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Notes to Contributors

Al-Hikmah Journal of History and International Relations is an Annual publication of the Department of History & International studies, Al-Hikmah University, Ilorin-Nigeria. It is a scholarly publication, devoted to research dissemination, knowledge exchange and critical evaluation of issues that cover all fields of humanities, social and Management Sciences.

Articles/Manuscripts submitted by authors must be original contributions to knowledge, and must be in duplicate, plus a soft copy (Microsoft Word Perfect). An article (with references) must not exceed 20 pages. Each paper must have an abstract of 150-200 words, accompanied by an assessment fee of N3000 only. The reference style should follow the APA format.

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Editorial

Al-Hikmah Journal of History and International Relations (AJHIR) is published annually (December). It focuses on the broad spectrum of history, culture, international relations, political economy, religious and related disciplines.

The Editorial Board was re-constituted in November 2017, with a specific mandate that hinged on three main thrust, i.e. clear the backlog of articles already processed via the peer-review mechanism; invite submission of well researched papers by prospective authors/contributors; and ensure timely publication of subsequent editions of the Journal.

While thanking most sincerely the leadership and the entire members of staff of the department of History and International Studies for their full support and cooperation, the conscientious effort of the Editorial Board has resulted in the successful publication of Vol. 3 of the Journal in December, 2017 and Vol. 4 in September 2018. It is our hope that Vol. 5 shall be completed and rolled-out from the press by January 2019.

We thank you all for your support, understanding and patronage.

Prof. A.O.Y. Raji,
Editor-in-Chief.

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POLITICAL-ECONOMIC RELATIONS IN ILORIN IN THE PRE-COLONIAL ERA: AN ASSESSMENT

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Abstract

The pre-colonial Ilorin economy is viewed by some stakeholders and scholars as a singular “Commission Agent” economy. Some also considered that the economy was operated strictly under the aristocratic force of the Fulani hegemony. The intelligent and entrepreneurial skills of the indigenous people are in many cases subjected to the European ideas. The success of economic activities and practice of effective income distribution was not directly traced to the native governance of the Fulani. This paper argue that the active participation of the Ilorin producers, merchants and agents has been linked to the earlier contact of Ilorin with the European imperialists. Using both primary and secondary sources, it examines the role of pre-colonial aristocrats in the management of political and socio-cultural environment of the Emirate. The paper concludes that the success of the economy and socio-cultural relations of Ilorin in the pre-colonial era enhanced administrative strategies exercised by the governing body of the Emirate.

Keywords: Commission Agent, Fulani hegemony, and Pre-colonial Relations

Introduction

The historical hallmark responsible for the emergence of the Fulani hegemony in Ilorin involved first, the demise of Afonja. Second, the loyalty of the Ilorin *Mallams* (whom Alimi, the ancestor of the Fulani hegemony in Ilorin met) to Alimi after he had been accepted as the best among equals. Third, was the death of Solagberu, an Islamic leader of Oke- Suna (a compatriot of *Shehu* Alimi). Fourth, was the destruction of Oke-Suna. And the fifth happened to be personal initiative and tactics of Abdulsalami to curtail Bako, the *Serikin* Gambari who aspire to Gwandu for support as the *Serikin* Ilorin after the death of Alimi. Meanwhile, the year 1823 marked the formal beginning of the Fulani hegemony in Ilorin following a reply (according to Jimoh), which came to Abdulsalami from the Emir of Gwandu in a “lengthy *Wathiqat* (letter)

recognising and acknowledging him as the 'Emir of Yoruba' and assured of support by the Sokoto Caliphate".¹

Having incorporated the Emirate into the Sokoto Caliphate, Abdulsalami consolidated his position and became the *de facto* ruler. Hence, he introduced and formalised necessary machinery for the governance of the territory. It is noted that before such a step was taken, the office of the *Balogun* was not hereditary in Ilorin. Appointment was based purely on the military merit of the aspirants.²

Conceptual Clarifications:

Commission Agent:

In relation to money, commission is defined by Oxford Advanced Learners' Dictionary as "an amount of money that is paid to the subject for selling goods and which increases with the amount of goods that are sold; amount of money that is charged by bank etc. for providing a particular service."³ The Commercial activities of Ilorin pre-colonial economy called for the emergence of people, who charged on services provided in the course of production and transaction of wares. The role rendered by those who charged commission promoted the efficiency and effectiveness of the then channel of distribution.

An agent is described as a person whose service is employed by someone else. The former is required to perform particular action involving the third party on an agreed term. Therefore, on the instruction given by the principal, the Ilorin pre-colonial commission agent shouldered the responsibility of buying and selling goods at most competitive prices. Indeed, the then commission agents helped to ease both internal and external trade. The commission agent of the Ilorin Emirate pre-colonial time is now seen as a body of individuals that charged on goods bought and or sold under a competitive market. Other kinds of commission agents, which Ilorin economy produced, then, included "Brokers, *Factors*, *Del credere* agents, Auctioners, Forwarding agents and Manufacturer Representatives."⁴

Fulani Hegemony:

The Fulani constitute a major ethnic group found in almost every communities of pre-Colonial central and northern Nigeria. They claim common ancestry. They are found throughout the sub-regions of Africa. After the insurgence of the Sokoto Jihad of 1804, several of them became rulers (Emirs) of some states in the northern Nigeria. The word hegemony is described as a control and/or authority owned by a small group of people, family or

organisation over the masses of its state as well as other nation(s). Hence, the Fulani Hegemony of Ilorin refers to a ruler-ship control of the heterogeneous community of Ilorin and its environs.

Pre-Colonial Relation:

When people are bound by common factors to live as a people, relation exists. The common factor may include geographical and historical affinities, economy, religion, social, culture and polity. The pre-colonial era of any nation or state falls within a period prior to the European incursion into the states' 'environment' in order to establish their government and administration. The pre-colonial period of Ilorin Emirate government falls within the period before 1896.

The Fulani Political Organisation in Ilorin

The period between the death of Afonja and *Shehu* Alimi (1807- 1816) could be regarded as a transition period involving the establishment of a confederal administrative system in Ilorin.⁵ Before the arrival of *Shehu* Alimi into Ilorin, the whole town was under a community base system of administration. Afonja, being the head of the Yoruba, was hostile to the supremacy of the old Oyo Empire. Solagberu, the ruler among the Muslim Yoruba community of Oke-Suna, had an affinity with the Kanuri kingdom in the north, and relationship with the Yoruba people in the South. *Sarkin* Gambari, on the other hand, was the head of the Hausa community, seizing the opportunity of the Gambari quarters (being an international market) to coordinate the economic affairs of the town. Olufadi was also recognised as the head of the Fulani herdsmen. However, the confederal system of governance that was in operation between 1807 and 1816 involved Bako as the Head of the Gambari Community, Olufadi as Head of the Fulanis and Solagberu as the ruler of Oke-Suna, with *Shehu* Alimi as the overall spiritual leader and father of the confederation. "With the death of Afonja, Alimi, the Fulani teacher, was later recognised by Sokoto as its Emir,"⁶

Formation of Fiefs

Emir Abdulsalami created the first set of fiefs, which stood as the socio-cultural and politico-religious framework for development in Ilorin. He allotted the fiefs to the beneficiaries on the basis of appreciation of their respective military, religious, political or social contribution to the development of the Emirate. Hermon-Hodge in 1929 revealed that "the whole country was parceled into holdings, or fiefs... amongst the numerous chiefs, cadet branches

of the ruling houses, powerful slaves, or occasionally chiefs of the indigenous tribes who had accepted the Fulani conquest".⁸ The fief holders support the Emir's administration. They lived in metropolis. They also had houses in their respective villages. They shuttled between the metropolis and villages. Each of them ceremonially demonstrated his loyalty to the Emir especially on Fridays.

Among the title holders who benefitted from the fief were the *Baloguns*, the *Baales*, the *Ajias*, the *Magajis*, and the *Zarumis*. Such beneficiaries were grouped into three categories: the first comprised Ilorin town for residential purposes. The second category consisted of families who were given large fiefs outside the town for both residential and farming purposes. The third category comprised a few communities or villages which surrendered or submitted to the Emir's suzerainty and pledged loyalty to him to avoid being expelled from the land, which they occupied before the Fulani conquest.

Fief-holders were individually answerable to the Emir through the *Magajis*, *Daudus*, or *Baloguns* in charge of their respective fiefs. The fiefs were allotted based on the political acumen that no single family or any chieftaincy family was given too big a fief or allowed to have a concentration of many fiefs in a single area. A single family could however, have many fiefs, provided the fiefs were in different locations in such a way that no matter the aggregate size of the fiefs they could not be sufficiently coherent or cohesive geographically, to enable the particular holder become a threat to the Emirate's sovereignty. The arrangement could be well described as territorial divide and rule system. Any land not specifically assigned to anybody remained the Emir's land. Hence, "the authority of an Emir was based on a system of organisation highly centralised at the capital."⁹ The official report made in 1914 signified that:

Virgin bush does not belong to a townIt is held by the Emir of Ilorin and obtained through him. All fixtures belong to the land and cannot be sold, except tree for firewood. No lands are held by virtue of any office or title except land belonging to the Emir himself.¹⁰

Virtually all the communities in Ilorin Township have home both in the city and in the districts under the fiefs or dukedom. In their respective district homes, they engaged in farming and other artisan works. Members of each division of fiefs were peasant farmers, while some were artisans. The farm or occupation was under the control of the head of the family or appointed person(s). There was a high degree of autonomy in the case of line of occupation for the peasants to venture into. Again Hermon-Hodge posits that:

The peasantry heads were linked with the Emirate economy because each peasant family was to attach itself to some men of influence, much in relation of client and to patron.... The patron, usually resident in the capital, termed *Baba Kekere*, or little father,¹¹

who had the prerogative to advocate for the plight of his client in law case, land dispute, and other related matters. The association was of a mutual benefit.

The end products were usually brought to the town where they lodged and carried out the commercial aspect of their production. A social anthropologist, Mrs. Leith-Rose, in 1925 confirmed 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 migrated from one to the other for two, three or four months at a time.¹²

The Ilorin Emirate Economy in the Pre-colonial Period

The effectiveness of Ilorin economy under the administration of the Fulani in the pre-colonial period was dynamic. Agriculture was by far the most persuasive of the economic pursuits of the people of Ilorin even before the insurgence of the Fulanis. The economy embraced the production of food crops and non-food crops. It also included the rearing of animals, hunting and commercialisation. According to Onwuka, asserts that in the northern and western Nigeria, the Jihad and the civil wars brought about the enslavement of hundreds of captives whom the war-lords deployed to work on their farms.¹³

The Fulani severe political campaign in the neighbouring towns and villages such as Ijumu, Kakanda, Igala and Igbira, produced ample captives who were enforced as machinery for agricultural production. The settlement of Ijumu, Iluju, Afin, Ido, Okerimi, Oro and Agberu were overseen by the Oloru of Oke-Ora before the enforcement of the Fulani administration in the area. When the Fulani arrived the township of Oke-Ora, the Oloru was indirectly engaged through the appointment of *Ajeles* for implementation of politics that aided the success of economy/trading activities. To support this portion, the tenth Oloru noted that:

Owiye gave to the army of Mayaki Ali and Ajia Gado, the Balogun from Ilorin, without fighting, from which time Oke-Ora has followed the family of Ajia Gaju.... Ayingushi (the

11th Oloru) succeeded during the time of Emir Shitta whom he went to salute at Ilorin with Olupo.¹⁴

The production of crops was based on division and specialization and was placed under the superintendent of the *Dauodus* or *Ajele*. Yam, maize, cocoyam, and vegetable were produced at Oke-Ose. Both production and cost were regulated by the market forces, since the production was seasonal. The agricultural economy was beyond consumption; the excesses were sold off while the remaining ones were stored. Ilorin province sometimes known as the "garden of the north".¹⁵ This implies that ground-nut, yam, yam-flour, pepper, shea-butter, and guinea-corn among others, were internally produced enormously, and traded externally.

Storage facilities, such as yam barn (*Aka*) were invented to keep the foods whose markets are seasonal. Shifting cultivation and rotational bush fallow were widely adopted among the indigenous farmers through the cooperation with the Fulani herders. Tools included matchets, diggers, hoes, go-to-hell and the rest.

It is noted that domestic animals such as goat, sheep, cow, cat, duck, hare, and peacock have been kept in all parts of Ilorin since it has been serving as a vassal state of Oyo Empire. The rural economy (in the northern hemisphere) of each community was built upon livestock made up of cattle, sheep and poultry. These provided protein in the diet of the people and manure to farmers. "Warah Forestry Reserve, nine miles (rest-house)", (now in Ilorin West L.G.A. of Kwara State) was made so by the British Protectorate following the initial indigenous occupation and specialization of the area as a predominant producer of live stocks such as chickens, guinea-fowls, ducks, turkeys among others.¹⁶ Cattle-rearing was prominent among the sojourning Fulani of Ilorin. Its produce was very essential among the community because it was a source of *numu* (milk), *wara* (cheese), meat, manure and leather. The attitude of the Fulanis that later settled in Ilorin facilitated multiple production of cattle for consumption and commercial purposes. Up till date, the Fulanis are very apt in monopolising cattle trade. They rarely sold out a young she-cow to non-Fulanis neither do they kill the cattle, rather, they lived off the animal, as capital, exchanging milk, cheese, butter and manure for their own need.¹⁷

It is noted that the herders did not confine their cattle productions to the immediate local environment; they travelled farther to the southern and northern part of Ilorin. For instance, "in 1830, the Lander Brothers saw the pastoralists in the Yoruba towns of Igboho and Ibadan selling milk, and cheese to the local people".¹⁸ One important negative effect of the

Fulani pastoralists among the Ilorin indigenous farmers was that, occasionally, the animals destroyed farm crops and exhausted or fouled scarce water sources. In fact, this was a source of intermittent conflict between the herders and the farmers, a strain relationship that has continued till date, across Nigeria.

Among the Ilorin people who lived close to the forest, hunting was of much economic and cultural importance. Snails and wild honey were gathered. These ventures were sources by which much of the protein needs of families were met and income augmented. Beeswax was an essential article produced from Lanwa now in Irepodun L.G.A. of Kwara State. Through the appointed agents of the Emirs, Asa River was accessed in the course of the transportation of beeswax to the core Nupe land. The beeswax was also transported to southern part of Nigeria especially Lagos and Abeokuta where appreciable number of the Nupe minority is recorded, although many of them have now been detribalised. Taxes on beeswax was highly essential for it was an essential commodity among the Yoruba and Nupe natives and traditions.¹⁹ Ground-nut was produced in commercial quantity from Bode-saadu, Jebba, and Shonga. Bode-saadu and Jebba are now located in Moro L.G.A. while Shonga is in Edu L.G.A. of Kwara State. Up till this date, a prospective heir to the emir throne is appointed to Bode-saadu as *daoudu* (mayor). Shea-nuts was also produced in commercial quantity in Lanwa and Oke-ode, from where it received the attention of the Emir. Equally, in Lanwa and Offa, cotton was produced and supplied to Ilorin. The weavers, through the Emirate, administered trade channel. Ilorin produced a number of native cloth weavers who combined hide work with cloth weaving.

Traditional Industries in Ilorin Emirate

The pursuit of traditional industries in Ilorin could be classified into three categories, namely; soil-based industries, plant based industries and animal based industries. The soil-based industries include metallurgy and pottery. The plant-based ones include textiles, weaving and wood work while the animal-based comprises leather work.

Pottery is an age-long industry that sustained the economy of the people of the Emirate. The Dada, Ondoko and Karebu quarters are naturally blessed with the typical loamy soil essential for the production of pots. According to oral tradition, the first set of people that were involved in the production of the pots acquired their skill through trial and error.²⁰ The other source of the technological know-how involving the production of the pots could be said to have started as a result of the relationship that existed between the Oyo people and the indigenous of the Nupe kingdom, and later proliferated to Ilorin. On his tour to Ilorin Hermon-Hodge affirms that:

according to the latest figures, there are 480 pottery-maker in Ilorin; this industry was achieved before the Fulani conquest, and the first potters are said to have come from Shao. The people of Shao claim that 'nobody taught them, they think for their own head'. They taught art to some people from old Oyo, and the latter to Ilorin²¹.

The production and marketing of the pots were enhanced through the guild system. Pots production in Ilorin in the pre-colonial period was among the most lucrative occupations that sustained the economic standard.

Various types of pots produced include '*kolo*' which is used to save money; '*Ooru*' which has composite usage such as preservation of herbs, chain and precious items-beads and jewelries. Others include '*Amu*' for storing grains and for soaking cassava tubers, '*Ikoko*' and '*Awo*' for cooking and serving dishes respectively. Musical skin frames were also produced for the musicians to make drums.²²

However, the clay lamps '*Atupa* or '*Fitila*' and small pitchers which Muslims used for the ablution were said to be imported to Ilorin from Bida, where its production was a specialised skill. The finished products were not restricted to internal consumption; they found their ways to farther Benin, Ondo, Ijebu and the Gold Coast. A set of middlemen were said to have engaged in transporting wares containing pottery to Otun (now in Ekiti State) in the 1870s. It is acclaimed that among the local pots assembled at every regional international market of the pre-colonial Nigeria, Ilorin was celebrated for the beauty of its glossy black pots, which local dignitaries used for social functions.²³ Pottery has always been in the hand of women.

The growing of cotton in some parts of the Emirate and the importation of it in large quantity from the North via Nupeland really indicted and enhanced the textile industries of the Emirate. Mostly, women engaged in the picking out the cotton seeds and spinning the wool into thread to be sold to native weavers. Both men and women engaged in weaving, the men specialised in the horizontal loom, while the women usually specialised in the vertical wide loom. In 1929, Hermon-Hodge put the number of "women weavers at 2645, meanwhile, some compounds seemed to contained only weavers, both men and women"²⁴. Since the last quarter of the nineteenth century to the present, reasonable number of the Ilorin native weavers have been exporting their finished products to areas including Owo, Ekiti, Oyo, Ogbomoso, Iseyin, Ijebu, Okene, Gabon, Ghana etc.

The area that was later known as Okemale was rigorously bent to the predominant production of *Aso-Oke* in the pre-colonial period. Cotton production exclusively aided the quality of the emirate cloth. Hermon-Hodge substantiates his fact that:

...the thread is wonderfully fine and even, the weaving nearly faultless.... The cloth when really good is expensive. The native himself will pay twenty to thirty shillings for the double strip that forms a woman's cloth.²⁵

It is pertinent to note that dyeing industries were well fostered as accompanying sectors of the Ilorin textile industry. Prominent among the families who specialised in this were: Ile Alaro of Okelele area, Ile Alaro of Adangba area, Ile Olosan of Oke-Apomu area and numerous other sites located at Pakata area²⁶. Virtually only women participated in the dyeing industry. A standing economic interaction existed between the dyers and the pot makers. Indigo dye is the one in general use. The shade obtained are very good, and some of the methods employed for obtaining patterns are most indigenous. Dyed and ordinary cloths were beaten so as to enhance glazing, which was exclusively handled by men as a source of income. Cloth beaters were common, but most found at houses located to market areas. Ile *Oloolu* (beating 'cloths') of Alapata area was basically noted as cloth beaten centre. Perhaps Onwuka is not taking cognisance of the source of 'Ijebu textile' that he says, "at the end of the eighteenth century, probably even earlier, Ijebu cloths were being exported to Brazil, where they were prized for their durability and design"²⁷. The productions were Ilorin's and perhaps the Ijebu traders were only brokers who exported the Ilorin fabrics. Calabash carving was a significant occupation among the Fulani women, prior to the advent of the colonial administration. It played a symbolic role among them; in much the same way as the cattle did among the men. Different types of calabash formed an important collection with which Fulani mother sent off her daughter on marriage to her matrimonial home. It also played a crucial role in trading activities such as the selling of '*Fura de Nunu*' (among the ethnic groups of the emirate) and interior decoration among the far and wide ethnic groups of Nigeria.

The Medium of Exchange

In a market economy, the use of money is the key to all transactions. As such the Ilorin pre-colonial market economy was a diversified one with which exchange was facilitated by the use of currency. The common currencies included; cowries, strips of cloth and salt. Of all the currencies in use in the pre-

colonial Ilorin economy, the cowries were the most pervasive. The *Iwofa*, a service providing institution, was also a pattern of exchange of transactions. Men and women as well as boys and girls could engage in *Iwofa* service. The service was rendered in agricultural production and trading/commercial sectors of the Emirate economy. The system was much in active especially among the core Yoruba descent of the Emirate. Similarly, the system functioned very well in the area of apprenticeship among all the ethnics of Ilorin community. Johnson noted that:

A man who wants his son to learn a particular trade would put him under the craft man for the purpose, and obtain from him a certain amount of money; in such a case the boy will see that he learns speedily and well, so as to be of some use to him.²⁸

It is reasonable to recall that the Emirate judicial system regulated and checkmated the excesses and impunity that arose among the parties (*onighowo, oluwa* and *iwofa*) of *Iwofa* dealings. The *oluwa*, the master, paid tax to the authority and he was liable to indictment if he acted unduly against the inalienable rights of the parties under him. In the same vein, the *onighowo* and the *iwofa* were liable to be prosecuted in case they defaulted. It should be noted that *idogo*, pawning action, was traditionally enforced in the Yoruba kingdom to indict recalcitrant debtor(s), or part(ies) in *iwofa* institution, while the government kept aloof.²⁹ The Emirate structured judicial administration had a direct effect on *iwofa* institution.

Transport and Communication

Transport is a key factor in the movement of goods and services. Its availability determined the special extent of the market. The cost defines the depth in social term, while the freight capacity fixed the volume of goods traded. The major modes of transportation which the Emirate relied upon were head portage and packed animal. There was specialisation in this regard as there were some specialists who earned livings through transportation. The animals used were owned by private individuals to whom the freight cost was paid by the owners of goods in respect of long distance conveyance.³⁰

The abundant Rivers that surrounded Ilorin Emirate greatly contributed to effectiveness in communication between the Emirate and numerous ethnic groups of the Niger area. For example, the River Niger, Awan, Osin, Oyi, Oro, Aiye, Kampe, Moshi, Teshi, Oli, Menai, and Swash among others. The Awan River (flowing from southern Nigeria to join Niger at the North) is importantly mentioned here because it encompasses tributaries which include River Oyun,

Asa, Imoru and Weru. River Oyun and Asa rise from Ajase and Afon respectively. The Weru River flows from Oyo to join Awan River. The flowing direction of Osin is equally from the south of Nigeria to the North where it joins the River Niger. The source of Osin is traced to Ife and Illa, both now in Osun State of Nigeria. Basically, the River Niger played a crucial role in enabling the Emirate to get prompt assistance, especially from the northern ethnic groups, because the river Niger was the most effectively navigable river in the region for it extends from Lokoja in Kabba to Illo in Sokoto. Therefore it is imperative to infer that the river Niger links provided communication advantage for the Europeans, because the River forms the boundary between the Ilorin and Niger and Sokoto province, and "the river is the chief avenue of trade for both up and down traffic above Jebba".³¹

Sources of Revenue to the Emirate

The sources of revenue to the emirate were largely dependent on the political wheel of the emirate. Between 1825 and 1840, the Emirate engaged in great political expeditions; and as a result of this, the territory and the inhabitants of the lower Ogun river area and the old imperial capital of Oyo kingdom were incorporated to the Emirate. Indeed, the inhabitants of any of the subjugated states who chose to dwell in war with the Emirate became captives and slaves who served as part of menial labourers for agricultural production.³² During this period, the great number of Ilorin houses swelled with captives and slaves to be ransomed, sold off or set farming labour around and beyond the city wall.³³ It is pertinent to note that the war booties also played insignificant role in capital accumulation, especially among the herders who combined military services with cattle rearing. Around the 1840s, Ilorin shifted from the policy of absorption of the towns conquered to subjugation. Its campaign was also strengthened southward and eastward, rendering the whole town and suburbs to the status of tributary groupings. At each of the imperial towns of the Emirate, the existing authority left a resident '*Ajele*' who controlled the external relations and directed the disposable surplus towards the metropolis.³⁴

It is noted that Ilorin military power created the urban complex, which aided the income of the warriors and their associates. The warriors that were direct descendants of the Emirs were rewarded with war booties accordingly. Meanwhile, its military power did not remain the prime source of the city income as it largely was in Ibadan. The land merchants were almost as wealthy as her soldiers and land owners. Some of them had large estates which empowered them as components of the state economy. Most of the rulers also drew part of their revenues from the city's trade. Between 1800 and 1857, Ilorin

manipulated excellence as a great entrepot among the states of African central markets.

At its entrepot, the services of the *Babakekeres* played prominent roles in the collection of commission and royal rate from the *Dilali* who usually stood as broker between the merchants and the clients. Among the districts under the superintendents of the non-Fulani District head, the collection of commission and tributes were directed to the Emirs through the Baloguns. On a local scale, the surpluses of the industrial and agricultural sectors were exchanged for palm oil, palm wine and kolanut from the south. Sequel to this, Ilorin became a clearing house for the exchange of high value goods between numbers of powerful economic systems. Also, the fall of Nupe kingdom in 1850 facilitated the integration of its renowned brass and glass works, (especially the rich city of Panda) with Ilorin Emirate network form of economy.³⁵

Since a vast majority of the inhabitants of the divisions relied on agriculture, payment in kind from their output was shared to the poor and the needy of the Emirate according to their needs. Tributes received were usually directed toward alleviation of abject poverty and starvation, occasioned by famine. For instance, when Ilorin and the entire northern Nigeria were plagued with famine in 1895, Oba Suleiman put Bawa, the seventh Emir "in charge of the collection and distribution of 'essential commodities'" in order to alleviate the sufferings of the people.³⁶

A fee known as *Jangali* was compulsory on all the herders. It was paid to the Emir's bursaries, *bait-l-mal* on periodic basis of three months or thereabout, from the first payment. On each cattle, a sum equivalent to 1¹/₂ penny was levied. Other set of occupations such as bead making, blacksmithing, butchering, cloth beating etc. were also yielding income to the Emirate through the imposition of direct form of taxation on the specialists. Although the Mallams, Islamic teachers were held responsible to pay tax to the Emirate government, yet their services were imperative to the economic succor of the Emirate. They received income from the parents of their respective pupils and students. Some adults who are students were paying directly to their teachers. That payment is known as *Owo Alaruba*, Wednesday money. Thursday and Friday are holidays for the schools. Sometimes the Mallams collected charges upon advancement students from one stage of learning to the other. Upon the completion of basic Quran knowledge, the Mallams were equally financially appreciated. However some Mallams who specialised on *Jalabi*, spiritual earnings or combined quramic teachings earned considerable income. Other sources of income to Mallams included naming ceremonies, shearing of estate inheritance, public sermon, arrangement of special prayers, among others.

Legal Fees and Fines

The Islamic Shari'a system of administration was a basic judicial precedence embarked upon by the court of the Emirate in the pre-colonial period. Fees levied on the use of public places such as market were compulsory that the defaulters were liable to pay additional fine (in case of breach) to the Emirs through the *Khadi*, the judges. All cases relating to divorce and fighting/murder attracted fines of higher amount compared to the others, perhaps, it was intentionally fabricated to discourage such attitude among the community people. Apart from their political status, the Emirs and other loyal members of the palace were recognised as *Mallams (Alfas)* who were eligible to collect *Zakat* from the well-to-do members of the Emirate. The items or treasuries obtained from *zakat* were allotted to administrative account for proper and appropriate disbursement.

Conclusion

The people of Ilorin Emirate were politically united under the reigns of the Emirs of Ilorin between 1823 and 1896. The community progressed from its communal status to a theocratic form of state. The feature of the state government encompassed a monarchically checked authority. The Emirs performed both the judicial and administrative roles in consonance with the functionality of title holders ranging from *Baloguns* to *Babakekeres*. The socio-cultural life of the people of the Emirate was almost controlled by the ordinances and precepts of Islam, although economy played a huge though not visual role in coordinating the people towards achieving a common goal. They equally maintained internal and external relations with their close and far neighbours under a free concept of bilateral and multilateral relations.

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17. The Nupe cognomen shows the native and traditional significance of beeswax and cotton wool-...*nijo ti Tapa (Nupe) ba ku, won ani eba wa wa otutu owu (cotton wool) ati afara oyin (beeswax); beni otutu owu sopo, afara oyin (beeswax) sowon*... Meaning: on the death of Tapa (Nupe) they demand for beeswax and cotton wool; whereas cotton wool is plenty, beeswax is scarce and essential.
18. Oral Interview with Hawal Ibrahim, Karebu Quarter Ilorin 17th July, 2009, aged 41.
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