the same time and so could not become parts of 'Ilorin' at one and at the same time. In view of these, the contention is that the dynamic nature of the demography and territorial extent of Ilorin, which was in a continuous state of expansion, must have been accompanied by a change in socio-political relations and the evolution of polity in the town. For instance, political arrangement in Ilorin under the *Baales* was transformed under Afonja. Furthermore the relationship between Afonja and the communities of other leaders such as Solagberu and Bako who seem to have enjoyed some sort of autonomy may not as yet give way for a stable and unified political system in Ilorin. Therefore, the political organization in Ilorin in the pre Emirate period was undergoing a gradual transformation or evolution. In other words, it can be conceived of as a rather evolutionary political structure or arrangement, which transformed from diversity to homogeneity. Further diversification in the pre colonial, colonial and post colonial structure sustained a heterogeneous Ilorin made up of different cultural groups, inhabiting at least four major sections in the town.

2.3 Transformation of Ilorin into an Urbanize Community.

Deduction from the preceding discussion revealed that the period from C.1797 to 1817 and from then to C.1823 was one of demographic growth and changes in Ilorin. One of the major factors responsible for its transformation into an urbanized society was increasing influx of different groups of people into the Ilorin area occasioned by the presence and activities of prominent immigrant personalities such as Are-Onakakanfo Afonja, Abdullahi Al-Tahir Solagberu of Oke-Suna on one hand and Sheik Al-Salih Alimi on the other. Ilorin, therefore, started as a "new town" with a population largely formed by immigrants and their descendants. They were of various cultural backgrounds and were attracted to Ilorin for various reasons. This made Ilorin a multicultural town consisting of cultural groups such as Yoruba, Fulani, Hausa, Nupe, Kanuris and the Bariba living in semi autonomous settlements, and under different leaders, and evolving a common political system and administration.

This development clearly determined the spatial formation of communities that were later to become fused into one and gave Ilorin the urbanized character it eventually adopted. Thus, between the 1790s when the misfortune of Oyo-Ile began and 1820s, Ilorin was transformed from a provincial village of the Alafinate through a war camp, for Afonja and a multipurpose abode for various groups of people: the Yoruba, Hausa, Fulani, Kanuri, Baruba, Nupe, Gwari etc, into the nucleus of emergent communities in Ilorin. Some believe that the Yoruba are in the majority while another group thinks the others combined were more than the Yoruba. What is important however, in the multicultural process in the Ilorin Emirate was that the other groups tended to become "Yorubanised" because of assimilation,

intermarriage and birth. On the other hand the earlier "Yoruba" culture also tended to become more enriched, cosmopolitan and variegated on account of the new contribution and realities.

In an attempt to boost the population of Ilorin and Okesuna both Afonja and Solagberu are reported to have made effort through conquest and diplomacy to attract new settlers to their respective sides of Ilorin. Apart from the original separate settlements as indicated and efforts of Afonja and Solagberu to attract new settlers, a new process of community transformation in Ilorin would seem to have started with Mallam Alimi. From about 1817 when Mallam Alimi arrived in Ilorin he was accompanied with freed slaves as well as his disciples and admirers from various part of Yoruba land – Oyo Ile, Ogbomoso, Ikoyi and Kuwo – where Mallam had visited and stayed in the period between C. 1812/13 and 1817).[115] Prominent members of his retinue arriving Ilorin from different parts, it is explained settled or lodged in Ilorin and swelled up the population of cultural (ethnic) groups already resident in the town.[116] Therefore, though subsequent to the settlement, activities and popularity of Mallam Alimi, there has been an increasing influx of population into Ilorin from far and near but his arrival provided an impetus for further demographic growth and beginning of the process of urbanization.

An additional impetus to population movement into Ilorin was the arrival of sheikh Alimi's son-Abdul-salam and Shitta – and their followers as well as the eventual launching of a Jihad and the establishment of the Ilorin Emirate. Prior to the Jihad, some of Sheikh Alimi's early guests, many (including his sons and their

[115] Ahmad Ibn Abibakr, *Talif*...; M. Zulu "History of Ilorin, ...

[116] See for instance P.C. Lloyd, *The political Development of Yoruba Kingdom* ... PP 40 – 47. Samuel Johnson, *The history of the Yorubas,* ...p.194.

followers from Sokoto) opted to lodge with the Shehu[117] thus making the area around his premises and later that of his successor a sort of centers of gravity with population build up. This made it necessary for sheikh Alimi, in an attempt to provide accommodation for his ever increasing guests, to look for their harborage somewhere in other quarters of the town.[118] This process as suggested brought about the unification of the hitherto scattered settlement that made up the then Ilorin.[119]

Expansion and linkage of the spatial arrangement before Alimi must have been affected due to Alimis activities as presented by records. Typical examples of restructuring of the spatial arrangement due to increasing population and attempts to look for places for the Sheu's followers are provided in the relocation of Muhammadu Yahaya progenitor of Oju-Ekun family and the pastoral Fulani under Olufadi. The former was relocated from around the area lived by Mallam Alimi to Oju-Ekun "quarters".[120] The pastoral Fulani, on the other hand, had to relocate their *Gaa* (cow camp) from the previous settlement also inhabited by the Sheu to Oke-Aluko,[121] some distance away from the center of gravity. The reason for the relocation of the pastoral Fulani, aside from the increasing influx of people to the Sheu's residence within Olufadi's cow camp which no doubt could made rearing of

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[117]For accounts of the various elements that made up Mallam Alimi's Jama'a at the time of his settlement, see L.A.K Jimoh, *Ilorin: The Journey so Far*... pp. 50-52, 339; Sheikh Ahmad Tijani Adisa Onikoko. *A short History of Ilorin Emirates*, ...pp. 8-9; M. Sulu, "History of Ilorin", ...; Ahmad Ibn Abi Bakr, *Talif*, chapter one; and H.O. Danmole, "The spread of Islam in Ilorin Emirate in the 19th century" in the *Journal of Nigerian Association of Teachers of Arabic and Islamic Studies (NATAIS)*, vol. II, No.2, December, 1983, pp. 1-13.

[118]L.A.K Jimoh, *Ilorin: Journey So Far*... p.52. See also, M. Zulu, *History of Ilorin*, ... P.2.

[119]Ahmad Ibn Abi Bakr, *Talif*, ch. One, and M. Zulu, *The History of Ilorin*. ...

[120]See NAK ILORPROF 308/1913 provincial Report by H.R Palmer, January- March quarter, 1913, Appendix A: "Ojuekun family and land at Oniri and Adigbonbo".

[121]Shaikh Ahmad Tijani Adisa Onikoko, *A Short History of Ilorin Emirate*, ... P.2. L.A.K. Jimoh, *Ilorin: Journey So Far*... p. 51.

cattle to become difficult, could also be that the presence of cattle in vicinity of the Sheu's residence was no longer conducive for both the ever growing guests of the Mallam as well as the cow Fulani and their cattle. Although only Olufadi group of cow Fulani is regularly mentioned in the early historical account of Ilorin, it is not unlikely that there were other pastoral Fulani individuals or groups who also relocated to other parts of Ilorin in view of the demographic growth and the attendant effect on grazing land for cattle rearers.

Another reason that later necessitated expansion of the settlement from the 'center of gravity' was the increase in numbers of the royal family, through marriages and birth. As from the time of the second and third Emirs, there seems to have emerged the need to establish settlements outside the palace for the royal princes. This development led to the emergence of further settlements outside the core settlement- Sheikh Alimi's abode and later the Emir's palace area.

Thus, Ilorin had gone through stages of state formation and grown into an urbanized multicultural settlement at the time of Afonja's rise to fame as the Are Ona Kakanfo of the old Oyo Empire and before the arrival of Alimi. They were prominent personage among the later immigrants into the town. Their activities were to transform Ilorin's social and political fortune in the entire region as is discussed in the subsequent chapter. The first stage in its transformation and influence on social relations was when the town existed as a new settlement, predominated by the Yoruba, and an outpost of the old Oyo Empire headed by a *Ba,ale*. Afonja's rebellion on Oyo and declaration of Ilorin independent of Oyo seems to put the position of the Ba'ale into the background and replace this with the rising fame of Afonja who now wielded authority as a military leader. His towered military

position in Oyo must have attracted people to Ilorin for protection with the turbulent situation in Yorubaland, which heralded Afonja's declaration of Ilorin independent of Oyo.

The second stage in the urbanization process of Ilorin was the rise of the *Jama'a* as a new community increasingly bounded by common religion in addition to various forms of political and economic associations associated with the development of a new urban centre. This era was ushered in with the invitation of Sheu Alimi by Afonja to help in staving off the threat of Oyo invasion after he fell out with the Alafin. At this stage, the various cultural groups who lived in separate quarters, and who had adopted Mallam Alimi as their leader, combined with the children of Alimi and his *Jamaa* to cooperate and worked together with Afonja to defend the town. The Muslim groups, majority of which migrated from various Yoruba towns dreaded being once again under Oyo control, whose persecution they had ran from and sought refuge in Ilorin. The success of the Ilorin army led to the rising popularity of the two leaders-Afonja and Alimi.

The third stage was the establishment of the Emirate headed by Abd al-Salam who was a Fulani. This occurred after the death of Afonja at the hand of the Muslim force led by Abd-al Salam who became the first Emir in the established Emirate. There are indications that the extent, which led to the clash or armed conflict between Afonja and the Emir's group centred on struggle for political control of Ilorin. This occurred at a time when the Muslims seemed to have considered the pagan Afonja *persona non grata* with particular reference to the rulership of the largely Muslim dominated town that Ilorin had become by C. 1823. The establishment of Emirate in Ilorin transformed the community into a Muslim

state. With this, it was no longer possible for Muslims to establish a separate abode, as is the case with Oke Suna (the autonomous Muslim enclave) which was forcefully integrated into the Emirate. In its capacity as a Muslim state, it started the tasks of consolidating Islam in the Emirate and of attracting into its territory as many Muslims as possible from the surrounding areas or from farther afield to increase the proportion of Muslims to non-Muslim within the population. Oral evidence attests to the fact that the Emirs of Ilorin did indeed provide lands for Muslim settlers of Yoruba, Hausa and other origins. Externally, the Emir had to contend with attack from the other states who considered the established Emirate as alien to Yoruba tradition and which must be destroyed. The external aggression on Ilorin and the general struggle for supremacy among Yoruba powers perhaps influenced Ilorin to engage in war of conquest and in the process pushed the Emirate's frontiers far into the territories of the Yoruba speaking peoples. Many towns and villages became its vassals and they existed under the Emirate's banner until 1897 when the European rule was established.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EMIRATE ADMINISTRATION IN ILORIN IN THE 19TH CENTURY

3.1: The influence of the 19th century Jihad campaign on Ilorin and its implication for community relations.

The 19th century Uthman Danfodio's Jihad, no doubt was a reformist movement that had tremendous impacts on the social as well as political structures of the various Hausa speaking states and societies then in existence in what now became Northern Nigeria. A number of researches has thrown light on the outcome of the Jihads particularly, the establishment of Emirates and the differences and continuities between the pre-Jihad and post Jihad systems of government and administration.[122] A most significant aspect of the differences was the replacement of pre-existing political structures by a new one (Emirate system) within the same area.

Jihad was also an important episode in Ilorin history. This occurred in 1823 and establishment of Emirate political system was also an important impact of the Jihad on Ilorin. Evidence indicates that before the jihad Ilorin existed as an outpost of Oyo Empire with a head (*Baale*) who was below the rank of a king. As an outpost settlement, the principal man who first attracted people to the place is formally recognized as the *Baale* or Mayor of the village, which literarily means father of the land. The family of the *Baale* holds the position in perpetuity and must necessarily be answerable to the nearest town from which the village sprang. As has been

[122] See for instance, H. O. Danmole "*The Frontier Emirate*: ... p.60.

discussed in the previous chapter, the pre-Jihad political system or administration in Ilorin between 1817 and 1823 witnessed an alliance between Afonja's military breakaway group and some Muslim groups, under the authority of Solagberu centered at Oke-Suna and on Al Salih (Mallam Alimi). This peculiarity reflected a process that culminated in the political as well as the administrative structure of the Emirate itself. This is because the alliance laid the foundation of the jihad and the eventual established Emirate administration, pursuant to which the success may be attributed to the local support, which is multicultural consisting essentially Yoruba Oyo, Fulani and Hausa.[123]

To the above should be added, as agreed by a number of sources, that one of the flag bearers of Uthman dan fodio did not carry out the jihad in Ilorin. It is difficult to establish any relationship between Mallam Alimi who prepared the ground for the jihad in Ilorin and Uthman dan Fodio, the leader of the jihad in Hausaland, resident in Sokoto. Not only this, facts that emerged as shall be subsequently reveal indicates no relationship between leaders of the Sokoto jihad and Abd al Salam, who eventually championed Ilorin Jihad and became its first Emir. It is not unlikely that the pioneering Jihad movement that has been on in Nupeland well before 1804 was the one that sent important signals to the reformist communities influenced by the Sokoto jihad in many Hausa states and Yorubaland (Ilorin).[124] It is submitted that this undoubtedly gave added impetus to the Jihad movements led by Usman Dan Fodio to the north, and to the Jihad prepared by the Mallam Alimi ibn Janta' (d.1823), in the Alafinate of Oyo (Ilorin), to the south.[125]

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[123] See Hermon – Hodge, *Gazeteer of Ilorin Province*, London, 1929, p.65.
[124] I.S. Jimada, *The Nupe and the Origins and Evolution of the Yoruba C. 1275-1897*. Abdullahi Smith Center for Historical Research, Hanwa, PMB, 1023, Zaria, Nigeria, 2005. p.59.
[125] Ibid.

Lending credence to this, it is revealed that Alimi came into the middle Niger and upper Ogun regions together with Mallam Dendo, who led the Jihad in Nupe kingdom and that while Dendo stopped in Nupe, Alimi journeyed further into the Oyo kingdom.[126] In view of these facts, it is plausible that the inspiration for the Jihad in Ilorin was actually more from the Jihad in Nupe kingdom with which Alimi had a direct connection, though a different account claimed that the Sokoto Jihad inspired Alimi.[127] We cannot however say that the happenings in most Hausa states with the Jihad of Usman Dan Fodio would not have had an added influence on the establishment of Ilorin Emirate. However, it does not seem that the Jihad in Ilorin was anticipated or even initiated by any of the major actors and parties involved in the events that assisted the launching of the Jihad. The prevailing politico-religious situations in many Hausa states and political developments in Yoruba land (Oyo) on one hand, and the developments in Ilorin as it affects social relations among groups, on the other, may well have provided the spur for the Jihad. It is in this light that Ilorin Emirate's history could be seen to be related to events in Sokoto caliphate and Yorubalands as well as other areas. This being so, because after 1823 when Ilorin became a Muslim Emirate, it partook of the same nature as the other Emirates associated with the Sokoto caliphate, and also display very peculiar traits of local Yoruba influences and characteristics during and after the creation of the Emirate. This peculiarity was derived from the very fact that Ilorin's history largely integrates different forms of heterogeneity within itself.

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[126] Ibid. p.62.
[127] Ibid.

It is an incontrovertible fact that the most important influence of the 19th century Jihad in the present-day northern Nigeria and even West Africa is the establishment of Emirates. Background to the Jihad and the establishment of Emirate in Ilorin centred on the activities of Afonja, the Are-Onakakanfo of Oyo on one hand, and Mallam Alimi and his Muslim groups, both within Ilorin and those that joined him from various Yoruba speaking areas as a result of persecution. Developments were to revealed that Islam, as in the Hausa speaking states was the central issue in the Jihad in Ilorin and this was to have important implications on the political evolution and development as well as social relations both within Ilorin and other surrounding towns as shall be subsequently discuss.

Social, political, demographic as well as religious situations in Ilorin on one hand and among the Yoruba speaking people in general as prelude to the Jihad are important. It is not unlikely that by the eighteen century, Islam has penerated various states of Yoruba-speaking people, but may not have penetrated the basic fabrics of the society.[128] Areas associated with long distance-trade are where it has gained foothold and this was largely because it transcends ethnic identity as it was a universal religion, facilitating exchange, intermixing and integration between diverse groups in increasingly heterogeneous societies. It however does seem that event in Oyo by the late eighteen century, posed political challenges for peaceful cohabitation between Muslims and the pagans. It is established that Islam played a crucial role in the socio-political development in Oyo.[129] Muslims became disaffected with the societies they lived in and the governments they lived under. They were desirous for the establishment of a government based on Islamic

[128] See for instance, CMSCA 1/0/19/12 (a) Rev. S. Crowther, *Extract of Journals*, 1859; and R. Lander, "*Records of Captain Clappertons last expedition*" vol. 1.pp 277-279.
[129] Ibid.

principles as a solution to persecution faced in the society. A typical example was demonstrated in Oyo under Alafin Majotu (c.1802-1830/31). Majotu instigated his traditional priests to arrange the assassination of Muslim preachers and clerics.[130] As a result of the Muslim travails, they looked up to the ideals of political leadership they have read about in the Quran and the Hadith.

These political developments indicate that the activities of the Muslims posed a political challenge that tended to threaten the established order and transcended ethnocentric issues. For the Muslim group, Islam served as a basis upon which they could unite and institute a change of the established order, which is the root of their disaffection. For some such as slaves, this change could mean emancipation. The Muslim groups, perhaps, therefore needed a leadership with sympathies to the new established government set up by the *Jama'a* of Usman Dan Fodio in Sokoto and Bornu. Such leader was probably seen in Mallam Alimi and thus explains why they flocked to him and later his son and successor in Ilorin. The relative peace that Muslims enjoyed in Ilorin and anti Oyo sentiment orchestrated by Afonja leading to the support of Mallam Alimi was a good attraction for the Muslim groups being persecuted in Oyo.

By the time of Alimi's arrival, with the exception of Okesuna, the three distinct and largely semi-autonomous communities within the rapidly urbanizing Ilorin, apparently under the military authority of Afonja, though located very close to each other, maintained separate origins and increasingly integrated existence. Furthermore, in each of the units or communities that made up the then Ilorin, the political arrangement resembled a limited decentralization reflected in the degree of

[130] R. Lander, "*Records of Captain Clappertons last expedition*"…

autonomy enjoyed by the settlements. Okesuna, as already observed, might be exempted from the political community of Afonja's Ilorin, although the community after Mallam Alimi's settlement and ascendancy was no doubt part of the entire Ilorin Muslim community. There are indications that, by 1823, Okesuna or at least its leader, Solagberu had become alienated from Afonja's Ilorin due to the latter's disregard for him.[131] Thus, Solagberu remained independent of Afonja's Ilorin and politically supreme at his settlement. Similarly, each of the three-political heads of the three communities within the town of Ilorin, the largely pagan Yoruba 'quarters in and around Idi-Ape, the exclusively Fulani settlement and the "Gambari" "quarters" (both close by) were equally "supreme" and influential at their respective "sides" of Ilorin.[132]

The above situation indicated that, prior to the advent of the Fulani and the establishment of the Emirate, Ilorin was not under a single ruler and that the town was settled by people from different places, each formed a hamlet or quarter headed by independent leaders.[133] Although this meant that the demographic changes that had taken place had created a sort of "balance of power" between the newly settled communities, we cannot however, ignore the increasing cultural integration of these groups through their contacts and interactions. In addition was the gradual concentration of the religious authority in the person and position of Mallam Alimi as well as the acknowledged military supremacy and authority of Afonja, at least over the core urban Ilorin. Thus, while each of the communities that was the part of the Ilorin conglomerate had remained semi-autonomous and represented a power

[131] Salihu Ismail, *"The contest for Ilorin:...* p. 35.
[132] Ibid
[133] Ibid.

base for its immediate political head, at the emergent 'central' (town) level a quasi-condominium arrangement or organization in which both the *Aare-Onakakanfo* Afonja and Mallam Alimi exercised a dual control and influence on the people had emerged. With Mallam Alimi's presence as well as activities in Ilorin, both as the most learned (Alimi) scholar and pious religious leader, the Muslims in the different quarters and Oke suna were gradually drawn together for intellectual and religious purposes. In other words, the presence and personality of the Mallam, as well as the increasing Islamisation of the area provided a common forum for the coming together of the disparate Muslim groups in the Ilorin area. This gradually paved way for the building up of the mallam's eventually religious authority on the Muslim population in addition to the development of a new community.

It should be noted, that the Mallam did not immediately assumed the leadership of the Muslims in or shortly after 1817. It is widely acknowledged that mallam Alimi initially did not take up the position of "*Amir*"(Muslim leader). This is possibly because he had the intention of emigrating from Ilorin.[134] His stay in Ilorin was necessitated by the conditions he met there. At a stage the excesses being committed by Afonja and his group made him prepared to return to his own country from disgust. But the elders of the Yorubas prayed him to stay and act as check on Afonja for there was no one else to whom he would deter and there was not telling how far he would go without someone to put the fear of God into him.[135]

This description of Al-Salih (Mallam Alimi) would not easily fit the description of a person purposefully sent by Uthman dan Fodio to launch a Jihad. Nor does this indicate a leader who had a mindset to establish an Emirate. This

[134]Samuel, Johnson. *The History of Yorubas*, ... p.202.
[135] Ibid

information points to the fact that Mallam Alimi was not a flag bearer of Uthman dan Fodio. Meanwhile, with the alliance of Mallam Alimi in the defeat of Oyo army thenceforth Ilorin became known as Ilorin Afonja, meaning Afonja Ilorin, an indication of Ilorin independent of Oyo. To consolidate his military and political gains, Afonja in conjuction with Mallam Alimi's *Jama'a* embarked on a series of successful military campaigns. In consequence the Igbonas was subjugated and Iresa punished for being in league with Oyo army.[136] Many Igbomina villages such as Kanla, Ganmo, Elehinjare, Idofian, Ibare, Igbon, Iresa and others were conquered and moved out of their original locations and resettled near Ilorin. The defeat of Oyo army in the meantime created anarchy and breakdown of law and order in Oyo Empire with provincial chiefs, as well as nobility taken the advantage to become recalcitrant. As a result, law and order were subverted, might triumphed over right, and the

> Powerful chieftains turned their arms towards subverting town after town in the kingdom in order to increase their own wealth and power. Chief Opele of Gbogun took Dofian and Igbo-Owu; he besieged Gboho but fell in that place, being shot with an arrow by the brave defenders.[137]

Afonja may have exploited this anarchy to further consolidate his position but the task of ensuring harmonious co-existence (among heterogeneous ethnic and religious groupings/ power blocks) in Ilorin by him seemed not to have been possible. This is because tension had begun to brew between the followers of Afonja and Mallam Alimi. This threatens the alliance, which enabled the Kakanfo to defeat Oyo. Apprehension and intolerance by the Afonja followers, essentially pagans, of

[136] *Ibid*. p. 196; L.A.K. Jimoh, *Ilorin: The Journey so Far*... p. 53.
[137] Smauel Johnson. The History of Yoruba…p. 193.

the alarming influx of Muslims into the town, perhaps led to the tension. This led to an aborted plan to eliminate Mallam Alimi. The Muslims, too, as their population grew and interaction between them and other members of the community inevitably increased, became intolerably irritated by the activities and actions of pagan population and followers of Afonja.

By 1823, the growth of Islam and increasing influx of Muslims, which the presence and activities of Mallam Alimi had facilitated, had occasioned a gradual decline in the influence and military authority of the pagan *Aare* Afonja especially on the growing Muslim population. This tilted the balance of power in favour of the Muslim group and religious authority. Samuel Crowther noted that at a point in time "some principal headmen in Ilorin began to be strong for him (Afonja).[138] The enormous influence wielded by Mallam Alimi from the emergent arrangement as the religio-spiritual headship of the Muslims and the enormous influence that the Mallam eventually wielded from the position provoked, from the pagan followers of the *Aare*, such a resentment that generated into an irredeemable soured relationship between the Muslims and Afonja's followers leaving neither of the groups in doubt that the die was cast and that one group must give way for the other. With this reality, secret preparation for war on both sides began. Unfortunately, for Afonja, his brother Agbonrin died during preparation.[139]

Agbonrin according to Johnson, was "one of Afonja's men of power" and the Baba Isale or Chief counsellor to the *Aare*. This incident put Afonja at disadvantage in the event of an eventual clash between the two groups, because by the death of his brother he had lost a most important soldier in military enterprise on whose support

[138] Crowther. S. *Vocabulary of the Yoruba Language*, London, 1843, P. vii.
[139] Ahmad Ibn Abibakr, *Talif*. … ch. 1.

his army rested.[140] Although, Mallam Alimi and Afonja seemed to have contained the situation from degenerating into an open armed confrontation, but the tensions generated thereby was already polarizing Ilorin into two hostile religious camps.[141] The steady influx and presence of the Fulani fugitives from Nupeland seems to have provided additional cause for alarm and anxiety. The groups began to arrive Ilorin in C. 1821 and were warmly received and assured of protection by Mallam Alimi.[142] It is quite possible that their presence might have provided impetus for the Jihad which was hatched by Abdul al-Salam, Mallam Alimi's son. The Jihad could not be executed until the death of Mallam Alimi in C. 1823. Abdal-Salam was said to have been restrained by his father until his death in C. 1823.[143] Careful analysis of the evidence indicated that the Jihad in Ilorin was led by Abdal-Salam in 1823 and not earlier. Indeed, through Johnson's history and going by the process of Jihad in Hausaland, the beginning of the Jihad and establishment of Emirate in Ilorin can be credited to Abdal-salam, although the events preceding his accession as Emir prepared the ground for it. Indeed the death of al-Salih (Alimi) and the emergence of Abdal-salam as leader of the heterogeneous Muslim community together with the fact that many Muslims continued to flock to Abdal-Salam must have infuriated Afonja further. Evidence of the *Ta'lif* pointed to the fact that envy on the part of Afonja was the immediate cause of the clash between Afonja and Abd al-Salam.[144] This is very possible because Afonja must have began to see the withering away of his power, with the increasing population of Muslim community under Abdal-salam,

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[140] Samuel Johnson, *History of Yorubas,* ... p. 197.
[141] Saka Balogun, "*Gwandu Emirates*… p. 155.
[142] Law R.C.C. "Chronology of Yoruba Warfare dates the Civil War in Nupe to C. 1819 Aliyu Alhaji Idris, *Policitcal Change and Continuity in Nupe land*, Caltop Publications Nig. Ltd. Ibadan 1998, p.28 Suggests the flight of the Fulani to Ilorin to be around 1822/23.
[143] Saka Balogun, *"Gwandu Emirates",* ... p. 156
[144] Ahmad Ibn Abibakr *Talif.* ... ch. 1.

before he made attempts to regain effective control as mentioned by Johnson. It was noted that it was when Abdal-salam and his brothers saw that Afonja had plans against them that they initiated a plan to get rid of him.[145]

Under the prevailing circumstance, Afonja had to seek external assistance, especially as the *Jama'as* (heterogeneous Muslim of Abd al-Salam) in Ilorin then had greatly outnumbered his own followers and kinsmen and even constituted an appreciable proportion of his own army. Confirming afonja's secret plan to annihilate the Muslims, Johnson submitted that:

> He (Afonja) sent a private message to the Onikoyi and other powerful chiefs in the country inviting them to make their appearances in Ilorin suddenly, and to assist him in annihilating these *Jama'as* (Abd al-Salam's group).[146]

Unfortunately, for Afonja, his plan leaked and before the external assistance approached Ilorin, the *Jama'a* struck and Afonja was killed in the battle that ensued. The death of Afonja paved the way for the establishment of Ilorin Emirate with Abd al-Salam as the first Emir.

In the military confrontation, Solagberu stood neutral even though Afonja had solicited his assistance. Johnson's account indicated that Afonja had hitherto looked down upon Solagberu and his people as "his (Afonja's) menials and had by his "high-handedness, lofty airs (sic) and haughty spirit" alienated not only Solagberu, but other Yoruba allies outside the Ilorin area.[147] It is worthy of note that Emir Abd al-Salam did not request for Solagberu's military assistance or professed neutrality, despite indication of cordial relationship between them. This perhaps is

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[145] *Ibid*.
[146] Samuel Johnson, *The History of Yorubas*, ... p. 192.
[147] *Ibid*. pp. 198-199.

indicative of the comfortable position, numerically, which Abd al-Salam followers enjoyed. It also appeared that the presence, in Ilorin then, of the fugitive Fulani from Nupe had constituted enough numerical boosts to the Emir's supporters and military strength. As previously discussed in the preceding chapter, the Nupe Fulani started to arrive Ilorin by c. 1821-2.[148] and had not left for Nupe or elsewhere by the time of Alimi's death in c.1823. About seven to eight different groups of armed Fulani Nupe refugees respectively led by Maliki, Manzuma, Musa, Bawa, Baba, Dendo and Idris-Makolo were in Ilorin.[149] The groups were planning to retaliate against Raba. Perhaps, these were the groups the *Ta'lif* refers to as the "Emir's (Abd al Salam's) brethren" involved in Afonja's defeat. The possible role of these Fulani groups in the eventual overthrow of Afonja cannot be dismissed easily. The presence of such a formidable group that eventually overthrew the Nupe king must have been an important factor for the victory of the Muslims led by Abd al-Salam. It is suggested that Solagberu's neutrality may be informed by the thought of establishment of a dual Muslim leadership represented by himself and Abd al-salam[150], after Afonja might have been eliminated.

From the preceding discussion, it is very clear that the Jihad in Ilorin was, in the long run an outcome of the power tussle of the 1817 alliance between Afonja and Alimi to defend Ilorin's independence from Oyo and to form a formidable force in repulsing Oyo attack. It did not appear that the Jihad was anticipated or even initiated by any of the major actors and parties involved in the alliance. The 'militancy' of the Muslim elements, at least before Alimi's death in C.1823, and on

[148] Saka Balogun, "*Gwandu Emirates",* ... p. 136.
[149] Aliyu Alhaji Idris, *Political Change.* ... pp. 28-29; Elphingstone, K.V.*Gazetteer of Ilorin Province*, London, 1920, p.31.
[150] H.O. Danmole, "The Frontier Emirate…p. 48.

the ascension of Abd al-Salam as successor of the Muslim leader, could therefore possibly be explained within the context of widespread instability, insecurity and general militarization of the Yoruba societies.

Encouragement for the Jihad may well have been provided by the influx into Ilorin of various Muslim groups of northern origin particularly Hausa speaking slaves in adjacent towns. For instance, Clapperton was informed by the Alafin in 1826 that his,

> Hausa slaves had been in rebellion for two years [i.e. 1824] and possesA large town only two days journey from Katunga [i.e. Oyo – Ile], and that the slaves had a great number of horses and have been joined by many Fellatahs.[151]

Similarly, Ali Eisami, a Kanuri enslaved at Oyo – ile in c. 1817, and eye witness to the flight of predominantly Hausa slaves, reported in his account that when this rebellion (Afonja's rebellion in alliance with Alimi) broke out in the Oyo kingdom, slaves were encouraged to join with the promise of their freedom.[152] The Landers corroborating the reports also submitted in 1830 that all:

[151] H. Clapperton, Journal of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa from the Bight of Benin to Sokoto, to which is added the Journal of Richard Lander from Kano to the Sea Coast, London 1829, pp. 28-34.
[152] See T. Hodgkin, Nigerian Perspectives: An Historical Anthology, 2nd edition, London, 1975, p. 154 for detail of Ei sami's account.

> Run away slaves are encouraged to join the ranks on condition of receiving their freedom and they were joined by vast numbers from the country, and that the discontented for miles around eagerly flocked to Alorie (Ilorin) in considerable numbers where they were well received.[153]

The flight of these groups was the result of the distingration of the old Oyo with the attendant widespread political instability; break down of law, order, and general militarization of the societies concerned from the 1790s. This new wave of immigrant added to the Nupe Fulani swelled up Alimi's following with potential for a fighting force. This attraction, no doubt informs Afonja towards forming an alliance with Alimi so that Alimi's community could be used as an ally in his schemes against Oyo. Afonja misfired in his schemes, which could have turned Ilorin into a town under himself as leader. His undoing was that:

> The stranger he had invited to aid him turned against him, seized the leadership from his descendants after killing him in battle and turned the movement into the thrust of the Fulani Jihad into Yorubaland.[154]

The success of the Jihad and establishment of the Ilorin Emirate introduced a new dimension into the political development and relations among communities within Ilorin as well as outside, particularly Oyo and its allies in the south western parts of modern Nigeria. Meanwhile, the fall of Afonja facilitated the transformation of Ilorin from a town of independent communities into an increasingly homogenizing community of heterogeneous cultural groups under a recognized leader in the person of Abd al-Salam as Emir. The town became a *Dar al-Islam* (the

[153] R. and J. Lander, Journal of an Expedition to Explore the Course and Termination of the Niger, vol. 1. London, 1970, pp. 91-2.
[154] I.A. Akinjogbin and E.A Ayandele, Yoruba land up to 1800, in Obaro Ikime (ed.), *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Heinemann Educational Boooks, Plc, Nigeria, Reprinted 2001, p. 42.

Abode of Islam) where the authority of its ruler derived from Islam, which became the official religion of the emergent state. The situation where groups owed allegiance to two leaders Afonja and Abd al-salam no longer held as one had given way to the other through armed conflict. The removal of Afonja paved the way for formal assumption of the overall military leadership (*Amir al-Jaish*) of Ilorin by the Muslim forces led by Emir Abd al-Salam. With the establishment of the Emirate, its first Emir Abd al-Salam started the establishment of administrative structures and policies for an effective and efficient administration of Ilorin, a multicultural society on which he assumed control.

3.2 Policies of the New Emirate of Ilorin and Impact on Socio-cultural Developments.

3.2.1 Social Policies of Diplomacy and War Towards Achievement of Integration and Socio-Political Cohesion.

Pre-colonial Nigerian societies had to contend with the issues of integration in order to sustain themselves as viable polities for several centuries. In this regards certain policies are usually adopted for integration, particularly in societies with diverse cultural population and which have competing politico-economic interests. Political development and integration is therefore an integral part in the socio-political evolution of every society. Economic and socio-political developments have revealed that people of different cultures became assimilated through certain policies by the ruling class or as a result of interactions among groups within the state. Prevailing political circumstances as well as the desire of the people to accommodate one another often determine the level of integration that usually took place. As empires and kingdoms within the enclave grew in size and strength, smaller polities and states were incorporated into the expanding empires through either policy of diplomacy or conquest, as administrative out posts and frontiers.

The concept of integration is so important in the transformation process and in incorporating diverse cultural groups into nation state that it has attracted various definitions from scholars. For instance, it is seen as the cumulative effect of individual allegiance to and identification with society and its goal.[155] Related to this is the one that sees integration as bridging the gap between groups by "subsuming" their narrow interests in terms of cultures, language and ethnic affinity to the larger

[155] M.E. Doro, and N.M. Stultz, (eds), *Governing in Africa Perspectives on New States.* New Jersey, Prentice Hall,1970, p. 171.

interest of the national community.[156] However, the definition that best fit our focus in this research describes integration as the incorporation of diverse cultural elements of the population into a unified society.[157] More of the incorporation of diverse cultural elements into a society or community is itself subject to internal processes of cultural and politico-economic changes. Integration as a political concept acknowledges the presence of diversities in a geo-political setting. This is because all polities were created out of diverse peoples with distinct cultures, histories and belief systems that co-existed in the society.

Integration in the context of this study, therefore, means processes and policies working towards uniting or bringing together people with diverse cultures, histories, languages, and belief systems. The issue at stake here is a consideration of policy of war and diplomacy employed in the initial incorporation of the semi autonomous communities with heterogeneous cultural groups into the Ilorin Emirate system. It has been pointed out that diplomacy, like warfare, was an instrument of state policy in the 19th century Ilorin Emirate administration.[158] Ilorin was well known among the Yoruba such as Oyo, Ibadan, Ogbomoso and Ikoyi for her art of diplomacy and this was important for the ability of the Emirate to survive. Skill and tact used in the Emirate could be gleaned in the work of Samuel Johnson where he remarked on how the Emirate played one chief against another and weakening the whole. He also noted conciliation as a policy, which the Emirate used to advantage. In his words:

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[156] L.W. Pye, *Aspects of Political Development*, Boston, Little Brown-Co, 1966, p.65.
[157] A.M. Lee, (ed), *Principles of Sociology,* New York, Barnes-Nobles, 1969.
[158] H.O. Danmole, "Crises, Warefare, and Diplomacy in 19th century Ilorin, "in Toyin Falola and Law Robins (eds) *Warefar, and Diplomacyin Pre-colonial Nigeria,* African studies programme, University of Wisconsin Madison, 1987, p. 46.

> Their more generous treatment of fallen foes and artful method of conciliating a power they could not openly crush marked them out as a superior people in the art of government.[159]

Indeed, the employment of diplomacy by rulers of Ilorin began in the early days of the Emirate before the first Emir, Abd al-salam, had even consolidated his position. Diplomacy and military force, whenever applicable, were used to deal with rivals.[160] For instance, in dealing with internal problems that tend to emerge as cog in the success of the Emirate, Abd al-salam used tact and diplomacy. These were used in dealing with Bako, the then *Sariki* Gambari at Ilorin. He combined diplomacy with force against Solagberu, the "Yoruba Muslim leader at Okesuna."[161] Though events seemed to indicate that Ilorin was interested in warfare, fact however revealed that she did not close the door to diplomatic opportunities if such opportunity would achieve the same objective. These administrative tools for consolidation and integration are also clearly manifested in the pattern of alliances Ilorin entered into with neighbouring states in the face of perceived threats to her existence during the turbulent years of civil wars between a numbers of states in the 19th century.[162] An examination of the Emirate administrative policy of diplomacy and warfare towards integration of diverse cultural groups, as well as consolidating the new dynasty position in the face of opposition from within and without, is necessary for the understanding of the dynamics of political development in our area of focus against the background of its diverse cultural population. Emir Abd al-Salam delegated the command of Ilorin army to his brother shitta.[163]

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[159] Samuel Johnson. The *History of the Yorubas*...p. 200.
[160] R.C.C. Law,*The Oyo Empire C. 1600-C. 1836: A West Africa Imperialism in the Era of the Atlantic Slove Trade;* London, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1977, p.47.
[161] H.B. Hermon-Hodge, *Gazetteer of Ilorin province…,p. 68.*
[162]H.O. Damole, "Crises,Warefare,…p. 47.
[163]Ahmad Ibn Abibakr, *Talif*... Ch. 1.

Given the background of the political situation and developments under which the Emirate was established, the Emir's position was fragile. Emir Abd al-salam was faced with the problems of consolidation and legitimization of the theocratic state. The nascent Emirate was threatened both within and from outside Ilorin. Internally, Ibrahim Bako (the leader of the predominantly Hausa group), contested ascension of Abd al-Salam, to the spiritual leadership of the Muslim community, after the death of Mallam Alimi. Bako, a Hausa, and the *Sarkin* Gambari was preffered by certain people, as a result of considerable power and influence he had acquired especially among the members of his community which might have been largely made up of Hausa speaking settlers. Other people, largely Muslims, supported Abd al-Salam, because of his influence among his father's followers and admirers.[164] His victory was due to the unalloyed and unflinching support from these numerous followers of his father. To them there was no question of any person other than Abd al-Salam succeeding Mallam Alimi as the leader of the increasingly Muslim group in Ilorin. They strongly clamoured for his ascension and were the majority. Solagberu's support may also be added as decisive in the victory of Abd al-Salam.[165] The support given by Solagberu may be explained within the context of the mutual respect and understanding between him and Abd al-Salam's father. The *Sarkin* continued to accord some respect to Abd al-Salam as the son of the late Mallam Alimi. Bako however expected to be accepted, in the absence of Mallam Alimi as *Sarkin* Ilorin in view of his advanced age and his status as *Sarkin* Gambari. Afonja's role in the contest between the two was not reported. However, considering the mounting tension between Afonja's group and those of Mallam

[164]Ibid
[165] M. Sulu, *History of Ilorin…*

Alimi before his death, as discussed previously, Afonja might have preferred, if not openly, at least covertly, the candidature of the *Sarkin* Gambari. Moreso, he had enjoyed the cooperation and friendship of Bako before the arrival of Mallam Alimi and his sons. Meanwhile it is reported that Mallam Alimi had warned Afonja that his sons are troublesome,[166] when Afonja requested that he sent for them, in his plan to use Mallam Alimi and his group to strengthen his power and position in Ilorin. Moreso, interactions between Afonja and Abd al-salam's group, shortly before Abd al-Salam's appointment, had indicated that clash between the two was imminent. The fragile position occupied by the Emir in view of the prevailing political situation demanded that the Emir exercise some caution.

Conciliation became necessary to prevent Bako in the event of a military confrontation so that Bako's supporters, among whom some constituted part of Afonja's army, could be drawn to Abd al-Salam's side. Therefore, caution and conciliatory policy was deemed expedient toward Bako.[167] At the same time necessity for cooperation with Afonja as done by his father[168], Pending finalization of his strategies to take full control of Ilorin as its leader was necessary. His conciliatory policy paid off as situation within Afonja's camp made his base a potential place' this group with Afonja could defected.

Already, situation has indicated that Afonja was losing authority and grip on the group within his camp as they had become rapacious 'to the utter distress and ruin of the country.'[169] They plunder and pillage neighbourhood and surrounding districts at will.[170] They had also developed disaffection and disloyalty to Afonja,

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[166] Ahmad Ibn Abibakr, *Talif*...Ch. II.
[167] H.O.Danmole, "*Crises, Warefare and Diplomacy…"*p. 40.
[168] Ibid
[169] H. O. Danmole, *"The Frontier Emirate ...*
[170]Ahmad Ibn Abibakr, *Talif.* ... chapter II.

which he was not aware of. Steps taken by Afonja to bring the group to order widened the gulf between him and the group, majority of who were Muslims. His first step appeared to be his open threat to suppress and annihilate them which only served to increase their disaffection.[171] When that failed, he directed his Muslim allies to evacuate Ilorin and settle outside on the east side of river Asa.[172] The overall effect of these steps was to draw the *Jama'a*, and perhaps, the Hausa settler, closer to Abd al-Salam.

The contest for the political control of Ilorin at this point, had assumed the dimension of a struggle between paganism headed by Afonja and Islam headed by Abd al-Salam. Elimination and removal of Afonja, in the eventual clash, paved the way for the formal assumption of the military leadership of the Ilorin, by Muslim, forces and the Emir as overall "*Amir al-Jaish*" or commander-in-chief of the Emirate army. In spite of this development, the Emir's position was still fragile given the volatile political situation prevalent. The success of Abd al-Salam can be explained based on two reasons. First, his father Al-Salih (Alimi) prepared the ground for the Muslim revolution that turned Ilorin into an Emirate through his preaching, which attracted a large Muslim population to Ilorin within six years of his stay.[173] Secondly, Abd al-Salam received the support of Solagberu, the 'Yoruba' Muslim leader of Oke suna in Ilorin who had great respect for Abd al-Salam's father.[174]

Meanwhile, the clash between the forces of Abd al-Salam and those of Afonja had led to the death of a number of Afonja's family. While some fled the

[171]Samuel Johnson, *History of the Yorubas*, ... p. 19.
[172]*Ibid*.
[173]*Ibid*. p. 198.
[174] Law, R.C.C *The Oyo Empier* ... p. 259; Elphigstone, K. V. *Gazetteer*, ... p. 16.

town, others opted to remain in Ilorin. Among the survivors who opted to remain in Ilorin was Ladejo, the eldest of the surviving sons of Afonja. Afonja's families that remained were rehabilitated after they professed Islam. Ladejo became *Magaji* (Head) of the late Aare's family and was recognized henceforth as *Magaji (Ile) Aare*. The new *Magaji* rebuilt the Aare's compound, ensured proper rehabilitation of members of the family and their re-integration into the community.[175] This circumstance could not afford the Afonja's family the opportunity to involve in the tussle for leadership which eventually saw Abd al-Salam victorious. More so, since they had just suffered a crushing defeat from Abd al-Salam, they perhaps, thought it wise to first tackle the problem of their rehabilitation and re-integration in the new community being put in place under the established Emirate administration.

What made the position of the Emir still fragile were the 'unconcluded' political defeat of the *Sarkin* Gambari and the seeming enmity attitude displayed by Solagberu, especially after Abd al-Salam's defeat of Afonja and his assumption of overall military, as well as political leadership. Unlike Afonja, the two were Muslims. Either of them could form an alliance with the other or even possibly with outside forces to 'usurp' the Emirship especially after the return of the refugees predominantly Fulani, that assisted in Abd al-Salam's war against Afonja. It is possible that the proper appreciation of this situation informed the Emir's letter to Gwandu to obtain official recognition of his Emirship and perhaps military aid if need be.[176]

Jimoh L.A.K. for instance, submitted in respect of the circumstances that led to the letter to Gwandu, that it was a diplomatic move to counter Bako's move

[175] L. A. K. Jimoh, *Ilorin: the Journey So Far*... p. 58.
[176]H. O. Danmole, *"The Frontier Emirate* ... p. 53

towards obtaining assistance and support from the Sokoto caliphate in his tussle with Abd al-Salam over the leadership of Ilorin.[177] Bako it was claimed sent an emissary to Gwandu pleading for support against Abd al-Salam and for recognition as the rightful *Sarkin Ilorin.*[178] In reaction, when Abd al-Salam got wind of the move, he acted swiftly to counter it and sent a detailed representation to Gwandu to establish his legitimacy through explanation of Jihadist's effort of Sheu Alimi in Yorubaland and portraying Bako as an enemy of the Sokoto caliphate.[179] Gwandu's response to Abd al-Salam's representation through a letter formally marked the incorporation of Ilorin Emirate with the Sokoto caliphate. In the letter, Gwandu acknowledged and recognized Abd al-Salam as Emir of Ilorin and pledged him support by the Sokoto Caliphate. The letter, which is attached as appendix II, in part read:

> Then we have understood your letter and have pondered your excellent message in which you inform us that you are under our supervision and judgment, and in which you tell us of your origin, or, if not your origin, of how your liner emerged. Indeed we do not listen to slanderers; for among the people there are both good men and trouble makers. You also tell us that you will never defy our command, and that you pray God to prevent you from deviation in this regard. This is the substance of your message.
> Know therefore with certainty, my brother, that we accept unreservedly all you have spoken of in your letter…[180]

This letter amounted to the conferment of Emirship of Ilorin on Abd al-Salam. That was about the year 1828, which marked the formal beginning of Emirate administration by a head who is of Fulani origin in Ilorin and a change in the status of Abd al-Salam from a *de facto* Emir he was from about the death of

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[177] L. A. K. Jimoh, *Ilorin: The Journey So Far*... p. 76.
[178] *Ibid.*
[179] *Ibid.* pp. 76-77.
[180] Sa'ad Hadi, "*Ilorin from 1800 to 1960: A study of Political Development and integration*," M. A. Thesis, University of Ilorin, 1998, pp. 23-24.

Sheikh Alimi in 1823 till 1828 when he became the Emir *dejure* following his recognition by the Sokoto caliphate.

The reasons adduced above for the letter to Gwandu, are indeed true, considering the ambition of Bako (head of the predominantly Hausa speaking community known as Gambari in Ilorin) and Solagberu (head of the autonomous Okesuna Muslim enclave), over the leadership of the emerging overall Ilorin that Abd al-Salam had manouvre himself to occupy. The letter was necessary, as it would give Abd al-Salam political advantage over his rivals.[181] Also as a recognized leader, he would be in a position to interact officially with Gwandu. However, to these reasons may be added that the move by Abd al-Salam was a political and diplomatic strategy for handling the vulnerable position in which the Emirate administration found itself as regards her southern neighbours led by Oyo who, as expected, not ready to give up the fight over Ilorin since the time of Afonja's rebellion. Gwandu's recognition would avail Abd al-Salam opportunity of military assistance for the protection of the Emirate in case of attacks from Oyo from the southwestern part of the Emirate. Therefore, the overall assessment of the importance of the letter, indeed, was as a result of the concern by Abd al-Salam for the legitimacy and survival of the Emirate[182], in the face of resistance from within as well as from outside the Emirate.

It should be noted that Abd al-Salam did not use force against Bako. This is because he could not afford the defection of the Muslim supporters of Bako, who would still be needed to consolidate his power and position against any source of aggression. This reason largely explains Abd al-Salam conciliatory attitude towards

[181] *Ibid*. p. 23.
[182] *Ibid*.

Bako as well as the diplomacy to counter his ambition. Gwandu's recognition of Abd al-Salam as Emir eventually precluded Bako from the tussle over the position. After the death of Bako in 1831, Abd al-Salam, consolidating his position cleverly withdrew the *Kakaki* and *Tambari* which was a symbol of the late *Sarki*'s power and influence in the Ilorin society, from Bako's son and successor.[183]

In the case of Solagberu, unlike Bako, military force was used to eliminate him. Intention to deal with the threat posed by Solagberu, as a Yoruba Muslim leader within Ilorin, was more important to Abd al-Salam as Emir. To deal with Solagberu, notwithstanding the support he had earlier given him against Bako is considered necessary against the background of Solagberu's outward display of disaffection to Abd al-Salam as the Emir. The contempt displayed by Solagberu, it is suggested, perhaps was due to the fact that the Fulani in Ilorin before the arrival of Sheu Alimi were mainly herdsmen who had no significant involvement in administration. Therefore, Solagberu could not see any justification for the new hegemonic Fulani leadership which Abd al-Salam was forging[184] and which would be an amalgam of the different communities that are multicultural in composition. It is further postulated that Solagberu saw himself as being more qualified and eligible to occupy the position held by Abd al-Salam, considering his own depth of Quranic knowledge as well as his Islamic missionary achievements in establishing Okesuna as an exclusively Islamic community within the otherwise paganic Ilorin environment and in promoting Islam in northern Yorubaland generally.[185] This position has accorded him a place of respect and a force to reckon with among

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[183] H. B. Hermon-Hodge, *Gazetteer, ...* p. 66. S. I. Hogben and KirK Greene, A. H. M. *The Emirate of the Northern Nigeria: A Preliminary Survey of Their Historical Traditions* Oxford University Press, 1993, p. 288.

[184] L. A. K. Jimoh, *Ilorin: the Journey So Far...* p. 70.

[185] Ibid; This was supported by oral evidence obtained from Alhaji Abdulkadir Oba Solagberu of Solagberu compound, Agbaji quarter, Ilorin. *Magaji.* Aged 75yrs.

Yoruba chiefs. His position and power was such that he could demand payment of homage or tribute from Onikoyi and allied with other powers in war against her for refusal to pay. This explain his display of jealousy, opposition and resentment[186] of Emir Abd al-Salam's position as Emir and his towering power and popularity, which at length resulted into civil war that eventually led to his (Solagberu) death. Other sources said Solagberu was attacked and killed in battle because he was a thorn in the flesh of Abd al-Salam, for condoning and reviving customs contrary to the *Shari'a.*[187]

In view of the available evidences on the reasons for the rivalry and clash between Emir Abd al-Salam and Solagberu has enunciated above, two dominant perspectives have been presented as regards its interpretation.[188] The first perspective views it as a political rivalry based on contest for power, while the second perspective sees the rivalry as an intra-religious conflict that was inevitable if the Muslim movement and establishment of Ilorin Emirate must succeed. It perceived it as being conflict between 'mixed' and reformed Islam as represented by the Solagberu and Abd al-Salam practice of Islam. The political viewpoint would want us to belief that the rivalry was a struggle for the political control of Ilorin, which had ethnic connotation. That it was a struggle between the Fulani or "Sokoto" forces led by Abd al-Salam (the Jihadists) on one hand, and Yoruba Muslim forces led by Solagberu ('the local collaborator'), on the other. From the reality of historical developments, the perception of the struggle as an essentially Fulani-Yoruba rivalry may not be tenable. Indeed, it is ahistorical as it is incompatible with

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[186] Samuel Johnson, *History of the Yorubas,* ... p. 204.
[187] Ahmad Ibn Abibakr *Talif.* ... Chapter II.
[188] See Salihu Ismail, *"The contest for Ilorin: ...* p. 41, on the perspectives; See also Saka Balogun, *"Gwandu Emirates", ...* p. 175; and Adeleye R. A. "The Sokoto Caliphate in the 19th Century", in Ajayi and Crowder, *History of West Africa Vol. II.* ... pp. 57-92.

the new evidence on the identity of Solagberu to whom Johnson ascribed a "Yoruba identity", as a rich and powerful Yoruba friend of Afonja.[189] Considering the accepted fact that he and several residents of Okesuna were of Kanuri and some other such origins (see appendix III), his rivalry with Abd al-Salam could not have been ethnically motivated. It could not be said to have been because of an attempt to assert "Yoruba Muslim" control or supremacy, in the Ilorin area by Solagberu. We cannot equally said that it belonged to the wider context of the Yoruba (Oyo) struggle to regain the control of Ilorin from the "Fulani invaders and usurpers". It is also an incontrovertible fact that the Muslim groups that assisted Abd al-Salam in the establishment of Ilorin Emirate, including Solagberu were multicultural. They consisted of Fulani, Nupe, Yoruba, Hausa and many others as those of Okesuna were multicultural. Presenting the two sides as homogeneous group in terms of cultural identity will be a distortion of facts.

The explanation that the struggle was between 'mixed' and 'reformed' Islam, as pointed out, seems to have been based on two major Ilorin accounts, namely the *Ta'lif* and mallam Sulu's history of Ilorin. Mallam Sulu noted that there were defects in the Islam being practiced by "Solagberu, a great mallm with koranic (sic) students."[190] According to the *Ta'lif*, the final clash did not occurred "until he (Solagberu had) revived certain customs which are contrary to the revealed law (*shari'a*)," and Abd al-Salam did not take action against Okesuna until later when political situation provided a *casus belli* and an opportunity to take military action. This information, when subjected to historical scrutiny could not be taken as sacrosanct fact.

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[189] Samuel Johnson, *History of the Yorubas*, ... p. 193.
[190] M. Zulu, *"The History of Ilorin"*, ... had a preamble/note which states that; "This History was compiled by M. Sulu, Ilorin Native Authority Chief Registrar Chiefly from accounts given by old people in Ilorin town in 1953.

In the first place, the two authors' writings may be determined or greatly influenced by the prejudices in their sources of information. An extreme Islamic historiographical approach to the issue may not also be unconnected with the information. An attack on a Muslim colleague by Abd al-Salam may need to be explained away on issues of religious disagreements. The sources therefore had to be treated with caution as they may represent only one side perception of the historical events they described. For instance, Ibn Abi Bakri (an Ilorin Islamic historian) and author of the *Ta'lif* wrote his book over eighty years after the event he described and perhaps writing from the point of view of the victorious Emir Abd al-Salam's group. The author wrote, inter-alia "and I shall mention in this book what I have heard and what I remember, what I witness in (my own) time…"[191]

A point to note however was that despite the allusion by the author to syncretism on the part of Okesuna, it was also remarked that Abd al-Salam did not take military action until later when political situation provided an opportunity to do so. This indicates the possibility that the question of syncretism was not among the remote and immediate cause(s) of the eventual clash although it may be contributory.[192] Again when considered against the background of the observation that the mixture of Islam with anti-Islamic customs could not have been an established or openly professed tradition of a settlement acknowledged to be an abode of Muslims committed to the strict observance of Islamic traditions to have been named Okesuna (abode of the traditions of Muhammad), it became difficult to accept the claim that the settlement was attacked on the ground of syncretism. It is further observed that the indications in Gwandu's reply to the question posed in Abd

[191] Ahmad Ibn Abibakr *Talif*. ... chapter I.
[192] Salihu Ismail, *"The contest for Ilorin: ... p*. 42.

al-Salam's letter on certain religious practices does not implicate Okesuna, even though whether or not the said practices concerned Solagberu or Okesuna was not obviously indicated.[193] These are the legality of castrating a person or of employing the service of a eunuch, and that of taking material compensation, in lieu of capital punishment, from a person guilty of committing adultery. Gwandu's legal opinion was that the other two practices, with the exception of castration, do not constitute a serious breach of the Islamic law as conditions could make them inevitable.[194]

The conclusion we can draw from the above analysis is not far fetched. The genesis of the conflict was political anchored on supremacy tussle between leaders of two different groups that are multicultural. Religion only served as an avenue for the accomplishment of the objective. Such conflict is inevitable given the general political atmosphere within the state of Oyo, on one hand, and Ilorin on the other, under which Abd al-Salam became Emir. The multicultural nature and background of Ilorin with scattered communities and recognized leaders in its evolution as a political entity, presents ground for leadership conflict in the event of inevitable fusion and integration, which the rapid demographic changes will inevitably brought about. The death of Afonja in the hand of Abd al-Salam marked the beginning of the fusion and integration of the communities under a single leader. The establishment of the Emirate provided the socio-religious as well as political reasons towards attaining such an objective. The determination of Solagberu to preserve the autonomy which his Okesuna enclave enjoyed prior to the arrival of Sheu Alimi[195] and even inspite of the emergence of Abd al-Salam as Emir, no doubt led to

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[193] *Ibid.*
[194] See extract of a letter (translated) from the Emir of West, Muhammad B. Abdullahi to the Emir of Yoruba Abdul-Salami B. Al-Salih, reproduced from Appendix A to Abdullahi smith's "A Little New Light on the Collapse of the Alafinate".
[195] L. A. K. Jimoh, *Ilorin: the Journe So Far*... p. 70.

supremacy tussle between the two. Solagberu and his enclave pose a serious threat to the emerging authority of Abd al-Salam, particularly when one considered that he settled in Ilorin before Mallam Alimi in addition to his high level of Islamic learning and the fact that his group is predominantly Muslim Yoruba who may want to challenge Abd al Salam ambition. Internal wrangling which bordered on supremacy between Muslim *Jamaa* and predominantly Yoruba Muslim headed by Solagberu would therefore be the probable factor for conflict between the two rather than religion.[196]

Opportunity for open conflict was finally provided by the siege of Ikoyi involving Solagberu in alliance with Toyeje the *Baale* of Ogbomoso who had become the Aare Onakakanfo in succession to Afonja timi of Ede and Oluiwo of Iwo.[197] The objective of the alliance was outcome of rivalry and distrust among Yoruba states warlords on one hand, and the fallout of the failed attempt to dislodge the emerging Emirate administration in Ilorin. The Onikoyi instigated Yoruba states warlords against Toyeje for his poor command of the army during the abortive invasion of Ilorin in the Ogele war. The attempt deprived Kakanfo Toyeje from command of the second war (Mugba-muga war). Onikoyi led the war, which also ended disastrously as the first. The Onikoyi however suspected that the disaster was due to Sabotage by Toyeje. These resultant mutual distrust and hostility led to war between Ogbomosho and Ikoyi. It is interesting to note that Solagberu enthusiastically joined the alliance against Ikoyi because he had a personal axe to grind with the Onikoyi whom he suspected to be sympathetically inclined to Abd al-

[196] Alhaji Abdullahi Solagberu through an interview held the opinion that the quarrel between Solagberu and Abd al Salam was as a result of leadership tussle.
[197] Samuel Johnson, *History of the Yorubas*, ... p. 204.

Salam in the domestic tussle for leadership in Ilorin.[198] Perhaps, this was why it was said that his grievance was that the Onikoyi had refused or failed to pay him homage and tribute.[199] These evidences on the part of Solagberu clearly underscore the point being stress that the attack on Solagberu by Abd al-Salam was political rather than religious. When considered against the background that in Islam, politics and religion are not, *strict senso* separated, the conflict, though political is condemnable on religious grounds. In the wider context of the Islamic revolution in most part of Hausa land, once the Jihad was legally justified, any revolt against the Caliphate was anti-Islamic. This explains instances when Muslims fought in opposing camps for political issues.[200]

Subsequent events further revealed that Solagberu was running a separate administration, which do not recognize the authority or supremacy of Emir Abd al-Salam in Ilorin area. In the ensuing war the Onikoyi sensing iminent defeat from the alliance, abandoned the Oyo and her allied's cause, declared allegiance to Abd al-Salam claiming that the allies besieged him on that account and because of the sympathy his people had for Abd al-Salam in his bid to succeed Sheu Alimi as Muslim leader. Abd al-Salam accepted the message of allegiance and prepared to send military assistance to Onikoyi, but first requested Solagberu to withdraw from the war. Solagberu refused the request. Consequently, the Onikoyi, reinforced by the Emir's army, defeated the alliance with great casualties. Solagberu, however, escaped death, returned to Okesuna, dejected, and embittered against Abd al-Salam. He had hardly settled down or recovered from the shock of his experience at Ikoyi

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[198] Ibid
[199] Samuel Johnson, *History of the Yorubas, ...* p. 204.
[200] See Salihu Ismail, *"The contest for Ilorin: ...* p. 43; R. A. Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria 1804-1906,* London, 1971. P.75.

when Abd al-Salam's victorious troops, on their way home from Ikoyi, branched off and besieged Okesuna. Solagberu was ordered, "to give up his arrogance and unIslamic practices."[201] His refusal was followed by a protracted siege lasting several months after which starvation forced the Okesuna people to fight and suffer defeat in which Solagberu was captured and put to death.[202] After the death of Solagberu, the people of Okesuna were forcefully relocated to Ilorin and thus integrated within the Emirate administration.

From the foregoing, we can conclude that the war against Okesuna was both for survival or self-preservation as well as for the consolidation of the Emirate, and the position and political authority of the Emir. The removal of Afonja and Solagberu as well as the relocation of the population of Okesuna to Ilorin further enhanced the *de facto* concentration of power and political authority over Ilorin in the hand and person of the Emir. Thus, Abd al-Salam's position and the established Emirate, unlike in C. 1823 seemed to have become less precarious. The security threat posed by Solagberu and his community on the survival of the Emirate, perhaps explain why, unlike the pagan settlement of Afonja, Okesuna was not spared but destroyed completely and those survivors who chose to resettle in the core Ilorin were disallowed from converging in a single section of the town.[203] No doubt, Solagberu and his Okesuna had represented a potential rival 'Emirate' and hence constituted a serious obstacle to the political supremacy of Abd al-Salam. Evidence revealed that Abd al-Salam feels insecure with the presence of Solagberu

[201] Ibid p. 203.
[202] Hermon-Hodge, H.B. *Gazetteer,…*p. 67,. L.A.K. Jimoh, *Ilorin*: *The Journey So Far…p..72.*
[203] Salihu Ismail, *"The contest for Ilorin…p. 45.*

and that "he (the Emir) was confirmed in his authority and power"[204] after the death of Solagberu.

The fall of Scholagberu, therefore, marked an important stage in the internal policy of consolidation, through war and diplomacy, of the Emirate administration, headed by Abd al-Salam, in Ilorin. It was also important in the completion of multicultural process of incorporation and integration of hitherto semi autonomous communities under a single administration and polity of diverse cultural background. The Emirates political structure and sharing of political power was a further catalyst to the administrative policies towards achievement of integration and socio-political cohesion.

[204] Ahmad Ibn Abibakr, *Talif…Chapter 2.*

3.2.2 Political Policy and Impact on Socio-Cultural Development

The heterogeneity of Ilorin as a melting pot of diverse cultures presents a special and peculiar socio-political problem. While the community may be said to have started with Yoruba population and some historical connections, it is also, in the course of its evolution, particularly with the coming of Mallam Alimi, pronouncedly a mixed grill of several cultures among which were Hausa and Fulani. Bariba and Kanuri settlements were also known to have been in existence before the arrival of Alimi. This multicultural composition among other factors seemed to have influenced the political policy and structure of the Emirate, which was determined by her first Emir, Abd al-Salam and which perhaps aimed at integrating the diverse cultural groups within the emergent polity. The desire to reward the leaders of the different cultural groups, who contributed immensely to the success of the Muslim revolution, might have informed this policy.[205] The groups were Hausa, Fulani and many others from the north, and also many local Muslim Yoruba. Hausa, Fulani and Yoruba were the dominant socio-linguistic groups. Perhaps, more importantly, the problems of survival and consolidation faced when the Emirate was established in 1823, also dictated the structure and policy of all inclusive participation adopted in the political system so that internal cohesion could be guaranteed. The sharing of political power was such that the participation of the major groups in the society was ensured with a view to bind the Emirate together in the bid for a unified society so.[206] Power sharing policy in the Emirate could, therefore, be viewed as an institutional design that makes explicit the concern with cultural diversity.

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[205] H. O. Danmole, "Colonial Reforms in the Ilorin Emirate, 1900-1919", in *ODU,* A Journal of West African Studies, University of Ife, July, 1984. P. 85.

[206] H.O. Damole, "Integration in a Nigerian Society in the nineteenth century: The Ilorin Examples", *Afican Revista do centre de Estudes Africans.* USP, S. Pauls, 12-13 (1): 25-42, 1989/1990. P. 32.

In this regard, Ilorin town under the Emirate dynasty was divided into five wards for purposes of administration. One of the wards was the Emir's ward which was administered by the *magaji geri,* an official who was also the Emir's intermediary in relations with his overlords in Gwandu. The other four wards were placed under *Baloguns* or warlords, peopled by the major cultural groups in the town. These were *Balogun* Fulani, Gambari (Hausa), Ajikobi (Yoruba), and Alanamu (Yoruba).[207] They were ward leaders of their respective wards, peopled predominantly by the cultural groups, which they represent. The characteristic of the political structure reflect a blend of the administrative structure deriving both from Islam and administrative structure of the Oyo kingdom. The *Baloguns,* arising from their political functions exercise tremendous power often controlling the Emir as their puppet.[208] For instance, apart from being war leaders, they were members of the Emir's council of elector for the selection of an Emir.[209] They also performed within Ilorin, judicial, administrative, economic and social functions which gave them considerable prestige in the society.[210] They even had their own courts in which they pass judgements.[211] They were also military leaders.

An important source of the power and influence of the war chiefs derived from being military leaders and their involvement in warfares.[212] In Ilorin, the *Baloguns,* dominated the military organization. Although, the Emir was the *de jure* "*Amir al-Jaish*" (Commander-in-Chief) of the army, the Ilorin Emirs neither went to war nor command the army in person except as prince but orders to carry out

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[207] S.J. Hogben, *An Introduction to the History of the Islamic States of Northern Nigeria,* Ibadan, Oxford University Press, 1967,pp.158-160.
[208] H.O. Danmole, "*The Frontier Emirate…p. 35.*
[209] Ibid
[210] Ibid
[211] N.A.K. ILO Prof SNP 15/1 Unnmbered series. Ilorin Resident Report 1990
[212] T. Falola and D. Oguntomisin, *The Military in 19th C. Yoruba Policitics.* (Univeristy of life Press Ltd, 1984), and Saka Balogun, "Gwandu Emirate"…p. 276.

military expeditions normally had to come from him.[213] The execution rests with the *Balogun* who are next to the Emir in the military organization. Evidence suggests that most of the expeditions carried out by Ilorin soldiers during the nineteenth century were decided by the Emirs. For instance, the expedition to the Igbomina and Ekiti districts were ordered by Emir Shitta while *Balogun* Gambari Ali led the soldier.[214] Also, *Balogun* Fulani Uthman led the first expedition to Iwara with the order of Emir Zubair and *Balogun* Ajikobi took part in the Ilorin-Ibadan war at Osogbo.[215] Immediately after the *Balogun* in the nature of the military organization were the *Mogajis. Mogaji* always follow the *Balogun* of his ward during military expeditions.[216] They are the head of each compound within the wards controlled by the *Baloguns*. Prominent ones among them are Emir's appointee and some are members of the Emir's council. Others occupy the position automatically by virtue of being the eldest in the compound. The remaining large numbers of Ilorin's army during the early years of the Emirate was made up of former slaves who had escaped from Oyo, and as discussed by Danmole, many of them played significance role in the establishment of the Emirate.[217] This is because of the support they gave to Afonja and, later, to Abd al Salam. Because of their contributions and importance, some of them rose to the position of chiefs such as *Ajia* (a minor military title) and a position of responsibility in recognition of their importance within the military organization and military success of Ilorin. The title was also a military title for the freeborn Muslims.[218] It is said, the title might be given to slaves who, by their own

[213] H.O. Danmole, "Crises, Warfare, and Diplomacy in Nineteenth Century Ilorin", in Toyin Falola and Robin Law (ed), *Warfare and Diplomacy in Precolonial Nigeria.* Essays in Honour of Robert Smith. P. 43.
[214] H.O. Danmole, "*Froniter Emirate…"* P. 82
[215] Ibid.
[216] Ibid.
[217] See Ibid
[218] H.O. Danmole, 'Crises, Warfare, and Diplomacy, ... P. 44.

prowess in war, had acquired their own slaves and thus controlled military battalions.[219] For instance it is on record that *Ajia* Gaju accompanied *Balogun* Gambari Ali on many of his campaigns and the expedition to Ikoyi was also commanded by *Ajia* Ajanaku, while the *Jalumi* war was under the command of *Ajia* Abdullahi. Most of the more famous *Ajia* of the 19th century were said to have seem to have been slaves of the Emirs, but the *Baloguns* could also create their own *Ajia*.[220] Slaves were as a matter of fact often used in military roles in Ilorin, as they were in the Middle East and elsewhere in the Sokoto Caliphate, and also in the non-Muslim empire of old Oyo.[221]

A further example of this was presented by the military activities of the Jimba family, the founder of who was a major warrior slave of Emirs Abd al Salam and Shita.[222] As narrated by Johnson, Jimba twice plundered the city of Old Oyo both in the reign of Abdul al Salam and Shita. According to him, in the reign of Abdul al Salam,

> Jimba, one of the head slaves of the Ilorin Emir was the chief spoiler. He took away all the Egugun dress, and forced the citizens to accept the Koran, which necessitated every one to change his name for an Arabic name, the only alternative being the sword. Thus at Length Oyo became tributary to Ilorin.[223]

In the reign of Shita,

> The Emir of Ilorin sent Jimba one of his head slaves after Oluewu to ransack the palace at Oyo and to bring away anything of value He could lay his hands upon so that Oyo may not

[219] Ann O' Hear, "Elite Slaves in Ilorin in the Nineteenth Centuries", *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 39, 2, 2006. P. 251.
[220] Ibid.
[221] Ibid. P.250.
[222] Ibid.
[223] Samuel Johnson, *History of the Yorubas*, ... P. 217-18.

> be said to have anything which Ilorin has not. This Jimba did, and among other Things removed were the 100 brass posts…erected by king Aganju.[224]

The fact that expeditions were led by *Ajias* who are of slave background demonstrated a political policy in which the military organization gave place to able warriors in military command, irrespective of class. It also indicated a political policy that encouraged social mobility within the emirate's political economy. This thus also provides opportunities for important slaves, aside the *Baloguns*, to amass personal wealth, power, and prestige.

The political policy and structure therefore seemed to relegate the post of the Emir to the background, while increasing the prestige of the *Balogun* even though the power of appointment and removal of the *Baloguns* rests with the Emir. They were also responsible to the Emir, who was at the apex of the Emirate Administration. However, in the pre-colonial period, the *Baloguns* sometimes took *de facto* control of the Emirate. The power of the *Baloguns* in this regard, perhaps, also arose from the fact that the Emir's rule depended not on the physical force which he could command, nor on the myth that his ancestors founded the town, but on his role as the defender of the Islamic faith.[225]

The situation in the metropolis (Ilorin city) not the least could be regarded as one that tends to threaten integration and stable political development. This arose from the political structure discussed above. The political structure, though partly determined to ensure integration, shifted the balance of power on the side of the *Baloguns*. Consequently, it was difficult for the Emir to exercise greater control over

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[224] Ibid.
[225] S.J. Hogben, *An Introduction to the History of Islamic States*…

them other than what the *Balogun* desire to do. *Balogun* Karara's disagreement with the peaceful overtures of Emir Aliyu (1869-1891) over the invasion of Offa in 1887 was a good example. The *Balogun* threatened to place prince Moma as Emir at Gama.[226] Perhaps, the best example of *de facto* control of the Emirate by the *Balogun* is furnished by the career of a *Balogun* Alanamu whose struggle for supremacy with Emir Moma (1891-1896) ended in the suicide of the Emir.[227] *Balogun* Alanamu was described as a man of great ability who had acquired unlimited power in Ilorin.[228] In Hermon Hodge's words he "ruled Ilorin for nearly twenty-five years."[229] Indeed, in the pre-colonial period, the *Baloguns* enjoyed powers, which had no equal in the Sokoto caliphate. Be that as it may, this power structure, however, ensured the survival of the Emirate dynasty, possibly, because, no *Balogun* would want to hold an office which is but mere ceremonials, real power lies with the *Balogun* and they commanded large followership in their respective wards.

It should also be mentioned that, although, the Yorubas were considered in the sharing of political power, but these were groups that assisted in the establishment of the Emirate. In this regard, the heirs of Afonja house were not considered. Consequently, there was rivalry and trouble from this influential Ilorin Yoruba and political outcasts represented by the families of *Baba-Isale* and *Magaji Aare.*[230] The continuous trouble against the throne occupied by Emir Abd al-Salam and the dynasty he founded almost continuously by this group, exemplify the impact

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[226] See for instance, Samuel Johnson, *History of the Yorubas,* ... p. 437; see also Safi Jimba, *Iwe Itan Ilorin,* Jimba book publication Company, Ilorin, 1990, pp. 165-169.
[227] J. A. Burdon *Northern Nigeria: Historical Notes on Certain Emirates and Tribes*, London, 1909, p. 18; see also, Hermon Hodge, *Gazetteer,* ... p. 73.
[228] *Ibid*.
[229] *Ibid*. p. 77.
[230] Whitaker, C. S., *The Politics of Tradition* ... 1970, p. 126.

of vindictive political pariahs on Ilorin politics.[231] Allusions have even been made to instances of Yoruba chiefs in Ilorin making secret alliances with Ilorin's foreign enemies during its wars.[232] Ilorin Emirate at this period had to contend with the attacks from the armies of Oyo and her allies and later Ibadan. Oyo sought to regain what she regarded as her lost domain[233], while it was imperialistic ambition on the part of Ibadan to be the dominant power in the region. As a matter of fact, Emirate authority in Ilorin was maintained by propitious intervention by armies of the Emir of Gwandu, who being in charge of the Western portion of the Caliphate was responsible for Ilorin affairs.[234] For example, the combined forces of the old Oyo kingdom and the Borgawa were defeated by Ilorin in the famous battle of Ilorin partly through the military support of Emir Ibrahim Khalil (1833-60) of Gwandu. The final collapse of the old Oyo kingdom in 1835-36 was partly the result of this battle.[235]

Chronic instability and measures adopted to contain it are, therefore reflected in the recorded history of Ilorin as regards the dynamics of political development in Ilorin with its multicultural population in the pre-colonial period. In the early period of his ascendancy, Abd al-Salam, the first Emir, used political wisdom in his diplomatic move, which resulted in the incorporation of Ilorin Emirate into the Sokoto caliphate. This step ensured and safeguarded the political reality of the Emirate administration. Internally, the new Emirate dynasty, headed by Fulani, in Ilorin enjoyed religious sentiments from Muslim supporters of Mallam Alimi, who

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[231] *Ibid.*
[232] *Ibid.* note no 7.
[233] For the complex strands of the war between Ilorin and the southern neighbour, see especially the accounts of Hogben, *The Muhammadan Emirates*, ... Hermon-Hodge, *Gazeteer*, ...; and Samuel Johnson. The *History of the Yoruba*, ...
[234] C. S. Whitaker, *The Politics of Tradition*, ...
[235] See H.O. Danmole, *Religion, politics and the economy in nineteenth century Ilorin: some reflections*, 1st in the lecture series of the centre for Ilorin Studies (CILS) University of Ilorin, Ilorin. Nigeria, Wednesday, 12th December, 2012. P.23.

flocked to Ilorin because of his activities. Since this group had became the majority, their support, to a great extent, promoted internal socio-political cohesion, with few dissident groups among which were the remnants of Afonja family. The elimination of Solagberu was a pointer to the fact that these few groups had no choice than to co-operate with the emerging Emirate system of administration.

The sharing of political power, which in effect made the Emir to be less imposing, though sometimes created crisis in the polity, but in the final analysis proved to be a unifying factor, for it ensured the survival of the ruling dynasty, and co-operation from the major cultural groups in the Emirate. The non-metropolitan districts, especially, those in the southern portion of the Emirate, however, presented a different picture. The pre-colonial political relationship between these districts and the metropolis was that of an unwilling ally waiting for opportunity to break away. They were particularly known for their resentments against the Emirate and its values. The people of Otun in the Osi district of Ekiti region and Offa among the Ibolos were known for their irredentism in the Emirate. Therefore, though multicultural policy was reflected in the state administration, it however proceeded less easily and effectively. More importantly, Ilorin Emirate was brought into the main stream of the Islamic states and civilizations among which was the Sokoto Caliphate. These developments were to the dislike of her neighbours in the region occupied by the Yoruba states, and were to have a lasting influence on socio-cultural, political relations and development in the Emirate.

3.2.3 Economic Policy and Impact on Socio-Cultural Development

Production, exchange and distribution is the characteristic feature of the Ilorin economy in the 19th century. An extensive discussion on the nature, organization and control of the economy as well as the economic relation with the polity has been undertaken by some writers.[236] The economic system centred on land and trade. The administration of land, the organization and control of trade both national and transnational provided wealth, which enhance the political power of the aristocracy as well as provided the much needed economic base for the sustenance of Ilorin emirate. Land and trade therefore formed the fulcrum of the economic policy of the Ilorin emirate administration.

The geographical location of Ilorin has been a great advantage to its economic and even social and political development.[237] Indeed, it must have stimulated the interests of various migrants from culturally diverse areas that were attracted to it, which eventually brought about its major historical and economic changes. For instance, its location in between the north of River Niger and the southwest provides her a diverse economic base from its vantage position as an entrepot in the trade network between the peoples from the north of River Niger and those from the southwest.

The administrative structure of the emirate was brought to bear on the control and administration of the economy. The enthronement of Abd al Salam as the first Emir of Ilorin and the attendant influx of settlers from all direction into

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[236] See for instance, B.O. Ibrahim,"Ilorin Traditional Markets in the 19th Century", *Ilorin Journal of History*, Department of History, University of Ilorin, Nigeria, Vol. 1, No. 2, 2006, pp. 124-136; and Banwo Adeyinka, "The Ilorin Economy in the 19th century", in *Nigerian Journal of Economic History (NIJEH)* No. 1, September, 1 1998, pp. 129-146.

[237] Zakariyau Sadiq Sambo, 'The Effect of Colonialism on Ilorin: Some Historical Manifestations in the 21st Century' in, *Ilorin Journal of Arts and Social Sciences (IJASS).* A Publication of the School of Arts and Social Sciences, Kwara State College of Education, Ilorin, Vol. 4, No 1, September, 2006, p. 243.

Ilorin, no doubt led to the growth in economic activities and further necessity to make the economy more organized. Even though traditional markets exists in Ilorin long before the establishment of Ilorin emirate, to satisfy the growing population, the establishment of Ilorin emirate, however, quickened the establishment of more traditional markets.[238] The markets were organized in line with the administrative division of the town under the *Baloguns* as the unit heads.

The arrangement, however, does not prevent cross market patronage and trading by people from the different markets. The form of administrative division, apart from serving as a mechanism for political expediency also had economic manifestations. For instance, *Balogun* Gambari was in charge of Hausa traders, artisans, warriors etc., while *Balogun* Fulani supervised mainly cattle rearers and caravan traders south of the city. *Balogun* Alanamu and Ajikobi controlled the predominant Yoruba traders, artisans and farmers, respectively.[239] The location of most of the markets within the wards brought them under the control and influence of the *Balogun*. Some of these markets emerged as posts for the exchange of goods between the capital and neighboring settlements as well as the transnational trade network that existed between the north and the south of the region that later became Nigeria in the 19th century.[240] Ilorin as one of the successor states to Oyo developed into the most important entreport in the trade involving the savanna north and the forest region to the South. In actual fact in the pre-colonial period it was an important link in the chain of cultural, economic and political integration in terms of long distance trade in West Africa. It is established that traders with large variety of goods came to Ilorin from industrial and trading centres of the North like Kano,

[238] *B.*O. Ibrahim, *Ilorin Traditional Markets in the 19th Century*… p. 125.
[239] Banwo Adeyinka, "*The Ilorin Economy in the 19th century''*…. P. 131.
[240] Ibid. p. 133.

Katsina, Borno and parts of Central, Northern and Eastern Africa, with goods such as natron, horses, leather, Copper, slaves, cattle, etc.[241] Goods were also brought from the Southern cities like Ekiti, Abeokuta, Ibadan, Ogbomoso, Eko, etc. These goods included Kolanuts, cotton cloth, slaves, and coastal goods such as spirit, guns, etc.[242] The economic importance of Ilorin was attested to in 1857 by W.H. Clarke. He described Ilorin as "the commercial emporium of all Southern Sudan and of this part of the Western Coast."[243] T.J. Bowen also claimed that the weekly arrival of traders in Ilorin could not be less than ten thousand (10,000).[244]

The Gambari market was noted as a meeting point for traders from opposite sides of the region and this assisted its development as a major market during the 19th century.[245] Ilorin was also noted for slave trade. It was reported to have had the largest slave market in the region and Gambari market was well noted for this.[246] Robert Campbell referred to the Gambari market as almost exclusively devoted to slave sale.[247] Slaves arrived in Ilorin, especially from the north through trade and from Benin in exchange for red stone lantana beads, which were manufactured in Ilorin and used in Benin regalia.[248]Aside from goods and other commodities of exchange, slaves, therefore, was another major source of economic advantage to Ilorin. By the end of 1850s Ilorin was already a developed urban centre, partly as a result of the economy. T.J. Bowen estimated the population by this period as

[241] Ibid.
[242] Ibid.
[243] W.H. Clarke, Travels and *Explorations in Yoruba land*, 1854-1858, Ibadan, 1972, p. 185.
[244] T.J. Bowen, *Adventures and Missionary Labour in the Interior of Africa, 1849-1856*, London, 1968, p. 332.
[245] Banwo Adeyinka, "*The Ilorin Economy in the 19th century''*…. P. 133.
[246] Ibid. P. 134.
[247] Ann O' Hear, *Power Relations in Nigeria: Ilorin Slaves and their Successors*, University of Rochester, USA. 1977, p. 27.
[248] Ibid. p. 23.

between 70,000 to 100,000, while W.H. Clarke claimed that the population was made up to hundreds of thousands.[249]

Land was also a part of the economy which sustained the emirate's administration. The Ilorin aristocracy also had considerable influence over land. Land was not just important for farming, but was also one of the major means of production the aristocracy needed to control to enhance its economic and political power. The organization and administration of land elicited social contradiction among the aristocracy as well as between them and the producing class. This was exhibited in power struggle between the Emir and his *Baloguns.* More so, the outlying villages and districts were constituted into fiefs under the control of one or the other of the *Baloguns* as absentee landlords. They therefore depended on the agents known as *Babakekeres* who was the head of the fief belonging to the *Balogun*. The *Babakekeres* in this regard served as intermediaries through whom revenues were often passed from the *Balogun* to the Emir. In this way, the *Balogun* exercised power not only within the capital but also in the other parts of the Emirate.

Of particular note under the fief-holding district administration was the atrocities usually perpetrated by the *Babakekeres* in the outlying districts.[250] They were dubious in the discharge of their duties and often posed excessive taxation, which were usually outside the normal due.[251] Through this system, the rulers of the outlying districts were reduced to mere figureheads in their respective domain, having been deprived of their position of authority. The result of this was that there were bad feeling and dissatisfaction against the system, in the districts. Anti-Ilorin feelings were therefore rife, especially among the people of Igbomina, Ekiti and

[249] Banwo Adeyinka, "*The Ilorin Economy in the 19th century''*…. P. 135.
[250] N. A. K. ILO Prof SNP 572, 1919: Ilorin Provincial Annual Report.
[251] *Ibid.*

Offa. Offa in particular, persistently nurtured the idea of a merger with the southern neigbours of Ilorin so that she could be within the Yoruba state of Oyo.[252] The expulsion of the Ilorin *Ajele* in 1896, from Otun, Ishan, Ikole and Aiyede in the Osi District of Ekiti region, could not also be unconnected with the local grievance.[253] Consequently, the situation in those districts was to pose a serious threat to integration and social relations in the Emirate.

Within the Emirate, the power struggle between the Emir and the *Baloguns* (war chiefs) in particular, were not in any way helpful to the Emirate in its defiant attitude towards Britain and her agents, during the colonial period[254] In Ilorin Emirate as highlighted in the preceeding discussions, the *Baloguns,* arising from the political and administrative structure reduced the power exercised by the Emir during the second half of the 19thcentury. This gave them multiple roles, which the war chiefs played in the Emirate administration at large and partly because, from playing such roles, the *Baloguns* gained and exercised considerable if not unlimited control over the military and economic aspects of the Emirate administration. These were the vital elements of power in the political organization. Their power was derived from their positions as both war (military) and territorial (administrative) leaders. They were the *de facto* political, territorial, administrative and judicial heads of their respective wards within Ilorin town and outlying districts and villages that came under the Emirate either through voluntary application for Ilorin's protection or conquest. They, therefore, unlike the Emir, had political power bases where they exercised direct authority on the people.[255] Various areas of land that were

[252] Olaoye R. A. "*The Ilorin Emirate and the British Ascendancy 1897-1918. An overview of the early phase of Ilorin Provincial Administration*", M.A. Dissertation, University of Ilorin, Oct. 1984, p. 23.
[253] *Ibid*.
[254] R.A. Olaoye, "*The Ilorin Emirate and the British Ascendancy* ... p.42.
[255] H.O. Danmole, "The Frontier Emirat ... pp. 77-8.

incorporated into the Emirate were through success in warfare. These lands were distributed among members of the aristocracy and other prominent warriors. Through this process, for instance, lands of conquered towns and villages, especially in the Igbomina, Igbolo and Ekiti areas, became property of the respective *Balogun* who was responsible for the capture or submission of such areas.[256] In the areas, the *Baloguns* and other warriors as well as chiefs became hereditary fief holders and overlords ("*Babakekere*") over their respective territories. They appointed their agents/residents ("*Ajeles*") to collect tributes, taxes, tolls, land rent, and in some cases to harvest all locust bean trees on the land for onward transmission to Ilorin.[257] Tables 3.1 and 3.2 below show an outline of the title holders and their fiefs under the land holding system in Ilorin in the 19th century as adopted from Saliu Ismail's work: The political contest for Ilorin: "A study of political struggles for ascendancy and supremacy in the 19th and 20th centuries" M.A thesis Unilorin, Dec. 2004. PP. 53-54.

[256] See Ann O' Hear, *Power Relations in Nigeria*,... pp. 92-101; Hermon Hodge, *Gazetteer*, pp. 169-70; and Banwo Adeyinka, "*The Ilorin Economy*" ...

[257] Banwo Adeyinka, "*The Ilorin Economy*," ... p. 117.

TABLE 3.1

Title Holders and their Fiefs in 19th century Ilorin Emirate: Category A.

S/NO	Town/Village	Method of incorporation	Title Holder
1	Afon	Voluntary Application for Protection (VAP)	*Balogun* Fulani
2	Ajagusi	VAP	*Balogun* Fulani
3	Apado	VAP	*Sarkin* Gambari
4	Adigbongboo	?	*Magaji* Oju-ekun
5	Ikotun	VAP	Emir
6	Ila-Oke	VAP	*Balogun* Fulani
7	Iloffa	?	Emir
8	Kulende	VAP	*Balogun* Fulani
9	Odo-Ode	VAP	*Balogun* Fulani
10	Ojoku	VAP	Emir
11	Ogbondoroko	?	*Magaji* Zarumi
12	Paiye	VAP	*Balogun* Ajikobi
13	Onire	VAP	*Magaji* Oju-ekun

TABLE 3.2

Title Holders and their Fiefs in 19th century Ilorin Emirate: Category B.

S/NO	Town/Village	Method of incorporation	Title Holder
1	Eruku	Conquest	*Balogun* Gambari
2	Ekan	Ditto	*Ajia* Opele
3	Idi Emi	?	*Ajia* Opele
4	Ikole	Ditto	*Ajia* Gaju
5	Illa	Ditto	*Balogun* Afin
6	Iloffa	Subjugation	*Ajia* Opele
7	Isanlu	Conquest	*Ajia* Opele
8	Ishan	Ditto	*Balogun* Fulani
9	Isin	Ditto	*Ajia* Gaju
10	Iye	Ditto	*Balogun* Fulani
11	Obo	Ditto	*Balogun* Gambari
12	Oke-Oyi	?	*Sarkin* Gambari
13	Oke-Ora	Conquest	*Ajia* Gaju
14	Omu	Conquest	*Ajia* Gaju
15	Osi	Ditto	*Balogun* Gambari
16	Otun (Awtun)	Conquest/Subjugation	*Ologun* Jimba
17	Yara	Ditto	*Balogun* Afin

There were other areas such as Ejidongari, Ogele and Lanwa, Malete, Oloru, Owode, etc, which were either “occupied” or “settled” by population from Ilorin.

Generally, the administrative structure bestow on the *Baloguns* direct access to and control over various economic resources (booty, lands, tributes and other surpluses) that accrued from warfare and lands of towns and villages that were under Ilorin protection and those conquered that were put under their supervision. Allied activities to war such as kidnapping, plunder, slave seizures, brigandage, etc. have been described as "the original source of pre-colonial wealth of Ilorin city",[258] through which the *Baloguns* derived enormous power and influence. With this position, the war chiefs could determine and control the share of the wealth or 'revenues' that get to the Emir. It has been observed for instance, that during the Ilorin wars, the war chiefs might have surrendered less than the acquired booty or even the one-fifth legal share of the Emir,[259] by regulation under the Emirate policies. Therefore, as a result of the considerable wealth derived from their position as military and territorial leaders, which gave them economic and political power on one hand, popularity in their political bases, on the other, cases of power struggle between one or the other of the *Balogun* and the Emir were frequent in the pre-colonial Ilorin. This situation was to influence the British administrative policies on Ilorin during the colonial period.

Slave trade also constituted a notable feature of the economy in Ilorin in the 19th century. Slaves were acquired through royal exchange by the Emirs as well as through tribute and capture in war.[260] The Emirs and the Baloguns used some of their slaves as soldiers and administrators, settled them on their farms, while others

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[258] See R.J. Garvin, "The Impact of Colonial Rule on Ilorin Economy, 1897-930", in *centrepoint*, A Quarterly Journal of Intellectual Scientific and Cultural Interest, Vol. 1, No. 1, October 1977, pp. 13-51; and Y.T Gella, "The City of Ilorin", in Garba Asiwaju (ed), *Cities of the Savannah (A History of Some Towns and Cities in the Nigeria Savannah)*, pp. 109-115.

[259] Saka Balogun, "*Gwandu Emirate*", ... pp. 280-1; H.O. Danmole, "*The Frontier Emirate*", ... p. 93.

[260] Ann O' Hear, *Power Relations in Nigeria*,... p.25.

not so lucky were sent to the market for sale.[261] Captives from wars served as a veritable source for slave labour. The slave labour was particularly prominent on the large farms of members of the aristocracy. They formed an important sector of the economy. However, there were some slaves who distinguished themselves as great warriors; they were the ones who sometimes found favour with their masters who were also warlords. Some of these slaves were rewarded for their productivity and bravery with such junior positions as *Magaji, Ajia*, or *Ajele,* etc. and were therefore put in charge of some territories. In this situation, some of them also became wealthy and also acquired their own slaves.[262] *Ajia* has to do with looking after someone else's goods or things; or entrusting one's things to another's custody and may therefore not be a title limited to slaves. The word is said to be derived from Hausa word "Aje" or "ajia" literally meaning "to let something loose or go".[263] It is, perhaps, in this respect therefore that the title is mostly used for slave representatives of the aristocracy in territories under the control of the Emirate's administration.

The Ilorin economic system, policy and organization by 19th century exhibited interaction of two classes in relation to the economic process and social relations. The two classes were the aristocracy and the ordinary inhabitants. The aristocracy includes the Emir, *Balogun*, wealthy merchants and numerous state officials, which controlled political power and have considerable influence over the economy. The ordinary inhabitants are the producing class most of whom were farmers, slaves, pawns, etc. They were involved in production but had no considerable influence or access to political power.[264]

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[261] Ibid.
[262] Ibid.p. 26.
[263] See O.A. Ezekiel, "If*a Dida ni Ilu Ilorin*", Yoruba Literature, M.A. Dissertation, Unilorin, 1989, p.10.
[264] For the general information contained in the following paragraphs, I am indebted to Banwo Adeyinka, "*The Ilorin Economy*…pp.138-141.

This development of classes in relation to the economy in the 19th century also led to the development of certain forms of struggles, reactions and conflicts by the two political and socio-economic groups in Ilorin Emirate. These appeared in two dimensions and arose as a result of the policy, institutionalized by members of the Ilorin aristocracy meant to enhance the process of surplus extraction and appropriation. The first was the conflict and reaction between the aristocracy and the subordinate producing classes made up of ordinary farmers, craftsmen and women, slaves etc. The second was the conflict and struggle involving factions of the aristocracy who contested for economic and political power. The mode of sustenance of the aristocracy was considerably through surplus extraction obtained through taxes, tributes, tolls, booty, etc. This, however, created the basis for social conflict between the aristocracy and the ordinary people. This was as a result of the exploitative tendencies in the collection of taxes, tributes and tolls from traders, craftsmen and women as well as farmers. For instance, at the domestic exchange sector of the economy, traders attempted to evade the market dues known as the *Aroja* due to harassment and over-extortion of the traders by the *Alaroja* who were agents of the aristocracy in charge of the collection. The *Alaroja* over-extorted the traders as a means of creating an avenue for their own appropriation in the course of satisfying the official requirements of the Emir and the *Balogun*. The display of overzealousness by *Alaroja* often led to squabbles, quarrels and complaints from traders. Also due to overbearing attitude of some of the custodian i.e. *Babakekere*, of lands, some of their subjects either fled from their sphere of influence or shifted allegiance to a seemingly sympathetic *Babakekere*. There were also cases of slaves and pawns who escaped from their masters as a result of being over burdened,

exploited and ill-treated So also were cases of free citizens who tried to evade or escape from the burdensome taxes and tributes imposed by the aristocracy. As regards the economic relation and social development, therefore, complaints, evasion, desertion and minor squabbles appeared to have been the major forms of reactions against exploitation by individuals or groups within the lower ranks of the society by the period. This situation therefore, created basis for social antagonism between the aristocracy and the ordinary inhabitants. The economic exploitation of the subject by the aristocracy or elite extended to the colonial period with further impact on socio-cultural development.

Surplus appropriation also became a source of conflict and disunity among the aristocracy. The administrative structure and responsibilities of political office holders, gave enormous economic advantage to the *Baloguns* as regards economic policy on surplus appropriation. In this regard, the *Baloguns* uses their position as the medium through which the distribution of surpluses such as tolls, taxes, tributes, land and war booty, to alienate the Emir by limiting the proceeds that got to the Emir. In addition, the policy of placing conquered territories under the *Baloguns* as war commanders and captors of such territories, gave the *Balogun* an edge in the process of surplus extraction and appropriation from such territories. The social effect of this was an increase in the status, power and influence of the *Baloguns* at the expense of the Emir within the Emirate. Attempt to put up a resistance by the Emirs appeared to have failed as they increasingly lost their influence within the society. The struggles that ensued between the two factions dominated the greater part of Ilorin's political economy as from the 1860s/1870s. Emir Mama and Suleiman's desire to regain some of their lost influence and power in the 1890s was

partly exhibited in their disguised sympathy and support for the British against the concerted opposition from the *Balogun*.

The overall effects of the economic policy on socio-cultural development, therefore, were that, first, struggles and reactions characterized the two prominent socio-economic groups i.e. aristocracy and the producing classes. While the former intensified its efforts in the pursuit of economic gains, the latter struggled to curtail the gains. Secondly, struggle and reactions also exists within the aristocracy in respect of the economic relations and this generates conflicts and political struggles up till the establishment of colonialism. It should also be noted that trade and markets also facilitated culture contacts and dissemination. In the process of coming together to trade articles, by traders from both the north and south of Ilorin, other things such as Islam and elements of the various cultures of the participants were also traded. In this process the multicultural nature of Ilorin Emirate was further enhanced and became a melting pot.

3.3 Policies of Expansion and Defence under the Emirate Administration.

Expansions of state by conquest and defence have been crucial to the survival of states in Africa. While expansion demonstrates power, might, supremacy and provided avenue for the acquisition of vital economic resources for the survival of the state, defence from external aggression, to a large extent provided political stability. Thus, for the political system to function effectively in the nineteenth century, policies of expansion and defence were given paramount attention by different polities. In pursuance of these objectives war became an instrument of different forms of state policies among which was the defence of polity from imperial incursions as well as predatory expeditions for economic sustenance, territorial expansion and prestige.

The competing political, economic and social forces operating within the various states in Yorubaland in the 19th century, especially after the collapse of Oyo Empire, can help to explain the need for defence and expansion of various polities in the 19th century Yoruba states in their various struggles to occupy the place of Oyo. This to certain extent explains the various strategies of defence of their polities partly for political stability, and for some of them, for the security of their independent of Oyo, which the political opportunity had provided. These particularly manifested through wars of conquests and defence. It is in the light of this that Ilorin's expansionist and defence policies in the 19th century may indeed be viewed against the background of the attempt by different states to fill the vacuum created by the collapse of the Oyo Empire.[265]

[265] See H.O. Danmole, "Ibadan-Ilorin relations in the Ninetheenth Century: A study in imperial struggle in Yorubaland", *Trans-African Journal of History,* Vol. 14, 1985. 21-26.

Notable among the states that competed to fill the vacuum were Ilorin, Ijaye, Abeokuta and Ibadan. Ilorin, like the other three, played the role of a safe haven for many refugees from old Oyo's capital and surrounding areas when the old imperial capital was being abandoned (1830-1836).[266] All four of them were "new towns", each of which broke in its own way with Oyo's system of government.[267] All the four cities are regarded as "successor states" to old Oyo and Ilorin was the forerunner.[268] Considering the circumstances surrounding the emergence of these polities, they all suffered from crisis of legitimacy and had to search for solutions that made it possible for government to be firmly established *de jure* as well as *de facto*. As a result of this Ilorin Emirate had to adopt defensive and expansionist strategies to demonstrate her might in the bid to survive as a state and an Emirate in an area within which Yoruba language, and culture, was predominant. The need for policy of expansion of frontiers as well as defence by Ilorin Emirate was an attempt to survive as a state in the form of an Emirate governed by Muslim laws in Yorubaland in the face of the several attempts to liquidate the Emirate. These attempts include the battle of Ogele, Mugbamugba, Kanla and the battle of Ilorin (Eleduwe war) in 1835. The success of Ilorin in these wars led to the survival and consolidation of the Emirate. It also made Ilorin a military power to be reckoned by its neighbouring states. It was after brilliantly warding off consecutive, but abortive, attempts to invade the Emirate that Ilorin moved out and mounted a counter offensive which led to further expansion of the Emirate. The resultant effects of the offensives were, among others, the collapse of the Oyo Empire and establishment of

[266] R.C.C. Law, *The Oyo Empire C. 1600-1836: ...* P. 288.
[267] R. S. Smith, *Kingdoms of the Yorubas*, 2nd Edition, London, 1976. P. 182.
[268] H. O. Danmole, "*Ibadan-Ilorin relation* ...

new towns such as Modakeke, Ibadan and Abeokuta.[269] Ilorin was victorious in nearly all its expansionist wars few of which ended in tragedy. One of the tragedies caused a protracted hostility between Ilorin and Offa.[270]

As noted, it becomes confused and inadequate to simply regard the wars fought by Ilorin and its outward expansion as solely a Muslim "crusade' to "carry the Koran to the sea"[271]or as an 'ethnic' war. Notwithstanding religious sentiment manifested in the establishment of the Emirate, it clearly exhibited political struggle among competing powers, states and leaders for political control and dominance, and in effect economic gains derivable from spoils of war and expansion of areas of control. It is this, among other reasons, that can explains why the Ilorin Emirate administration's policy of alliances in the 19th century Yoruba civil wars was flexible and dynamic. For instance, Ilorin changes her alliances in the civil wars[272] in consideration of her interest in respect of the political and economic advantages such might bring to her.

The civil wars started with the collapsed of Old Oyo partly from internal decay and partly from pressure from the southern extension of the 'Fulani jihad' at Ilorin at the beginning of the 19th century.[273] With the collapse of Oyo in about the turn of the 19th century "powerful chieftains (in the old 0yo Empire) turned their arms towards subverting town after town in the kingdom in order to increase their own wealth and power", and succeed to the power and influence of Oyo.[274] The involvement of other kingdoms such as Ijebu, Ijesa, Ife, Owu and Ekiti kingdoms,

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[269] Samuel Johnson, *History of the Yorubas, ...* pp. 288-338
[270] See for instance, J. F. A. Ajayi, and Robert Smith, *Yoruba Warfare in the Nineteenth century,* Cambridge, 1964. P. 55.
[271] H.O. Danmole, *"Crises, Warfare, and Diplomacy",...p. 43. Ibid.*
[272] *Ibid*.
[273] J.F. Ade Ajayi, "19th Century Wars and Yoruba Ethnicity", in Adeagbo Akinjogbin (ed.), *War and Peace in Yorubaland 1793-1893*, Heinemann Educational Books (Nigeria) Plc, 2003, P.11-13.
[274] J.A. Atanda, "The Wars and Imperial Conquests", in Adeagbo Akinjogbin (ed.), *War and Peace in Yorubaland 1793-1893*, Heinemann Educational Books (Nigeria) Plc, 2003, P.309.; See also, Samuel Johnson, *History of the Yorubas, ...* P.193.

some of them immediate neighbours of Oyo, was as a result of the exportation of the chaos outside Oyo principalities.[275] In conjunction with the competition among the kingdoms/principalities within the limit of Oyo imperial authority was the policy, around 1825, of Abd al Salam who became the Emir of Ilorin to take over the whole of Yorubaland. In pursuance of this, he sent out his armies, which consisted predominantly of Yoruba soldiers, into all directions including the Ekiti country. At the same time, were the efforts of largely Oyo speaking groups, from 1826, to face the Emirate's threat with the aim to dislodge the established Emirate system.[276] A final effort in this bid was under Alafin Oluewu in his attempt to restore his authority over Ilorin. He collected very impressive forces comprising several Yoruba military leaders and warriors of Borgu led by the ruler of Nikki called Eleduwe or Woru Kura whose support Oluewu had sought. The Emir of Ilorin appealed to Gwandu for military assistance which was granted with a joint force of Sokoto and Gwandu warriors led personally by Ibrahim Khalil, the third Emir of Gwandu.[277] The combined Oyo and Borgu forces were defeated. Alafin Oluewu and Woru Kura fell in the battle and repercussion of this battle led to the desertion of Oyo Ile, which signaled the final collapse of the Oyo Empire and the survival by Ilorin of the greatest threat to her continued existence as an Emirate. The period of intra-Yoruba wars and Ilorin policy of continues military offensive, which by 1806 had extended Ilorin suzerainty so deep into the Yorubaland did not end till the British intervention to make peace and install themselves as rulers at the end of the century.

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[275] I.A. Akinjogbin, "The Causes of the 19th century Yoruba Civil Wars", in Adeagbo Akinjogbin (ed.), *War and Peace in Yorubaland 1793-1893*, Heinemann Educational Books (Nigeria) Plc, 2003, P.138.

[276] *Ibid. P. 140*

[277] S.A. Balogun, 'Historical Significance of Ilorin – A preliminary Survey' in S.A. Jimoh (ed.) *An Academic Journal of the Kwara State Council for Arts and Culture*. Vol. 1 No. 1, June 1978. PP. 17-25. For details of warfare in Yorubaland in the period, see, S. Johnson, *The History of the Yorubas, ...*, J.F. Ade Ajayi and Robert Smith, *Yoruba warfare in the nineteenth century*….; S.A. Akintoye, *Revolution and Power Politics in Yorubaland, 1840-1893*, Longman 1971.

The 19th century wars against the Emirate administration could not therefore be said to be ethnically focused i.e. Yoruba versus Fulani. The multicultural nature of Ilorin forces notwithstanding, instances of Ilorin policy of alliances with one or the other of Yoruba states in their various ploys towards realization of economic, political and territorial ambitions in those wars ran contrary to this perception. In addition, Ilorin forces were predominantly Yoruba. Ilorin in some cases changed tactics by supporting one group against the other with a view to fostering its own economic and political interests. This was demonstrated in her support of Ijaye against Ibadan at Batedo war of 1844. Ilorin covertly abandoned Ibadan in the Ijaye war of 1860-1865 and another occasion supported the Ekiti parapo in their struggles against Ibadan.[278] More importantly, in the words of Ajayi "a united Yoruba nation has not emerged, probably because the Yoruba have not constituted a single historical entity, at least since the 16th century".[279]

The question of prestige is also related to the pursuit of policy of expansion in Yorubaland. This was why Ilorin lost no opportunity of allying with forces against Ibadan. As observed, Ilorin's alliance with Ijaye against Ibadan (1860-65) was under the pretext that the war would give her opportunity to extend the frontiers of Islam. This however, ended in pure struggle for political dominance in the region, as there was no conscious effort by the ruling elite in Ilorin to embark on conversion to Islam even in areas where they had previously conquered.[280] Matter of prestige is also identified in the Ilorin's war with Offa in 1887.[281]

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[278] Ibid. See also, L.A.K. Jimoh, *Ilorin: the Journey So Far*... p. 121.
[279] J.F.A. Ajayi, *"19th Century Wars and Yoruba Ethnicity",* ... P.18
[280] Murray Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate*, London: Longman, 1967. P. 56.
[281] I. S. Jimada, *The Nupe and the Origins*, ... pp. 45-48.

If we take into consideration that the establishment of an Emirate in Ilorin meant that the Emir must continue the Jihad to the *dar al-harb*,[282] this may perhaps explain the Emirate's expansion into Igbomina and Ekiti areas. It does not however seem that the expansion was solely meant for the conversion of the people to Islam. Rather, it should be seen as part of the policy of expansion of the Emirate's territory. At the time of Ilorin expansion into these areas, they were under Oyo's suzerainty. They were not of Oyo foundation but seem to have been occupied by Oyo through migrations and absorption.[283] They existed as independent political entities before their incorporation into the Oyo Alafinate. It is evident that Oyo expanded, into the Igbomina area, after the sixteenth century, an area already inhabited by early Nupe settlers.[284] Oyo's ability to expand into these areas, one account suggests, followed the defeat of a Nupe invasion by Alafin Ajiboyede in the late sixteenth century.[285] It is not surprising therefore that the Ilorin's expeditions into these areas were considered a significant threat to the traditions and culture of the Yoruba people. As a result, Ibadan which had the ambition of becoming supreme in Yorubaland under the pretext of protecting what remained of Oyo traditions was bound to be in conflict with Ilorin. Thus, the most important factor, which brought about the struggle between Ilorin and Ibadan in the nineteenth century, was the policy of the two states to expand their areas of control in the region through the demonstration of political supremacy. It was the pursuance of this policy of Ilorin and Ibadan in the region which led to the extension of their authorities into Igbomina, Ijesa, Osun and Ekiti area of Yorubaland. This eventually led to open clash between the two competing

[282] *Ibid*. p. 46
[283] *Ibid.*
[284] See for instance, Samuel Johnson, *History of the Yorubas*,... pp. 285-289.
[285] *Ibid*. p. 285.

powers for supremacy in the region. Therefore, the motive for the acquisition of territories by the two states was political, economic as well as social. Politically, this was undertaken for the extension of political authority and supremacy. Economically and socially, the larger the areas under their control, the richer the ruling class of the two states would be.

There is no doubt that Ilorin's expansionist policy was assisted because of her position as an established Muslim outpost within the confines of Old Oyo, which facilitated the collapse of that kingdom. As the leadership in Ilorin began to extend the frontiers of the Emirate into other parts, such aggressive action posed a serious danger to other towns aside Oyo. This aggression was pursued in Igbomina, Ibolo, and Ekiti districts of the Emirate as earlier mentioned. While the expansion may be seen as purely a religious obligation of Islam by the Emir of Ilorin, the expansion was more political in nature than merely the pursuit of religious gains. Ilorin probably could not afford to let these places fall under the jurisdiction of other rival powers in the region such as Ibadan, as their strategic location close to Ilorin could jeopardize Ilorin security and political stability if left in the hand of a rival power, not to talk of the economic advantages that could be derive from the places. Attempts to expand the Emirate further south in Yorubaland ended in the defeat of Ilorin in Osogbo in 1838 by the Ibadan army.[286] It was the aggressive nature of Ilorin state in its pursuance of the policy of subversion of the entire region after the sack of Oyo-Ile that impelled her against Osogbo.[287]It was deliberately instigated by Ilorin to satisfy its territorial aggrandizement. It was opined that the objective of Ilorin's war against Osogbo, a prominent urban town

[286] L. A. K. Jimoh, *Ilorin: the Journey So Far*... p. 109-110.
[287] Ibid p. 110; Samuel Johnson, *History of the Yorubas*,...

southeast of Ilorin, was to bring the town under Ilorin's suzerainty so that Ilorin could secure an effective foothold in the eastern territory of Yoruba states.[288] The Ataoja (king) of Osogbo realizing the strangeness of Ilorin cavalry force sent to Ibadan for help.[289] Ibadan knew that with Oyo gone, if Osogbo fell, the next target obviously would be Ibadan. Ibadan therefore resolved to take no chances or to leave no stone unturned in order to ensure victory over Ilorin. Intrigued war strategy eventually saw the combined Osogbo/Ibadan army victorious.[290] The victory at Osogbo was described as a most important one as it forms a turning point in the Ilorin imperial ambition in Yoruba states. It is important, on one hand, as the Yoruba states were saved from total absorption by the Ilorin as tributary states and the defeat heralded in the ascendancy of Ibadan as the supreme power in Yorubaland. On the other hand, with the defeat of Ilorin, her power for an independent aggressive warfare was broken, and henceforth had to contend with allying with one or the other of contending states in the region.[291] Ilorin adopted this tactics to instigate conflicts and wars among the already fragmented Yoruba states that are in disagreement with each other in order facilitate its territorial expansionism.

Ilorin's policy of extension of jurisdiction is, for instance, presented in the case of Ikoyi. This could be described as being as a result of political circumstance in Ikoyi which provided the opportunity for Ilorin to prove her military might and was rewarded with the declaration of Ikoyi as vassalage to Ilorin. The political circumstance has to do with a desperate tussle to succeed to the throne by two cousins. The two cousins were Siyanbola, the son of Adegun (the deceased king)

[288] See Ibid. pp. 286-287 for the war strategy employed by Ibadan; L. A. K. Jimoh, *Ilorin: the Journey So Far*... p. 111-112.
[289] Samuel Johnson. *History of the Yorubas*, ... pp. 288.
[290] Ibid. p. 200; Jimoh, L. A. K., *Ilorin: the Journey So Far*... p. 107.
[291] Samuel Johnson, *History of the Yorubas*, ... pp. 220.

and Ojo, the son of Adegun's predecessor. In accordance with the tradition, the Alafin of Oyo conferred Ojo with the title. While Ojo was at Oyo, Siyanbola usurped the throne. Therefore, Ojo set for home with preparation and determination to punish Siyanbola for the usurpation. Siyanbola (the usurper) realising that he could not withstand Ojo's onslaught fled from the town with all his party to Ilorin.[292] At Ilorin, Siyanbola pledge allegiance and seek the Emir's protection and assistance to retain the Ikoyi throne. Consequently Ilorin's cavalry, succeeded in regaining Ikoyi for Siyanbola through elimination of Ojo and the defeat of his force. Siyanbola having now no rival obtained the title of Onikoyi from the Emir of Ilorin, and returned with those of his party who went with him to Ilorin to re-occupy the town. Thus Ikoyi was re-people but no longer as vassal state of Oyo but of Ilorin.[293]

The vassalage of Ikoyi to Ilorin served as catalyst to the conquest and absorption of Gbogun, a town of significance in the Ikoyi zone in Northern Province of Oyo Empire. Gbogun was described as the last of the powerful towns in Yorubaland.[294] Johnson indicated that Ilorin's war against Gbogun was precipitated by Edun the chief of Gbogun's action on Ikoyi, vassalage of Ilorin.[295] He however asserted that, the war was declared under pretext in the effort of Ilorin to subvert the "whole country".[296] Edun, who had by this time become the reigning *Aare Onakakanfo*, was disturbed that Ilorin's sphere of influence had extended so dangerously close to him with the absorption of Ikoyi, a neighbouring town. Edun regarded Ikoyi as an enemy, being a vassal of Ilorin, and insisted that it should be deserted at once or it would be attack. The Onikoyi, therefore, ran to Ilorin, once

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[292] *Ibid.*
[293] L. A. K. Jimoh, *Ilorin: the Journey So Far*... p. 108-109.
[294] Samuel Johnson, *History of the Yorubas*, ... pp. 220-221.
[295] *Ibid*.
[296] Ibid; see also H. O. Danmole, *"Crises, Warfare, and Diplomacy"*, ...

more, to seek Emir's assistance as a vassal of Ilorin. The Emir, in response to the appeal, dispatched an army to Ikoyi, which not only defended the town but also subdued Gbogun and brought it, too under Ilorin's sphere of influence.[297] With this accomplishment, the whole of the northern part of the Oyo Empire was brought under the vassalage of Ilorin.

The economic aspect of the various wars is also an important factor underlying the policy of expansion wich led to the various wars. As has been considered in the case of Ilorin, warfare contributed to the economy of the Emirate. Apart from acquisition of slaves through these wars and the derivable economic benefits, agricultural produce, cattle, and other useful goods were also brought to Ilorin through its wars of conquest. Sales of these goods are used to raise revenue for building and other social work in the capital. What was more important to the elite as far as the communities under jurisdiction were concerned was the payment of tributes and levies. More importantly, the military strength of the state is usually a reflection of her economic potential and this was the case in Ilorin in the nineteenth century. Perhaps, the most important basis of Ilorin's military power was her economy. It is little surprising therefore, the many cases of war of aggression, sparked with flimsy excuses, in different parts of Yorubaland. Each polity desired to defend its territory and independence and to keep it in a permanent state of expansion for political supremacy and economic benefit among others.[298] This explains why Ilorin was able to impose imperial authority over major towns in the northern parts of the Oyo kingdom due to what Landers saw as formal reconciliation between Ilorin and Oyo, with Ilorin being recognized by the Alafin as

[297] Samuel Johnson, *History of the Yorubas* ... pp. 288.
[298] R. and J. Landers, *Journal of an expedition*, vol. 2, p. 310.

independent.[299] The inability of the Alafin to remove the Muslim leaders at Ilorin probably forced Alafin Majotu to recognize the established Emirate and its sovereignty. Ilorin's policy of expansion and demonstration of might and supremacy was such that by c.1833 it had subjected almost all important Oyo towns, and Oyo-Ile itself became tributary to Ilorin, and pay regular tribute till the early 1890s when British colonial administrators in charge of Lagos and Yoruba states prevented and stopped the payment.

[299] *Ibid*.

CHAPTER FOUR

BRITISH COLONIAL RULE AND ITS IMPACT ON ILORIN

4.1 Reasons for the British Imperial Conquest of Ilorin

European interests in Africa antedated the 19th century. It began with the sponsored voyages of exploration to Africa by Prince Henry 'The Navigator' in the 15th century.[300] As from this period, European presence could be felt in West Africa and trade first brought them to the continent. It remained the basis of their relations with the continent from then onwards.[301] It was in the first place focused on slave trafficking, which had tremendous influence on the spate of internal wars in various places including the region under study. Before the rise of legitimate commerce in the 19th century, the main exports from West Africa, apart from slaves, were gold, ivory, timber, dye-woods, gum, leather and spices, notably peppers. These commodities sometimes supplemented the trade in slaves.[302] Their relation with West Africa up till 19th century was therefore basically commercial and their activities restricted to the coasts. By the 19th century, as a result of European commercial rivalries, there emerged a change in European attitude which lean towards quest for raw material and territorial acquisition.[303] This attitude was to be accentuated by the 1884/85 Berlin conference. In the areas later named Nigeria, in particular, Britain and France were two European powers which showed much interest and engaged in stiff competition, with a view to acquire and establish their control in the area. Consequently, two bridge-heads were used by the British in the acquisition. The areas, which become Southern Nigeria was taken over for her by

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[300] A. Fajana and A.O. Anjorin, *From Colony to Sovereign State;* Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd. Middlesex, 1979, p.1.
[301] A.G. Hopkins, *An Economic History of West Africa,* Longman, London, 1973, p. 164. *Ibid*. P. 87.
[302] J.B. Webster and others, *The Revolutionary years. West Africa since 1800,* Longmans, 1969, pp. 228-229.
[303] L.A.K. Jimoh, *Ilorin Journey so Far*... 182.

Messrs Beecroft, Glover, Carter and Moor. They used Lagos, Opobo and Benin as their bridge-Heads. On the other hand, the interior territories made up of many societies, polities, etc was acquired for Great Britain by Messrs Goldie, Baikie and Lugard.

The process for the conquest of Ilorin for the acquisition and indeed, the Sokoto Caliphate was started by the activities of Mr. Taubman Goldie, through the Royal Niger Company in the lower Niger. The formation of the Royal Niger Company was as a result of the voyage on the River Niger by Dr. Mungo Park. The voyage and the information generated stimulated an intensive exploration of the river by Europeans to discover and tap its abundant commercial potentialities.[304] In this regard; necessary machinery was set in motion to accomplish the objective. In 1880s, when the Anglo-French commercial rivalry on the lower Niger had became very intense, George Taubman Goldie, a British entrepreneur, monopolized not only the traffic along the lower Niger, but, also the trade of the societies and polities in the interior, by buying the trading companies in the lower Niger and amalgamating them to form the United African Company (U.A.C.) in 1879. This he did to forestall the French initiative.[305] U.A.C was later followed by the formation of the National African Company. In 1886, Goldie managed to get from the British Government a "charter" and the Company's name was changed to the Royal Niger Company (R.N.C) chartered and Limited. As a chartered Company it:

[304] R.A. Olaoye, "*The Ilorin Emirate and the British Ascendancy* … p.35.
[305] C.R. Niven, *A Short History of Nigeria*, Longmans, Nigeria 1965, p.211; Charles Orr, The *Making of Northern Nigeria*, Frank Cass, London, 1965, pp. 24-26.

> Has the ordinary organization of a trading firm but in addition is responsible for law and order in the territory assigned to it. It may impose taxes and collect customs duties to meet its administrative expenses; being under the protection of its government, other nations cannot enter or interfere in its territories; it carries out all those duties which are usually done by a government except that it cannot negotiate with foreign powers.[306]

The Company had its headquarters in Lokoja and carried out its trading activities up and down the Niger and Benue Rivers.

Steps for capturing the Ilorin Emirate for the British Government were put forward in 1885, when the National African Company (N.A.C.), claimed to have signed a treaty with the Emir of Ilorin.[307] (See appendix IV). This claim might not be true judging from the fact that Sir Claude MacDonald who was commissioned to investigate the R.N.C activities in 1889, described the Company's treaty with Ilorin as 'worthless' as it was never recognized or honoured by Ilorin.[308] Emir Aliyu told MacDonald that the treaty was but a mere commercial agreement between two parties and did not by it, put himself, or the Emirate for that matter, under the protection of the company or the British flag.[309] It has even been posited that the Company probably had no close link in terms of commercial relations with the Emirate. Indicative of this, was lack of any European agent of the company in the Emirate as was found in Lokoja.[310] Nevertheless, by the claims embodied in the supposed treaty, the Emirate was supposed to govern itself according to its "own laws and customs", while the right to govern all foreigners and the power to exclude

[306] R.A. Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria*… pp. 141-142. MacDonald Report, CSO ¼ NAI.
[307] R.A. Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria,*… p. 142.
[308] O. Ikimi, *The Fall of Nigeria*, Heineman, London, 1977, p.120.
[309] R.A. Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria*….
[310] See R.J. Garvin, "The Impact of Colonial Rule on Ilorin Economy, 1897-930"…. pp. 16-17.

traders from the Emirate, as it saw fit, rest with the N.A.C.[311] With this claim in the background, it is very clear that the British were perfecting their imperialistic plan towards securing an economic and political base in Ilorin. It is also probable that the commercial position of Ilorin as intermediary between her neighbours to the Southern and Northern markets,[312] as earlier discussed, offered an attraction which the British sought to manipulate.

It is, therefore, not surprising to note considering the economic position of Ilorin that in the desire to occupy Ilorin, the R.N.C was not alone. The British Government in Lagos also had its eyes on the Emirate and desires to incorporate it into the Lagos colony. Governor Carter of Lagos viewed Ilorin as being geographically contiguous to Lagos and thus would be relatively easy to administer from Lagos.[313] Secondly, Ilorin was predominantly Yoruba, it was therefore felt that Ilorin should be merged with Lagos colony which was also thickly populated by Yoruba people.[314] Thirdly, there was the need to deal with Ilorin in the events of her expansionist policy on areas that were under the control of the British Government in Lagos and which is injurious to the trading and commercial interests of Lagos.[315] Before the British actual invasion the Emirate had been threatened, for in 1893 the British colonial regime in Lagos, using the war that had been going on between Ilorin and Ibadan, adopted a very hostile and aggressive attitude towards Ilorin.[316]

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[311] Z.O. Apata "Ilorin-Lagos Relations in the Nineteenth century: A study of British Imperial struggle in Yoruba land",*Transafrican Journal of History*, Vol. 20, 1991. P. 145.
[312] Ibid.
[313] Ibid. See also, R.A. Olaoye, "*The Ilorin Emirate and the British Ascendancy* ... p. 37.
[314] Mahmud Modibbo Tukur, "*The Imposition of British Colonial Domination on the Sokoto Caliphate, Borno and Neighbouring States: 1897-1914: A Reinterpretation of the Colonial Sources*", Ph.D Thesis, ABU, Zaria, 1979. P.12.
[315] Ibid.
[316] Ibid. P.13.

This explain why in the peace treaty which that regime imposed on the two warring parties that year, Ilorin was made to cede some territory to the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria to which Ibadan had been already incorporated.[317]

Also in 1895 the Lagos colonial regimes encourage some other Ilorin towns to throw off their allegiance to Ilorin and organized the expulsion of Ilorin's *Ajeles* from the towns.[318] On March 31st, 1896, the *Baloguns* overthrew the Emir of Ilorin, Muhammadu, for his inability to stand up to the British colonialist regime in Lagos. In his place, Suleiman was appointed and was reduced to their puppet.[319] Ilorin, now effectively under the *Baloguns* moved to repulse the aggression of the Lagos regime by attacking its troops stationed at Odo Otin, which seems to have been within Ilorin's territory before the establishment of the station, but the British defeated this effort with heavy casualty on the part of Ilorin due to the superior fire power of the British.[320] As a result of this development, steps and preparations were set in motion to occupy Ilorin but the Lagos Government was handicapped in its plan, because the Royal Niger Company considered the Ilorin Emirate as falling under its sphere of influence by virtue of the 1885 treaty and resisted every move made by the Lagos Government. The situation led to struggling between the two 'rival' groups of the same British imperial government, to outwit one another in an effort to control and annex Ilorin.[321] Had Governor Carter of Lagos succeeded, he planned to 're-people Ilorin with Yoruba mainly from Ibadan and 'drive the unruly foreign element back to their own country'.[322] By 'foreign element,' Carter was referring to the Ilorin Emirate administration headed by Fulani. The Fulani being refer to as 'foreign

[317] Ibid.
[318] Ibid.
[319] Z.O. Apata, "*Ilorin-Lagos Relations*... contain detail analysis of the struggle and methods employed in this direction.
[320] Carter 1896: CSO 1/3/3NAI, Quoted in Ibid. P. 152.
[321] Hermon-Hodge, *Gazeteer*, ... p. 74; Hogben, S.J. and Kirk-Greene, A.H.M. *The Emirates of Northern Nigeria,*… p.300.
[322] R.A. Olaoye, "*The Ilorin Emirate and the British Ascendancy* ...,

element'. This is noteworthy because it shows the sources of racial and tribal thinking and policies of the British which were to take, effect later.

Eventually, however, the R.N.C. was to accomplish the task of capturing the Emirate. In the meantime, a military post had been placed at Kabba by R.N.C., perhaps to prevent the frequent incessant slave raids by Ilorin and Nupe.[323] This measure could not however deter Ilorin and Nupes from continuing their raids for slaves in the area. By 1897, these situations, in addition to continuous hostility in Ilorin Emirate towards British activities in the Emirate, decided the R.N.C. on a war path. Furthermore, there was the threat of the secret pact between Ilorin and Bida to attack the company's trading posts. This was enough warning for Goldie to get prepared.

The political situation of social contradiction within the Ilorin Emirate aristocracy, as discussed in chapter three, put the Emirate in a vulnerable position vis-a-vis the impeding colonial danger[324], which the British later exploited in perpetrating colonial rule. To defend themselves, i.e. the company's trading post, and the neighbouring pagans, that are being raided, an expedition was decided upon against Bida and Ilorin[325] Bida was first attacked. Three weeks after the occupation of Bida, the Company troops attacked Ilorin on 16th February 1897.[326] The war against Ilorin lasted for two days. A detachment of Ilorin army resisted the advancing R.N.C. forces at River Oyun just at the outskirt of Ilorin city wall.[327] The detachment was routed and a message was sent to the Emir to surrender to R.N.C. Instead, the Emir and his military commanders chose to defend the city and took

[323] Hermon-Hodge, *Gazetteer*, ...
[324] Ibid.
[325] L.A.K. Jimoh, *Ilorin: Journey so Far*... p. 186.
[326] Mahmud Modibbo Tukur, "*The Imposition of British Colonial Domination*... P.14.
[327] Hermon-Hodge, *Gazetteer* ... see also, Vandeleur, *Campaigning on the upper Nile and Niger*, London, 1896, p.190.

their stand inside the city walls. The R.N.C retaliated by bombarding the city walls forcing their way through. Ilorin first suffered a casualty of about 150 soldiers including one of its four *Baloguns,* Adamu, in January, during its attack on a British military post at Erinmope, and during the R.N.C. attack on Ilorin town on 15th February, the defenders, who were estimated at 8,000-10,000 of whom 800 were mounted, suffered a loss of about 200 horsemen alone, the number of those who died among the infantry being presumably much higher.[328]

In the face of defeat by the British the Emir and *Baloguns* fled.[329] Messages, however, were sent out recalling the Emir and *Baloguns*, and a treaty was signed by which the Emir became a vassal of the Company.[330] See appendix iv. However, formal colonial administration was not established until November 1898. This was the date a 'Lieutenant Ruxton was granted civil powers as a senior executive officer.[331] With the defeat, Ilorin was forced to submit to the domination of R.N.C. and with it the British imperial power. Ilorin's acceptance of battle in February 1897 when the R.N.C. invaded her must however be counted as an act of great courage and patriotism on the part of the *Baloguns* and the people of Ilorin considering the fact that in January 1897 the British had inflicted a heavy casualty and destruction on Bida, which could have served as a lesson to Ilorin not to confront the British. More so, ten months earlier, Ilorin had suffered casualty in hands of the forces of the British regime in Lagos, though this was much smaller than what she suffered at the hands of the company.

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[328] Hermon-Hodge, *Gazetteer, ...*
[329] Ibid.
[330] M. Crowder, *The Story of Nigeria*, Faber & Faber, 1978, p. 179; Z.O. Apata, "Ilorin-Lagos Relations… ... p. 143.
[331] Ma'hmood Madani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism,* John Archers (Publishers) Limited, Ibadan, 2002. P.77.

4.2 Colonial State and the Establishment of the Ilorin Native Authority System.

Native Authority system was the orbit around which the provincial administrative structure revolved under the colonial rule. This administrative structure termed indirect rule,[332] became a dominant colonial philosophy in Nigeria, when Lord Lugard became the High Commissioner of Northern Nigeria in 1900. Indirect rule, according to Madani, meant that the real locus of colonial administration was the local state, the district run by the district commissioner and which required that this man on the spot must be carefully identified, groomed, and placed.[333] The system came to be predicated on a form of decentralization that was more cultural than territorial. It is said to be a search for institutional forms of control anchored in a historical and cultural legitimacy, which was a shift from territorial to institutional segregation.[334] An important point to note under indirect rule was that the parameters of state authorities was ensured corresponded with that of the native community, the tribe, and then rule through it.[335] Culture must define the parameters of decentralized rule, while the boundaries of culture would mark the parameters of territorial administration. Therefore, the tendency was for the tribe to be defined as the unit of indirect rule administration. As noted in Nigeria, administrative units, under colonialism, corresponded "roughly to ethnic or tribal groupings".[336]

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[332] Ibid.
[333] Ibid. P.79.
[334] Ibid.
[335] See for instance, Sule Bello "*State and Economy in Kano C. 1894-1960: A Study of Colonial Domination*," Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, ABU, Zaria, 1982. P. 106.
[336] Ibid. P.107.

Against the above background of colonial ideology underlining the Indirect Rule was the instrumentality of the Native Authority whose functions were the collection of taxes, maintenance of law and order as well as marshalling of forced labour, the enforcement of which was to effect the subordination of the merchants and the productive classes.[337] An important aspect of the Native Authority was colonial taxation, which as noted was characterized by four definite features and as identified were:[338] Firstly, to be paid only in colonial currency. Secondly, throughout the period of colonial domination, it was becoming increasingly heavier than the former taxes. Thirdly, it was discriminatory, particularly to peasants, pastoralists, labourers and independent internal merchants. Fourthly, it was characteristically and progressively imposed based on individual adult males and not households. Therefore, it is posited that colonial taxation made heavier demands on the taxpayer than was the case under the Emirate.[339] For example, colonial tax was assessed based on individual adult male, whereas Emirate taxation had operated in terms of households. Thus, any given household could end up, under the new system, paying several times what it had previously paid.[340] The immediate effects of this was that the burden of colonial taxation brought about a general instability in the society, as people were forced to leave their farmlands and move about either in attempts to evade taxation altogether or seized opportunity to support popular protests against the colonial policies. Ironically, the Native Authority's internal expenditure was primarily designed to simply maintain the administration, which affected these colonial policies, i.e. the people paid for the machinery used in oppressing them.[341]

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[337] Ibid. P.116.
[338] See Ibid. P.118.
[339] Ibid.
[340] C.S. Whitaker, *The Politics of Traditions …* p.40.
[341] J.E Flint, *Sir George Goldie and The Making of Nigeria*, O.U.P. 1960, pp. 306-312.

These developments no doubt have ramifications on the subsequent political developments and accompanied crises as well as social relations in Ilorin Emirate, particularly, as it affects the subjects and the machinery of government, as shall be subsequently discuss.

By the terms of the treaty between the Emir of Ilorin and the Royal Niger Company in 1897, the British allowed the Emir's rulership over his people to continue, but the powers were, subject to the overall authority of the Company. These conditions made the Royal Niger Company the real ruler of the Emirate though indirectly through the Emir. One of the special conditions that led Lugard to develop for Northern Nigeria, this administrative system, it is said, was severe restrictions in funds and personnel.[342] Therefore, it is seen as a substitute to the use of British personnel in all aspects of administration, which as claimed by Flint may be "a financially crushing burden".[343] It is argued, however, that the scarcity of personnel was not inevitable and it was more than just a search for personnel to augment the few European officials available on the ground. That it was really the by-product of a larger political problem: the native question.[344] Other conditions were the authority of indigenous monarchs on their territories which rested on conquest backed up by effective occupation and the popularly accepted claim that they were indispensable guardians of religion. In addition to this was the Emir's command of an impressive apparatus of administration, including well-developed procedures of direct taxation and an institutionalized judiciary. All this influenced Lugard to uphold indigenous authority,[345]which was essentially at the local levels

[342] Mahmud Modibbo Tukur, "*The Imposition of British Colonial Domination* ... pp.335-336.
[343] C.S. Whitaker, *The Politics of Traditions, ...*
[344] Lord Lugard, *Political Memoranda.*
[345] Z.O. Apata, "*Ilorin-Lagos Relations... p*.145.

and based entirely as well as strictly on British policies, laws and controls. All the important levels of control at District, provincial regional and country level were in turn "directly" controlled, hence, the rule through the Native Chiefs who are regarded as an integral part of the machinery of government.[346]

The establishment of Ilorin Emirate in 1823, and the system of government that developed there from, provided foundation for the Native Authority system, as indeed, other Emirates in Northern Nigeria. Lugard's intention was to establish a Resident Administration within the framework of provincial structure.[347] According to him, "Resident" implies duty of political or advisory nature, and served as a link in the chain of responsibility downwards.[348] The political organization of the Emirate was well suited for the system. In 1900 Ilorin was incorporated as a province of Northern Nigeria.[349] Hon. David Carnegie, was appointed as the first Resident, and assisted by a small European Staff.[350] His appointment could thus be said to have started the process of this administrative policy in Ilorin.

For purposes of administration, the province was divided into two divisions. That of Ilorin Emirate embraced the states of Offa and Awtun. The other was the Nupe, or Pategi Division. The whole province was, however, under the Emir of Ilorin.[351] The Emir under the Native Authority as such became an important figure through which the British Resident controls the people. By seeking to rule through indirect rule, the colonial authority also embarked on administrative re-organization which changed the structure of power in the Ilorin Emirate.[352] It was noted that it

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[346] Ibid.
[347] Temple, C.L. *Notes on the Tribes Provinces Emirates and States, ...* p.449.
[348] Hermon-Hodge, ... 77.
[349] C.L. Temple, *Notes on the Tribes Provinces Emirates and States,...* p. 452.
[350] H.O. Danmole, "Colonial Reforms ... p.87.
[351] Mahmud Modibbo Tukur, "*The Imposition of British Colonial Domination ...* pp.335-336.
[352] Lord Lugard, *Political Memoranda,…* p.10.

was a lack of coincidence between the structure of local government in the Emirate on the one hand and the British aim of having a few rather than very many people to hold responsible for law and order in the rural areas and through whom to collect taxes, and all that at minimal financial costs, on the other, that necessitated the reorganization of that pre-colonial structure of local government.[353] This British administrative re-organization followed the course of strengthening the institutions already existing in the Emirate, as well as buttressing the position of the Emir in relation to that of his *Baloguns*. The Emir, as highlighted above is gradually losing out in the power struggle with his *Baloguns* prior to the British conquest. In this regard, the Emir was to be assisted in the performance of his roles by various apparatus of the administrative machinery which the colonial authorities put in place.[354] Instead of centralizing everything in him, the Emir is now to work through the heads of the outlying villages and districts which were essential arms of the Native Authority.[355] On matters of general policy, he could issue his own instruction to his subordinate chiefs and district heads not as the orders of the Resident, but on the advice of the British Officers.[356] To supervise and assist the district headmen, whom the Emir appointed but the Resident confirmed, were the British District Officers.[357] Instructions were conveyed to village heads through them, and in all cases, the impression to be given by the Officers was that, all important orders emanated from the Emir whose messenger usually accompanied, and acted as the mouth-piece of the District Officer.[358]

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[353] R.A. Olaoye, "*The Ilorin Emirate and the British Ascendancy* ... p.96.
[354] Ibid.
[355] Ibid.
[356] Ibid p. 97.
[357] C.L.Temple, *Notes on the Tribes Provinces Emirates and States* ... p.452.
[358] Ibid.

The Districts, which generally radiates from Ilorin town, were lands conquered from original predominantly pagan inhabitants at the time of the *Jihad*, and lands of communities or villages, which surrendered or submitted to the Emir's suzerainty and pledged loyalty to him to avoid being expel from the land which they occupied before the Fulani conquest. These were divided into direct grants among the powerful state officials, who assisted in the conquest, and made hereditary.[359] The hereditary owners were nominated as District heads by the British Government.[360] By 1906, the year that the colonial government formally introduced District Administration in Northern Nigeria, the districts under Ilorin, were twelve consisting of Akanbi, Afon, Ajasse, Offa, Awtun, Omu, Osi, Ipanrin, Lanwa, Oloru, Paiye and Onire.[361] Due to further re-organization under the British, the number increased to twenty-viz: Afon, Ajasse, Akanbi, Awtun, Ejidongari, Ekan, Igbaja, Iponrin, Illofa, Lanwa, Malete, Offa, Oloru, Omu, Onire, Osi, Owode, Paiye, Share and Shonga.[362] Each district was divided into village areas under a village Head appointed by his people, but had to be ratified by the Emir.[363]

Before 1906, the fiefs in Ilorin Emirate were under authority of *Daudus*, *Magajis* and *Baloguns* subject to the supreme authority of the Emir. Adoption of the pre-colonial fiefs were used as the bases for the delimitation of the Districts because of Emir Sulaiman's apprehension during, its introduction. So vehement was opposition to the intended arrangement that Lord Lugard highlighted the development in his 1906 and 1907 Annual Report to the colonial office in

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[359] NAK Ilorprof 829 A/1917: Ilorin Emirate Reorganization of Districts.
[360] Hermon-Hodge,*Gazetteer* ... p.202.
[361] Evidence of Alhaji Adebayo, Ilorin, 4th July, 2013.
[362] See Hermon-Hodge, *Gazetteer,...* p. 164.
[363] C.W. Michie, "Report on Land Tenure in Ilorin Emirate," Unpublished; Copy with the Ilorin Local Government (now Ilorin West Local Government). Cited in L.A.K. Jimoh,; *Ilorin: Journey so Far*p. 211.

London.[364] Lord Lugard took the step to allay the fears expressed by both the Emir and the fief-holders. The delimitation was done in such a way that as many of the Districts as possible were kept "within sight" of the Emir at Ilorin to allay his fears that the Districts were created to reduce his sovereignty. Accordingly, the boundaries of the Districts were adjusted in 1912 to bring them nearer to Ilorin and make them begin right from the city wall. C.W. Michiel in his Report, ("The Administrative Review Committee on Land Tenure and Administration in Ilorin Emirate"), submitted in 1953, aptly confirmed that:

> This unusual arrangement, which might be likened to the hub and spokes of a wheel, was a compromise between the desire of the British Administration to abolish the system of fiefdom and the desire of the Emir to preserve the traditional policy of the Fulani Emirs whereby the Emir keeps the closest possible watch over the
> activities of feudal barons.[365]

Another step taken by Lord Lugard to allay the fears of the Emir over the creation of Districts by the colonial government was concession that only members of the royal family and of the major chieftaincy families who were the original owners and traditional administrators of the dukedoms existing before the advent of colonial rule would be appointed District Heads. These 'Safeguards' introduced by the colonial authorities substantially allayed the fears of not only the Emir but also of the fief-holders who had perceived the new district arrangement as a clever ploy to divide the people by the colonial government, hence, its support by the Emir.

It is noteworthy that, although, the new District arrangement provoked incessant popular uprisings in the Emirate between 1906 and 1927, it, however,

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[364] C.W. Michie, "Report on Land Tenure in Ilorin Emirate," Unpublished; Copy with the Ilorin Local Government (now Ilorin
West Local Government). Cited in L.A.K. Jimoh,; *Ilorin: Journey so Far*p. 211.
[365] Mahmud Modibbo Tukur, "*The Imposition of British Colonial Domination* ... pp.343-344.

yielded some benefits for the colonial government. For instance, Lord Lugard asserted that by 1908 the arrangement was already;

> Leading to considerable improvement in the method of collection of revenue; one immediate result is the movement of considerable bodies of people, the followers of the chiefs so appointed and formerly idlers in Ilorin town, out to the sparsely populated country districts, to the benefit and increase of agriculture.[366]

This confirmed that District Administration and reorganization among other things was introduced to improve revenue under the Native Authority System. It was prompted by the need to have the tax collected efficiently. Therefore, to adapt the preexisting structure of local government in the Emirate to their aims the British decided to alter that structure to take the form of making all the inhabitants of Ilorin Emirate pay British taxes through a single chief (Emir) and through no other similar chief while all the towns and villages in a given locality were to pay these taxes through a single major chief (village/town or District heads who was to reside in that locality rather than in the Emirate capital or in another part of the Emirate.[367]

Be that as it may, the resultant cross-movement of people between the city (Ilorin) and the Districts accelerated and compounded the intermingling of the people in the city with those in the Districts. These in fact add to the existing interwoven socio-cultural relations between the people inside the city and those in the country-side. People of Ilorin Emirate, whether inside Ilorin town or the Districts outside it, were essentially one and the same people separated only by cross migration to and from the city. For instance, the real owners of the bulk of the land in Afon District as in other Districts within the Emirate were mostly families inside

[366] L.A.K. Jimoh, *Ilorin: Journey So Far*... p. 209.
[367] Hermon-Hodge, *Gazetteer*, p. 201.

Ilorin town. This situation also formed part of the apprehension of the Emir on the introduction of the District Administration. The Emir was opposed to the separation, into different districts, of hitherto inter-related villages and fiefs which had very strong affinity. In confirmation of this claim, Jimoh L.A.K noted in Hermon-Hodge's Gazetteer of Ilorin province, in reference to a social anthropologist, Mrs. Leith-Ross, who confirmed in 1925 that:

> In spite of the size of the town, the term 'urban' can hardly be applied to the population of Ilorin, so constant is the movement between town and country. Most families have both a compound in the town and a farm in the bush, and migrate from one to the other for two, three or four months at a time.[368]

Review of district boundaries was a continual exercise throughout the colonial period. Boundary adjustments or even outright merger of some Districts usually occurred. Between 1913 and 1917 Ejidongari District was merged with Lanwa District; Malete with Paiye; Owode with Afon; and Igbaja with Ajase District. The merging of Districts was, however, not without vehement opposition from each of the people whose Districts were submerged in others. This compelled the colonial administration to relent on the matter and in 1917, the 'Districts were reseperated,'[369] and remained basically the same until 1945. This was when Oke-Ode was merged with Ilorin in exchange for Shonga and Sharagi which were merged with Lafiagi. The 1945 adjustments were partly justified on ethnic grounds. The justification was that Oke-Ode was ethnically Yoruba while both Shonga and Sharagi are Nupe. As rightly submitted by Jimoh, L.A.K., this was done despite the fact that a sizeable proportion of the population of Oke-Ode has non Yoruba

[368] L.A.K. Jimoh, *Ilorin: Journey So Far*... 217.
[369] Ibid. p. 198.

ancestry as it is in other places like Igbaja, Rore and Babanloma, among others in Igbomina land, which are also usually categorized ethnically as Yoruba.[370] Administration and policies on the districts as shall be subsequently discussed, was an important aspect of the political history of the Emirate which was to have a lasting influence on the polity and the multicultural nature of the Emirate.

As the sole Native Authority, the agencies for carrying out policies like Native Treasury, Judiciary and works, Health and Agriculture, were said to be under the control of the Emir. He also had 'control' of all appointments and the right to dismiss men from the native administration, especially the staff considered to be lacking in loyalty to the Emir. Under the Native Authority administration, the British created new titles such as the Chief Clerk, paymaster, sanitary inspector, et cetera, as well as retaining the traditional ones like *Mogaji* and *Balogun* among others. In this way, the British while maintaining a sense of continuity of the pre-British Emirate administration, she nevertheless, injects certain changes in the administration by synthesizing the old with the new to conform to colonial administration.

To be able to effectively use the Emir, the colonial administration dealt ruthlessly with all opposition against him or the British. This political development was an important integrating factor for it ensured unquestioned allegiance of the traditional chiefs, particularly, the *Baloguns* (war lords/ward leaders) to the Emir as the sole Native Authority. Though the Emir had tolerated the imposition of colonial rule on the Emirate in 1897, the *Baloguns*, adopted a belligerent, uncooperative stance not only against the colonial administrators but also against the Emir himself, whom they regarded as a weakling.[371] Under the Native Authority system, the Emir

[370] H.O. Danmole, "*Colonial Reforms*…
[371] Ibid. p. 88.

and his Officials became employees of the Native Authority and were all placed on fixed salaries. Therefore, the Emir no longer depended on tributes from his *Balogun* and became independent of them.

Deposition and deportation were the weapons used by the British to further assert the authority of the Emir and the British administration on the *Baloguns*.[372] For instance, *Balogun* Alanamu whose contempt for the Emir was widely known in Ilorin was deposed in 1902.[373] He was exiled at Ogbomoso. *Balogun* Gambari was fined £5 (₦10.00) in 1905 for sending one of his followers to a village as his representative.[374] Such a situation would not have arisen before the imposition of the colonial rule because the *Balogun* could do this at their will in areas allocated to them as fiefs. The colonial administration took the steps, which not simply reduce their power but also including the exercise of disciplinary measures over them. This is with to reduce their influence and enhancing the position of the Emir as subordinate to the British District Officer, Resident, etc, as they did in other Emirates in Northern Nigeria.

The shocking banishment of *Balogun* Alanamu, in particular, who was one of the greatest Military Administrators Ilorin has had, forced the remaining *Baloguns* into subservience to the Emir,[375] who is under the authority of the British. Thus, the structure of power in the Emirate was changed as the *defacto* authority now rest with the British. The Emir developed self confidence and took advantage of the odds against the Baloguns to free himself from the shackles of their control. Although, the Emir of Ilorin was like a Yoruba *Oba* who was an *Oba* in council,

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[372] Ibid.
[373] L.A.K. Jimoh, *Ilorin: Journey So Far*... p. 199.
[374] H.O. Danmole, "*Colonial Refor*ms ... p.88.
[375] T.N. Tamuno, *The Evolution of the Nigerian State. The Southern Phase 1898-1914*, Longman, London, 1978, p.224.

because decisions were reached after due consultations with his *Baloguns*, however, the power and influence of the *Balogun* were greatly reduced under colonial administration.[376] Thus in this way, the position of the Emir of Ilorin which could not have been said to be powerful as other Emirs in Northern Nigeria in the nineteenth century, was strengthened and made the sole authority by the colonialist. Before the colonial rule, the extent of the power of the Emir was a factor of the pre-colonial history of the town. Its multicultural composition and the assistance of various cultural groups in the success of the established Emirate perhaps informed the Emirate's political organization. With this development under the British, the integration in the Emirate and in the larger Emirate of the predominantly Hausa states was further perpetrated. Whatever political development or British political decisions that affected the Northern protectorate, of course, also affected Ilorin province. Internally however, the development failed to ensure a very stable political developments and integration as later developments revealed.

[376] NAK, Ilorprof 346/1915.

4.3 British Colonial Systems, Territorial Re-Organization and the Policy of Ethnic Segregation.

In order to assume minimum responsibilities for their administration and protect its interest in the Niger district or territories acquired for Britain, the British government had allowed three agencies to operate in their different protectorates.[377] These were the Lagos colony and protectorate, the oil Rivers (Niger Coast) protectorate and the Royal Niger Company. The arbitrary line of demarcation between the territories administered by the agencies was to continue the old struggle between various cultural groups in these areas on boundary issues, particularly, the territory under Ilorin Emirate administration and that of the Oyo (Yoruba), but now in a new form.

In pre-colonial times, the boundary of the Ilorin Emirate as indeed other areas was decided through wars or peaceful negotiations. As a result, the boundary of the Emirate was very fluid from its inception in 1823 to the end of the nineteenth century. For instance, though the Emirate was involved in wars of expansion, and in the early 19th century, a greater part of Yoruba land north of Offa was conquered right up to the Niger.[378] Nevertheless, areas that had earlier submitted to Ilorin often took available opportunity to free themselves of Ilorin's rule. Offa's rejection of Ilorin's control in 1877 was a typical example.[379] However, in the colonial era, the British frowned upon any wars as this was injurious to their imperialistic ambition. To stem the tide of the expansionist policy of pre-colonial states which had led to a desultory fight between Ilorin and Ibadan, and which was injurious to the trading

[377] See for instance, Samuel Johnson, *History of the Yorubas*,... p.434.
[378] S.A Akintoye,. *Revolution and Power Politics in Yorubaland 1840-1893, Longman*, London, pp. 165-166.
[379] For detail, see H.O. Danmole, "Ibadan-Ilorin Relations in the Nineteenth Century: A Study in imperial struggles in Yorubaland", *Transafrican Journal of* History, Vol. 14, 1985, pp.21-36.

and commercial interests of Lagos, there arose the need to demarcate the boundary between the two belligerents.[380]

The struggle between Ilorin and Ibadan emanated from the desire of the two states to dominate the affairs of Yoruba land.[381] Consequently this led to conflict and warfare between the two through acquisition of territories. Ilorin's incursion into Yoruba heartland was said to have hampered commercial activities between the Nigerian coastal communities and the Yoruba hinterland. To the Colonial Administration, Ilorin posed problems of uninterrupted trade and peace with the productive hinterland and the problem of the northern boundary of the Lagos Protectorate.[382] The colonial government in Lagos became very anxious to intervene and get the vital north-south trade route re-opened. Sir G.T. Carter, the then Governor of Lagos was able to make peace between the two parties.[383] The truce could not, however, last long. In 1894, both Ilorin and Ibadan clashed again because Ilorin soldiers occupied the military camp at Ikirun from where Ibadan had just withdrawn, as a result of the 1893 settlement.[384] As these conflicts were affecting the trading and commercial interest of Lagos, a boundary demarcation was planned between the Royal Niger Company and Lagos Colony, as a lasting solution. The procedure for the demarcation as advocated by the Lagos government was the adoption of the principle of ethnicity and racial boundary.[385] This meant that all the people that were 'culturally' and 'ethnically' related should be administered under one government. Therefore, Ilorin which was largely Yoruba, should be merged

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[380] T.G.O. Gbadamosi, *The Growth of Islam Among the Yorubas…* p. 10.
[381] See, C.L. Temple, *Notes on the Tribes Provinces Emirates and States of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria*, ... R.A. Adeleye *Power and Diplomacy*, ... p.142; Samuel Johnson, *History of the Yorubas*, ... p. 628.
[382] H.O. Danmole, *"The External Relations of Ilorin. ...* p. 13.
[383] T.N. Tamuno, *The Evolution of the Nigerian State*,... p. 227.
[384] Z.O. Apata. "*Ilorin-Lagos Relations*... pp. 147-148.
[385] *Ibid* p. 148.

with Lagos Colony (also predominantly Yoruba in population), and not the Niger territories controlled by the Royal Niger Company. Goldie rejected this principle, and, in order to keep Lagos out of Ilorin, the Royal Niger Company through the foreign office mounted pressure on the colonial office to ensure the demarcation of, the boundary between Ilorin and Ibadan.[386] Despite Emir Momoh's protest over the planned boundary demarcation,[387] the exercise was eventually carried out.

During the exercise, though, Ilorin and Ibadan sent delegations; it nevertheless, turned out to be a straightforward affair between the Lagos government and the Royal Niger Company. Governor Carter of Lagos sent Captain R.L. Bower, the British Resident in Ibadan, at the head of Ibadan delegation, while Captain Frederick Lugard stood in for the Royal Niger Company and became spokesperson for the Ilorin delegation.[388]Lagos government strongly protested against the presence of Captain Lugard and described it as inexpedient.[389] The Royal Niger Company paid no heed to the protest. The boundary was finally demarcated in 1894. River Awere was used as the boundary line. Ilorin raised objection to the demarcation as it placed some Ilorin farms in Erinle, which was a town controlled by Ilorin, under Ibadan. More so, Ilorin wanted the boundary to be drawn in such a way as to include Ikirun in its territory.[390] Meanwhile, there is the question of Offa, who had of late, demonstrated her leaning to the Yoruba represented by Ibadan, by taking side with Ibadan, in the latter's military confrontation with Ilorin.[391] However, since the interest of the Royal Niger Company had been adequately protected by the exercise, Lugard prevailed on Ilorin authorities to accept the outcome of the

[386] R.A. Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy*,... p.143.
[387] NAI, CSO 2/3/3.
[388] R.A. Olaoye, "*The Ilorin Emirate and the British Ascendancy*.... p.50.
[389] *Ibid*.
[390] Z.O. Apata, "*Ilorin Lagos Relations* ... p. 148.
[391] Charles Orr, *The Making of Northern Nigeria,* frank Cass, London, 1965... p.40-41.

boundary delimitation. It was a diplomatic victory for the Royal Niger Company as it kept Ilorin in practice, outside the sphere of influence of Lagos and placed it, in theory, among the territories controlled by the Royal Niger Company. Conscious of this implication, Carter refused to append his signature on the Bower-Lugard boundary agreement document of 1894.[392] This boundary later became the demarcation between the Northern and Southern Nigeria.

By 1898, it had became evident that the territories acquired by the Royal Niger Company, could no longer be left in the hands of a chartered company, but that the responsibility must be definitely and directly assumed by the British government.[393] The date for direct administration was subsequently fixed as the 1st January 1900, and it was decided to divide the territories into two portions, the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria and the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, with a separate and distinct administration under a High Commissioner.[394] The Northern Protectorate included the territories on both banks of Benue River, and the whole of the middle Niger and the area to the north up to the Anglo-French boundary.[395] Lugard became the High Commissioner for the Northern Protectorate in 1900, and inherited these areas hitherto claimed, or administered by the Royal Niger Company which include Ilorin and Kabba, "together with a strip on both side of the river Niger and Benue".[396] He also inherited some of the old boundary problems which the 1894 delimitation had not put to rest. Thus in 1900 the colonial administration defined the boundary between Northern and Southern Nigeria. This boundary delineation was totally unacceptable to the Ilorin war-lords, especially the *Baloguns*. The

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[392] *Ibid*. p. 42.
[393] *Ibid.*
[394] Z.O. Apata, "Lugard and the Creation of Provincial Administration in Northern Nigeria 1900-1918", *African Study Monographs*, 11 (3), December, 1990, p.145.
[395] A.T. Adisa Onikoko, *A History of Ilorin Emirate*…. p. 69.
[396] R.A. Olaoye, *"The Ilorin Emirate and the British Ascendancy* … pp. 50-51.

uncompromising posture of the Ilorin war-lords provoked the colonial administration to send Inakoju, the *Balogun* Alanamu, on exile to Ogbomoso in 1900. Because protests from Ilorin against the 1900 boundary delineation did not subside, the revisiting of the delineation by the colonial administration, which appeared to be biased in favour of the Southern Protectorate, became a recurring exercise. Ilorin noted that the administration used ethnic affinity for transferring the Emirate's tributary towns to the Southern Protectorate as against her expectation of the principle of established local jurisdiction and was displeased with the double standard adopted by the colonial administration in the delimitation exercise. Ilorin could not see the rationale in the excision from the Emirate of towns and villages in the South and South-West predominantly populated by Ilorin people such as:

> … Gbede, including Abuduka and villages to the left and right On Ogbomoso road such as Elebemeje and Jabaya on the left and Ipekun e.t.c. on the right up to Aribaba and those villages and settlements on the either side of Ikoyi – Igbeti road down to Dogo which are, up to the present day, inhabited by Ilorin people…[397]

Through persistent agitation, therefore, the delineation enabled the 'Yoruba' (Oyo) to regain the territory, which it lost, to Ilorin, by war. This encouraged Oyo to revive and intensify the agitation. Ilorin on the other hand, continued to lay claim of ownership to the territories which it gained by war prior to the arrival of the British colonialists.

Such Frontier delimitations therefore continued to be a recurrent feature in the provincial administrative system established by the British. Ilorin province (see

[397] T.N. Tamuno. *The Evolution of the Nigerian State, ...*

map 3) was further to be confronted with frontier problems with the Southern Provinces (Western Region). In fact, by the time that, the first Resident of Ilorin Province, assumed office in 1900, the need for boundary settlements along the different - borders of the provinces, had assumed a wider proportion.[398] But the most important was the controversial boundary between Lagos Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria as well as the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria. In dealing with the various internal boundaries and the disputes, which affected their administrations, border decisions were now taken at official levels. In this regard, the government spokespersons propounded three major principles, which often conflicted. The principles ranged from the principle of ethnicity, administrative convenience, and principle of established Local jurisdiction.[399] It might be recalled, Carter in the 1894 boundary demarcation, advocated the principle-of ethnicity in his submission, and this is what Lagos government continued to maintain. Lugard, on the other hand, stressed the principle of established local jurisdiction and went to a great extent to defend the principle in Northern Nigeria. The colonial office even though encouraged its men-on-the spot to resolve such differences through further discussion among themselves, often lent its weight to the theory of established local jurisdiction.[400]

The boundary between Lagos colony and protectorate and the protectorate of Northern Nigeria was to put Lugard's emphasis of the principle of established local jurisdiction to its severest test. The Ekiti claim to Otun in particular and the Lagos government desire to put Ilorin under its sphere of influence based on perceived

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[398] *Ibid.*
[399] R.A. Olaoye, "The Ilorin Emirate and the British Ascendancy ... p. 46.
[400] NAK, Ilorprof 1/1/6/1903, Correspondence from E.C. Watson, Ag. Resident, Ilorin Province to (H.C. Zungeru) Lord F. Lugard.

'ethnic' consideration were to complicate the boundary problem and provided the two most important boundary disputes. The Osi District of the Emirate, though through a protracted military campaign, had been absorbed into the Emirate long enough, yet, most groups of the district, like Obo and Otun in particular, owed their primordial allegiance as a group outside Ilorin.[401] Before British colonialism, this district had offered a severe and protracted resistance to the forces of the Emirate. Otun in particular, even under the British, had further demonstrated its rejection of the Ilorin provincial authority. The ruler of Otun, for instance, refused to attend the ceremony for the presentation of staff of office to the Emir of Ilorin, on the claim that he was not under Ilorin.[402]

This issue of Otun was to generate controversy between Macgregor of Lagos and Lugard. Macgregor wanted Otun to be under the Lagos colony and protectorate, but Lugard affirmed his principle of established local jurisdiction. Writing in March 1904, over this controversy, Lugard was able to state his basic principles for the demarcation of boundaries. He stated:

> It is a matter of little imperial importance whether a section of a particular district is administered by one British authority or another; but it is a matter of much local importance, whether existing customs are arbitrarily interfered with. It is a wholly novel theory that all 'racial relations' should necessarily be under the same rule. The province of Ilorin contains, for instance, a section of the Yorubas conquered by the Fulani and comprising now the Emirate of Ilorin, which itself was again an appanage of Gando.... Lines of demarcation in Africa must proceed on decisions of local jurisdiction not on 'racial relation'.... The existing boundaries are tolerably good in this respect, and have now received the sanction of time and usage….. I venture to protest against any fresh disturbance of this frontier, the more so..... I presume

[401] Quoted in T.N. Tamuno, *The Evolution of the Nigerian State ... pp*. 229-230.
[402] *Ibid*. pp. 230-231.

> that, in the not very distant future, the two Administrations will be merged.[403]

Neither the 1906 amalgamation nor that of 1914, as such, ceded Ilorin to the Yorubas in the Southern Protectorate, apart from a minor concession that was given in 1936. This perennial boundary question was re-opened again between 1906 and 1909, when 'the Yorubas', perhaps those living in Lagos, petitioned the Lagos government, demanding that the present boundary between the Colony and protectorate of Southern Nigeria and the protectorate of Northern Nigeria be re-adjusted by bringing the Southern portion of Northern Nigeria into Southern Nigeria so that the entire 'tribes' of Yoruba - speaking people should be under one and the same administration.[404] When the Lagos government took up the discussion with Governor P. Girouard of Northern Nigeria he was warned to forget these boundary disputes pending the amalgamation of the two territories.[405]

The general principle based on considerations of established local jurisdiction and not kinship, was therefore, adopted over the boundary disputes between Northern Nigeria through Ilorin, and the Southern Nigeria. The British in this way, left villages and towns, which had been under the Emirate administration in Northern Nigeria, before the arrival of the British, in that protectorate.[406]The agitation continued, and there were further agitations for Boundary adjustment between Ilorin and Ibadan on Ogbomoso Road. In 1910 the boundary was ratified.

In 1917, because of continued discontent in the Ekiti land a boundary commission was appointed and was instructed to demarcate a boundary which would keep

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[403] *Ibid.* p. 231.
[404] *Ibid.*
[405] *Ibid*. p.128.
[406] N.A.K./Loko Prof./2668/1917.

communities together on one side or the other of the boundary. The Commission found the job an impossible task. Perhaps, this was because even extant communities seldom exhibit homogeneous or common cultural features and origin. The Commission however, reaffirmed existing boundary. Later in 1936 one tiny fragment (Otun) was transferred to Ondo province in what became the Western region of Nigeria.[407] The question of boundary adjustment was re-examined in 1938 before the division of Southern provinces into the Eastern and Western provinces. It was meant to revise the official description of the boundary and to provide a more accurate definition of the boundary. Eventually, Lord Lugard acquiesced to the cession of a small portion of Ekiti land-Ishan, Aiyede and Ikole to be removed from the Ilorin Emirate and merged with the Western Region. Earlier, in 1896, Ilorin *Ajeles* had been expelled from these areas by the Lagos constabulary, stationed at Odo Otin, in consequence of the 1894 boundary delineation.[408] This expulsion of the *Ajeles*, and many more later, from their respective stations, liberated a vast area of towns and communities in Yoruba land from Ilorin's suzerainty and sparked off claims and counter-claims by Ilorin and these Yoruba communities. With those negligible exceptions, however, claims by the Yorubas, under Oyo and Ibadan in Southern Protectorate over Ilorin failed throughout the period of colonial rule.

In the colonial period, therefore, petition and peaceful negotiation took the place of war in boundaries decision particularly as it affects Ilorin and the Southern Yoruba States. This was spear headed by the Lagos government requesting the British to revise Nigeria's boundaries so as to place the Emirate within Southern territory. Ilorin was further to be assisted in this regard through the policies of

[407] Mahmud Modibbo Tukur, *"The Imposition of British Colonial Domination ...* P.77.
[408] Hermon Hodge, *Gazetteer, ...* p.78.

Lugard in Northern Nigeria in respect of the Emirate's Southern boundary. Although the petitions continuously sought to reverse the decision, the principle of established Local jurisdiction nevertheless formed the basis of the British administration as regards Ilorin. This became understandable when one consider the fact that migrations, settlements and conflicts, as well as alliances, between states and peoples of diverse origins and interests would tend to render Lagos government claim on 'ethnic contiguity' untenable. The boundary disputes and petition that arouse there from had significant ramifications. It led to political unrest in the Ilorin metropolis and gave rise to nascent political organization in the non-metropolitan, especially districts that proved relatively receptive to revisionist overtures. Examples of such political organizations include Offa Descendant Union, Igbomina Parapo and the Ekiti Parapo. This situation, among other things, helped convince some British officials that internal reform was an urgent necessity in the Emirate. An examination of this is presented in the subsequent discussions.

4.4 The Sole Native Authority and its Influences on District Administration in terms of Geo-Political, Economic and Cultural Relations in the Colony.

The impact of colonial rule in Ilorin can be said, among others, in the preceding discussion, to have created another phase of power struggle between the indigenous ruling classes in Ilorin and between them and their subjects. The British haven completely subjugated and subsequently subordinated the pre-colonial traditional authorities through coercion; it complemented this with the policy of divide and rule. In this regard, it perpetrated the disunity in the relations between the indigenous political ruling class for political and economic benefit of the British. This is with the British policy of institutional segregation, which implied a policy of native control that would be mediated through native chiefs working through native institutions, and which combined recognition of existing facts with creative modification and even outright fabrication.[409] To make this effective, it engendered an administrative restructuring of the political powers and functions of the indigenous institutions to accommodate the British interest of political expropriation and economic exploitation. The administrative restructuring was to create new power relations among and between the political office holders. This created resentments and divisions between the traditional rulers on one hand and between them and their subjects on the other. The changes brought about by the British administration resulted to political and economic implication with far reaching consequences on economic, political developments and social relations in the Ilorin Emirate as revealed in the events subsequently discussed.

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[409] *Ibid.*

Native Authority system progressed steadily until 1907 when political disturbance started.[410] This was to mark the beginning of what was to start in 1913, reforms in the Native Authority Council. The genesis of the 1907 disturbances was linked to three important Chiefs, *Balogun* Ajikobi, the *Magajin Geri* and Ajayi Ogidiolu who were said to have set themselves up in opposition to the sole Native Authority, viewing with intense dislike the attempts of the Emir to assert his authority.[411] At the instigation of these men, government messengers were openly defied and hunters ran riots in the districts with reported frequent murders at Olufuganga and Bode-Saadu by the hunters.[412] It came to such state that the three leaders urged the hunters to attack the Residency. Only the arrival of troops under one Lieutenant Dillon restored order, and the three men responsible for the disturbance were deported from Ilorin by the British.[413] Colonial record revealed that the reason for the disturbance was partly due to the struggle between the Yoruba under (Oyo, later, Ibadan and Southern Protectorate) and Ilorin Emirate, stage-managed from over the border, and engineered to throw discredit upon the Emir.[414] Large deputation from Lagos demanding the release of the men was linked with outside involvement in the disturbance. As one may not want to discredit this reason out rightly, it is however, clear that the reason for the disturbance was more than what colonial record indicated. The involvement of *Magajin Geri*, man of Fulani ancestry and who was in charge of the Emir's ward in the town, made it more clear that the cause of the disturbance could be found in the reduction of the influence and power of the Emir's chiefs vis-a-vis the Emir on one hand and the British

[410] *Ibid*.
[411] *Ibid*. p. 79.
[412] See C.S. Whitaker, *The Politics of Traditions* ... p. 133.
[413] *Ibid*. p. 123, see also, B.J. Dudley, *Parties and Politics in Northern Nigeria*, London, 1968, p. 101.
[414] P.C. Lloyd, *The Political Development of Yoruba Kingdoms*... p. 45.

administrative policies as it affects social relations among the traditional elites and between the elites and the peasants, on the other.

The uproar could therefore be said to be more than a tribal struggle in the Emirate. The root cause lay in the British administrative re-organization, which was of course, to the dislike of the *Baloguns*, a demonstration of which, the dissidents both within and outside would readily exploit. It is therefore, a manifestation of the deep ill-feelings between the Emir and his chiefs on one hand, and those who professedly resented the Emirate's administrative policies under the British on the other. Similarly, it could be postulated that the ignominious removal of *Balogun* Alanamu from office and his subsequent exile, earlier on, were all part of a well-hatched design by the British authorities, to additionally demonstrate the newly acquired powers of the Emir through the British support and use the opportunity to persecute those who had proved difficult, through recalcitrant acts in the past. That such people happened to be predominantly Yoruba, we cannot read 'tribal' meanings i.e. Yoruba versus Fulani headed administration, into such disturbances, as may want to be perceive by some people. This being so, particularly, when the disturbance is view against the background of the British oppression and exploitation of the people through the office of the Emir. The direct consequence of such incidents was to further aggravate political instability and turmoil in Ilorin.

It is pertinent to point out at this juncture, that the fact that the Yoruba within Ilorin being the dominant group in the disturbances, does not derived largely from the recognition of ethnic cleavages in the political structure, but rather on the numerical superiority of the Yoruba who constituted about ninety percent (90%) of

the entire population.[415] The economic advantage derived from their numerical strength might well be another factor. For instance, in the nineteen century, the tax registers of the Yoruba *Baloguns* included three-fifths of the population of Ilorin town; *Balogun* Gambari commanded only one-fifth of the total taxes, while the quarters controlled by the Emir himself and that of *Balogun* Fulani together accounted for the remaining paltry one-fifth of the taxable adult populace.[416] This clearly shows the pre-eminent role played by the Yoruba even in economic matters, and whenever possible they can decide to make their impact felt on the socio-economic and in effect, the political setting of the metropoly.

Already, the District administration and policies has alienated some fief holders that do not have appreciable fiefs. Districts were allotted only to those who had appreciable fief or fiefs.[417] In doing so, the disappointed fief holders who could not receive districts of their own often caused trouble for the British.[418] They often joined the ranks of the *Baba Kekere* or intermediaries in doing this. In addition, the administration and policies on the metropolitan districts has created subservient populations that are subjected to predatory policies by the elites. The situation in its examination could be likening to a master-servant relationship. Not a situation in which the subject's participation in administration and polity is given a fair consideration. Given the opportunity, the situation is such that the servants are ready to vent their grievances on the overlord represented by the Emir and the British. They would readily embrace action that could give them freedom of the oppressive rule.

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[415] Hermon-Hodge, Gazetteer, p.166.
[416] NAK SNP 10 253 p /1913, Province Report for March Quarter 1913 by H.R. Palmer; and NAK SNP 10/8 30/1920, Ilorin Province Annual Report 1919 by p. Longdale; An 'O' Hear, Power Relations. ... p. 102.
[417] See An 'O' Hear, *Power Relations* ... pp. 90-141 (chapters 5 and 6).
[418] *Ibid*. p. 103.

An examination of the district head system revealed that it engendered a change with policies, which further subjected the subjects (*Talakawa*), to more economic hardship and political oppression, under the Emirate political system controled by the elites in helm of affairs. The system added a whole new 'dimension of overlordship, an explanation of which is important to the understanding of the tax protest and the various schemes and impositions by the British, in Ilorin Emirate, towards the last decade of colonialism. Therefore, the districts administration and the attendant social relations clearly present a class struggle. It is a resistant within accommodation of the established political order. It is the struggle of the peasantry to free themselves from the oppressive and exploitative policies of the Emirate ruling elites. This, as expected is bound to be express at whatever political or social opportunities that presents itself. The prevailing economic and political disadvantage of the peasantry made them likely to be influenced by situations of expressed grievances against the Emirate authority. Suffice to say that the general picture of the Ilorin Emirate administration under the district system is well documented.[419] It is established that with the imposition of colonial administration the power of the Ilorin overlords was backed up by the potential fire power of the colonial state.[420] In Ilorin, as elsewhere in Northern Nigeria, the colonial government, in the interests of British or foreign exploitation, "was instrumental in strengthening the power of the ruling class over the *Talakawa*, or poor commoners."[421] Therefore, the power of the colonial state worked to the advantage of the district heads and the British, in their position as appointed agents of the Native Authority. The power of the district heads and their staff was

[419] See Report on Ilorin Disturbances by H.R Palmer, (14/2/1913) Paragraph 6.
[420] See Ann 'O Hear, *Power Relations, ...*
[421] *Ibid*. P. 110.

supported by the British need to rule and collect tax through them and by the perceived necessity to suppress the population. British attempts to stamp out "abuses" by the colonial elites with their newly acquired power as tax collectors and other duties probably only touched the most glaring cases.

Nepotism and various forms of misconducts by the colonial elites therefore characterized the system. Demand for payment of *Isakole* (Compulsory Farm Labour from each village to the district head) and tributes were abused.[422] There were also cases of illegal exaction of taxes and even conversion of Isakole and tribute in kind to cash payment. Other means, by which district heads profited from their subjects, included the acceptance of bribes. Other district personnel, and personal retainers of the district heads, were also involved in various forms of extortion. For example, messenger of the district head (Onise Oba) charged fees before they would deliver any message. Sellers in district markets were obliged to surrender a portion of their produce to the *Baba Oloja* (market owner or father) who transmitted it, presumably after deducting his own share, to the district head. This was known as *Aroja*, and failure to surrender appropriate portion expected as Aroja is not taken kindly by *Baba Oloja*. Defaulters are sometimes flogged publicly in the market.[423]

[422] Hermon-Hodge, *Gazetteer* ... P.227; NAK IlorProf 5 3640, General Notes, Osborn Diary.
[423] Oral evidence obtained from Alhaja Aminat, Okubiyi Compound, Okekere Area, Ilorin, Aged 81 years

Amounts expected as *Aroja* are substantial as indicated in the table[424] below:

TABLE 4.1: Amounts Expected as *Aroja* (Portion of produce submitted to the political elites as tax by traders).

QUANTITY FOR SALE	**AMOUNT THAT WENT FOR *AROJA***
3- 6 yams	1 yam
9 - 12 yams	2 yams
15- 21 yams	4 yams
24- 30 yams	6 yams
33 – 60 yams	8 yams
63 and over	10 yams
3-5 measures of grains	One half measure
6-12 measures	1 ½ measures
13-20 measures	2 measures
One half bag grains	4 measures
1 bag grains	6 measures
Subsequent bags	2 on each bag

Judging from these figures, the smaller the amounts for sale, the larger the proportion taken. This indicated that the poorer suffered the more. Generally, in trade, the principle was that people in the Metropolitan Districts were not to be allowed to carry on anything without the permission of the Emir, which is, no doubt, executed through the district heads. This was to protect the profits of local

[424] An 'O Hear, Power Relations… p. 108.

middlemen in Ilorin against southern traders who might wish to trade directly with the districts people. The middlemen enjoyed this privilege because they were operating in a system of colonial exploitation and operating as go-between or intermediary between the colonial state and companies, on the one hand, and their subjects on the other. In 1929, Resident Hermon-Hodge reported the situation that:

> The common people are hopelessly at the mercy of the rings of middlemen, who pocket most of their hard won earnings: corn from the districts may be sold two, or three times before it reaches the Emir's market, and each middleman makes his profit; yet it is almost impossible to persuade the common farmer to bring his raw material even to European canteen, partly because it is not his custom to do so, and partly on account of his fear of the particular "ring" which habitually buys his produce.[425]

The farmer's situation and the middleman system continued to flourish during the colonial period, because it served the interest of the British. Added to these incidences of predatory administrative system by the colonialist and their Emirate elites was also the collection of government tax which was also a further important item in milking the metropolitan districts peasantry. It is explained that this, in some cases, became as burdensome as to drive people to migrate, from district either to district or to northern Oyo.[426] General incidence of high tax plus arbitrary increases, inequitable division of taxation and illegal taxation were revealed to have been in evidence in the metropolitan Districts.[427] Other include depredations by other district personnel such as market staff on gate fee, Native Authority Staff on bicycle license, sanitary inspectors (*Wole* Wole) and forest guards (*Wogi Wogi*). All these depredations contributed to the poverty of the people.

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[425] Hermon – Hodge, *Gazetteer*, ….
[426] An 'O Hear, *Power Relations*…
[427] *Ibid*

Against the above background of colonial domination and general maladministration of the metropolitan districts, from about 1920, by which time British had been consolidated and the districts had assumed their definitive form, up to the early 1950s, opportunities for resistance were relatively few. The people of the metropolitan districts were forced to accommodate to their overlords, local and colonial, in Ilorin. Reasons being that the power of the colonial state was solidly behind the Ilorin elite, whose members filled the ranks of district administrative personnel. In addition, the Ilorin elite landowners retained their rights to allocated land, which meant that in the absence or near absence of other opportunities, the Ilorin peasantry had no choice but to accept relations of bonds of clientage with these landowners, in order to survive.

The situation was generally the same in both metropolitan and non-metropolitan districts. This does not however meant that the people did not engage in various forms of resistance, but often hidden and negative such as tax evasion in form of avoidance of registration as taxpayers. In some cases, the people of the metropolitan districts resorted to migration to avoid paying tax. Also, the non-metropolitan Igbomina, Igbolo, and Ekiti had been engaged for much of the period in open, positive resistance, designed to change their political and economic condition. Early in 1913 matters had became serious with a major anti-tax protest. The immediate cause of the protest was the announcement of an increase in the town tax for 1913. This was met with rioting by the peasants, under the covert backing of Biala, ex-*Balogun* Ajikobi.[428] A certain *Mallam,* suspected of being the cause from Ajikobi quarter, was abducted by the colonialists and those who opposed Native

[428]Hermon-Hodge, *Gazettee…*

Authority tried to take advantage of the riots; but the arrival of troops soon put an end to the disturbances.[429]

The riots perhaps had religious undertones as leading *Mallams* who opposed the exploitative, vexatious and un-Islamic colonial system of taxation instigated it. Nevertheless, underneath, the riot also had political undertones expressed through what seemed to be an 'ethnic' agitation or protest which began germination three years earlier following the return in 1910 of Biala, the exiled *Balogun* Ajikobi deposed in 1907. The ex-*Balogun* was bitter against the Emir for the humiliation of being deposed as *Balogun*. He, therefore, identified himself with the growing disenchantment among the Yoruba dominated elements in the town against what was presented to the people as unmitigated Fulani led administration and a systematic grand-design by the administration to annihilate Yoruba chieftains in Ilorin. The riot nearly damaged organic social harmony in Ilorin. This informally polarized the community into Aafin and *Oke-male.*[430] The former dominated by the Fulani and the latter by the Yoruba.

The seriousness of the tax riot caused Frederick Lugard to appoint a very high ranking official Mr. H. R. Palmer (Later Lieutenant - Governor, Northern provinces) to handle the situation and recommend an appropriate solution to the problem. As a result of enquiry into the causes of the riots the British concluded that the turmoil was attributable basically to the persistent political influence of Ilorin's pre-European (i.e. Yoruba) ancient regime.[431] The Chief complaint centered on the placement of the ruling Fulani dynasty on salary while the old Yoruba families did

[429] Ibid, See also, S.J. Hogben, *An Introduction to the History of the Islamic States, ...* p.159.
[430] See for instance, L.A.K. Jimoh, Ilorin: *Journey So Far…pp.73-75.*
[431]C.S. Whitaker, *The Politics of Traditions…p. 134.*

not hold offices nor received any salary from the public treasury.[432] Therefore, the government decided that the house of Afonja, represented by the *Magaji* Are and Baba Isale, should always form part of the Emir's councils and receive adequate salaries from the public treasury.[433] By this event, the first major change in the Native Authority was made. And so in 1913, about a century after the death of Afonja, his descendants, epitomized by *Magaji Are* and *Baba sale*, regained the right to have a say in the governance of Ilorin. This decision of the government certainly arose from its conviction that these recurrent political out-bursts were basically rooted in the past alienation of the Yoruba, who formed the majority among the 'ethnic' groups, as earlier indicated, from the decision making machinery. This claim could not be totally true as the Yoruba were represented in the political structure through the offices of two *Baloguns*(warlords/ward heads) – Ajikobi and Alanamu, out of the four *Baloguns* in the Emir's council. But considering the political background of the city, the British, perhaps, thought that including the direct descendants of Afonja in the decision making body for the Emirate might bring lasting peace. Thus, it was felt that this latest changes would largely pacify the Yoruba chieftains and make them more amenable to Fulani rule.

It is however clear as indicated in the grievances of the 1913 anti-tax protesters that the Yoruba elements had not benefitted much from appointment on which proceeds from taxation were being expended. Other areas of non-involvement of the Yoruba were the Judiciary and District Head System. There are indications suggesting that a good number of those appointed, as *Alkali*, up to 1913 might have belonged to the Fulani group, but this might not have resulted from a deliberate

[432] Hermon-Hodge H.B., *Gazetteer…p.81.*
[433] *Ibid*; S.J. Hogben, *An Introduction to the History of the Islamic States* ... p.159;

policy to exclude the Yoruba and other groups in the town. This is because, during the colonial period, the Emir only recommends those who were appointed to various posts to the resident. In addition, perhaps, the Qur'anic cum Islamic education prevalent among the Fulani at this time, might have given them a vantage position in being selected as *Alkalis*. However, the pre-colonial tradition of restricting the *Alkali* office to the members of particular Fulani families was continued for some time during the colonial period.[434] It is pertinent to also point out that by 1913, it appears most of those appointed for the districts as head were not a member or relative of any of the two Yoruba *Baloguns*. Attesting to this, the Acting Resident in his quarterly report of January to March 1912, noted that a number of the District Heads were trusted slaves of either the Emir or *Balogun* and promised to remedy the situation as soon "as suitable men are found for the posts."[435] The list of the districts and their head by 1913 has shown in table 2 below is revealing in this respect.

[434] Salihu Ismail, *"The Contest for Ilorin… …* P.97; See also, Danmole, H.O "The Frontier Emirate….. p. 184; Hermon Hodge H.B., *Gazetteer* ... p.206.
[435] NAK ILOR PROF 139/1913 Quarterly Report No. 62 for January – March 1912 by Acting Resident.

TABLE 4.2: Appointment of District Heads and their Cultural Background By 1913

Districts	**Districts Heads**	**Cultural Background**
Lanwa	M. Woru (1911-1913	Fulani; Emir's son
Oke Moro	Baba (appointed, 1912)	Fulani; Emir's son
Ejidongan	Saidu (1907-1919)	Fulani; Emir's son
Malete	'Salami (1907-1919)	Fulani; Emir's Cousin
Igporin	Attahiru (1907-1919)	Fifth *Sarkin* Gambari
Osi	Yesufu (1912-1921)	A Yoruba from *Balogun* Gambari
Oloru	Haruna (1911-1917)	Son of the eighth *Balogun* Gambari
Afon	Abdul-Kadiri (1911-1914)	Son of *Balogun* Fulani
Akanbi	"A head slave" (up to 1912)	Of *Balogun* Alanamu
Berkodo	*Sarkin* Dogari (1907-1912)	Head Slave of the Emir
Kulende	"*Balogun* Fulani"	Fulani
Oke-Oyi	*Sarkin* Gambari's Son	Gambari/Hausa
Igbaja	Eleshe	Yoruba (the traditional ruler of the town)

SOURCE: Hermon-Hodge, Gazetteer of Ilorin Province, pp.82-96 for the genealogical trees of the *Baloguns* and District Head; NAK ILOR PROF 308/15 Ilorin Province, Quarterly Report No. 66 for January – March 1913, Paragraphs 25-26 and 29-30.

1913 protest was therefore a direct consequence of the British administrative policies of continuity and change. These, in particular, as they affects political,

social and economic relations in the Emirate. For instance, aside from re ordering of the political relations among the elites in favour of the Emir, the colonial state created new opportunities through direct taxation in 1904 and appointment to salaried administrative positions in the Native Administration. These were along the line of former discrimination and segregation, which was to the disadvantage of the *Talakawa* dominant in most inhabited quarters, of Ajikobi and Alanamu wards, by the Yoruba cultural group, politicized as a result of the 1913 protest as *Oke-Male*.

It is in this respect, that Imam Lawani, who led the protest in Ilorin town, was reported to have admitted to Lugard that jealousy between the Fulani and Yoruba[436] was the root of the disturbance. This is documented in the Gazetteer of Ilorin province by Hermon-Hodge with the report that:

> The chief complaint was that many 'members' of the ruling Fulani dynasty were receiving handsome salaries, whereas none of the old Yoruba families who assisted to form the Emirate held any office or received any salary from the public treasury.[437]

To the above is added the burden of taxation, greater percentage of which payment had to be bored by the Yoruba because of their numerical dominant but politically 'marginalized'. The direct relationship between taxation and the operation of Native Administration no doubt brought up, perhaps for the first time, the problem of relations as regards participation of dominant group in the political matters in Ilorin. Findings into the investigation of the matter by the Acting Resident, H.R Palmer, indicated that:

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[436] Salihu Ismail, *"The Contest for Ilorin … …* p 94.
[437] Quoted in *Ibid*.

> The Yoruba-by far the most numerous virile and industrious part of the community objected to paying heavy taxes in order to maintain a large number of newly created (Native Administration) officials whom they regarded as parasites, while having no share – or adequate share or voice in the Government to which they contribute. Supported by the influence of their brethren across the border, they (the Yoruba) are becoming impatient of control by the minority which constitutes the Emir's entourage.[438]

The return of normalcy as a result of the changes was however to be short lived. In 1936, events were to removed Baba Isale from the council after he had led the councillors to protest against the Emir's conduct of affairs. The chief complaint was that the Emir had ceased to rule through the councilor and was conducting the affairs of the Emirate with the help of his favourite servants.[439] The significant of the latest upheaval was that a greater re-structuring was deemed necessary so as to broaden the scope of governance in order to take cognizance of all the disparate groups within the metropoly. In this regard, the second major overhaul, with the appointment of *Magajin Geri* another scion of an old traditional family was undertaken in 1937.[440] This year also, it was felt wise to admit two products of the new European education Mallam Muhammedu Gobir (who after wards acquired the title of Waziri) and Mallam Yahaya, a teacher and later head-master of the Ilorin Middle school. The inclusion of these educated persons was perhaps an acceptance of the reality that the arrival of the new crop of people in the society should be properly recognized in the Emirate's body politics. It may also be because of the need to raise the tone of the council's deliberations especially on matters which required literacy in the Western sense. These educated elements and other literate

[438] Report on Ilorin Disturbances by H.R Palmer, (14/2/1913). Paragraph 6.
[439] C.S. Whitaker, *The Politics of Traditions*, ... p.134.
[440] Ibid.

N.A. employees were to later play prominent roles when partisan politics emerged in the Emirate's political scene in particular and Nigeria in general.

In 1947, another major reconstitution took place. The council was greatly expanded into 27 members designed to accommodate, among others, representatives of the outlying districts, including for the first time several indigenes of the non metropolitan area. This reform was quite remarkable. For whereas the earlier reforms dealt with problems that were largely limited to Ilorin metropoly, the latest review concerned itself far more with the relationship between Ilorin metropolis and the non-metropolitan areas. Be that as it may, the integration of representatives of the outlying districts who had all along not been involved at this level but rather left to manage the affairs of their respective areas as either District Heads or village Heads, was supposed to be facilitated with this development. In this regard, indigenes of those districts, two Ekitis, three Igbomina and yet another three members from Offa were formally included on the council's rolls. Within the next six months of this reconstitution, perhaps, largely as an attempt to offer the people of these areas a greater opportunity to participate in the affairs of the central administration, the Resident instructed that a member each from Ekiti and Offa be added to the list of councilors.[441]

From the preceding discussions one would see that the most immediate political consequences of the British intrusion were cessation of hostilities between Ilorin and her Southern adversaries, confirmation of boundaries (roughly as they stood inclusive of the non-metropolitan area), and administrative reorganization. Administrative reorganization and modification in the composition of Ilorin Native

[441] Ibid.

Authority Council in this period was so frequent and this is long before the beginning of concern about modern local government as such in the upper North. This is indicative of the inflammatory, political development and the cultural milieu so deeply woven into the Ilorin system. The courses of the reforms were such that they were tailored towards ensuring popular participation in the Native Authority system so that political integration in the Emirate could be guaranteed. What tend to threaten political integration in the Emirate during the period could be summed up as differential access to position of privilege or power and of different forms of segregation and discrimination in social, economic and political life. This is often inevitable in the majority or dominantly minority relationship and had been a recurring cause of various cultural political contestations especially in multicultural societies. Explanation of social relations in the Emirate along the line of tribal or ethnic line is antithetical to the social, economic and political situation in the Emirate during the pre colonial and colonial periods. Inadequate or 'limited' access to the roles and activities central to the economic and political institutions of the Emirate by some groups and unfavourable political and economic policies of the elites could well explain the social relation in the Emirate.

CHAPTER FIVE

INDEPENDENCE, POLITICS AND THE PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDENTITIES IN ILORIN.

5.1 Nationalism and the Evolution of Political Parties in Ilorin and Political Development.

The subject of nationalism is extremely complex. Because of the many different sources and manifestations of the phenomenon, the discourse will deal essentially with certain issues, which have emerged and catalyzed into Nigeria's independence and influence on our area of focus. In order to place this discussion in perspective, a brief background of the historical experience is provided as well as a consideration of the basic issues relating to this phenomenon, an important one of which was the emergence of party politics, and its ramification on social interaction and group relations.

Given its complex nature, it is almost impossible to come up with a uniform definition of nationalism. In the Nigeria historical context, it is seen as political movement aimed at attaining and maintaining unity (through social cohesion) and autonomy (through national self-determination), or a peoples united under a "national" umbrella.[442] It has been the most potent ideology in Nigeria nation state building and consolidation. From the above, therefore, nationalism has a broad meaning ranging from being the defining ideology of political movement seeking some form of autonomy or independent statehood. It is also the defining ideology of groups striving to achieve or to improve their cultural, political, social and economic rights within a given state, which is more of partisan political ideologies; or of

[442]Pen Pamir, "Nationality, Ethnicity and Democracy: Contemporary manifestation", P.1, *Web*, 3/2/2012, (*www.gmm.edu/./Parnir.htm.*).

protest movements on the part of communities threatened either by state policies or by other social group/groups. In these definitions, attempt is made to bring to fore the contemporary manifestations of nationalist sentiment with a view to distinguishing between the progressive and reactionary forms of nationalism. To understand the contemporary forms of nationalism, it is useful to keep in mind the paradoxical goals, which this ideology has served in the political development in Nigeria as expressed through party politics. One of this as shall be subsequently reveal, in respect of developments in Ilorin Emirate, was partisan politics. In the case of Ilorin Emirate, partisan politics becomes a form of nationalism as it assumes a political (and territorial) dimension that challenges the status quo, and the legitimacy and stability of the Emirate, by becoming a catalyst for intra-or inter-group conflict.

In spite of the multicultural nature of the Emirate and the integration of the different cultural groups for social cohesion, ethnic sentiment nevertheless found its way to the political scenario on the Emirate pursuance to party politics, in the decade preceding independence in Nigeria, as an effect of nationalism. For a better understanding of the point being stressed, a number of general comments about the evolution of political parties in Nigeria are necessary. This is to provide a broader context for indicating a framework for approaching the problems of national and local politics since independence, which manifested in the emergence of political parties and struggle for political control. This had influence on political development and social interaction.

For the purpose of our explanation and analysis, we attempt to define political parties and offer a sketch of the historical sociology of the development of

political parties in Nigeria in terms of their "developmental circumstances"[443]. A useful framework for analyzing the historical sociology of Nigerian political parties is pointed out to have been provided by definition as a political organization that you can vote for in election and whose members have the same aims and ideas[444]. Functionally however, two core elements are identified, namely that a political party helps to (a) Structure electoral choice and (b) Conduct the business of government, under a party label or banner[445] or even as an opposition. The following among the identifications and explanations by Jinadu, on the "developmental circumstances" of party in Nigeria are presented, as they are germane to our discussion[446]. The foundational "developmental circumstance" of party in Nigeria is colonial rule and the resultant nationalist movement with the subsequent emergence of political associations. The political associations were to contest for legislative elections, among others, with the progress in democratic experience in the country between 1922 and 1960 from non-representative government and responsible government to independence, under competitive party and electoral politics. In the 'critical' election of 1959 contested by the political parties, three major parties the AG, the NCNC and the NPC stood dominant. More prominent of the parties in this emergent multiparty system between 1922 and 1960 were the Nigerian National Democratic Party (1923), the People's Union (1923), Union of Young Nigerians (1923), the Nigerian Youth Movement (1937), the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (1944), the Action Group (1951), the Northern Peoples' Congress (1951), the Northern Elements Progressive Association (1945), the Northern

[443]See *Ibid*. for explanations and analysis of *"developmental circumstances"* of political parties in Nigeria.
[444]Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 7th Edition.
[445] L. Adele Jinadu, "Inter-Party Dialogue in Nigeria: Examining "The Past, Present and Future". *Lead paper at the inaugural Political Parties Dialogue Series, held on October 4, 2011 Badingo Hotel, Abuja*, Web, 5/2/2012. (*www.vanguardngo.com/2011/10/inter-p*)
[446]See *Ibid*. pp 2-5.

Elements Progressive Union (1950), the United National Independence Party (1953), the United Middle Belt Congress (1955), Bornu Youth Movement (1956),the Dynamic Party (1955), and the National Democratic Party of Nigeria and the Cameroons (1958)[447].

The country's social structure is another "developmental circumstance", of the party in Nigeria. This is reflected in various levels such as class, religion, language, ethno-communal, rural/urban divide, ideology, and educational. From the mid I 920s, the emergent political parties showed the dominance of the nationalist movements by a combination of petit-bourgeois middle class and proletarian strata of the country's social structure. More importantly, the logic of competitive party and electoral politics and the established ethno-federal political structure in the country meant that the emergent political parties had to cultivate the support of traditional rulers and traditional institutions, among others, as part of their electoral strategy. This is demonstrated in the close, sometimes symbiotic relationship between ethno-cultural association or organization and a number of political parties, which, like the Action Group and the Northern People's Congress grew out of. The parties became the political wings of these cultural organizations.

In conjunction with the above, ethnicity, therefore, is a major element of the country's political system. This has had a profound impact on the origins and developmental path of political parties in Nigeria, and on the practice of federalism in the country. The intersection of ethnicity, federalism and party politics, indeed, accounts, largely, for the substantial 'ethnic' origin or power base of not only the three major parties, but also a number of parties like the Bornu Youth Movement

[447] *Ibid*. P. 2.

(BYM), United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC), and the United National Independence Party (UNIP).

The above brief analysis on the historical sociology and political economy of Nigeria Political parties based on the "developmental circumstances" is better understood when viewed against the background of the series of constitutional developments that were to lead to the emergence of political parties in Nigeria. It should be noted that the manipulation of 'ethnicity' by the Nigerian elites at the forefront of party formations has its roots in colonialism. The policies of the British Colonial Administration in Nigeria tended to encourage ethnic consciousness and exclusiveness. For example, the local administration, which was based on indirect rule system, depended on the utilization of pre-colonial institutions, which were modified to suit the purposes of colonial ideology. The colonial constitutions were also tailored along perceived 'ethnic' groups, when the contrary was the case given the cultural configuration of various societies in Nigeria. Societies are clearly multicultural. The regionalism of the Richards Constitution was reinforced by the Macpherson Constitution of 1951, for ethno-regional politics. Consequently, all the political parties - National Council of Nigerians and Cameroon (NCNC) in 1944, the Northern People's Congress (NPC) in 1951 and Action Group (AG) in 1951, formed to contest power were tailored towards having 'tribal' and 'ethnic' bases. Giving this background, 'ethnicity' and regionalism were meant to become the Nigerian political way of life and manipulation of same sentiments, the major preoccupation of politicians and the avenue to political power. This development led to minority agitations for self-determination in all the regions during the terminal phase of colonial rule.

Since 1946, the Richards Constitution had been in force in Nigeria and had balkanized the country into three regions. It provided among other things, a House of Assembly for each of the three regions. No one member was an elected representative. Members were either appointed by the Governor or selected by Native Authorities. The constitution was not only unpopular with the nationalist; it was also criticized by Sir Bernard Bourdillon, the predecessor of Sir Arthur Richard whose name was, given to it. In effect, all the criticisms added up to one judgment: that the constitution was irrelevant, and that its formulation process was undemocratic[448]. Three years later, in 1948, a new Governor sir John Macpherson arrived in Nigeria. Macpherson announced that it would be revised earlier, and a year later initiated the process for its revision. Consequently, regional conferences were convened at Ibadan, Enugu and Kaduna to make recommendations for a new constitution[449]. The three Regional conferences recommended a Federal system of government structured on the existing division of the country into regions. The conference also asked that the regions be vested with legislative and executive authority over a wide range of subjects. These and other recommendations were submitted to a constitutional conference held in Ibadan in January 1950 to consider the committee's recommendations. The conference confirmed the committee's recommendations, which were then submitted to the secretary of State for the colonies for approval[450], thus emerged a new constitution that would change the structure of politics in Nigeria as a whole.

Under the new Macpherson constitution promulgated on 29th June, 1951, elections were to be held throughout Nigeria to choose members for the House of

[448] C.S. Whitaker, *The Politics of Traditions, ...* p. 134
[449] *Ibid*.
[450] *Ibid.*

Assembly which were to be established in the three regions. These were in turn to select from their members representatives for a central House of Representatives. The new instrument also provided that ministerial portfolios should be given to Nigerians, thereby taking an important step in the national devolution of power by the British. As Olusanya suggested, on developmental circumstances, the new constitution marked the beginning of "ethnic nationalism" because with it "there emerged two political parties which were based mainly on the regional divisions of the country"[451]. However, given the cultural configuration of the regions, the party members may not be regarded as ethnic nationalists. The two political parties, which Olusanya is referring to here, emerged in response to the demands of the new situation. The parties were the Northern people's congress (N.P.C.) formed in Northern Nigeria, and the Action Group (A.G.) launched in April 1951 at Owo in Western Nigeria.[452] As could be expected, since the parties were region based and derive their power from their respective regions, therefore, the party in power in the North was the N.P.C. It is noteworthy that this democratic experience, however, not on party basis, has been introduced in the reforms of the Native Authorities in Northern Nigeria, a brief survey of which is undertaken below to underscore the point being made on what informed the pattern and behavior of the emergence political parties and impact on social interactions, in various Nigeria societies, particularly Ilorin Emirate.

[451] *Ibid*. p. 135
[452] *Ibid*.

5.2 Impact of Political Revolution on Ilorin between 1950 and 1960.

The need to democratize the Native Authority system in Northern Nigeria began to gain a higher momentum especially after the second 'World War'. A variety of pressures had led since this period to some tentative moves towards a "gradualist" reform of local government in Northern Nigeria as a whole. These moves, as observed, were generally limited, however, by the determination of the Northern Emirs and other members of the traditional elite to retain control of their "Native Authorities"; and by the sympathy felt by many British Officials in the North with this point of view. Towards this end, divergent assumptions were however held about the future of the Emirates. As pointed out by Whitaker, the two important points on which these different assumptions turned were: 1, whether the basic social structure of the Emirates would or should survive the introduction of representative institutions, and 2, what relative emphasis was to be given the importance of fostering Nigerian unity as against upholding the integrity of the Emirates' social and political fabric[453], In terms of the British officials of the moment, Hailey, the principal advisor to 'the colonial office in London, inclined towards the priority of Nigerian unity and advocated democratization within the Emirates. This advice may not be unconnected with local agitations by nationalists, trade unions and other activists on democratic government and self-determination. Officers stationed in the North, on the other hand, maintained a protective attitude towards the established order within the Emirates, while Governor-General of Nigeria Bourdillon occupied the middle ground of indecision about the fate of

[453] *Ibid*; Some of the general information and ideas in the following were drawn from Sa'ad Hadi, "Ilorin from 1800 to 1960: A study of Political Development and integration," M. A. Thesis, University of Ilorin, 1998, a work by this researcher as they were found relevant to this undertaken.

Emirate internal structure and hopefulness that Nigerian unity would prove compatible with whatever might come in the Emirates[454]. In the end, however, these differences were resolved and the need for reform was agreed upon.

In this background, it is reasonable to conclude that similar views were reflected in deliberations on the course of policy for Ilorin Native Authority. It however, appeared that the advocates of democratization were far more persuasive there than elsewhere. The antecedent to this was perhaps, the official investigations connected with the Ilorin boundary dispute, which served especially to alert officials to the incendiary political situation within Ilorin[455]. In this regard, after 1950 there was a significant departure in official policy regarding the composition of the Ilorin Native Authority Council. Official policy now centred on the adoption of the principle of election, whereas, before now, non-traditional members of the council had been chosen exclusively by the method of nomination from above (i.e. the governor acting in consultation with local British Officials and the leading members of the council itself)[456]. This change evidently came from some of the important conclusions in the published report of Macpherson in connection with the boundary issue. Notably among these conclusions, of which local officials have been apprised before hand, was that there was a body of opinion dissatisfied with the traditional Native Authority system of Local Government. The dissatisfaction especially came from the Southern area, which under-lay much of the 'secessionist" sentiment in Ilorin[457]. It logically appeared, therefore, that popular representation could serve as an anti-dote.

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[454] *Ibid*. pp. 135-136
[455] N.A.K. Ilorprof; Provincial Annual Reports, 1953, p. 58
[456] C.S. Whitaker, *The Politics of Traditions*, ... p. 136.
[457] N.A.K. Ilorprof: Provincial Annual Reports, 1956, p. 53

In line with the above View, in December 1951, the germ of elective representation was admitted to the body of principles regulating Ilorin's Local Government system. This was when the council extended its membership with 14 nominated and 34 "elected members" whose official tenure dated from November 1952. It should be noted however, that the electoral procedure followed was actually indirect election, utilizing the subordinate village and district councils as electoral colleges. In this way, since the composition of the subordinate council was at this date wholly traditional in character, the "elected members' who emerged were in fact all traditional figures (12 district heads, 15 village heads, and 6 court members) who in effect had nominated themselves[458]. Be that as it may, it deserves to be pointed out that by this reform, a "quorum "dominated by the older, more experienced, but also nominated, salaried, and traditional hands within the council-tended in practice to conduct the business of the Native Authority pretty much as before. Participation on the part of elected members was confined to infrequent and formal council sessions that performed more of a ratifying than a deliberating role[459].

In 1953, as a result of apparent short comings of the above reform, a committee of five with Michie as chairman began a comprehensive review of conditions and policies for further reform of local government which lasted until May 1954. The Michie recommendation was reviewed between October 1954 and February 1955. The two salient features of the reform are:

(a) Direct election in Ilorin employing adult manhood suffrage and the voting devise of show of hands in the villages and district group councils.

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[458]*Ibid*. pp. 55-56
[459]C.S. Whitaker, *The Politics of Traditions,* ... p. 121.

(b) Election of representatives from those councils to the central Native Authority council.[460]

But a further reform of the central council which produced a new overwhelming majority of indirect but formally elected members, based on the use of legally prescribed electoral regulations became operative in 1957. Prior to the inauguration of the Michie rules of election, the provincial Annual Reports for 1953, for instance observed the situation in the following words:

> In Ilorin Emirate, where speed was of the essence, the first elected members of the Native Authority were returned by subordinate councils as they stood. Their membership, however, is largely confined to the wealthy or otherwise, privilege and cannot be said to represent the tax-paying community as a whole. To bring them into line, a thorough going inquiry is now being undertaken by a strong N.A. Committee with the advice and assistance of a senior Administrative Officer, and though only in its infancy discontent with the existing order and a demand for representation by the "commons[461].

However, no revolution in line with Michie's recommendation, could occur until the old council's term was up in 1956 and a new council be formed on the foundation of popularly elected subordinate councils. That term was in fact extended to 1957 to permit the necessarily lengthy process of new elections, initially to some 300 subordinate councils to be completed. This was finally accomplished in May 1957, the month in which the Ilorin Talaka Parapo (1.T.P.) controlled council in Ilorin Emirate began[462]. I.T.P. emerged as a protest group whose emergence coincided with party politics, which eventually transformed it into a political party.

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[460] *Ibid*.
[461] See S.O. Olusanya, *The Second World War and Politics in Nigeria: 1939-1953*, Evans Brothers, London, 1973, pp. 74-79; and Sir Bernad Bourdillon, *Nigeria's New Constitution,* United Empire, Vol. XXVII, 1946, p. 96.
[462] S.O. Olusanya, *The Second World War and Politics, ...* p.80.

It appears from official descriptions of Ilorin's political mood on the eve of that institutional reform which led to the emergence of I.T.P., that it came not a moment too soon. For instance references were made to the signs of a breakdown of law and order in the metropolitan districts, which are previously inert, particularly those lying around and to the north of Ilorin Town. In certain Districts the people were refusing to obey the legitimate orders of the Native Authority, defiance of constituted authority coupled with illegal opening of markets and anti-tax campaign, added with an apparent lot of confidence in the Native Authority by a large percentage of the people of these districts became the order of the day[463]. In the nonmetropolitan area, the fundamental change, namely, of increasing relegation of illiterate title-holders to an honorary position, a process that has been going on for some years, but which has been accelerated by the local government reforms, which began in 1953, are now gaining momentum[464].

The implementation of the Ilorin reforms in Native Authority culminated in May 1957, when a newly constituted central council with a majority of popularly elected members met to take up direction of the affairs of the Ilorin Native Administration. The plan had made provision for 15 nominated or "traditional" members out of a total of 65. As C.S. Whitaker has pointed out, the climax of this protracted concillar transformation coincided with the unforeseen ascendancy of a radical political party the Ilorin Talaka Parapo (I.T.P.).[465] Talaka Parapo means "commoners" united party in the Yoruba language, and it is the party to which a majority in the central council, as well as the majority of all subordinate council

[463]*Ibid*.
[464]*Ibid*. p. 139.
[465]See for instance, B.J. Dudley, *Parties and Politics in Northern Nigeria*, ...

members belonged[466]. Indeed for 15 months May, 1959 to August 1958, Ilorin experienced genuinely representative local government under a regime that was determined to wipe out the vestige of the traditional political order and usher in a new era of modern democracy. The political forces operating at this period are however, to lead to the demise of the party, a consideration of which the subsequent discussions shall address.

[466]Oral evidence obtained from Alhaji Akanbi Moito, Isale Aluko area, Ilorin, Aged 72yrs. The information was obtained in August, 1998 during Master thesis work by this researcher.

5.3 Political Parties, Public Mobilization and the problems of Ethnic Identities.

i. The N.P.C

ii. The I.T.P and the A.G

The impact of the process of the ethno-regionalization of Nigerian politics set in motion by the 1946 and 1951 constitution no doubt encouraged and contributed to the emergence of 'ethnic' based parties in the country. The parties share a common feature of ethno-regional ideology, seeking to capture and consolidate power in their respective spheres of influence/region. This development, particularly in Ilorin Emirate, and the need to mobilize the electorate created problems of ethnic identities in the face of political development and strategies adopted by the major political parties N.P.C and A.G - in harnessing the Ilorin Emirate for political gains. Ilorin Emirate, a multicultural city, had to struggle under what seemed an ethnic political struggle sentiment. Developments revealed that her multicultural history, native administration structure, reforms and policies as well as constitutional development, provided ground for the manifested political struggles in the last decade to independence. For instance, in line with the Macpherson constitution in 1951 and the subsequent emergence of democratic experience in the admittance of elective representation to the body of principles regulating Ilorin's Local Government system, as discussed above, councilors were elected into the Ilorin Native Authority. This was not on party basis but as members of the Northern people's congress (N.P.C.). Another council election, this time on party basis, was held in 1953, between N.P.C and A.G. It was the councilors elected in 1953 that bungled issues that were to lead to the formation of a new party in Ilorin-Talaka

Parapo Union (commoner's party) in 1954. Members of the union were among the masses and this cut across all cultural groups in Ilorin Township as well as in the Districts.[467] Notably among the issues that led to the formation of the union was especially the issue of water rate, which was imposed by the Native Authority, as an additional tax, on individuals fetching Native Authority installed water points at various places in Ilorin Township.[468] This influenced the coming together of the masses in opposition to the new government policy in widening the scope of taxation.

As the association was formed during the era of mass political movement towards independence, the association found itself caught up in the web of the politics of the time, and it became a militant group and added to its commitments criticisms and resentment of 'bad' government policies. The association leveled criticisms against the reformed native administration in the name of tradition. This was because of the fact that the elected councillors constituted themselves as problems for the traditional rulers. Consequently, there arose crises of confidence between the new councilors and traditional rulers especially the *Baloguns* who had been slighted by the councilors on many occasions. The Ilorin Talaka Parapo (I.T.P.), as it was to be called, particularly viewed with disgust, the post and the privileges attached to the office of the Native Authority's Chief Scribe held by Alhaji Sa'adu Alanamu, and other Native Authority Staff, which they felt tended to subsume and erode the powers of the traditional rulers, especially the *Balogun's.*[469]

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[467] Oral evidence obtained from Alhaji Yahaya Baboko, Baboko, Ilorin, aged 76yrs.

[468] Ibid and oral evidence obtained from Alhaji Oba Carpenter, Ajikobi area, Ilorin, aged 70, in 1998 during the course of Master thesis work by this researcher.

[469] L.A.K. Jimoh, *Ilorin Journey So Far* ... p. 265; Oral evidence, Akanbi Moito… corroborated the evidence.

The I.T.P. also couples its commitment to tradition with calls for the suppression of extortionary practices on the part of sanitary inspectors, forest guards, and other petty officials of the administration. The 1955 Ilorin provincial Annual Report for instance, stated the aims and objectives of the Ilorin Talaka Parapo as follows:

> The Parapo's political objectives have not been fully defined but it is already clear that they aim at restoring the former power and authority of the Emir and Chiefs and at reducing direct taxation. They strongly oppose the present Native Authority Council, which they claim is not responsive to the public opinion.[470]

As long as I.T.P. remained purely a vehicle of protest, against the Native Authority, as it existed in 1954, various traditionalists represented a natural source of support. The traditionalist among others included ambitious "Lieutenants" in the Native Authority such as (especially) the Yoruba *Balogun's*, whose normal objective seemed to have been to gain the upper hand in relation to the Emir. The provincial Annual Report for 1956 gave another reason. It stated that:

> The spark that set things off was proposal that only literate councillors should be appointed chairman of committees. At that time there is no doubt that some of the important traditional members of the council temporarily cast their lot with the then conservative minded Ilorin Talaka Parapo... The fact that educated young men must be paid more than their traditional leaders is causing great strain in the local body politic and the solution of the problems it raises is not yet clearly in sight.[471]

The *Baloguns* refused to play the Roman Fool; rather, they launched an indirect but a decisive attack on the new councillors. At the instance of the four

[470]N.A.K. Ilorprof. Ilorin, Provincial Annual Report, 1955, p.54.
[471] N.A.K. Ilorprof. Ilorin Provincial Annual Report, 1956.

Baloguns the revolution that shook the entire Emirate for five years was launched by the I.T.P. who were mere sympathizers but manipulated by those who had interest to protect and by group who later monopolized the scene and became dramatis personae.[472]

At its first meeting in January 1954, Sa'adu Alanamu was the central orb around whom the revolution revolved. He was for many years the alpha and Omega of the erstwhile Ilorin Native Authority. The meeting was attended by a mostly selection of people with varied interests, aims and aspiration. Sule Moito was appointed leader while Adebimpe Oniyeye was the second in command. Members included. Yakubu Olowo, Centre Igboro, Aremu Alayaba, Tantamo Ita Elefun, Hammed Ago, Ajifun Baya of Oja gboro, Umoru Ogun Edun of Okelele, Dende, Alatare, Isa Lasinmi, Saliman Dogo of Pakata, Atiku Dogo Agboji, Isa Ba'kinnin, Audu Oke Kaka, R.A. Akande of Alore, Ayinla Alago Idigba etc.[473]The views expressed at the meeting are as varied as the members. But as sincere patriots they resolved among other things, to respond to the call of the traditional rulers. Having solicited Allah's assistance *Nasarallah*[474] through *Mallams* and attracted more members from the metropolitan districts of Oke Asa and 0ke Moro, Talaka Parapo there after unfold their plan for a party that would liberate Traditional Rulers from the new Councillors and their collaborators outside the council, who constituted themselves as cogs in the wheel of progress. The l.T.P. thus became a quasi-political organization whose interest was the betterment of Ilorin's Masses Vis-avis the position of those whose interests were centered on the authority of the Emir, and the

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[472] Oral evidence revealed, for instance, that the support by the *Baloguns* was not openly. This is understandable as it is against the Emir's preference. The *Baloguns*, especially, Alanamu's relations with the I.T.P. was covert.

[473] Oral interviews in Ilorin with Alhaji Toyin Afagbala, Okekere and Alhaji Ahmad Giwa Eleji (Magaji) , Oke Apomu, identified these names as major actors. This can also be compared, for instance with the list in R.L. Sklar ... p. 351. Note 51.

[474] 'Nasarallahi' means assistance from Allah and it is the party's slogan.

resources he commanded. That the party was formed really for the cause of the masses is reflected in the name of the party, its original proclaimed objectives, and the socio-economic and political status of most of its founders.[475] Initially the group sought an alliance with the ruling party, the N.P.C. but was-rebuffed. It then teamed up with the rival Action Group which was the party in power in the neighbouring Western Region of Nigeria. Henceforth the group became formal political party called "Talaka Parapo/Action Group Alliance.[476]

[475] C.S. Whitaker, *The Politics of Traditions* ... p. 139.
[476] L.A.K. Jimoh, *Ilorin: Journey so Far* ... p. 265.

5.4 Party Politics and Ilorin Talaka Parapo (I.T.P.)-Commoner's Party

With the formation of I.T.P. and its growing strength and popularity, in June 1955, it decided to enter into a co-operation agreement with any of the two dominant parties Viz:-Northern people's Congress (N.P.C.) and Action Group (A.G.). This action was possibly arrived at because the party wanted to enhance its chances of success at the polls by widening the scope of its followership. More so, considering the impact it had so far made on the people, the I.T.P. was convinced that both parties were likely to find its proposal quite feasible. This step was to later give it a mark of greater acceptability in the Emirate.

The first party the I.T.P. thought of aligning with was the N.P.C., this being the party in control in the Northern Regional Government under the leadership of sir Ahmadu Bello, and the party of most of the Ilorin elites. This decision was perhaps, arrived at because the Talaka Parapo did not want to be accused by the N.P.C. hierarchy and sympathizers of having reneged from its supposedly declared pro-traditional stance.[477] Moreover, the fact that the party did not want to be viewed as one that had come out purposely to confront and even eliminate the N.P.C. had also been alluded for the decision.[478]

The Northern people's congress, headquarter in Kaduna, saw the wisdom in recognizing Ilorin Talaka Parapo in August, 1955. N.P.C. press release Ref. No. NPC/NH/214/28 of August 8 1955 reads: "NPC Executive approved an application for alliance from I.T.P. Ilorin Talaka Parapo.[479]" As would have been noted, the I.T.P. side stepped the local branch of the N.P.C. and went direct to Kaduna. The

[477] Abdul Fatai Bello, "Politics of Protest ... p. 71
[478] *Ibid* p. 72
[479] R.L. Sklar, *Nigeria Political Parties* ... p. 352, ft. note, 52

reason for this is not farfetched. Since the local branch of the N.P.C. was under the chairmanship of Sa'adu Alanamu, who incidentally was the N.A. Chief Scribe, and the central orb through which the planned revolution by the I.T.P. revolved, one will agree that the two parties could hardly reach a meaningful working agreement for alliance. Indeed, it was pointed out that Sa'adu Alanamu actually made it known that he would block any chances of l.T.P. aligning with the central N.P.C. through the local branch.[480] This event among others was to later lead to the abrogation of the alliance. Events however, made it obvious that some efforts were made by the I.T.P. to find a common ground of agreement.

When the l.T.P. initially applied to the Kaduna headquarters of the N.P.C. for affiliation, the party was directed back to the local branch of the N.P.C. in Ilorin. This was probably, because the Sardauna of Sokoto (Ahmadu Bello) and leader of the N.P.C were not receptive to the idea of the I.T.P. side-stepping normal procedure by seeking cooperation directly with Kaduna.[481] The action could also be interpreted from the point of view that the Sardauna considered it as a slight on his local party-men for the Talaka Parapo to negotiate with the Regional body of the N.P.C. instead of the local branch of the party. More so, the fact that Sa'adu Alanamu was said to have wielded a considerable influence among the N.P.C. central executives, could also have influenced the action of Sardauna. Therefore, the abrogation could be seen in the light of the fact that the regional leaders probably wanted the I.T.P. to settle whatever differences they had with Sa'adu Alanamu's local branch before contacting the N.P.C. head office.

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[480] Oral evidence, Akanbi Moito….
[481] C.S. Whitaker, *The Politics of Traditions*... p. 142, notes 31.

More importantly, the violation of the first part of the working agreement between the two parties by N.P.C. and which subsequently led to the cancellation of the agreement in March, 1957, by the I.T.P. had shown that the hope of the two parties forming any meaningful alliance cannot be accomplished. The working agreement included among others, (i) the retention of I.T.P. identity in all matters that affected its political status; (ii) that the party be allowed to nominate its own candidates during local elections; (iii) that elections to the House of Assembly or House of Representatives be determined in conjunction with the N.P.C. headquarters in Kaduna and not the local branch at Ilorin.

These conditions, according to Dudley, were ratified by the N.P.C. in December 1956.[482] This situation and the fact that the I.T.P. could not reconcile with the N.P.C. branch, presented the central N.P.C, leaders with the delicate choice of either having to harbour this enmity within its fold or to reject the one's support for the Sake, of the other. The N.P.C. therefore, rescinded its decision and revoked the eight months old alliance with l.T.P. Honourable Yahaya Oriokoh, *Madawaki* Ilorin and the first North Regional Minister for Health was also sacked as a result of this fall out between N.P.C. and I.T.P. Yahaya Oriokoh, was one of the first two Western- Educated appointees to-the Emir's council in 1936. Reason for his being sacked was due to the fact that despite his position as a minister in the N.P.C. controlled Northern Regional government, he did not identified himself with the Ilorin branch of that party and had instead identified himself with the 1.T.P.[483] He was even said to have facilitated the alliance of Parapo with N.P.C. Kaduna-to the dislike of Alanamu's group.

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[482] B.J. Dudley, *Parties and Politics in Northern Nigeria,*…. p. 115, note 113
[483] *Ibid.*

These circumstances, among other factors drove the I.T.P. inexorably to sign an accord with the A.G. More so, with, the abrogation of the alliance, the N.P.C. local branch immediately started to use the "whole NA. Machine" including the police to resist the deve1opments associated with the rise of the I.T.P. in a desperate attempt to hinder the party from having any foot hold.[484] It reached climax when the N.P.C. began to execute the arrest of these people by applying the obnoxious Native Authority law to effect the arrest of young promising members of the I.T.P. and marked them for prison.[485] The N.P.C. members were few but influential, as they composed mainly of N.A. workers, money lenders and business men.[486]

The Ilorin larger communities were I.T.P. sympathizer. It was against this background that I.T.P. entered into an alliance with the Action Group. Thereafter, its criticism of the Native Authority became more vigorous and its ideological line diverged irrevocably from traditionalism to radicalism.[487] This alliance which 1.T.P. formed with the Action Group was presumably due to desperation for protection against unbearable political victimization by N.A. officials. This action led to the broken of the marriage between the traditional rulers and I.T.P. The broken relationship could be viewed against the background that the AG which the I.T.P. had allied with as a party is known for its notorious scant regard for the revered chieftaincy institution. Expectedly, this campaign adversely influenced the attitude of the chiefs toward the 1.T.P. The Chiefs subsequently" closed their ranks and prepared to resist what they regarded as alien and dangerous influences with every weapon at their hand.[488] The chiefs of the metropolitan Ilorin, also, possibly turned

[484] R.L. Sklar, *Nigeria Political Parties*…. p. 352.
[485] Oral evidence obtained from Alhaji S.A. Lawal, Adewole Housing Estate, Ilorin, Aged 71.
[486] N.A.K. Ilorprof: Ilorin, provincial Annual Report, 1957
[487] Oral evidence, Akanbi Moito….
[488] Oral evidence, S.A. Lawal, ...

away from the commoner's party because they were repelled by the idea of transferring Ilorin to the Western Region[489], a Campaign which the Action Group had been known for.

At the end of the day an ITP/AG Alliance was formally consummated. The working agreement was subsequently strengthened by the intimate relationship which the I.T.P. henceforth maintained with the Egbe Igbomina Parapo (E.I.P.), the Ekiti Federal union (E.F.U.) both being political associations in the Igbomina and Ekiti districts, and the Ibolo branch of the Action Group.[490] This intimate relationship could only be expected, since the Action Group was the most popular party especially in these nonmetropolitan districts of Igbomina, Ekiti and Ibolo. As a matter of fact, the three identified groups were united by a common interest with the commoners' party. They wanted freedom, freedom of association and freedom of expression. The people of Ilorin metropolis and Districts Wanted freedom to give vent to their feelings before the authority without fear of molestation or arrest. Igbominas and Ekiti were eager to free themselves from Ilorin while Ibolos from Offa wanted to merge with their kith and kin in the West. Each of the groups was eager to reach the people in Ilorin metropolis. Their finest opportunity was the Ilorin Talaka Parapo.

The alliances between the groups (I.T.P.) in Ilorin and the AG and the Traditional ruling institution and the N.P.C., on one hand, presented a new course of appraising the socio-political relations between the diverse people of Ilorin as a group and between them and the peoples of Northern Nigeria and also between the people of Ilorin and those from the Southwest. The political changes which is a turn

[489] R.L. Sklar, *Nigerial Political Parties* ... p. 352
[490] *Ibid.*

from the state of hostility between Ilorin and the Yoruba (Oyo) from the Southwest as reflected in the two fold alliances with both the people of Southwest and Northern Nigeria is an important indication of the dynamism of political development as influenced by the multicultural nature of the society which is propelled by interests peculiar to different occasions and circumstances. To the Action Group, on the other hand, the alliance was a golden opportunity to gain a crucial foothold in the geo-politically strategic Ilorin Emirate. The alliance holstered up the strength of the I.T.P. so much that it defeated the ruling party (N.P.C.) in the 1956 election into the regional House of Assembly in Kaduna and into the Ilorin Native Authority in the 1957 election.[491] The rivalry between N.P.C. and ITP/Action Group Alliance was so intense that the year 1956-58 was described as years of considerable political tension in Ilorin.[492] To survive, N.P.C. mobilized and utilized all Governmental machinery locally available to it, as the party - in power in the region, to crush the I.T.P.[493] In 1958 the Northern Nigerian Government intervened to check the excesses of the I.T.P. controlled Native Authority council which was alleged to have become vindictive against staffers of the Native Authority who were suspected to be supporters or sympathizers of the rival N.P.C. The regional government gave the warning that:

[491] Abdul Fatai Bello, "Politics of protest ... p. 76
[492] L.A.K. Jimoh, *Ilorin: Journey so Far* ... p. 266.
[493] *Ibid.*

> Unless the Native Authority removes political profiteering from its actions -concerning all staff matters and acts in its public duties there will be no alternative but to dissolve the council.[494]

The warning was given after haven considered the report of a committee on the matter. To buttress this allegation of victimization of N.A., Staff majority of who in fact were supporters and sympathizer of N.P.C. it was revealed for example, that it was as a result of this act by I.T.P./AG controlled council that led to the formation of the Ilorin Native Authority Workers' Union.[495]

The Union was said to have petitioned the I.T.P/AG Council alleging among other things, the victimization of N.A. Staff and that the I.T.P. had turned the council into a kind of Cult because decisions were arrived at the back door, and only brought into the Council for rubber stamp.[496] This action had to cost the secretary of the Union, S.A. Lawal, the sponsorship granted him for study in Zaria. The I.T.P. /AG council withdrew the sponsorship.[497] In these circumstances, there was considerable tension between the I.T.P./AG controlled Council and the workers' Union on one hand, and between the I.T.P./AG controlled Council and the embittered N.P.C. local branch. The allegations against the I.T.P./AG controlled Council, while it could be seen as true, it nevertheless might not be unconnected with the intense rivalry between the I.T.P. and the N.P.C., majority of whom were employee of the Native Authority.

In keeping with its threat, in June 1958, the committee appointed by the Northern Regional Government to inquire into the affairs of the Ilorin Native

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[494] L.A.K. Jimoh, *Ilorin: Journey so Far* ... p. 267.
[495] Oral evidence, S.A. Lawal. ...
[496] *Ibid.*
[497] *Ibid.*

Authority Council did not enjoy the cooperation of the Native Authority.[498] The Ilorin Talaka Parapo for instance, stipulated, as condition of its cooperation with the committee, that the inquiry must be public and that members of the Council who might be accused of improper conduct must be given due notice of the charges against them and the right to appear with legal counsel. These conditions were rejected by the committee. Consequently, the I.T.P. majority in the Council passed a resolution to boycott the committee proceedings. The government nevertheless, made public findings (see appendix IV) against the Council which it dissolved in July, 1958.[499] With this dissolution the life of the sole specimen of a truly democratically composed, and politically radica1ized N.A. in the Northern Emirates, was brought to a premature end. The Council was replaced with a Caretaker Council which remained in power till 1961. The Caretaker Council subdued the I.T.P. and paved way for an N.P.C. victory at the subsequent general election which was held in that year.[500]

[498] *Ibid.*
[499] R.L. Sklar, Nigeria Political Parties….p. 354.
[500] See for instance, Whitaker, *The Politics of Traditions* ... for an analysis of how the caretaker committee paved way for an N.P.C. Victory in the subsequent election.

5.5 Ilorin and Kabba-West Merger Campaign and Influence on Inter-group Relations.

As discussed earlier, ethnocentrism crept into the Nigeria social structure against the background of various constitutional reforms, colonial policy of ethnic reorganizations, exclusion and administrative policies pursuance to independence. In effect political action tends to follow lines of 'ethnic' cleavage which in some cases has created political and social division with their negative effects, particularly in multicultural societies. The ramification of this development, among others, in Ilorin Emirate, was the political campaign for excision of Ilorin from the Northern region and a merger with the western region under the regional arrangement brought about by the constitutional reforms in the fifties. This is a shift from the question of boundary adjustment discussed earlier.

This idea of "West Merger" was associated with the Yoruba as well as their co-horts who are mainly Yoruba people in the former Ilorin and Kabba Provinces to merge Ilorin and Kabba with the Western region of Nigeria. The demand had been persistent and has been a reoccurring issue since the 20th century Ilorin and later Kwara polity of which Ilorin is the state capital.

Over the period, the attempts to achieve a merger with the South West had always been championed by political parties and socio cultural groups such as the Ilorin Talaka parapo, Action Group, Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN), Afenifere, Alliance for Democracy (AD) and Odua People's Congress (OPC) in Ilorin, lgbomina, Offa and Ekiti areas of Kwara State who have their sponsors in political circles in the South West where the parties and groups were dominant with the exception of Talaka parapo. It is an issue which came up in 1952 when the league of

Northern Yorubas agitated for it when the league was founded.[501] The campaign however became a vigorous political tussle during the period of I.T.P./AG controlled Council. Although it has been stated that the proposed absorption was not originally one of the factors, which brought about the party's formation, it is however tenable to adduce that the west Merger campaign was used by the I.T.P. to win more votes and party membership. This could be understood against the background that the Ilorin larger population was Yoruba with historical connections with the west, and the fact of general oppression by the Native Authority under the control of Northern Regional Government. As could be expected, this argument, naturally, made a great appeal on some of the I.T.P. members because they felt that their collective interest would probably be better served when they co-exist with a people with whom they largely share a common culture. Hence, the view that the Talaka Parapo whipped up tribal sentiments in its attempts to curry support for a merger with the west.[502]

As a matter of fact, the Ilorin and Kabba have been excluded from the middle Belt State movement on the ground that their inhabitants are Yoruba people who prefer to merge with the Yorubas of the adjacent western region.[503] It however, appeared that the real agitation for the Ilorin west merger was sponsored by Offa descendants Union which Josiah Sunday Olawoyin ably represented in the Ilorin Talaka Parapo Action Group Alliance of the defunct Ilorin Native Authority Council.[504] Antecedent to this development was in line with the agitation for boundary review which has been one of the resolutions of Egbe Ibile Yoruba at its

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[501] Abdul Fatai Bello, "politics of protest ... pp. 67-68.
[502] *Ibid.*
[503] Anifowoshe, R. *violence and politics in Nigeria: The Tiv and Yoruba Experience*, Nok publishers, New York, 1982, p. 50
[504] R.L. Sklar, *Nigeria Political Parties* ... p. 350. Josiah Sunday Olawoyin, was a member of the Northern House of Assembly and the Ilorin N.A. council under the platform of I.T.P. with the 1956 and 1957 election respectively. He was said to have been the most articulate spokesman of the Ilorin-West Talaka Parapo union and an apostle of Ilorin-West merger.

meeting hosted in 1950. The then Governor, Sir John Stuart Macpherson, made a pledge to the meeting of legislative council in March, 1951 that he would examine personally the question of boundary revision in the new constitution. Because it has not been easy to determine with precision the actual claims which are made by those who favour revision of the boundary, the much-talked about findings of the Macpherson inter-regional Boundary commission published in 1952, therefore, preserved the *statusquoante*. Nevertheless, the Ilorin-West merger continued to be made a political issue in Offa, and so the struggle was made extant.

The promulgation of the Lyttleton constitution in 1954 and its provision for the excision of Lagos from the western Region[505] might have further influenced the agitation with the hope that their demand may eventually be realized. Therefore, with preparation for the 1956 London constitutional conference in top gear, it was not surprising that the Action Group (AG.) intensified its campaign in the Ilorin and Kabba provinces, using its ally (I.T.P.) to staunchly advocate that these highly-populated Yoruba areas be given the choice of being re-grouped with the western region. In 1957, as a result of recommendation of London Constitutional Conference, the Secretary Of State for the Colonies, the right Honourable Alan Lennox-Boyd, M.P. appointed a four-man committee to look into the problems of Nigeria minorities. The Ilorin and Kabba boundary questions were referred by the London Constitutional Conference to this commission of inquiry into minority fears.[506] Members of the committee were:

Henry Willink - Chairman

Philip Mason - Member

[505] See for instance, Sklar, *Nigeria Political Parties* ... pp. 133-140; Dudley, *Parties and Politics in Northern Nigeria,* ... pp. 99-100, Crowder, *The Story of Nigeria* ... pp 224-236. Incidentally, the constitution coincided with the emergence of I.T.P.
[506] R.L. Sklar, *Nigeria Political Parties* ... pp 354.

Gordon Hadow - Member

LB. Shearer - Member

In February, 1958, probably in anticipation of the visit of the Henry Willink Commission, the Ilorin N.A. council, under the control of I.T.P./AG Alliance and 20 of the 31 District Councils passed resolutions favouring transfer of the Ilorin Emirate to the west.[507] As a result of this resolution, Hon. Ibrahim La'aro, MNA, prominent businessman and one of 4 Action Group/ I.T.P. candidates who were elected to the Northern House of Assembly in November 1956, formed an independent wing of the Talaka Parapo which allied itself with the Northern Peoples' Congress.[508]

Members of the Henry Willink Commission visited Ilorin in February, 1958, to hear evidence from both parties. The commission was to examine twelve questions one of which was the vexed issue of Ilorin West merger as a sub item. For good six months Ilorin was said to be very tense while awaiting the report of the commission. Some 1.T.P. men were said to have wanted to leave Ilorin for good if the report did not favour them.[509] The political atmosphere was so charged that on Saturday 16th, August, prior to the release of the report, a curfew had to be imposed on Ilorin, Offa and environs. When the report was eventually released on Monday, 18th August, 1958, the inconclusiveness of the report, however, quietened the whole tense situation. The report recommended that no change should be effected in the North-west boundary except as the result of a plebiscite in which 60 percent of those

[507] *Ibid.*
[508] *Ibid*. p. 353.
[509] *Ibid*. P. 354; Oral evidence, S.A. Lawal, ...

voting favoured transfer, and that the plebiscite should be held only if the parties at the resumed constitutional conference would agree to abide by the result.[510]

The I.T.P. leaders quickly translated it into a pyrrhic victory. They asserted that the Action Group was able to force the recalcitrant Northern People's Congress into holding a plebiscite. Instead of worrying over the report they quickly prepared their supporters for a plebiscite that never was. On the other hand, the N.P.C rejoiced that (i) a plebiscite should be held if there is general agreement at the conference that it should be held and that it should be binding. (ii) That in any area transferred at least 60 percent of the votes cast must have been in favour of transfer. As might have been expected, the Northern delegation to the Resumed constitutional conference, would not agree to a plebiscite before independence.[511]

From the standpoint of the basic interests and sensibilities of the Ilorin's ruling classes, perhaps the I.T.P. council's most serious move was this resolution on west-merger, a move which the traditional leaders of Ilorin had been countering for a very long period.[512] More so, since inter- regional boundary revision is beyond the competence of any local authority the manner in which the resolution was passed seemed to look like an unreasonable show of disrespect to the opinion of the traditional rulers and the Northern Regional Government, hence, the move by the traditional rulers to oppose the resolution with every means at their disposal. However considering the circumstances that led to the emergence of I.T.P., and the consequent fall out between the party and the traditional rulers on one hand, and the subsequent relationship between it and N.P.C. which was the party in power in the

[510] *Ibid.*
[511] *Ibid.*
[512] C.S. Whitaker, *The Politics of Traditions, Change and Continuity*, ... p. 300 note 48.

region, on the other hand, one will understand the difficulty that the I.T.P. might encounter in trying to follow normal procedure. Of particular note on this issue of west-merger, for example, was the direct influence of some of the more powerful Northern Emirs on the shaping of the Nigerian Constitution, an important but little appreciated aspect of post war Nigerian politics. The influence exercised by the Sultan of Sokoto on the Ilorin - west merger was a good example. Such influence was revealed during the meeting of the Northern House of Chiefs following the (Resumed) London conference of 1958, when the premier recounted an incidence at the conference of 1958, in the following words:

> One day when I rose early in the morning, I found in my room a cable from Nigeria and so soon as I opened this cable, I found it contained some unpalatable words from a brother of mine. Whom do you think it was? The *Sarkin* Musulumi (The Sultan of Sokoto)!.The words in this cable were Sardauna you have left the North United and you should not let an inch go from the North! Although it is not customary for people to sweat in London, I did on that time. This encouraged me and all the Northern Delegates when I distributed copies of the cable to them. On that day the belt broke and Kabba and Ilorin remained in the North.[513]

This issue of West-Merger among others was a contributory factor to the dissolution of ITP/AG controlled Ilorin Native Authority council. It is however, relevant to emphasize the point that the I.T.P., has rightly stated by Fatai Bello, had no illusion about its commitment towards the improvement of the non-governing generally despondent masses in the metropolitan and even in the non-metropolitan areas.[514] In this regard, the various policies adopted by the union, was in a bid for the

[513] House of Chiefs Debates, December 18, 1958, p. 128, quoted in *Ibid.* p. 300 note 48.
[514] Abdul Fatai Bello, "Politics of protest ... p. 69.

accomplishment of these objectives. These policies were however to brought about a conflict between the forces of the leaders and the followers. I.T.P.'s goal was towards the realization of an apparent political formula that would serve as an effective link between the leaders and the followers. The party was indeed committed to a political re-orientation and structural change towards democratic values and norms, but the forces it had to contend with were too overwhelming. Confrontation with these forces was to pose a great threat to political development, integration and social interaction in the Emirate during the period.

The l.T.P era left an indelible mark on the political scene of the Emirate. Despite the exit of I.T.P. the issue of west-merger especially continued to be a recurrent issue in the Emirate particularly among the Offa elites, a subject which is beyond the scope of this study. It however, appeared that the creation of states in 1976 and subsequent splitting of Ilorin NA. into three, viz, Igbomina Ekiti, Oyun and Ilorin Local Government Areas in 1968, with further breaking of Local Government Areas in the Emirate in 1991 would have put a stop to the Ilorin-West merger agitation, this was not however to be as the agitation still persist. At the close of the twentieth century, the struggle assumed an alarming rate. This was at the instance of the Oodua Peop1e's Congress (OPC), largely perceived to be the military wing of Afenifere that it must install an Oba (Yoruba Chief) of Ilorin.[515] The body repeatedly made the all too familiar call for the ceding of Kwara State to South-West, and the abolition of the Emirate system in Ilorin in preference for a Yoruba feudal leadership structure. This was turned into a dangerous political trend, as the

[515] Afenifere is a Yoruba socio-cultural group which champions the Yoruba cause.

OPC was resolute in its declaration that this demand is irreversible and that Ilorin had become a field of confrontation between OPC and the "Hausa-Fulani."[516]

The OPC further want the renaming of Kwara State as "Oyo State". It perceived the name 'Kwara' as Hausa word for River Niger and that this is a linguistic imperialism. The climax of this development was a conference in this respect scheduled to hold in Ilorin itself by the Afenifere and the OPC but the law enforcement agents aborted this. However, before the aborted conference, the development had generated political tensions that almost throw the Emirate and Kwara State at large into chaos as there ware counter reactions from the people of the Emirate and the Arewa Consultative Forum (ACF).[517]

From the foregoing, the agitation for bringing Ilorin back into the fold of the Yoruba had been a long standing issue. This is clearly an example of ethnic consciousness and polarization in Nigeria polity. It was clearly the result of ethnocentrism which on one side keeps a group together and on the other side was the root for inter-group prejudices and antagonism in the Emirate. However, the multicultural nature of the Emirate and the integrative mechanism in the political structure has been a stumbling block in the realization of the objective. It is equally noteworthy that although, traditional histories had revealed that Ilorin was a 'Yoruba town' from time immemorial, but with migratory influence of different cultural groups and subsequent establishment of an Emirate, it had developed different characters which become difficult to reconcile with other Yoruba towns. For instance, in Ilorin Emirate as indeed Northern Nigeria, Islam had become the official religion. In the West, Christianity has made tremendous in road into their culture.

[516] See weekly Trust newspaper, July 20-26, 2001 pp. 1-3
[517] Arewa consultative forum is Hausa/Fulani Socio-cultural groups that champion the cause of the North.

Given the fact that each religion drew its followers into a common culture and also urged them to remain combative and exclusive, the situation had established a strong political and religious affinity in Ilorin Emirate which transcended tribal sentiments. These political and religious differences as opposed to the chauvinistic appeals to ethnicity had probably informed Lugard in retaining Ilorin Emirate in Northern Nigeria during the colonial era. Of significance in this respect, is the fact that various group that inhabited Ilorin like the Fulani, Yoruba, Hausa, Kanuri, Gobir etc. hold their origins very proudly but together identified with Islam which is trans ethnic. This was probably why the agitation to mobilize the people of Ilorin around the banner of imaginary ethnicity did not succeed in the past. More importantly, Nigeria politics since independence seemed to have been more interested in the corporate existence of all its peoples as one. The engendering of this ideology in our national life has always been an important focuses in the nation's various political and constitutional reforms since independence. The lessons of the Nigeria civil war and its aftermath have also led to greater interest in unity. This is being done with a view to stem the tide of ethnicism in Nigerian politics. One of the results is a federal structure made up of 36 states, FCT and numerous local governments. This development, its dynamics and implications on Ilorin and Kwara state is examined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SIX

POLITICS, POVERTY AND ETHNOCENTRISM: PROBLEMS OF LOCAL INTEGRATION IN ILORIN: 1960 – 1996.

6.0 Introduction

Given the history of national, regional and local integration in Africa, the major areas of interest of political identification and socialization has been not the nations, but sub-national communal groups with substantially different institutions, cultures and history. Bringing these different groups together as a nation will entail the overcoming of primordial loyalties. The idea of nation always implies integration-the creation of a sense of nationality that overshadows or eliminates subordinate parochial loyalties. One way of achieving this, at least in the thinking of successive state officials in Nigeria, is the creation of more states or constituent units that give different peoples a sense of self-government and local autonomy so that the process of national integration can proceed without threatening the cultural framework of personal identity. Perhaps the convergence of official thinking and widespread pressure by separatist state agitators explains the increased segmentation of Nigeria's political structure from three regions at independence in 1960 to four regions in 1963, twelve states in 1967, nineteen states in 1991, and thirty-six states in 1996. Proffering reasons for the first countrywide state creation exercise in the postcolonial era, the official view was that:

> With the creation of twelve states in Nigeria, the fundamental problems, which threatened to dissolve a political association of over 30 years, have been solved. It is clear that the states represent a successful attempt to reconcile conflicting interests of the ethnic communities with their desire to participate in the federal process as one people. The new

> structure of states will provide the basis for welding together the heterogeneous communities of Nigeria into a nation. The internal structure of the new states will curb the excesses of any ethnic group and ensure peace and stability[518]

It is against the above background that this chapter examined the impact of state creations as a means of assuaging problems of national, regional and local integration. In particular, it tries to demonstrate how this political step had impacted on inter-group relations in Ilorin from 1967 to 1979. Events seemed to reveal endemic problems associated with perceived 'ethnic' dissatisfaction with the political order.

However, a consideration of economic and political policies of the state authorities is here presented and analyzed vis-à-vis the perceived 'ethnic' factor in explaining the nature of group relations in the era of state and local government creations in the area under consideration. Facts that emerged indicated that, perhaps 'ethnic' sentiment was used as protest against economic and political imbalance in the state structure and administrative policies. This become understandable when view against the background of colonial constitution provision for ethnic politics. Given this background, Nigerian politics is primarily seen as ethnic politics and certain primordial identities inevitably determine political affiliations and group relations. There has therefore, been group rivalry along the perceived ethnicity to secure the domination of government by one 'ethnic' group or combination of

[518] Mid-West State Government 1968, quoted in Henry, E. Alapiki, State creation in Nigeria: Failed Approaches to National Integration and Local Autonomy *African Studies Review* African Studies Association. Volume 48, Number 3, December, 2005, pp. 49-65.

groups to the exclusion of others. Group rivalries has therefore, been a re-occurring factor, overtly and even covertly, in the State creation exercises in Nigeria.

To this may also be added that indeed state creation in Nigeria became a process by which members of the privileged classes try to find 'ethnic' base to enhance competition and access to or control over state apparatuses and resources.[519] It is interesting to note that during the years of the first republic (1960-66), the issue of creation of more states was used as a tool to divide and weaken the region that was controlled by an opposition political party. Between 1967 and 1996, therefore, the complex mix of ethnic, economic, and class forces brought about the increase in the number of constituent states in Nigeria from twelve to thirty six. The interplay of the aforementioned forces manifested in the pre independence agitation on regional restructuring as well as creation of an additional one. It is however difficult to give ethnicity an important place in the case of Ilorin. This is because, culturally, the integration that has taken place over decades in Ilorin has resulted in the evolution of a culture hybrid, through, for instance, the instrument of a common language, intermarriage and religion (Islam). These appear to have produced a common sense of identity. The emergent culture hybrid cannot be categorized as 'ethnic'. This development accentuated the multicultural nature of the metropolitan Ilorin.

For instance, even though the non metropolitan areas of the state such as the Igbomina, Ekiti and Ibolo presented a different cultural picture and level of integration, compare to the metropolitan Ilorin, their division into autonomous local governments and distinct administrative units placed in their hands the direction of their own affairs under the corporate larger state.

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[519] Ake, C. *Political Economy of Nigeria.* London: Longman, 1985, p.20.

6.1 The impact of the creation of Kwara state and the Local Government Areas on inter-group relations in Ilorin, 1967-1979.

On a general background, agitation for the creation of more regions or states in Nigeria has its origin in the colonial period. Closely related to the agitations were those for merger and boundary adjustments and for the creation of more divisions and local government authorities. The general reasons for the eventual creation of states and more has posited elsewhere can be examined from the point of view of the official rationale, on one hand, and the reasons that derive from the sociopolitical milieu, on the other[520]. These two reasons indeed manifested in the consideration of the area under discussion.

As a matter of fact, the earliest proposals for the creation of more polities in Nigeria were made, not by Nigerians, but by people who were connected either directly or indirectly with the Nigerian colonial administration. From 1914 to 1996, one major official reason that informed the division of Nigeria into smaller units has been the so-called need to bring government closer to the people. The postcolonial official rationale for the creation of more states did not depart much from their colonial roots. In this direction, two such proposals were made in 1914 by E.D. Morel, the editor of the 'African mail, a private newspaper published in London, and C. L. Temple, the then Acting-Governor of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria. The proposals were in respect of the very big size of the protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria, which are the two main components of Nigeria.

The proposals were not however implemented until 1946 under the Richard's constitution which was an improvement on the earlier constitution[521]. The

[520] See for instance, Henry E. Alapiki, *State Creation in Nigeria: ...* p.56.
[521] *Ibid*. p.57

constitution divided Nigeria into three administrative units called 'regions'. These were the Northern region, Western region and Eastern region as indicated in map no.4 in the appendix. The division affected only the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria, which was split into the Western and Eastern regions, while the protectorate of Northern Nigeria was left intact as also indicated in map no.5. Perhaps this development was responsible for the strong sectional orientation and political outlook that prevailed in the late 1940s and 1950s. This was to impact on the course of political development in Nigeria, especially as the Northern Region occupied about 75% of Nigeria's total land area and has about 60% of Nigeria's estimated populations[522].

The impact began to unfold in the event of the greater opportunity for elective representative government, which was gradually given to Nigeria in the march towards independence. This opportunity presented the educated elite the need to form more organized political parties. Three major parties emerged in this respect as discussed in the preceding chapter. These were the NCNC, NPC, and AG[523]. The activities of these parties introduced regionalization in the body politics of the country as the parties were region based. This subsequently affected processes of national, regional and local integration. Given impetus to the regionalization of politics was Richard's constitution. The constitution had allocated 50% to both the Western and Eastern Region[524], based on the estimated population of each of the regions. This arrangement aroused the fears of the leaders of the AG and NCNC. Their fear was that after the attainment of independence, the country might be

[522] I.M. Okonjo, *British Administration in Nigeria, 1900-1950: A Nigerian View*, New York, 1974, p.311.
[523] *Ibid*. p. 310.
[524] See B.J Dudley, *Parties and Politics in Northern Nigeria*, London, 1968), p. 79

dominated by the NPC. The ramification of these developments was brought to bear on the issue of state creation right from the pre-independence era.

As the other regions fear Northern domination so also is fear by minority cultural and sub-cultural groups in each of the three regions. They fear that they would be oppressed and discriminated against by the majority cultural groups after the attainment of independence. The state of domination, neglect and under-development, which they had experienced, informed their fears[525]. They therefore demanded that they should be given their own regions. In the Northern Region, Tiv and some Yoruba were identified, and in the Western Region, Edo and Itsekiri, while in the Eastern Region, Ijaw and Efik were identified[526]. In these circumstances, cultural groups in Nigeria were in such strong contention that the developments made the issue of the creation of more regions or states in the country to become a paramount one during the 1957 constitutional conference in London. The colonial authorities convened the conference for the purpose of discussing the question of self-government for Nigeria[527]. Various minority groups as well as the three major Nigerian political parties were represented at the conference. During the deliberations, each of the political parties, out of self-interest, supported the idea of creating a region out of any region other than its own base. The matter could not be resolved, perhaps, and so the discussion was dominated by the regionalization of politics rather than by a consideration of the national interest. On the minority fears, the Willink Minorities Commission of 1957, which was set up by the colonial authorities to inquire into and proffer means of allaying them was not also

[525] Okonjo, *British Administration in Nigeria* ... p. 310.
[526] D.C. Osadebay, *Building a Nation*, Lagos, 1978, p. 17.
[527] *Ibid*. pp. 58-70.

resolve[528]. The issue was therefore left to be taken care of by the independence constitution of 1960 with conditions under which a new region might be created in the country.

The above background and developments had influence on the course of political history of Ilorin Emirate and group relations up till the creation of states in 1967. As mentioned in the preceding chapter, on the issue of 'west-merger' some predominantly Yoruba people in the former Northern Region had featured in the pre-1960 agitations in the region. These were the Igbomina, Ekiti, Ibolo and some Ilorin people in Ilorin division of the former Ilorin province. An analysis of the reasons behind the agitations is here necessary for an understanding of the political situation before the creation of Kwara state.

Historical, socio-cultural, economic, political and religious reasons featured in the agitations. Historical and socio-culturally, the people of the areas involved were predominantly Yoruba. Moreover, for the greater part of the 18th C, the areas and Ilorin itself until 1817 had been a part of the old Oyo Empire in part of the later Western Provinces. Oyo had been the strongest force in Yoruba politics before its fall due partly to the activities of the *Jihadists* in Ilorin[529]. With the fall of Oyo, the Ilorin *Jihadists* moved southwards and overran some areas of Ibololand, which include Offa and Erin-Ile in the present Offa and Oyun local government authorities. These were under the 'protection' of old Oyo Empire[530]. Similarly, the *Jihadists* conquered some Igbomina town, such as Owu, Isanlu and Ajase-Ipo to the east[531]. These areas, along with others, were constituted into the non-metropolitan areas of

[528] *Ibid* p. 65.
[529] NAK: Publication No. 53, Nigeria: Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the fears of Minorities and the means of allaying them, London, 1958, pp.73, 85 and 86.
[530] 'Nigeria Gazette Extraordinary', No. 46, Vol. 39, 3rd September, 1952, p. 996.
[531] NAK: IloProf. No. 5083, 'The Igbominas of Ilorin of Ilorin Emirate Request for Regrouping with Southern Provinces' p. 32.

Ilorin Emirate as shown in_map no.6 in the appendix. Ibolos and the Igbominas disliked being under the rule of Ilorin Emirate. This is because Emirate political system was alien to them as they were brought under it through military subjugation. Also, culturally, the people felt more having the same qualities as the Yoruba speaking people of the Western Provinces than to their Muslim and Emirate rulers[532]. In addition was the fact that, throughout most of the 19th century, there were attempts, at first by old Oyo Empire, and later, by Ibadan, to bring Ilorin under their control[533]. This situation helped to make the discontented non-metropolitan people of the Emirate less disposed to accepting the established Emirate administration and authority.

To the above may also be added the religions dichotomy between the non-metropolitan people and the people of the metropolis in the Emirate. The non-metropolitan people are predominantly Christian, while in the metropolis, Muslim predominate. In addition, western education and other westernizing values were introduced to the non-metropolitan people by the Christian missionaries, as against the classical Islamic education, which was prevalent among the metropolitan people. These widen the gulf between the two areas in the Ilorin Emirate. In view of these differences and since the areas was under Islamic rule, the non-metropolitan people would, of course, welcome any opportunity that could disengage them from the Emirate administration and authority.

The imposition of colonial rule and the establishment of Provincial system of administration in the first decade of the 20th century, added to the discontent of the non-metropolitan people. Under the Ilorin Native Authority, as an aspect of the

[532] *Ibid*. pp. 31 and 37.
[533] C.S. Whitaker, *The Politics of Tradition, ...* pp. 125-126

Ilorin Provincial organization, the non-metropolitan people were subjected to various Islamic judicial and taxation systems, which hitherto, had been restricted to the metropolis[534]. This no doubt aggravated the discontent of the non-metropolitan people about their subordination to the Emirate administration.

The discontent of the Ekiti, aside other reasons of discontentment mentioned above, is to be added the British colonial rule Provincial arrangement. Under the arrangement, the northern Ekiti towns, which were Yoruba towns, located near Igbominaland, such as Ilofa, Obbos and Ekan, were grouped under Ilorin Province in 1901[535]. Before this date, they had been independent and the pivot of their existence-culturally-had been with the Yoruba states, which had been grouped into the Western Provinces[536]. See appendix V for instance, for a petition for political regrouping by the people of Imode-Iloffa. The only exceptions to this were the Ibolo people of Odo Ogun districts, which comprised Erin-Ile and environ. They are traditionally opposed to Offa and so did not prefer being with Ilorin Province[537]. The affected Ekiti towns resented the colonial political arrangement. The fact that Christianity had also gained more adherents among them than Islam, which predominate added to their resentment.

Apart from the reasons given consideration above, economic reasons was, perhaps, an important consideration, that propelled other reasons for the agitation for West-merger by the non-metropolitan people. There was the desire for a speedier pace of socio-economic development, which seemed not to have been met by the Ilorin Provincial Authority. For example, in 1938, the Offa Descendants' Union,

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[534] NAK: IloProf, No 5083 The Igbominas ... p. 32
[535] NAK: IloProf, No. 2188, vol. III, 'Petitions-General', No. 446 and NAK: IloProf, No. 5083 The Igbominas... p.32
[536] NAK: IloProf, 50 83 The Igbominas…; *Ibid.* p. 29
[537] See NAK: Ilorprof, No. CE53, 'Nigeria: Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the fear of minorities and the means of allaying them,' (London, 1958), pp. 73, 85 and 86.

made proposals for the betterment of Offa town. These proposals became a campaign for the transfer of Ilorin Emirate to the Western Provinces[538]. Lending support to this agitation, R. A. K. Adegboye in an article in the West African pilot of 24th April, 1953, wrote:

> I am writing this article to assure Offa sons abroad to stand firm. Their brothers at home will never support the Northern representatives until Offa is regrouped with the Western region[539].

Presenting the picture of socio-economic neglect of the non-metropolitan area, colonial record revealed that, in their joint petition of 6th, July, 1949, the Ekiti towns of Obo Aiyegunle, Isapa, Eruku, Ilofa, Etan, Egbe and Osi indicated preference for a merger with Ekiti confederacy in the Western province, on the reason of being uncared for in terms of education, sanitation and means of enlightenment[540]. This preference, because of their dissatisfaction with the pace of development in their areas, was also demanded, simultaneously that they should be constituted into separate Native Authorities or even divisions 'under any Yoruba province'[541]. On the same complaint, the people of Oke-Ode in 1947 wrote that:

> … For so many years we collect and paid our yearly tax into administrative revenue.
> Yet until the present time there is no help, no benefit rendered for our land and chiefs, we still remained in no improvement and progress in our district, we ask respectfully for the embracement of our district into a separate division, to constitute us into a separate Native Authority…[542]

[538] Nigeria Gazette extraordinary' ... p.796.
[539] NAK: IloProf, No. 1/13/15, 'Offa Touring Dairy', p. 150.
[540] NAK: IloProf, No. 2188, Vol. III ... p.436; NAK: IloProf., No. 3894, Vol. I, 'Oke-Ode Riot re-collection of Tax', p. 61; and Nigeria Gazette extraordinary ... p. 997.
[541] NAK: IloProf, No. 3894, Vol. 2 'Oke-Ode District: General', pp. 106, 107 and 175-177.
[542] Ibid p. 106

It should be noted that Borgu and Lafiagi-Pategi Divisions of Ilorin Province were not involved in the agitations. The reason was, perhaps, because of their historical, socio-cultural and political affinity with the North[543]. In addition, Christianity and Western education influence and its concomitants were similar to what was obtainable in Ilorin. It is not surprising therefore, that these forces made them satisfied with staying under the suzerainty of the Emir of Ilorin as the paramount ruler in Ilorin Province. The agitating areas carried out their activities through various unions and societies based with and outside the areas involved. The Offa Descendant Union, the league of Northern Yoruba and the Igbomina Society Council are noteworthy in these activities. Their activities were expressed through submission of memoranda, petitions and resolutions to the government and wrote articles in newspapers, with the help of the educated elites and some traditional rulers[544]. Appendix VI contained some of such petition.

From the preceding discussion, the people who were making the demands may actually have genuine grounds for their reaction to the existing political arrangement. The official reaction to the agitations was however, negative. Reasons for the negative perspective, which the colonial authorities had on the issue is revealed in the official claim in the case of the Igbominas, for instance, that they were 'a vocal and unruly minority' who 'never amounted to more than 2,000 out of the 30,000 people in Oke-Odde district'[545]. The claim further indicated that the agitators were backed' by 'irresponsible youths in Lagos'[546]. It should be noted that the agitators received some measure of external support from Action Group, its

[543] NAK: IloProf, No. 1/13/15 ... pp 61-70; and NAK: IloProf, No. 5083, ... pp. 2, 9 and 30.
[544] See for instance, Catherine O.O. Pariola Agboola, "State Creation and Socio-Economic Development: The Example of Kwara State of Nigeria, 1967-1979", M.A. Thesis, UNILORIN, on the activities of the agitators. Pp 14-18.
[545] NAK: IloProf., No. 5083 ... p. 43.
[546] *Ibid.*

leader Chief Obafemi Awolowo and the more cultural organization, the *Egbe Omo Oduduwa* (Oduduwa's descendants' union).[547]

The colonial authorities stand was, perhaps, in consideration of the fact that it was only in some areas of one Division (Ilorin) out of the three Divisions of the Ilorin Province, which the agitations came from. Borgu and Lafiagi/Pategi Divisions of Ilorin Province did not participate in the agitations. In Ilorin Division, the agitation could be said to have been limited to the non-metropolitan areas of the Division. The metropolis itself was briefly involved in the West-merger agitations through the activities of a movement called 'Ilorin Talaka Parapo', discussion on which has come up in the preceding chapter. However, the action of the Ilorin Talaka Parapo was purely for political gain. As a party, which the movement later transformed, it wanted to enhance its chances of having more followership for success at the polls. This explains why the party romances with both the NPC, which was popular in the North, and AG, which was popular in the West, in a bid to allie with which ever that could better serve its interest.

The West-merger issue became so serious that it formed a major point of discussion at the general conference on the Review of the Constitution which was held at Ibadan in January, 1950[548]. Because of the disagreement which the issue generated between the representatives of the two regions, the conference decided to leave it entirely to the Governor-General of Nigeria, Sir John Macpherson, to settle separately, so that the review of the constitution would not be delayed. The decision of Macpherson in 1952 was that "there shall be no change in the inter-regional

[547] See *Ibid*. pp. 20 and 21.
[548] 'Nigeria Gazette extraordinary' ... No. 985.

boundary"[549]. This decision, according to him, was based on the fact that "the most vociferous opinion in favour of change undoubtedly comes, from people outside Ilorin province."[550] The decision is usually referred to as "the Macpherson Award". Another major event, 1957 London constitutional conference and the report of the Willink Commission at the resumed Constitutional Conference as discussed in the subsequent chapter, did not change the situation.

A very important point to note, which, perhaps, posed a strong factor against the agitations, was the demographic structure of Ilorin province[551]. It is observed that out of the three divisions which constituted Ilorin province, only the non-metropolitan area of Ilorin division, where the Yoruba constituted an overwhelming demographic and cultural majority, did the agitation feature. However, it is noted, analyzing the 1963 population census that though the Yoruba formed an overall majority of the cultural groups in Ilorin province, yet, they did not constitute a majority in terms of the geographical and administrative components of the Province, forming, as they did, only part of a Division. In addition, they did not constitute a cultural (religious) majority. A 1963 figure showed that there were in Ilorin division, about 841 thousand Muslims and about 142 thousand Christians.

At the attainment of Nigeria independence in 1960, it still consisted of three regions into which it had been constituted in 1951. The Ilorin Province had not been merged with the Western region. With regard to the merger issue, the Commission of enquiry had recommended that the Federal government might, in future, conduct a plebiscite to decide that. The agitators were not satisfied and therefore, the

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[549] *Ibid*. p. 983.
[550] *Ibid*. p. 982.
[551] See Catherine O.O. Pariola Agboola, *"State Creation and Socio-Economic Development:" ...* for the information in the following.

conditions under which a new region could be created were laid down in the country's independence constitution. It was on the basis of the conditions, which required that the bill for it must have been passed by the legislature in the region out of which a new one was being proposed, and ratified by both the Federal Legislature and the senate, that the Mid-West Region was created out of the Western Region in 1963. The regions therefore became four.

The 1963 exercise did not satisfy the numerous demands made by several significant minority groups across the country. There was a continued pressure from separatist agitators for creation of states. But despite these pressures, no new states were created until the collapse of the republic through a coup d'etat on January 15, 1966, and the creation of twelve states in 1967 by the new military regime. Background to the creation of twelve states was the counter coup of the 29th July, 1966. In the confusion which ensued within the army after the coup, Lt-Col. (Later Major-general) Yakubu Gowon became the Head of state and Head of the Armed Forces on the 1st of August, 1966[552]. In the wave of the political situation and secessionist threat from aggrieved military officers from Eastern Region, a decree was promulgated on the 27th of May, 1967, by the Federal Military Government, under the leadership of Gowon. This decree, no. 14, re-structured the country's four regions into twelve states[553]. See map no.7.

The step was taken as a measure to prevent the secession threat from Eastern region and an imminent civil war, from materializing. Therefore, the Federal Military Government had created the states as a 'divide and rule' tactic aimed at preventing the minority cultural groups in the former Eastern region from being

[552] B.J. Dudley, *Instability and Political Order: Politics and Crisis in Nigeria,* Ibadan, 1978, pp. 136-142.
[553] Nigeria, 'Laws of the Federal Republic, 1967- the Decrees and Subsidiary Legislation, p. A 103.

lured into the secession bid by the majority Ibo cultural group. This motive was made clear to the people in the broadcast of the Head of state to the nation on the state creation exercise which in part read:

> …As you are all aware Nigeria has been immersed in an extremely grave crisis for almost 18 months. We have now reached a most critical phase where what is at stake is the very survival of Nigeria as one political and economic unity. We must rise to the challenge and what we do within the next few days will be decisive.
>
> … I am satisfied that the creation of new states as the only possible basis for stability and equality is the overwhelming desire of vast majority of Nigerians.
> To this end therefore, I am promulgating a decree which will divide the Federal Republic into 12 states…[554]

In creating the twelve-state structure, Gowon made a conscious effort to 'balance' the North and the South, giving each region six states. Kwara state, which was designated the Central West state, was one of the twelve states thus created. It was created as one of the six states in the area occupied by the former Northern Region. It was made up of the former Ilorin and Kabba provinces. The city of Ilorin became its capital. Up till the time of the creation of Kwara state, the agitators for both West-merger and the creation of regions in the country, with the exception of the mid-Western region, failed. The failure was attributed to the regionalization of politics in the country. This was based on the assumption that the big three political parties did not support creation of more regions or states from their regional power

[554] NAI: Publications, New Nigeria, 29/5/67 p. 6, article titled, 'Gowon's broadcast to the people of Nigeria'.

base, the creation could only come from the region that was excluded from the central government. However, the fact of the cultural configuration of Ilorin and the factor of religion was not given a consideration and these were potent factors against ethnic consideration on Ilorin. The creation of the Mid-Western Region in 1963 was the product of a partisan approach by the NPC-NCNC coalition government which was opposed by AG when the process for the creation exercise was initiated in 1961[555].

Due to the changed political situation, which led to the creation of Kwara state, in the former Northern region, it does seemed that the agitators had their demands met. Even though the creation of Kwara state was not ultimately the result of previous agitations in the area, yet the reform in the local administration that came with it provided a political advantage which may be assumed an alternative to West-merger agitation. This advantage became understandable when we considered the political changes that came with the state creation important one of which is the emergence of modern local government administration.

Following the creation of Kwara state under the historical decree No 14 of 27th May, 1967, state local government reform was also undertaken in December 1968. Native Authority inherited by the state was reformed. Provincial administration, which was introduced in 1900, was abolished. Component Native Authorities in the abolished Provinces were broken up into compact local government units. Each local government area was called a 'Division' out of which five divisions were created out of the defunct Ilorin province. The "divisions" were Ilorin, Oyun, Igbomina Ekiti, Lafiagi/Patigi and Borgu. Ilorin division comprised of

[555] Henry, E. Alapiki, *State Creation in Nigeria* ... p. 56.

Ilorin town, Iponrin and Akanbi districts as well as all the districts in the present Moro and Asa local government area of the state[556]. With this development, the people of the divisions, especially those who had been involved in the previous agitations, definitely expected certain things from the new political arrangement. Among those was rapid socio-economic development, which had been the main reason for their agitations-whether for separate Divisions, Native Authorities, region, or a merger with the West. In this repect, the Igbominas, Ibolos and Ekitis, had for example, immediately the state administration took off in April, 1968, urged the first military governor of the state, Major (Later Col.) D. L. Bamigboye, (1967-1975) to ensure that essential amenities, such as water, electricity and good roads were provided in the state[557]. These advise to the governor from the agitating areas of the defunct Ilorin province, is a clear manifestation of the economic reason being stress. The motivating factor of the agitation for West-merger had been as a result of perceived unfavourable economic policies towards the areas by subsequent authorities since the evolution of polity in the area under consideration. Even though there is religious difference between these non-metropolitan areas and the metropolis, it was not as if one is purely populated by Muslims and the other by Christians. It is only in proportion of Muslims to Christian in the two areas. For instance, there were in Ilorin division in 1963, about 841 thousand Muslims and about 142 thousand Christians[558].

In 1967, one of the principles enunciated in the creation of twelve states was that administrative convenience should take into account the history and wishes of

[556] See L.A.K Jimoh, *Ilorin: Journey so Far*... p. 202.
[557] NAI: 'Publication', 'New Nigeria', 30/4/68, article titled 'Igbomina, Ibolo and Ekiti want a separate division
[558] See Catherine O.O. Pariola Agboola, *"State Creation and Socio-Economic Development"* ...

the people[559]. The Division in which Kwara was broken into seemed to have followed this principle. People that have shared historical experience were grouped in the same Division as shown in map 8. In the subsequent major evolution in Nigeria local government reform in 1976, the head of state (General Muhammed) in a broadcast to the nation, among others, affirmed that the basic motivation in the exercise is to bring government nearer the people while, at the same time, ensuring even development within a federal structure of government[560]. In the 1976 review, several additions were added to the basic motivation, these include the need to bring government nearer to the people and the need to minimize minority problems in Nigeria. In consequence, local governments in Kwara state was re-structured and split into smaller units to bring government nearer to the people at the grassroots level. The Kwara state military government under major general (then colonel George Innih) as military governor split Ilorin Division (metropolitan districts) into three new local government areas: Asa (including Onire, Owode, and Afon districts), Moro (Lanwa, Ejidongari, Oloru, Malete, and Paiye), and Ilorin (the city, plus Akanbi and Iporin). See map 9.

The creation of Asa and Moro was said to be, at least in part, a response to representations made to an administrative boundary panel in 1976[561]. A new Emirate council was set up, covering all three areas, with the Emir as its chairman, while membership included the major Ilorin chiefs and all the district heads. Districts heads were still chosen from the same elite Ilorin families, still practiced nepotism, and were still vested with considerable powers. They did not, however, go entirely unresisted. In response to the resistance and criticisms of the composition of this

[559] Henry E. Alapiki, *State Creation in Nigeria …* P. 58.
[560] *See Ibid.*
[561] Ann O'Hear, *Power Relations in Nigeria* ... p. 177.

council and to a petition from Malete, the state government agreed that all new district heads in Asa and Moro would be chosen by the people of the district concerned, from among 'indigenes of the area'[562]. No doubt, the districts want to use the opportunity of change provided by the creation of local government to break away from the 'feudalistic system' under the authority of the Emir and his administrative machineries. A press statement made by the "Oke Moro and Oke Asa development union", praising the government for allowing district heads to be chosen from among the people of the area concerned, and condemnation of the city elite as expressed below was a demonstration of resistance to elites' oppressive rule in the districts.

> Ours is the sad history of a people who have for a long time been living in bondage and under the condemnable feudalistic system whereby "foreigners" were appointed to lord it over us, the existence of our own traditional rulers notwithstanding.
> Our sad experience under this system can only be fully appreciated by those who had at one time or the other been in the same condition like the Igbomina/Ekiti people… or the Ibolos…
>
> … All (the) maltreatments were made possible by the "foreign" district heads… who were the principal agents through which all these inhuman acts were being perpetrated.
> In fact, our status under these "foreign" elements was that of a serf, created to serve till death, their masters in Ilorin…
> …with the excision of Moro and Asa from the former Ilorin division … we redoubled our claim to self-determination and to liberation from a feudal system…[563].

[562] *Ibid.*
[563] Quoted in *Ibid.*

It should be noted that the creation of these lower-level political units, on the basis of the principles enunciated above, were political strategies, which aimed at directing struggles away from the centre. In addition, the need for the existence of local government is justified on the fact that the very object of having a local representation is to enable those who have common interest, which they do not share with the general body of their countrymen, manage that joint interest by themselves. This it is hoped will serve as antidote to conflict between groups, which could be as a result of administrative policies from the centre of political authorities, which tended to be discriminatory, politically and economically on the outlying areas, as was the case in Ilorin as an Emirate and as a Province during colonial rule. This strategy, among others, has been identified as one of successful strategies, which is recommended to countries or societies with cultural configuration[564]. The Babangida administration, which restructured the country into thirty (30) vibrant states in 1991, heralded in another major step in local government reform. Total number of local government in the country was increased to 589. With this development the defunct Ilorin Local Government were split into two Local Government Areas. These were the Ilorin West Local Government and Ilorin East Local Government with headquarters at Oke-Oyi, a journey of about twenty four (24) kilometers from Ilorin town. The last exercise brought the number of constituents units in the Nigeria Federation to 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory, and 774 Local Government Areas.

[564] See for instance, John Boye Ejobowah, 'Reflections on Normative Empirical Approaches to Ethnic Accommodation', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 15, 2, 1997 Carfax Publishing Ltd, Abingdon, Oxford shire, United Kingdom, pp. 219-236.

6.2 Evaluation of Modern Democratic Experience and its Effect on Social Relations in Ilorin.

In the light of the political development, economic, multicultural, social background and group relations which led to the evolution of local governments and devolution of political authority to these sub administrative areas of the state, it becomes quite pertinent to examine, how far this integrative strategy have been realized with the creation of Kwara State. It should be pointed out that the democratic experience in the Ilorin Emirate in the 1950s provides some contrasts to the political events and experience of the late 1970s and 1980s, which can be describe a further period of political change. For instance, the early 50s witnessed the beginning of political consciousness, in the metropolitan Districts. The opportunity was provided by the major local government changes preparatory to independence and which heralded mass political movement. In these years, a resistant commoners' party, the Ilorin Talaka Parapo (I.T.P.), gained a large following in the metropolitan Districts, and engaged in a struggle with the Northern People's Congress (N.P.C.), the party of the urban elite[565]. I.T.P. with its follower's showed their resentment about 'bad' government policies. For the first time, the inhabitants of the metropolitan districts burst out into massive, open resistance to their overlords in Ilorin, particularly, with a resistant voting.

Even though, the movement brought about by the party was stimulated, influenced, and aided from outsides, nevertheless, the party membership was united at this point essentially as a class, not ethnic, irrespective of religion or origin. As part of the effect of the movement on the polity was the emergence of grass-roots

[565] See for instance, Ann 'O Hear, *Power Relations in Nigeria,* ... pp.143-173

leaders, and the beginning of a "notion of a new political order". This is because I.T.P. was seen as people's party, which is committed to eradicating bad government policies. The party achieved considerable temporary success. The struggle, as far as the rural districts were concerned, began in 1955, and the I.T.P. and its supporters in their struggle reached maximum success in 1957, with its defeat of the ruling party (N.P.C.) in the 1957 election into the Ilorin Native Authority. Between 1958 and 1960, however, the N.P.C. elites had once again established tight control. The elite managed to remove the I.T.P. from power and influence, and eventually quelled the rural movement.

The periods late 1970s and early 1980s provides a further period of political change. These exhibited some contrasts to the events of the 50s. It is noted that in the various elections of 1956-57, large majorities in the metropolitan districts voted in support of the I.T.P./AG alliance[566]. This was despite the whole native authority machinery which was brought to bear against them, and the fact that the members of the elite were prepared to use every weapon at their disposal to stop them. The resistant metropolitan Districts residents were able to withstand the pressures partly because of their resolve to resist unfavourable economic and political policies of the government, and because of support of Action Group, and its newspapers the Nigeria Tribune and daily service[567].

The local AG representatives and city leaders of the I.T.P. used the papers in publicizing the activities of the elite, and protesting against them. Most important was also a measure of protection, which the AG often able to provide for I.T.P. members in the districts from the wrath of the traditionally appointed District Heads

[566] *Ibid*. p. 150.
[567] *Ibid*.

and the *Baloguns* who stood behind them as the AG were backed by powerful men in the Western Region[568], who even provided legal assistance when the need arises for I.T.P. members suffering from victimization by the ruling elites.

It is reported for instance, that Chief Obafemi Awolowo, leader of the AG, accompanied by some of his political supporters visited some of the area, Ilorin being one of them, where he made public speeches, primarily to win more party supporters for the AG[569]. This development can clearly be understood against the background of regional politics of the period and the parties' affiliation to their respective regions coupled with the need to get supporters from other regions so that the power base of rival parties, in this case NPC, be reduce to the advantage of the AG. The ready ally found on the people of Ilorin Emirate, particularly the metropolitan Districts residents and the non metropolitan people was provided by the fact that the Ilorin elite (back by the British) maintained an oppressive control over them as a whole. Members of this heterogeneous and divided population suffered what may be called homogeneity of deprivation and repression as has been documented[570]. No doubt, the people would be ready to jump at any opportunity that could provide them an escape route. Therefore, politico-economic base of the Ilorin province was a very important and primary factor to the resistant, which led to the victory of the I.T.P./AG alliance in the 1956 and 1957 elections to the Regional House of Assembly and the Ilorin Native Authority respectively. This may perhaps, explained why the people, irrespective of their specific origins were organized and united to change the society. With this victory, the party's affiliation to the Western Region is expected. The 'ethnic' sentiments which later came up with a renewed

[568] Oral interview. Alhaji Yahaya Baboko.
[569] Ibid. p.151.
[570] Oral evidence, Alhaji Toyin Afagbala… He claimed being among the crowd that witnessed such campaign in Ilorin.

vigor in the Province may be regarded as a strategy to further consolidate the hold of the AG on the Ilorin Province and widen its power base.

In the late 70s and early 80s, a complex mixture of resistance and accommodation as illustrated by renewed commitments to Islam was documented[571]. A further period of political change in the 70s provided an opportunity for some of the Metropolitan District inhabitants to engage once more in open resistance to the Ilorin elite. The catalyst for this new period of political activism was the overthrow of the Gowon regime in July, 1975, and its replacement by a government determined to return the country to civilian rule. One impact of military rule on party politics was to de-emphasize the centrifugal salience of 'ethnicity' in party politics, based on the experience of the first Republic. This was perhaps why the military-brokered transitions in the country in 1975-1979 and 1985-1999 were witnessed. During the periods, the military tried to proscribe or discourage the formation of ethnic-based parties. The prescription has involved the attempt to put in place political parties with national outlook.

As discussed earlier, the victory of the metropolitan people at poll in the 50s was short lived. Therefore, at Nigeria independence in 1960, instead of improvements to the people of Metropolitan Districts the reverse was the case, as local government was again firmly in the hands of the Emir and the city aristocracy that were identified with N.P.C. With the overthrown of the First Republic by the military, the picture began to change for the metropolitan districts. This culminated in the efforts of the military who had replaced the civilian government of the First

[571] See for instance, Ann 'O Hear, Power Relations in Nigeria, ... pp. 90-120

Republic in 1966 to reform and rationalized local government, and then to bring back democratic civilian rule to the nation as a whole.

Ban on party politics nationwide was lifted by the military government in September, 1978. This development provided opportunities for the expression of resistance and accommodation once again through party affiliations and voting as in the 1950s. It is noted that many of the Metropolitan Districts inhabitants demanded radically, complete independence from Ilorin control[572]. Expectedly, the parties they voted for perhaps would portray this wish. However, voting patterns revealed a less resistant, more divided population. In the 1979 elections, two parties were dominant in Kwara State and more or less not different in character and orientation of the region based parties of the 50s. One was the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) which is the successor to the Northern People's Congress. The other was the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN), the direct descendant of the Action Group and its ally the Ilorin Talaka Parapo, nationally led by Obafemi Awolowo.

Unlike in the 50s the performance of the UPN in the metropolitan Districts, in the 1979 elections was woeful as revealed by voting patterns and available figures[573] in the various levels of elections. Little or no resistant voting in the Metropolitan Districts in 1979, in comparison with the 1950s results, may be explained on a number of factors. In the first instance, it is revealed[574], that there was less involvement by outside figures. People of local origin were active at a higher level in the party and aimed for higher elected office. Unlike the leaders of

[572] See *Ibid*. pp. 170-187.
[573] *Ibid*.
[574] See *Ibid*. pp. 180-181.

the 1950s, a number of them had achieved a high standard of western education, and were assured professional men, fluent and articulate in English, as observed[575].

More so, the creation of new local government areas helped to stimulate development activities. Specific targets of resistance were now clearly tied to a vision of a new local political order, in terms of independence from Ilorin. This was also assisted by the complex relationship of Islam to resistance and accommodation in the districts which continued to develop from earlier periods. New commitment to Islam and the spread, in the 1980s of branches of Islamic societies from the city to rural areas might be seen as examples of integration and accommodation of the district members which is an expression of equality and right of access to the capital without dependent status. New commitment to Islam notwithstanding, some correlation between Christianity and leadership is also noted especially at the higher electoral level[576]. This is in certain settlements that had in the past been identified with their non-Ilorin origin and in which missionary activity was deeply rooted and early education of these men, or the encouragement to seek education often come through missions. Such communities played a major role in the campaign for independence from Ilorin, and were often firmly resistant in voting. Several prominent figures; Wole Oke, Titus, Ajibola, Cornelius Adekunle, in electoral resistance in the 1970s and early 80s came from such settlements, which include Shao, Apado, Okutala and Elesinmeta. For instance, Shao and Okutala are both reported to have been solidly UPN in the 1979 elections. In Iponrin Districts, the UPN was strong in Apado, Elesinmeta and Oke Oyi.[577] Thus, in the 1970s, there was

[575] *Ibid.*
[576] *Ibid.* p. 185.
[577] *Ibid.*

some indication of a correlation between non-Ilorin origin, religion (Islam and Christianity) and resistance, but not in the resistant period of the 1950s.

Saraki factor was also an important determinant in the political development, resistant and accommodation during the period of the new democratic experience under the new state system. Dr. Abubakar Olusola Saraki contested for a seat to Federal House of Representatives in 1959 but was defeated. The defeat did not deter him. He went ahead and mobilized his people which led him to be an elected member of the 1979 constituent assembly. It was in that place he and other members formed a political party, the National Party of Nigeria in which Saraki was one of the most powerful figure and the highest financier. He later contested for the Senate which he won and became elected Senate for Kwara Central in the senate of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1979-1983) and later elected as senate leader. He was elected Senate for second term in 1984.

Reward and punishments were identified in the role of Olusola Saraki, who by 1979 had become the outstanding political figure in Ilorin and its environs. His influence on voters was achieved by a remarkable combination of largess, promises, threats and manipulation. His confident assumption of the things that are part of power made him to become a political god father of Kwara politics. Very likely, therefore, the reasons for accommodation of the districts included not only anticipation of reward but also fear of punishment. Saraki, with his political trappings, perhaps, must have been a powerful inducement factor to conformity with political inclination of Ilorin city. The NPN overwhelming victories in the 1979 elections in Kwara State, to a large extent, alongside factors previous mentioned, were the result of 'Saraki factor'. Saraki, by 1979 had become an important political

figure and a key factor of political accommodation in Ilorin Township and environs. With his political rise, in some instances, accommodation and resistance among the metropolitan districts people had become a rather complex mix. As an understanding, strong, vivid and local personality many people preferred his political affiliation and leadership locally to that of Awolowo (UPN national leader) who the people distrusted especially on religious ground. His religious affiliation being Christianity could not be accommodated in the politics of the period by the people of Ilorin majority of who were Muslim. His local rival and leader of UPN Olawoyin, was perhaps, not a match in terms of popularity and people support because of what was described as a rather lackluster campaign conducted by him[578]. For instance, Olawoyin was said to have been dropped in 1983 for the more energetic and attractive Adebayo from Igbomina land, who won the gubernatorial election under the platform of UPN with Saraki's support. Awolowo preffered Olawoyin while Saraki insisted on Adebayo as his choice. Saraki being the leading and most popular political leader in Ilorin,a most important and influential city in Kwara politics, had his way. The mistrust of Awolowo and influence on performance of UPN in 1979 in the state is exemplified as presented in the words of an influential leader from Malete, a metropolitan district, Salman Bob Said. He lamented almost perpetual socio-economic tragedy of the area and blamed this on Ilorin and District Heads. His declaration was that the people of the area would be diametrically opposed to the seat of governments. Nevertheless; he was against UPN policy, and firmly anti-Awolowo and pro Saraki. He submitted that:

[578] *Ibid*. p. 184.

> My people are now convinced more than ever that no Ijebu person or his agent in the state can claim to love them more than their brothers in Ilorin town. In essence, we prefer to worship Saraki to any form of association with Awolowo[579].

Alhaji Adamu Attah of Ebira Land became the governor with Dr. Saraki's endorsement under the platform of NPN in 1979. Saraki influence in Kwara politics was further demonstrated, particularly in the UPN victory in the 1983 gubernatorial election which denied Adamu Attah a second term and gave the opposition party victory over the incumbent. The 'Saraki factor' and UPN's willingness to curry his favour, together with the general unpopularity of Attah (NPN candidate for second term) as a result of his fall out with Saraki explain much of the peculiarity of the 1983 Ilorin results in favour of the UPN.[580] The fall out was instigated by some leading political figure in Ilorin and which made Adamu Attah to disregard the political leadership position occupy by Saraki as well as reduction in the respect which he usually accorded him. This explained why despite Saraki endorsement, Adamu Attah encouraged by his instigators and his position as governor, insisted and contested for a second term but eventually lost to UPN candidate which enjoyed the backing of Saraki.[581] It is, however, submitted in addition, that factors local to the metropolitan districts were also at work. For instance, the considerable improvement in UPN performance in Ilorin North-East Constituency by the time of the state Assembly election is said to be likely connected with rural dissatisfaction at the lack of local development. This was in conjunction with increased confidence resulting from the setting up of new local government areas. It is however submitted

[579] *Ibid*. P. 182.
[580] Quoted in *Ibid*. p. 186.
[581] Oral evidence obtained from Alhaji Suleman Oba Bolanta, Age, 76.

that the Saraki factor, which gave Ilorin/Asa/Moro (Central Ilorin Emirate) votes on a platter of gold to UPN, seemed the predominant factor.[582]

[582] Ibid.

6.3 Conclusion

Ilorin in its evolutionary history transformed, through immigration of individuals and groups of varying cultural background, from a settlement of scattered hamlets and at various stages into a rebel camp/political sanctuary, urbanizing polity, city-state, and an Emirate. It traverses these stages with diversity, dynamism and processes of interplay of political, economic, multicultural and religious forces and influence on group relations. The integration of cultural groups under the political system is illustrative of an important aspect in the socio-cultural integration of peoples that pre-colonial Empires performed. This is particularly true because they promoted immigration, intermarriage and assimilation in various forms and at all levels which is greatly different from the disintegrative policies of ethnocentric classification and exclusion that colonial powers pursued.

Arising from our exploration in this study, it is possible to identify and explain that migration history and the perceived sequence of settlement by groups has been a determinant factor in the relations between the people of Ilorin as regards claims of ownership of the land and invariably who should control the polity. A lot of perspective perceives the state in Ilorin as essentially a Fulani affair. Hence political developments and crisis since the establishment of an Emirate in Ilorin is seen as fall outs of the age long struggle between the 'Fulani' and 'Yoruba' based on the assumption that the basis movement of Ilorin history is the struggle and conflict of 'ethnic' groups. Hence political developments and crisis since the establishment of an Emirate in Ilorin is seen as a fall out of the age long struggle between the 'Fulani' and Yoruba for the control of the city, a former outpost of Oyo Empire in Yorubaland. Therefore, the dominant categories used in the writings on Ilorin

history are “Fulani” and “Yoruba”, which when considered against the reality of historical process that they suppose to define only hint at a very general level.[583] The way they are used in most of these writings as given and fixed entities, blocks our comprehension of the extent, nature and significance of the diversity of Ilorin. With such a perspective it is clearly not possible to have an understanding of the historical process of the genesis and movement of the political community which Ilorin represent and only allows for the simplistic narration of events through the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

On the contrary, developments presents the state as one, which heralded a wider and broader community comprising new and diverse cultural groups whose efforts towards integral relations found expression in the universal and monotheistic theology of Islam. It exhibits more of incorporation of diverse cultural elements into a society or community, which is itself subject to internal processes of cultural and politico-economic changes. In relation between the people, the question of power determines maneuverability of groups’ political, economic, cultural and religious interests to defend themselves and to impose their will by any means necessary.

Regarding political developments in Ilorin as it influences social relations as a factor of ‘ethnic’ struggles or as essentially ‘Fulani’ vs ‘Yoruba’ affair is a reflection of the imperial ideology of European racism and tribalism. It is revealed that modern African ethnicity is a social construction of the colonial period through the reactions of pre-colonial societies to the social, economic, cultural and political forces of colonialism. This was reinforced by European assumptions of neatly

[583] See Y.B. Usman, “The Problems of Ethnic Categories in the Study of the Historical Development of the Central Sudan: A Critique of M.G. Smith and others”, in *Beyond Fairy Tales: Selected Historical Writings of Dr. Yusuf Bala Usman.* Abdullahi Smith Centre, Zaria, Nigeria, 2006, P.23.

bounded and culturally homogeneous 'tribes' and a bureaucratic preoccupation with demarcating and counting subject populations, as well as by the activities of missionaries and anthropologists. As noted by Y.B. Usman quoting Okwudiba Nnoli

> In Nigeria the colonial urban setting constitutes the cradle of Contemporary ethnicity. It was there that what we refer to today as ethnic groups first acquired a common consciousness. It is basically not the consequence of the pre-colonial pattern of conflicts among the various pre-colonial polities. In fact in the various Nigerian languages there are no equivalent concepts for tribalism.[584]

Ethnicities were in particular, the creations of elites seeking the basis for a conservative modernization. Tribalism is viewed as the result of modern conspiracy, which locally, it is a tactical maneuvers by the state to divide the people or elite strategies to "use" popular allegiances to gain advantage for themselves.[585] In contemporary time, it is posited to be a modern strategy to build coalitions in the struggle for power, by all those who seek power and position, regardless of social position, and who must do so recognizing the tribe as the fundamental building block of African society.[586] In Nigeria, ethnic movements are encouraged and incited into action by the political 'actors' who gained power and use it to further their individual and group interests. Ethnicity therefore, in its manifestation in Nigeria political development, in a way, is a covering for class privileges.

It is worthy of note as relates to our area of focus on the subject matter that there was no such an entity on a de facto basis, called Yorubaland. This is only an

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[584] Okwudiba Nnoli, *Ethnic Politics in Nigeria*, Fourth Dimension Publishers, Enugu, 1980. P.35.
[585] Ma'hmood Madani, *Citizen and Subject:* ... P.187.
[586] *Ibid*. P.188.

approximation of an area within which Yoruba language was predominant as defined by the colonial powers. It was not a political formation. On the contrary, it was made up of different polities and societies. The same goes for Hausaland and Igboland. Before the colonial times the Yoruba, speaking peoples were only referred to as Ife, Ijesa, Ekiti, Owo, Akoko, Ondo, Ilaje, Egbado, Awori, Egba, Owu and Oyo. It has been pointed out that people take it for granted that various Nigeria groups such as Hausa, Yoruba, Igbo, etc, have always been identified as such, but that the fact is that these peoples did not begin to identify themselves in these terms until the emergence of the colonial state of Nigeria.[587] Reference to whole conglomerates in terms of the language they speak was first used by the European visitors, traders and writers. Reference by such foreigners to a conglomerate such as Yoruba meant those who speak that language, not a single politically coherent group just like the Hausa or even Igbo. As social formations, ethnic collectivities are not necessarily homogeneous entities, even linguistically and culturally. Therefore, it is rightly submitted that our ethnic groups or nationalities, are thus essentially linguistic and cultural groups that have been increasingly forced by circumstances of history to act politically in defence of their interest vis-a-vis the interests of other competing groups in what we know as Nigeria, which is clearly a 20th century development.[588] Grouping of Nigeria people along ethnic line was imperialist tactics which was manipulated for the perpetuation of colonial domination and has represented an impediment to the achievement of National unity.

More so, cultures are not distinct, self-contained wholes; they have long

[587] Y.B. Usman, "Political Economy and Political Community: The Lessons of the Nineteenth Century", in Yusufu Bala Usman, *The Manipulation of Religion in Nigeria, 1977- 1987,* Vanguard Printers and Publishers Ltd. Kaduna, Nigeria, 1987.P.102.
[588] *Ibid.*

interacted and influenced one another through war, imperialism, trade, and migration. People in many parts of the world live within cultures that are already cosmopolitan characterized by cultural hybrid. Modernism has also engendered a live formed by technology and trade; by economic, religious and political imperialism and their offspring; by mass migration and the dispersion of cultural influences. In this context, to involve oneself in ethnocentric perception of political events might be a fascinating anthropological experiment. This would result to an artificial dislocation from what politico-historical developments actually unfolded, as is the case during the period of consideration in our area of focus.

The above argument has been given even more expression that is forceful by Archie Mafeje. He viewed the use of the term as "a serious transgression" in modern African societies with a fundamental material and social base as a result of new division of labour, new modes of production, and the system of distribution of material goods and political power. While he did not deny the existence of tribal ideology and sentiment in Africa, he argued:

> That they have to be understood - and conceptualized differently under modern conditions. There is a real difference between the man who, on behalf of his tribe, strives to maintain its traditional integrity and autonomy, and the man who invokes tribal ideology in order to maintain a power position, not in the tribal area, but in the modern capital city, and whose ultimate aim is to undermine and exploit the supposed tribesmen. The fact that it works, as is often pointed out by tribal ideologists, is no proof that "tribes" or "tribalism" exist in any objective sense. If anything, it is a mark of false consciousness on the part of the supposed tribesmen, who subscribe to an ideology that is inconsistent with their material base and therefore respond to the call for their own exploitation. On the part of the new African elite, it is a ploy or distortion they use to conceal their exploitative role. It is an

> ideology in the original Marxist sense and they share it with their European fellow – ideologists.[589]

From the foregoing, the state as constituted in Ilorin cannot be reduced to ethnic hegemony as the evidence indicates a combined process of state formation, community building, urbanization, cultural hybridity, and fundamental religions transformation. For a proper understanding of the historical, cultural, economic, social, religion and political developments in Ilorin and influences on social relations, there is therefore the need to move beyond terms, categories and stereotypes to theoretical framework for the study and analysis of social and historical phenomenon as process of universal development informed by specific variables, circumstances, time, interests, culture, through various types of relationships-production, commercial, cultural and political. A step towards this is an examination of the dynamics of political development in a multicultural society as presented in this study. The revelation is that interplay of political developments and the multicultural nature of the society rather than ethnicity is the forces or processes that influence developments and changes in societies with attendant effects on socio-cultural relations.

[589] Archie Mafeje, "The Ideology of 'Tribalism'," *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 9, 2 (1974), PP.258-259.

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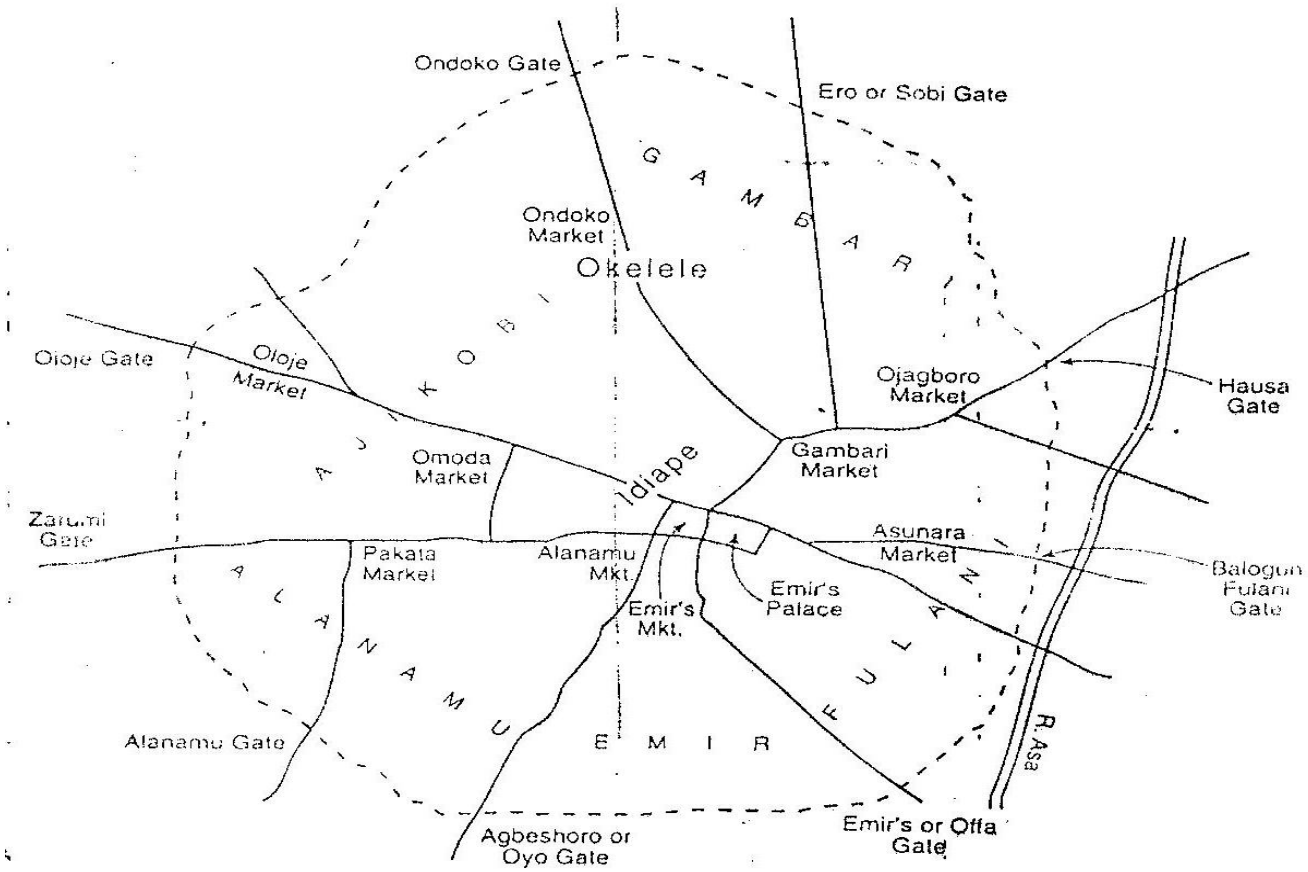
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SELECTED LIST OF INFORMANTS

S/NO	DATE	NAME	LOCALITY	AGE
1	22/8/1998	Alhaji Akanbi Moito	Isale Aluko Ilorin	68
2	23/8/1998	Alhaji Oba Carpentar	Ajikobi Quarter Ilorin	72
3	1/6/2009	Alhaji Lawal S.A.	Adewole Housing Estate, Ilorin.	76
4	4/7/2013	Alhaji Abdulraheem Adebayo	Ita Merin area, Ilorin	82
5	30/8/2013	Alhaji Toyin Afagbala	Okekere, Ilorin	73
6	30/8/2013	Alhaji Giwa Eleji	Oke Apomu Ilorin	76
7	10/6/2015	Alhaji Yahaya Baboko	Baboko, Ilorin	78
8	12/6/2015	Alhaji Abdul Kadir Oba Solagberu	Solagberu Compound, Agbaji, Ilorin.	74
9	6/7/2015	Alhaji Suleman Oba Bolanta	Bolanta Compound, Ilorin.	76
10	5/6/2013	Alhaja Sa'ad Aminat	Okubiyi Compound	81

CITY OF ILORIN c.1900

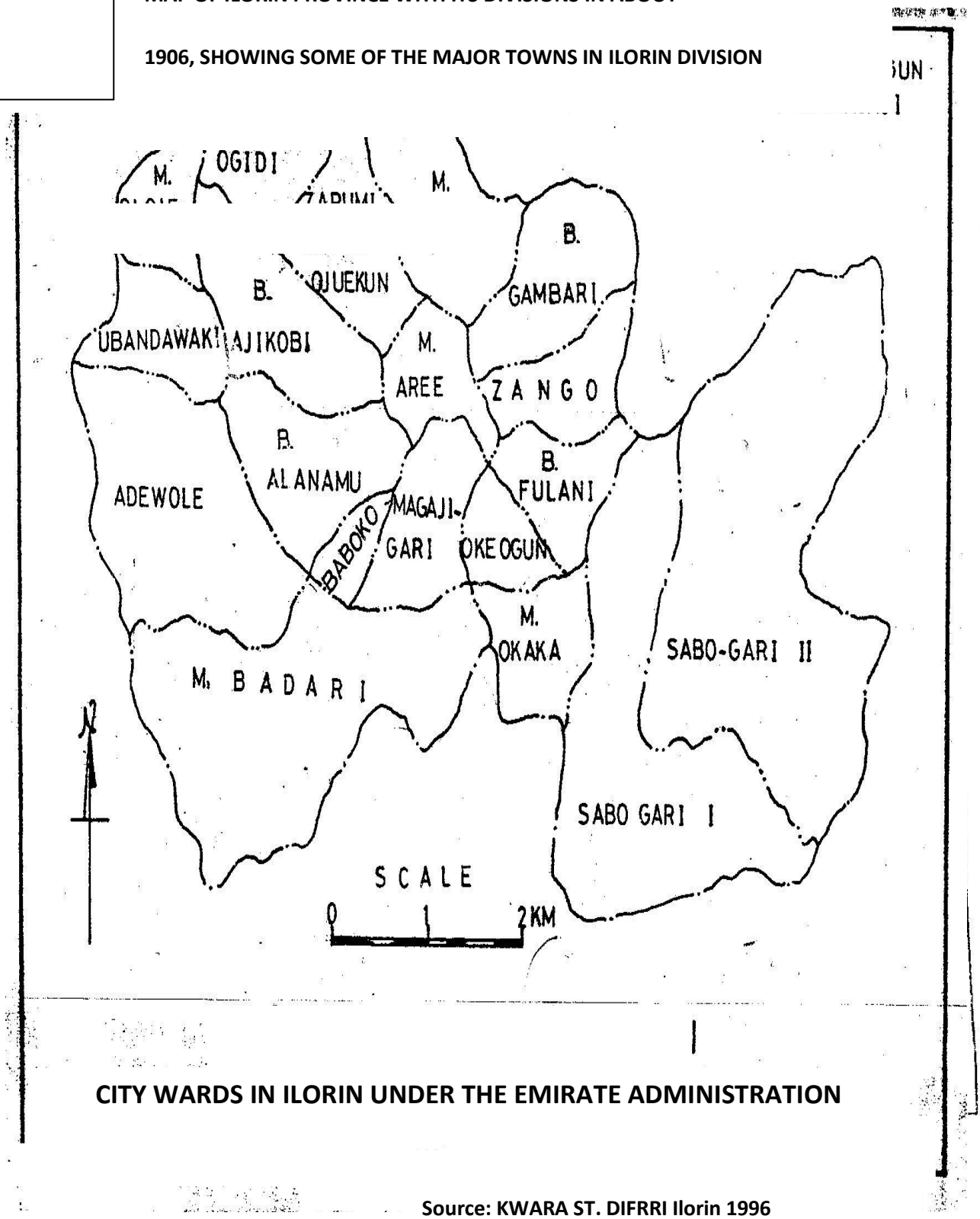


Sources: NNAK Ilorinprof 4 900/1912, Ilorin Town Re-Assessment by A/R Lethem; H.B. Hermon-Hodge, *Gazetteer of Ilorin Province* (London, 1929); PRO CO 147/124, Plan of Ilorin by C.H.S. Vandeleur, 1897.

MAP: NO. 2

MAP OF ILORIN PROVINCE WITH ITS DIVISIONS IN ABOUT

1906, SHOWING SOME OF THE MAJOR TOWNS IN ILORIN DIVISION

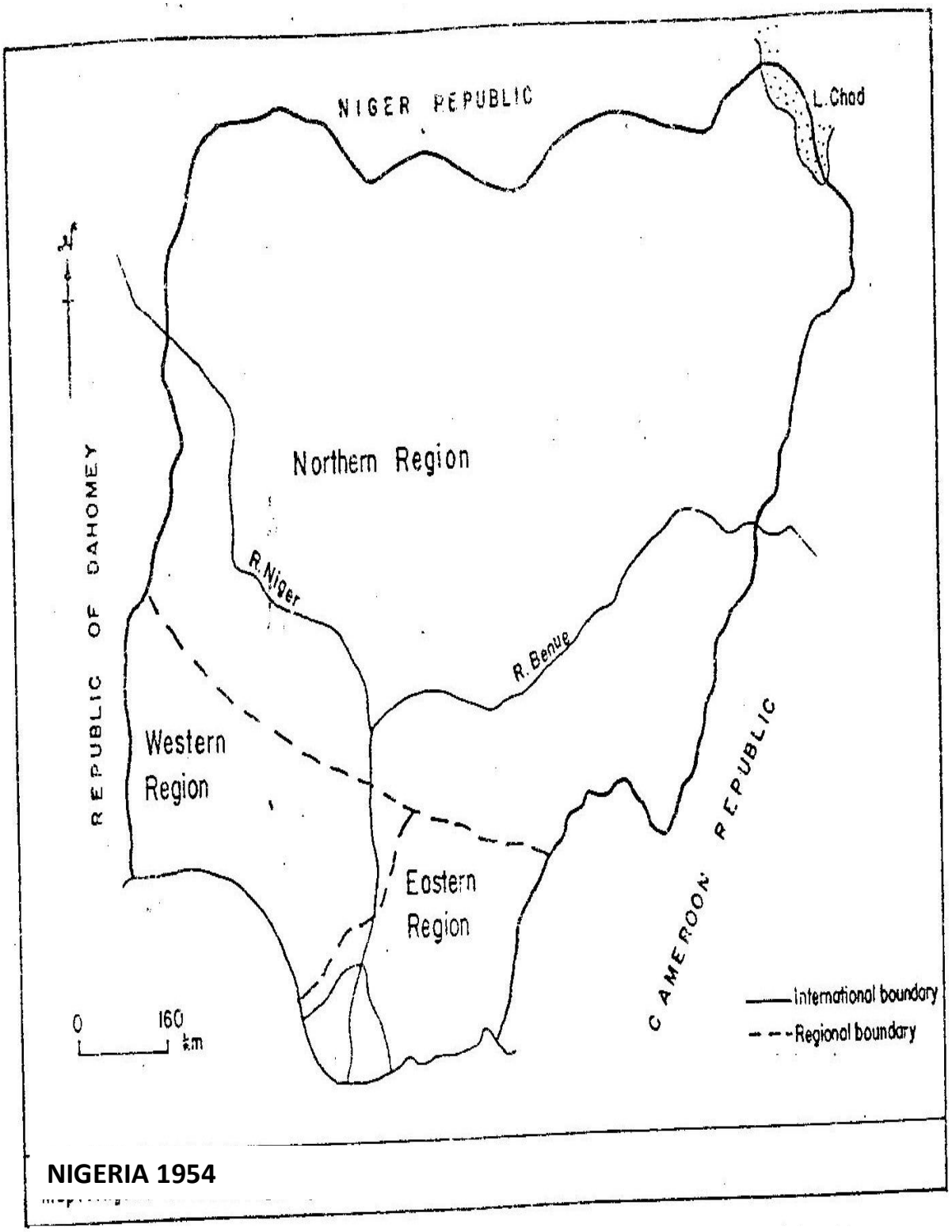


CITY WARDS IN ILORIN UNDER THE EMIRATE ADMINISTRATION

Source: KWARA ST. DIFRRI Ilorin 1996

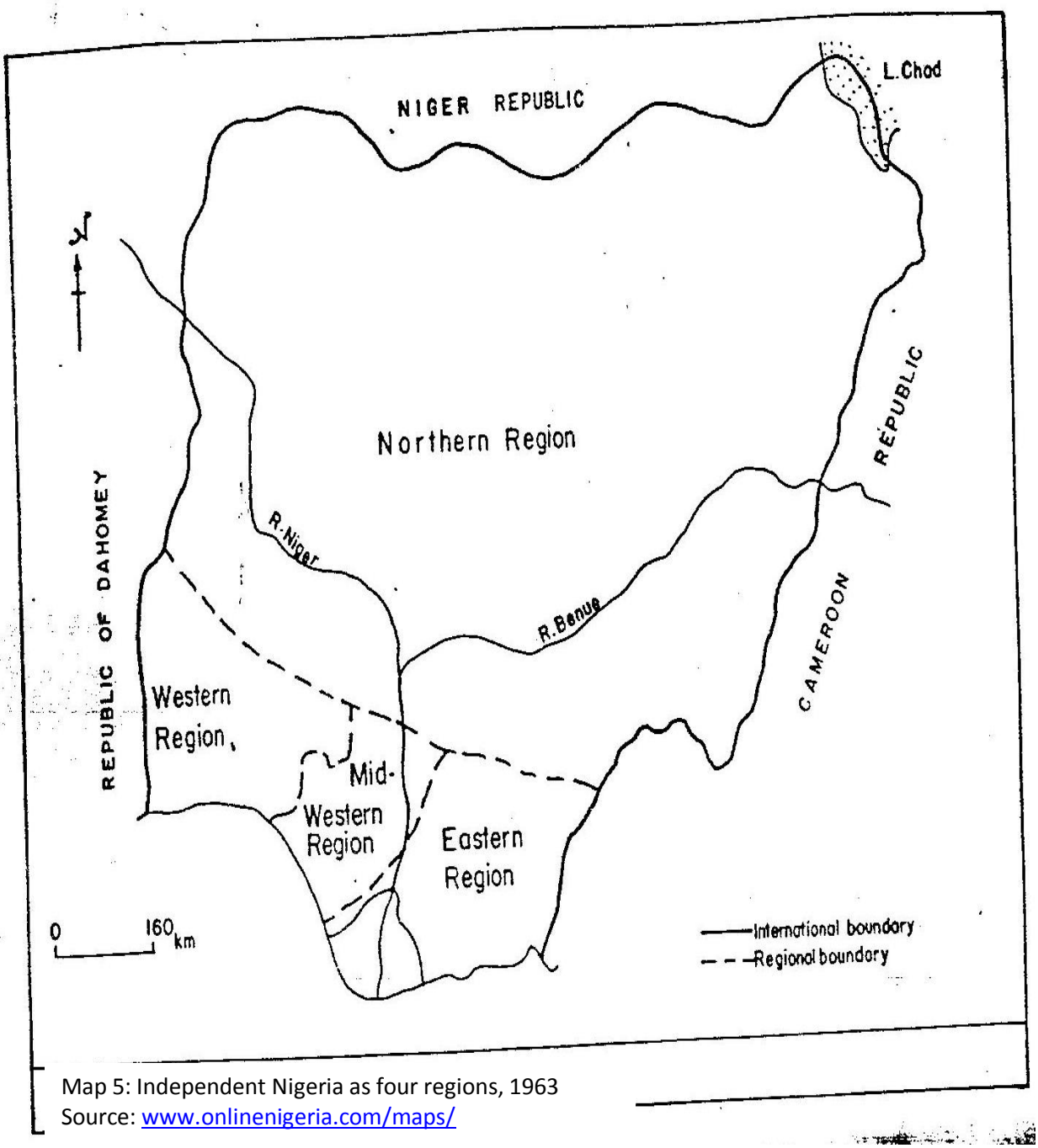
MAP N0. 1 MAP OF COLONIAL ILORIN DIVISION IN ABOUT 1096, SHOWING SOME OF THE MAJOR TOWNS

MAP 4: A MAP OF NIGERIA SHOWING IT THREE RIGIONS BY 1960



SOURCE: WILLINK MINORITIES COMMISSION – NIGERIA (1957-58)

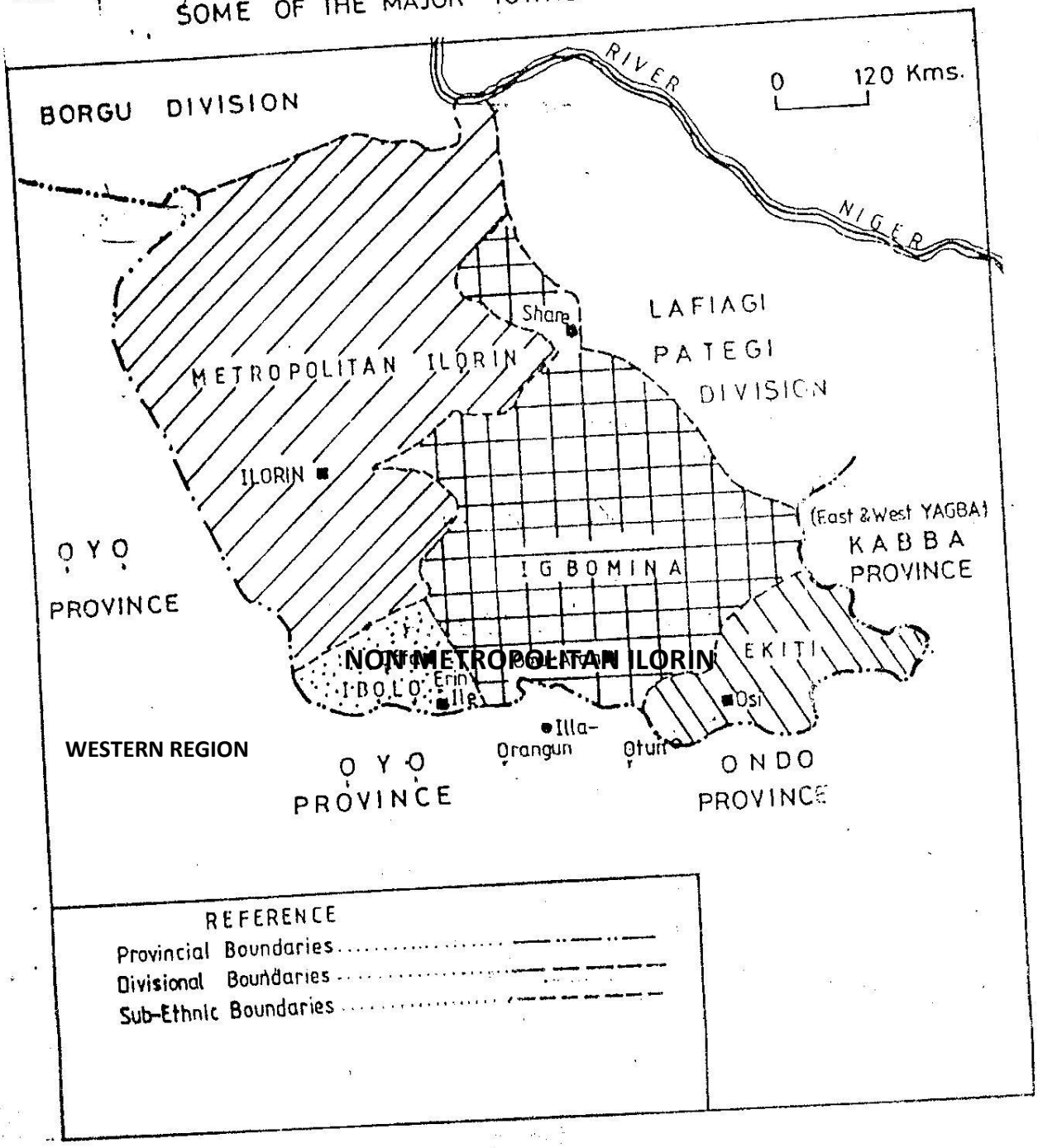
MAP N0. 5



Map 5: Independent Nigeria as four regions, 1963
Source: www.onlinenigeria.com/maps/

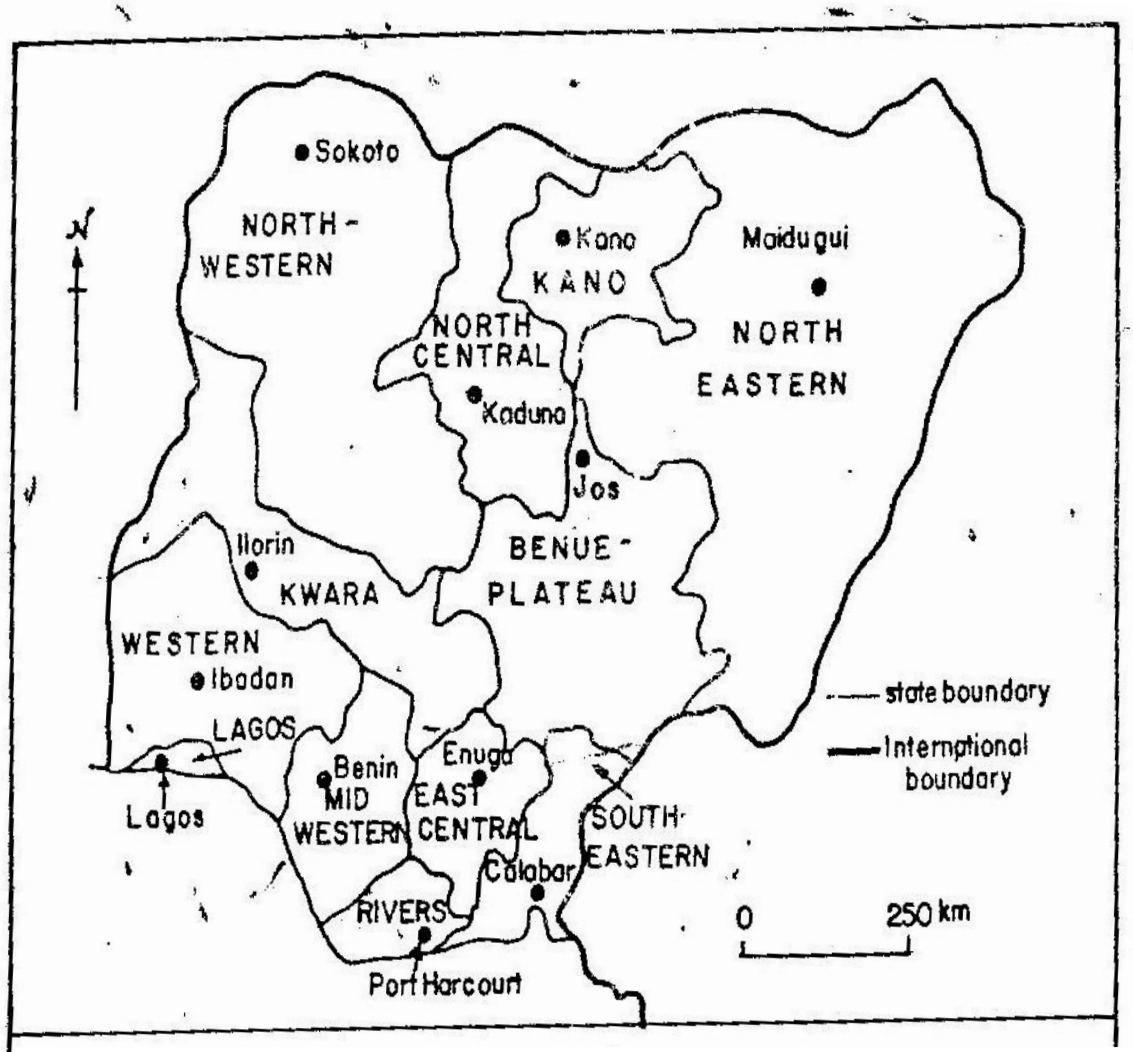
SOURCE: WILLINK MINORITIES COMMISSION – NIGERIA (1957-58) MAPS.

MAP No. 1:- MAP OF ILORIN DIVISION IN ABOUT 1906, SHOWING SOME OF THE MAJOR TOWNS



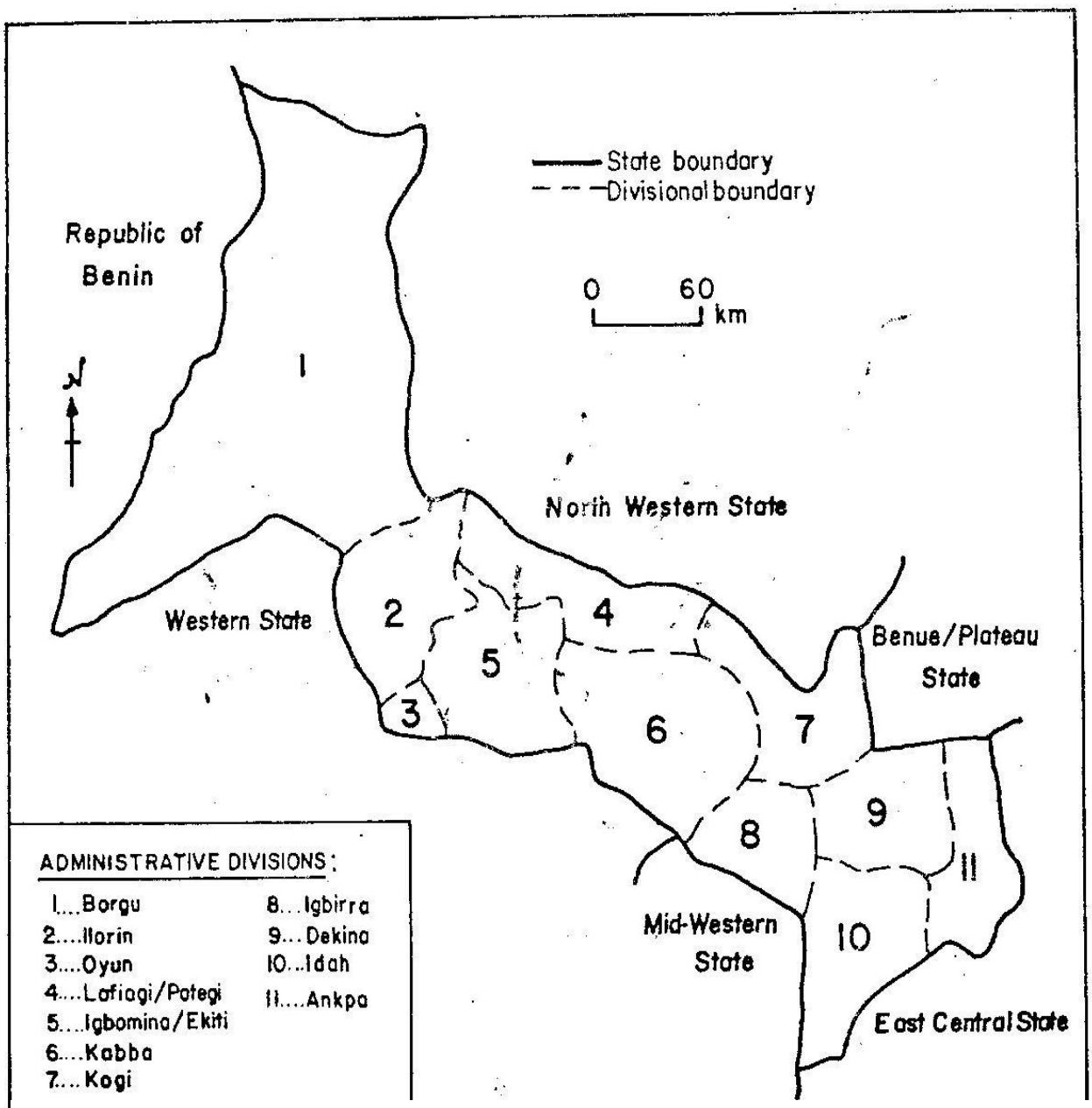
SOURCE: WILLINK MINORITES COMMISSION –NIGERIA (1957-58) MAPS.

MAP NO. 7



Map 7: Nigeria as federation of the twelve states, Created May 1967

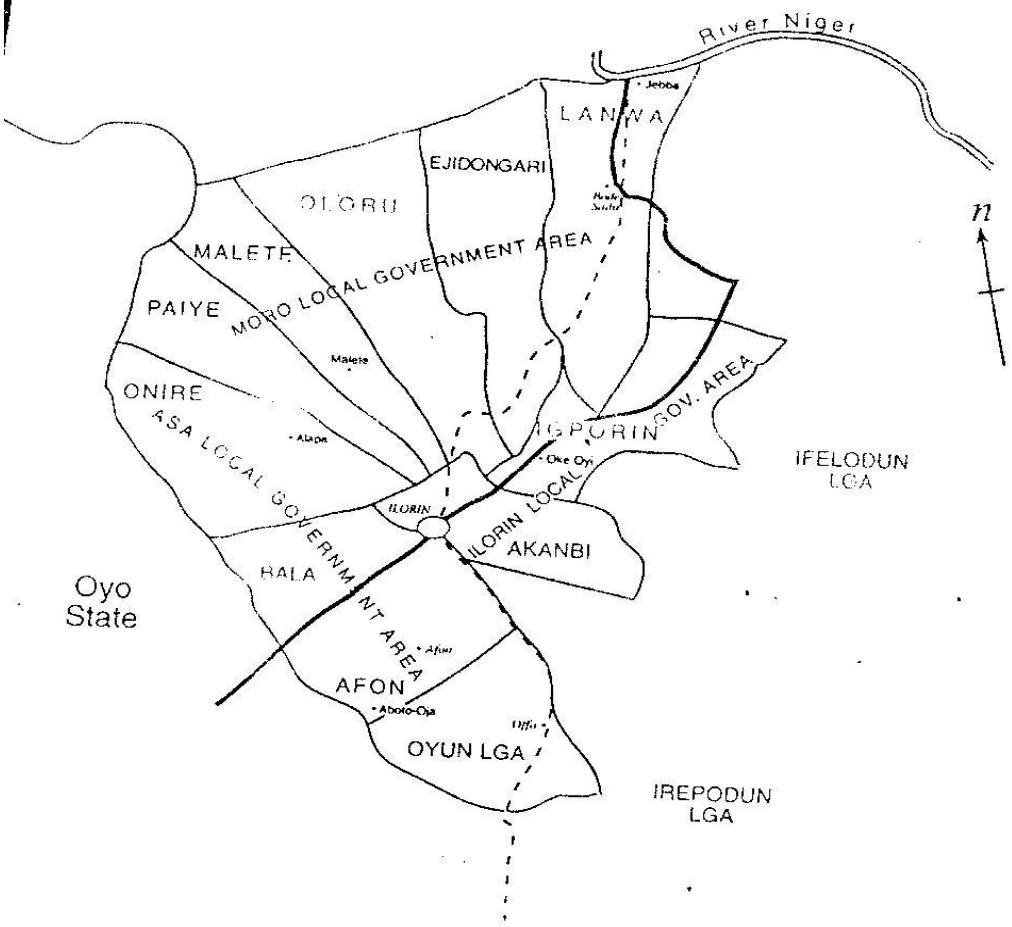
MAP NO. 8



Map 8: This is a map of Kwara State, December 1968, Showing its Administrative Divisions, with the 1967 creation of states in Nigeria.

MAP NO. 9

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREAS OF ILORIN METROPOLY 1976

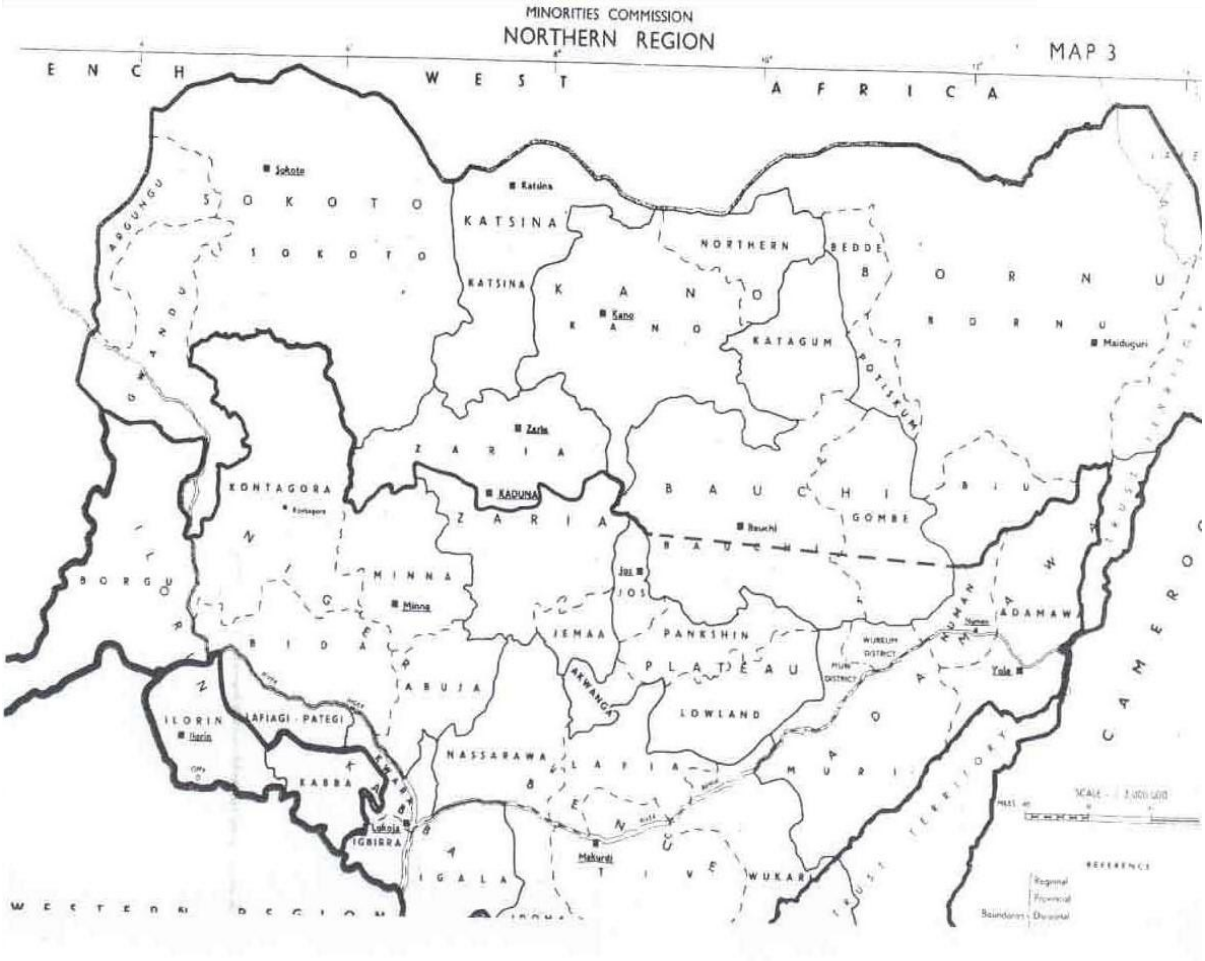


Afon: LGA Headquarters

Alapa: Area Council Headquarters

Source: Provisional Maps, Compiled and Drawn by Kwara State of Nigeria, *Launching of the Local Government Reform by his Excellency Brigadier Gearge Innih, psc., Military Governor of Kwara State, 24th August 1976* (Ilorin, 1976).

MAP 10: Willink Minorities Commission – Nigeria (1957 1958). Map of Northern Nigeria Showing Colonial Provinces and Featuring (1957) Minority Areas.



NOTE:

The provinces of Nigeria are a former administrative division in Nigeria, which were in use in colonial Nigeria and shortly after independence; from 1900 to 1967. They were altered many times through their history. They were divided into divisions, some of these were further subdivided into native authorities. The first use of provinces was in Northern Nigeria after Britain took over administration of the area from the Royal Niger Company in 1900. The British is originally divided Northern Nigeria into eleven provinces.

Appendix II

An Extract of a letter from the Emir of the West Muhammed b. Abdullahi to the Emir of Yoruba Abd al-Salam b. al. Salih as translated by Professor Abdullahi Smith

…..From the Emir of the West Muhammed b. ᶜAbdullahi to the Emir of Yoruba ᶜAbd al-Salam and all the ulama, wazirs, brethren and helpers who are with him, the most courteous greetings and perfect peace, with the mercy and blessings of God for ever.

Then we have understood your letter and have pondered your excellent message in which you inform us that you are under our supervision and judgment, and in which you thank us and tell us of your origin, or, if not your origin, of how your line emerged. Indeed we do not listen to slanderers; for among the people there are both good men and trouble makers. You also tell us that you will never defy our command, and that you pray God to prevent you from deviation in this regard. This is the substance of your message.

Know therefore with certainty, my brothers, that we accept unreservedly all you have spoken of in your letter. It is not our business to accept the words, contrary we act in accordance with what our Lord has commanded in His Book. O you, who have faith, if an iniquitous person comes to you with stories, then make clear the truth of the matter, lest you inflict ignorance of the people.

We strive, if God will, to look into the affairs of all our subjects and ameliorate their condition both spiritual and temporal. And we care for them with sincere advice. To this end we shall not cease in our efforts to maintain communication with you by sending to you again and again. For the blocking of the

road and cutting of communication between us is the result of the machinations of evil people. Do you also strive to maintain communication, sending to us in the same way. If this communication is broken, it is worse for you than for us. This is also to inform you that the Shaikh our father (May God Almighty be merciful to him) has died. O God, forgives him and have mercy on him, and be merciful to us after him. He died in the month of Muharram, on the 20th. And I shall endeavour to send condolences and conclude the business which has accumulated in this matter with whoever comes to us acting on your behalf.

I have also seen in your letter that you are asking two questions. Firstly, is it permitted to a Muslim to castrate a human being? Secondly, if a sentence of death has been passed on an adulterer and an adulteress, and if their people plead on their behalf and offer material compensation, to who does this compensation go? Know then that it is not permitted for a Muslim to castrate a human being. That is a major sin. He, on whom be peace, said:

'There are no genders of men among us, nor those who castrate themselves'. (This hadith is recounted by al-Hakim and al-Tabrani). But there is nothing wrong with employing a eunuch. That is the answer to the first question. For the second, know that it is not permitted to take material compensation in this instance. On the contrary, the legality is not conditional on wealth; unless there is fear of civil strife resulting from the execution of the adulterer and adultness. In such a case the material compensation should be taken and devoted to the welfare of the Muslims. The master of the adulteress has no right to any of it. This is the judgment given by our Shaikh my father his death.

And I now counsel, you, o community of Muslims, according to what God made incumbent on all men that is: piety. The Almighty said: ‘verily, we have commanded both those who received the scripture before you, and you yourselves, that you fear God.’ For piety opens the road to communion with God Almighty. Blessed is he who fulfills this obligation. Through piety comes true repentance, and by it one becomes a true servant of God Almighty. ‘Turn in repentance to God all of you, o you who have faith. Perchance you may find salvation’.

I caution you with what God cautioned all men. The Almighty said: let not the life of this world deceive you. And let not vanities blind to God’……

Appendix III

THE SECRETARY, KWARA STATE CO
MMITTEE ON GRADING OF CHIEFTAINCY
INSTITUTIONS, MINISTRY OF WATER RESOURCES &
RURAL DEVELOPMENT, NO. 15 AHMADU BELLO
WAY, G.R.A, ILORIN

MEMORANDUM OF THE DESCENDANTS OF SOLAGBERU ON THE NEED TO ACCORD THE SOLAGBERU FAMILY A CHIEFTAINCY STATUS IN ILORIN EMIRATE OF KWARA STATE

CONTACT ADDRESSES:

OLOKODE'S COMPOUND,
COMPOUND
OKE-SUNA QUARTRES
45B/FULANI ROAD,
ILORIN,
KWARA STATE

SOLAGBERU

22 AGBAJI STREET,
ILORIN,
KWARA STATE

PREAMBLE

Ilorin original settlement was made up of four hamlets viz: Okelele hamlet with Ojo Isekuse as the Head, Idiape hamlet with Afonja as the Head, Gaa hamlet with Olufadi as the Head, Okesuna with Solagberu as the Head, later Gambari area with Sarkin Gambari as the Head.

Thus our family, Solagberu was one of the earliest settlers in Ilorin. Solagberu and his people were there before the advent of the Fulanis in 1817 (See Gazetteer of Ilorin Province P. 63-67-81).

HISTORY OF SOLAGBERU

Solagberu, and Islamic Missioner, as well as Warrior were learned in Arabic and Islamic Studies (Quran and Hadiths). His original name was MOHAMMED MUKTAIR who hailed from Barma in Bornu in the Northern part of Nigeria. In 17th Century, He travelled on Islamic mission to SUDAN, MALI and entered Yoruba land through Ile-Ife, and visited many Yoruba towns and villages which included Iwo, Iseyin, Ogbomosho, Oyo Kishi and Igbeti etc. Preaching Islam and finally back to settle down near One Hill called Okesuna. Because of his Islamic preaching and teaching of both Quran and Sunat Book of Prophet Moh. (SAW), His Yoruba followers called him ALFA-SUNA. But later when settled on the Hill, they called ALFA SOLAGBERU OKESUNA. The name SOLAGBERU emerged as a result of his charitable attitude to the people. For instance, instead of taking money for any assistance rendered to the people, he would prefer to accept slaves that in turn were trained as Quranic scholars. The 'slave' scholars loved him because of this and called him Alfa Muktair. The name was later known in Yoruba as Solagberu which means one who accepts slaves with honour.

One day Afonja in his Idi-Ape hamlet invited Alfa Solagberu Okesuna to request for his assistance in the form of prayer so that Alafin of Oyo who was threatening him would eventually be surprised.

In his reply Alfa Okesuna told Afonja that he had a Muslim stranger from (Gabasi) North, and that he would contact him for a spiritual assistance in solving Afonja problem. In fulfillment of his commitment to Afonja, Alfa Solagberu actually contacted the Muslim stranger in person of ALFA ALIMI.

In the evening after prayer and Quran by the two Muslim brothers (i.e. Alfa Solagberu Okesuna and Alfa Alimi), Solagberu Okesuna brief Alfa Alimi for the Afonja's mission to seek assistance against the threat of war on his hamlet by the Alafin of Oyo. He mentioned further that Afonja and his subject were PAGAN.

After pausing for sometimes, Alfa Alimi informed Alfa Solagberu of Usman Dan Fodio Jihad that was already going on against the Habe Rulers in the North. He said that the assistance of the Jihadists could be sought who would both help Afonja and spread Islam among the pagans.

This was happy news to Alfa Solagberu Okesuna and his members whose mission was to spread Islam among the pagans. So, the two Alfa Solagberu and Alimi then sent for Afonja and informed him of their readiness to assist him against the Alafin. They added, however, that after victory over Oyo, both Afonja and his people would accept Islam.

Solagberu and Alimi visited Afonja at Idi-Ape, and Solagberu introduced Alfa Alimi to Afonja. Thereafter, Alfa Alimi told Afonja that he had sent for the Jaman to defend him and his people against Oyo. But he put the clause that after the war, Ilorin and his people would be Islamized. In reply, Afonja said he had no objection as long as he achieved victory over Oyo.

Thereafter, Alfa Alimi went to Usman Dan Fodio to inform him of a town after "Niger River" called Ilorin where there were both Muslims and Pagans. He added that he wanted the town to be thoroughly Islamized. Usman Dan Fodio agreed and sent troops (Jamaan) through Alimi to Ilorin 1817 (see Gazettee of Ilorin Province P. 64). Both Alimi and Solagberu Okesuna mobilized their followers to support the Jihadists who comprised of Hausa and Fulani from the North in fighting Oyo. In this way, Oyo was conquered and Afonja secured his independence.

Afonja, who was elated by the success over Oyo openly, defined the Alafin Maku's message that: "THE NEW MOON APPEARED." To this, Afonja insolently replied: "LET THE NEW MOON QUICKLY SET."

Thus, with the aid of Muslim Jammat, Oyo was conquered, the city was sacked and the inhabitants were forced out of old Oyo to Agor which was the site of present Oyo town. Because of the victory, Afonja invited Alimi to be the leader of the town; but as a Muslim Mallam, Alimi refused the invitation and instead

suggested that the leadership be given to his children. Afonja and Muslim Mallam including Solagberu Okesuna agreed to the suggestion and invited two of his children – Abdulsalami and Shitta to come and hold the "TUTA SHEHU" "USMAN DAN FODIO FLAG". This is possible after many wars against pagans in Yoruba lands and well set to deep Qur'an into the sea before we were stopped.

GAZETTEER of Ilorin Province (P. 65) confirmed that Alimi sent for his sons Abdulsalami was installed as the first emir of Ilorin in 1831. Yoruba called him Oba Digi Aiye" King, The Mirror of World.

EXPEDITIONS: Abdulsalami and Muslim brothers with Afonja were able to overcome several expeditions sent by Alafin against Ilorin i.e. Mugba War, Kanle war, Edun of Gbogun and Battle of Ogele. Ilorin also repelled an attack by Nupe Army the battle was fought near Sobi Hill.

Afonja attempts to rid himself of the Fulani and he was killed. Abdulsalami, the 1st Emir of Ilorin was doing everything possible to establish himself and uphold agreement that everybody in Ilorin should be Muslim or face the music of been killed. Afonja, who could no stayed at Oyo after the conquest of the town came back and found out the over ambition of the Fulanis who had earlier supported him.

He was annoyed and resolved to get rid of the Fulani Jamma. He invited Onikoyi and other powerful Yoruba Chiefs to assist him; but his overwhelming conduct had alienated those who could help him. Inspite of this, Afonja over-estimated his power to achieve his objective alone without the support of even of Alfa Solagberu of Okesuna.

Alfa Solagberu Okesuna thus stood aside and Afonja fell. To Solagberu, Afonja was fighting a tribal war against the Jamaa and as such, he deserved no support. Worse still; his fight was against the Muslims.

After the death of Afonja, Ilorin now became a complete Muslims town. There were Hausa, Fulani Muslims and already there were Solagberu with his Yoruba Muslims. But soon, there was internal wrangling between Muslim Jamaa and the Yoruba Muslim headed by Solagberu of Okesuna.

There was the rumour that Alfa Mukhtair i.e. Solagberu of Okesuna was more learned in Islam than Abdulsalami, the 1st Emir. Some followers of Solagberu were aware of this but Alfa Solagberu kept his innocence. It happened that as a

member of Emirate Council, Solagberu was present when Onikoyi came to request for assistance against Ogbomoso. Emir Abdulsalami in-council deliberated on the request and agreed to send some soldiers to Ogbomoso to assist Onikoyi. Alfa Solagberu asked whether he could contribute soldiers for the campaign, but the Emir said NO, and that he would only send few solders from Jamaa. Meanwhile, Emir Abdulsalami had concluded plan to attack Solagberu after the war against Ogbomoso. Solagberu was ignorant of his plan. Thus after the victory over Ogbomoso, the forces of Abdulsalami on their way back came straight to Okesuna and killed Solagberu and many of his followers, and his chiefs were captured by Abdulsalami and kept at one of our houses. The "Ile Solagberu (GAZETTER OF ILORIN PROVICE P.66).

After the death of Solagberu, his first son Alfa Shuaib Mukhtar Olokode took over the mantle of leadership. Mukhtar was thereafter taken to the Fulani quarters to represent all Okesuna Muslim brothers that remained. The quarters later became our present compound, Olokode-Okesuna quarters in memory of Alfa Solagberu Okesuna and today his descendants could be seen peacefully settled down at the Olokode Compound, Okesuna, Solagberu Compound, Agbaji, Oke-Aluko etc, all in Ilorin. We the entire descendants of Alfa Solagberu Okesuna living peacefully at our various locations in the town will continue to be law abiding and peaceful, and above all, we will continue to defend the agreement of Islamizing Ilorin and upholding Alimi igemony.

In the light of our history, the Committee is invited to note that:

1. Mallam Moh. Muktair, popularly called Alfa Solagberu Okesuna was one of the earliest leaders and settlers of Ilorin.
2. He cooperated with Shehu Alimi until his death in 1831.
3. His problem of succession created problem for Solagberu led to his marginalization and consequent death.
4. Similar situation has occurred to Nnakonu of Balogun Fulani to Afonja of Idi-Ape to Balogun Alanamu to Balogun Ajikobi to Magaji n Geri and Bako, Sarkin Gambari.
5. All these cited here, except Alfa Solagberu, were given recognition as Chiefs and members of Emirate Council.

6. Up to date, Solagberu Okesuna is yet to be recognized.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. That in the interest of justice, fairness and equity, the descendants of Solagberu Okesuna should be accorded the status of a Chief in Ilorin Emirate.
2. In consonance with the constitution of Federal Republic of Nigeria, Section 42 Solagberu Okesuna (Mohammed Mukhtair)'s descendants should among those to be recognised as Chiefs in Ilorin Emirate.
3. The family is ready to testify in person if need be.

We are of the view that your Committee will look into our case critically and consider our request. We wish your Committee well.

On behalf of all Solagberu Okesuna's family:

Mallam I. A. Aremu Olokode
Head of Solagberu Okesuna Family
Ilorin

Alhaji Abdullahi B. Solagberu
Mogaji, Solagberu's Compound,
Agbaji, Ilorin.

Alhaji Abdulsalam Oba Adisa Solagberu
Solagberu's Compound
Agbaji, Ilorin

Alfa Oseni A. Aremu
Olokode's Compound,
Okesuna Quarters, Ilorin

Hon. Sulyman O. Umaru Olokode
Secretary, Solagberu Okesuna family,
Ilorin. Kwara State

Alhaji Abdulkadir Oba Solagberu,
Solagberu's Compound,
Agbaji.

Appendix IV

Treaty Of Ilorin

from Vandeleur, C.F.S**; Campaigning on the Upper Nile and Niger**, Geographical Society, London, 1898, pp. 292-295. Extracted from L.A.K. Jimoh, **Ilorin: Journey So Far,** Atoto Press Ltd. Ilorin, 1994, pp.189-190.

This treaty is made on the 18th February 1897 of the Christian era, and the 15th day of Ramadan, in the year 1314 since the hegira (sic). The treaty is between Sir George Goldie, Governor for the Royal Niger Company, and the Emir Suliman, son of the former Emir Alihiu (sic), for his chiefs and people for ever.

1. The Company will recognize Suliman as Emir of Ilorin
2. The Emir Suliman recognizes that Ilorin is entirely under the protection and power of the company.
3. He will obey all such directions in respect of his government as the Company may give him from time to time.
4. The Emir Suliman agrees to make no war without the consent of the Company, and to accept such frontier line between Ilorin and Lagos as the Company may decide.
5. The Emir Suliman agrees to take every step in his power to prevent the further introduction of gin and rum into his country from Lagos, and to destroy all the gin and rum that may be found in his country.
6. All previous Treaties are abrogated, but Ilorin remains under the protection of her Majesty, the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and Empress of India.

7. I Suliman, Emir of Ilorin, hereby accept this Treaty, and I, George Taubman Goldie, Governor of the Royal Niger Company, also hereby accept it.

(Signed) SULIMAN (in Arabic)

(Signed) GEORGE TAUBMAN GOLDIE.

We the undersigned, declare that the Emir of Ilorin, Suliman, has in our presence declared, through two interpreters, that he has perused and understood the Hausa (Arabic) copy of this Treaty, and that he has had the English copy fully explained to him.

We declared also, that the Governor, Sir George Goldie, and the Emir Suliman, duly affixed their signatures to all the copies in our presence, this 18th February, 1897.

(Signed) G. CUNNIGHAM, Major, Derby Regiment.

(Signed) W.D. BIRD, Lieut., 2nd, The Queen's Regiment.

(Signed) C.F.S. VANDELEUR, Lieut., Scots Guard.

(Signed) A.M. CLINTOCK, Lieut., Seaforth Highlanders.

APPENDIX VII

"List of Importance Towns and Villages formerly in Igbomina -Kingdom-

1. Odo Owa Ilofa Group
2. Ilofa
3. Ekan
4. Aiye-Ekan
5. Omu-Aran
6. Rore
7. Aran-Orin
8. Agbonda
9. Omido
10. Agbele
11. Esie
12. Ijan
13. Igbesi
14. Iludun
15. Oro
16. Okenigbin
17. Ajase
18. Igbomole
19. Kudu
20. Opondo
21. Odo Owu
22. Ijomu
23. Oke-Erimi
24. Oko
25. Ola
26. Osi
27. Oke-Opin (Ekiti)
28. Oro-Ago
29. Edidi
30. Ala
31. Oke-Oyi
32. Igbaja
33. Obin
34. Agunjin
35. Igbowo
36. Iji
37. Obo
38. Owu
39. Isanlu
40. Pamo
41. Iwo
42. Oke Aba
43. Oke-Illa
44. Ora
45. Ede
46. Iwo Alagbon
47. Agbeku
48. Odo-Omi
49. Orehe
50. Oleobiri
51. Elesuro
52. Ora OOnijan
53. Lalenka
54. Awrimoro
55. Awo-Oyi
56. Eleiyele
57. Ope-Egba
58. Ilala
59. Oke Iya
60. Ilale Erimope
61. Erimope
62. Omupo
63. Koko
64. Igbo Owu
65. Idofian
66. Obate
67. Oba
68. Sabaja
69. Ada
70. Egudu
71. Idi-Oro
72. Osan
73. Osuwi
74. Epe

APPENDIX VII

"List of Importance Towns and Villages formerly in Igbomina -Kingdom-

1. Odo Owa Ilofa Group
2. Ilofa
3. Ekan
4. Aiye-Ekan
5. Omu-Aran
6. Rore
7. Aran-Orin
8. Agbonda
9. Omido
10. Agbele
11. Esie
12. Ijan
13. Igbesi
14. Iludun
15. Oro
16. Okenigbin
17. Ajase
18. Igbomole
19. Kudu
20. Opondo
21. Odo Owu
22. Ijomu
23. Oke-Erimi
24. Oko
25. Ola
26. Osi
27. Oke-Opin (Ekiti)
28. Oro-Ago
29. Edidi
30. Ala
31. Oke-Oyi
32. Igbaja
33. Obin
34. Agunjin
35. Igbowo
36. Iji
37. Obo
38. Owu
39. Isanlu
40. Pamo
41. Iwo
42. Oke Aba
43. Oke-Illa
44. Ora
45. Ede
46. Iwo Alagbon
47. Agbeku
48. Odo-Omi
49. Orehe
50. Oleobiri
51. Elesuro
52. Ora OOnijan
53. Lalenka
54. Awrimoro
55. Awo-Oyi
56. Eleiyele
57. Ope-Egba
58. Ilala
59. Oke Iya
60. Ilale Erimope
61. Erimope
62. Omupo
63. Koko
64. Igbo Owu
65. Idofian
66. Obate
67. Oba
68. Sabaja
69. Ada
70. Egudu
71. Idi-Oro
72. Osan
73. Osuwi
74. Epe

APPENDIX V

~~Lord Somerset~~

Result. For you if required. I have now obtained 3 other copies which are in my office.

JAL 30/8.

500

NORTHERN REGION OF NIGERIA

I have 2 already thank you.

CR 31/8

Statement of the Government of the Northern Region of Nigeria on the Report of the Committee of Inquiry appointed to investigate allegations about Ilorin N.A.

Laid on the Table of the Legislative Houses, July and August, 1958

GOVERNMENT PRINTER, KADUNA

STATEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE NORTHERN REGION OF NIGERIA ON THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY APPOINTED TO INVESTIGATE ALLEGATIONS ABOUT ILORIN NATIVE AUTHORITY

INTRODUCTION

1. On 4th February, 1958, in consequence of many reports during the previous 6 months that Ilorin Native Authority had been guilty of intimidating its political opponents, of inefficiency and corruption, and of generally pursuing political advantage rather than the welfare of the community, the Northern Regional Government was compelled to deliver an official warning to the Native Authority. The text of the warning is given in Appendix A; the final sentence read as follows:-

> "The Regional Government issues this solemn warning that unless the Native Authority removes political profiteering from its actions concerning all staff matters and appointments and acts in a wise, impartial and responsible manner in its public duties there will be no alternative but to dissolve the Council."

2. Despite this warning it was reported that the Native Authority continued to misconduct public affairs. On 22nd May, therefore, the Regional Government appointed a Committee of Inquiry consisting of one senior expatriate official, Mr. R. O. Mant, and two experienced members of the Native Courts, M. Musa Alkali of Bida and Alhaji Aminu Yakubu, Member of the Court of the Emir of Kano. Their instructions were to inquire into allegations that Ilorin Native Authority had so misconducted or neglected its affairs that a situation had been created prejudicial to the interests of Ilorin Emirate or to the interests of the Region as a whole.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE

3. On 17th June, the Committee submitted its report which has been carefully studied by the Regional Government. The Committee in the first place reported that those members of the Native Authority who

supported the I.T.P./A.G. (Ilorin Talaka Parapo/Action Group political party) refused to give evidence; the remaining members of the Native Authority and many members of the public, some 400 in all, appeared before the Committee. Faced with this situation, the Committee in order to present a true and impartial report decided to test all verbal evidence against the extremely full documentary evidence which existed in the minutes of the Council and its Committees. Since these minutes had all been confirmed in proper form, they represented an indisputable record of events.

4. The members of the Committee have done their work with complete impartiality and have taken care in investigating each allegation to weigh up both sides of each case. The Government also has carefully and impartially considered all the matters dealt with in the report, and has disregarded all tendentious and unproved allegations. The Government has gone further, and has disregarded many matters which were condemned by the Committee, but which could be ascribed to political immaturity. After doing so, the Government finds that there still remains a long list of misdeeds which cannot in any way be excused. The findings of fact by the Committee of which the Government has made particular note are summarised in the following paragraphs.

Relations of Ilorin Native Authority with its staff

5. (i) The District Heads of Afon and Paiye were suspended although a Fact Finding Committee failed to pin any specific misdeeds on them. Later the Native Authority decided to re-instate them, but within two months one was dismissed and the other transferred.

(ii) In the cases of the appointments of village heads to four separate villages, Ora, Osi, Laduba and Oko, the Native Authority invariably favoured the man who supported the I.T.P./A.G. and rejected anyone, however strong his claim, who was a political opponent. In order to explain its choice the Native Authority sometimes accepted the popular choice and sometimes rejected him; sometimes insisted on a member of a ruling house and sometimes favoured a man without any such connection.

(iii) In Okelele Ward in Ilorin Town, the Native Authority dismissed the Ward Head who was an opponent of the I.T.P./A.G. for conviction in a case where a retrial had been ordered; and appointed in his place a man with a criminal record, who was an I.T.P./A.G. supporter.

(iv) The Native Authority gave notice of dismissal to 8 temporary scribes in July, 1957, and to another 6 in January, 1958; at least half of these were below the normal retiring age. It is recorded that the reason was to improve efficiency and that in future a minimum educational qualification of Middle IV would be required for such appointments. No records, however, exist about the qualifications of those dismissed or about other specific reasons for their dismissal. Records show that of the 22 temporary scribes engaged since then, only 3 had a Middle IV qualification.

(v) Although it has repeatedly complained about its staff taking part in politics, in March, 1958, the Native Authority engaged 7 new messengers, all of whom it has been alleged were Field Secretaries of the I.T.P./A.G. party. When the allegation was brought to the attention of the Native Authority Council, it was not denied, and no action was taken.

(vi) Although in February, 1958, it was decided that all vacant posts should be advertised, the Native Authority has approved at least 4 engagements without advertising (Assistant Council Secretary; Mechanical Foreman; M. Suleman Alhaji; Mr. J. O. Ajaye). At the same time other applicants although recommended by responsible officials have been put off on the grounds that the vacancies had been insufficiently advertised.

(vii) In October, 1957, the Native Authority decided to appoint Mr. Akanbi Olumo as Administrative Secretary. But in January this appointment was revoked and Mr. J. I. Popoola was appointed instead. Their qualifications are similar, and there is no recorded reason for the revocation of the first appointment.

(viii) In February, 1958, the Native Authority appointed two officials with good records to the posts of Deputy Security Secretary and Deputy Development Secretary. A fortnight later this decision was revoked, and subsequently the Native Authority appointed two other men with inferior records.

(ix) From June, 1957 to May, 1958, the Native Authority procrastinated over promoting M. Ibrahim Dasuki as Head Veterinary Assistant although recommended by the Government Veterinary Officer.

(x) It is on record on 12th December, 1957 that Abdullahi Ahmed was to be appointed Assistant Council Secretary. In February, 1958 a Mr. Dada was substituted. On 13th March a Mr. Ajaye was finally appointed.

(xi) Two officials, S. O. Lawal and Ahmed Laro, whilst on vacation from a training course at the Institute of Administration, Zaria, signed a petition as executive members of the Ilorin Native Authority Workers Union. The Native Authority in consequence withdrew both officials from their course, and persisted in this decision despite contrary advice from the Resident, a Labour Officer of the Federal Government and the Principal of the Institute of Administration.

(xii) Five officials bought cars although they had been given advances to buy motor-cycles. After consideration four were allowed to keep their cars, but in the case of one official he

was told to buy a motor-cycle or refund the advance. No reason was given to the official concerned, M. Ibrahim Alausa, Co-operative Inspector, why he was treated differently to the others.

(xiii) On 18th February, M. Mamudu Sule, Chief of Police designate, returned from training with excellent reports. It appears that he once contested a local election for N.P.C. and that he had been asked to join I.T.P./A.G. and had refused. Despite the advice of the Resident and the A.S.P. he was not appointed by the Native Authority until 20th May, and then only on probation and at a salary £60 per annum less than the minimum of the proper grade.

(xiv) The District Head of Igbaja gave evidence that certain politicians urged him to join I.T.P./A.G. and threatened him when he refused. Since then a sub-committee of the Native Authority has investigated his behaviour and produced a condemnatory report upon him.

(xv) On 14th October, 1957, Ilorin Town Council stood off at one week's notice the whole of the existing road labour force, consisting of 33 masons and labourers, many of them with 30 or more years' service. On November 8th the Town Council began to engage new labourers at lower rates of pay. The Native Authority did not use its powers in this matter to restrain the Town Council, which is dominated by the same political party. Evidence has been given that the old labourers were all opponents of I.T.P./A.G. and that the new labourers are all supporters. The only other explanation on record is that the new labourers cost less.

(xvi) The Native Authority took responsibility for postings and transfers

out of the hands of Departmental Heads. It is known that at least six transfers of staff to less favourable posts were made for disciplinary reasons. In all these cases the official transferred was a political opponent of the I.T.P./A.G., and in two cases evidence was given that before the transfer they had been pressed by the Chairman of the Committee to join the I.T.P. and had refused.

Conduct of business by the Native Authority and its relations with the public

6. (i) On 17th May the Emir and the traditional members of the Native Authority petitioned the Premier saying that they were insulted and abused on all possible occasions and had been driven to the limit of human endurance. Administrative Officers have recorded that such rudeness often led to complete confusion in meetings of the Council and its Committees. This is also shown in the minutes.

(ii) On 8th May, Mr. J. S. Olawoyin, Native Authority Councillor and member of the I.T.P./A.G. according to the independent Daily Times reporter who was present, insulted the Emir by threatening him during a Council meeting that he would be replaced by another Chief. He subsequently refused to apologise, although two other leading political colleagues of his did so.

(iii) On 13th May, Mr. Olawoyin and Mr. Akande spoke in favour of a motion of no confidence when condemning the S.D.O. This officer had throughout the life of the new Council with great patience and forbearance given the Council good advice.

(iv) In January, despite the advice of the Provincial Engineer and despite a previous agreement to the contrary, the Native Authority insisted on a subcommittee supervising labour recruitment for the construction work on new Council

Chamber and offices. The Provincial Engineer was forced to stop work until his requirements were met.

(v) Despite official advice and despite the urgent need for revenue, various Committees of the Native Authority insisted on reducing the licence fees for bicycles, dogs and dane-guns.

(vi) Despite official advice the Native Authority refused to recognise the Ilorin Native Authority Workers Union. Eventually the matter had to be referred to the Federal Government, which over-ruled the Native Authority.

(vii) Evidence was also given of the rejection of officials' advice, either permanently or for a time, about the Ilorin cattle market, the estimates, groundnut planting, taxation, water supply, land settlement and many staff matters.

(viii) On 2nd June the General Purposes Committee refused to attend a meeting called by the Resident.

(ix) The Senior District Officer on one occasion had to use his legal powers under the Native Authority Law (No.4/1954, Section 104) in order to enforce the presence of one Native Authority Councillor, Mr. Akande, a leading member of the I.T.P./A.G. in order to be able to speak to him on public business.

(x) In the case of the markets of two villages which according to evidence are opposed to I.T.P./A.G., although the Resident stated that they were properly established and had been in existence for 20 years, a Native Authority Committee appointed a subcommittee to inquire whether they were properly established.

(xi) Representatives of 30 Nupe households from Oke Odde stated that they had been threatened that unless they joined

I.T.P./A.G. they would be driven out of the town. When they refused, they were told that their compounds were required for a market. It is shown by the minutes of the General Purposes Committee that a Native Authority Councillor, Mr. Ekunrin, M.H.A., member of the I.T.P./A.G., told the Committee that the Nupe area was public property.

Conclusions of the Committee

7. In its conclusions the Committee reported that their findings coincided exactly with the failures to which the solemn warning had previously drawn attention: the Native Authority's conduct of affairs was deplorable and it had acted in a manner prejudicial in a very marked degree to the interests of Ilorin Emirate and of the Region as a whole.

GOVERNMENT STATEMENT ON THE COMMITTEE'S FINDINGS

8. In particular it finds proved that the Ilorin Native Authority:-

(a) used its powers to intimidate and victimise the political opponents of the I.T.P./A.G.;

(b) so mishandled staff matters that the whole local government machine is in danger of disruption;

(c) because of party preoccupations had governed with growing inefficiency and thereby harmed its people;

(d) had split the people into different camps by insults and injustices towards both traditional officials and political opponents so that law and order were endangered;

(e) had proved by its attitude towards impartial government officials who attempted to give advice that its present leaders were unable or unwilling to learn from their errors and unlikely to improve in the future.

9. It is the declared policy of the Northern Regional Government to introduce, by stages, popular

representation in all local government councils. Ilorin has provided one of the earliest of these democratic experiments. Its example has been a set-back to other Native Authorities which planned to follow in its wake. The abuses which the Ilorin Native Authority has practised are not abuses inherent in democracy but are due to evils which are inherent in human nature. Corruption, abuse of office, discrimination, nepotism, favouritism may be found under any system of government. The Journal of Western Region Association of Divisional District Councils, November 1957, No. 27, reported as follows à propos of the Western Region Local Government Councils:-

> "..... there has been corruption and political discrimination when appointments or disciplinary charges have been under consideration. As a result it has proved difficult to recruit able men and the development of local government has been retarded."

Unfortunately it is in Ilorin that these evils have been associated in the public mind with democracy. The Northern Regional Government has been forbearing - it has not acted without warning, but there is a point beyond which forbearance ceases to be a virtue and it must be shown that "Liberty too must be limited to be possessed".

10. If democracy in local government is to remain the ideal for which this Region is working its reputation should not, thus early, be tarnished. The Regional Government has, therefore, recommended to the Governor that he should dissolve the Ilorin Council and, for the present, substitute in its place an appointed council as a caretaker authority until such time as it is possible to re-introduce elected representation.

11. Further, in order to insulate Native Authority staff matters from political influence the Regional Government has also decided temporarily to take over responsibility for the Ilorin Native Authority staff and to set up an independent Establishment Committee for this purpose.

Appendix A

Regional Government Warning

Passed by Resident, Ilorin, to the Ilorin General Purposes Committee and to all members of the Ilorin Native Authority on 4th February, 1958.

I have been requested by the Regional Government to address you today and to deliver to every member of the Ilorin Native Authority Council a most grave and solemn written warning about the conduct of public affairs by the Native Authority.

The message reads as follows:-

"The Regional Government views with the gravest concern the acts of irresponsibility, partiality and political prejudice which have characterised the administration of the Ilorin Native Authority in increasing numbers over the past six months.

There are certain essential standards which every sound local government must maintain: these are that it should retain the respect if not the political support of the great mass of the people, and in particular of all the responsible leaders of the community; that it should discharge adequately the duties and responsibilities assigned to it; and that it should maintain high standards of honesty, morality and impartiality.

In the opinion of the Regional Government the Ilorin Native Authority has fallen short in the maintenance of these essential standards. It has reached this conclusion only after most careful enquiry into the facts of the many complaints and petitions that have been made over the past half year.

In particular the Native Authority has failed to deal with its staff with the impartiality that is due. It has singled out political opponents and disciplined them in a way that can only be described as victimisation. It has favoured others where such favour can only be interpreted as due to political motive. It has failed to gain the confidence and respect of its civil service.

It has also shown itself irresponsible in other acts. It has failed to observe the universal convention of secrecy of debate in committee thereby

discouraging honest and frank discussion of public matters. It has shown disrespect for public affairs by constantly ignoring the due and proper times set for meetings. More generally in a country that was already divided among itself, socially and politically, it has failed to use wisdom and judgment in binding the people together into one. Finally it has failed to place the interests of the community before the interests of the majority party with the result that the decisive influence in all major deliberations has been the promotion of party power to the detriment of the public welfare.

The Regional Government therefore issues this solemn warning that unless the Native Authority removes political profiteering from its actions concerning all staff matters and appointments, and acts in a wise, impartial and responsible manner in its public duties there will be no alternative but to dissolve the Council."