

ISSN: 1119 - 9342

**ALOGSY VENTURES**  
08033977083, 08055768445

IJACI VOL. 14 NO. 1 & 2 APRIL & NOVEMBER, 2014



**IJACI**

**INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF  
AFRICAN CULTURE AND IDEAS**

**VOL. 14, NO 1 & 2 APRIL & NOVEMBER, 2014**



# INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF AFRICAN CULTURE AND IDEAS

---

*Vol. 14, No. 1&2, April & November, 2014*

---

*Dr. Afe labi Abudun*

Cover: Nok Head, Nigeria

*Vol. 14, No. 1&2*

IJACI, International Journal of African Culture and Ideas, is published twice annually in April and November. IJACI is a multi-disciplinary journal with the aim of promoting scholarship in African Studies with emphasis on intensive local research.

Edi Ade Ade Aki Das Erel Irele Oke Olor Osun Otal Oyel  
Mani corre Jour LAU  
Vol. Subs Outs Instr Contr of ea name Paper A+ p proce



6. Jide Osuntokun, (1979). *Nigeria in the First World War*, Longman Group Limited, (Ibadan History Series).
7. Joe Scott "Heinemann History: The World since 1914", Heinemann Educational Books Ltd. 22, Bedford Square, London WCI B3H H. P.
8. Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria, (1921). A Documentary Record of Sir, F.D. Lugard on the Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria, 1881-1921, as compiled by A.H. M. Kirk-Green, London: Frank Cass & Co.
9. <http://www.polis.leeds.ac.uk/lucas/activities/leeds-african-studies-bulletin/book-reviews/book-review-afro-cuban-diasporas-in-the-atlantic-world.php>
10. R. C.C. Law, (Dec. 1973), "The Owu in Yoruba History", *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. 7, No. 1.
11. Tamuno, T.N. (1972). *The Evolution of the Nigerian State: The Southern Phase, 1898-1914*, London, (Longman group Ltd).
12. *The Development of Kingdoms in Negro Africa* in JHSN Vol. 2, No.1.
13. NAI, Oyo Prof. 1, File No. 06027. Annual Report, 1921.
14. NAI. Oyo Prof. 4/5 File No. 113/1916.
15. NAI. Comcol. I.C.C. 994. V12. Abolition of customs which are detrimental to native welfare and prosperity.
16. NAI. Abe Prof. 6/4. P. 181.
17. NAI. Oyo Prof. 1 File No. 06027. Annual Report, 1921.
18. NAI. C. 92/1918. Appointment of Commission of Enquiry into the Abeokuta disturbances – Re.
19. NAI. CSO 26/3, file no. 21790, Assessment Report, Imala District, Abeokuta Province. 4<sup>th</sup> of Jan. 1928 - 2<sup>nd</sup> of March, 1928.
20. Perham, M. (1960). *Lugard: The Years of Authority, 1889-1945*, London: Collins.
21. Wilks, I. (1960), "African Historiographical Tradition Old and New", in *Fage, Africa Discover Her Past*. London: O.U.P, 1970.

## Economics of Forage Marketing in Lam Adesina's International Market

**Okunola, S.O. (Ph.D)**

Department of Agricultural Economics,  
Ladoke Akintola University of Technology,  
Ogbomoso.

E-mail: [sookunola@lautech.edu.ng](mailto:sookunola@lautech.edu.ng)

### Abstract

The study investigated the marketing of forages in Lam Adesina international market. It was found out that forage marketing and livestock trading are done by traders from the northern part of Nigeria. The study also symbolizes the importance of hay business if closely monitored and encouraged by policy makers, can reduce the incessant clashes between herdsmen and local farmers. Findings of the study revealed that higher the numbers of people in the household helped labor supply and religion (most forage sellers were Muslims working in conjunction with livestock traders most of whom were from the Northern part of Nigeria where Muslims abound) had positive effect on forage trading. The total tax paid was significant at 5% but with a negative sign indicating that the higher the tax the lower the net profit, showing that tax authorities should introduce progressive taxation in order to help forage marketing.

### Introduction

Forages become imperative when top quality feeds or pastures are in short supply or totally not available. Forage is a plant material (mainly plant leaves and stems eaten by grazing livestock. Historically, the term forage has meant only plants eaten by animals directly as pasture, crop residue, or immature crops, but it is also used more closely to include similar plants cut for fodder and carry to the animals especially as hay or silage. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Forage>). They may come in different forms like the haylage, herbage, grasses, browse (which is twigs or shoots with or without leaves, flowers and fruits or shrubs, trees or vines), legumes and fodder. Forages can be economically relevant when considered as veritable components of a sustainable



# INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF AFRICAN CULTURE AND IDEAS

---

*Vol. 14, No. 1&2, April & November, 2014*

---

*Dr. Afelabi Abudun*

*Cover: Nok Head, Nigeria*

*Vol. 14. No. 1&2*

IJACI, International Journal of African Culture and Ideas, is published twice annually in April and November. IJACI is a multi-disciplinary journal with the aim of promoting scholarship in African Studies with emphasis on intensive local research.



## Editorial Advisory Board

Adebola, A.S.	University of Ilorin
Adetunji I.A.	Ladoke Akintola University of Technology
Akidele, A.	National University of Lesotho, Lesotho
Dasyva, A.O.	University of Ibadan, Ibadan
Erele, J.	Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife
Irele, D.	University of Ibadan, Ibadan
Oke, M.O.	Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife
Olorunfemi, A.	Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife
Osundina, M.A.	Ladoke Akintola University of Technology
Otakpo, N.	University of Benin, Benin
Oyelere, B.A.	Ladoke Akintola University of Technology

Manuscript and books for review, subscriptions, advertising and related correspondence should be sent to: The Editor, *IJACI*, International Journal of African Culture and Ideas, Department of General Studies, LAUTECH, P.M.B. 4000, Ogbomosho.

Vol. 14, No. 1&2

April & Nov. 2014

<b>Subscription:</b>	Individuals	₦2,000
	Institution	₦3,000

<b>Outside Nigeria</b>	Individuals	\$ 7
	Institution	\$ 14

## Instruction to Contributors

Contributions are invited from scholars all over the world. Two copies of each paper should be submitted with a C-D rom copy. The author's name and the particulars should appear on a separate covering page. Papers should follow the MLA style and should not be more than 20 A4 pages, double spaced, well proofed and clearly typed in word processing.

## Table of Contents

Page

The Philosophy of the Catholic Faith Based Education as a Paradigm of Peace and Development in a Multi-Religious Nigeria Anthony Ibrahim <b>Bature</b> ....	1-11
Religion, Meaning and Identity in an African Belief System: Reflections on the Concept of God in Idoma David <b>Salifu</b> (PhD) ....	12-25
A Year of New Yam Festival in Ekiti-Yoruba Town of Otun, Southwest Nigeria <b>Onipede, K. J</b> (PhD). ....	26-56
Pragmatic Functions in 2010 Football World Cup Newspaper Reports on Nigerian Matches Sade <b>Olagunju</b> (PhD) and Niyi <b>Osunbade</b> (PhD)... ..	57-75
Leadership and the Culture of Violence: A Philological Study of Republican Rome in Lucan <i>Pharsalia</i> Emmanuel Folorunso <b>Taiwo</b> (PhD) and Monica O. <b>Aneni</b> PhD ...	76-93
The Nature of Blood in Shakespeare's <i>Macheth</i> and the African Political Space Segun <b>Omosule</b> (PhD) ....	94-110
<i>The Woman in Nation Building: A Reading of Achebe's Arrow of God</i> Grace Ito <b>Ibanga</b> ....	111-123
Toward Edifying Gender Theorization in Africa: A Reappraisal Olawale Taju <b>Ajayi</b> ....	124-135
Colonisation, the African Theatre and the Kenyan Experience <b>Ogungbesan, Oluseyi</b> Abiodun ....	136-147
Dynamics in Indigenous and Contemporary Use of Adire Fabrics Olufunmilayo <b>Braide</b> an Olakunle <b>Agboola</b> ....	148-168



**EDITOR:**

**Dele Afolabi**

Department of General Studies,  
Ladoke Akintola University of Technology,  
Ogbomoso, Nigeria.

E-mail: [abafolabi@lautech.edu.ng](mailto:abafolabi@lautech.edu.ng)

**Associates Editors:**

**Frank T. Ebijuwa**

Department of General Studies,  
Ladoke Akintola University of Technology,  
Ogbomoso, Nigeria.

**Abdulwahab Tijani**

Department of General Studies,  
Ladoke Akintola University of Technology,  
Ogbomoso, Nigeria.

**Ade Aladeyomi**

Department of General Studies,  
Ladoke Akintola University of Technology,  
Ogbomoso, Nigeria.

**Tayo Adesina**

Department of History,  
University of Ibadan,  
Ibadan, Nigeria.

**Ronke Adesanya**

Institute of African Studies  
University of Ibadan.

**Managing Editor:**

**Kazeem K. Olaniyan**

Department of General Studies,  
Ladoke Akintola University of Technology,  
Ogbomoso, Nigeria

E-mail: [olanik2006@yahoo.com/](mailto:olanik2006@yahoo.com/)

[kkolaniyan@lautech.edu.ng](mailto:kkolaniyan@lautech.edu.ng)

+234-8038048691



Transfer as an Alternative to Direct Drawing in Yoruba Hand Built Pottery Segun Oladapo <b>Abiodun</b> and Toyin Emmanuel <b>Akinde</b> ....	169-186
Challenges of Resolving Chieftaincy Disputes in Contemporary African Society <b>Ubani</b> Christian C. and <b>Israel</b> Esther Ohseghame ...	187-205
Anti-Colonial Uprisings in Yoruba Land and the Challenges of Constitutionalism <b>Afolabi</b> , Abiodun (PhD) ...	206-228
Economics of Forage Marketing in Lam Adesina's International Market <b>Okunola</b> , S.O. (PhD) ...	229-239
Housing Affordability in Peri-Urban Aroje of Ogbomoso: Implication for City/Peri-Urban Interaction <b>Asani</b> , Morufu Afolabi ...	240-257
<b>ORIGAMI: Its Impact on the Creative Arts Instruction of Junior Secondary School Ogbomoso, Nigeria</b> <b>Odewumi</b> , Michael Olubunmi and <b>Idowu</b> Lanre ...	258-272

## Notes on Contributors

**Anthony Ibrahim Bature** is a lecturer at the Department of Philosophy and Religions Federal University, Wukari, Taraba State, Nigeria.

**David Salifu (PhD)** teaches at the Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies, Faculty of Humanities, Social and Management Sciences, Federal University, Wukari, Taraba State, Nigeria.

**Onipede, K. J (PhD)** is a lecturer in social history at the Department of General Studies, Ladoke Akintola University of Technology, Ogbomoso, Nigeria.

**Sade Olagunju (PhD)** teaches English and Communication Skills at the Department of General Studies, Ladoke Akintola University of Technology Ogbomoso, Nigeria.

**Niyi Osunbade (PhD)** is a lecturer in English and Communication Skills at the Department of General Studies, Ladoke Akintola University of Technology Ogbomoso, Nigeria.

**Emmanuel Folorunso Taiwo (Ph.D)** is a lecturer at the Department of Classics, Faculty of Arts, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria.

**Monica O. Aneni (PhD)** is a lecturer at the Department of Classics, Faculty of Arts, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria.

**Segun Omosule (PhD)** teaches English Literature in the Department of English at Olabisi Onabanjo University, Ago-Iwoye, Ogun State, Nigeria

**Grace Itoro Ibanga** is a lecturer in English Literature at the Department of English, Olabisi Onabanjo University, Ago-Iwoye,

**Olawale Taju Ajayi** is a lecturer at the Department of English, Faculty of Arts, Olabisi Onabanjo University, Ago-Iwoye, Nigeria

**Ogungbesan, Oluseyi Abiodunis** a lecturer at the Department of Performing Arts, Olabisi Onabanjo University, Ago-Iwoye, Ogun State, Nigeria.



**Olufunmilayo Braide** teaches at the Department of Home Science and Management (Textile and clothing Option), Federal University of Agriculture, Abeokuta, Ogun State, Nigeria.

**Olakunle Agboola** teaches at the Department of Home Science and Management (Textile and clothing Option), Federal University of Agriculture, Abeokuta, Ogun State, Nigeria.

**Segun Oladapo Abiodun** and **Toyin Emmanuel Akinde** are lecturers at the Department of Fine and Applied Arts, Ladoke Akintola University of Technology, Ogbomoso, Nigeria..

**Ubani Christian C.** is a research fellow at the IFRA-Nigeria.

**Israel Esther Ohseghame** is a lecturer at Bells University of Technology, Ota, Ogun State, Nigeria.

**Afolabi, Abiodun (PhD)** teaches at the Department of History and International Studies, University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria

**Okunola, S.O. (PhD)** is of the Department of Agricultural Economics, Ladoke Akintola University of Technology, Ogbomoso, Nigeria

**Asani, Morufu Afolabi** lectures at the Department of Urban and Regional Planning, Faculty of Environmental Sciences, Ladoke Akintola University of Technology, Ogbomoso, Nigeria.

**Odewumi, Michael Olubunmi** is a PhD researcher at the Department of Educational Technology, University of Ilorin. Ilorin. Nigeria.

**Idowu Lanre (PhD)** is a lecturer at the Department of Educational Technology, Obafemi Awolowo University. Ile – Ife, Nigeria



## Anti-Colonial Uprisings in Yoruba Land and the Challenges of Constitutionalism

**AFOLABI, Abiodun, PhD**

Department of History and International Studies,

University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria

[abeafolabi@yahoo.com](mailto:abeafolabi@yahoo.com)

(+234)8055201274; (+234)8030438315

### Abstract

The unfriendly economic and taxation policies of the British government and other tax-related considerations were significantly responsible for the Africans defiance of British colonialism in south-western Nigeria. Using both primary and secondary source materials, this article examined how the Native Court pursued the interests of the colonial authority, both as tribunals of justice and the executive arm of government, and thus, contributed to the expansion of British influence in colonial south-western Nigeria. It found that the British colonial authority adopted ordinances and legislations to safeguard its political and economic interests through the instrumentality of the Native Authority. It also found that the colonial edifice of Native Authority transformed the indigenous traditional authority (chief) into a petty legislator, administrator, judge, and policeman, all rolled in one, who was only answerable to the white official stationed in his state as advisor, and who quietly remained in the background. Using the 'Ijemo incident,' the 'Adubi Uprising' and the Iseyin-Okeiho revolts in Yoruba land in Nigeria as case studies, the paper then concluded that the British colonial government's meddlesomeness in the affairs of the indigenous people led to the breakdown of traditional institutions, which consequently resulted in the intensification of British capitalism, a development that was offensive to the indigenous people. It also concluded that anti-colonial uprisings in Yoruba land were generally the fallouts of British colonial government's legislations and ordinances, procedures which were considered too intrusive, abrasive and burdensome for the indigenous people to bear.

**Key Words:** British, Burdensome, Colonial, Riots, Taxation, Constitution

### Introduction

The territories that later became Nigeria came under British colonial rule in a piece-meal fashion, an occupation that dates back to 1861

when Lagos was brought under colonial rule. It was, however, not until 1893 that the largest chunk of Yoruba land came under colonial rule, with effective colonial occupation of modern Nigeria taking place after 1900. The occupation of Nigeria was vehemently opposed by the indigenous people. Indeed, the conflict between the traditional rulers in Nigeria and the British was a direct manifestation of the contradiction of the policy that accompanied the imposition of colonial rule, which had little or no regard for indigenous tradition or custom.

Southern Nigeria went through a period of considerable turmoil, particularly in the early days of colonialism, because British weakness and understaffing provided the opportunity for the assertion of indigenous resistance to colonial rule. The demands of the imperial government on Nigerian peoples as soldiers and the recruitment campaigns carried out in many parts of Nigeria during the World War I further destabilized the country.<sup>1</sup> Before 1914 there were no widespread and collectively organized resistances in the hinterland against British colonial authority. The people's seeming complacency was, however, not an indication that they had no reasons to protest.

### Tax Riots and the Challenges of Constitutionalism in Perspectives

The British colonial government needed to maintain law and order for the Yoruba community to enjoy stability, peace and prosperity. British rules, which came in the form of ordinances, were meant to serve as guide for both the British colonial authority and the people they governed. Significantly, however, what constituted law varied from one individual to another, particularly in interpretations, purposes and methods of implementation in the colonial African settings. Individuals and groups reactions to colonial legislations and ordinances were consequently dissimilar to the new order and rules that were enacted in their favour. For the indigenous people, the British colonial authority adopted constitutionalism in order that they would be able to rule the socio-economic and political hide bound, which they created, successfully.

Although it is often said that the power to rule resides in the power to tax, yet, the colonial authority's power to rule was challenged

<sup>1</sup> Jide Osuntokun, (1979). *Nigeria in the First World War*, Longman Group Limited, (Ibadan History Series), p.100.



by the people because the aspirations of the latter were not met by the rulership. Since the economic interests of the British colonial authority had to be met, there was the need to put in place effective occupation through the institution of a native administration, which in turn, prompted the inauguration of tax ordinances, among many other colonial laws, such as sanitary, administrative and civil laws, which were already operative in the Yoruba speaking areas before the British contact with the indigenous people.

The socio-economic and political institutions, which were operative in the pre-colonial Yoruba land, were harmonious and acceptable to the people, hence, Human Right abuses were uncommon. Colonial apologists have described the pre-colonial institutions, particularly, the taxation system in many stereotyped ways such as 'backward', 'despotic', 'extortionist' etc. However, efficient and effective tax system antedated the time of European contact with Western Nigeria. The pre-colonial taxation system hardly degenerated into the kind of crises situations that were experienced during the colonial and immediate post-colonial Western Nigeria. Reference to the pre-colonial tax system as barbaric and too diverse is, therefore, to be regarded as one of the mechanics of the imperial colonial system,<sup>2</sup> a system which portrayed all the institutions of the colonized people as inferior when compared to those of the colonial masters. It was the British taxation system that often turned out to be too abrasive and burdensome for the indigenous people, and it was the burden of this tax system imposed on the people that ultimately culminated in protest movements, public rallies, riots etc.

The ordinance that led to the inauguration of the Native Court system was designed to ensure an effective application of the Indirect Rule system. Law under the colonial system was an integral part of the administration, and it would be wrong to treat it outside the context of political domination. Law was an agency of socio-political ordering, and it was applied by the colonial government for several purposes such as 'keeping of peace, order and the maintenance of social status-quo'. Indeed, it was an agency of colonial control. Through the

<sup>2</sup> I. Wilks, (1960), "African Historiographical Tradition Old and New", in Fage, Africa Discover Her Past. London: O.U.P, 1970, pp. 7-17. See also "The Development of Kingdoms in Negro Africa" in JHSN Vol. 2, No.1, pp. 27-38.

instrumentality of the Native Authority, the British safeguarded their political and economic interests. The courts, which were put in place, contributed to the extension of British influence to the extent that the so-called 'Native Courts', that were presided over by 'native chiefs', pursued the interests of the colonial powers, both as 'tribunals of justice and the executive arm of government.'<sup>3</sup>

The pre-colonial judicial system in Yoruba land allowed people from different social groups within the society to exercise judicial functions. The heads of compounds, quarter or ward chiefs and the head chiefs of the towns had functions which they performed. Most of these functionaries derived some benefit either in cash or in kind from the system. However, with the involvement of the British judicial system, flexibility was lost as the centralized system of government became the new order from 1914. Those who formerly exercised authority suddenly found that the opportunities to take bribes and entertain their followers were no longer there, and this situation presented good reasons for them to confront a system that appeared to be responsible for their belittlement and impoverishment. They were uncomfortable with the new Native Court system that shifted power from them into the hands of a few judges and court messengers. For instance, the British authority removed the *Aseyin* from matters relating to the judiciary as a way of making him perform better as the father of his people. The *Aseyin*, however, saw his exclusion as a deliberate curtailment of his power and influence.

Constitutionally, colonial laws had both derived and repressive motives, which were designed to work positively for both colonial authority and the colonized. The derived motives were intended to correct or even ameliorate the difficult economic and health situations that were on ground before the advent of colonialism in Yoruba land. The people's dissatisfaction with the British tax system and the free labour practices manifested in riots, which featured very prominently in the southern parts of Nigeria, and these riots had a lot of consequences for the socio-economic and political fabric of the whole polity.

<sup>3</sup> O. Adewoye, (1977). *The Judicial System in Southern Nigeria, 1854-1954: Law and Justice in a Dependency* (London: Longman.) p. 1.



The rigidity associated with colonial institutions and other constitutional challenges manifested in the administration of justice. The British colonial administration considered the traditional ways of implementing justice as inferior although some indigenous cultures were accommodated. Consequently, the people were, at times, prepared to resist ordinances that had no human face at any cost. The circumstances that often surrounded the implementation of some ordinances were questionable as the British colonial authority, particularly in the early days of colonialism, failed to educate the people on the need to adopt these new measures that were put in place. Coupled with this was the punitive measures applied to serve as deterrent to individuals or groups who violated colonial rules. The people were uncomfortable with the changes that came with the imposition of colonial rule.

During the World War I, the European powers accepted to grant self-determination and democracy to colonial territories after the war. President Wilson's 14 Points Agenda inferred that disputes over frontiers should be settled according to the wishes of the people who lived in the disputed area, which fitted well with the idea of democracy. His argument was that 'people should not be pushed around like pawns.... should have a full say in the running of their own government, including, deciding which country to belong, the right to elect their representatives as well as the right to enjoy the dividend of taxation'.<sup>4</sup> The natural growth of political institutions threw up wars that required the intervention of the British colonial authority, and these manifested in various settlement acts. It could be argued that the ordinances that were enacted and imposed on the people slowed down the pace of development of indigenous legal system as there were too many imbalances in the implementation of the ordinances that were operative in colonial Nigeria. Most colonial laws were ambiguous, segregatory and mostly promulgated with intent to favour the colonial authority who generally considered the indigenous people inferior. The point here is that the authoritarian nature of most colonial laws presented great challenges to constitutionalism, fundamental human right and social justice. Ijemo 'incident', Adubi war, and other tax

related uprisings in the colonial south-western Nigeria epitomized clear-cut struggle for freedom from the ordinances that were designed by the British authority to harass, intimidate and oppress.

### The 'Ijemo Incident', 'Adubi Uprising' and the 'Iseyin- Okeiho Riots' in Retrospect

The year 1914, which marked the start of mass revolts, coincided with the period of the World War I, which in itself was not a cause of revolt, but a time of administrative innovation as well as a period when the weight of colonial connection began to be felt, particularly, in the demand for tax<sup>5</sup> and military recruits in south-western Nigeria. The general *malaise* created by the war and the lack of effective British control of the country, which followed the withdrawal of some of the administrative staff for war service, became an occasion for the people to resist British administrative policies, especially Lugard's Indirect Rule system.

The effects of the economic recession that arose as a result of the disruption of the normal flow of trade during the war further aggravated the tense conditions. For instance, the high cost of shipping spirits and additional increases in import duties led to a considerable drop in the amount of liquor imported into Lagos. In order to make up for the resultant deficit in revenue, the British colonial government imposed export duties on palm oil, palm kernels and cocoa towards the end of 1916. Duties derived from export alone were not adequate and the government was constrained to consider other options. The imposition of extra tariffs on exports significantly reduced the income of farmers. Regrettably, despite this circumstance, Lord Lugard pressured the Governor General of the Colonial Office to allow him to impose direct taxation in Yoruba land in 1916.

Expectedly, the implementation of the colonial taxation policy proved to be disastrous for the resource poor peasant farmers who could just not understand this instability in their fortunes, a situation that engendered fierce opposition among the people. In some cases, overt opposition impinged upon taxation matters, while some political

<sup>4</sup> Joe Scott "Heinemann History: The World since 1914", Heinemann Educational Books Ltd. 22, Bedford Square, London WCI B3H H. P. 27.

<sup>5</sup> Jide Osuntokun, (1979). *Nigeria in the First World War*, Longman Group Limited, (Ibadan History Series), p.100.



actions could be traced directly to the role of the British in the internal affairs of the people as the three major revolts that upturned and disrupted the peace of Yoruba land between 1914 and 1918, namely, the Ijemo and Adubi Uprisings in the Egba nation, and the Iseyin-Okeiho revolts in Oyo, which blazed the trail in the series of turmoil into which the whole of Yoruba land was thrown after 1914, would demonstrate.

### Interrogating the 'Ijemo Incident' of 1914

Prior to 1914, when the British government appointed a Commissioner to represent British interests in the area, which was then largely the maintenance of law and order, an atmosphere pervaded the territories. However, many grievances, some of which were more indirectly related to British intervention, converged to spark off a chain of social disturbances in August, 1914.<sup>6</sup> Even before the intervention of the British in the internal politics of Egba land, the place was difficult to rule as it was controlled by four factions consisting of the Ogboni, the Muslim, the Church and the *Alake*, tugging it in different directions. The position of the *Alake* was very shaky as a result of the presence of these three powerful stock-holders meddling in the socio-economic and political affairs in the Egba polity. The *Alake's* position inevitably became unstable and was constantly under threats. The area occupied by the Egba people

<sup>6</sup> The first was the 'Church Party', which was controlled by educated members of the congregations whose influence was greatest in Abeokuta and a less so in the country side. The second was the *Ogboni*, that is, '*Ogbo-eni*', meaning the old people that consisted of a council of elders. It was a secret society of great influence as it was intimately associated with the judicial, religious as well as the political life of Egba land. It also provided a check on the power of chiefs. The Ogboni hall was the court house where the chiefs sat to hear cases, took fees, and imposed fines, which formed the main revenue source of the chiefs. The court, which the EUG established, infringed upon the responsibility of the *Ogboni* council and other tribunals at the township level and even below. The *Ogboni* chiefs saw this situation more as depriving them of the income and prestige which they formerly enjoyed as judges and arbitrators, and consequently began to resent the policy of the EUG. The Secretary, Mr. Edun, was later to submit to the Commission set up after the Ijemo massacre that even though the *Ogboni* "provided a valuable political machinery for the working of the British taxation scheme in accordance with native law and custom, the use of this machinery put a premium on oppression because it was not thoroughly supervised" by the chiefs. The Muslims epitomized another important stakeholder. For more on the power inter-play between these groups, see Jide Osuntokun, (1979). *Nigeria in the First World War*, Longman Group Limited, (Ibadan History Series).

maintained its status as an independent political unit within British Nigeria by a "treaty of friendship and commerce", which was concluded on 7<sup>th</sup> January, 1893 by Governor Carter of Lagos on behalf of the Queen of England, until 1914.<sup>7</sup>

Considering the existence of these factions, the *Alake* position could be likened to that of a marble poised precariously on top of a precipice; would it roll down to the left or to the right? One thing was certain; roll down it must. At this time, the Egba people were organized into four sections each under its own head chief. These sections were Egba *Alake*, Oke-Ona, Agura and Oluwo. At first, each group inhabited a distinct part of the territory, but the 19<sup>th</sup> century war pushed all the groups into a corner of their territory where they founded Abeokuta in 1930, with each group reproducing its own distinct quarter in the town under its own chief. The position of the *Alake* was very shaky as a result of the presence of these three powerful stock-holders meddling in the socio-economic and political affairs in the Egba polity. The *Alake's* position was thus constantly under threats.

The crises were the culmination of threats to the viability of the Egba socio-political structure, and the results of a series of internal squabbles among the various rival groups within the Egba society. The remote cause of the uprising was the weakness of the *Alake*, which paved the way for the political dominance of a triumvirate, namely, Osundare, the *Nlado*, Ogundeji, the *Mogaji* of Iporo and Sorunke, the *Jagunnna* of Igbehin and *Balogun* of Egba. These were chiefs who held the reins of the government of Abeokuta, the capital city of Egba land. These powerful men arrogated a lot of authority and became *de-facto* political rulers in the Egba kingdom. The *Alake's* influence was, consequently, hardly felt in Ake localities surrounding Abeokuta. However, the Egba government was operated under the name of "*Alaki*" who although was 'loyal and well disposed but was wholly illiterate'.<sup>8</sup> Although the *Alake* was recognized as a senior chief because he controlled the largest part of the sections, he had no superior authority. In fact, he was by no means paramount, and

<sup>7</sup> NAI. C.92/1918. Appointment of Commission of Enquiry into the Abeokuta Disturbances-Re

<sup>8</sup> Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria, (1921). A Documentary Record of Sir, F.D. Lugard on the Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria, 1881-1921, as compiled by A.H. M. Kirk-Green, London: Frank Cass & Co. P. 79.



according to the constitution of Egba land, he was *primus inter pares* in relation to other sectional *Obas*.<sup>9</sup>

The *Alake* government had its abuses, which included extortionate demands from the peasantry, corruption and bribery in the courts, arbitrary imprisonment and forced labour.<sup>10</sup> During the early period of colonial rule, the ignorant were terrorized into acceptance of the demands of the chiefs. Much of the revenue of Egba land was derived from tolls collected on goods entering the land and those in transit. Government budgets were then prepared on a colonial model while Orders in Council and Regulations were passed by an illiterate body of conservative chiefs, all of whom, practically, were very old men who looked on these proceedings probably with amused indifference. If the people rebelled, government troops were requisitioned from Lagos in the name of *Alaki*. The *Alake* possessed no real authority as the Egba nation relied on the financial and administrative muscles of the British government in Lagos. That was the scenario before the *Ijemo* incident of 1914.

The authority of the *Alake* was further eroded by the *Saros* or Creoles. These were freed slaves of Yoruba descent who began arriving in Lagos and Badagry in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, principally to reconnect with their father land. They actually started to arrive in Abeokuta from Sierra-Leone in 1838<sup>11</sup> while those among them who were of Egba extraction numbered about six thousand (6,000).<sup>12</sup> These people were not only interested in Egba politics but they also refused to compromise with the conditions in which they found Abeokuta, a place they were determined to modernize. To this end, the Egba United Board (EUB) was formed in 1865. One of the responsibilities of the

<sup>9</sup> NAI. C.92/1918 Appointment of Commission of Enquiry into the Abeokuta Disturbances.

<sup>10</sup> Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria, (1921). A Documentary Record of Sir, F.D. Lugard on the Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria, 1881-1921, as compiled by A.H. M. Kirk-Green. London: Frank Cass & Co. P. 79. For more details on the first and second Egba wars, see Akinjide Oshuntokun, (1979). Nigeria in the First World War. Longman, Pp. 100 - 138.

<sup>11</sup> A. K. Ajisafe, (1948). *History of Abeokuta*, Lagos, Kash & Klare Bookshop, pp. 12-30.

<sup>12</sup> <http://www.polis.leeds.ac.uk/lucas/activities/leeds-african-studies-bulletin/book-reviews/book-review-afro-cuban-diasporas-in-the-atlantic-world.php>

(EUB) was to source for revenue towards the modernization of the Egba nation. However, the Board was embroiled in cut-throat rivalry with another pan-Egba development group, the Egba United Government (EUG), which came into existence in 1898. One of the *raison d'être* for the inauguration of the EUG was the restoration of the *Alake's* supremacy, which the EUB had usurped.<sup>13</sup> Thus, the UEB lost its popularity as the business of running Abeokuta fell into the hands of EUG leaders.<sup>14</sup> Meanwhile, the EUG enjoyed stronger push among the people than the EUB due, partly, to its attempt at salvaging the autonomy of the *Alake*, but more significantly, due to the great power and prestige its leadership commanded. However, as soon as the EUG assumed firm control over the intricate socio-economic and political squabbles in Egba land, it ensured that all money and interests were expended on Abeokuta town, and the rest of the country such as *Ijemo* and *Itori* were neglected and left to fend for themselves.

The prolonged palaver and wrangling among the rival camps provided an occasion for the British to meddle in the affairs of the Egba land and subvert the sovereignty of the people; an intervention that could be linked to the procedure adopted by the EUG in tax collection and how the revenue disbursed, worsened the internal rivalry. It is significant to note that the Commissioner that was appointed to administer the territories on behalf of the Queen of England after the 1914 treaty wielded too much power to the extent that his authority undermined the autonomy of Egba land.

There were other signs of discontent; when the EUG assumed authority over Egba land, the colonial government took the decision to

<sup>13</sup> R. C.C. Law, (Dec. 1973), "The Owu in Yoruba History", *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vo. 7, No. 1, p. 143-150.

<sup>14</sup> In 1902, the position of the Secretary to the Egba United Government (EUG) fell into the hands of J. Henryson Samuel. This placement carried great power and prestige for the officer who was in charge of the everyday business of the government, and J. Henryson Samuel, an Egba of outstanding administrative ability, was well suited for the arrangement. He was the initiator as well as the executor of ideas which led to remarkable progress made by the Egba administration within the first two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. He was originally a Methodist minister who abandoned his calling for politics in order to stamp his influence and authority on the politics of Egba land. As the Secretary of Egba United Government, (EUG), (He later changed his name to Adegboyega Edun), Abeokuta experienced tremendous development. Edun was able to bring his brilliance and competence to bear on the politics of his time.



phase out the system of tolls collection and thus advised Abeokuta Province to substitute it with a system of direct taxation that was patterned after the Northern system, a step taken by the EUG in 1914<sup>15</sup> without any modification. The decision was challenged by Ilori village, and they mounted a protest against the EUG. But rather than deal with the issues with caution, the *Alake* attempted to bring the revolting *Ilori* under control with the help of troops from Lagos. Some leaders of the revolt were incarcerated while other dissident voices met their death in the hands of the colonial 'men on the spot' who in spite of their accumulated or stored wisdom<sup>16</sup> hardly understood the people they governed.

The part played by the British in the intricate ensuing socio-political power tussle among the Egba groups, especially in the arrest, incarceration and eventual death of one Sobiye Ponalade, was further evidence that the existence of Egba government depended on British support.<sup>17</sup> Unfortunately, the might of the British colonial authority

<sup>15</sup> C.O. 583/72/12803, Boyle to Milner, 21 January, 1919.

<sup>16</sup> T.N. Tamuno, (1972). *The Evolution of the Nigerian State: The Southern Phase, 1898-1914*, London, (Longman group Ltd), pp. 106-107.

<sup>17</sup> Sobiye, a minor chief of about ninety years old from Fidiwo, an Egba village, had been known to treat the EUG and the Egba government headed by *Alake* with contempt. He was arrested towards the end of July 1914 on the order of the Egba government, not the colonial government. Sobiye was expected to order his people to carry out some sanitary jobs without pay, but he was somewhat truculent and had no respect for the *Alake*. It is significant to note that the *Ijemo* people had deliberately neglected to cooperate with the Egba government because their head, Sobiye Ponalade, who was regarded as a powerful witch doctor, had warned against any form of support for the government, particularly over the deplorable sanitary condition of their area. Apparently, the sanitary matter was a sensitive political issue in which the Egba government was determined to assert its authority in the face of growing erosion of its power. However, the government needed the assistance of the Lagos government in order to check the erring minor chiefs. The cooperation of some 'men on the spot' like P.V. Young, the new British Commissioner, was required in order to check the perceived excesses of some chiefs. It could be argued that Young was only acting out the script of conspiracy which had been contrived with the Egba government when he undertook an inspection tour of *Ijemo* area where he observed that the road that led to Fidiwo was bushy and neglected. It was part of the plan that the colonial policemen be ordered to bring Ponalade from his village to Abeokuta, a job that could not be single handedly managed by the Egba United Government. Ponalade resisted arrest and in the process the old man sustained critical injuries. The fact that Ponalade was brought before the British Commissioner and not the *Alake*, the head of the Egba government, was a clear indication of the hollowness of Egba independence. Immediately

was brought to bear against the *Ilori* people as the constitutionality or otherwise of the British action, though a serious colonial issue, was expectedly unchallenged for a while, and therefore, ignored by the Colonial Office. The right to self determination, which, ordinarily, should have guided the British relation with her colony in the early days of colonialism, was jettisoned and not reckoned with by the administration. These were part of the issues that offended the sensibility of the people.

The *Ijemo* people were enraged by the death of Ponalade and they soon resorted to public demonstration with the purpose of forcing the *Alake* to dismiss his secretary, Mr. Edun, but the *Alake* refused, trusting in military support from Lagos as he had always done in the past. Troops were ordered into Abeokuta on 6<sup>th</sup> August, 1914 by the British Commissioner, who had by then, assumed control. In fact, Egba land could no longer lay claim to sovereignty from the time the control of affairs passed into the hands of British Commissioner on 5<sup>th</sup> August.<sup>18</sup> Although *Alake* was warned by the Governor's deputy, A.G. Boyle, that he would be risking the autonomy of Egba land if the military support was granted by Lagos government, he felt there was not much to lose in Egba 'autonomy',<sup>19</sup> especially as his throne was on the line. It goes without saying that the *Alake* and Edun were more interested in maintaining themselves in office than in upholding Egba independence, which was why they promptly surrendered to the British Commissioner after the outbreak of violence. The British concluded the treaty of 1914, which *de-facto* rescinded the treaty of 1893, which meant the withdrawal of self-government. Lugard argued that since the

after the arrest and imprisonment of Ponalade, rumors went round that he and his cousin, Odebiyi, were arrested and severely beaten on the order of Young and Adegboyega Edun. Ponalade lost his life as a result of the battering he received from both men. The 'seditious' Lagos newspapers, especially the *Nigeria Chronicles*, gave great prominence to the events as they unfolded in Egba land. For more on the events in Egba land, see Akinjide Osuntokun, (1979). *Nigeria in the First World War*, Longman Group Limited, (Ibadan History Series).

<sup>18</sup> Akinjide Osuntokun, (1979). *Nigeria in the First World War*, Longman Group Limited, (Ibadan History Series), p.106.

<sup>19</sup> Akinjide Osuntokun, (1979). *Nigeria in the First World War*, Longman Group Limited, (Ibadan History Series), p.106.



Egba were incapable of governing themselves<sup>20</sup> without Lagos assistance, Abeokuta's special status had no validity. Abeokuta was, consequently, brought under the Southern Protectorate, which meant the loss of independence for Abeokuta and her dependencies.

### Revisiting the Isehin-Okeiho Riots of 1916

The situation in the Isehin-Okeiho was slightly different from what obtained in Egba country where another uprising broke out against the colonial government on the 19<sup>th</sup> of October, 1916. Taxation, which was initially said to have caused the riot, was introduced to *Iseyin-Okeiho* in 1918, two years after the riot had taken place. So, the assumption that opposition to taxation caused these riots could not have been right, especially when the reports of the 'men on the spot' who admitted that the uprising was dubbed a tax riot for 'want of proper evidence' is considered. Other factors suggested that taxation was just an incidental factor.<sup>21</sup> These factors included the socio-economic and political undercurrents in operation before the establishment of British rule and the changes that came with the introduction of British rule,<sup>22</sup> which conflicted with what obtained in pre-colonial Yoruba land.

One of the changes that the Indirect Rule engendered was the centralizing influence that it brought to bear on political leadership of Oyo. As against the confederacy that was in existence in the Oyo-Yoruba area, which characterized the political relations among the numerous semi autonomous towns that made up the area in 19<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>23</sup> the Lugardian Indirect Rule system restructured the once

autonomous towns into a pyramidal structure in which an unusual power was 'arranged' for the *Alaqfin*, the paramount ruler of Oyo town. The Indirect Rule strengthened the authority of the *Alaqfin* as the centre of local government enabled him to wax strong as a result of the support he enjoyed from the British authorities, and being the president of the new Native Court.

It is significant to note that this new arrangements ran counter to the aspirations of the chiefs and inhabitants of both Iseyin and Okeiho.<sup>24</sup> The people of Okeiho abhorred the centralizing policy pursued by the British in their administration of the local area. The *Aseyin* Adeyanju, the paramount ruler of Iseyin town, who became the king in 1902, was forced under the authority of *Alaqfin* of Oyo by the British authority. They saw this action as a deliberate attempt targeted at ensuring that Iseyin remained submissive to the centralizing influence of Oyo. On the 19<sup>th</sup> October, 1916, the people of Okeiho, in a rebellion that soon spread to Iseyin,<sup>25</sup> murdered their chiefs who had supported the Native Court system. The violence which erupted soon found its way into Iganna and other towns.<sup>26</sup> Consequently, troops were dispatched, and within one week, this serious resistance was at an end.<sup>27</sup>

by the *Baale* of Okele. They really wanted to reduce the *Oyojo* of Ife to a mere puppet, but the *Oyojo* refused to be subordinated. To strengthen his position, he often appealed to the *Alaqfin* of Oyo, the overlord of the towns in Oke-Ogun, for protection. The interference of the *Alaqfin* on the side of the *Oyojo* was deprecated by some chiefs and they soon began to express their resentment by taking the law into their hands. They deposed and installed kings of *Oyojos* as it suited their fancies without reference to the *Alaqfin*. There were even times when an *Oyojo* was removed through assassination. See J. A. Atanda, 1969, "Iseyin-Okeiho Rising of 1916: An Example of Socio-Political Conflict" in *Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. IV, No. 4, p. 498.

<sup>24</sup> J. A. Atanda, 1969, "Iseyin-Okeiho Rising of 1916: An Example of Socio-Political Conflict" in *Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. IV, No. 4, p. 450.

<sup>25</sup> NAI, Oyo Prof. 1, File No. 06027. Annual Report, 1921, p. 71.

<sup>26</sup> NAI, Oyo Prof. 1, File No. 06027. Annual Report, 1921, p. 170. It was discovered that a 'widespread revolt' was planned and 'emissaries from Lagos' were behind the conspiracy.

<sup>27</sup> NAI, Oyo Prof. 4/5 File No. 113/1916. Letters dealing with cases leading to the deposition of chiefs could be found in this file. Some people served jail sentences while a number of chiefs were deposed. The *Elero* of *Ilero* and the *Alubo* of *Aibbo* were two of the deposed chiefs. At the battle of *Koso*, the insurgents were completely routed. Captain Ross (British Resident in the Oyo) instructions were carried out to the letter and the

<sup>20</sup> M. Crowder, & G. Abdullahi, 1979. *Nigeria: An Introduction to Its History*, London, Longman Book Limited, p. 159.

<sup>21</sup> For example, See "Adubi Rising" in the African Historian: Historical Journal of the University of Ife, Vol. 1, No. 3, March, 1965 and the "Aba Riots" in Afigbo, E.A.: The Warrant Chief System in Eastern Nigeria, 1900-1928, Ibadan, Ph.D. Thesis, 1964, chapters 5 & 6.

<sup>22</sup> M. Crowder, & G. Abdullahi, 1979. *Nigeria: An Introduction to Its History*,..... p. 159.

<sup>23</sup> Okeiho came into being as a result of the coming together of about eleven different towns for security reasons. The inhabitants of ten towns deserted their former towns, first, for fear of the Fulani forces based in Ilorin, and later, for fear of possible attack by Dahomey. They settled at Ife, which became an enlarged town, subsequently named Okeiho. It became a miniature confederation or federation. When the fear of invasion from both the Fulani and Dahomeans died down, there arose resentment to the overall authority of the *Oyojo* by some of the head chiefs of the guest towns, most of who were primarily led



Outside the realm of politics, the British brought other innovations that ran counter to the socio-political system of the people. This was particularly true in the efforts to promote a better sanitary culture in the community. The British colonial government was determined to wipe out habits and customs which were considered detrimental to the general wellbeing of the society. There were widespread incidences of debilitating diseases such as malaria, helminthes infections, including schistosomiasis, and venereal diseases. Lack of medical aid and dietetic deficiency were prevalent.<sup>28</sup> The Director of Medical and Sanitary Services noted that much harm was done by unskilled native midwives, herbalists and medicine men.<sup>29</sup> The main factors leading to a high infant mortality rate, high general death rate, and low health standards were poor sanitation habits.

As such, various schemes were prepared with a view to effecting gradual eradication of unhealthy habits.<sup>30</sup> They included town planning activities and a number of extensive schemes for the introduction of purified pipe-borne water in various towns, compulsory vaccination and the digging of pit latrines (*salgas*).<sup>31</sup> These innovative policies were intended to ameliorate the difficult health situations that were on ground before the advent of colonial rule, but the people did not welcome these impositions as they conflicted with their social habits. To them, the vaccine looked like pus extracted from the swollen sore. They also perceived the *salgas* system as a way of bringing the toilet within the house. Hitherto, the habit was to defecate in the bush or on dunghills situated far away from the houses.<sup>32</sup>

Although the British authority meant well, they did not take time off to educate the people on new plans. Availability of accurate information would have enabled the people to recognize the need to

people who were condemned to death were publicly executed at Okeiho and Iseyin. Those executed included the *Aseyin* and *Bashorun*.

<sup>28</sup> NAI. Comcol. I.C.C. 994. VI12. Abolition of customs which are detrimental to native welfare and prosperity. P. 6.

<sup>29</sup> NAI. Comcol. I.C.C. 994. VI12. Abolition of customs which are detrimental to native welfare and prosperity. P. 8.

<sup>30</sup> NAI. Comcol I. C.C 994. VI12 Abolition of Customs which are detrimental to Native Welfare and Economic Prosperity. p. 12.

<sup>31</sup> NAI. Comcol I. C.C 994. VI12 Abolition of Customs ..... .

<sup>32</sup> J. A. Atanda, 1969. "Iseyin-Okeiho Rising of 1916:.... p. 504.

adopt these new measures which were essential to promoting better health conditions. But instead, the colonial authority adopted repressive measures against non-conformists. The more the people were punished for these offences, the more adamant they became in their determination not to dig *salgas*,<sup>33</sup> indicating that the application of coercive force was not always a viable option in the British government's determination to impose its policy on the people. The question is: was it constitutional for the British colonial authority to impose an alien culture on a people without adequately explaining to them the benefits therein?

Similarly, the people generally disliked the new judicial system where the Native Courts system encouraged divorce. The majority of the men held that a system that encouraged their wives to "hold the post", (*Dipomu*) divorce them easily amounted to a social injustice. *Dipomu*, which came with the imposition of colonial rule, was not known before the advent of colonialism when women were checked through very drastic measures. But with the coming of colonial rule, women came to rely on political officers, for assistance, whenever drastic measures were to be applied by their parents. Parents no longer had control over their daughters as 'frivolous divorce cases became rampant in Lagos'.<sup>34</sup>

Consequently, Native Court revenue, which derived almost entirely from breach of promise and divorce cases, were over-estimated<sup>35</sup> as the colonial government continued to source its revenue, which was of an unprogressive nature, by all means. Although the issue of arbitrary fine and taxes was not already in force at the time the Iseyin-Okeiho riots commenced, British officials felt that the resentment against her economic policies would have been minimal if taxation had been introduced alongside the Native Court system. They held that this would have enabled the administration to secure funds to remunerate the chief's adequately. Indeed, the discontent with the Native Court system among the chiefs, district heads, their relations

<sup>33</sup> NAI. Comcol I. C.C 994. VI12 Abolition of Customs which are detrimental to Native Welfare and Economic Prosperity.

<sup>34</sup> NAI. Abe Prof. 6/4. P. 181.

<sup>35</sup> NAI. Oyo Prof. 1 File No. 06027. Annual Report, 1921, p. 40.



and quarters' heads<sup>36</sup> was massive. Resentment against *corvee* labour was also re-echoed<sup>37</sup> in the early days of colonialism.

### Reconsidering the Adubi Uprising of 1918

It is significant to note that there was a connection between the '*Ijemo incident*' of 1914 and the Adubi uprising that followed a few years later. The Adubi uprising otherwise called Egba riot of 1918 had its origin in a grievance that the Egba people had nursed against the Egba United Government (EUG) for many years, but which was actually precipitated by the introduction of the Lugardian Indirect Rule system,<sup>38</sup> and its concomitants, especially direct taxation and forced labour. It was, therefore, not just a manifestation of the Egba-Owu disaffection with the introduction of Indirect Rule system; it was also a mark of their absolute dislike for the newly empowered Egba government, which was headed by *Alake*. Although taxation was a means of increasing the British colonial government revenue base, which was then mainly derived from tolls, the introduction of taxation to Egba land was not welcomed by the people.<sup>39</sup>

For instance, before 1918, the people of Imala paid tribute to the EUG. The total tax collected yearly in the district was divided between the Egba Native Authority and the British colonial administration. The British authority needed the fund to run its administration. Thirty percent (30%) of the generated revenue went to the British government while seventy percent (70%) of accrued revenue went to the Egba Native Administration. But by 1918 when the EUG was no more, a poll tax of 5/- per adult male and 2/6 per adult female was introduced. At this time, the tax that the women had to pay

<sup>36</sup> J. A. Atanda, 1969. "Iseyin-Okeiho Rising of 1916:.... p. 451.

<sup>37</sup> Oral Evidence by Fadipe as cited in J.A. Atanda (1969), "The Iseyin-Okeiho Rising of 1916:.... p. 502. Alhaji Safiu Amoo (100+) (aka Omo Wanibori) of Ali-Iwo Compound, Agodi, Ibadan also corroborated the position of Fadipe in January 2011. He disclosed to the author that the indigenous people were no longer willing to tolerate British colonial government's impositions that had no human face.

<sup>38</sup> M. Crowder, & G. Abdullahi, (1979). *Nigeria: An Introduction to Its History...* p. 159.

<sup>39</sup> NAI. C. 92/1918. Appointment of Commission of Enquiry into the Abeokuta disturbances - Re. p. 57.

was not considered burdensome as it was 2/-6d,<sup>40</sup> which was just half what the men were required to pay.

The British colonial authority felt the need to put in place some social infrastructure such as roads, water and electricity. The resource poor farmers were, for instance, compelled to commit their time to the road construction work, which was mandated by the colonial authority. Formerly, communal free labour was accompanied by feasting and merry making as it was then not really considered by the people as an imposition. Then, uncompleted portion of the work was left for a distant date. But all of that soon changed as free communal work soon began to take as much as three weeks of continuous labour, and farmers who left their farms for three weeks often returned to find their plants overgrown with weeds.<sup>41</sup> This compulsory communal labour continued to impinge on personal activities of the farmers who soon began to complain bitterly about how it infringed upon other social and communal activities. Non-compliance with the British colonial directives attracted fines, imprisonment and starvation. The question of constitutionality of the British colonial authority's action against the people is not in doubt; there was no law that permitted the British colonial authorities to trample on the fundamental human right of the people by coercing them into specific ways of life.

After much face-off between the farmers and colonial government, it was agreed that forced labour was to be abolished and replaced with the principle of contributing money towards the tax.<sup>42</sup> The Resident, Mr. W. C. Syer, also explained to the Egba people that as soon as taxation came into operation, tolls and license fees would be abolished,<sup>43</sup> amidst assurances that free water supply would be

<sup>40</sup> NAI. CSO 26/3, file no. 21790, Assessment Report, Imala District, Abeokuta Province. 4<sup>th</sup> of January 1928 - 2<sup>nd</sup> of March, 1928

<sup>41</sup> NAI. C. 92/1918. Appointment of Commission of Enquiry into the Abeokuta disturbances - Re. p. 129

<sup>42</sup> A. K. Ajisafe, (1948). *History of Abeokuta*, Lagos, Kash & Klare Bookshop Publisher, p. 79.

<sup>43</sup> The farmers also complained bitterly about the inhuman treatment they suffered in the hands of the representatives of the native authorities. Exorbitant and unnecessary fines were collected from the farmers for trivial offences. During the Commission sitting, E. A. Vaughan noted in one of his responses that the new taxation scheme represented a marked departure from the old system. It was a taxation that was considered too high as villages



available. At first, the Egba were very pleased to learn that they were no longer required to provide free labour for the construction of roads. However, Adubi, the head of *Abule-Owu*, one of the Owu villages in the Abeokuta province, was opposed to the colonial forced labour and taxation policies. He was resolute in his determination to frustrate the aims of the British colonial authority and the *Alake*, whom he considered their stooge.

His grievances were not just directed against the new communal labour and tax regime, but also against the Native Court. Although, the Indirect Rule system still accorded recognition to local institutions within the administration<sup>44</sup> as the *Alake* and his successors were placed directly in charge of Native Administration, the Native Court's system was disliked as the presidents of the courts were, in almost all cases, untrained and incompetent men who generally mismanaged the court systems<sup>45</sup> and its funds. Consequently, Adubi instructed his people never to submit to the seemingly overwhelming authority of the Native Court again.<sup>46</sup> He mobilized the formation of a para-military farmer groups (*Egbe-Agbe*) throughout Egba land, primarily, to fight the encroaching bureaucracy of the British.<sup>47</sup>

The first overt acts of rebellion took place in *Itori* district where the complaints were hottest. The anger of the *Itori* or farm people was triggered by a threat statement, which was credited to the *Seriki* of the Egba Christians who had authority to collect tax, to the effect that the *Itori* farmers were to be shot by the Lagos soldiers as the *Ijemo* were massacred in 1914 if the process of tax payment was not initiated immediately. This statement not only infuriated them but also served as the needed prompting to take up arms in self defense. However, Adubi of *Elere* and *Sogade* of *Afowowa* made overtures and

were assessed at 70, 80, and 100 pounds where the population ranged from three hundred to four hundred people.

<sup>44</sup> M. Perham, 1960. *Lugard: The Years of Authority, 1889-1945*, London: Collins. P. 7-27.

<sup>45</sup> NAI. C. 92/1918. Appointment of Commission of Enquiry into the Abeokuta disturbances - Re. p. 130.

<sup>46</sup> NAI. C. 92/1918. Appointment of Commission of Enquiry into the Abeokuta disturbances - Re. p. 91.

<sup>47</sup> NAI. C. 92/1918. Appointment of Commission of Enquiry into the Abeokuta disturbances - Re. p. 132.

even held several meetings with Owu chiefs in their bid to resolve the issues amicably, but these moves were rebuffed. It was only when their various complaints were not addressed that resort to violence became an option. The armed dissidents were able to drive out the Resident and clerk of the Native Court. The railway and telegraph lines in the town between *Kajola* and *Itori* were cut and a European agent, Ashworth of Holt, was captured and later killed. When the soldiers were sent to arrest the various village heads and chiefs of the districts, the situation snowballed into a full-scale war under the leadership of *Adubi* who was the head of the farmers at *Elere* in *Itori*.

As usual, the British troops that had just returned from the East African campaign were brought in from Lagos and the uprising was promptly and decisively put down.<sup>48</sup> The British showed no mercy and were brutal in their crushing of what they saw as an *Adubi* rebellion.<sup>49</sup> From 13<sup>th</sup> June through to 23<sup>rd</sup> June, 1918, the British troops took full control of the railway lines and the adjacent villages, and proceeded to establish their supremacy on the indigenous farmers. Over 200 'rebels' were massacred.<sup>50</sup> *Oshile Karunwi* was murdered at *Oba*, an adjacent town, and the *Olowu* escaped unhurt by taking refuge at a private hospital.<sup>51</sup> The Egba and Owu troops were shattered as insurgents were dealt devastating military blows from which they never recovered.<sup>52</sup> *Adubi*, the arrow head of the crisis, was not physically present at any of the fronts as he was old, crippled and could, consequently, not make

<sup>48</sup> NAI. C.92/1918. J. Blair, Abeokuta Intelligence Report, February 1983, paragraph 63.

<sup>49</sup> It is significant to note that the Egba-Owu resistance was stiff to the extent that Colonel Beattie admitted early in 1919 that the "Abeokuta campaign was unusually large in scale for West Africa against a serious rising offering determined resistance". See NAI. C. 92/1918. Appointment of Commission of Enquiry into the Abeokuta Disturbances-Re.

<sup>50</sup> In the Commission of Enquiry Report, he was referred to as *Adubi of Elere*.

<sup>51</sup> C. A. Dosumu, 1977. "The Owu and the *Adubi* Rising, 1914-20", unpublished B.A. thesis in the Department of History, University of Ibadan, p. 36.

<sup>52</sup> The Egba and Owu were distinct Yoruba sub-group and were neighbours in the Egba and Owu kingdom before the eventual relocation of the Egba to Abeokuta in 1830. The Owu later settled in the new Egba capital town in 1834. For more information, see Biobaku, S.O. (1991), *Egba and their Neighbors*, Ibadan: Ibadan University Press Ltd. See also T.O. Erinsho, "The Anglo-Egba Relations, 1842-1914: A Diplomatic Interpretation" (M.A. Dissertation, Department of History, University of Ibadan. The Egba-Owu people could not give an accurate figure of the dead. The fact that their dead were immediately buried also made accuracy in terms of the number of deaths unattainable.



a single push.<sup>53</sup> His charms were not effective against the Maxim guns of the European. The humiliation was much when township chiefs surrendered in their droves. He was arrested by the British soldiers and brought to Igbein where he was last seen.<sup>54</sup>

### Conclusion

The trio of 'Ijemo incident' of 1914, *Iseyin-Okeiho* riot of 1916 and the *Adubi* uprising of 1918 were not direct offshoots of opposition to taxation. They epitomized instances of overt political actions that were not directly connected with taxation. The causes and nature of the revolts in these towns were complex, their forms were not the same and the extents of damages dissimilar. It would, consequently, not be justifiable to ascribe their motives to a single factor.

In all the cases, revolts were organized by dissatisfied peasant groups and some members of the ruling class to protest against economic pressure and misrule imposed through the application of ordinances upon them by highhanded rulers. In fact, tax related misunderstanding between the people and the colonial government constituted just a fraction of the disaffection of the people towards the colonial government's policies. Considering that taxation was introduced into Yoruba land in 1916, it would not be fair to ascribe the people's dissatisfaction, in the period that antedated 1916, to taxation. In particular, a serious disturbance occurred even before taxation was introduced to *Iseyin-Okeiho* towards the close of 1916. The same logic applies to the altercations among rival groups within the Egba country prior to 1914.

<sup>53</sup> In an interview granted the author by Baale Olomoo, Alhaji Liafisi Adedeji Ogunrombi, in Abeokuta on the 12<sup>th</sup> of January 2010, he revealed that Adubi was actually crippled from birth.

<sup>54</sup> The British prosecuted the war with seventy (70) European officers and two thousand, eight hundred (2,800) rank and file soldiers. The casualty on the part of the British was low. Lieutenant Feneran reported that eight (8) rank and file soldiers and two (2) civilian carriers were killed. Eighty-two (82) were wounded: four (4) Europeans and seventy-six Nigerian soldiers. By the middle of July, over 3000 guns were already seized from the insurgents. On the part of the Egba and Owo, the British reported the death of five hundred and sixty four (564) soldiers.

On the aggregate, most of the confrontations that occurred in the Yoruba speaking part of Western Nigeria before the 1920s only had taxation as an incidental factor while issues such as forced labour, new sanitary measures, judicial impositions, political re-arrangements that altered existing traditional methods were the real reasons for discontent. The people were simply opposed to the socio-economic and politico-religious changes that came with the imposition of colonial rule, changes which conflicted with the socio-political culture that existed before the coming of the British. The riots constituted the reactions of the indigenous people to the authoritarian nature of colonial rule. Although taxation was definitely a secondary issue during this period, the same cannot be said of some of the revolts that took place in the decades that followed when predatory and parasitic colonial tax policies and the burden they imposed on the people were the primary factors that precipitated unrests. Notably, although not all these revolts and protest movements assumed violent form, they followed a definite pattern: first was defiance to the agent of the colonial government, then open rebellion against both Africans and British rulers, and finally, brutal suppression with little attempt to underpin the reasons behind the people's grievances. Significantly, ordinances, which placed premium on the general freedom of the people, were fundamentally adopted by the British colonial authority in checkmating the indigenous people whose aspirations collided with their policies and goals.

### Bibliography

1. Ajisafe, A. K. (1948). *History of Abeokuta*, Lagos, Kash & Klare Bookshop Publisher.
2. Atanda, J. A. (1969). "Iseyin-Okeiho Rising of 1916: An Example of Socio-Political Conflict" in *Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. IV, No. 4.
3. Adewoye, O. (1977). *The Judicial System in Southern Nigeria, 1854-1954: Law and Justice in a Dependency* (London: Longman).
4. Biobaku, S.O. (1991), *Egba and their Neighbors*, Ibadan: Ibadan University Press Ltd.
5. Crowder, M. & Abdullahi, G. (1979). *Nigeria: An Introduction to Its History*, London, Longman Book Limited.



6. Jide Osuntokun, (1979). Nigeria in the First World War, Longman Group Limited, (Ibadan History Series).
7. Joe Scott "Heinemann History: The World since 1914", Heinemann Educational Books Ltd. 22, Bedford Square, London WCI B3H H. P.
8. Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria, (1921). A Documentary Record of Sir, F.D. Lugard on the Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria, 1881-1921, as compiled by A.H. M. Kirk-Green, London: Frank Cass & Co.
9. <http://www.polis.leeds.ac.uk/lucas/activities/leeds-african-studies-bulletin/book-reviews/book-review-afro-cuban-diasporas-in-the-atlantic-world.php>
10. R. C.C. Law, (Dec. 1973), "The Owu in Yoruba History", *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vo. 7, No. 1.
11. Tamuno, T.N. (1972). *The Evolution of the Nigerian State: The Southern Phase, 1898-1914*, London, (Longman group Ltd).
12. *The Development of Kingdoms in Negro Africa* in JHSN Vol. 2, No.1.
13. NAI, Oyo Prof. 1, File No. 06027. Annual Report, 1921.
14. NAI. Oyo Prof. 4/5 File No. 113/1916.
15. NAI. Comcol. I.C.C. 994. V\12. Abolition of customs which are detrimental to native welfare and prosperity.
16. NAI. Abe Prof. 6/4. P. 181.
17. NAI. Oyo Prof. 1 File No. 06027. Annual Report, 1921.
18. NAI. C. 92/1918. Appointment of Commission of Enquiry into the Abeokuta disturbances – Re.
19. NAI. CSO 26/3, file no. 21790, Assessment Report, Imala District, Abeokuta Province. 4<sup>th</sup> of Jan. 1928 - 2<sup>nd</sup> of March, 1928.
20. Perham, M. (1960). *Lugard: The Years of Authority, 1889-1945*, London: Collins.
21. Wilks, I. (1960), "African Historiographical Tradition Old and New", in Fage, Africa Discover Her Past. London: O.U.P, 1970.

## Economics of Forage Marketing in Lam Adesina's International Market

**Okunola, S.O. (Ph.D)**

Department of Agricultural Economics,  
Ladoke Akintola University of Technology,  
Ogbomoso.

E-mail: [sookunola@lautech.edu.ng](mailto:sookunola@lautech.edu.ng)

### Abstract

The study investigated the marketing of forages in Lam Adesina international market. It was found out that forage marketing and livestock trading are done by traders from the northern part of Nigeria. The study also symbolizes the importance of hay business if closely monitored and encouraged by policy makers, can reduce the incessant clashes between herdsmen and local farmers. Findings of the study revealed that higher the numbers of people in the household helped labor supply and religion (most forage sellers were Muslims working in conjunction with livestock traders most of whom were from the Northern part of Nigeria where Muslims abound) had positive effect on forage trading. The total tax paid was significant at 5% but with a negative sign indicating that the higher the tax the lower the net profit, showing that tax authorities should introduce progressive taxation in order to help forage marketing.

### Introduction

Forages become imperative when top quality feeds or pastures are in short supply or totally not available. Forage is a plant material (mainly plant leaves and stems eaten by grazing livestock. Historically, the term forage has meant only plants eaten by animals directly as pasture, crop residue, or immature crops, but it is also used more closely to include similar plants cut for fodder and carry to the animals especially as hay or silage. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Forage>). They may come in different forms like the haylage, herbage, grasses, browse (which is twigs or shoots with or without leaves, flowers and fruits or shrubs, trees or vines). legumes and fodder. Forages can be economically relevant when considered as veritable components of a sustainable