

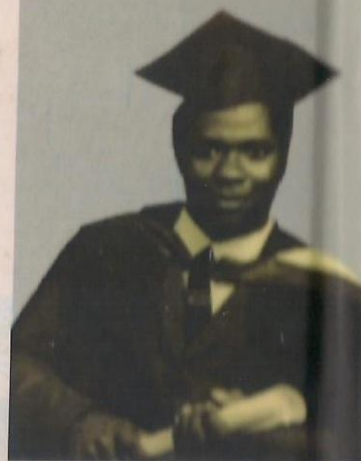
About The Book

This book, titled Africa and other continents since the 19th century, is written in honour of Professor Rashid Oladoja Lasisi who was a Professor of International Studies. The book contains well researched chapters on different aspects of International Studies, connecting Africa with other continents of the world. It discusses politics, economy, culture, religions and social development as they relate to dependency, independency, interdependency and interplay of power, forces and even academic disciplines. Without prejudice to the pre-nineteenth and post twentieth centuries, issues raised and discussed by scholars of differing backgrounds in the humanities, largely cover but not limited to the 19th and 20th centuries. This work is therefore a 'must read' for students, scholars, and teachers of international studies and/or relations as well as diplomats, policy makers and administrators.

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AFRICA and other CONTINENTS
since the 19th century
A Festschrift in Honour of Professor Rashid Oladoja Lasisi

AFRICA **and other** CONTINENTS **since the 19th century**

A Festschrift in Honour of Professor Rashid Oladoja Lasisi



Ibrahim A. Jawondo

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Africa and other Continents since the 19th century

A Festchrift in Honour of Professor Rashid Oladoja Lasisi

Editors

Ibrahim A. Jawondo (Ph.D)

&

Victor Ojakorotu (Ph.D)



University of Cape Coast Press,
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of Unilorin Archives and Documentation Centre, and I. We resolved to meet lovers, students and well-wishers of the deceased for help. For several reasons, our first point of call was Alhaji (Chief) (Dr.) Oladimeji's(OFR) house, the Proprietor of Al-Hikmah University and the Jagunmolu of Igbomina land and Arogundade of Lagos. When the committee presented the Book before him, he was happy and displayed the love he had for the Professor and for knowledge. He prayed for all the committee members and authors of the papers therein and the deceased. When he was told of our financial need, without hesitation, he agreed to put down N1 Million for the printing of hard cover copies of the book.

At this juncture, I specifically appreciate the huge financial contribution of Baba Oladimeji, which saved us from having to go cap-in-hand to other places. There and then, I told people that the plan on the ground was to do a public presentation of the book and the money realized would be divided into two for annual convocation gifts to the best student in History at both Al-Hikmah University and University of Ilorin where the deceased served.

While I thank Ibrahim AbdulGaniyu Jawondo Jnr for his efforts in typing and effecting corrections on several pages, I appreciate all the contributors for their efforts including those who submitted abstracts who were unable to submit full papers.

On this note, I thank Allah for making this project a reality. I also thank the authorities of the Department of History and International Studies of the University of Ilorin and Al-Hikmah University, Ilorin, as well as the Department of Politics and International Relations, North-West University, South Africa that collaborated in publishing this work in honour of the erudite scholar. I say thank you to all the individuals that I have mentioned and those that, for space, I have not been able to mention who have contributed to the success of this project. You are all well appreciated. May the Lord grant us long and prosperous life and a glorious exit.

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Preface/Introduction

The book is written in honour of our teacher and mentor, Professor Rashid Oladoja Lasisi, officially called R. O. Lasisi and fondly called R.O by his colleagues, Oga by his students and admirers. Because his area of academic expertise was International Relations with particular focus on British and French administration on Africa, the papers here dealt with issues and theories of Intra and Inter, groups, States and national relations.

The first chapter presented the biography of the personality, Professor R.O Lasisi as an indigene of Oyo town in Oyo state and a worthy citizen of Nigeria. The chapter covered his history from childhood to death noting necessary credence of his career as a scholar and community leader.

Chapter two discussed intellectual imperialism in Africa as it impacted international studies. The author is of the opinion that the conventional traditional, International Relation paradigms are devoid of the dynamics of the contemporary African societies. The author departed from the traditional perspective of imperialism which lays emphasis on the political and economic dimension by examining the dynamics of intellectual imperialism in Africa with a special concern about its impact in international studies. Thus, a holistic approach which will enhance a comprehensive understanding is suggested.

The third chapter traced the historicity of theories of International Relations from the start to the present. The author identified classical, neo-realism, liberal, constructivism and feminism theories as often used in the discipline. He however detested the use of theories as a negative tool for an unending disputation. Moving away from this act, he highlighted the strengths and weaknesses of the above mentioned theories pointing out their utilitarian values.

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played in revolutionizing the early new Oyo leaders and the town. He submitted that Professor Lasisi's progenitor; Al-Bornawi of the Ajokidero family was the Reformer Allah used to revolutionize Oyo land and people. He concluded the piece by drawing lessons from the life of the Professor.

With the above analytical presentation, it is crystal clear that the book will serve as a useful material in the areas of intra group, inter group and international discourses for students and teachers alike. I therefore wish you a comprehensive reading. I do hope you find the chapters herein rewarding.

I. A. Jawondo (Ph.D)

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- 33 See *The Berom News* where Datti Ahmed was quoted
- 34 Mathew Hassan Kukah, *Religious, Politics and Northern Nigeria*, Ibadan: Spectrum, pp.xiii-11
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Chapter 18

THE DIPLOMATIC-CUM-NATIONAL INTEREST QUESTION IN THE ÈKÌTÌPARAPÒ GRAND ALLIANCE; 1877-1893

By Aboyeji Adeniyi Justus (PhD)

Introduction

Hardly could there be any other point in history when civil dissection was as endemic among the Yorùbá as the 19th Century when the various Yorùbá groups namely, the Oyo, Egba, Ondo, Ijebu, Igbomina, Ife, Ijesa and Ekiti, to name only a few, regarded themselves as distinct tribes—'states' within a 'nation'—and apparently rejected the eponymous 'Yorùbá' label, to which they all, now, answer. Undoubtedly, the 'nationhood' of the Yoruba is not in question as all the Yorubas are mythically believed to be progenies of the legendary Oduduwa! However, during the 19th C, the different Yorùbá groups wanted a departure from the pre-existing tradition. The consequence of this was a series of Constitutional experimentations which made the different Yorùbá groups distinct. This resulted into a sort of *contradiction*—the assertion of their sub-ethnic distinctiveness, or better still, 'statehood'! The consequence of this contradiction was that they saw themselves paradoxically as 'states' within a 'nation'! Here, the forbidden marriage of the concepts of 'statehood' and 'nationhood' became legalized!

The vicissitudes which ensued from historical antecedents, constitutional experimentations, among others, eventually turned the vast Yoruba country into a war theatre. This upheaval became so rife that many scholars, *Afrocentric* or *Eurocentric* have been misled into seeing Yoruba history in the 19th C almost exclusively in martial

terms.¹ The climax of this episode was the *historic Èkìtìparapò Kírìjì War*, or as Akinjogbin describes it, the “*War to end all Wars*” fought between 1877–1893. It was a tug of war that ensued between two factions of almost the same composition. The Ibadans and Igbajo on one side, versus Èkìtìparapò. Whereas Igbajo was a conglomeration of the Yoruba, Ibadan was its agglomerate, and Ekitiparapo a mere reshuffling of them all!

Concept of Warfare

African Military history is yet to be a fully developed field of study. War is said to be the ‘most decisive act of policy’ embarked upon by any nation.³ Campaign, Battle, Raid, Ambush, Siege, Skirmish, etc. are dictions used in military parlance, which are in no way synonymous with “**War**”. They all are but the incidents comprised within a war. For instance, a war may begin and end with just one battle and that single battle is only a part of the total state of hostility or war. In other words, a battle is an integral part of a war. Whereas, a battle is a long and fierce struggle—a fight between organized armed forces, a war entails a larger outlook—a state or period of armed conflict between different groups or nations. War has been described as the opposite of peace and technically speaking, it is a state of open hostility between a part and the rest of a nation.⁴

It has been noted that military confrontation constitutes an important part of human relations. Perhaps this is why Uzoigwe has described the fighting man—(i.e. the warrior) even in the traditional society, as a **political animal**! He insists there is no state, traditional or modern, where the military is completely severed from the political structure. Indeed, the adoption of war to achieve desired goals has proved to be “*a permanent feature of the human society*”! However, wars are not just fought for illusory ends,⁵ as it often forms the last resort for the resolution of intractable face-offs.⁶ Hence, whenever the any human society, for that matter, sees her peace being jeopardized by foreign incursion, she often engages in open military confrontation, either playing the defensive or at times, on the offensive. Only when this

failed them did they resort to other means. Perhaps considering the incessant and prevalent nature of wars in the Yoruba country during the 19th Century, R. Smith describes warfare as a way of life of the Yoruba.⁷ But wars were not undertaken without serious thoughts given to them. And as Smith himself later noted,

*Warfare was undertaken by the Yoruba with deliberation. Only after lengthy discussion in the Councils of the kingdoms, exhortatory speeches to the troops, and sacrifices to the war standard did the army move out to the vicinity of the enemy.*⁸

The people often resorted to warfare when all forms of diplomatic and religious means had failed. The opinion held by European observers and subscribed to by some writers had since been demolished. It is now well known that the issues of the wars were basically diplomatic/political or economic regarding questions of **BOP**. This is not to say that the Yoruba wars were fought for the purpose of acquiring slaves.⁹ Akinsola¹⁰ has provided us with the “*War Ethics among the Yoruba*” comparing it with the compelling evidences of a phenomenal growth of militarism in the global society of today decrying the possession of the nuclear capability of blowing up the planet earth by the world super powers and their allies. War is described as a barbarity that for generations had been waged under strict rules of conduct for the protection of homes and the civilization of a nation. However, it has, today, lost the justification of this purpose. Mass slaughter has become one of its primary objectives. Today, armies no longer fight armies alone; they seek the death and destruction of an entire populace.

Ogunremi observes that wars were not fought at all times but often at intervals especially during the dry season when there was less to do on the farm and when food was available. Besides, not everybody went to war and farmers were adequately protected while wars were on, among other economic measures to ensure a buoyant and ever flourishing economic base.¹¹

The Yoruba Nation and the 19th Century Yoruba Civil War(s)

One of the most important events in the history of the entire Yorubaland in the 19th Century (1800-1899) was the final collapse of the Old Oyo Empire with the power vacuum it created, and the attendant ripple effects therefrom. It is, however, not easy to categorically determine the exact date when the Old Oyo Empire began to decline. Various scholars have come up with different suggestions in this regard. They attributed the Empire's collapse to factors both remote and immediate. Existing and new Yoruba states struggled to fill this vacuum. However, just like Britain and France, and the U. S. and USSR emerged as the two most powerful countries out the WW I and WW II respectively, Ibadan and Ilorin obviously proved to emerge as the two most powerful of all the Yoruba states. Yorubaland, during the rest of the 19th C could perhaps, at best, be regarded as a frontline for a series of a protracted warfare.

One century years of civil wars within a nation renown for orderly organization and obedience to moral authority with few short intermissions of peace, until an external force came to ensue '*tranquility*', surely commands some attention.¹² In the 19th Century, the vast Yorubaland became a theatre of wars. This came as an aftermath of the fall of Old Oyo. The creation of a power-vacuum in the power politics of Yorubaland naturally led to a contest for power and supremacy among some of the existing towns like Owu and Ilorin as well as some of the new states in Yorubaland such as Abeokuta, Ibadan, New Oyo, Ijaye, Ogbomoso, etc. It was, in fact, that contest that dominated the historical scene in Yorubaland for the rest of the 19th Century. Here is an apt description of it:

With the fall of the Oyo monarchy and the collapse of the Oyo empire, most Yoruba kingdoms became once again involved in active constitutional reappraisal and a great deal of political upheaval which was to last the whole of the 19th C.¹³

In say, at this juncture, that by and large, Yorubaland was bedeviled by three distinct upheavals from three quarters. One was the internal upheaval that resulted in the civil wars which rocked the entire Yorubaland in the 19th century. A man's hand had been expended on this context, among others, is a grand book of over two scores chapters, i.e. **War in Yorubaland, 1793-1893**, which contains selections of papers presented at the Centenary Conference on the Oyo Empire/Kiriji Peace Treaty held at the then Uni-Ife, in 1986, edited by Prof I.A. Akinjogbin.

The second was the southern or downward movement of the Fulani with their Jihadist bid. And the third was the northern movement which precipitated the eventual usurpation of the autonomy and suzerainty of the Yorubaland by the European who tactically through their '*Protectionist Treaties*' established their political overlordship over the entire land. By each of these in its own way, restructured the diplomatic scene which consequently, among others, led to the emergence of new forms of political organizations in Yorubaland in the 19th century.

An annoying thing, as the late Owa Ooye of Igbajo lamented and is the fact that this unending chain of wars was fought between motherly born; a war of allies fighting other allies of about the same composition!¹⁴ Worse still is the fact that all Yoruba, going by the Oluduwa legend, descended from the same progenitor! As the 'Igbajo' itself postulates, it is a conglomeration of various units, not the Ijesa and Oyo alone—Ado, Ila-Orangun, Igbomina, etc. Igbajo is, indeed, a coming together; an agglomeration and a union of all Yoruba groups. Igbajo is a home of all Yoruba groups. Its existence was determined by war, its present site (i.e. Igbájo or alagogo memu) chosen by their progenitors as a hide-out due to its ruggedness. Since Igbajo has among her the Ijesa, Ekiti, etc., it was, indeed, a civil and not an inter-tribal war; a

true fratricidal war!¹⁵

Ibadan was founded during the 1820s by a combination of some Ife, Ijebu, Oyo, Owu and Egba refugees. That mixed population of Ibadan was later to be further increased by considerable populations of the Ijesa, Ekiti, Akoko, Igbomina and Yagba peoples who had come to look for military power and fame as well as slaves, booty and wealth through Ibadan's military organization and frequent 19th Century wars.

These inter-state, intra-nation and/or civil wars, according to Robert Smith,¹⁶ (dividing them into three dispensations from 1820-37, 1837-78 and 1878-1893) lasted some seventy years. In his own case, Akinjogbin posited that the wars actually lasted a whole century, from 1793-1893. Proving the changes in the political aims and character of the wars over the years, he categorized the wars into six overlapping phases:¹⁷

i	The Rebellious and Chaotic Phase	1793-1817
ii	The Revolutionary Phase	1817-1830
iii	The Consolidation and Resistance Phase	1826-1840
iv	Wars of Invasion	1821-1864
v	Ibadan Expansionist Wars	1840-1878
vi	The War to End All Wars, the Ekiti-Parapo/ Kiriji/16 Years War	1877-1893

The Ekitiparapo/Kiriji War and 19th C Alliance System: War of Containment & Independence

Some have chosen to see the entire 19th Century upheavals as one continuous episode. However, the wars may only, perhaps, at best, be treated as a series of battles in a protracted warfare. For example, not less than eleven battles were said to have been fought in the Consolidation and Resistance Phase of Professor Akinjogbin between 1826 and 1840 alone, among which included the Ogele (1st), Mugba-Mugba (2nd), Kanla (3rd) Battles, the Pole (7th), Otefon, Eleduwe and finally the Oshogbo War in 1840.¹⁸ Ibadan's oppressive and exploitative authority led to revolts against her by her subjects, aimed at overthrowing Ibadan's hegemony in their areas.

Ekitiparapo—Spirit of Grand Alliance

However unnecessary the war might have seemed to contemporary elites, historians, analysts, or researchers, the Ekiti-Parapo/Kiriji War, otherwise known as the 16 Years War was a necessary phenomenon to both sides. It should be noted that while for some it was a *war of expansion*, for others it was one *for unity and freedom*. Igbomina, for example, perhaps would not have participated in the wars, but for the involvement of Ilorin whose political hegemony they hoped to flush out. The Ijesa, Ekiti and Igbomina and other members of the *Ekiti-parapo* which fought a *War of liberation* against the imperial Ibadan between 1877 and 1893 did not hesitate to appeal to the Fulani leaders from Ilorin against Ibadan. Irrefutably, by the 1880s, all the key paramount rulers and military leaders beyond the coastal areas had entreated the British intervention in Yoruba affairs anticipating that the British would hereby help terminate warfare in their society.¹⁹

Igbomina's involvement as it were was prompted by at least two factors—the phobia of the Ibadan marauders, and her proximity to Ilorin. And just as the U. S., in view of the Cold War, had declared neutrality (or non-alignment) in world affairs as *immoral*, it would have been an act of political suicide if the Igbomina or any other Yoruba group, for that matter, had refused to take sides in the wars.²⁰ For the Ibadan, it was a *War of Containment*—a war to preserve all the gains made ever since 1840 for Yorubaland; or for some, to preserve Ibadan's *national* imperial interests. For the allies, it was a *War of Independence*, fought by all those towns subject to Ibadan (Ekiti, Igbomina, Ijesa and Akoko—the founding members of the alliance; 1878) or jealous of her powers (Ilorin) or skeptical of her domination (Egba, Ijebu, Ife), all in a bid to either *regain* or *retain* their independence.

The Yoruba name “Ekiti-Parapo” itself reveals the spirit behind the grand alliance—a *League of State*—initiated by all the Ekiti people in support of Prince Fabunmi's action. They were subsequently joined

by the Egba, Ijebu, Ilorin and the Ife. Basically, the allies wanted to clip Ibadan's wings. In the course of her wars of expansion, epitomized in the previous Ibadan Expansionist Wars of 1840-1848, Ibadan had overrun so many Yoruba Kingdoms and threatened the sovereignty of those that had not yet been conquered. Through the intervention of local feuds, and under the façade of repelling the Ilorin forces, Ibadan, had between 1844-1877 conquered the Ekiti, Ijesa, Igbomina and Akoko countries and subjugated them under her political hegemony.²¹ Ibadan added to its list of tributaries the and Modakeke after her intervention in Ife/Modakeke feud by 1883. The Ijebu and Egba expressed legitimate panic that Ibadan would eventually overrun their kingdoms, if unchecked! Ibadan's resolute raid on Egba farms in 1877 justified this fear. Hence, all the non-Oyo Yoruba people had, on the eve of the Ekiti-parapo War, regarded Ibadan as 'a monster with gaping jaws ready to swallow all Yoruba kingdoms'.²²

Leadership

As regards the headship of the Ekiti-parapo, the Confederates were said to have invited Ogedengbe to come over to lead them. He however, turned it down vis-à-vis the oaths he had been committed to by the Ibadans who were said to have previously defeated the Ijesa in a war led by him (Seriki Ogedengbe—the erstwhile *primus inter pares* and *Generalissimo* of the Ekiti-parapo war chiefs).²³ Meanwhile, Prince Fabunmi (Imesi) took the lead. Others prominent in the leadership of the Ekiti-parapo included: Faboro (Iddo), Olugbosu (Oye), Ayemoro, Ogundele, and Obe and Prince Adeyale (Ila, Igbomina) with a view to stemming the tide of the uncontrolled Ibadan imperial activities, once and for all.²⁴

The more radical and forward looking of its men, in the last years of the Ekiti-parapo went so far as to suggest either the transformation of the Confederacy into a kingdom or the transmogrification of all the towns comprising it into one single vast metropolis.²⁵ Those who championed such a diplomatic idea as this, out of their one-and-a-

half decades of diplomatic relations, were men who had attained to a high state of mind that could gladly welcome the fusion of their states and kingdoms or sub-ethnic groups to institute a new order of society—a United State!

Membership

The headquarters of the Confederacy was initially the Palace of the Olu at Otun-Ekiti but later shifted to Imesi-Igbodo. Contingents were recruited from all over the Confederate states—Isanlu, Ekan, Ila, Ijara, Eruku, Odo-Owa, Ilofa, Idofin, Obbo, Iji, Owu, Iwo etc. under Balogun Apapalaso; all contributing to the successful resistance which affected the Ekiti-parapo War until a Definitive Peace Treaty was enforced on 23rd September, 1886. Whereas the Igbomina contingents were said to have been led by Prince Adeyale from Ila,²⁶ the irregular constabulary from Isin was led by Esinkin Ogodorigbo from Isanlu, portrayed as a fiery warrior. Other participants from among the Isin Warriors included Esinkin Olusin, Asanlu Olasodekun, Elemoso Gudugudu, Esinkin Owokunrinmogbo, etc. Some of these names, undoubtedly, became conferred upon these warriors vis-à-vis their feats in previous military expeditions. Many other Igbomina men especially from Ila and the present Omu-Aran including Ose and Ifaja joined their other colleagues at Otun which was the *entrepôt* of all the Ekitis of Ilorin Emirate and others especially after the *Battle of Ikirun* otherwise popularly known as the **Jalumi War**. It serves as the rallying point for the Confederates. Those who joined from Omu-Aran were said to have been selected from Ose, Omu-Aran and Ifaja.²⁷ Both the Igbomina and Ekiti women had suffered uncluttered molestations from Ibadan just as they were also captured as slaves, thus heightening a rationale for their support of the Confederacy.²⁸

The Ijesa and Ekiti-parapo accused Igbajo of *treason* and so descended on her. Igbajo, though a collection of Yoruba peoples, was on Ijesaland, and yet refused to join the Ekiti Confederacy for reasons best known to her.²⁹ Rather, she aligned with the Ibadan and

eventually became the major war theatre. The Ibadan went to the aid of Igbajo and the Ijesa army was routed. The Confederates also, therefore, set out to destroy the Ajeles in their countries.³⁰

Motives for Involvement scrutinized—Diplomatic/National Interests Question

Both Ilorin and Ibadan rules over the Ekiti and Igbomina had been particularly and extremely exploitative and oppressive. The Ajeles Ajias had been the conduit pipes through which the exploits accruing from economic activities were siphoned to both Ibadan and Ilorin. The Confederates joined the league for several reasons ranging from common descent to common imperial experience and the hope that they could use the Confederacy against Ilorin, after Ibadan might have been defeated.³¹ The various motives of the allies provide clear expressions of their different national interests, ranging basically from political to economic and which determined the extent of the commitment of the allies in the alliance. **Generally speaking**, the allies all wanted to “*clip the wings*” of the Ibadan who had subjugated many Yoruba kingdoms and threatened the sovereignty of those that it had not yet conquered. They also wanted Ibadan’s power reduced or totally crushed militarily, considering political and economic interests.

More **specifically** however, the motives proved as diverse as the composition of the Grand Alliance itself. **The Ijebu and Egba** feared that if unrestricted, Ibadan would eventually, in its characteristic manner, crush their kingdoms as she had done to the Ekiti, Akoko, Ijesa and Igbomina countries. They therefore, basically, joined the alliance basically on political grounds, to forestall being conquered by the Ibadan but also on economic grounds to safeguard their middleman position between the merchants on the coast and the Yoruba states in the interior. **The Ekiti, Ijesa, Akoko and Igbomina** had a united front fundamentally to remove the yoke of Ibadan’s imperialism, especially the extortion and excessiveness of the notorious Ibadan Residents called “Ajele”. **The Ife and**

Ilesha had specific grievances against the Owu which they sought occasion to deal with.³² In 1882, Dahomey also added immensely to Ibadan’s headache in the Upper Ogun Area, while **Ife** also revolted and thus joined forces with the Ekiti-Parapo. Ife which had earlier, only reluctantly, joined the Ibadan army in 1878, changed sides on diplomatic grounds, and declared for the Confederacy in 1882, a development which attracted reprisals against Ife by the Ibadan.³³ Ilorin, on her own part, purposely wanted the military prowess of Ibadan annihilated for a number of reasons—the desire for booty, wealth and embellishment (economic inclination) to re-impose her political hegemony on her former Igbomina vassals, and bring the Ekiti towns under her hegemony (political undertone). The then Emir of Ilorin, in revealing Ilorin’s Economic, Diplomatic/Political and Social (Religious) motives, had during the Ijaye War said, “...we should combine against this Ibadan which had often baulked us of our prey; we may yet carry the Koran to the sea”!³⁴

After Afonja’s murder, Ilorin had spread its conquering zeal to such Yoruba towns as Igbaja, Ila (Igbomina), Ikirun, Otan-Ayegbaju, etc. Ibadan went to the succor of these towns and liberated them from the clutches of Ilorin.³⁵ Prior to the Kiriji War, Ibadan and Ilorin in almost all battles had always been in opposing camps for obvious reasons—clashes of enlightened interest. While Ibadan camouflaged the desire to revive the lost glories of the Old Oyo Empire, but in her concealed motive, building an “Empire of Yoruba”, Ilorin aimed at carving out an “Emirate of Yoruba” within Yorubaland. Not surprisingly therefore, Ilorin aligned herself with the Ekiti-parapo with the sole aim of liquidating the power of Ibadan to achieve the *Primus Inter Pares* status in Yorubaland!

II. Kiriji—The 16 Years War and the Introduction of New Sophisticated Firearms

Historians and writers often erroneously use the terms ‘Ekiti-parapo’ and ‘Kiriji’ interchangeably for the Sixteen Years’ War fought between 1877—1893. Whereas the war began as Ekiti-parapo,

it ended as Kiriji, the second phase of the Sixteen Years' War. This change was particularly occasioned by the introduction of new brands of firearms, for the first time in Yoruba warfare. It was this that led warfare generally and the Ekiti-parapo, specifically to a new level.

Although the Ekitis might have encountered firearms as early as the 16th C, the general introduction of firearms into Yoruba militarism did not come until around the 1840s. It is significant that the first use of firearms on any considerable scale by a Yoruba army was in the 1820s, by the Ijebu during the **Owu War**.³⁶ What is certain is that firearms had become the predominant weapon of Yoruba infantry militia after the 1850s, especially at the beginning of the **Ijere War** in 1860. It had become a common possession of every other army in Yorubaland after its first use by the Ijebu army on a large scale during the 1820s Owu War. First, **Dane Guns** or the muzzle-loading muskets, (consisting a variety of flint-lock guns and cap gun) which were ineffective in battle as they were often inaccurate, the barrels being prone to burst, thus making them probably more dangerous to the user than the targeted foe. Although, it might have been an improvement over some traditional weapons such as bows and arrows, sword and spears, with a range of about 200 yards. Dane guns also required an interval of 3-4 minutes between volleys to reload. The more sophisticated single-shot breech-loading repeater rifles became introduced into the West African market in the second half of the 19th C. The *Ekiti-parapo* forces' acquisition of some of these rifles early in the 1880s is noted to have marked a watershed in the history of *Kiriji War*.³⁷

Evidently, the 40,000 *Ekiti-parapo* army's apparent superiority, or in the least, parity over the 60,000 Ibadan forces was immeasurably boosted by the use of these rifles. The Confederates at the early stage of the war enjoyed exclusive privilege of possessing these sophisticated weapons. In a report to *Aare* Latosa, by one of the Ibadan boys, sometimes in 1884, in a rather pathetic tone, J.A Adefila and S.M Opeola describe it thus:

Our camps are almost in ruins, the Ekiti boys shoot mighty guns at us. Mighty guns! You need to hear the murderous sound, elders of our land. It is the sound of ten elephants roaring at the same time: "KII-RII-JIII, KIII-RII-JIII! ... and ten tents are destroyed just like that....I am sent to tell you this; my General, for we are powerless.... We fought like brave men, but power surpasses power."³⁸

Ibadan, with all her supernatural amours and Dane guns was just no match for the sophisticated guns of the *Ekiti-parapo*. Hence, although certain charms may secure invulnerability from gun shots but there is not the same confidence as regard breech-loading rifles as there is in dealing with the muzzle-loading Dane guns. This showcases the apparent susceptibility and limitations of charms, amulets and *juju* in the face of sophisticated weapon!³⁹

Conclusion

No doubt, the Ekitiparapo/Kiriji War brought an end to the one-century-War. It was in deed, a "**War to end all wars**"!⁴⁰ Ibadan engaged the Confederates in a number of wars between 1878 and 1885. But with the quelling of the insurgence by Ibadan in the Jalumi/Ikirun War of late 1878, the Kiriji apparently ended in a stalemate (i.e. No winner, No vanquished!) in 1882. Although everyone wanted peace, no one was ready or able to initiate one. By mid-1885, both sides had obviously become tired of the wars. And as the wars proved detrimental to the mercantilist inclinations and economic interests of the British Colony of Lagos, the British Government seized the opportunity of the invitation of the Yoruba leaders, to intervene in the wars and to mastermind the signing of the Ekiti-parapo Peace Treaty of July 1886 between the belligerents.

Consequent upon the 1886 Peace Treaty, Ibadan recognized the independence of the members of the Confederacy. And following the joint efforts of the Yoruba educated elite requesting the Lagos

colonial administration to intervene and make peace, the two camps in the main theatre of war both at Igbajo and Imesi-Ile (after its relocation from Otun later as the war progressed) were broken up. However, it was not until 1893 that the Ofa Camp was broken up and the armies disbanded after Sir Gilbert Carter had become Governor of Lagos. He came to Ilorin on 2nd February, 1893 to make a separate peace between Ilorin and Ibadan.

It is notable at this juncture, that while the Ibadan raid was still raging, another parallel power originating in the far north (the Fulani Jihadists who had seized Ilorin) was also on the rampage, raging through parts of Yorubaland. The Fulani had converted Ilorin into a launch-pad for more attacks on the Yorubaland.⁴¹

The Ekiti-parapo army was soon disbanded. Around this same time, the Isin people returned from Ogba-Irobi.⁴² By that time, the British, also in an upward/northern movement, were well into taking over Yorubaland and incorporating it into what later became Nigeria. In the final analysis, divided Yorubaland fell an easy prey to British Colonial penetration.⁴³

It suffices to conclude that whereas the Sixteen Years' War, otherwise known as the Ekitiparapo/Kiriji War was a *war to end all wars*, it was a war that marked the beginning of a new beginning; yet a sort of contradiction! Paradoxically, it was a *discontinuity* from the different local upheavals and feuds in Yorubaland, yet a *continuity* of another under the British. Little did the Yoruba leaders know that the *Peace Treaty* contracted by Sir Gilbert Carter, the Governor of Lagos in 1893, had ceded the vast Yorubaland to the British, thus helping them to fulfil the Berlin Conference's *Sphere of Influence* condition. The establishment of Effective Occupation came on 1st January, 1900. The end result of this intricate game of diplomacy and enlightened national interest among the different Yoruba states only landed them in an awkward corner. This, the present generation and future generations of Yoruba, in particular, and Nigeria, in general, must learn from!

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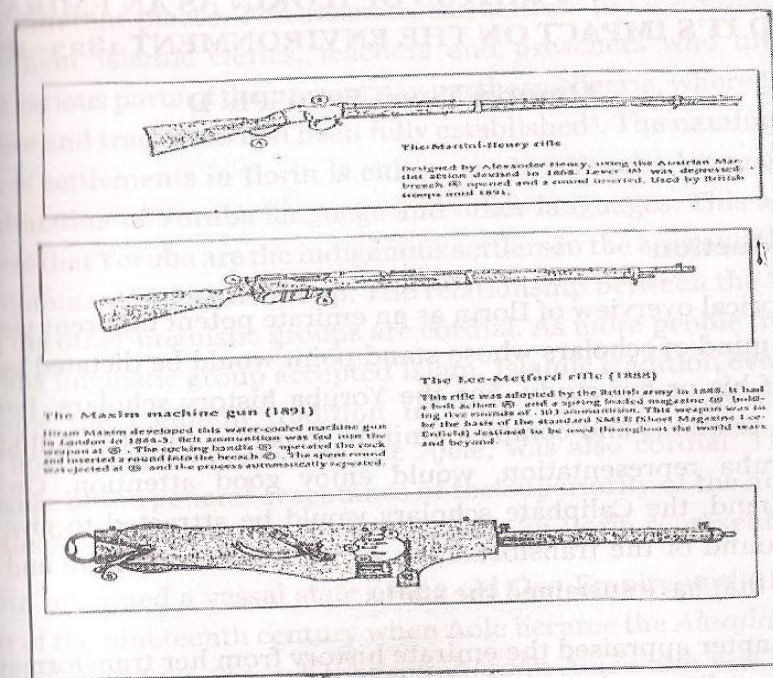
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Appendix I

Figure Showing Some Types of European Firearms used during the 19th C. Yoruba Civil Wars



Source: O. Olutoye and J.A Olapade "Implements and Tactics of War among the Yoruba" in I. A. Akinjogbin (Ed.), *War and Peace in Yorubaland, 1793-1893...* 1998, p. 207.)