

**A STUDY OF IGBOMINA ECONOMY IN
THE COLONIAL ERA,
1897-1960**

By

ABOYEJI ADENIYI JUSTUS

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(B.A.HISTORY, UNILORIN, 2001.)

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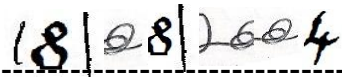
**A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
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This is to certify that this thesis submitted by **ABOYEJI, ADENIYI JUSTUS**, has been read, approved and accepted as meeting part of the requirements of the History Department, University of Ilorin, for the award of the Degree of *Master of Arts*.



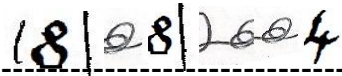
Supervisor
(Dr. R. A. OLAOYE)



Date



Head of Department
(Dr. R. A .Olaoye)



Date

Internal Examiner

Date

External Examiner

Date

DEDICATION

I wish to dedicate this thesis to:

- a. **The ONE and ONLY SON of GOD—JESUS CHRIST—**who enabled and empowered me with the necessary/required intellect and the entire wherewithal needed to attain this height in academics.
- b. All Peace-loving Progress-aspiring and revolutionary Igbomina elements who are struggling (or ready to dedicate themselves) whether tacitly or revolutionarily towards the liberation of Igbomina land and people from all forms or yokes of oppressions and subservience, in order to get out of their historical and dialectical debacle!

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Nature's cruelty is more bearable than man's ingratitude to man!

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS/ GLOSSARY

1. S.I.M.-----Sudan Interior Mission
2. CD&W-----Colonial Development and Welfare
3. UDTs----- Under-development and Dependency Theory
4. R.N.C.----- Royal Niger Company.
5. B.O.P.----- Balance Of Power.
6. BCGA. -----British Cotton Growers Association.
7. V.A.-----Village Area.
8. D.H.-----District Head.
9. V.H.-----Village Head.
10. V.A.H.-----Village Area Authority.
11. D.O.-----District Officer.
12. A.D.O.-----Assistant District Officer.
13. NA. -----Native Authority.
14. PZ. -----Patterson Zocchinis.
15. VIPs-----Very Important Personages.
16. Sarauta-----Nobility of the Hausa Caste.
17. Olorun-----Yoruba Supreme Deity.
18. Orisa-----Deities.

19. Ogun-----god of iron.
20. Ilu-----Council.
21. Oba-----Yoruba king.
22. Baale-----Heads/chiefs of principal settlements/provinces.
23. Ajele-----Political agents.
24. Baba-kekere-----Middlemen (economic/commercial).
25. Oyinbo-----white-man.
26. Ade ileke-----crowns with beaded fringes.
27. Opa-ileke-----beaded staff.
28. Ewu ileke-----beaded regalia/gown.
29. Irukere-----flywhisk with beaded handle.
30. Ajo-----contributory scheme.
31. Alajapa-----itinerant group merchant.
32. Balogun-----war-chief title.
33. Oniwo-----Head of Iwo-land.
34. Olusin-----Head of Isin-land.
35. Olupo-----Head of Ajase-po.
36. Aso ofi/Aso-oke-----cloth from the loom.
37. Kijipa-----thick/tough loom cloth.

- 38. Kaliko/ Ewu-etu----- (Varieties of loom cloths)
- 39. Alaari/ sanyan-----
- 40. Akuro-----water-lodged farm.
- 41. Osun-----cam wood.
- 42. Burukutu-----local gin.
- 43. Konta-----local soap.
- 44. Kolobo-----small clay vase for making pappy.
- 45. Ikoko-----pots.
- 46. Epo pupa-----palm oil.
- 47. Adin-----palm kernel oil.
- 48. Ori-----Lubricant from sheabutter.
- 49. Oja orun-----Five-day market.
- 50. Egbe-----Guild.

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PREFACE

In order to fully understand the colonial epoch, it is crucial to think in terms of the economic partition of Africa, which had no fixed or visible boundaries unlike the political partition of the 19th Century. It should be made known that Colonialism was just one aspect of Imperialism. Colonialism was based on alien political rule and was restricted to some parts of the world, whereas imperialism underlay all colonies, extended over the world except where replaced by socialist revolutions, and it allowed the participation of all capitalist nations.

Economic partition and re-partition of Africa was going on all the time because the proportions of the spoils that went to the different capitalist countries kept changing. Surplus from Africa was partly used to offer a few more benefits to European workers and served as a bribe in form of wages, better living standard, etcetera, to make the latter less revolutionary. Essentially, vital aspects of how indigenous Igbomina economic resources, and indeed Africa as a continent were siphoned to the benefit of the metropolitan states and to the grave detriment of the colonies compelled me to embark on

this academic odyssey. Furthermore, the sum total of Igbomina experience under colonialism, and the footprints left by colonialism in the sand of time, form the prop of this exposé.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

The purpose of history, according to *Herodotus of Halicarnassus*, the acclaimed “*Father of History*”, is to put on record the astonishing achievements of our own, and that of other people so that the great deeds of men may not be forgotten.¹ However, history, it should be noted, is much more than mere just achievements. It also entails failures, hopes, aspirations, challenges, and etcetera.

Historians often boycott giving an unequivocal justification for their work. Those who select established subjects seldom deem it fit to explain why they have decided to write about events, which are generally agreed to have been of fundamental significance. In the same vein, historians who chose to specialize in relatively unknown or obscure subjects, find it more difficult to avoid accounting for their stand. They need to demonstrate that their topic has not remained obscure because it is unimportant, and if they want to write on a topic that has already been written about, they need to explain their

approach to readers or even researchers whose perspective on the past might have been different.

Thus, like A. G. Hopkins,² the justification for this work is designed first, to fill a gap in African Studies, and second, to contribute, in my own little capacity, to the economic history of not only the Igbomina-Yoruba of Nigeria, but the underdeveloped world at large. As yet, there is no reasonable full account of the economic history of the Igbomina. It is hoped that this will provide, even if no more than a synopsis of the economic history of Igbomina in the pre-colonial, but with a greater emphasis on the colonial era. Existing historical studies of the area, valuable though they are, have a predominant political emphasis. Yet, economic history is not necessarily a narrow history, nor is it a history without people. This is thus, a concerted effort by me, to reconstruct the history of agrarianism, inter- and intra-territorial trade, which brings an economic historian into close contact with the lives of the great majority of the people, men and women alike. Igbomina, though only a sub-group of the Yoruba race, which in turn is only a fraction of Nigeria or West Africa, is itself an ethos and an entity on its own.

Since about 1835, Igbomina has fallen directly under the suzerainty of Ilorin. By 1897, Ilorin itself was defeated by the British and brought under control. It therefore follows that to have an odyssey into the colonial history of this people, it is expedient to begin from 1897 – the year the Ilorin Emirate and her vassals were handcuffed by the British. It should be quickly noted that no effective colonial authority was established until 1900. The study terminates in 1960, the year all Nigerians, who had been hitherto subjected to the colonial damnation, celebrated the ceremonial exit of their task-masters.

It is an accepted challenge for me to follow the trails of our early precursors, the likes of Professors Kenneth O. Dike, Saburi Biobaku etc. in reconstructing African History. Furthermore, as much of our “local histories” seem to be waning out for sheer neglect, it is imperative for researchers to jettison the already over-flopped topics and place-histories, and divert attention(s) to “Local histories”, the so-called “Neglected Themes”. It is in the bid towards rising to and embracing this challenge that I have opted to plough and dig as well as explore wider into the economic aspect of Igbomina history. This,

I hope, will not only bring the economic history of the Yoruba-stock into limelight of international recognition, but also in my own little effort, add to our knowledge of West African history. And just as Hopkins revealed, ***West Africa, though only a part of the African continent, is itself almost as large as the whole of Europe, excluding Russia.***³

1.2 PURPOSE AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

What informed the choice of this topic was in one part, my zeal for the economic history of Igbomina. But perhaps more significant was my urge to demystify the pseudo-Euro centric world-view which was based on ancient sentiments which saw any interest in one's history at best as a form of snooping and at worst, as an academic espionage. This historical parochialism, on the part of the Europeans, considered its own history as the key understanding, and the history of other societies, irrelevant.

This academic exercise also hopes to destroy the Euro centric world-view that, African economy prior to the coming of the Europeans to Africa was substantially subsistence, domestic and primitive. That the coming of the Europeans initiated the impetus to

trade, is also a thing a disgust, a colonial fallacy and a neo-colonial “brain-washing” strategy to distort and obliterate Africa’s glorious heritage.

As a thorough understanding of the colonial and postcolonial economy cannot be well appreciated without a knowledge of the structure of the pre-colonial economy, it only became crucial to begin at the beginning – the precolonial economy of the Igbomina--, which is logical. This provides a basis upon which the colonial economy is better comprehended. This shows the dynamism of the indigenous economy with its multifarious aspects: agrarianism, traditional market and trading system(s), crafts and industries such as iron smelting, blacksmithing, weaving, etcetera. It also delved into the impact of local (Ilorin) imperial onslaught, particularly on Igbomina economy. But the Igbomina perhaps, entered the most traumatic era in the period I describe as “***an epoch of a connubial imperial ossification***” between 1897 – 1960 (and even beyond till about 1967) when she found herself under both the local (Ilorin), and foreign (European) imperialism and/or colonialism, concurrently. The British colonial and imperial interests were given proper scrutiny

revealing both the ostensible and fundamental motives. The Igbomina economy under colonial rule was looked into under two major periodizations: the early phase (1897 – 1939) and the latter phase (1940 – 1960) showing the different colonial economic policies, reforms, planning for development and welfare, etcetera, and what impact each of these wrought on Igbomina economy.

The impact of the two world wars and the 1920/1930 Global Economic Depression cannot be over-emphasised. And finally, the general impact of colonialism on Igbomina economy was also delved into, for proper scrutiny. The work also aims at addressing the imbalances inherent in the presentation of West African economic history, as a result of neglect of smaller societies, like the Igbomina, whose history is often treated as an appendage to those of the larger societies. Yet, it is in deed my contention that without the histories of such neglected or often overlooked groups, sects or smaller societies, like the Igbomina, the West African history is perhaps, at best, incomplete.

Basically, it is to have five chapters in all.

1.3 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Pre-colonial Africa is often regarded as forming an economic “Plimsoll Line”, drawn to mark subsistence activities. Above this are placed the supposedly more advanced economies of other pre-industrial regions, with the loftiest quarters being reserved for European countries.⁵ Whereas, the traditional and indigenous economic system of the Igbomina, like any other Yoruba group, consisted of myriads of economic activities, vocations, crafts and industries, that largely influenced the socio-political, economic and even the religious life of the people. These indigenous economic activities, crafts and industries had such a firm grip on the people that it not only often dictated their religious dynamism, but also reflect(ed) either in the name of the whole community or that of a particular compound.

Take for instance, the place-name, “Owa-Onire”. Owa and other communities in Igbomina like Oba and Babanla, who practised iron smelting and Blacksmithing were the towns basically associated with the worship of Ogun, the god of iron. The suffix, “Onire” for Owa, perhaps explains this, as “Onire” is an integral part of Ogun’s

nomenclature or panegyric, encomium and cognomen – i.e. “Ogun Onire”. Thus, iron smelting and blacksmithing dictated this people’s worship of the god of Iron – Ogun. Besides, certain compounds that specialized in certain crafts or vocations, are till today called by that appellation. At Iwo, there is the “Ile Olu-Ode” (i.e. compound of fearless head-hunters); and “Oke-Ope Alagbede” (i.e. the blacksmithing family, house or compound) while some other compounds, houses or families are specialized artisans. Oke-Ore Compound for instance, was renown for its drumming skills and artisanry.⁶

I presume certain terms that would be prominently used in this thesis need explanation. An **Exposé** is an orderly setting out (or a précis) of a body of facts or beliefs. It might also mean making public of discreditable fact(s). This suggests that this thesis is an embodiment of facts and beliefs, known or unknown, lost or preserved, that have already been discredited via skillful European machinations. **Psuedo-Eurocentric worldview** is a phrase employed to paint the false conceptions of global phenomena from the white-racist mentality and sentiment. This is to be viewed vis-à-

vis the European propaganda and blackmail of Africans and the black-skinned people, on the basis of their skin-pigmentation. An **epoch** is (the beginning of) a period of time in history, life, etcetera, marked by special events or characteristics. The colonial era was indeed an epoch for the Igbomina considering the fact that it was perhaps the most pathetic and traumatic of all throughout their history. This was exasperated and exacerbated by a combination of foreign (external) and local (internal) imperial onslaughts. **Indigenous system** refers to the local or traditional inventions of the people, in whatever sphere of life from their immediate environment and which responded adequately to the needs of the people.

Quite a lot of economic activities capable of transforming the area into a big nerve center of economic development of entire Yorubaland were on in pre-colonial Igbomina. However, the penetration of the Europeans, which came along with colonialism, distorted and displaced the indigenous economy. It also served as the means through which foreign ideologies penetrated into Africa at large. However, it might be said that displacing as it was, it consequently proved to be both a blessing and a curse on the

economy of the area. The negative effects found expression in, and were mostly felt in the waning of the indigenous crafts and industries, religious, social and cultural disorientation, the consolidation of capitalism, to mention but a few. But it should be noted that the primary objective of colonialism was not to explore as it was to exploit, and so, the main motive was not humanitarian as purported, but political and in deed, more fundamentally, economic.

1.4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND PROBLEMS

One of the major problems of the historians is to present facts honestly, and devoid of prejudice. Such objectivity is attainable by applying two interlocking methods: ***External criticism***, which involves comparison of sources for overall or collateral evidence, rejection of conjectures not justified by known facts and interpretation as warranted; and ***Internal criticism*** which involves the backgrounds, biases, preferences and personal intents of the creator of original documents. Some western historians felt that objectivity must be supplemented by subjectivity (i.e. the ability of the historian “to feel” a period, albeit others argued that this approach merely produces relativism rather than historical truth.

A multi-disciplinary approach has been employed with some emphasis on oral tradition, which was especially greatly relied upon for the period prior to the advent of Christianity for which written records were non-existent. Until recently, this has been largely ignored. But a gradual development of analytical history, which is also field history (i.e. a product of oral interviews and on-the-spot-investigation), and not simply immersion in archives, began. Independence from archival sources is proving to be as important for the colonial era, as it is for the pre-colonial, where archival materials are comparatively rare. But the problem with “colonial” history has been, all along, that those who created the archives and left the records were foreigners. These records therefore, essentially incorporate their biases and attitude towards themselves, towards those they governed and towards the roles expected of each.⁷

This can lead to disastrous results, especially if the historian or researcher neglects to bring in another point of view through oral interview with living people who experienced colonialism. To this effect, certain “local” people connected with the presentation of the heritage recalled their reminiscences and gave their maximum co-

operation. But it should be noted that just as Elphinstone has rightly noted, "... There are no literatures, and in relating to their old myths, the people try to make their own history fit in to show their greatness prior to the Fulani uprising".⁸

However, oral sources though undoubtedly have their limitations, what is required is the application to oral tradition, of the same criteria of evaluation and criticism as those to which documents were subjected by historians in order to enhance the quality of historical researches.

The researcher visited the ***National Archives, Kaduna***, where some file-records were consulted, most of which centered on colonial administration, the origin of the people as well as the economic potentialities of the region. These records were very scanty, and often not well arranged. In some cases, some were torn into pieces while some were not even well or fully compiled or documented. Most of the records used as regards this research work were letters written by Residents in the area, letters of regrouping, and accounts of protests against taxations, etcetera. Also, due to old age, some of these materials have already become mutilated or faint

(fading in ink), making the letterings erratic to read. Instances of loss of vital documents in certain files, or loss of whole files were also discovered.

Though there is the usual problem of authenticity as regards oral evidence, the researcher has been able to sieve the chaff from the corn, due to the foreknowledge he had got about the subject matter before going out on field-work. Having acquired necessary background knowledge from the libraries of some Nigerian institutions, State and National Libraries (in Ilorin), as well as the libraries of the National Archives and the ***Arewa Documentation Center in Kaduna***, with some existing theses and dissertations, the researcher embarked on interviewing traditional professional historians or ***griots***, who are custodians of the history of the people and who in most cases, were eye-witnesses of such events.

Oral research however, involves a great deal of risk as it involves traveling several times to conduct interviews in spite of the rough nature of the Nigerian roads, besides the news of real and alleged accidents, threats as well as attacks by men of the underworld, which instill fear into travellers. However, thanks to our

Almighty God whose eyes never go dim on us, thus, securing our ‘*tos*’ and ‘*fros*’, and guaranteeing our safety.

Although there exists very few and scanty published works as well as few useful articles in notable journals and magazines, and also a sizeable number of unpublished theses, dissertations and seminars papers on Igbomina, written sources still form a significant source of the materials used. These, in no small way, have proved very useful and helpful to this research work. These reflect both under the Literature Review and Bibliography. However, to come-by these works is not really an easy task in view of their uneven distribution in the libraries across the country.

History itself is now being defined as the study of the past, which now includes the historic period (during which we have written records and reliable oral traditions), and the pre-historic period (for which we do not have written records nor reliable oral tradition). The importance of archaeology thus, lies in the fact that for several thousand millennia of Africa’s past for which there are no written records nor reliable oral evidence, it is probably only archaeology that can be used to record man’s obscure past. The above

postulates that when we go far back into the past, we often discover that traditional sources (both documented and oral) are no longer adequate to answer “all” our questions about man’s past. Oral tradition therefore, can rarely supply reliable evidence on extensive time span, while written sources cover a comparably brief period of man’s history on earth. In such circumstances, the historian cannot but turn to the archaeologists for evidence of human activities in the distant past. Hence, some available archaeological data of prominent archaeologists like Thurstan Shaw, Ade Obayemi, etc. have been employed here.

On the whole therefore, in order to derive a broad academic output, a researcher needs to strike a balance between all historical sources alike. This, the researcher has tried with spirited efforts to bring on paper, not just to prove his academic resourcefulness, wits, ingenuity and creativity, but more importantly, to make this research a practical outcome of as inter- or multi-disciplinary approach to the study of “*modern*” history.

1.5 LITERATURE REVIEW

It is worth pointing out, in this connection, that hardly has any comprehensive economic history of any country in the underdeveloped world been written ⁹, not to talk of smaller groups or sub-groups like the Igbomina. Furthermore, no chronology appropriate to economic history has been advanced. In these circumstances, the temptation to let the facts “speak for themselves” is very strong. Unfortunately, the facts have no innate capacity for ordering themselves. What we do not know and what we choose to omit might be as salient or even more salient than what we include, and what we include is determined partly by our assumption about what is important. ¹⁰

One main problem a researcher into local history is bound to face is that of secondary sources. There exist relatively fewer written materials on Igbomina history, especially in the economic sphere whether in the pre-colonial, colonial or post independence era. Most of the published works are no more than magazines or pamphlets that can be best described as brilliant summaries in most cases rather than detailed works. The bulk of written materials emanated

from dissertations and theses, on political rather than the economic history of the Igbomina. A larger bulk of available materials used are books dealing with the generalized society, like the African continent, West African sub-region, Nigeria or Yoruba history. The relevant ones to this study were read as a general prelude to this essay; the list of available materials range from primary to secondary sources. Others include (archival) materials got from Ilorin provincial files, Gazetteers, and some unpublished seminar papers, as well as articles in notable journals.

Moreover, despite the series of criticisms against Samuel Johnson's History of the Yoruba ¹¹ (completed in 1897, though not published until 1921, by his brother, Dr. Obadiah Johnson, as being Oyo-biased, it serves as a real guide. It is significant to note that Johnson wrote this book with ***“a purely patriotic motive”***. In spite of criticisms against him as not being a professional historian but an armchair non-professional historian, the reason behind the reference to his work as being a primary, rather than a secondary material, his book, which never saw the light of the day in his own lifetime, provides a great monumental contribution to Yoruba History.

Commenting on him, Professor J. F. Ade Ajayi said: “He had no formal training in History, but had a superb sense of history ... “¹².

His work contains certain fundamental clues that shouldn't be ignored, which serve as a strong base, which any researcher into Yoruba history cannot but acknowledge.

The Gazetteer of Ilorin Province, compiled by the then Acting Resident, K. V Elphinstone, was also ransacked. This provides a skeletal record of the geography, boundaries and provincial organisation. The history of the native administration was also documented “ *in a hurry*”, giving the mythical histories of communities where organised political set-ups were met on the arrival of the British. This included tribes or sub-groups according to him, “... that now occupied the Emirate-- inhabited by Oyo-Yoruba's- - Igbona, Igbolo [Ibobo], and other Yoruba tribes... “¹⁵

One notable thing that needs be highlighted is the fact that certain communities, perhaps rising to the challenge of what Ajayi and Akintoye described as “**Political Creativeness**” and “**Constitutional Experimentation**” of the 19th century, were organised in one form of Confederacy or Federalism or the other.

This explains why administrative political set-ups were not met in certain places.

The communities of the “**ONIWONATE**”, for instance, (i.e. Iwo, Iwo-Oke-Aba and Iwo-Odu-Ore) formed a confederacy agreeing among them that each should succeed the title and lands on the death of the ruling community. This was partly attested to by Elphinstone. Thus, the “**ONIWO**” stool was held in rotation among the three communities. As at 1921 when this Gazetteer was compiled and in deed, when the British arrived the Iwo country, the Kingship stool, by rotation, was at Oke-Aba. Thus, Oke-Aba became recognized as the main Iwo community, disregarding the fact that the community, which carried the sole appellation and nomenclature, to which the others were suffixed, must have been the principal town.¹⁴ This record, however, was quickly put straight by Elphinstone himself perhaps to save his head from criticisms as this, when he stated that:

*... in relating their old myths, the people try to make their own history fit in to show their greatness prior to the Fulani uprising.*¹⁵

Oral historical facts from Iwo, have denied the story recorded by Elphinstone, as related or narrated to him by the then Oniwo, from Oke-Aba, that the progenitors of the three communities were brothers, with Agba-Egba [who settled at Oke-Aba] as the eldest! Oral historical fact has it that Igbaja, Ora, Ikosin and Iwo were the actual brothers who originated, and migrated from the Old Oyo, around the end of the 17th or early 18th century. ¹⁶ The fact that they all share boundaries, in deed, have attested to this. This tradition has received a general and coherent acknowledgement and receipt among the four communities, which serves as a common historical and family bound, till date. Kudos, therefore needs be given to the multi- and inter-disciplinary approach which revealed the distortion of history, by cross -checking the objectivity and authenticity of written sources with oral evidence and other sources, or put in which ever way.

S. J. Hogben (Formerly Senior Education Officer, Northern Nigeria) and A. H. M. Kirk-Greene's [Special Lecturer in the Modern History of Africa, University of Oxford] The Emirates of Northern Nigeria, also presented a preliminary survey of their historical

traditions. Chapter XXII covers that of Ilorin Emirate. The book noted that the Ilorin Emirate was mainly inhabited by the Yoruba, with a special mention of the “powerful Igbomina or Igbona people” who predominate in the area to the south and east in Ilorin town. He noted the Olupo of Ajase-po, one of the most important of their numerous leaders; for according to him, “...the Igbona, it appears were never a very cohesive unit.”

However, the book deals more with the cantankerous relations between Oyo and Ilorin before and after the secession of Ilorin from Oyo, and the consequent British incursion to “quell” the turbulence. The apogee of this was the signing of a Treaty by Emir Sulaiman and Gov. George Taubman Goldie, on 18th February, 1897, which abrogated all previous treaties, and brought Ilorin under the “*protection*” of Her Majesty, the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and Empress of India.¹⁷

The compiled official Report of O. Temple, edited by C. L. Temple, Notes on The Tribes, Provinces, Emirates and States of The Northern Provinces of Nigeria, was also consulted. The “*Authorities*” on Ilorin province were said to be Mr. E. C. Duff, Mr. H.

R. Palmer and Mr. P. M. Dwyer. This book maintains that the “powerful Igbomina” occupied the greatest extent of the country, stretching from Awtun (Otun) District in the south to Share in the North. It also maintained that their principal Chief was the Olupo of Ajase (a large town north of Offa). It also provided a brief geography and economy of the province of Ilorin in general.¹⁸

Robert Smith also in his Kingdoms of The Yoruba, gave us some relevant information on the Igbomina. However, unlike others who perhaps merely at best treated Igbomina as an appendage of not only the Yoruba, but even of Ilorin, he saved himself some breathe to accord the Igbomina and other north-eastern Yoruba groups some cognizance. He likened their fragmentary political set-up to that of their Ekiti neighbours. He as well acknowledged the position of the Orangun of Ila, the most southerly town of this area, as one of the leading Yoruba Oba. Esie was also accorded a special attention, by him, due to its age-long sculptural antiquities which two recent thermo luminescent determinations on terracotta according to him, give a possible date in the 12th century. Meanwhile, he also revealed that much smaller caches of soapstone carvings in the Esie

style have come to light in two other Igbomina villages, Ofaro and Ijara.¹⁹

H. O. Danmole's article in Odu Journal, "Colonial Reforms in the Ilorin Emirate, 1900-1919"²⁰ though concentrated on the Emirate system, no doubt, gave a clue to what obtained throughout the whole Emirate, since Igbomina constituted a significant part of the Emirate. The article, however, did not pay a particular attention to the colonial economy. His prime target was colonial reforms in general, ranging from the introduction of the District Head system, to Judicial, Educational and Taxation Reforms. He also revealed the reaction(s) of the people to the colonial reforms and the tremendous implications on the subsequent history of the Emirate. The Reforms in taxation, nonetheless, attracted the greatest attention with respect to this project work.

In his own article, R. J. Gavin gave an account of "***The impact of Colonial Rule on the Ilorin Economy, 1897-1930***"²¹. He stated that the first branch of Ilorin's economy to suffer from British intrusion was the entrepot trade. As a result of colonial conquest, the precolonial flow of trade was disrupted and business confidence,

shattered. Political and economic structures were also altered in order to meet the needs of the new colonial state. However, he did not provide adequate information of these processes of disruption and destruction. The political and economic structures established to service the imposed colonial education did not receive any considerable attention. The study terminates in 1930, which leaves a vacuum of about thirty years in our historical knowledge of Ilorin's colonial economy. This study shares similar limitations with earlier works, as Igbomina suffered considerable neglect.

In the ninth chapter of their book, History of Nigeria Before 1800 AD, Toyin Falola (et al) presented an interesting work on indigenous economy which covered the factors of production, agriculture, as the most dominant economic activity, hunting, mining, and manufacturing which were characterized by reliance on local raw materials and household labour, and the formation of guilds to protect occupational interests. They also covered other areas like markets and trade, currency and transport, trading routes and the trading systems which operated at three basic levels: local or internal, regional or external and inter-national.²²

Perhaps one of the authors that provided the greatest inspiration, and whose work provided the greatest relevance and aid to this research work is G. O. Ogunremi in his Economic History of West Africa.²³ His work covered all phases of West Africa's economy, from the pre-to post-colonial economies. He provided analyses for their structures too. He also diversified his analyses to cover agricultural, non-agricultural, mineral productions, craftsmanship, to mention but a few. It is a book, which any researcher into the Economic history of any West African group cannot do away with in order to come out with a quality work.

Another renowned author, whose work provides as much inspiration as that of Ogunremi, is A. G. Hopkins: An Economic History of West Africa.²⁴ He, indeed, began his work from a logical stage, giving approaches to Africa's economic past in chapter one. His chapter two however, only succeeded in winning him more critics, this researcher not exclusive, as he came up with "The Domestic economy: structure and function". To describe West Africa's economy as domestic, to an African historian, especially in the economic field, is only inappropriate, as this would deny its

inherent efficiency and dynamism. It satisfied intra-and inter community needs. The various empires were never self-sufficient or isolated, but linked up in an intricate network of commerce, internal as well as external. This, no doubt, disproves the notion of a domestic economy. However, the entire book provided a basic source-material for students and researchers alike. This, one can strongly recommend for the use of would-be-researchers of economic history. Nonetheless, one only needs to be cautious, conscious and careful in order to be able to eschew the Euro centric instincts therein.

Traveller's Account also exists on the Igbomina hisitory. W. H. Clark's book: Travels and Explorations in Yorubaland, 1854-1858, is a case in point. The strength of his work lies in the fact that he gave an eye-witness account of the economic potentials of each place he visited, Igbominaland, in this case. He, to an extent, broke the jinx of overgeneralization, which is inherent in most authors' works. That is not to say that all his assessments are correct. While events have overtaken some in the course of time, some ever remained far from being objective. Besides being a traveller who spent four years in

the whole of the Yoruba country, a few days or hours in certain areas, as the case may be, to wholly rely on his work as authentic might only prove disastrous. Nevertheless, Clark's work gave an espousal of the pre-colonial indigenous economy. He described the notion of those who saw nothing good in Africa as "***the prejudices of false conceptions of a passing age...***"²⁵.

Among the available works on the colonial economic history of Ilorin, which Igbomina was an integral part of, is Banwo A. O. 's thesis, "***The Colonial State and Ilorin Emirate Economy: 1900-1960***".²⁶ In terms of periodization, his work fills some gaps in existing studies on the colonial economic history of the Ilorin Emirate, as it covers the whole of the colonial era, to 1960. The main focal-point of his study though was the former Ilorin Emirate, this also included Ilorin metropolis which formed a single political and economic unit in the 19th century. Discussion in this work concentrated on production, exchange, taxation and labour within the Emirate's colonial economy. He also dug deep into the various phases of the colonial economy and planning, which undoubtedly brought out the beauty of his work. Perhaps more than any other

work on Ilorin Emirate economy, he scored higher in extending his tentacles to other auxiliaries of the Emirate, Igbomina not exclusive, being a principal Yoruba - stock in the Emirate.

Probably, the only available published work (a booklet) on Igbomina is P.O.A. Dada's *A Brief History of the Igbomina*.²⁷ Although the work attempted to discuss the history of the various sub-groups in Igbomina land, its main emphasis is on Oro-Ago, his hometown. The book did not delve into the series of political and economic reforms in Igbomina land during the colonial epoch.

To undergo such a research study as this without paying fealty to Walter Rodney's *How EUROPE underdeveloped Africa*²⁸ is to make a big over-sight. His work provided one of the most important links in our understanding of the general global picture of African underdevelopment both outside and inside homeland--Africa. The work focused extensively on the pre-colonial trends, as well as colonialism as a system of under developing Africa. However, the greatest criticism as a proponent of the radical school came against his work as being too ideological, sentimental, and lacking in objectivity since it sees nothing positive in colonialism.

One may not be able to do justice to this review, as there are so many relevant or related literatures and theses that deserve it. Some of them even concentrated on Igbomina land. Examples include Afolayan, F.S.'s "Igbomina Under Colonial Rule, 1900-1960,"²⁹ A.O.Y. Raji's "Demystifying the Proselytizing Mission: a case study of Ilorin overrule in Igbomina, C. 1835-1967"³⁰; E.A Adeyemi's "Protest and Agitation in Igbomina, 1933-1952"³¹, to mention but a few. No doubt, enormous literature exists on the colonial economic history of Nigeria and West Africa. However, for the purpose of this study, the literature on colonial Northern Nigeria, and Ilorin Emirate of which Igbomina was an integral part of, will attract the most of our attention. The contributions and limitations of some of these earlier studies form part of the basis for the present research work, which hopes to fill the gaps in the existing studies on the colonial economic history of Igbominaland. The various shortcomings of most of the identified works notwithstanding, they have been of tremendous relevance to the present study.

1.6 INDIGENOUS ANTECEDENTS

1.6.1 GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION

An awareness of certain aspects of the physical geography of the Igbomina area is indispensable to the understanding of its historical and economic developments. In West Africa, as elsewhere in the world, ethnic boundaries are not easy to fix. Constant population expansion and the resultant socio-cultural contacts among different groups often frustrate such attempts, and it becomes difficult to decide where one ethnic group begins and where another ends.³² The languages are closely related, most of them being classified under the “***Kwa***” ***sub-group*** of the Niger-Congo family of languages³³.

The geography of Eastern Yorubaland has been conducive to human habitation. The possibility of the cultivation of a variety of crops made the region attractive to many ambitious immigrants. Furthermore, the rugged topography, and marshy section provided adequate places of refuge for those fleeing from enemies. A major factor that led to the formation of most of the settlements in the region, as revealed in the oral traditions, was the desire for safety.

The Yoruba is said to form the largest ethnic group in the forest belt of West Africa, though geography-wise, monolithically positioned. Igbomina is one of the major ethnic groupings found in Eastern Yorubaland.³⁴ The powerful Igbona or Igbomina predominate in the area to the south and east of Ilorin town.³⁵ The Igbomina formed at least, three-quarters of the inhabitants of Ilorin province, occupying a large area extending as far as Ila-Orangun in Oyo province. They are pure Yoruba.³⁶ Ila is the most southerly town of this area. To the north of the Ijesha and the Ekiti, and east from Oyo live the Igbomina (alternatively, Igbona). As with the Ekiti and other Yoruba groups too, their environment straddles the forest and the savannah.³⁷ Temple, O. noted that the southeast of Ilorin province was extremely hilly, with precipitous rocks while tin had also been found in the extreme southeast of the province.³⁸

Igbomina has a relatively advantageous position to benefit economically from trade with the north and south. The vegetation type is another geographical factor, which played a significant role in the historical and economic development in the area. The level of rainfall allowed for luxuriant grasses that attracted pastoralists or

nomads and their herds while also creating favourable conditions for agriculture. The importance of hills and mountains as places easy for defence and therefore, focal points for settlement, need not be over-emphasized. Some of such prominent hills include ***Alawoji hill at Iwo***; Alaguso at Ijara-Isin; Osa, Odia, Oke Owa, Oke Ayin and Oganyin in Oro-Ago District, ³⁹ etcetera.

Moreover, important rivers, most of which flow along the mountain valleys, water the Igbomina towns. These include Kokoto in Omugo; Oko at Irabon, Arigun and Obu in Oro-Ago, Ogun, Eleyo, Adu, Ayaba, Omi-Oke, Omi-Arin, etcetera at Iwo; Oyi, rising in the south-west of the Omu-Isanlu District and flowing north-east into the River Niger between Shonga and Lafiagi; River Oyun rising in Ajase; River Oshin rising in the Ife Division, near Ila and flowing from south to north into the River Niger; the River Oro, rising in the Osi District and flowing north-east into the River Niger near Lafiagi; Awere River, etcetera. However, none of these Rivers was very navigable; while some were relatively deep, some being merely running deep streams in the rainy seasons and nearly dry in the dry season. ⁴⁰ These rivers were of immense benefits to the people as they were

used for domestic, economic and agricultural purposes. They also provided livelihood for some, especially for those whose occupation was fishing. The country was extensive having streams, forests, rocks and hills, with many curious and beautiful things therein, and often used for hunting and game. The River Oshin practically encircles all the Igbomina towns with the exception of two or three. The Igbomina area was said to have included Illofa, Ekan, Odo-Owa, Osi, Oshin, and Obo whose peoples are no more particularly keen in joining their Igbomina brethren.⁴¹

The Igbomina are a distinct dialectical unit of the Yoruba. The term refers to the people and land they occupied. They are located within longitudes 8° and 9°N, and latitudes 4° and 6°E. They are made up of many sub-units such as the Ila, Ipo, Oro, Aran, Iyanga, Isin, Irese, Esisa, Ile-Ire, Oke-Ode and Share. All Igbomina apart from the Ila sub-unit are presently located in Kwara State of Nigeria. They are particularly found in the whole of Isin, Ifelodun and Irepodun L.G.A of the State. Igbominaland is bounded in the West by Ilorin; north east by Yagba; southeast by Ekiti; north by the Nupe; southwest by the Ibolo, and south by the Yoruba of present day Oyo

state. Igbomina is situated in the savannah region with its characteristic features of tall grasses and scattered trees. The area is also noted for many hills some of which stretch in long ranges for many kilometers. During the pre-colonial slave raids and wars, hill-settlements were usually resorted to for protection.⁴²

On his journey east, from Ijesha to Ila, Clark gave this geographical description:

...I entered a beautiful wooded level... exceedingly rich. It was a wooded country, well watered and sufficiently broken to render it healthy when brought into a state of cultivation. The soil of the more elevated regions is mixture of clay and sands quite common in forests of this country, and well adopted to agriculture. Ten or twelve miles from Ila, our road led us through a low, marshy, black-looking country, and an open field of uninviting and almost impenetrable forests. The red ironstone was very abundant⁴³.

He also made some efforts at a map of the Igbomina country.

Thus, before the Fulani invasion, the Igbomina were said to have occupied some 900 square miles between the south-west boundary of the province, to the Yagba District on the East, and a

few miles of Ilorin town on the North.⁴⁴ Johnson also has this to say:

*Before the advent of the Fulanis, the powerful [northern] Igbomina sub-tribe ... virtually occupied some of hundred of a square miles reaching from the southern Nigeria border on the south of the Yagba Districts, on the east, and to within a few miles of Ilorin on the north.*⁴⁵

1.6.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE IGBOMINA

Thurstan Shaw's archaeological discoveries confirm that man has been living in West Africa for a reasonably long time, probably before the differentiation of the ethnic groups, which now inhabit the region.⁴⁶ Within Yorubaland, some archaeological data also demonstrate the antiquity of human settlement.⁴⁷ Inferences from linguistic studies suggest that the Yoruba occupied their present habitat thousands of years ago.⁴⁸ The Igbomina have well authenticated traditions, which buttress these inferences from auxiliary studies. This could serve as a starting point for an exploration into the history of the people called Igbomina.

Mythical and legendary stories of origin are a common phenomenon, not only in Yorubaland, but also almost throughout Africa, especially in places that remained for long without the writing

tradition. The Rev. Samuel Johnson, the Yoruba scholar whose work for long remained the standard exposition of Yoruba history has this to say in this respect:

The origin of the Yoruba nation is involved in obscurity. Like the early history of most nations, the commonly received accounts are for the most part, purely legendary. The people being unlettered, and the language unwritten, all that is known is from traditions carefully handed down...through a hereditary office of ... king's drummers, and cymbalists...⁴⁹.

The Igbomina claim to have migrated from Ile-Ife the same time the Alaafin did. They were guided by a special type of cutlass, called the Opa Ogbo (Ogbo staff); as the totem they received at Ile-Ife.⁵⁰ In 1949, one Chief Onaolapo, the Baba-kekere at the Orangun's palace stated that according to the account which he received from his father, grand father and other reliable sources, the Orangun was the head of Igbomina⁵¹. Orangun was one of the sons or grandsons of Oduduwa, the progenitor of the Yoruba; and when he was finally leaving Ife, to found his own kingdom (Perhaps due to political crises or Chieftaincy disputes),⁵² his father gave him the Ogbo with which to cut a trace through the wilderness

to the spot where his father would have him go and be established. Raji maintains that the leader of the team was reputed to be a prince of Ile-Ife, responsible for the armed forces, and said to be a great, and perhaps, legendary warrior. As a royal prince, who had numerous slaves and subjects answerable to him, one would plausibly not expect Orangun to lead the way through the wilderness, especially if one understands the extent of the authority commanded by Yoruba kings, princes and chiefs in the distant past. He probably might have entrusted someone else to lead through. Yet, he remained the leader of the team. Hence, this won him the appellation “**Ologbomona**” and the party was then known as the **Ogbomona** from which the word **Igbomina** metamorphosed⁵³ (i.e. the club knows the way to the spot to which father directed us).

Thus establishing himself on the selected spot, Ajagunla, the first Orangun, gave orders to the headmen among his followers to look for their own convenient spots and establish themselves. Some of the places where Orangun’s followers settled included Omu-Aran, Apa, Oro, Ajase, Isin (Isanlu); Igbaja, Oke-Ode, Babanla, Ora, Share, Iwo and Oro-Ago. In all these places, the same custom was

observed at national festivals, the dialect, names, titles, and usages being the same. These people were said to have established themselves long before the Ilorin or Fulani dreamt of coming there.

⁵⁴ Moreover, Ilorin town itself, is said to belong originally to the Alaafin of Oyo, whereas the Alafin and Orangun were said to be brothers of the same father. The Hausa-Fulani and others led by Mallam Alimi, not only usurped Afonja's ill-gotten gains, but proceeded in a manner "peculiar to the Fulanis", to extend the territorial limits of Ilorin proper to Igbomina and adjacent areas. ⁵⁶

So, of all the sons of Oduduwa, the Orangun and other leading rulers of Igbomina tribes would appear hitherto to be the most unfortunate because adverse circumstances culminating in the creation of a political boundary for administrative convenience had wielded them to political divisions to which they are unable to pull their full weight of responsibilities for progress in a natural manner. Thus, the Ilorin-Fulanis who hailed from Sokoto came to meet these Igbomina where they are today. ⁵⁹

Historical evidence has shown that the raiding activities of early Oyo on its neighbours (which led to demographic upheavals in

central Yorubaland as evident in the destruction of early settlements of the Owu, Imeri, Igbona, etc., which probably lasted till the early 16th century) informed many people to flee from their habitats to safer places. Thus, the hilly and marshy regions of Yorubaland became a magnetic field with pockets of colonist settling there. It was at this time that the regions of Western Yorubaland became inhabited by the Sabe, Idaisa, Ketu and Anago peoples. Such a group was one founded by Dirin shortly before the arrival of the groups that burnt the Ketu kingdom. Dirin's tradition traced the origin of this group to Ila-Orangun in the Igbomina country. The group left at a time of unspecified hardship, guided by the same **Opa Ogbo**, through the Oyan River southward until it arrived in the present town.⁵⁸

Research findings have shown that before the emergence of the Ila country, there were sizeable communities all over the present Igbomina land. Yet, some Igbomina people claim not to be aborigines of their present areas.⁵⁹ A closer examination of Igbomina tradition shows that Igbomina communities did not evolve at the same time. Further enquiries into this also revealed that the

dissentions in Igbomina are often explicable in the light of the differing origins of the Yoruba-stock known as Igbomina. Archival evidence revealed that the Igbomina are composed of the following tribal groups:

	GROUP		PERCENTAGE
1	Yorubas of Ile-Ife origin	Igbomina	40%
2	Yorubas of old Oyo origin	Igbomina	20%
3	Yorubas of Ilorin origin	Yoruba proper	26%
4	Yorubas of old Oyo origin	Yoruba proper	3%
5	Yorubas of Offa origin	Yoruba proper	1%
6	Yoruba of other western origin	-	3%
7	Fulani	-	4%
8	Nupe	-	2%
9	Miscellaneous tribes	-	1%

SOURCE: NAK ILOR PROF. NAC/30/C.5 P.12.

Basically, only the first two groups regard themselves as Igbomina, the reminder, amounting to 40% of the population, frequently does not. The earliest and only true Igbomina settlers in the area were undoubtedly those who traditionally claimed to have migrated north-eastwards from the mythical home of the Yoruba-speaking peoples at Ife. They were said to have arrived in groups between the 15th and 17th centuries,⁶⁰ and settled in an area

probably bounded by the present-day towns of Offa, Ilorin, Iponrin, Babanla, Aun, Omu-Aran, and Ila in Oyo province. They were, however, forced to retreat southwards during the 18th and 19th centuries. The Ife Igbomina in Share District, represent a later northward migration from Aun, towards the end of the 18th century.

The next arrival migrated from old Oyo, north-east of Ilorin, during perhaps the 17th and 18th centuries. They penetrated eastwards until they met the Lafiagi-Patigi Division. They were “Yoruba proper” and acknowledged the suzerainty of the Alafin of Oyo. Today, this group concentrates in the east of the Emirate in an area bounded by the towns and villages of Babanla, Igbaja, Ijara, Ola and by the Lafiagi boundary.⁶¹ The migration was due to various reasons such as political unrest in the late 17th century Oyo Empire characterized by cruelty and unjust use of power by successive Alafins. The Oyo group of Igbomina founded town like Igbaja, Agunjin, Ora, Ikosin, Oke-Ode, Alabe, Iwo, and the Ile-Ire District near Oke-ode as well as Ajase-po.⁶² The territory occupied by this group is sometimes called Ile-Ire, which may be translated as the group, which practiced the Ogun cult, the Yoruba god of Iron. The

headquarters of the cult was Owa-Onire in the Oke-Ode Village Group.⁶³

The Group six above which was largely concentrated in Oro-Ago town is said to be Egba in origin, but regarded itself as having become Igbomina through long residence on Igbomina.⁶⁴ However, P. O. Dada in his **Short History of Igbomina** maintains that they migrated from Ketu due to dynastic upheavals between Ajagun (Oloro) and rival princes. They left Ketu when the political unrest became insurmountable and intolerable.⁶⁵ By the late C18, some new towns were just evolving, like Rore, founded by migrants from Nupeland, near Bida, led by one Oni Aduloju.⁶⁶ Hence, these distinctive group that emerged over the years included Igbomina 'Ire' comprising the whole of Ile-Ire; 'Esisa' headed by Oro-Ago; Isin, headed by the Olusin of Isanlu Isin; 'Iyanga' comprising Omu-Aran and environs; 'Iresa' under Elese of Igbaja; 'Ipo' comprising Ajase-po and other villages some of which have the suffix "-po" (e.g Omupo, Okeya-po); and 'Ekun mesan Oro' (i.e. the nine Oro clans)⁶⁷.

Even the settled Fulani who formed 4% of the population tend to lose their identity in the Igbomina mass. Those of them whose forebears settled in Ilorin prior to, say C. 1860, knew no language other than Yoruba, and occasionally, as at Okanle in the Omupo Village Group, have adopted the Yoruba form of domestic or sedentary architecture. It is a curious fact however, that the Fulani were rarely to be found in association with Igbomina of old Oyo origin. 80% of them lived in areas where there was a majority of Ilorin Yorubas. The only predominantly Fulani village in the area was said to have been the hamlet of Shayo in the Share Yoruba District.

⁶⁸ Temple, O. noted five sub-sections that the Igbomina were divided into: Omu, Isanlu, both of whom migrated from Ife; Ijara, Oke-Aba (Iwo) who came from Oyo; and Ala, who came from near Ora. ⁶⁹

Authors have seen and described the Igbomina differently. Talbot, in 1926, regarded them as true Yorubas under the sovereignty of the Alafin but under the direct leadership of the Orangun of Ila. ⁷⁰ Hermon-Hodge described them as “another branch of the Yoruba stock whose exact origin is as doubtful as that

of the Ekitis.⁷¹ Johnson held that it would perhaps be more correct to say they are “Oyos with Ekiti sympathies”. Clarke, who visited Igbomina (Ila) as far back as 1854, did not regard them as part of the Yoruba country though he was aware that they spoke the Yoruba language. In his own case, Smith noted that the Igbomina formed a distinct group within their own states. But whatever variance, the Igbominas are indisputably a sub-group of the Yorubas, being descendants of one of Oduduwa’s children or grandchildren, Oduduwa being the progenitor of the Yoruba race.

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CHAPTER TWO:

PRE-COLONIAL ECONOMIC TRENDS

2.1 PSUEDO-EUROCENTRIC WORLD-VIEW

Generally speaking, European views about African economy were far from complementary. They did not believe that there was any substantial activity in pre-colonial Africa. This view is particularly applicable to the West African sub-region or the economy of any society in that sub-region. To them, the economy was substantially subsistence. That is to say, even if there existed some form of economic activities, such an economy was only to keep body and soul together, with no capacity to generate economic development.

Historical parochialism has long characterized, and was, in deed, one of the most deeply embedded aspects of the European historical tradition. Thus, this historical parochialism and ancient sentiment considered history to be a semi-private possession, that saw the history of any particular society as valuable to itself but irrelevant to others. Any interest in one's history on the part of foreigners was, at best, a form of snooping, at worst, an academic

surveillance. This emphasis on history as **‘our history’** was especially strong in the European tradition of the early 20th century.¹

The result was that the so-called European “*intellectuals*” persuaded themselves that the purpose, knowledge, power and wealth of their society were so strong that it must prevail over all others; therefore, its history was the key understanding, and the history of all other societies, irrelevant.² Perhaps more applicable to Africa was this attitude, since Europe hardly knew Africa or Africans at all outside the context of the slave trade, while the operations of the export slave trade, were creating increasing social upheavals in many parts of the continent. This explicitly found expression in Hegel’s (1770-1830) Philosophy of History, where he stated inter alia that,

*...Africa is not a historical continent, it shows neither change nor development... and that its Negro peoples were capable of neither development nor education. As we see them today, so they have always been...*³

This view became part of the historical orthodoxy of the 19th century, and is not without its adherents even today. Professor Hugh Trevor-Roper was one of such. History recorded him to have said;

*...Perhaps, in the future, there will be some African history to teach. But at present, there is none: there is only the history of the Europeans in Africa. The rest is darkness and darkness is not a subject of history... It is not a mere phantasmagoria of changing shapes and costumes, of battles and conquests, dynasties and usurpations, social forms and social disintegration ... we cannot therefore, afford to amuse ourselves with the unrewarding gyrations of barbarous tribes in picturesque but irrelevant corners of the globe.*⁴

This same matter was again put very succinctly in 1923, when Professor A. P. Newton gave a lecture to the (Royal) African Society in London on "Africa and History Research". He wrote:

*Africa had no history before the coming of the Europeans. History only begins when men take to writing...*⁵

Little wonder therefore, why the early African historians fundamentally undertook the task of uprooting the prejudice, and making concerted effort towards the decolonization of African history. Historians of Africa were, thus, mainly concerned to beat back the assertion that Africa had no history or no history worth knowing.⁶ They also resented the fact that Africans were made objects of history, rather than subjects, since according to them,

....they (Africans) were held to be capable of receiving foreign influences without contributing anything to the world at large.⁷

This colonial imprint in historical knowledge emerged in the 19th and 20th centuries as a false perspective, a euro centric view of world history created at the time of European domination. It was then transmitted outward via the educational system the Europeans had created in the colonial world. But as it takes a long time to uproot prejudices and biases, it turned out to be an arduous task for early African historians.

Perhaps, more debilitating is it, sentiments apart, to discover that even renown African historical giants too often fall prey of the European educational policy which was to indoctrinate and dictate or fashion out our thinkings towards negativity against ourselves. This is nothing other than a colonial “brain-washing” mechanism and strategy that must be outrightly rebuffed! A discussion of the nature and structure of the indigenous pre-colonial Igbominaland, will undermine and prove to the contrary the euro centric prejudices of the Western world as it relates to Africa, especially as regards the economy, which is our area of concern here.

2.2 THE NATURE AND STRUCTURE OF THE INDIGENOUS ECONOMY IN PRE-COLONIAL IGBOMINALAND.

The history of West African economy is that of a generalized society, which incorporates different empires, kingdoms, communities, towns, villages, and clans, all coming together, in fusion, to form what, today is West Africa. In other words, without the history and/or activities of these different units, there could not have been any region called West Africa today. One of such smaller units is the Igbomina Yoruba-stock. It suffices to say that their history could neither be divorced nor excoriated from that of the generalized West African society, or Africa at large. In fact, it is our contention that, without its history, it is plausible to declare African history, at best, incomplete.

Generally speaking, West Africa's economy prior to the incursion of the Europeans had been characterized as a ***“subsistence”*** economy, a ***“primitive”*** economy in certain accounts. However, recent researches have revealed that this was not the case. The indigenous economy, despite the constraints it suffered must have been dynamic. This could be seen from the fact

that the ancient empires that emerged in this sub region attained greatness on account of their sound economy.⁸ This statement also goes further to suggest the role of a sound economic base, besides the military prowess, which was suggested to have been accountable for Igbomina's powerful status in precipitating and ossifying its efficacy. A critical appraisal of this period has revealed a complex productive system marked by occupational differentiation. This, one will agree, disproves the notion of a subsistence economy.

Significantly, in spite of the traumatic political and military upheavals, the Igbomina underwent in the pre-colonial epoch, a lot of viable and worthwhile economic activities capable of transforming the area into a big nerve-centre of economic development of the entire Yorubaland, were in progress.⁹ On the strength of the result of investigations conducted by objective scholars, it has been discovered that West Africa was by far the region of the greatest indigenous economic development in sub-Saharan Africa.¹⁰ There were intra- and inter-community commercial activities in which products found in different ecological zones were exchanged. Goods from even the remotest communities were circulated in local markets

from where they were taken to urban market centres. This was made possible because, as Hopkins rightly puts it,

...It should be clear that production for use and production for exchange were both common in pre-colonial Africa...¹¹.

Taking the argument from another perspective, available evidence before us shows that prior to the industrial revolution in Europe, the Europeans practiced a rural economy, such as was not described as subsistence. It therefore, looks suspicious for them to describe West African indigenous economy as subsistence. Knowledge of European history has also revealed that the European society essentially practiced what could be described as a **“natural economy”**, a simple economy. This connotes that they were not producing with a view to making profits but for subsistence! Hence, there was nothing like the **“money economy”**¹². The fact is, West African economy, in general, went beyond feeding. It also involved sales of surplus products. In this case, it cannot be correctly described as absolutely subsistence.

By the way, ***what does the word “subsistence” really mean, or what does it mean to subsist?*** To subsist means to keep

oneself alive or to exist or be kept in existence on; while subsistence suggests existence or means of existing on a standard of living only just adequate for remaining alive.¹³ That is to say that the amount of time an average West African spends on activities that merely keeps him alive and functioning is far greater than the time he spends on working for or spending money. Furthermore, the goods and services within his household or by the families of his kins are still considered to be more important, and include more of the necessities of life than the goods he or she sells. How does one comprehend or assimilate the reason behind this statement? The general idea in this regard is to underscore, emphasize the notion of the economy, which was triggered into active production by the coming of the Europeans and the consequent imposition of the colonial taxation. This is wrong and has been discovered to be mere speculations by armchair critics;¹⁴ nothing other than archetypal efforts to tarnish and disparage Africa's glorious heritage and image.

Looking at it from another angle, long before the European colonialism, they had got occasion to trade with the “**local**” people in their “**local**” products from the “**subsistence**” based economy.

Indeed, the traditional rulers, then, often dictated the terms of trade which in some cases, resulted into lobbying with and even bribing local rulers and traders by the European merchants, in order to engage in economic transactions. If the economy was truly so subsistence, only to keep soul, body and spirit together as purported, would they have been able to venture into such prolific mercantilist transactions? In this case, the European views are only part of a colonial agenda, which of course, saw nothing good in Africa.

That the coming of the Europeans initiated the impetus to trade is a blatant lie, and also remains not only a colonial fallacy, but also a neo-colonial device of the Western world. It is thus, high time Africans began to excoriate such euro centric prejudices, biases and distortions, as a crucial appraisal of the pre-colonial era, has in deed, revealed a complex productive system marked by occupational differentiation.¹⁵

However, a major characteristic of the traditional economy in pre-colonial West African, in general, was the fact that it was underdeveloped; looking at it from a comparative analysis, European

colonialists viewed West African indigenous economy from their own industrial economy's point back at home in Britain, France, Germany, etc. which, in a sense could be said to have a great level of development, that it has to be said that it is not only when a society achieves an industrial economy that it could be said to have achieved substantial economic development. This, in a way, formed part of Walter Rodney's propositions while giving an insight into what economic development or underdevelopment really means. However, no society could be said to be undeveloped since every people have shown a capacity for independently increasing their ability to live a more satisfactory life through exploiting the resources of nature.¹⁶

The production of goods and services could not be fully enhanced because of certain constraints. This would be accepted as objective because it is obvious. However, care must be taken to avoid blowing the constraints beyond proportion. This is because the economy must be dynamic to sustain the ancient kingdoms and civilizations of West Africa. The various states like Igbomina, must have achieved greatness because of their sound economy.

Furthermore, the achievements made in terms of population movement, ¹⁷ the ingenuity demonstrated in administration, development of culture among others, are aspects of achievements that could only be attained when the basic needs of survival have already been taken care of.

An appraisal of settlement patterns in Igbomina, as in other West African areas, would reveal the fact that the people lived in communities. Furthermore, towns were not unknown in the pre-colonial periods. Comparatively, the Yoruba by the 19th century, for instance, had traditionally been town-dwellers; about half of the population of Hausaland in Northern Nigeria also lived in towns. The forest city of Benin was also known to have had a population of about 15,000 at the end of the 19th century. Bearing this in mind, one would readily agree that these towns and villages were common features in pre-colonial West Africa and hence, signs of socio-economic development.

A lot has been written, by previous researchers, and authors, on the role played by the various factors of production in the indigenous economy of West Africa.¹⁸ This will not detain us here, as

such roles are applicable to the Igbomina economy as well. Nonetheless, some of such basic factors of production include: Land, Labour, Tools, and Capital. This is because before any goods could be produced, there must be tools, finance, labour and land. They are the four predominant factors of production. In some fields, all the four are combined (for example, in large-scale farming) while in others, two or three may be adequate.¹⁹

2.3 ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES IN PRE-COLONIAL IGBOMINA

For a thorough understanding of the colonial Igbomina economy, there is a need to study the past economy. This will go a long way to show that contrary to euro centric claims that colonialism triggered off economic activities in the colonies of West Africa, the mode of cultivation, production of agricultural and non-agricultural commodities and distribution of all types of products are all entrenched in the pre-colonial economy. It is pertinent to mention that the economic activities in the pre-colonial Igbomina-land, as it is with other West African groups, comprised three branches of the economy: the agrarian economy, indigenous production (crafts) techniques, and the indigenous trade and commerce, the exchange

and distributions of the various agricultural and craft commodities. It also consisted of services. Indeed, each of these themes is so large that each could stand on its own for a special research work. But as we only require it as a prelude to, and basis upon which the British built the colonial economy, attempts shall be made to present a concise, but precise analysis of each of them.

2.3.1 THE AGRARIAN ECONOMY

All over the world, agriculture provides assured supplies of food, stimulates a high degree of urbanization and specialization, and encourages an increase in production. According to Evans-Pritchards,

...The first revolution that transformed human economy gave man control over his own food supply. Man began to plant, cultivate, and improve by selection of edible grasses, roots, and trees.²⁰

This transformation has been aptly described "*Neolithic Revolution*".

The pre-colonial economy of Igbomina-land rested mainly on agrarianism; which formed the mainstay of the indigenous economy. Although there were other occupations, such as craft manufacture

and trade, they were nonetheless frequently undertaken on part-time basis. The financing of these additional productive enterprise had however, been made possible by agricultural surplus. The significance and peculiarity of agriculture lied in the fact that everybody was involved in it. Even for those who engaged in other economic activities, times devoted for such were always leisure hours not claimed by agricultural practices.

In the pre-colonial era, productive activities resulted from the interaction of natural and human resources. Throughout their history, the Igbomina earned their living from the land. Agriculture was the chief economic activity in this area as it was in other pre-industrial societies, and today, foodstuff still accounts for the largest share of the value of the goods and services produced each year by the Igbomina people. Moreover, agriculture remains, as in the most part, the “milieu” in which all other indigenous economic activities rest. It was unnecessary to give up farming in order to enter occupations such as craft manufacture and trade, frequently undertaken on a part-time or seasonal basis. On the contrary, an agricultural surplus often made it possible to finance additional types of productive

enterprises since virtually every other form of the economy was agro-allied. The antiquity of agriculture is therefore, in no doubt.

Agricultural production relied totally on availability of suitable land and labour. One important point to note in the land-labour ratio is that Land was more abundant in relation to population. Indeed, an essential factor for selecting a settlement was availability of rainfall and fertile land suitable for cultivation and/or grazing, for livestock production. Oral evidence also confirms that in Igbominaland this often dictated the establishment of settlements in upland areas, not only for defence or security reasons, but also for agricultural purposes since uplands are often very fertile and they precipitate more easily, the conventional type of rainfall, than in low lands.²¹

The abundance of land had an important consequence. It allowed a system of cultivation such that did not encourage restrictive use of land. That system is the shifting cultivation, which meant a shift from an already cultivated land that was becoming less productive, to a virgin piece of land or a land that had been left to follow for years to regain its nutritive value. This system has been criticized as being wasteful of land, labour and resources. The

argument for wastage of land is not tenable in a situation where land was not a scarce commodity and which hardly had any value. It can only be argued that land was used extensively, and not necessarily wasted; and neither was the system wasteful of labour.

Colonial officials formed a generally unfavourable impression of the capabilities of African farmers. They looked at unoccupied land and thought that it was unused or spare-territory, which Africans, through their lack of skill or initiative, were incapable of developing. They noted the absence, especially in the tropical rain forest areas of Illa, Arandun, Omido, Agbonda, etcetera, of the neat, hedged fields, which were so familiar to them, back at home and concluded that the standard of farm management was poor. They pointed to the lack of plough, and concluded that local farmers were uninventive, forgetting that there was the component of the **Universalist** and **Environmentalist** nature of technology. That is to say that technology has a universal as well as environmental application.

In the area of **Environmentalism**, every technological invention has its dialectical relationship with the environment in which it was

invented. Accordingly, American technological inventions such as the aeroplanes, military hardware and software, and hardware computers share a close affinity with the American environment. Mechanical equipments such as the tractor or plough were also designed to cope with the environment where it exists. In Igbominaland, as elsewhere in Africa, the traditional skills of blacksmithing, soap production, weaving, pottery, etc. were essentially responsive to the African environment in which they existed. Therefore, the application and use of high cost technologies in this context in Igbominaland, and Africa at large, has never been known to function well.

As far as the issue of tractor is concerned, for example, it is not known to have improved food production in Africa in general, because African soil chemistry is not friendly to foreign technologies and so, they break down often than imagined. In this case, the traditional application of hoes, and cutlasses still remain the major medium through which the bulk of food is produced in Igbominaland.

These observations recorded in reports over many years influenced policies during the colonial era, and can still be found in

some secondary works. However, an account of traditional farming which is confined to shifting cultivation and to allegedly wasteful slash and burn techniques scarcely does justice to the complex reality revealed by geographical research. In deed, no less than seven headings have been used to classify the leading system of cultivation practiced in West Africa. These are: shifting cultivation; rotational bush-fallow; rotational planted fallow; mixed farming; permanent cultivation; tree cultivation flood-land and irrigated farming²²- which the Yoruba call **akuro**. It is hoped that this will go an extra mile to indicate that the Igbomina were expert farm-managers.

Farmers in Igbominaland relied on simple tools, such as digging-sticks, hoes and machetes. It could be suggested that the plough was not used in Igbomina because it was unsuitable, or too costly, or both. The plough is of greatest use in areas where soils are heavy and land cannot be cleared by fire. These conditions are more typical of Europe than of Africa. Though technically and apparently superior, the use of it in Igbominaland and most parts of Africa, is economically unrewarding. It is also very necessary to

remember that almost the whole of the massive expansion of domestic foodstuff and export crops which occurred during the 20th century, in the west African sub-region was produced with the aid of traditional implements. To suppose that the failure to adopt a more complex agricultural technology was a cause of underdevelopment in Igbominaland and other parts of West Africa is to “misfire”.

In this vein, to argue that the indigenous system of cultivation was primitive, that technology remained crude, that the rules governing land tenure shackled enterprise, and that for these reasons agriculture was stuck virtually at subsistence level, only shows that such beliefs rest on evidence which is either incomplete or mis-interpreted.²³

Igbominaland featured prominently into the two basic aspects of agricultural work, namely the food crop and cash crop economies. This is because Igbominaland is not only savannah is vegetation region, where the extensive grassland is favourable for the production of legumes, tubers and grains, some part of Igbominaland also extend through the tropical rain forest region like Arandun, Omu, Omido, Isanlu, Agbonda, Aran-Orin, Ora, Olla, Erin-

Ile, sharing a similar soil type with that of the Ibolo.²⁴ Naturally, the tropical rain forest favours the growth of trees and in this case, economic trees like cocoa, kola-nuts, cotton, oil palm, etcetera, in these areas. But coffee was not well domesticated in Igbominaland as the soil does not favour its growth.²⁵ Available oral evidence also reveals that until recent times, manuring was unknown since the soil was remarkably fertile.²⁶

It is not an overstatement that the Igbomina not only produced food crops for local or domestic use, but also for export. This, in turn, led to commercial activities, as the surplus had to find markets after local consumption had been catered for. It is also interesting to note that farming in Igbominaland, was not left to be a masculine affair, because several women not only helped their husbands in farms, but also actively engaged in farming, many of them having their own farms.²⁷ The main food crops produced included yams (different species), cassava, maize, coco-yam, guinea corn, groundnuts, beans, sweet potatoes and different species of amaranthus vegetable as well as tomatoes, peppers and Okra. Perennials included bananas, plantains and citrus fruits. The main drinks were

palm-wine, tapped from the trunk of the tree, and a beer brewed from maize²⁸ known as **Burukutu**.

Variance in soil-type and ecology gave rise to an increased basis for specialization. Specialization helped to distinguish different kinds of economies and the level of inter-dependence. Generally too, the Igbomina accumulated surplus, which they saved against changing conditions such as demand, natural disasters like famine, draught; social and labour organizations, as well as threats and challenges. The result was the establishment of granaries—**aka**--all over the area. The people were certainly aware that difficult times would inevitably arise occasionally. So the problem was not just to increase production (for tribute, consumption and exchange), but also to store effectively against those inevitable bad days.²⁹ The coming of the Europeans in the late 15th century has been said to have led to the introduction of a number of crops, which are now regarded as typical of West African agriculture. The most important of these were maize, cassava, groundnuts and later on, cocoa, as well as a variety of fruits. However, according to a school of thought, maize had been present in West Africa before the Europeans made

contact with Africa. In its own case, cassava, though introduced in the 16th century, did not begin to spread rapidly until the close of the 18th century, when its processes became known in such a way as to remove the prussic acid which some varieties contained.³⁰ The spread of cassava among the Yoruba meant that Igbomina women also had the opportunity of being more involved in the agricultural production, for they were allocated the task of processing the crop.

Also, of great importance is the production of cash crops. The bulk of these came from the areas that fall under the tropical rain forest region. On his way to Illa from Ijesha, one spectacular thing first noted by Clarke was “the marshy, black-looking country, the soil being a mixture of clay and sands and well adopted to agriculture”.³¹ Smith also noted that the Igbomina area straddles the forest and the savannah, just like the Ekiti, their neighbour.³² Clarke spoke of the abundant quantity of cotton produced by the Igbomina, especially, Illa that he visited between 1854 and 1858. In his words, “... Cotton growth certainly surpasses anything to be seen in all Yorubaland.”³³ Providing evidence for this statement, he wrote:

...While passing through the market this morning, my attention was attracted to fifteen or twenty loads of cotton, the aggregate of which could have been scarcely less than one thousand pounds (£1000). The market for this article is said to be here every third day when, according to native testimony, two thousand loads from the farms of surrounding countries are brought into town. A native told me that the result of a single man's farm was eighty of these loads; so that, allowing much for exaggeration, there can be no doubt that cotton is grown here very extensively and so much more so that I expected to find and that cloths purchased from Illa may be sold in surrounding towns at an advance of 75% and 100%³⁴ .

Thus, so extensive or exclusive was the cultivation of cotton that even the manufacturing department, which sprang up as a result of the abundant surplus production, produced on such a very large scale that merchants came from far and near--Ijesa, Ilorin, Yoruba (Oyo?) and Abeokuta to make do with cheap cloths. The high cultivation of this staple crop so much caught his interest that Clarke seriously recommended "*the heart of Igbomina*" and the entire eastern country, even on to the Niger for the American Cotton Growers, represented by "*Brother Jonathan*". He was very confident that if the Igbominaland were to be cultivated for this purpose, there

was a prospect of this cotton to compete with those already in the world market!

Business-minded British traders, making *John Bull* a reference-point, were also called upon to convert this *gold-mine* into benefit for their textile industries in Manchester and Liverpool. One of the reasons for this was the shortage of cotton as raw materials back in Europe and “*a limited demand for the produce*”³⁵ here in this region of the world. Besides the quantity of the supply, the quality must have also drawn his attention that much. Attestation could be given to this, taking a clue from the fact that,

*It would have been a pleasure to visit a full market and ascertain from actual inspection its “STATE” and extent...*³⁶

From a linguistic point of view, “*its state*” here, refers to the quality of the cotton-produce while “*extent*” postulates quantity. He only opted to see this and ascertain himself, as an “eye witness” and confirm or re-affirm those spectacular native traditions/testimonies he already gathered.

Igbomina has long been known for extensive cultivation of cotton. The practice survived into the 20th century, but it appears it

was more important in the pre-colonial era. Clarke's account only serves as documentary evidence in the 19th century. In fact, in the pre-colonial epoch, and even up to the mid-20th century, the major occupation for the Igbomina women was one aspect of the indigenous cloth production or the other.³⁷ Hence, while farming formed the basic occupation of the men in pre-colonial Igbominaland, women were pre-occupied with the weaving and dying industries. Raw cotton spins, hand-woven in simple cloth dyed with colours obtained from native plants provided most of the people's cloths. Nearly all the weaving equipments were made from the people's initiatives.³⁸

The loom used by the weavers was an upright broad loom of between 0.5 and 1.6 metres wide, installed inside the house.³⁹ With this equipment, the women folk produced the today's common "**Aso Offi**" (also known as "**Aso Oke**" in some placed) in fairly large quantities and gave them in exchange for other products, necessities and luxuries, to people within and outside Igbominaland.⁴⁰ Clarke provided the names of some of the areas where it extensively found market. They included Ilorin, Ijesa,

Yoruba (Oyo) and Abeokuta,⁴¹ even to far away **Cotonoun**.⁴² Thus, as Kano was known as the “**Manchester of West Africa**” according to Dr. Henry Barth, by the Mid-19th century,⁴³ Igbominaland could also be given the appellation, “The Manchester of Yorubaland” as their cotton-goods from the weaving industry found an extensive market throughout Yorubaland and even beyond.

The quality of these textile products was enough advertisement for their worth, reason for the extensive market, demand and supply, in the pre-colonial era. And because of the unique toughness, farmers, blacksmiths and hunters used it as uniform.⁴⁴

Evidence available reveals that the abolition of the slave trade and slavery caused some socio-economic problems: ***should the established European traders withdraw from the West African coast after the abolition of slave trade, which had being their basic economic activity, or should they stay and try to develop trade in more natural products in its place?*** These traders decided not to withdraw for two basic reasons; but to stay and proffer solutions to their socio-economic problems. In the first place,

they had already invested heavy capital in ships, castles and hulks on the West African coast and could not imagine losing them. Secondly, realizing that a substitute for slaves could be found in many natural products available, which were in great demand in Europe, assisted by the missionaries, they began to promote the production of these commodities after the abolition. These products included palm oil, groundnuts, coffee, gum, rubbers, cotton, timber, and later, cocoa.⁴⁵

By 1800, the European Christian missionaries were not only preaching the gospel and building schools in West Africa, but they were also actively trading in natural products such as palm oil, cashew, groundnut and cotton and, as a result of these activities, they had even assumed direct political control over a few districts, mainly, along the coast.⁴⁶

The farming economy among the Igbomina people was very important both as economic and social sustenance and also for the socio-political status of the people. There were economic trees or crops, which fetched revenue for the Igbomina peasant farmers. It has to be noted that the products of all these economic crops were

market-bound by nature and as such formed the pillar of market economy for the Igbomina traditional economy. It is therefore, not difficult to note that Igbomina economy went beyond subsistence as opposed to what some Western writers like A. G. Hopkins and his cohorts would want us to believe. The basic concept was that the Igbomina economy was also an exchange-economy.

In the more forested regions of Igbominaland, cash crops like cocoa, cashew and kola nuts grew and flourished in addition to economic trees like Obeche, Iroko and Mahogany.⁴⁷ According to Jolayemi, crops like cotton, peanut, guinea corn, besides maize, yam, cassava, are profitably cultivated. This is because parts of Igbominaland belong to the northern most fringe of the lowland rain-forest; while at the same time, Igbominaland could also be described as being in the southern most fringe of the guinea-savannah.⁴⁸ Apart from cotton produced by farmers which, in turn, provided job for the women, some other crops included oil palm which grew wild in the bush, providing the vegetable oil needed by the people.⁵⁰

However, most of the available studies of the 19thC agricultural systems in Africa looked at them from the standpoint of

colonial economies. They tend to be theoretical and ideological, contributing more to the debate about underdevelopment than to an understanding of the historical development of African agriculture in the pre-colonial epoch. African farming systems have been uniformly viewed as sustaining “*natural economies*”, witnessing the penetration of capital in the mercantilist era, as a prelude to the development of peripheral capitalism in the colonial era. This is the extent to which it is misleading to persist in describing Igbomina agricultural systems as “subsistence”, sustaining “natural economies”, ‘static’, ‘tribal’ or “self-contained”. What the Igbomina experience highlights is that African agricultural systems in the pre-colonial epoch were such that the different communities could not be regarded as self-contained.⁵¹

It thus, suffices to say that the pre-colonial agricultural system remained the basis of the colonial political economy. There was no fundamental departure from the pre-19thC land-tenure system. The elements of continuity, hence, predominated over those of change

2.3.2. INDIGENOUS PRODUCTION TECHNIQUES

Another prominent feature of human activities, in Igbominaland, was the occupational differentiation. In other words, just as there were agriculturalists, there were specialist craftsmen and others who took up a particular craft in the farming off-season. The indigenous technology in Igbominaland was part of the Igbomina economy. The technologies could be said to be as old as the various settlements in Igbominaland. They therefore, grew up with the people to become part and parcel of their culture. In deed, in the pre-colonial epoch, the dominant way by which the Igbomina met their material needs was through the products of their indigenous technology. It is described as indigenous because the skills, techniques and raw materials that were involved were all from within the area. In that case, the technology responded well to the socio-cultural environment of the Igbomina people.

The various crafts the people engaged themselves in were well organized, and in major crafts, there was the practice of apprenticeship. However, this was not the case with simple crafts that did not require formal apprenticeship. Skills were advanced

particularly through the institution of apprenticeship, which accounted for the survival, sustenance, preservation and expansions of such crafts and industrial skills.

Thus, young men were apprenticed to master craftsmen. The apprentice, during the course of his training, paid for his training by providing regular services on the master's farm. Depending on the complexity of the craft being learnt, the duration of apprenticeship varied. Until such a time when they could be certified professional themselves, they remained in the status of subordinates, then, they were initiated into the guild, which postulates that they now had the liberty to establish and operate on their own. But when they were unable to establish themselves due to lack of or insufficient capital and equipments, the former apprentices often became "journey-men" under their former master(s), or join up with another. As "*journey-men*", they received wages partly in kind and partly in commodity-money.

Highly developed socio-economic organizations existed like trade unions, facilitating production, distribution and dissemination of goods. An appraisal of the guild system reveals that important crafts

were in the hands of special ward guilds that were also members of specific families. Such guilds and family heads were able to control production of goods, fix prices and also punish recalcitrant members violating guild rules and modes of conducts.⁵² Thus, every member of such a guild knows his rights and duties, limitations and liberties. Each was required to strictly observe the binding, even though unwritten or tacit, regulations such as the laws against undercutting inflationary price, punishments for offenders, the length of service for apprentices and other master-servant-relationships. The crafts as well as trade guilds were, in a nutshell, a form of labour union, regulating tendencies towards cheating and all forms of vices inherent in capitalist societies.

The craft industries were mostly hereditary professions in which families specialized. There was also in operation, the division of labour as well as specializations in the different phases of the production work. Apprenticeship in the hereditary crafts always began informally from childhood when the parents and other older members of the family would take the children to the workshop to watch them work. As the children grew older, they became more

involved in the profession by delivering finished products to customers in the village, by handling the tools, in repairing damaged products and by manufacturing others under the strict supervision of experts in the workshop. This went on until he was certified a professional.

From the above analysis, one can plausibly, with justification, say that there was in existence occupational differentiation. There were crafts such as blacksmithing, weaving, pottery, carving and sculpturing, iron works, soap-making, trade-medical work, etcetera. All these crafts summed up what is usually described as indigenous industries. These played a vital role in the economic activities of the Igbomina communities. There was nowhere one would not discover the presence of one industry or the other. The fact was that some of the industries were agro-allied, with some agricultural products serving as raw-materials for the local industries; while some others based on mineral working, the predominant one being iron-smithing/blacksmithing.

There is doubt that iron technology revolutionized productions wherever it existed. It may be suggested that of all the industries

prevalent in Igbominaland in the pre-colonial times, and in deed in Africa, iron working was the most important to the overall economy of the area. A close link existed between iron working, agriculture and political power. The amount of food that was produced and number of people residing in the area, with iron tools such as hoes, cutlasses and knives, were bound to increase.

Clarke noted that iron was found in abundance in Igbominaland, particularly at Illa.⁵³ But besides Illa, iron-smithing and blacksmithing were prominent in the towns usually associated with the worship of Ogun. These included the Ile-Ire segment of Igbominaland especially Owa-Onire and Babanla, as well as Oba⁵⁴. Iron working has three complex and integrated sections: mining smelting and smithing, each constituting part production processes. In certain cases, the miners doubled as smelters while the smelters could also be the smiths who fashioned the iron into various tools and implements. The process of producing pig iron was similar, involving a protracted search for iron in pits and quarries, and continuously heating the stones in furnaces to a temperature of about 1,500⁰C to obtain the pig iron and slag. The smelting process

was ritualized and practiced in specially built factories in order to give it a sort of occupational secrecy and monopoly. Iron was further smelted and cut into smaller sizes in the smitheries and also being further processed into tools and implements such as hoes, arrows, cutlasses, sickles, hairpin, needle, dagger, knives and various types of swords. All these revolutionized the efficiency of agriculture, warfare and trade.⁵⁵

Ogunremi, has maintained that iron metallurgy not only brought economic revolution, it also put political power into the hands of those who knew and used the iron war weapons, such as iron-pointed spear, which helped empires to subjugate their neighbours.⁵⁶ Research into Igbomina history has in deed, revealed that this was neither a mere speculation of a “armchair” historian or an act of overgeneralization. The people of Oro-Ago, for instance, were renown for their bravery in warfare. This was because the settlement had numerous blacksmiths who are said to have produced most of the arrows that the warriors in Oro-Ago used for most of their campaigns during the wars of the 19th century⁵⁷. According to Johnson too, the ***Oro warriors*** possessed poisoned

arrows which enabled them to do more damage to the ranks of their invaders.⁵⁸

Having noted the abundance of iron deposit in Igbominaland, Clarke further noted that “all of the iron ore extracted from the mountains were smelted in large furnaces made for that purpose and sold to the smiths who converted it into desired implements. Every town had its complement of blacksmith shops that may be known by their circular tops where the sound of the hammer and anvil may from day to day be heard. The implements and fixtures in general usually, were a rock for anvil, a small oblong piece of iron tapering to a handle for a hammer, one or two pairs of tongs similar to those in common use... Coal made from wood is generally used though the shells of the palm nut were used in case of necessity ... In fact, nearly every implement, the shape of which was given to a smith, can be made with little difficulty. With judicious instructions, this art might among the raw natives, be carried to a high degree.”⁵⁹

According to Adeyemi, E.A., the Owa Onire people maintain that ever before any Oyibo man sets foot on their soil, they had been producing their own hoes, cutlass and other tools made of iron. In

Babanla too, evidence of iron smelting can still be seen. Families who specialized in it have, till date, preserved this indigenous heritage and are still there to explain the production processes. At Oba-Isin, too, evidence of the presence and practice of Iron smelting furnace is still there.⁶⁰ At Oke-Ayin, Irabon and in deed almost everywhere throughout Oro-land, the inhabitants were also noted for the manufacture of hoes, cutlasses and other agricultural implements.⁶¹ In fact, at Iwo, there is a compound by the name **Oke-Ope Alagbede** (that is, Oke-Ope the Blacksmithing family/compound). Oral tradition has it that the people of **Oke-Ope** migrated to Iwo from Oro-Ago.⁶² Thus, Clarke did not err by saying that "...iron is said to be found in these regions in abundance..."⁶³

The blacksmithing and iron-smelting industries offered good examples of local industries in the Igbomina societies. Accordingly, rarely can one find a community in Igbominaland where there was no blacksmithing industry. The use of the products of these industries, it needs not be over-emphasized, had ensured agricultural production in food, which sustained the Nigerian communities.

Also, in the mining industry a non-ferrous metal was mined and processed for use and marketing. There were quite a few places with tin deposits, which occurred in shallow terrace deposits, usually covered by varying depths of barren ground said to be called *over-burden*. The ***over-burden*** was removed by hand, the tools being the pickaxe and the hoe. The tin-bearing earth was moved to the riverside where it was washed, collected and smelted through a process similar to that of iron. Tin smiths used alloys of the smelted tin and other metals to make cooking utensils and plates.⁶⁴ There is no doubt that pre-colonial Igbomina people were able to mine and smelt a considerable amount of minerals despite the simple and low state of technology open to them. Iron was excavated, smelted and forged into agricultural, industrial and warfare implements. That the exploitation of those minerals was not properly developed was partly due to the underdeveloped technology and partly to the cheapness of the imported products, making competition virtually impossible.⁶⁵

Evidence of the presence of tin and industries attached and associated with it could be seen in Temple's **"NOTES"** on the Ilorin province. He noted that tin has been found in certain places

including the extreme south-east of the province. As he also later stated that the powerful Igbona tribe occupied the southern part of the province, it became crystal clear that this is the Igbomina region.⁶⁶

CARVING AND SCULPTURING

Carving and sculpturing were also an aspect of technology in Igbominaland. Carving and sculpturing in wood, calabash and stone were important skills among the Igbomina traditional societies. Products of these industries were used as ornamental materials. It is remarkable that sculpturing in metal, bronze and stone gave some Nigerian communities very good attraction. In particular, ***the Benin Bronze Head*** attracted the British government who eventually, carted away with some of them to the British museums in Europe.

In the same vein, centres of culture could also be found in Igbominaland. At Esie, an annual ceremony was reportedly held which centred on a collection of some 1,000 carved soapstone figures of men, women, children and animals. The existence of these remarkable sculptures, which were stored in a local museum, did not become known outside the area until the early 1930s (though the

cult may date from the arrival at the site, of the Esie people; while some un-established arguments have been made that these figurines were brought in there from old Oyo, perhaps after the fall of Oyo, in the early 19th century). Two recent thermo luminescent determinations on terracotta from Esie give a possible date in the 12th century. However, Radio-carbon dating was said to have provided its “*usual problems*”.

Meanwhile, much smaller caches of soapstone carving in the Esie style have been discovered also in two other Igbomina communities: Ofaro and Ijara.⁶⁷ A map in a book written by Toyin Falola and cohorts, shows some cultural areas with terracotta, stone and bronze figurines, of which Ijara was also widely recognized.⁶⁸ Besides, several Igbomina people were also versed in the craft of wood-carving and calabash decorations, which were made into beautiful ornamental objects. Some of these designs became, of recent, imitated by the European admirers.⁶⁹

WEAVING: A special attention needs be drawn at the indigenous textile industry in Igbominaland. This is because it was the most widespread in the area, as it was with West African as a whole. This

was partly because, many economic activities were strongly connected with it. The industry could be said to be as old as the Nigerian region as well as Igbomina communities themselves. It can also not be unconnected with the fact that the Igbomina people had long been known for their clad knowledge. In other words, the communities hated nudity (nakedness). Accordingly, they discovered the knowledge of weaving with locally grown cotton. As a matter of fact, most Igbomina communities were well known for the production of cloth long before the colonial epoch.

Production entailed cotton growing, spinning, weaving, sewing, dyeing and embroidery (although the last two techniques were optional). The planting of cotton and dyeing leaves were part and parcel of farming. But whereas dyeing leaves, usually the indigo (*indigofera spp*) grew wildly and luxuriantly on its own and in undesignated places and was only spared to grow undisturbed, cotton had to be specially cultivated. However, the cultivation of indigo, with time, probably by the early 20th century, had become an important vocation; grown nearer the dyeing pits as much as possible, and with time, special land was devoted to it.⁷⁰

Many 19th century European travellers copiously recorded the considerable amount of woven cloths and dyeing pots or pits they came across, as well as the fact that the use of woven cloth in Yorubaland was of considerable antiquity. Clarke confessed that he was attracted to fifteen or twenty cotton loads; and that, at Illa, every third day, two thousand loads from surrounding communities were brought into town for market.⁷¹ Indeed, the European traders also bought and sold the local textile materials even in international markets which was confirmed by the comments of the Europeans, that the local textile materials were thick, hard wearing and durable, probably, more than the cloths produced in Manchester and Lancashire, and because these cloths were relatively cheap and durable, they were sought for from far and near.

The **Lander Brothers**, in 1930, passing through Nupeland, bordering Igbomina to the north, were recorded to have noted that,

*The cloth which they manufactured, in common with **their countrymen**, and the robes and trousers which they wove are more excellent and would not disgrace an European manufacturer, they are worn and valued by kings, chiefs, and great men, and are the admiration of the neighboring nation.*⁷²

Cotton spinning was done mainly by women, and according to Ogunremi, in Yorubaland (in general) the first duty of a newly married lady was to spin enough cotton to make her husband a robe. Nevertheless, men and women alike did weaving. Men's loom among the Yoruba was horizontal, while women's was vertical. These types of loom also dictated the width of cloth woven.⁷³ The looms were said to be of two varieties with the fixtures of an ordinary **loom harness, sleight, treadles, shuttle**, etc. The narrow one of six inches was entirely used by the men in open air under sheds throughout the town, while the wide ones from a quarter to half a yard in width belonged, principally, to the females who confined their labours to within their yards.

The weavers worked with great rapidity and turned out a number of yards of clothes daily. The tailors sew the narrow widths together to make a whole garment. Good articles of cloth were woven by the Yoruba weavers, and **“for durability, far excel the prints and homespuns of Manchester**. Hence the native cloths are by far the more costly”.⁷⁴ Because of this, traders from Ijesa, Ilorin, Yoruba (Oyo?) and Abeokuta⁷⁵ as well as Nupeland, even to

Cotonou,⁷⁶ flocked Ila for the purchase of cheap, qualitative and durable clothes. This was also true of the industry throughout Igbomina. An insight into this may be taken from Clarke's record that, "...Two thousand loads from the farms of surrounding countries are brought into town."⁷⁷

This depicts that the talked about cotton products were not solely from the Ila industries, but from all over Igbominaland. At Oke-Ayin in Oro-Ago district, extending to Oreke, the inhabitants of this settlement were also noted for the manufacture of woven cloth.⁷⁸

DYEING: Another craft in Igbomina traditional economy was dyeing, carried on by the females who procured the indigo leaves from the farmers or others having them for sale, and prepared them into balls by heaping into a mortar until they were pressed together, after which they were dried and used with dye, caught by dripping from ashes in large pots which received the cloth to be coloured. It has been calculated that an acre of land devoted to indigo often produced twice the income devoted to cotton.⁷⁹ "**Yrona**" was said to be used by some dyers to give brilliancy to some bright colours. They excelled in the various shades of blue peculiar to the indigo.

They also adapted to other favourite colours like red, green, yellow and purple. *Cam wood* (**Osun**) is said to yield a fine scarlet and, very often, was used by the dyers to obtain this colour.⁸⁰

This industry was as widespread as the textile/weaving industry. Therefore, the dyeing industry spontaneously existed wherever the textile industry was located. Dye puts life and good quality designs and status to indigenous production or materials such as clothes, mats, calabash, skins, etcetera, for spiritual purposes and occasions.

Also attached to the weaving industry was tailoring; an art which engaged a certain class, exclusively men, who cut and sew, as well as produced ready-made clothing materials as robes, tunic shirts, pants, caps, garments, wrappers, etc. They often used the common imported needle. This was always in great demand while the spinners served as suppliers of both the needles and threads.⁸¹

POTTERY: Igbominaland has a long tradition of pottery-making industry that may have extended into the proto-historic and pre-historic part. D. K. Aiyedun mentioned Igbaja and Idofian, among

others, where pottery prospered. In these two places, Pottery-making still survives and flourishes.

The traditional productions methods, including the hand-making technique and open firing, were applied. The environments of these towns were however very favourable for the pottery industry. According to him, oral tradition, besides the ethnographical and archaeological evidence has it that the people who settled in Igbaja had certain skills and abilities among them and people practiced different occupations among which was pottery. In Igbaja, potters were full-time specialists forming recognized groups. Only women moulded pots and it had always been a family occupation since its known inception.⁸²

Pot-makers were well-placed in the society in terms of economic remuneration, since they engaged in pottery-making on a full-time basis and since their products were well valued and well-priced. They had a unique form of specialization in kolobo.⁸³ Potters from Igbaja collected their clay from a place known as **Ibu Alapata**, about 2km to their workshop. The availability of the non-clay-soil fraction constituting approximately 80-90%, which included quartz

grain and micaceous minerals which must be added to the clay to increase the clay fraction and plasticity, thus, counteracting shrinkage and facilitating uniform drying, reducing strain and lessening the risk of cracking. This binding agent was in the various impurities contained in Igbaja clay.

Firing was also done in Igbaja all the year round forming the last stage in pottery manufacturing, before sales. It was fired in an open furnace thus, making firing traditional wares unique. Igbaja vessels fell into the range designated as *Ikoko (pots)*⁸⁴ of different sizes and values. More would be said about the values later on.

SOAP-MAKING: Another craft of important value in Igbomina traditional economy was soap-making, especially black-soap and Konta. These soap-types were common in practically all the Igbomina communities; soap was made from local materials such as ashes, palm-kernel oil, cocoa-pods and water.⁸⁵

TRADO-MEDICARE: The traditional medicare was another aspect of the indigenous production techniques in pre-colonial Igbominaland. It served the people in the areas of cure such as madness, mental disorder, bone setting, psychotherapy, small- and

chicken-pox, etcetera. Some of these ailments that cannot be easily and perfectly cured with modern medicine were effectively and perfectly cured with the use of traditional herbal medication. Even today, most cases rejected from the orthodox hospitals were treated with efficacy by the use of local medicine.⁸⁶ It is therefore, plausible to note that Igbomina and Africa for that matter, had a rich past which could be harnessed for technological and industrial development.

In Arandun, for instance, oral evidence shows that, till present, certain families still exist that specialize in trado-medical healings like fire-burns, snake-bites, scorpion and insect bites/poison extraction, etcetera.⁸⁷

It is certainly difficult, if not impossible to fully discuss the multifarious works of art and crafts which the Igbomina people engaged in, in the pre-colonial epoch. Among the other conspicuous and widespread ones include palm oil (*epo pupa*) palm kernel oil (*Adin*); shea-butter lubricant (*Orí*); drum-making (in Odo-Eku for example); locust beans processing; tanning; etcetera. In deed, hundreds of objects were made from plants, minerals and animal

products. All these were widespread industries throughout Igbominaland. There were people also who specialized in tanning [of animal-skins]. The ceramic industry was limited to areas with clay, like Idofian, Igbaja, Ijara, Iwo, etc.

Throughout Igbominaland, craft production was carried out in several ways: in the home, outside home by groups as well as individuals. See the table below to see the classifications. In these crafts, there were specialists and non-specialists as well as full-time and part time craftsmen.

Home crafts	Outside-crafts by Groups	Individual crafts
Palm oil manufacture Palm kernel oil manufacture weaving: cloths, baskets, mats Soap making. Tailoring Brewing Spinning, ginning	Blacksmithing Iron-smelting Dyeing Pottery Hunting Drums-making	Wood-carving Tanning Firewood-collecting Charcoal –burning

THE VALUES OF IGBOMINA INDIGENOUS TECHNOLOGY

Besides the prominence of these indigenous techniques, it suffices to say that every technology has its own values, a fact which the Igbomina never took for granted. Each of these techniques has its values. The values vary from one technology to the other and in most cases, such values meet the needs of the people. An appraisal of these values would reveal that the Igbomina not only had such techniques for its sake, nor did they just acquire such techniques to sell to the outside world without their knowledge and acquisition of the real worth of their own technology.

The indigenous textile technology provided cloths that met the people's demands. There was the case of Kijipa or (*Kaliko*), thick in texture and very durable in use. Accordingly, Kijipa was most suitable for agricultural and hunting activities. Again, textile products such as Aso ofi (cloth from the loom) were of fine texture, and in most cases, well embroidered. It was used for important occasions such as marriage, naming, house-warming, funeral and other traditional ceremonies.

Categories still exist within the Aso ofi such as Ewu etu, Sanyan, Alari etcetera. All these were well suited to African

ceremonies, at any time of the year. Generally, Yoruba textiles were products of Yoruba civilization. They were also products of African technological initiatives. Cloth was used as a protective material for the body against the scorching of the sun, rain, bites and other dangers on the body. Decency was also of attached to cloth wearing, It was used as a reflection of identity and status for men and women. In other words, costly cloths were produced exclusively for the wealthy and Royal Class(es): kings, princes and **V.I.P.'S** in the society, while low cost materials were for the poor and less privileged in the society.

The production of cloth for various cult-groups, associations and traditional worshippers, of different colours, sizes and designs, were parts of the values of the weaving crafts in the religious and other social spheres.

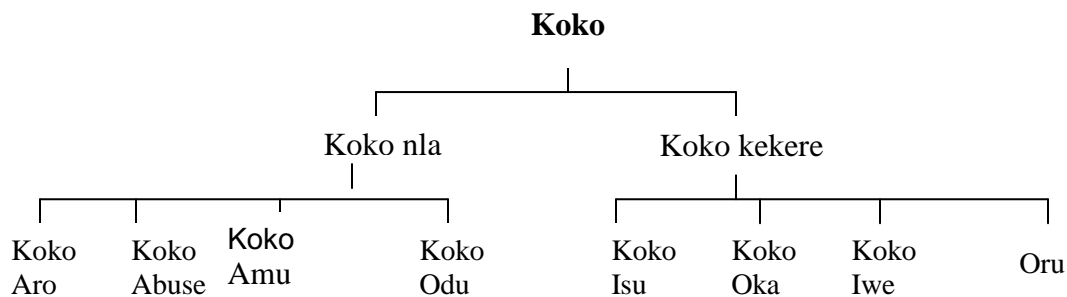
Mat-weaving also provided mats, which served them in many useful ways. They served as seats, beds, and carpet, chilling boards, curtains, for screening-off areas and for fencing a compound. ***Ropes and baskets*** should also not be left out or

forgotten. They were predominantly used in farms and homes for various domestic and economic purposes.

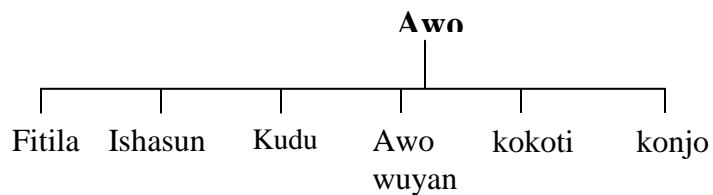
The value(s) of pottery can also be examined. Pot-making has being in history since time immemorial. Pots of different sizes and shapes were made, and in all cases, they served the people's needs. There were large pots such as the Ikoko Amu used for water storage, for drinking as well as reservoir; the Ikoko Aro (dyeing pots) which served two purposes-dyeing, catching and storing rain water as it runs off the leaves, and used for brewing beer in some places; another variant of this was the Ikoko Odu (farming pot) used for boiling yam and cassava, and as storage facility for occasionally used clothes at home, thus serving as "***pot-mantle***". We have the Koko Oru (children pitches) for preparing herbs.

TABLE 1
Group of Pots Built in Igbaja Area and their Production Site Distribution.

GROUP A



GROUP B



GROUP C

Kolobo

Group	Where produced
A	Igbaja, Masudo
B	Ada, Ajooko Gboloko
C	Fulani settlements

SOURCE: AYEDUN, K. D. “ POTTERY IN IGBAJA DISTRICT: AN ETHNO-ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDY” P. 6.

There were other smaller ones mainly used for cooking soups –Isasun, koko isu (yam-cooking pots);⁸⁹ others included awo amo (clay plates) used, used for stew as well as soup while eating. We have the perforated ones, called ajere used for smoking meats and other things, like plantain (*booli*), and there was the small clay object with opening which was used for banking, called kolo (little penny bank) which was meant to be broken when full. Thus, in this regard, the products of African culture had been of immense use to the Igbomina communities because they met the people's needs and demands. Others included the baking pot, oil lamp fitila, etcetera.

The **soap-making** techniques in Igbominaland also draw attention to one of the aspects of African indigenous technology. The soap, like we see today, was capable of doing many things. Its production necessitated bathing and washing of clothes, plates and other household utensils. But more importantly and perhaps in a unique way to that of the western technology, this traditional black soap was also known for its medicinal value. When mixed with appropriate herbal ingredients, it was used to cure ailments of skin diseases such as body rashes, measles, sores, small-and chicken-

pox, as well as fever. Again, the soap was used in warding-off evils by sprinkling the foam of the soap around living places.

Taking a look at the ***blacksmithing technology*** too, Igbomina produced a number of iron tools such as hoes, cutlass knives, axes, diggers, shovels, swords, arrows, daggers etc. These iron materials were in several ways useful to the Igbomina people in agriculture, warfares of expansion, and for defence. Available evidence has it that most of the present day Igbomina settlements were either founded with the aid of such weapons, or expanded to what they almost practically are today, by it, or both. Fagbamila Ajagunla, the acclaimed founder of Illa, was said to have fought wars of expansion with the assistance of Oranyan the founder of Oyo Empire. Their wars were fought against the Bariba and Nupe along the River Niger bank.⁹¹ In point of truth, the rise and fall of many of the African communities, kingdoms and Empires were due to the use of local iron materials which were a signal to the efficient African iron technology even prior to the advent of Western technology.

Hence, because of the close identity between the craft and the Igbomina people, the traditional crafts had responded in various

ways to the technological needs of the Igbomina communities, long before the era of modern technology. Generally therefore, these technologies did not only exist in Igbominaland, but were also valuable due to the many uses to which they could be put. Moreover, the technology interacted well to the local environments, and responded efficiently to the needs of the Igbomina as well as African communities at large. This aspect of the pre-colonial, as the other aspects too, however, came under considerable stress in the 19th century and by the end of the colonial epoch, had almost been completely submerged!

2.3.3 INDIGENOUS TRADE AND COMMERCE

Trade, both internal and external, has been vital to the Igbomina economy. As one would naturally expect, most early exchanges were the results of surplus products over and above the subsistence level. Perhaps, the value of both economies above [viz. agriculture and local industry] appears to be better appreciated in the area of trade. The products from both sectors created markets and there were peoples from far and near who came to trade in the products. E.g. the local textile materials attracted markets both in

and outside Igbominaland and Africa at large. In this regard, these sectors had encouraged economic development in pre-colonial Igbomina. The indispensability of trade and markets encouraged the commerce, and this was able to lay the basis for trade in the pre-colonial Igbominaland.

Trade, which is the art of buying and selling, is apparently a common phenomenon in the human society. In deed, the twin phenomena of agrarianism and indigenous industries combined to provide for buying and selling or what can be called trade. The fact is that products from both industries were market-bound, after the domestic needs must have been satisfied. Trade took many dimensions. There was the local trade, the long distance trade, intra- and inter-community trade, and the concept of trade being closely allied to the concept of market.

In the local context, a market basically, is a demarcated site where traders and consumers met to exchange products. Transactions could, however, take place in places outside designated markets. There were, for instance, roadside markets where goods were spread on the ground; food sellers also had their

different stalls located in different places while hawking was another common phenomenon done by women and children.⁹²

The market place was, however, the most developed, having a number of features. In pre-colonial Igbomina, markets existed in any one community, and wherever they existed, they were more than just means of achieving the distribution of goods; partly as a result of the inherent character of the economic relationship they engendered, and of course their extra economic nature. ***How does one then explain the dual nature of the market?***

The market was multi-functional, performing socio-political functions, besides the commercial activities; a place for both entertainment and amusement with drummers, poets, and singers often exhibiting their arts there to the admiration of all. It was also a place to disseminate information and rumours about the latest occurrences in the society. It was a place not only to exchange merchandise but also ideas, socialize, meet friends, hear news, propaganda, rumours, contract alliances, initiate sexual and/or marriage unions, and what have you.

Nevertheless, the commercial function of the market has remained the primary and basic function. The importance of market is indicated by their large numbers and by an almost wide variety of types either based on functions and place in the wholesale and retail distributive chain or on location and periodicity.⁹³

In a nut-shell, Igbomina evolved and operated a market economy. Markets were held either daily or periodically, or both! Apart from daily markets which existed in large urban centers which served the immediate needs of the people, there was also the daily market, usually centred around the palace catering for the daily requirements of the consumers of goods like vegetables, peppers, tomatoes, foodstuff and other perishables. The periodic markets were usually more elaborate in nature, and were usually located at strategic and conspicuous places either within or outside the town. The periodic markets were held at intervals of three days as in Illa,⁹⁴ five days known as Oja Orun, which was more widespread throughout Igbominaland like in the Oro villages,⁹⁵ Iwo, etc.

Another prominent feature of the market economy was that it operated on a “**ring system**”. The market within each ring occurred

in such a way that in most cases, each market took place on a day on which it was the only market operating within the ring. The situation was such that most of the periodic markets in every region were linked together in sequence of operation, this was to avoid clashes and make for maximum participation. Where market days coincided, sellers and buyers had the choice of attending those that were spatially closest, those that had commodities in which they were interested, or those where they had trusted customers and friends. By giving allowance for the operation of periodic markets in varying places, a repetitive market circle came into existence whereby traders could trade in most days of the week in different markets.

Most of the traders that involved in such commercial activities were organised into groups of professional guilds called “Egbe”, often responsible for the regulations of trade transaction, and for the protection of their members’ commercial interests. Each commercial item had its own occupational guild such as Egbe Olobo (kolanut guild) Egbe Onitaba (tobacco); Egbe Elepo (palm oil); Egbe Onisu (yams); Egbe Alata (peppers); Egbe eleran or alapata (butchers);

etc.⁹⁶ Trade went on in an atmosphere of peace. Trade guilds helped to promote friendship and settle quarrels among members. More importantly, the political authorities took interest in the orderliness of the market. Thus, markets were properly organised. Members of the same guild sat close to one another, making it convenient for buyers to easily locate the section of every item in the market; it also made excessive profit-making difficult as buyers could easily compare prices and quality, as well as enabling the buyers to choose the best from a large number of the same items.

However, the system was not without its shortcomings as it made it easier for sellers to control prices, and as long as they stayed together, none could sell below the designated/greed prices. This could be regarded as ***the indigenous cartels or marketing boards***. The system showed the level of economic development the indigenous societies had attained. It protected trade, production, and stabilized the society.

As an evidence for the existence of viable currencies that served as legal tenders, there were capital markets where people could borrow money. There were small-scale credit institutions like

the esusu among the Igbomina, and large-scale ones were organised among the long-distance traders. There were bankers, money-lenders and exchange brokers who enabled traders to secure credit. It should be noted that, none of these services would have been possible without currencies. Besides, with the increase in the enormity of trade in the pre-colonial trading system, it became imperative to organise schemes that rose to the challenge(s) of the era. One of such was the organisation and running of *contributory schemes*. This allowed for periodic contributions, in form of savings, by members of the scheme. With this, a large sum could be saved without a conscious effort of the contributor. This helped each member to plan on some worthwhile, tangible projects after collection. This could be likened to today's thrifts and credit, or better still, co-operative societies, known as ajo.⁹⁷

The concept of trade did not stop at the local market or the intra-community trade, as there was also the inter-communal trade. Here one community exchanged its unique products with that of another community. One important point to note is that the operation fostered unity and understanding among the communities and also

created wealth for the people. It also promoted inter-community economic development and encouraged the exchange of socio-economic and cultural values among the involving communities. Closely associated with this was the long distance trade which involved travelling several miles outside one's community. Such trade was technical in nature, as it demanded the knowledge of the terrain, often requiring the need of guides and guards, as well as defence or security agents against raids. In deed, it was a network, which had to be well co-ordinated in order to have smooth trading activities. In pre-colonial Igbomina, such a trade existed extensively.

Clarke left a gleaming account of some Igbomina caravans, especially the Share caravan, which he came across in the course of his odyssey in Yorubaland. In his words,

About ten o'clock, we reached another farm village of considerable size being the farms and plantation of Ilorin planters. Here, we met the Share caravan, which had left that place this morning... At twelve O'clock, I reached Apado [another Igbomina community]... where caravans step aside from the road of travel to take refreshments. Bearing due south is a road leading to Ibadan.⁹⁸

Again, he concluded,

*It was three o'clock when we entered the farms of Share... Cottons seem to thrive well, comparatively speaking, as well as dana or guinea corn....*⁹⁹

It is hoped that this will go a long way to prove the extensive nature of the Igbomina trading system. **Caravanism** was an exclusive feature of the long distance traders, being more complex than the internal. They faced a number of problems along the routes: the weather might be hostile or inimical, be it rain or sun in either season. They were sometimes prone to raids and armed robbery attacks, especially during the periods of insecurity caused by wars. They comprised not only of regular traders, mainly women, but often, of soldiers or ex-servicemen who travelled to obtain fire-arms for military expeditions. Toyin Falola noted that, “*the Yoruba alajapa were popular in the south-west...*”¹⁰⁰ Toyin Malomo also purported that the Oro-Ago people in the pre-colonial epoch had extensive trade relations which took the people to different parts of Yorubaland and other regions. This commercial transaction, especially undertaken by women took them to various market centers at Omu-Aran, Offa [the Ibolo kingdom], Ilorin, Illa, Nupeland, etc.¹⁰¹

In Igbominaland, long distance traders made use of transportation by land. The traders either carried the goods themselves or employed the service of porters, slaves or family labour. And according to G.O. Ogunremi, head or human portage, was by far the most widely used of all forms of mechanical forms of transport.¹⁰² This was also, very true of Igbominaland. Although the use of pack animals might have been, as Falola had noted that pack animals were widely used in the savannah,¹⁰³ its use couldn't have been as prominent as the use of human portage. This was because, such pack animals were very costly, being used exclusively by the rich merchants. The cost value of one of such pack animals was estimated to be equivalent to the present-day lorry.¹⁰⁴

Thus, the people relied on their porters to carry their personal belongings and goods from one place to another. Whereas women and children were often used for short distances, slaves or porters were largely engaged for long-distance voyages.

For each type of product, there was a special container for head carriage. The average weight carried by a porter ranged from

between 50 to 90 tons, depending on the carrying capacity of the individual. In the absence of measuring scales, a porter estimated what he could carry for the length of the journey by lifting it up to feel its weight. A porter required the united effort of one or two others to help him in raising a full calabash load up to his head. Human portage was thus, the carriage of goods by men at the same time as he transported himself by walking. Portage was said to have been sternly descried by Harrison Church as “*a social evil, a political danger and an economic waste*“.¹⁰⁵ But it has been argued that the existence of hired porters was an indication that the people saw nothing derogatory in head carriage.¹⁰⁶

The trade routes were usually well-kept. Most of the European travellers who made use of these routes, especially in the 19th century, remarked that they were **‘good’ ‘fine’ and ‘adequate’**. It was the primary obligation of the rulers through whose kingdoms the routes passed to make them safe. It was, therefore, not uncommon and unusual for kingdoms to patrol the routes and to appoint hunters and soldiers to accompany the traders. Trade routes were thus, a means to an end, the end being to get to the market.¹⁰⁷

CAUSES OF DISTABILIZATIONS TO THE PRE-COLONIAL TRENDS:

From the foregoing analysis, it needs be ascertained that the wealth of Igbomina towns was rooted in the pre-colonial economic practices. For instance, of the six Yoruba personages said to be renown for their wealth, two were from Igbomina, and one from Offa. They were Amoloku of Oro and Lapemo of Ijomu, near Oro, as well as Gedegbe from Offa.¹⁰⁸ In fact, a major reason for the increase in taxation imposed on the Oro people in 1933, which led to the protests, was not unconnected with their wealth. Archival evidence also reveals that Hoskin, [the A.D.O.] and the Emir of Ilorin believed that the people could pay the increased rate because there were “pan-roofs” everywhere, and the people were building a huge Roman Catholic church.¹⁰⁹ All these went a long way to show how prosperous and prolific the pre-colonial economy was.

However, one would objectively say that certain factors caused untold distabilization to the pre-colonial economic trends. This has been responsible for Africa’s low productivity vis-à-vis Europe. One, one can still identify some limitations in the traditional

economy. For instance, the volumes of economic transaction had been limited, as the means of exchange had tended to be cumbersome. The cowry that was used was also cumbersome. Only small-scale transaction could be undertaken with convenience; transportation also was slow and often expensive, until the coming of the Europeans with the introduction of convenient currency of paper notes, which brought an end to such disadvantages of commodity currencies. It however, took a long time to gain general acceptance. The coins were more easily accepted than the paper currencies because of its close affinity to cowries.

The paper currency was feared because they were easily destroyed in an event of fire disaster. But with time, these initial major difficulties ceased. However, these limitations were ones that evolved from, and subsequently heightened by economic expansion. All these notwithstanding, the indigenous economy could be avowed to have functioned at a very high degree of efficiency related to the means of the age and relative to the scale of the level of economic activities, demanded in the period.¹¹⁰

The second factor of destabilization, which was of severe consequences, was the European slave trade. Africa had a population accustomed to settled agriculture and disciplined labour in many spheres. This provides a reason why the Europeans turned to Africa for labour after the discovery of America, seeing that the indigenous Indian population could not withstand European diseases, as small pox, nor could they bear the organised toil of slave plantations and slave mines, having barely emerged from the hunting stage. The four centuries before colonial rule, (1500-1900), was the era of European slave trade. One of the uncertainties concerns the basic question of how many Africans were "*imported*". This has long been an object of speculation, with estimates ranging from a few millions to over a hundred million. No one has been able to come up with a figure representing total losses to the African population, sustained through the extraction of slave labour from all areas to all destinations over the many centuries that slave trade existed.¹¹¹

However, on every other continent, from the 15th century onwards, the population showed constant and sometimes

spectacular natural increase, while it is striking that the same did not apply to Africa. One European scholar was said to have given the following estimates of world population (in millions) according to continents:

CONTINENT	1650	1750	1850	1900
AFRICA	100	100	100	120
EUROPE	103	144	274	423
ASIA	257	437	656	857

Source: RODNEY, W. How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, pp105-106

Thus, African economic activities were affected both directly and otherwise by decrease in population. The changeover from warlike activities, raiding and kidnapping which increased the element of fear, uncertainty and insecurity must have affected all branches of economic activity, and agriculture in particular. The overall consequence of slavery on agricultural activities in Western, Eastern and Central Africa were generally negative. Labour was drawn off from agriculture, and conditions became unsettled. The present generation of Africans will readily recall that in the colonial epoch when able-bodied men left their homes as migrant labourers, that upset the farming routine in the home districts and often caused

famines. (Slave trading after all, meant migration of labour in a manner one hundred times more brutal and disruptive).¹¹²

Local imperial onslaughts on Igbominaland under the Nupes, Ibadans and Ilorin, also caused untold destabilizations on the pre-colonial economy in Igbominaland. This is to form the last section of this chapter. While the imposition of colonial rule (especially through the instrumentality of colonial taxation) lured Igbomina economy into a different phase entirely, perhaps the last straw that broke the camel's back, causing a departure from the pre-colonial trends in many ways.

Taxation is a form of surplus extraction or appropriation by a government or state from its citizenry. A state sometimes depends on one form of extraction or another to maintain its institutions and territorial authority.¹¹³ One of the main purposes of colonial taxation system, Walter Rodney argues, was to provide requisite funds for administering the colony as a field of exploitation.

European colonizers ensured that Africans paid for the upkeep of the Governors and police who oppressed them and served as watchdogs for private capitalists.¹¹⁴ [Sir Frederick Lugard also

tacitly accepted this obvious assertion.¹¹⁵ An abundance of archival materials have shown that numerous forms of the taxations were imposed on the people of Igbominaland.¹¹⁶ The argument here is that, the “*local*” people were able to pay up their taxes from their surpluses, thus, undermining the notion of a subsistence economy. However, more would be spoken, in the subsequent chapters on the colonial economy. But, at least, it suffices to say right from outset that one of the most common causes of protests was a condition of economic deprivation. The proportion of such deprivation, not only determined the occurrence of protests¹¹⁷, but also and perhaps more importantly, showed the people’s pains and agonies arising from their departure from the pre-colonial economic trends.

2.4 IMPERIAL ONSLAUGHTS AND IMPACTS ON IGBOMINA ECONOMY

In spite of the splendor, opulence and wealth of the “powerful Igbomina” in the pre-colonial epoch, it became crystal clear that Igbomina had lost her sovereignty. The viability of Igbomina economy might have attracted the Hausa, Fulani and Nupe immigrants as well as people from other parts of Yoruba land to the

region.¹¹⁸ Little did the “*hospitable*” people of Igbomina know that that very act was to soon become their greatest undoing! And so, whatever their power might have been, as far back as the 17th century while most of the communities were just either being established, or consolidated, they had started to face raids and military encounters from their neighbours. [A number of factors have made the Igbominas susceptible and vulnerable to external invasions and military pressures and harassments, the gravest ones of which came in the 18th and 19th centuries. These included their heterogeneous nature and their location among distinct and often inimical neighbours.

Right from the 17th century, the Ijesha had started harassing and, at times, enslaving the Igbomina. The present day Ajase was ravaged by a combined army of the Olomu and the ruler of Bagiddi. Furthermore, S.A. Akintoye gave an account of various fruitless attempts by the Benin armies to penetrate into Igbomina in the 17th century.¹¹⁹ However, although Atanda’s recorded oral tradition purports that there was never any lord-vassal relationship between the Alaafin of Oyo and the Orangun of Illa, claiming that even Illa’s

dependent towns were outside the jurisdiction of the Old Oyo Empire, and the view that Illa, Ilesa, and Ife, were never subject to Old Oyo was also held at the present Oyo.¹²⁰ However, some in deed, have argued to the contrary. R.C.C. Law has it on record that by the late 17th century, Oyo had established control over parts of Igbomina. The Oyo put Igbomina under incessant military pressures in the early 18th century.¹²¹ Johnson also has it on record that under the reign of the powerful and pugnacious and belligerent king Alaafin Ojigi,

*... an expedition was sent against the Igbomina...
Great exploits were reported of the leaders...*¹²²

But Oyo's control on the Igbomina, had been considerably weakened by the mid-18th century, due to the emergence of Nupe as the predominant power in the North-Eastern Yoruba region, on the one part, and due to the hurdle, arising from the constitutional experimentation within the Oyo Empire.¹²³ During the reigns of the three notable Nupe Etsus: Jubirilu (1744-59); Maijia II (1769-77); and Mu'azu (1779-1795), Nupe's raids became more pronounced. Several Igbomina settlements were ravaged, like Oro-Ago, Igbo-Ora, Oba, while so many of them were displaced from their initial

settlements. One of such was Oba. Still razing through the Igbomina country, the **Olusin's** town of Igbole was ravaged and set on fire, the villages of the **Oniwo** were razed down with fire, and again, Oba was displaced a second time from its new settlement at Oba Ofaro. Oro was totally annihilated, the new town of Odo-Eku was denied of all its inhabitants. The Olupo of Ajase-po--Dalla II – was murdered in cold-blood, and his capital town – Bagiddi – sacked and a considerable percentage of its inhabitants were taken into slavery. Iji and Ijara were not left out. Only Oke-Onigbin, Ala and Edidi that were not directly situated along Maijia's path apparently survived the raids.¹²⁴

Perhaps the Igbomina towns that suffered these incessant Nupe raids the most were the frontier districts of Oro-Ago and Oke-Ode which shared boundaries with the Nupe kingdom. However, many of the fleeing folks rather than settle in the already existing “safer” villages, went to establish new settlements out of the ruins of the fallen ones. Some of these included Illa, out of Yara; the Ekunmesan Oro from Kanko (Oro)¹²⁵; and perhaps Share, as recently as C.1808 or 1809; Sharagi¹²⁶, etcetera. The Orangun who

tried to put up some *résistance* only had himself to blame. His town was burnt down, and he himself was taken a prisoner of war to Ilorin. This lesson, turned the Olupo of Ajase into a "*counselor*" strictly discouraging others from launching any such resistance.¹²⁷

The effect of this was a serious damage on the socio-political and military setting of Igbominaland, but perhaps more importantly, was the distabilization of the existing indigenous economy. Basically, the spate of belligerency caused insecurity, making virtually all economic activities to be grounded, as such an act may lead to the fellow's greatest irreconcilable regret. This was to continue right into the 19th century when the Igbomina were to meet with other serious forms of raids and conquests from the Fulani and Ibadan.

Thus, Danmole has well noted that for over half a century prior to the incorporation of the Igbomina, Ekiti and Ibolu into the Ilorin Emirate, they had been frequently been attacked by their neighbours who conducted series of raids on them. Such attacks led to the establishment of some degree of Nupe authority over these areas. Indeed, at Oke-Ode, Nupe titles and type of village council survived to the middle of the 20th century.¹²¹ It might be difficult to reconcile at

the moment, the Nupe over-rule with the fact that certain Igbomina settlements like Rore and Ora were said to have been originally peopled from Nupeland. Further research needs be conducted into that.

C.1835 marked the actual beginning of the conquest and subjugation of a vast number of the Igbomina settlements by the Ilorin forces, and this did not end with the British conquest of Ilorin in 1897, as the British colonial government only consolidated it the more. Ilorin imperialism in Igbominaland has been described as an extension of the Dan Fodio-led Jihad which soon spread to the south, claiming Nupeland and parts of Yorubaland into the Sokoto caliphate.¹²⁹ Although attempts were made by Afonja, by the close of the 18th century, to invade the Igbomina region, after the establishment of the emirate in 1823, the Ilorin forces actually undertook series of campaigns in Igbominaland, in order to acquire more territories for the emirate from where booties in form of slave^{129b} and other goods could be derived. Ilorin, the frontier emirate, needed these in order to sustain itself, as well as its forces, especially the ambitious warlords. The Ilorin believed that the only

way their Yoruba (Igbomina) enemies could be brought under the emirate system was through such military assault.

Clarke left a pitiable account of the Igbomina kingdom with its acclaimed one-time large capital of Ila between 1854-1858. He put it in these words full of empathy:

If there is a being that deserves our pity and sympathy, it is the unfortunate one whom the ravages of time have reduced from opulence and power to a state of poverty and penury. Such seemed to be the condition of the monarch of Igbomina. Whatever the country and capital may have been, in its palmy days, there are marks sufficiently evident to prove that those days are no more that the power of royalty is lost and the kingdom exists only in name. The very countenance of the man proved to me his energy was gone and, if his physiognomy taught anything, it appears that the wounded spirit within his heart will hurry him to his grave.¹³⁰

That was the result of the Ilorin-based Fulani attacks in the early 19th century. Whereas, as from the mid-19th century, the Igbomina suffered further invasion from the Ibadan who had become interested in the acquisition of territories in this area. The Nupe who had by this time also become an integral part of the Emirate showed similar interest.

Furthermore, between 1834 and 1839, the belligerent Ibadan people overran much of eastern Yorubaland--Igbominaland inclusive--. Although most of the towns were not burnt down to ashes, they were reduced to a state of servitude of unwilling tribute and placed under the jurisdiction of consuls to eat out, at the bidding of their tyrannical lords, the resources and mainstay of the people. Again, Clarke has this account:

...such is the present state of things from which I see but little prospects of relief. ¹³¹

The successive attacks of the Nupe, Fulani and Ibadan not only left an indelible loss on the efforts of the Igbomina in physical terms, but also, a stigma on the pre-colonial economic trends. Indigenous industries had to be shut down, farms abandoned, and trading activities, being most unsafe, jettisoned. It was the bid to get out of this debacle that made the Igbomina to enter into alliances and counter-alliances, the most popular one being ***the Ekiti-parapo Confederacy***. This represented the institution of new loyalties transcending the confines of the old kingdom or sub-ethnic divisions. The Ijesha, Ekiti, Efon, Akoko and Igbomina merged in 1878, under the leadership of prince Fabunmi, a native of the Ekiti town of Imesi-

Igbodo (Oke-Imesi) to form a grand-alliance which they termed the “**Ekitiparapo**” meaning the Ekiti Confederacy. They raised a formidable army and were determined not only to liberate themselves of Ibadan’s exploitation and suzerainty, but also to overrun the Oyo tribes right on the Ibadan farms at River Oba .¹³²

It should be recalled that both Ibadan and Oyo, had at different times, had a firm grip on these peoples. For the Igbomina and Ekiti in particular, they joined the confederacy with the aim of utilizing the assistance of other members to rid themselves off Ilorin’s political hegemony and economic exploitation.¹³³ It is hoped that this will correct the notion that the local imperial onslaughts resulted in a

*cultural trait of cowardice on the Igbomina from which they never recovered. The ‘powerful Igbomina’ behaved in like cowards on many occasions at the sight of any danger. Rather than regroup to face the Nupe in the late 18th century, they resorted to moving their towns up on rugged hills to their total discomfort.*¹³⁴

So, rather than attribute it to cowardice, it can be said that they realized early enough that “*he who fights and runs away only leads to fight another day*”. Thus, the hilly terrain of Igbominaland, as

in Oro-Ago and surrounding Districts were used to maximum advantage against their enemies; enabling them to resist the invaders, *at least* a little longer. Oral tradition also has it that during this time, the Oro-Ago people usually rolled heavy stones against their enemies, climbing up their hills to attack them.¹³⁵ Johnson also noted that the Oro-Ago people were well known for their bravery in warfare, “ *the Oro warriors possessed poisoned arrows which enabled them to do more damage to the ranks of their invaders*”.¹³⁶ In most cases, the Oro-Ago soldiers confronted their enemies from the hill-top to deal with their invaders. This made many Igbomina people to seek refuge in the area,¹³⁷ although this resistance did not all the time meet with success. The Igbomina groups were apparently poorly co-ordinated at the initial stage. This led to several of their peoples taken as slaves by the Fulani. This was also said to have resulted in the destruction of Ahun, an ancient settlement in the Oro District. The inhabitants fled, some captured as slaves while numerous others escaped north-westwards to establish Share on the Igbomina-Nupe boundary.¹³⁸ However, they were able to offer

some more co-ordinated resistances, by forming a series of alliances to resist their invaders.

It wasn't until ***the Local Government Reforms of 1968*** that spelt the separation and in deed, a sort of partial freedom of the Igbomina, that the people experienced emancipation from the tutelage of Ilorin. The colonial era only ushered the Igbomina into an era of a connubial imperial onslaught, an era when the Igbomina precariously lived in the throes of a double-edged imperialism: one "*local*", by the Ilorin, and the other, *foreign*, by the British. This was undoubtedly the worst time ever in the history of the Igbomina. The Igbomina experience between C. 1897 and 1960 only underscored the validity of the popular biblical maxim and aphorism that, "*a servant can not serve two masters...*" The Igbomina indeed, served the Ilorin concurrently with the British.

This was most telling on the economy of the Igbomina people, as well as in the disruption of other socio-political activities. Trade routes and market centers became unsafe, as a result of the prevalent wars, which in turn led to socio-political upheavals in the

traditional society; all of which slowed down the process of economic growth in the region.

The British system of indirect rule that made use of the Ilorin agents only imposed heavier economic hardships on the people. It was an opportunity for the Ilorin to retain and re-assert their hegemony on their Igbomina “*victims*”, an awareness that never escaped them. There were the Babakekere, and Ajele --political agents, usually sent to tributary towns to collect taxes, tolls and other levies. To effectively do this, they were given considerable powers over the villages under them. As a political agent was in charge of the colonies’ Foreign affairs, so also, the ajele interfered in their domestic policy. Their exploitation took various forms. (The Ajele rendered the Igbomina Oba impotent. They were so corrupt, taking bribes and perverting justice, extorting money, palm oil, kola nuts and palm wine from the people.¹³⁹ Refusal to pay up the imposed *excise*, as well as instigating or indicting people against payment was not taken lightly. Some who tried it were tried (and convicted) and found guilty at ***Owu on October 19, 1933***, at the Emir’s court. They were thus, sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.¹⁴⁰ It

may easily be concluded that the case was like that of the *cockroach that can never be innocent in the gathering or court of fowls*.

Already existing research works have been devoted to the roles of the Baba-kekere, the Ajele and the Ilorin agents, revealing their atrocities.¹⁴¹ As such, that might not necessarily need delay us here. The ultimate aim here is to create an awareness on how the various local imperial onslaughts on Igbomina, caused serious distabilizations to the pre-colonial economic trends. Thus already severely weakened by the successive Nupe, Ibadan and Ilorin raids and attacks, hopes of freedom later proved blurred as the late 20th and early 21st centuries only initiated them from the local to the foreign imperialism, which **V. I. Lenin** has rightly described as ***the highest stage of capitalism***.

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CHAPTER THREE

COLONIAL ECONOMIC POLICIES: THE EARLY PHASE, 1897-

1939

3.1 THE ESTABLISHMENT OF COLONIAL RULE AND BRITISH CONQUEST OF ILORIN, 1897

Africa and Europe maintained contact for about four centuries beginning from the 14th century such that the relationship was based on equality and not master-servant relations, the emphasis of which was predominantly commercial. In the 1880s, the story changed, as the period witnessed one of the most significant historical movements of modern times.

During this era, Africa was partitioned, conquered and occupied effectively by the industrialized nations of Europe, Africa being the last continent to be subdued by Europe.¹ Europe suddenly became increasingly interested in colonial possessions. Accordingly, the dawn of the 20th century witnessed the establishment of formal empires, (i.e. colonialism) in most of West Africa, marking the end of informal empires when the relationship between Europe and Africa

was purely commercial, an era, which has been aptly described as that of ***mercantilism***.

After Balogun Abubakar Karara had succeeded in laying a siege on Offa, around 1878, (that being his form of avenging on them, against their role in the ***Jalumi War*** when the Offa contingents allegedly cut the bridge in the rear of the Ilorin army at the River Otin, which purportedly resulted in the decisive defeat of Ilorin), the concept of fear was not only instilled in the Ibolu, but also the Igbomina. These were all antecedents of the struggle for Eastern Yorubaland, especially by Ibadan and Ilorin in the 19th century.² The continued belligerent posture of Ilorin even after the 1886 Peace Treaty whereby Ibadan was compelled by the British to acknowledge the dependence of the members of the ***Ekitiparapo*** of which Ilorin and Igbomina were a part of, attracted more British attention. Ilorin continued to exploit its Ekiti and Igbomina subjects.

In 1865, ***the Royal Niger Company (RNC)*** signed a treaty with Aliyu, the Emir of Ilorin. Aliyu saw it only as a commercial treaty which would foster commercial activities within his emirate, but the RNC interpreted it in line with their hidden imperial-motive (i.e.

Ilorin's eventual surrender to the "*protection*" of the RNC and ultimately, to the British).³ This accounted for Ilorin's consternation at the implementation of the treaty by the British, upon which Emirs Moma (1891-1895) and Sulaiman (1895-1915)'s anti-British postures were premised. Accordingly, Sulaiman became more bull-headed that he made spirited efforts to deal with Lagos, one of which was the murder of the RNC's messengers in 1896 at Ilorin. He also attacked the Lagos constabulary force stationed at Odo Otin.⁴

By 1897, the position of the RNC at Lokaja was pre-carious. To defend themselves and the neighbouring non-Muslims, an expedition was decided upon against Bida and Ilorin. Four days after Bida's bombardment, on 23 January, 1897, the RNC's troops led by **Major Arnold**, and accompanied by **G.T. Goldie**⁵, crossing the River Niger at Bida, bombarded the Emir's palace at Ilorin with his Baloguns. The Emir took to his heels, and the Fulani quarters of Ilorin city was set ablaze on 15th February, 1897.⁶

The Igbomina utilized the crisis period to revolt, and at the instigation of **Major Reeve Tucker, the Resident of Ibadan**, the Ekiti council was formed with the **Oore of Otun** as President. A

treaty was signed by which the Emir became a vassal of the company. This treaty signed by Sulaiman, the Emir of Ilorin and G.T. Goldie, the RNC's Governor was said to have become somehow unpopular among other RNC's treaties.⁸

The Ekitis, Ibolos and Igbomina, who saw a “**Messiah**” in the New British Authority, generally, received the news of Ilorin’s defeat with great jubilations. But the question of the British Imperial motives was to soon become evident. They were all out to represent the interest of **Her Majesty’s Government** back at home. Thus, it is to be clarified that Ilorin’s final defeat in 1897 did not, in any way, end Ilorin’s hold on her subjects. Rather, it only served to consolidate it on the one hand, and on the other, it was a means to an end in achieving an effective British Indirect Rule System in the Emirate. With this Ilorin’s conquest, the people had to adjust to new forms of economic ventures brought in by British colonialism.⁹ It should be noted that, although the British defeat of Ilorin was in 1897, it wasn’t until 1900 that an actual “**effective occupation**” became established! By 31st December, 1899, the RNC's charter was revoked, and on **1 January, 1900**, the British Colonial Authority took

over control and declared the entire locale, a ***Protectorate***.¹⁰ The question that needs be asked is, “***why the sudden change in British interest in the West African sub-region in this period?***”¹¹

An appraisal of the British Imperial motives, especially when properly scrutinized to reveal not only the confessed but much more significantly, the concealed motives, would, no doubt, provide a good quality sense of understanding to the roots of the matter!

3.2 BRITISH IMPERIAL MOTIVES SCRUTINIZED!

Imperialism itself has been described by ***V.I. Lenin***, as “*the highest stage of capitalism*.”¹² Lenin is referring here to the minority ownership of the means of production resulting in excess production. It is the bid to dispose of this excess production that led to imperialism. European imperialism refers to the entrance of the European powers into Africa for various reasons. One basic fact that must be emphasized is that between 1875 when the first move in the process of the scramble and partition was set in motion, and 1900 when the partition was largely accomplished, the circumstances in Africa and Europe differed significantly from the pre-1875 epoch.

As much penmanship has been expended by several authors and earlier researchers on the theories of imperialism, our concern here wouldn't be to rehearse what the various scholars have done, but to examine how the Igbomina economy was ostracized by the colonial reforms and economic policies. Therefore, what is to be provided here might only be regarded as a *luminous* summary or highlight of the theories of imperialism.

3.2.1 THE OSTENSIBLE OR CAMOUFLAGE MOTIVES – THE PSYCHOLOGICAL OR HUMANITARIAN THEORIES:

It is not uncommon to hear the Western theorists, from the Euro centric viewpoint, provide the humanitarian factor(s) as the basis of what propelled imperialism. The psychological theories have been classified as “*Social Darwinism, Evangelical Christianity and the Atavistic social theory*”. These are so classified “*psychological*” because of their proponents’ common belief in the “***primacy of the white race.***”

3.2.1.1 SOCIAL DARWINISM: This is a theory held by the adherents of Charles Darwin’s idea which culminated into a book in November, 1859. It is a theory that justifies, the conquest of “*subject*

“races“ or *“backward races“* by the *“master race“* as the inevitable process of *“natural selection“* by which the stronger dominates the weaker in the struggle for existence. Hence, it preaches that ***might was Right!*** ¹³ It was even given scriptural backings. For instance, they quoted ***Genesis 1:26***

“And God said, let us make man in Our Image, after Our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creeps upon the earth. “

Accordingly, they claim that they, ***the master race***, are the *“Man“* while the ***“subject races“*** are classified as the ***“fishes“, “fowls“, “cattles“, and “every other creeping thing“***. The fact remains, however, that social Darwinism, when applied to the conquest of Africa, was more of a rationalization after the event than its originator.

3.2.1.2 EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANITY: This is perhaps the most superficial of the humanitarian theories of imperialism. Its proponents see the Darwinians’ theory as a *“damnable heresy“*. Theirs, they opined, was tempered with a generous dose of humanitarian and philanthropic zest. In the era of Africa’s conquest,

it was widespread among European policy-makers that the partition of Africa was, in no small measure, due to a broader missionary and humanitarian impulse that aimed at the regeneration of African peoples. They also argued that Europe colonized Africa to save the continent from the internecine tribal wars and disintegration. It is claimed that war in Africa was a form of recreation that Africans were so backward that if they wanted to relax, would provoke any confrontation with their neighbours. So serious was it, they purported, that Africans needed outside intervention to save them from sudden fatality.

However, they intervened not because of breakdown of law and order in Africa, but because, blacks refused European exploitation. And to quote Lugard,

*The partition of Africa as we all recognised is due to economic necessity of increasing the supply of raw materials and foods to meet the needs of the industrialized nations of Europe.*¹⁴

But the missionary factor when properly scrutinized, cannot be maintained as a general theory of imperialism because of its limited application.¹⁵ It can also be argued that the proponents of this theory have so pursued it in order to make necessary restitutions of the

inhumane and damnable atrocities against the Africans, especially as regards the evils perpetuated in the era of European slave trade.

However, it was to be later revealed that this, in itself, was even a fraud, in that, the so-called missionaries and/or **humanitarians** never deemed it fit to resist African conquest, and even in some areas they actively pursued their conquest. This was because colonialism and Christianity, according to Afolayan, were seen as twin brothers, and that the missionaries were partners or agents of colonial rule.^{16a} Christianity, in a way, therefore, was used as an instrument and a bait to trap the “*local*” people of Africa. It was a diplomatic strategy, towards achieving the European imperialism and well co-ordinated economic exploitation. Anti-slaving sentiments, is thus, at best superfluous and at worst, a calculated hypocrisy.^{16b}

3.2.1.3 ATAVISTIC THEORY: Imperialism was first explained in sociological terms by Joseph Schumpeter who posited that imperialism arose as a natural desire by man to dominate his fellow men just for that sake alone; governed by man’s universal urge for usurpation. Rather than economic pressures, imperialism, according

to Schumpeter, was a consequence of certain imponderable, psychological factors. Hence, it is a collective national egotism, self-supremacy and superiority. He maintained that the economic explanation of the new imperialism, based as it were, on the logical development of capitalism, was a misnormal.

While the humanitarian theories may have a modicum of truth in them as an explanation of the partition, they refused to explain why the partition occurred, especially, when it did. They however, postulate why it was possible and considered desirable.¹⁷ These camouflaged motives, especially the Evangelical Christianity, which was employed to show their “*holier than thou*” posture, notwithstanding, have been discovered to be severely underplayed, the most significant of which included the Economic theory, and Diplomatic and/or Political theories.

3.2.2 CONCEALED/FUNDAMENTAL MOTIVES.

3.2.2.1 THE ECONOMIC THEORY: No single general theory fully elucidates the phenomenon of imperialism. Perhaps the most all-embracing is the explanation by Lenin which posited that with the industrialization in Europe and concentration of capital in fewer

hands through the organisation of cartels, and through the increasing important roles of the Banks in financing all sorts of industrial and commercial enterprises, financiers began to find it difficult, not only to invest their money profitably, but also to dispose off the products of their excesses. The need to find avenues for the disposal of excess investment funds and production propelled the European powers to divide the underdeveloped world among themselves in a classical struggle for new areas in which to invest and for new industrial markets. This struggle, in many instances, led to the annexation of territories as the “*best* “ secured means of protecting their investments and markets, thus, leading to unhealthy rivalry and war among the powers.

This is where Raji’s rhetorical question comes in, while talking about the British declaration of Nigeria as a “***protectorate***“, that “***who was being protected, and from (by) who?***” To which he has this to say,

*Certainly not the Igbomina or people of Nigeria at large... But the term was not quite meaningless. It meant, perhaps that henceforth, British [economic] interests in Nigeria would be protected from the interests of rival imperial powers...*¹⁸

And no doubt, travellers' (and other) accounts have revealed the potentials of Igbomina, which must be protected!

The two main proponents of the economic theory are John Atkinson Hobson and V.I. Lenin, who attributed the rapid race with which African territories were parceled out among the European powers to the economic necessities generated by the development of capitalism. Before communism became a threat to capitalism, the economic theory of imperialism was not seriously questioned. However the economic theory of imperialism, having being modified, has become increasingly well accepted today.

Besides the search for market to dispose of their excess products, it is also acclaimed that Europeans needed raw materials, which were more in Africa. The need became urgent after the abolition of slave trade. However, this Marxist view has been acutely criticized as being an over-estimation. It was argued that the continent provided none of the economic benefits to merit the attention of the economic class. It was also argued that at this time, only Britain, France, and perhaps Germany had any excess capital to be exploited, while Portugal and Italy lacked export capital

entirely! Thus, they claimed that the economic theory has no basis in Africa.

But from all that we know and from the available evidence, the relevance of the economic theory can neither be over-emphasized nor under-estimated especially when we compare the background of the change-over from slave trade and its replacement by export agriculture which according to Adu Boahen, has been wrongly, but in a typical euro centric manner, been termed ***legitimate trade***.¹⁹

This changeover has led to a fierce struggle between African middlemen on one hand, and European merchants on the other. Not even a thorough obliteration of the classical theory of economic imperialism can invalidate the fact that imperialism was basically economic in its fundamental impulses. Thus, Uzoigwe has this to say:

*To belittle other economic views of imperialism and then to jubilantly hang their proponents because of their suspected association with Hobson and Lenin is rather unscholarly. It is now clear from more serious investigations of African history in this period that those who persist in trivializing the economic dimension of the partition do so at their own peril.*²⁰

Walter Rodney also made it point-blank that imperialism was essentially an economic phenomenon, and, by extension, a capitalist expansion.²¹

The real fact therefore, is that imperialism as a generic one entails foreign domination, the conquest, administration and **EXPLOITATION** of human and material resources of the conquered by the conqueror, a question of the power relationship between the weak and the strong. European imperialism is capitalism-based. It is the child of European industrialization, which entails the search for markets and raw-materials outside Europe. Hence, **expansionism is equivalent to imperialism**, which includes the exploitation of foreign lands. And as Walter Rodney explains, it was economics that determined that Europe should invest in Africa and control the continent's raw materials and labour. *It was racism that confirmed the decision that the form of control should be direct colonial rule.*²²

3.2.2.2 THE POLITICAL/DIPLOMATIC THEORIES

This is perhaps the most popular explanation of the partition. This has been grouped into: *Balance of powers, Global strategy, and National prestige.*

Firstly there have been suggestions about changes in the political Balance of Power (**B.O.P.**), first, among the European states, and second, with the power elites within the European states. This emphasizes Europe's need for peace and stability at home as the primary cause of the partition. When conflict of interest in Africa threatened to destroy peace in Europe, the European powers had no better choice other than to carve out Africa in order to preserve the European diplomatic balance that had stabilized itself by the 1880s.²³ The unification of Germany and Italy, and the emergence of the two as important actors on the European scene, to some extent, disrupted the **B.O.P.** and in order to restore it, both Britain and France increasingly began to see acquisition of African territories as a very attractive option. Not to be left out, Germany, Italy and Portugal were compelled to join the rat-race in the bid to remain major players on the European scene.

Secondly, Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher had put forward the strategic argument saying that it was the need to maintain the **B.O.P.** in Europe as well as to secure access to important raw materials that led to European imperialism. The

scramble for and partition of Africa was set in motion when Britain reluctantly took it upon herself to acquire more territories in order to defend its imperial possessions especially in India and the Far East. But this move threatened the interest of another major European power—France--, who responded to the British move by the counter-annexation of African territories, in terms of strategic and ideological considerations. Beleaguered by the security threat that the actions of France posed to its African acquired territories, Britain responded by the further acquisition of new territories again, for strategic reasons.

Spurred on by the Anglo-French rivalries by annexations and counter-annexations, the other European powers also moved to start annexations of their own, some of which were strategically dangerous to Britain and France. This theory seems to work well when applied to the Nile valley especially, Egypt and Sudan; and to some extent in Southern Africa; but seems not to hold too much water in West Africa.²⁴

Thirdly, some others have talked of *imperialism of prestige*, the race for colony having become a matter of national prestige. The greatest exponent is said to be **Carlton Hayes**. This simply refers to

a situation where no European power wants to be left out in the struggle for African territories because of the injured national self-esteem involved. In these European circles especially in the officialdom where national prestige bothers on jingoism, to be left out in the occupation of the African territories was considered suicidal.²⁵

Analysts have explained imperialism in various terms some of which included the ***Technological Theory; the Treasure House Theory***, which regards Africa as an “***El-dorado of Treasures*”**; as well as looking at it from the Afro centric point of view, or the ***African Dimension Theory***,²⁶ which postulates the theory of local crisis, among others.

In a nut-shell, looking at these various theories vis-à-vis Igbominaland, we would readily agree that the propelling force behind imperialism (and the subsequent colonialism), in this area, could perhaps be exclusively explained in political, and more importantly, economic terms. Seeing ***Igbominaland as an El-dorado of Treasures***, as revealed by travellers, like Clarke, who had been to, and seen the vital economic potentials “*wasting away*” there. It would be revealed that Clarke made strong

recommendations to the British traders as well as the Americans Cotton Growers.²⁷

Rodney reveals that besides animal tallow and whale oil, the desirable raw materials all come from the tropics namely: palm oil, palm kernel oil, groundnut oil, and copra. West Africa happened to be the world's greatest palm produce zone and was also a major grower of groundnuts.²⁸ To sum up briefly, colonialism meant a great intensification of exploitation on the Igbomina. But the facts might just be left, for now, to speak for themselves, as an appraisal of the colonial economy is bound to do justice to whatever is left.

3.3 BRITISH COLONIAL ECONOMY: EARLY PHASE 1900-1918

By 1900, Britain had been able to effectively occupy many parts of Nigeria, and the colonial rule firmly established. This had been through military conquests after the occupation, which became effective on January 1, 1900 when Union Jack was lowered in Lokoja. On that day, the protectorate of Northern Nigeria was declared by the British with Sir (later Lord) Fredrick Lugard as High Commissioner. Swiftly, he moved to partition the protectorate into

provinces, and the Ilorin Emirate formed a substantial integral part of the Ilorin province under a Resident.²⁹

What came next was how the colonial government would administer the colony. The successful establishment of colonial rule within the first few years of that century led to socio-political and economic changes, which were unfamiliar to the people. These changes were brought about via the instrumentation of the indirect rule and colonial economic policies. A number of reforms were initialed under the Indirect Rule System. These met with serious violent reactions in Igbominaland, and as such in the Ilorin Emirate. In deed, the Emirate witnessed more violent outbursts to colonial reforms between 1900-1919 than any other.³⁰

The British, as in the other Northern Nigerian provinces, sought to rule via the indirect rule system. This way, the colonial authority had to take certain crucial socio-political steps in order to guarantee economic success. First, the office of the Emir, under Sulaiman, which had earlier been reduced to that of a mere *puppet* by the power-hungry Baloguns, especially Alanamu, who had weirded considerable power for themselves in the 19th century, was

restored to the Emir, who then began to act up to his position as the real head.³¹

One way of achieving this was by *staffing* the Emir who had hitherto depended exclusively on tributes from his Balogun. He was given a salary of ₦198 per annum, so as to become independent of them.³² Deposition and exile were instruments used by the British to deal with chiefs who did not approve of their political reforms during the early years of colonial rule. The colonial authority, in 1903, therefore, presented a staff of office to Emir Sulaiman in the presence of a large assemblage of chiefs with a view to showing the Emir's supremacy over all the other provincial chiefs.³³

Some chiefs were skillfully initiated into the colonial bureaucracy, and in the case of Igbomina, there were Ilorin chiefs such as the Emir, Ajia (ajele), Babakekere, etc. To enhance the success of the colonial rule, and an effective exploitation of the Igbomina (but for minor modifications) Ilorin Emirate provincial system as represented by the District Head system, was retained by the British who fashioned out certain political, economic and

administrative frameworks within which Ilorin agents were to play some significant roles.³⁴

The colonial economic policies in Igbomina and, in deed, elsewhere in colonial Africa, were underscored by ***the principle of economic self-sufficiency***. By this, the colony was expected to generate its own resources to finance its administration. In other words, the colonial government was not ready to fund the development of the colony. Rather, the colony should fund itself. It was, therefore, no surprise that the British introduced certain economic measures, which were aimed at generating revenue locally, in order to meet the administrative costs of the colony. These economic measures were designed to assist the socio-economic and techno-industrial development back home in Europe.

This column will attempt to focus on developments within the colonial economy in Igbomina, beginning from the beginning of colonial rule in 1900, and terminating by the end of the First World War in 1918. Cognizance would be taken of certain colonial economic measures through which the Igbomina were exploited.

Some of these included colonial economic policies on production, taxation, transportation and communications, and industry.

3.3.1 COLONIAL PRODUCTION: The most common interpretation of colonialism is that it was a calculated system for exploiting the economic potentials of dependencies in the interest of the parent states.³⁵ Methods however, varied than aims. Lugard's imperial idea was summed up in his **Dual Mandate** where, in this regard, he stated inter alia,

“The Tropics produce in abundance a class of raw materials and foodstuffs which cannot be grown in the temperate zones and are so vital... and essential to civilization. It was the realization of this fact, which led the nations of Europe to compete for the control of the African tropics. Consider for instance, the use of vegetable oils, Palm oil, kernel oil, copra, benniseed, cottonseed, shea, guinea corn, rubber, coffee, cocoa, rice, tobacco, timber, sugar, dye-stuffs, gums, etc, and we can realize how intimately our daily life is dependent on the produce of the tropics.”³⁶

Thus, the very first step taken by the colonial government was to enforce the production of such raw materials. Although, the

Igbomina people had their own styles of undertaking agriculture, the colonial imposition interfered, and destabilized them. Lugard therefore, instructed his political personnel to exploit all available means to enlighten, motivate, and persuade the local people to produce the raw materials needed by the British industries.³⁷

Cotton, of all the produce, enjoyed prominent colonial initial support in order to meet the pressing demand of the British textile mills, which arose as a result of the short fall, which supplies from the U.S. could no longer meet. In 1904, for example a Cotton Survey Team was sent to the protectorate of Northern Nigeria, that the region had one of the best cotton soils in the world, with unlimited land and labour. Between 1901 and 1909, the British Treasury was said to have made an annual grant of £1000 annual grant by the British Cotton Growers Association (B.C.G.A.) between 1906 and 1911.³⁸ To start with, the B.C.G.A. distributed about twelve bags of seeds to peasants, and about twelve acres of cotton land was cultivated by the Resident for the purpose of experimentation and observation.³⁹

Igbominaland was not left out as the various Districts Heads were all persuaded by the Resident to get involved in cotton production,⁴⁰ although it was met by an initial reluctance. In order to disprove of their insinuations, the peasants were motivated to pay their tax in cotton either in part or whole. These initial colonial efforts met with considerable success.⁴¹ In April 1913, a Cotton Experimental Plantation Station was established by the colonial administration, in Agunjin, but had to be closed down later due to lack of uniformity in soil and the question of proximity to the railway station, the nearest being about thirty miles away. The cotton yield from the province vis-à-vis the colonial goal was apparently not impressive, in spite of the rising prices of primary produce during the last two years of the World War I.⁴²

There were also other crops mentioned by Clarke such as Dana or guinea and Indian corn in Share; oranges, banana and plantain fruits, cassava, corn, yams and potatoes, etc.⁴³ Others included peanut, coconuts, shea-nuts, palm oil and kernels, cocoa, kola-nuts, in addition to timber resources like Iroko, Mahogany, Ogano and Obeche which were indigenous to the area.⁴⁴

A part of the instructions given to the District Heads by the Resident at the onset was the production of groundnuts and sheanuts,⁴⁵ emphasizing the importance of growing these along side cotton in 1910. By 1916, the B.C.G.A. already had buying stations and agents at Ajase, Oke-Ode, and Agunjin.⁴⁶ The good result from this made about 757 tons of groundnut seeds be distributed for free to peasant farmers in 1917, which was not even enough for them.⁴⁷

Different varieties of tobacco were imported to displace the local one. Special trial plots were established in Bode-Saadu, Ajase and Otun in order to stimulate the interest of the peasants.⁴⁸ Cocoa was introduced during the colonial epoch and as such, trial stations were proposed for it as well as coffee and rubber in each district of Ilorin province in 1913, with Agunjin-trained colonial agricultural officers as supervisors attached to the various District Chiefs.

Successes were recorded in the Igbomina, Ibolo, Ekiti and Illa Districts, in the southern part of the province. Palm kernel production was also prominent in the Igbomina, Ibolo and Ekiti Districts. War-time demands led to the rise of palm oil, and the colonial authorities had to embark on feeder road constructions to give palm kernel

producers easier access to the railway markets.⁴⁹ Prospects for coffee was also said to be better. Although timber resources were prominent in Osi and Illa areas in particular, timber production could not be well encouraged as there were no large access rivers to float the logs across down the Niger.⁵⁰

However, as the Lagos Railway extension reached Ilorin in 1906,⁵¹ the story changed. Wages for labourers in the Railway service was apparently more rewarding, and access to money to pay up taxes was believed to be easier. This made peasants to desert their farms.⁵² This on the other hand, made the Emir in 1908, the President, P.M. Dwyer in 1909, and the Colonial Governor in 1910, on their tour to Ilorin, to pass an order to each District Head to ensure that every farmer grew cotton however small. But the Resident insisted on at least an acre of cotton per farmer.⁵³ As a counter-measure, the colonial authority effected a reduction in the wages of railway workers in order to foster the continual growth of such needed cash crops as cotton, groundnuts, etc.⁵⁴

As cash crop production for export was not very successful, food crop produce became a prominent feature of Igbomina, and in

deed, Ilorin provincial colonial economy as from circa, 1908. These crops such as cassava, yams, yam flour, guinea corn, maize, locust beans etc., were initially mainly exported to the southern markets in areas like Ibadan, Abeokuta and Lagos,⁵⁵ but also supplied to meet demands from northern markets in Kano and Jos as from about 1915. In deed, Igbomina, Ekiti and Offa fell quickly within Lagos' economic armpit and became suppliers of raw labour and foodstuffs to the markets in Lagos and its neighborhood. By 1916, there was said to have been a regular exodus of young men from Omu-Aran.⁵⁶

Ilorin province thus, became the principal external foods supplier, especially yams, to the developing areas in Lagos and its environs up to the period of World War II. The table below shows yam railings from principal exporting stations in Ilorin province (in tons):

	1910	1912	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919
Offa	5	38	110	157	212	191	237
Illa Market	25	2	29	27	52	86	163
Bode Saadu	69	985	192	417	496	305	762

Source: Garvin, R.J. "Impacts of Colonial Rule on Ilorin Economy..." Pp. 34-35

Trade in food produce was positively influenced by the advent of the Railway in 1908. The necessity to meet the food needs of the soldiers involved in the World War I also led to the increase in food production. From C. 1910, “*agricultural shows*” became a feature of the colonial administration in order to boost all forms of agricultural production.⁵⁷

3.3.2 COLONIAL TAXATION: Lugard’s “ Dual Mandate” never eluded his imperial taxation policy. He states,

*...without tax, there can be no treasury, and without treasury, no real eventual measure of self rule.*⁵⁸

The colonial Government, sensing that people might be unenthusiastic in producing what they were ordered to produce, made the cash crop production mandatory through a system of colonial taxation. It was not a matter of choice. The colonial tax was an instrument of oppression, and exploitation of the local economy. It became very glaring that the tendency to exploit the local raw-materials and the people themselves, was topmost on the colonial agenda.

As the colonial state had to raise its own fund, Lugard quickly moved to rationalize this taxation system, and channel the proceeds into the coffers of the state. The colonized was made to pay for the maintenance of the instruments of their colonizers. So important was this tax matter that all else seemed only secondary to it; ***Taxation itself being a form of surplus extraction or appropriation by a government from its citizenry. A state often depends on one form of extraction or another to maintain its institutions and territorial authority.***⁵⁹

The Lugardian Scheme was built on the already established Sarauta tax system in Hausaland, which was an aspect of continuity in the Emirate system. However, it must have eluded the British colonialists that Igbomina was not a part of the Hausa-Fulani caste. They believed themselves to be an integral part of the Yoruba race in the south, and as such abhorred the taxation system.⁶⁰ This is because except in the North, taxation was virtually unknown in Nigeria, and not until 1916 and 1928 was direct taxation introduced in the Western and Eastern Regions respectively.

Rodney has argued that one of the main purposes of the colonial taxation was to provide requisite funds for administering the colony as a field of exploitation... In many instances, Africans did not consider the monetary incentives great enough to justify changing their way of life so as to become labourers and cash-crop farmers. In such cases, the colonial state intervened by the use of law, and outright force to make Africans comply with a line favourable to capitalist profits. The favourable technique, therefore, was taxation.⁶¹

However, in spite of their initial resistances to direct taxes, the Igbomina, as other Yorubas in the North, and later in the south, had to pay. Resident P.M. Dwyer, by the end of 1901 had assessed most of the large towns and villages of the province, and by the end of 1902, the Emir had received over £900 as tributes. This made the colonial government pursue the enforcement of its payment with greater rigour as from 1903.⁶² From 1906, payment began with six pence (6d) per head annually. Throughout the colonial epoch, taxation was constantly on a steady rise in Ilorin province. While in 1915, 22,458 pounds was collected; it increased to 42,560 pounds in 1920.⁶³

The tax collection method itself was another scam: The colonial authority disguised themselves by acting via the already established local institutions, thus, making it really indirect. In Omu-Isanlu District, the taxes were divided among the Village Areas more or less in proportion to the adult population. Archival evidence clearly reveals that practically, all the adult females throughout the District paid tax.⁶⁴ While the taxes of Isanlu, Ala, Ijara and Oke-Abba were being collected, the respective Village Heads sat down at Oke-Onigbin with the District Heads (**D.H.**) and mallams. The villagers took their taxes and paid it direct to the **D.H.** The **V.A.Hs** were kept there rather like hostages till the tax was in, and not until then would the **V.H.** (Village Head) be allowed to return home.

What was more, it was discovered that the compound receipts issued by the Mallams rarely agreed with the amounts the people avowed they had paid. For instance, varying sums were discovered to have been over-collected in a particular year's tax collection, in five out of the seven Village Areas (**V.As**). The sums were:

Oko	£	5 – 14 – 0
Omu		5 – 17 – 6
Isanlu		7 – 8 – 6

<i>Ala</i>	<i>6 – 4</i>
<i>Ijara</i>	<i><u>4 – 8 – 3</u></i>
<i>Total</i>	<i>£ 23 – 4 – 7</i>

SOURCE: NAK ILOR PROF 6284 pp. 2-3.

One Enifare of Oponda also stated that Oponda tax was paid direct to the **D.H.** and six pence four shillings (6/4) was over collected.⁶⁵ However, in history, the issue of taxation has always triggered off conflicts between the rulers and the ruled. Colonial reforms in respect of taxation apparently attracted the most crucial reactions from the Igbomina, as well as others under the colonial rule.⁶⁶ Initially, payment of taxes by the people was prompt but as the colonial government gradually increased the taxes due to increased cost of administration on an annual basis, little wonder why there was an outbreak of protests in 1913. This was not only confined to Ilorin; it spread to the Onire District and all their chiefs responsible for tax collection had to flee to Ilorin for safety.⁶⁷

However, these protests were products of the colonial reforms rather than the inability of the people to pay the taxes. The tax protests represented the deep feeling of resentment towards the colonial administration's handling of the Emirate since 1900.⁶⁸

Income tax was also appropriated from people involved in industrial activities like weaving, dyeing, blacksmithing, palm oil making, and other indigenous craftworks. This was based on their assessed income. In Ajase District, the political officer, Mr. V.E. Biscoe, was said to have appropriated a 3% tax, not only on men, but also women involved in different craftworks in 1916. These included tailors, traders, butchers, blacksmiths, barbers, drummers, etc. among the men, and dyers, spinners, palm oil makers, weavers, potters etc. among the women.⁶⁹

3.3.3 COLONIAL TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATIONS

In order to facilitate the evacuation of raw materials from the province, the colonial government embarked on the construction of some transportation network, in particular, railways, harbours and feeder roads. At the beginning of the colonial era, the major means of transportation were pack animals, like horses and donkeys, and human/head portage. Roads were therefore, limited to recognised, often narrow, bush paths. And so, the colonial situation called for wider and more extensive roads.⁷⁰ Those products, which were brought through the feeder-roads, were handed over to the railways,

to convey to the harbour, for onward shipment across the seas to Europe. This ensured that resources were conveniently siphoned from the colony.

Igbomina was not left out of this system. Few roads were constructed, and where constructed, they were not maintained or cleared until when a District Officer (D.O) wanted to tour the District; and until the late 1930s, forced unpaid labour of the Igbomina people was said to be exacted for one month in every twelve for road work, carrier duties, etcetera.⁷¹ In Omu-Isanlu District, there was only one Road in this period, and that is part of the motor-road from Ilorin to Otun which passed through the district, passing through Oke-Onigbin and Omu-Aran. However, bush paths--very rocky and hilly ones at that--connected up all towns and villages.⁷² It wasn't until the post-war two era that intense construction work began in this area, although by 1912, some major roads had been constructed running through Igbomina: from Ilorin to Offa via Omupo and Ajase to Oke-Ode via Okeya and Igbaja.⁷³

Furthermore, by 1908, the extension of Lagos railways had reached Ilorin, and in 1916, the Niger ferry at Jebba was replaced by

the double bridge. So rapidly did Ilorin's economy expand that it soon earned the encomium: "***Sobriquet of the market garden of Nigeria***".⁷⁴ From the foregoing analysis, it became crystal clear that the railway extension to Ilorin guaranteed safe delivery at the harbours from where such goods were shipped to Europe. Basically, the only lag that existed was that of the feeder-roads which were virtually non-existent. But since there was a network of bush paths, which connected "***all***" the towns and villages, it became obvious that, as the colonialists would do anything to achieve their own interest even at the peril of the "***local***" people, head portage was still largely in vogue by this period, thus, filling the gap and serving the role of the feeder roads. Through portage, the bulk of the goods from within Igbomina were carried out to the railway entrepot at Ilorin⁷⁵, making the network service complete.

It suffices to say that means communications and transportations were not constructed in the colonial era so that the colonized would visit their friends. Indeed, all roads and railways, Rodney reveals, led straight to the sea.⁷⁶ In that regards, if any of

these facilities later became advantageous to the Igbomina in any way, such an advantage was, rather than intentional, accidental.

3.3.4 INDUSTRY: The colonial government did not favour industrialization in any of their colonies. This was because, one, if they did, they would be undermining their own industrialization programme back at home in Europe. Two, if they encouraged industries in their colonies, they would be robbing themselves some markets for their finished products, and three, the industries in the colony would only spring up in competition with the ones in Europe, which they did not like. It should be remembered that even in the pre-colonial era, some indigenous products, like the textile, were compared relatively with those produced in Lancashire and Manchester.⁷⁷

It was therefore, part of the colonial economic agenda to ensure that the colonies did not develop industrially so that they could remain ever dependent on the West, on one hand, and to remain perpetual producers of raw materials and buyers of finished goods in accordance with their framework of “***Division of Labour***”, on the other hand.

This same thing applies to technology, which was at its low ebb during the colonial era, in Igbominaland and like anywhere else in West Africa, not because Igbomina lacked expertise or skills and techniques or resources and capability, but because they became destabilized by western forces through programmes such as the slave trade, colonial education and such other measures. To this effect, talking about technological poverty in Igbomina, and in deed Africa, today, there is the need to take cognizance of the negative impact of colonialism on the people.

In Igbominaland, before colonialism, the kinds of industrial activities widespread were the craft-types such as spinning, weaving, dyeing, carving, pottery, smithing etc. Unlike agriculture, the colonial authority did not have any policy meant to boost the growth of modern industries, at the inception of its administration in the Emirate. The colonial policy on agricultural production threatened the continual survival of the local textile industry in Igbomina. This is because, in an effort to meet the cotton requirements of the British textile industries, the colonial authority instructed the farmers to concentrate on cultivation of imported

exotic cotton seeds, at the peril of the indigenous species which were preferable to the local weavers. This was a calculated attempt to drain the local industries of their source of raw cotton supply.

In the general analysis, the aspect of continuity in all industrial sectors prevailed over that of change, at least in the first phase of the colonial epoch. But the process of change was being gradually built during this era, which only began to manifest in subsequent epochs. Moreover, efforts towards the sinking of the indigenous industries actually started at this period.

To this effect, it is shrewd to argue that the colonial economic programme in Igbomina did more harms than good, in that the programme was Europe-centred rather than people. Accordingly, this left a legacy of economic disabilities for the Igbomina and the entire people(s) of the Nigerian colony.

3.4 THE ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF THE WORLD WAR I AND THE GLOBAL ECONOMIC DEPRESSION:

The economic crises caused by the effects of the world war I was world-wide, and it could be said that primary producing countries like Nigeria were only suffering the impact of the

depression that occurred in Europe.⁷⁸ Some of the effects of the world war I, which ranged from economic to socio-political, were direct, while others were in-direct. However, the economic effects would receive better attention in this regard.

During the war, the allied power needed some of the primary produce of their colonies more than ever before. For instance, because they were now using a lot of ammunitions, they also needed lubricants. The relevant produce, which was, therefore, needed more than the pre-war era, was palm kernel. Consequently, there was a rise in the volume of palm kernels during the middle years of the war. Naturally, that was accompanied by a sharp increase in the price of palm kernel, which, in turn led to considerable gains, and an increase in earnings for produce farmers. For that category of Igbomina and in deed Nigerians, therefore, those years were a period of relative economic boom.

Like many other British sub-colonies, Igbomina experienced a renewed economic boom in the export of primary products as from 1919 and 1920, especially due to the increased demands for such produce by the reviving industrial activities in Britain and U.S.A. in

particular. So great was the demand that the demand then became greater than the supply! The result was a renewed increase in both the personal earnings of the produce farmers and dealers, as well as the Igbomina economy itself.

This boom, however, abruptly collapsed in the years 1921 and 1922, and so disastrous were its consequences for the Igbominas and Nigerians in general. Again, prices of primary produce fell. Nigerian, and as such Igbomina merchants went bankrupt. A number of austerity measures were taken consequent upon which a slight revival of economic activities became apparent in 1927 and 1928, but the condition again deteriorated acutely in the early 1930s. For instance, the average market price of palm oil, which was 35 pounds per ton in 1928, fell sharply to 26 pounds in 1930 and further to 12 pounds in 1934!⁷⁹

Thus, it became obvious that colonial possessions served capitalism as a *safety-valve* in times of trauma such as the great economic slump of 1929-1934, during which the prices paid to peasants for their crops, among others, were reduced. But the

colonialists did their best to transfer the burden of the depression away from Europe, to the colonies.⁸⁰

Being a product of the irrationality of the capitalist mode of production, the depression spread from one end of the capitalist world to the other, only leaving the *Soviet Union* unhampered since *socialism* caused great development. The search for profits in the capitalist system, caused production to run ahead of people's capacity to purchase, and consequently, both production and employment had to be drastically reduced. They were all drowning, and that was why the benefits of the colonies saved not only the colonizing powers, but also all capitalist nations.⁸¹

It is therefore, easy to explain why there were protests in Igbomina in the early 1930s. The economic depression in Igbomina in particular and Nigeria in general was such that in spite of the trauma of that epoch which was enough for itself, some natural disasters, which resulted into famine, also broke out. As if that was not enough, the colonial government again, not only made the people pay their taxes through their noses, but they even continued to increase the tax rates.⁸²

The life of the Igbomina communities was profoundly affected by another custom, which appeared to have taken root during the first economic slump that followed the world war I. There was an influx of large numbers of men, sometimes accompanied by their families, to Lagos and the Western Region in search of job. On an average, about 35 to 40% of the adult male taxpayers were reported absent. In the Omupo Village Group, the percentage was 78%; in Esie village Area, 66%. In Oke-Ode, Agunijin, Ora and Esie Village Groups, the respective populations have fallen by 15%, 22%, 24% and 24% since 1930. Only Igbaja, Oke-Onigbin and Oko-Ola village Groups showed increases compatible with the national increase in the population that might be expected.⁸³

The motives for this mass movement to the western region appeared to be largely economic. When asked, the people generally declared that they went there in order to earn sufficient money to put corrugated iron roofing on their houses, and to meet up with the increasing rate of the bride price.⁸⁴

R. J. Gavin also noted the outbreak of Igbomina emigration during this time, and also, he conceded the motive was basically

economic⁸⁵ in order to get themselves out of the economic debacle caused by the aftermath of the World War I and the Great Economic Depression.

3.5 THE OSSIFICATION OF THE COLONIAL ECONOMY, 1919-1939:

The end of the world war I in 1918 coincided with the end of the first phase of the colonial economy, after putting in place the various instruments of exploitation within the colonial economy. The year 1919 marked the genesis of another phase which was firmly built upon the pre-1919 foundation. The first phase was experimental and as such the second phase was to do away with the initial administrative lapses and indiscipline. Concerted efforts were made to overcome these obstacles through the instrumentality of the Native Administration, Native Courts, and Native Treasury with the police being reinvigorated, to instill “***discipline***” into the colonial economy.

Colonial economic activities, which included both cash and food crops production, continued to attract keen colonial attention. In spite of the failure of the first phase, the colonial government would

not be discouraged. Thus, in the production sector, the crops that received re-appraisals included cotton, which was perhaps most widespread in Igbominaland, especially in the south, sheanuts, groundnut, tobacco, cocoa, oil palm, kernel, and series of food crops, topmost of which was maize.

As the need to earn some cash increased, there began an increasing influx of the Igbomina towards the south-western more forested regions, as a result of the apparent failure of cash crop production in some parts of Igbomina, at desired commercial quantity. Some of the zealous ones moved to the cocoa producing regions around Ondo, Ibadan and Ife. And as from the 1920s, seasonal migrant farmers from all over Igbomina settlements like Omu-Aran, Oro-Ago, Igbaja, Iwo, Ajase, Isanlu, Ijara, Edidi and Oke-Ode, etcetera, left to sojourn in the south west of Nigeria.⁸⁶

It was also revealed that about 42% of Alasoro, an Igbomina settlement had become seasonal farm workers at Ikirun and Ibadan by 1933.

Out of the five forest reserves in the province, two were in Igbomina. These were constituted at Oke-Ode and Isanlu, in 1935

and 1937 respectively. These reserves developed and flourished to become important source of timber for the colonial administration.⁸⁷ Besides, a number of teak plantations were constituted in some parts of Southern Igbomina in the 1920s, particularly in Ajase and Omu-Isanlu Districts. Rubber, palm kernel, kola, cocoa and plantains are other forest products exploited in Igbominaland. Also in the 1920s Cotton Experimental Farms were established in Ajase, Oke-ode, Oro and Agunjin, and by 1929, improvements were noticed in the quality, picking and preparation of cotton for sale. By 1928, the P.Z. had got buying stations and agents at Igbaja and Oke-Ode.⁸⁸

The same applied to food crop export since Ilorin province as a whole had (since the early phase of the colonial economy) become specialized in food production. Other crops grown in commercial quantities were maize, yams, melon, guinea corn, locust beans, groundnut and cassava, of which corn became the most prominent.⁸⁹ However, the production of cash crops was much more extensively promoted than it was in the first phase. A re-enforcement policy was also embarked upon by the colonial administration, at the

level of administration and economy. The colonial economic policy on taxation in Igbomina was so pronounced in this period that it received exclusive and considerable attentions by earlier researchers, on taxation, protests and agitations.⁹⁰

At this period, in spite of the economic slump of the 1920s and 1930s, which was aggravated by the perennial outbreak of locust invasions, which caused severe famine, the people were still overtaxed. The dead, blind, lame and absentees were all numbered for taxation purposes.⁹¹ This became so pronounced that Revisions had to be made in some Districts like Omu-Isanlu in 1924. This showed a marginal decrease in population, which dropped to 19,026 in September 1924 compared with the 24,307 of the pre-1924 period!⁹² By 1933, taxes were raised from 6 shillings to 12 shillings six pence per head. Little wonder why the outbreak of tax revolts in places like Ajase, Oro, Omu-Isanlu Districts became inevitable that year. The leaders of these protests like Jaloye of Owu-Isin, and his cohorts were charged for ***“indicting people to refuse to pay the tax”***, and ultimately imprisoned for varying number of years depending on the gravity of their charges.⁹³ One of the reforms

implemented to overhaul the revenue generating and taxation system throughout the province was the dismissal of corrupt officials of the Native Administration. Jimoh and Abdulkadir, the respective District Heads of Oloru and Owode were deposed for “unhallowed” transactions in the tax process.⁹⁵ This was not really in a bid to actually wage wars against indiscipline, but the colonialists thought that such corrupt practices were depriving the colonial authority of funds necessary for the running of the administration.

In the area of transaction, archival evidence reveals that the existing main road in Ilorin was found in a dirty state early in January, 1919, not having been cleared. Most of the plank-bridges on this road made in 1916 were also then in a bad state. What should be noted is that even the constructions made were funded from the N.A's funds and through forced labour constrictions.⁹⁶ In the early 1919, the following roads were also being cleared: Omu to Idofian via Oko; Igbaja to Omu via, Isanlu, Oke Onigbin to Owu, Oke Onigbin to Ijara, Oke Onigbin to Isanlu, and Omu to Aran Orin.⁹⁷ By 1925, the road network had increased considerably with many feeder roads connecting four principal routes: from Oke-Ode to Egbe

via Alabe and Oreke, from Alabe to Agunjin via Ora to Ikosin, from Share to Lafiagi via Oke Ode and from Share to Ilorin.

By the 1930s, interest in road construction had begun to grow, as there were serious demands for roads from various localities that by 1931, the Resident, in his Report to Kaduna, spoke of the enthusiasm, often embarrassing, of the Yoruba for roads.⁹⁸ Roads, such as OkeOde-OmuAran road via Oro-Ago which was started in 1939, although not completed until the early 1950s, due to the ruggedness/rocky nature of the topography, were constructed to link areas hitherto unconnected by motorable roads.

The introduction of wheeled transport was also equally significant. Igbomina citizens who had prospered from trading or cocoa farming in Igbomina and the southern provinces, from about the 1930s started to buy and own motor vehicles. Regular commercial transport services began, connecting area within and outside Igbomina.⁹⁹ In the area of industry, local ones continued to expand in spite of the resolute efforts made to frustrate them. This was due to the increasing demand from the markets of such

products of the Igbomina textile, pottery, blacksmithing and such other industries.

To sum up briefly, colonialism meant a great intensification of exploitation within Igbomina and Africa in general simultaneously; it meant the export of that surplus in massive proportions, for that was the central focus of colonialism.¹⁰⁰ Europe's power only became ossified with imperialism because imperialism meant investment, and investment (with or without colonialism) gave European capitalists control over production within each continent.¹⁰¹ When it was said that colonies should exist for the metropolises by producing raw-materials and buying manufactured goods, the underlying theory was to introduce an International Division of Labour covering working people everywhere.

In the final analysis, the first two phases of colonial rule in Igbomina, and in deed Nigeria, meant an almost total departure from the indigenous economic system, to a completely alien economy imposed on the people through imperialism and colonialism. This, basically, served to consolidate the incorporation of the Igbomina and colonial Africa as a whole into the orbit of capitalist ideology in

the post war epoch. This was to become more conspicuous with the outbreak of the second global warfare.

Stringently, this affected colonial economic reforms, paving way for the implementation of ***the concept of “planning”*** which was completely alien to the capitalist ideology. This is going to serve as the prop of the subsequent chapter.

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CHAPTER FOUR

COLONIAL PLANNING AND IGBOMINA ECONOMY 1940-1960

4.0 INTRODUCTION

One of the most prominent consequences of colonialism in Nigeria was the emergence of conflicts and contradictions within the colonial state and the new social classes that developed in the colonial economy. Every society has its own contradictions, divergent views and opinions. Each society therefore, has to find ways of resolving such contradictions, which transform the economy. There were such contradictions in the colonial economy, which would ultimately lead to the attainment of political independence.

The contradictions did not affect the new social classes that developed in the colonial era such as the proletariat, the cash crop producing peasantry and the petit-bourgeois-- the middle class made up of an educated elite who formed part of the new colonial bureaucracy.

The high degree of taxation with its telling effects on the people was also faced with its own contradictions. These were to be aggravated by the effects of the World War I and the Global

Economic Depression of the 1920s and 30s. Therefore, the increasing waves of strikes and agitations forced the colonial administration to initiate political and economic reforms. A part of this was encompassed in the much-advertised colonial planning for development. It is then plausible to say that contradictions help to develop the society.

The colonial thinking, which led to the adoption of economic policies leading to the material and social advancement in the colonies, influenced the enactment of the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of July, 1940, by the British parliament. This led to a lot of strategic and centralized economic planning and development which was to affect the Igbomina, with its features, successes and failures up till the eventual attainment of independence in 1960.¹

4.1 COLONIAL PLANNING FOR DEVELOPMENT AND WELFARE (CD&W) IN NIGERIA, 1940

The concept of planning itself was alien to capitalism up to the 1940s. Going back to ***Adam Smith***, he maintained that the economy would regulate itself, and that has been the concept of capitalism. Basically, the Russians were the ones who introduced the concept

of Economic planning after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. The Japanese also helped to convince the West that there was need for economic planning. This made people like **J.M. Keynes** to emerge, who preached that there was *no invisible hand of God* anywhere as preached by Smith.²

Apart from the earliest attempts by Gold Coast to have an integrated scheme, there was hardly any West African country that successfully embarked on Economic Planning until the 1940s. The Great Depression of the 1930s, and the setting in of the World War II in 1939, postponed the idea till the 1940s.³ No doubt, the state has always been playing a role in the development of an economy. The state guides the nascent economy of each nation. By the 1940s, people have come to realize that planning has become a crucial feature of upholding any given economy. The British felt one of the ways they could succeed was to initiate the Colonial Welfare Act (**C.W.A.**) of 1940, which essentially put in place certain infrastructures, which would make the people realise that they were helping them to develop.

According to the colonial office, the primary requisite was an improvement of the economic position in the colonial dependencies, the utilization of their natural resources to the greatest possible extent, and the widening of opportunity for human enterprise and endeavours as well as raising the standard of health, education, social welfare, and the general well-being of the colonized. But all these were based on a conditionality, “... ***If these expended services are based upon improved economic efficiency and increased production***”.⁴

In this regard, sectors such as agriculture, industry, communication, housing, health and education were to be given due attention with the Agricultural sector being allocated a greater consideration, while the development of natural resources and research into export food produce also had an edge over others.⁵

Planning entails a conscious effort by a state to achieve a number of developmental objectives at a future date. The idea that there must be a guide to economic behaviour and the activities of government stimulated an endurable policy of planning. The great lessons offered by the transformation of ***the Soviet Union*** and

Japan also influenced nations' attitudes towards conscious planning. However, for long, the Nigerian colonial state did not believe in the concept of planning as a formal exercise. It was the World War II that brought about a change of attitude when Britain itself became increasingly committed to a welfare state, and planned to ensure economic stability, alleviate poverty and cope with the limitations of market economies. However, it may be said that the whole idea of planning itself is a sham interest in welfare, in order to make the colonised forget the ruthless actions of the past and thus, make them accessible to further exploitation.

Colonial planning in Nigeria may be categorized into three overlapping periods: 1940-45, 1946-55, and 1955-60. The 1940 **(CD&W)** did not deter the colonial authority in Ilorin province from pursuing policies aimed at further intensification of the colonial economic system, so as to achieve its prime target, which became clearly shown in almost all factors of government, trade, the enforcement of cash crops and fiscal policies, as well as labour acquisition.⁶

4.2 POST WAR DEVELOPMENTS: DEVELOPMENT AND WELFARE PLAN 1946-1955:

Albeit, the Development Plans in West Africa were meant to develop certain areas before the war, yet, it is obvious that true Development Planning began in the post-war years. During this era, there were plans to spend public fund in a way to bring about overhead social developments, the basic infrastructural development both for private and public productions. In Nigeria, Development Planning was as well to co-ordinate spending of government revenue for public and private services to be financed by raising loans, grants of transfers from reserve funds.⁷.

It was not until 1946, when “***A Ten-Year Plan of Development and Welfare for Nigeria, 1946***” was drawn up that actual Colonial Planning was begun in Nigeria. A number of project-schemes aimed at erecting some socio-economic utilities received considerable attention, such as the development of transport and communication services, physical training, education, medical and health services as well as the improvement of water supplies. However, little provision was accorded modern industrial

development.⁸ Records from the colonial office clearly stated that two factors would receive greater attention than others: ***cash and men!*** The fund involved is a large one, estimated at over £ 55 million during the ten years. A sum of £25 million was also allocated to Nigeria from the **CD&W** vote towards the cost of this plan. The remaining finances required for the plan must be funded from Nigerian revenues.⁹

The Objective of the plan, if well executed, was to push as many resources as possible to yield a sufficient pay-off to induce growth and eventually, to bring about a position where by the economic development could facilitate high per capital income. It would be noted that the plan was very good, but since the problems that have plagued the colonial economy from outset were still there, it soon became rather inescapable to see some weaknesses cropping up.¹⁰ The plan itself was as comprehensive as possible. However, no properly balanced plan of development for a country in the condition of colonial Nigeria could possibly be successful until certain nitty-gritty have been put in place.

Consequently, it would have been absurd to consider any policy of wide economic development until plans had first been made to ensure that the people were at least simultaneously, put in a position where they could participate and derive full utility of such activities. Thus, there arose the necessity for providing good health and adequate water supplies, in a country where ***“many have to travel several miles to obtain a small quantity of normally highly contaminated water”***.¹¹ They realised that a healthy, well-nourished body is essential before further economic production effort could be expected. In effect, this plan had to first deal with the services needed to put right things that were deficient. Hence, the heavy allocation and high priority given to such services.¹² A health-Care Centre was therefore, proposed for Ofa and Oro in 1940.¹³

In ***the health sector***, maternity, child welfare centres and dispensaries were established all over the province.¹⁴ However, due to the scarcity of medical personnel in public health facilities, majority of the people still relied on indigenous medicines.¹⁵ The Sudan Interior Mission (S.I.M.) established a Leper village, Oke-Igbala, at Omu-Aran¹⁶ which enjoyed colonial government support.

Subsequently, it was transformed into the Provincial Leprosy Centre in 1952.¹⁷

The missionary under-took a number of developments projects, and also actively involved in health services and educational developments, apparently to impress the people of their concern for their welfare. But really, it was to aid the propagation of Christianity. The Methodist Mission, for instance, had a medical ambulance, and the preaching of the gospel went pari-passu with the dispensing of medicine.¹⁸ There had been maternities and dispensaries in Ajase and Omu-Aran, since 1931), and Health-centres at Oke-Ode (1935), Oro-Ago (1938), and Oro in 1944.¹⁹ The people were also motivated to imbibe better health habit, to dig pit latrines (**Salanga**), patronize their new health centres, and dig wells for good water. The 1940s and 50s witnessed increased demands by the people for the opening of more medical centres, consequent upon which a welfare centre was opened at Oro in 1940 to provide maternity and infant welfare facilities, and by 1946, it was already recording 30 – 40 monthly delivery cases. The S.I.M. had earlier opened two maternity centres at Oro (1937) and Igbaja (1940).²⁰

Provisions of good water and health services were insufficient. It also became expedient to deal with the Educational Development and Extensions to the important services of the Agricultural, Veterinary, and Forest Departments which meant so much in the further exploitation of the principal asset of the country. With a view to the ultimate improvement of economic conditions, there was the extension of what may be called the physical developments of the country. A healthier, better educated and more highly productive population must, as pre-requisite to its further economic development and improvement, have increased facilities for transportation, communications, improved conditions, and provision of fuel and power.²¹ Better living standards and greater rural attentions must be provided in order to prevent further population flow from the country-sides into the towns with the attendant effects of squalor, unemployment and crime.²⁵

Giant strides were also made in the **education sector**, which was seen as a means of transmitting the colonial masters' culture, and of producing junior and middle level manpower to fill vacant posts in the colonial civil service, foreign firms, and the church;

although this started rather late in the Igbomina area. The Christian Missions however, were the most deeply involved in the educational development of the area, being another instrument for the effective propagation of their religious tenets. As at 1949, in Ilorin province, the number of recorded Mission schools was said to have risen up to 104 with an enrolment of over 12,000 pupils of which Igbomina area had the lion's share, and by 1950, virtually all the major Igbomina communities had at least a mission school established in them. Also, by 1946, the S.I.M., the Mission with the greatest involvement in education in the Igbomina area, had begun a Higher Elementary Training Centre at Igbaja to supply its numerous schools and others with qualified teachers.²³ Afon and Owode were two areas initially selected as centres for the Concentrated Mass Education.²⁴

In ***the transportation sector***, with the aid from the CD&W fund, the construction of feeder roads became intensified. In the 1940s, the provincial office was stormed with an inexhaustible demand for roads, so numerous that it had to make some regulatory schemes to limit the number of roads to be constructed. Since according to him, ***“every little village wants its own road”***.²⁵

Nevertheless, an all-season-road which connected Oro-Ago with the south eastern road system of the Emirate was constructed around 1947. At about 1949, there was also the Omu-Aran-Olu Ola, Ola-Idofin road networks and the Ogunbayo-Ora-Oke-Ongbin road. A District Council Fund was also initiated for the construction of roads bridges, wells, Paths, villages re-planning and market improvements.²⁶ A project for slum clearance was also initiated, while proposals were submitted for the construction of Postal Agencies at Otun, Osi and Ora.²⁷ But in these, there were the phenomena of over-costing of projects, the supply of inferior equipments, shortage of manpower, both technical and administrative, needed to carry out the plans, and shortage of materials, which affected the implementation of the development programme.²⁸

The main objective of the development of road networks, particularly from the colonial view-point was to facilitate easy exploitation of the economic potentials of the province. This was openly expressed by the Resident in 1939 when he stated, while referring to the Oro-Ago-Omu Aran road that, "***its major purpose***

was to provide an outlet for the produce of a populous area which has hitherto been completely cut-off from the rest of the world and has consequently been unable to market its very considerable stores of grains”. ²⁹ In deed, many of these peasants became itinerary traders going as far as Lagos, Ibadan, and the Gold Coast (Modern Ghana), where they established themselves as prominent and prosperous businessmen.³⁰

The colonial office liked economic planning with increased productivity, and the assumption was that if the people's socio-economic well-being was improved, they would produce more and have more purchasing power, and enhanced purchasing power would increase the volumes of exports and imports, all to the benefit of the British economy.

In the ***agricultural sector***, while the colonial officials were interested in increasing the productivity of export crops, the peasantry clamoured for a strategy to combine export with food crops, in addition to the development of local agro-allied industries. The colonial office was blunt. It was said in its instructions that colonial planning was meant to benefit the mother-country as the

wordings of the plans contained the rhetorics of philanthropists and external aids. But their policies ensured the survival of the colonial economic structures because features of the pre-1940 economy were said to have been carried forward with absolute peace because agriculture remained the bedrock of planning and projects, and researches have focused on export crops. For this, Research Institutes were established.

A vegetation survey of the high forest zone in the southeastern part of the province was conducted with the financial aid of the Provincial Development Board in order to ensure the future supply of fuel and other forest produce.³¹ Moreover, as the farmers remained unconvinced of the economic values of artificial fertilizers over their indigenous agricultural methods of enriching soil fertility, the artificial fertilizer campaign meant to enhance the cultivation of maize and yams yielded little result. The colonial authority continued to intensify efforts to meet up with the prime target of the colonial economy, in spite of earlier failures. Further measures at shooting up the successful growth of cocoa, coffee, tobacco, kola nuts and oil palm were initiated, and free seedlings

distributions were made to farmers. To facilitate this, added to the existing ones at Ajase and Omu-Aran, a new nursery was opened at Osi.³² The campaign for palm kernel production for export was a partial success. Cocoa production was basically prominent in areas like Omu-Aran, Ajase, Offa, Erin Ile, etc, carried out mainly by farmers who already owned cocoa farms in the south-west.³³

Colonial efforts also became pertinent in order to ascertain greater food crops production to feed the World War II veterans right from the start of the war, in 1939. The internal trade in food produce began to receive colonial support. These were also exported to the cash crop and mineral producing centres in the North and South.³⁴ In fact, the bulk of the capital devoted for development and social welfare was spent on the resettlement and rehabilitation of the “*exposed*” World War II veterans.³⁵ The colonial authority had stated it categorically since the end of the war that the larger chunk of its effort would rest in the development of agricultural exports in the widest sense, and the improvement of village industries in the widest sense, and the improvement of village industries.³⁶

In the area of ***local industry***, the colonial authority had said in 1945 that it had no plan to industrialize. This was another way of re-emphasizing the colonial stand that the colony existed only for the production of raw materials. Even in the 1950s, when small-scale attempts were said to have been made at processing, promotion of local industries and imports substitutions, planning was said to have focused on the participation of foreign private enterprise and the diversion of local resources with the colonial development corporations based in London. The plan's embargo on manufacturing only intensified colonial dependence on British manufactured imports, thus, preventing the technological emancipation of the Nigerian economy. It also stifled the growth of entrepreneurship, which was restricted to petty-trading, saw-milling and speculative estate transactions.

Research was also made into how local products like twines, textiles, baskets and ports could be better produced.³⁷ Even where the colonial plans had unconsciously developed the local crafts and industries, definitely, not the modern light and heavy industries which formed part of the basis for any genuine efforts at development, thus

abiding by its general policy of no industrialization in the colonies. New methods of weaving which were extended to the rural districts for the training of modern weavers and which included the introduction of the more broader handlooms met with disappointment as the local weavers were unwilling to adopt the broad loom weaving process.³⁸

In taxation, returns from tax continued to soar. While the second Global War was yet in progress, numerous war levies were imposed on the people as part of their contribution to the success of the war, some of which included the Nigerian Force Comfort Fund, the Nigerian War Relief Fund and Win The War Fund. In 1940, about £2,400 was said to have been received as War Fund Levies. This rose to about £5,290 in 1940.³⁹ The need to meet the increasing demands of an enlarged state bureaucracy only led to a continued tax increase. However, previous colonial tax practices revealed that much of the tax fund might have been used for the prosecution of other projects that could facilitate exploitation.⁴⁰ This was particularly true in the early years of colonialism, but continued in varying degrees up to the world War II, and even till the end of colonialism.

However, the 1946-1955 Development Plan did not lapse before a revised CD&W for 1951-56 emerged. The revision was necessitated by the failure to achieve most of the 1946-55 plan's set-goals. Also significant was the constitutional changes introduced in Nigeria in this period, which granted autonomy to the various Nigerian regions and made it obligatory for them all to put in place their own Regional Development Plan. The Northern Region, where Ilorin and the Igbomina belonged, initiated its first Regional Development Plan between 1955-1960.⁴¹

Segun Osoba maintains that, "*Planning was a sham interest in welfare to make the colonial people forget the ruthless actions of the part and thus, make them accessible to further exploitation.*"⁴²

In his own case, **Bade Onimode** posited that colonial planning was fundamentally a strategy for continuing the worsening crises of British colonialism in order to sustain its exploitation.⁴³

The major weaknesses of Development planning generally in British West Africa have been identified as lack of capital or lack of financial independence, coordination, personnel to execute the plan

effectively, presence of financial conservatism, lack of urgency and a lot of other problems, and they have been militating against the success of these plans in various parts. As for Nigeria, because of its unique political nature, it has not been easy to have a united coordinated plan. In other words, the Regional plans and Federal plans stood parallel at each other. Consequently, it has been most uneasy to achieve the desired success.⁴⁴

The most important long-term feature of the plan ultimately, is the provision, extension or development of those services which will lead up to economic betterment, without which, according to colonial record, any other form of development may ultimately become nothing more than a liability with consequent national bankruptcy.⁴⁵

4.3 CONSTITUTION AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS AND THE IGBOMINA ECONOMY IN THE ERA OF DECOLONIZATION, 1951-1960

The colonial rule in its first twenty years in Igbomina witnessed a general quiescence and serenity after which the reality of the alien rule began to dawn on the people as they began to register their ill-feelings and grievances towards many aspects of the colonial

system. Besides the administrative arrangement of the colonial paradigm as well as the organization that in the wake of the colonial rule, which was largely consequent upon the effects of the colonial education system which had served to enlighten the people on the ills and vices of the alien rule, ⁴⁶ perhaps more significant was the economic factor.

Basically the colonial economy had largely alienated the people from their indigenous economy. What is more, it apparently dawned on the people that the new economic system was only committed to frustrating life out of them, thus, making life very unbearable for them. The colonial economy was so bad that people felt oppressed by it. The idea of colonial evacuation of local resources to their home countries and how these were returned to the people in already processed form, and sold at prohibitive costs was so annoying to the people. Indeed, there was a very wide gap between the prices of local materials such as cocoa, palm kernels, cotton, kola nuts, etc. and industrial products like overtime, margarine, textile clothes, etc. This gap between what was taken and what was brought back from Europe, served as a fundamental

cause of outbursts and agitations in Igbominaland, and indeed, throughout the Nigerian colony.

In spite of all these, successive colonial constitutions had maintained an indifferent posture to the people's demands. From the Lugardian Constitution of 1914, to the Clifford constitution of 1922, through the constitutional reforms of Bernard Bourdillon in 1939 and that of Arthur Richards in 1946, none was seen to have significantly addressed the emerging political and educated elite in Igbomina, joined with other Nigerian Nationalists, to correct the constitutional anomalies. In this bid, people came on coalition course with the British colonialists. It was this that compelled the colonial office to do something by way of constitutional reforms, which ultimately paved the way for independence on 1st October, 1960.

In itself, constitution is a collective framework of principles adopted by a state for the purpose of governing the people. In this regard, constitution is crucial as rules, laws and regulations, which guide the rights and obligations of the citizens. It is a policy document, which spells out the principles of government. In colonial Nigeria, there were efforts at constitutional reforms by the British

colonial authority.⁴⁷ These grand norms did not come about easily. Rather, the reforms came as a result of the efforts of the Nigerian nationalists.

By 1951, there was a complete constitutional breakdown via the campaigns of the likes of the Herbert Marcoulay, Nnamdi Azikiwe, H. O. Davies and Obafemi Awolowo. It was this crisis that brought the Richard's Constitution which was supposed to be in place for a minimum of nine years hurriedly to abandonment in its sixth year, and thus, giving birth to the McPherson Constitution of 1951.

Sir John McPherson, the new colonial Governor, in working out the new constitution, was careful not to repeat the mistakes of the past in particular, Richard's that was an imposition and unilateral declaration. Hence, it was ready to consult the Nigerian communities so that it would be widely applauded. In March 1949, Select Committee of the legislative council was set up. This committee agreed that there should be a wide measure of consultation with the people, starting from the village level.⁴⁸ He then set up various ad hoc committees to review the past constitution and deliberate a new

one. The committee composed of interest groups, labour unions, market women, the elite, etcetera. In their deliberations, the groups recommended the organisation of regional constitutional congress.

In spite of all these, the 1951 Constitution was such that its existence was bound to be short lived; failing to satisfy the political leaders even though it was home-made, being a compromise between the conflicting views of the various political leaders in the country, and compromises hardly satisfy. Also, it did not adequately provide for the ethnic differences in the country. For Dr. Azikiwe, he would prefer the division of the country along the ethnic and/or linguistic basis, all to be knit together by a strong central government. Chief Awolowo was equally critical of the constitution, regarding it as a “*wretched compromise between Federation and Unitarianism*”⁴⁹ So, part of the criticism was that they were marginalized in the scheme of things, and that the governor possessed unlimited power.

Similarly they wanted full autonomy for the regions in terms of budget planning and expenditure. Moreover, the nationalists were divided on the self-governing for Nigeria. While the West and East

called for immediate self-government, the North said it was not ready. This resulted into conflicts such as the one in Kano in the North and the one in the East in 1953, which led to the massive destruction of lives and properties. This slowed down the pace of the agitation for independence. Indeed, towards the tail-end of 1953, Nigeria was at the verge of collapse. It was at this stage that Sir Oliver Lyttleton came to prepare another Constitution in 1954⁵⁰

Lyttleton gave full autonomy to the Regions, regionalized the judiciary, and established regional marketing boards and Civil Service Commission for each region. Yet, the minority ethnic groups were marginalized. The Igbomina were not left out in all these developments, as they were an integral part of colonial Nigeria. With the other Yorubas in the Northern Emirates, the Igbomina saw themselves as alien minorities in the North. Consequently, they often turned to their southern brothers with whom they were more closely and traditionally related in language, custom and political consciousness than the northerners with whom they were grouped.⁵¹

The southern influence was so much on the Igbomina that by 1954, a scheme of local government reorganization had begun in

Igbomina. To this ward, they succeeded in arresting the attention of the colonial authority. By 1954, the Resident, giving a special explanation to the provincial office in Kaduna on why Igbomina was receiving so much attention at the peril of the other groups in the province, noted that the Igbomina constituted the most vocal, politically volatile and most progressive elements in the province, since they had all along been responsible for most of the agitations that had preoccupied and almost brought the provincial administration to a state of stand-still from the late 1930s.⁵²

So intense was the Igbomina reform drive that the North, throughout the colonial epoch viewed it with considerable skepticism and suspicion. However, commenting on the plight of the many ethnic minorities in the north, the then Governor General, Sir Donald Cameron, as far as 1938, had noted, “...*it must have been a serious mistake that these people are still in Northern Nigeria*”.⁵³

Hence, from around 1948, the Oke-ode struggle for local autonomy had become extrapolated into the Igbomina separation tangle and when in 1950, news went round that the Richards' Constitution was to be reviewed, hope leapt among the Igbomina

that their hour of liberation had finally come, since boundary adjustment was the sole prerogative of the Governor. This precipitated the influx of various intensified representations and petitions on their separation from the North, and merger with Ila in the south.⁵⁴ Their hope however, sunk as McPherson noted that the Igbomina (of about 130, 000), though not insignificant, but were still a comparatively small minority⁵⁵.

Meanwhile, in Igbomina, and among the other minorities in the north, the agitation continued, and so tense that in 1958, the colonial authority was propelled to embrace another Commission,⁵⁶ which met with the same fate, since the colonial office again danced to the music of the Ilorin people.

Now, it is very obvious that the 1946 regionalisation of Nigeria only added fuel to the inferno afflicting the Igbomina. In spite of the Map-plan made by Mr. W. H. Beverly, "*an intelligent officer*" appointed by Sir Walter Egerton, Governor and Commander-in-chief of Nigeria, to prepare a map for the Yoruba country as far back as 1911, which marked out Igbomina with Ila-Orangun as its capital, Igbomina was still left in the Ilorin province, in the Northern Region

rather than with their Ila-stock in the western region. This, the Igbomina protested against throughout the colonial era, demanding an Igbomina Division in the western region. They therefore, only saw the Minority Commission's suggestion for a plebiscite for Igbomina area in Ilorin as erroneous.⁵⁷ Whereas, in their own Draft Memorandum to the Commission, in 1958, Mr. W. J. Wood, secretary to the Christian Council of Churches in Nigeria stated that the "*declared*" purpose of the Commission was to ascertain the facts about the fears of minorities in any part of Nigeria, and to propose means of allaying them whether well or ill-founded". They therefore, strongly desired that the federal and regional constitutions of the country contain satisfactory guarantees of human rights and freedoms.⁵⁸

The task of the Commission was threefold: to find out if there were fears, to recommend ways of reassuring the minorities where the fears were not real, and to suggest means of safeguarding the interests of minorities where the fears were real⁵⁹. The Action Group (A.G.) at Minna, stated that there were seven main fears which it was alleged that the minorities in the north, the most volatile one

being the Igbomina, were beset. Most of these centred on **Religion** and **Ethnicity**, and could be in the context described as **Fulani-domination and Moslem-control**. The test they were made to face was whether merger with the West was necessary to allay Ilorin-fears.⁶⁰

The speech by the Premier of the Northern Region, revealed inter alia, his stand in this regard. They have always resisted the Igbomina-west merger due to the vitality of the Igbomina economic potentials to the Ilorin province. They could not just imagine what the province would be if the “*powerful*” Igbomina had to break up. The Economic Programme of the Government of the Federation of Nigeria, 1955-1960, clearly stated that... *it was in the highest degree undesirable to allow the impetus of economic development to slacken..*⁶¹. Igbomina, being so vital, Ilorin was ready to do anything possible not to allow, “*slacken*”. Even the Select Committee in 1949, realized that it would be an unavoidable bold step to, in the circumstance, ask the northern region to “*surrender*” Igbomina areas for regrouping with the Western Region having regard to the “*what*

we have we hold” nature of its recommendation in respect of the question of modification of regional boundaries.⁶²

For the Igbomina in particular, this was the precarious situation in the political sphere, at the verge of total decolonization. On their part, from 1951 onwards, it was apparent that the British were ready to leave the country, but they did not want to leave behind them a dilapidating country that would fall apart after their exit.⁶³ Meanwhile, in Igbomina and among the other minorities in the north, the agitations continued though in a muted form after McPherson’s prohibition in 1952.⁶⁴ It was in this state of anarchy, blurredness, hopelessness and uncertainty, that the Igbomina joined with their other Nigerian colleagues to celebrate the exit of colonialism and its perpetrators on 1st October, 1960.⁶⁵

4.4 THE NATURE OF IGBOMINA ECONOMY AT INDEPENDENCE, 1960

The exit of colonialism in Nigeria in 1960 is popularly believed to be only ceremonial and political. This, in the sense that the Nigerian economy had been diplomatically and strategically extrapolated into their hands. The Nigerian economy as a whole has

been firmly wielded to the colonial fetters. By fact of this matter, though the colonial powers are no longer here in physique controlling our polity, they have invented a more efficient (remote) control mechanism. The control of the economy is a better instrument in their hands since the economy controls every other sector, and that is why the political sphere since then, till present, has all along been subject to maneuverings by *“alien forces behind the scene”*.⁶⁶ This has been aptly referred to as *Neo-colonialism-- a new way of colonialism, with its twists and turns*.

The Igbomina were of course not left in isolation of this. For them, it was even a double jeopardy. It has been earlier noted that of all the children of Oduduwa, Orangun and the other Igbomina leading chiefs would appear hitherto, to be the most unfortunate.⁶⁶ That was because of the two-edged imperial experience and alienation from their own traditional roots. The political sphere was not the only affected; it was even the worse for the economy! For the Igbomina, even in the political sphere, it was only a partial freedom from bondage since they were still under their Ilorin overlords, who denied them of their absolute freedom. Not even did the creation of

new states by the Gowon administration in May 1967, with Kwara state being one of the six new states created in the northern region, make the development of Igbomina cease to be an optical illusion under the tutelage of Ilorin. There needs be total political and economic freedom for any meaningful socio-economic development to take place.⁶⁷

It was the creation of the Igbomina-Ekiti Division with the headquarters at Omu- Aran, in May 1968, by the Kwara state military government through its local government reforms that split the existing Ilorin province into three Divisions, vis: Igbomina/Ekiti, Oyun and Ilorin. However, in spite of the great political and economic relief, since Ilorin remained the state capital, and the Igbomina still remained in the Northern Nigeria, the freedom was not yet absolute. To them, northern Nigeria is apparently synonymous to backwardness, having been completely extrapolated from their natural habitat with their Yoruba brethren in the west.

At least, one thing is very certain. By the close of the colonial rule, and the inception of independence in Nigeria in 1960; the economy of Igbomina, as was the case with the whole of Nigeria and

colonial Africa, could be said to have witnessed a complete departure from the pre-colonial indigenous economy. At this juncture, it might be shrewd to ask whether the departure tends towards gains or pains, blessings or curses. This, the next and last chapter of this thesis has been designed to probe into.

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CHAPTER FIVE

COLONIALISM AND ITS IMPACT ON IGBOMINA ECONOMY

Probably, nothing has become as controversial a subject as the impact of colonialism on Africa and as such, Igbomina. Relevant questions that should probably be raised include: ***what legacies did colonialism bequeath to Igbomina? Or what impact did it have on Nigeria? Does it constitute a revolutionary or important episode in the history of the continent?*** Indeed, few scholars have treated capitalism and imperialism as an integral part of the system involving the transfer of surplus and other benefits from colonies to metropolises. However, as far as ***the Modernization scholars*** are concerned, there wasn't anything exploitative about colonialism. It was only an avenue to facilitate development in the colonies.

Scholars like Gann and Duignan argued that the colonies were a burden, which caused the mother-country a lot of money and drained its resources and manpower. They, in the least, agreed that on balance, its impact was either a blessing or at worst, not harmful to the colonized. Grover Clark and D. K. Fieldhouse in their books:

The Balance-sheet of Colonialism and The Colonial Empires proclaimed, according to Rodney, that colonialism was not essentially economic, and that the colonisers did not gain.¹ Whereas other historians, mainly African, black and Marxist scholars have contended that the beneficial effects of colonialism, as far as Africa is concerned, was virtually nil. Walter Rodney took a particularly extreme position here by maintaining that the argument that suggested that, “*albeit there was exploitation and oppression, colonialism also did much for the benefit of Africa, and they have developed Africa*” shows that that reasoning itself is both faulty and misleading. This section would endeavour to reveal that, as in Rodney’s words, it is our contention that ***colonialism had only one hand-- it was a one-armed bandit!***²

5.1 COLONIAL IMPACT ON TRADE AND EXCHANGE

To the under-Development and Dependency scholars, colonialism has no positive or progressive impact on the colonies. It was a mission undertaken with the sole aim of consolidating the interest of the capitalist economies at the peril of the third world societies. It was a mission undertaken for the underdevelopment

and exploitation of the colonies, and not for its growth and development. This is particularly true of the Igbomina experience. To buttress this, the unequal nature of trade that developed between the colonialists and the colonized needs at least be mentioned, besides the exploitation of the raw-materials of the colonies, the forced cultivation of cash crops at the expense of food crops, which the peasants were subjected to, the forced, unpaid labour conscription, to mention but a few. The Igbomina only became permanent suppliers of raw materials and consumers of finished products. This phenomenon did not lead to the development of the productive forces.

What did the colonialists do in the interest of the colonized in the area of trade and exchange? Supposedly, there was the commercialization of land, which made it a real asset, the introduction of the money economy as well as the modern banking system. The British colonial administration formed a free trade policy, which entailed eliminating indigenous trade monopolies, providing infrastructures like roads and introduction of uniform portable currency as legal tender in Igbomina and other parts of

British West Africa. As on the eve of the colonial rule, the Igbomina, like any other group, took part in foreign and domestic trade during the colonial era.³ By the 1930s, a new standard of wealth had been introduced which was based not on the number of sheep, cows, rams or wives, but on actual cash. The introduction of more portable currencies, and banks as well as the tremendous expansion of the volume of trade between colonial Igbomina and Britain in turn led to what A.G. Hopkins described as the completion of the integration of West African pre-colonial economy into the industrial world.⁴ The transportation facilities provided, did not only promote production processes and communication dissemination, but more importantly, distribution, exchange, trade, market and commerce. The harmonization of the indigenous African fiscal policy and increased prosperity and higher standard of living, all have been pointed to as parts of the dividends of colonialism.

However, good as all these appear to be, the sum total of all the services, it must be noted, was amazingly small. It would also be an act of the most brazen fraud to weight those paltry “*economic dividends*” provided during the colonial epoch against the

exploitation and oppression, and to arrive at the conclusion that the good outweighed the bad is to pitch a tent with the euro centric world-view. If and when properly analyzed, it would easily be realized that most of the present-day developmental problems facing African countries in general are traceable to colonialism. In the first place, the infrastructure produced by colonialism, like transportation, that could improve trade and commerce, was neither as adequate nor as useful as it could have been. The transportation facilities, as earlier noted, were a network service that ultimately led to the sea, for onward evacuation of the economic raw materials away, to the metropole. It was obvious that the means of transportation and communication were not constructed so that the Igbo could visit their friends, nor were they laid down to facilitate internal trade in indigenous commodities. Indeed, all roads and railways, led down right to the sea! ⁵

G. O. Ogunremi (in his paper on Human Porterage...) and also expatriates like A. G. Hopkins made it conspicuous enough that prior to colonialism, the trade routes and distribution networks were excellent, efficient and effective. As revealed, one of the very frank

explanations of colonial expansion motives from the metropolises appealed to the various chambers of commerce in European towns simply that Europeans were in the colonial game because it was damn profitable.⁶

The reliance on cash crop production only led to the neglect of the internal sector of Igbomina economy, one of which was trade and commerce. The commercialization of land also led to illegal sale of communal land by unscrupulous family heads, and to increasing litigation over land, which caused widespread poverty especially, among the ruling houses. The expatriates controlled the Banking and trading activities, and since they controlled both the import and export trade, and fixed their prices, the huge profits that accrued from it went to the companies and not the Igbomina. Thus, whatever economic growth was achieved during the colonial era was done at phenomenal and unjustifiable costs to the Igbomina. The colonialists only allowed certain crumbs to the Igbomina as incidental by-products of exploitation.

5.2 IMPACT ON TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION:

It will not only be tantamount to sheer repetition to begin to recapitulate the series of transportation and communications facilities provided for the Igbomina in the colonial epoch. These had already been well spoken about. What is crucial here is how these affected development in the area. It is needless reiterating that it was in fact, only after the world war II that most roads were built in Igbomina as a matter of policy. These limited facilities within Igbomina during the colonial era were made in a manner that reflected the pattern of domination and exploitation. Most of these roads were feeder, illustrating that the purpose for any of these roads built was for easier siphoning of available local raw materials, to the railway station which reached Ilorin in 1908⁷ and finally to the sea leading to far away European industries.

Basically, the viciousness of the colonial system with respect to the provision of social services was most dramatically brought out in the case of economic activities, which made huge profits. All the roads were constructed through unpaid forced labour, supplied by the local Igbomina people of the areas concerned. The government

in most cases had to combine threat with persuasion to secure the people's consent.⁸ Archival documents revealed that some chiefs were reprimanded for their refusal or reluctance to provide such labour.⁹

The main object of the development of the road networks, particularly from the colonial viewpoint, was to facilitate easy and speedier exploitation for the economic resources of the province. With respect to the Oro-Ago-Omu Aran road, the Resident in 1939, vividly expressed this that its major purpose was to provide an outlet for the produce of a populous area which hitherto has been completely cut off from the rest of the world, and in effect has been unable to make market its very considerable stores of grain.¹⁰ But besides a more "*effective*" administration, it also boosted agricultural productivity, opening up the hinterland to major markets and centers of trade, also making the transportation of crops to the marketing centers faster. This in a way could be said to have made for financial gains for the farmers. In effect, they were stimulated to produce more. Other forms of socio-political lives were also greatly believed to have been enhanced by the new roads.

Nevertheless, it would be a great oversight to be carried away by all these, forgetting that if any of these facilities later became advantageous to the colonized, such were, rather than intentional, just accidental.

5.3 IMPACT ON AGRICULTURE

Certainly, colonialism had some notable significance on the agricultural sector in Igbominaland. Cash crops production was promoted with all rigour. Although this throughout the Ilorin province was almost a fiasco, the province later became specialized in the production of food crops, supplying the mineral and cash crop producing centers of the Nigerian colony. Nevertheless, the introduction or promotion of crops like cocoa, cotton, rubber, most of which have remained the major cash crops grown by most Igbomina farmers up till present, is also one of the distinguishing legacies of colonialism.¹¹

The initiation of a policy on colonial planning for development and social welfare by the British government due to the world war II and some other fall-outs from the establishment of a colonial economy was more of a diversion meant to further empower the

exploitative structures of the colonial economy of the Igbomina and throughout the Ilorin province, rather than any qualitative attempt at economic development.¹²

Of all other sectors, agriculture fared very little better, albeit that, of course, was the basic activity in which the IGBOMINA were engaged. The Ten-year plan in Nigeria was set up with the hopes of borrowing heavily from the CD&W funds. In that plan, the sum of **£1,828,000** was earmarked for agriculture out of a total of **£53,000,000**. Most of that agricultural grant was to be consumed by constructing agricultural facilities and for providing salaries for British “*experts*”. The concern of the colonial government in Igbomina on the palm produce was how to improve palm oil production qualitatively and quantitatively. As elsewhere, new production techniques were introduced in British Igbominaland in this regard such as the small-scale plantations, and oil processing machines. Like other hinterland of Nigeria, cocoa was introduced during the colonial era although its cultivation remained insignificant until after the world war II, apparently because of the lack of motivation given to the indigenous planters by the colonial government.¹⁴ Some of

the farmers also got involved in the lucrative business of palm wine-tapping. Ila as well as Edidi for instance was said to be renown for palm wine tapping.¹⁵

Agriculture had far reaching consequences on the Igbomina. The introduction of new export crops particularly cocoa, transformed the Igbomina communities that grew them. The expansion of cash crop production in some parts led to a shift in emphasis from food to export crops from the middle years of colonialism. This development contributed towards more efficient resources utilization and economic inter-dependence, a move farther away from self-sufficiency. Besides, the wealth from these cash crops production contributed immensely to the adoption of a new form of architecture characterized by concrete walls and corrugated iron sheets in many Igbomina communities. This type of architecture represented a departure from the traditional architecture made up of mud walls and raffia mat roofs.¹⁶

But the impact of agriculture on Igbomina was not entirely as interesting. On the negative side, the colonial incessant recruitment of forced labour for colonial officers' farms and use [like the Ajia]

disturbed the socio-economic life in Igbomina. Cash crops production also led to the disappearance of high forest in some parts of Igbominaland, which resulted in the extinction, or scarcity of certain valuable plants that hitherto had supported the traditional health industry of the people.¹⁷ The use of chemicals to check some crops diseases (like cocoa) also led to the extinction of some insect parasites, which were hitherto very useful to Igbomina traditional healers.

Monoculture was a colonialist invention. Diversified agriculture was within the African tradition. Numerous crops were domesticated and the people had shown no conservatism in adopting several useful wide food species (notably fruits) of Asian or American origin. There is sufficient evidence to convincingly prove that African diet was previously more varied, being based on a more diversified agriculture than was possible under colonialism. Colonialism created the ***starvation, suffering and misery of the African child*** often described by the colonialists as being with a **transparent rib-case, huge head, bloated stomach, protruding eyes and twigs as arms and legs**. They made colonial economies

entirely dependent on the metropolitan buyers of their produce. Colonialism created conditions that led not just to periodic famine, but also chronic undernourishment, malnutrition and deterioration in the physique of the Igbomina man. However, colonial propaganda has accustomed the Igbomina to believe that from time immemorial, malnutrition and starvation were mutual lots of the blacks. But for all that we know, the stunting effect on Africans, as a physical species is one of the greatest tragedies of colonialism. ¹⁸

So, let it not appear as if all these colonial efforts at improving or increasing agricultural production were a symbol of imperial bounteousness, but rather, the further underdevelopment of Igbominaland as in deed of all British colonies. Even in the sales of such crops, capitalists under colonialism did not pay for the Igbomina man to maintain himself and family. This can readily be realized by reflecting on the amount of money earned by Igbomina peasants from cash crops, which often rarely brought in anything substantial per annum out of which he had to pay for tools, seeds, transport, and the repayment of loan to the middle man before he could call the rest his own. That's why they needed to supplement

with the farming of yams, banana, and other food crops so as to survive. That was how they managed to eat, and the few shillings earned or saved went into paying taxes, and to buying the increasing number of European manufactured goods both essentials and luxuries.¹⁹

In sum, it can be thus said that the impact of colonial agriculture was largely adverse on the Igbomina; and as **Michel Crowder** rightly pointed out:

*“Under colonial rule, any economic benefits that may have accrued to the Africans resulted from accident and was not a design, rather was a by-product of the colonial economic system imposed on Africa in order to facilitate the exploitation of its raw materials for the European industries”.*²⁰

5.4 COLONIAL IMPACT ON INDIGENOUS INDUSTRIES:

As colonialism became subjected to heavier criticisms during the last decades of its existence, more deliberate efforts were made to whitewash it. The **CD&W** was part of the public relations propaganda of colonialism striving to mask and deny its viciousness. The purported Development Funds for Africa went almost exclusively into the building of economic infrastructures and into the

provisions of certain social services. Of the **CD&W** grants between 1946 and 1956, less than 1% was allocated to industries.²¹

Colonialism dealt an incalculable blow on indigenous industrial sector! In deed Rodney pointed out that,

... there is a more sympathetic school of historians of Africa who contend that to see colonialism as completely negative is to underrate the initiative of Africans. Africans, they say, moved boldly into the labour market, into the cash crop farming, into commerce in some instances, into the educational field and into the churches. Yet, those were simply responses (though rigorous ones) to the options laid open by the colonialists".²²

Banwo maintained that these local industries continued to enjoy some level of patronage during the colonial epoch. And according to him, textile from the Ilorin province went as far as Gold Coast and Liberia, while her pot also had a very prosperous market in the South-Western province. He further argued that local industries in Ilorin province did not receive the level of discouragement they had in the south-western region. This was because though some settlements there were former major pottery producing centers, local industry was destroyed there because such

areas exhibited the potential for cash crop production. But since Ilorin did not prove too successful for cash crop production, it was part of the colonial economic strategy that some of the local industries like the weaving, pottery and blacksmithing, would serve as an avenue through which some of the people would earn the money needed to pay up their colonial taxes, and also buy some European manufactured products. They could also become specialized as suppliers of food crop products to the cash crops and mineral producing centers.²³ It thus came to happen that that became the established division of labour. Due to this, some of the local industries in Igbomina had received some level of encouragement. Some of these included the iron-smelting and blacksmithing industries especially in the Ile Ire District, and Pottery at Igbaja. But he interestingly quickly added that ***these were to the benefit of the colonial economy***²⁴.

May be it suffices to say that indeed, Igbomina handicraft industries still had vitality at the beginning of the colonial epoch, they had undergone no technological advance and they had not expanded, albeit, they had survived.²⁵ Whereas Walter Rodney had

rightly put it: “... ***to mark time or even to move slowly while others leap ahead is virtually equivalent to going backwards.***”

This is perhaps why in his opinion, certain parts of Nigeria--Northern--virtually went to sleep in the colonial period. And instead of speeding up growth, colonial activities speeded up the decay of “traditional” African life.²⁷

Some vital aspects of Igbomina culture, including the aspect of crafts and culture, were adversely affected; nothing better was substituted, and only a lifeless carcass was left. It is therefore clear that the three scores of the British rule in Igbomina did not yield any significant industrialization which ought to have led to the emergence of a bourgeoisie and a considerable class of proletariat in the whole Emirate.²⁸

Unlike what took place in Europe where capital was used to transform the means of production, and the socio-relations of production, Colonialism in Igbomina did not create a capital of factory-owning class, the bourgeoisie, or any organized proletariat of any significance. This is perhaps an argument behind the well-known cliché: ***“Africa went into colonialism with a hoe, and***

came out with a hoe". Put otherwise, there was no advancement to the economic transformation in the production process and productive forces. Colonialism also ensured that colonies became dependent on the metropole by denying them the prerogative of acquiring the knowledge of modern means and techniques for developing their own industries while to the contrary, the dominant role for foreign capital and technology was provided.

It would be a sound base to conclude therefore that between colonialism and civilization was an infinite distance, they never met! Thus, whether in Igbomina or any other colonial region of the world, colonialism can not be excoriated from exploitation, underdevelopment, dependency, backwardness and poverty; features which most of these ex-colonies have continued to experience. The only solution basically appears to be that the former colonies make a radical break from the international capitalist system. In this regards, there is a call for a radical revolution. The statusquo has to be annihilated!

5.5 COLONIAL RULE AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE SOCIO-POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS:

The establishment of a greater degree of continuous peace and stability following the consolidation of colonialism in Igbomina and Africa at large has often been accredited a credit to colonialism. Indeed, the 19th century was one of incessant and superfluous warfares in Yorubaland, all of which caused a great deal of insecurity and instability. Abandonment of jobs due to wars, anticipation and/or rumours of real and alleged wars were a prevalent phenomenon, thus diverting people's attention from their respective occupations and other economically rewarding activities, to the question of defence and security. These wars also disrupted local and fairly long distance trades due to the insecurity caused by the prevalent spate of phobia which often caused occasional shortage of essential and luxury goods.²⁹ However, while it should be admitted that the first two or three decades of colonialism even intensified the state of instability, violence, chaos and disorder, which caused wholesome and unpardonable destruction of properties and population loss after the occupation of Africa by the Europeans, it could be said in a way

that wars of expansion, which was the most prevalent, came to an end and the people enjoyed some degree of peace.

But when given a more cursory assessment, one realizes that they only shut a door at a form of violence, but flung open many other wider ones. Quality evidence obviously shows that throughout the colonial era, although wars of expansionism purportedly came to an end, there were series of upheavals and mayhem in Igbominaland directed towards the oppressive and exploitative posture of the behind-the-scene colonial officers, and their Ilorin agents. There was also an un-ending chain of protests and agitations calling for the secession of the Igbomina from the yoke of Ilorin oppressive and imperialist hegemony. In deed, the people knew no peace throughout the colonial era. And even after the attainment of independence, in 1960, due to the empowerment of Ilorin by the colonialists, Igbominaland experienced the continuation of the same saga until the Local Government Reform of May 1968 in Kwara state, when they began to enjoy a partial freedom from the clutches of Ilorin local imperialism.

Also in line with the exigencies of the time, unwanted elements were superimposed on several Igbomina communities by the Emir (an agent of the colonial indirect rule system). This happened at Oke Ode in 1949, Oke Onigbin in 1950, and Igbaja as late as 1959.³⁰ Obviously then, the shift in the political orientation marked an important break from the past and signified considerable effects on the people's economy. So even if there were positive legacies, even greater were the negative ones.

It suffices to say then that the only positive development in colonialism was when it wrecked. Looking at **the health sector**, for many years, the colonialists approached the whole matter with a spasm of equanimity. It was but enlightened self-interest that made them realize that much could be gained out of the Igbomina worker who maintained basic health. Consequently, it only became imperative for them to allow a fraction of the worker's production to go back to keeping him alive and well. **Health, they truly say is wealth.** To them, some minimum maintenance of the worker's health was nothing other than an economic investment.³¹

Education is most often attributed to colonialism. But that is a fallacy. The colonizers did not introduce education into Igbominaland or Africa. Rather, all that they introduced was a new form of former educational institution, which partly supplemented and partly replaced those, which were there before. This boils down to the fact that the Igbomina had their own form of education, which was traditional and through which the basic tenets of the society were taught, learnt, and the cultural heritage of the people, transmitted unto successive generations who have successfully preserved them very intact till date. The colonial system also stimulated values and practices, which amounted to new informal education. Indeed, the most outstanding aspect of Igbomina and African education was its relevance to the people and their society, in sharp contract with what was introduced under colonialism—Western (European) education, and on the African soil! It is thus like the biblical aphorism; ***“The hand is Esau’s, but the voice, Jacob’s.”***

The fundamental prop of the colonial education was to train Africans to help man the European private capitalist firms. Colonial education corrupted the thinking and mentality of the Igbomina man

and filled him with abnormal complexities. It thus followed that those who were Europeanized were to that extent, de-Africanized.³² Western Education was seen on a means of transmitting the colonial master's culture, and of producing junior and low-level man power to fill vacant posts in the colonial civil service, foreign firms and the church.

Western education had a late entry into Igbomina, the first Native Authority School being that of Oke-Ode, opened in 1926. By 1949, the recorded number of mission schools in Ilorin Province was said to have risen to 104, of which Igbomina had the largest share, and by 1950, nearly every major Igbomina community had at least a mission school established in it. This is because the Christian missions were the most deeply involved in the educational development of the Igbomina area.³⁴

However, in most cases, these schools were poorly staffed, funded, built, equipped, supervised and poorly attended while the standard and quality of teaching and learning was also very low.³⁵ The budget for education was also incredibly infinitesimal. By 1935 in Nigeria, it was only 3.4% and that in fact, was one of the highest

throughout Africa.³⁶ Another basic limitation that followed this low sum spent on education was quantitative in the sense that very few Igbomina made it into school. But even then, those few educated Igbomina joined with the colleagues from the other parts of Nigeria played a crucial role in Nigeria's independence struggles far out of proportion to their number. They took it upon themselves to articulate the interest of not just the Igbomina, Yorubas, Nigerians, but of all Africans.

So, if there is anything glorious about the history of Igbomina colonial education, it lies in the aggressive results it produced, at least, to some of the purposes of colonial exploitation. And although the ideological and pedagogical content was such as to serve the interest of Europe rather than Africa, and for continued enslavement, this never quite fulfilled its desired purpose but instead, arose different levels of contradictions, which ultimately led to the attainment of political independence in 1960.

It is no sweeping statement that missionaries were agents of colonialism in the practical sense. The church in serving colonialism, often took up the role of the arbiter of what was culturally correct.

African ***atavistic*** ancestral beliefs were rubbished and equated with the devil, who was always painted black, and it took a very long time before some European churchmen accepted prevailing African beliefs as constituting religion rather than mere witch-craft and magic.³⁷ So, it could be said that the cultural aspect of the colonial education was successful in large measure, but was never entirely successful.

What one is saying in essence is that presenting the view that colonialism was negative, it aimed at drawing attention to the way previous developments in Igbomina was blunted, halted, turned back and brought to a state of utter paralysis, while in place of that interruption and blockade, nothing of comparative worth was introduced. So, from all indications, whatever benefits that might accrue to Igbomina from colonialism were not gifts from the colonialists, but rather, according to Walter Rodney, fruits of their labour, sweat, pains, agonies, and resources for the most part.³⁸

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SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The most common interpretation of colonialism is that it was a calculated system for exploiting the economic potentials of dependencies in the interest of the parent states or metropolises¹ The economic change that provided the strongest force to spark off nationalist sentiment was the introduction of the colonial economy.² Colonies were designed to exist mainly for the economic gains of the colonizing country, providing raw-materials and a market for manufactured goods, while the manufacturer abroad made most of the profits . Although the colonizing country and big expatriate firms gained in this way, the colony itself was expected to pay for all forms of development. The money was raised by direct and indirect taxes and by forced labour, mostly unpaid or under-paid.

The colonial economy as it operated in Igbomina and in deed elsewhere in colonial Africa was dictated by the interest way back in Europe. This colonial interest gave the direction to which way the colonial economy would go. Throughout all British colonies, this was underscored by *the principle of economic self-sufficiency*. By this principle, the colonial government wanted the colony to generate her

resources to finance the administration of the colony. In other words, the colonial government was not ready to fund the development of the colony. Rather, the colony should and in deed, did fund itself. With this principle, it was no surprise that the British introduced economic measures, which were aimed at generating revenue locally in order to meet the administrative costs of the colony. Besides, and more importantly, the economic measures designed by the British were to assist the socio-economic and techno-industrial development way back in Europe. In that case, even when Britain had fed fat on the indigenous economy, she felt not obliged or interested in investing her foreign currency in the local economy.

The colonial economy also developed certain contradictions within the system. A part of these was encompassed in the much-advertised Colonial Planning for Development. Such contradictions were to lead to the eventual granting of political independence. The final and concluding chapter ends with evaluating what legacies colonialism bequeathed to Igbomina, especially in the area of economy.

Analysis based on the perception of contradictions is characteristic of Marxism, since they saw nothing good in capitalism. Yet, European evidence is said to be the best evidence in that it can hardly be said to have been pro-African propaganda.³ Thus, the disintegration of colonialism is said to have been described by Soviet Marxist historians in these words.

Colonialism fettered the development of the enslaved peoples. To facilitate colonial exploitation, the imperialists deliberately hampered economic and cultural progress in the colonies, preserved and restored obsolete forms of social relations, and fomented discord between nationalities and tribes. However, the drive for super-profits dictated the development of the extra-active industry, plantations and capitalist farms, and the building of ports, railways and roads in the colonies. In consequence, social changes took place in the colonies, irrespective of the will of the colonialists. New social forces emerged, an industrial and agricultural proletariat, a national bourgeoisie and intelligentsia.⁴

Obviously, this explains the fact that whatsoever benefits that might have accrued to the Igbomina out of colonialism was not an act of colonial magnanimity, but rather, an accidental by-product, in that colonialism was out-rightly evil.

However, contrary to this popular standpoint, some down-to-earth, pragmatic Igbomina have refused to attribute the malicious

colonial experience of the Igbomina as their major tragedy. In the opinion of one, the absence of unity among the Igbomina remains, till date, their greatest predicament! An average Igbomina, he posits, sees himself as an individual, rather than a part of an entity or ethos. People say "*United we stand, divided we fall*. A house that is divided against itself, cannot stand. That perhaps is why the Igbomina easily fell prey under the hegemony of the Ilorin superfluously, with a continuation of the same pedagogical saga, till date.⁵It is therefore, necessary for the Igbomina to follow the method of historical materialism which in effect says "***To know the present, we must look into the past, and to know the future, we must look into the past and present.***"⁶ This is a scientific approach.

Thus far, the Igbomina have refused to look into the past to correct their present, whereas, they need to dialectically guide and guard their future course. Till present, the independence of the "powerful" Igbomina has remained partial, their citizenship in their own state of origin, half-hearted, yet the people have already become so resilient to this odd. *But, is there no way out of this debacle? The people really need to answer!*

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3.	Abolurin, 'Funsho	+/-65	Architect	25/1/04	Ilorin
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6.	Abioye, Samuel	+/-70	Town scribe (chief)	6/1/04	Iwo
7.	Aransiola, Luke	+/-73	Farmer (chief)	9/2/02	Iwo
8.	Olainipekun, David A.	+/-70	Medical Practitioner	8/1/04	Iwo
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MAP 1.
Federal Republic of Nigeria
Map of Nigeria SHOWING KWARA STATE

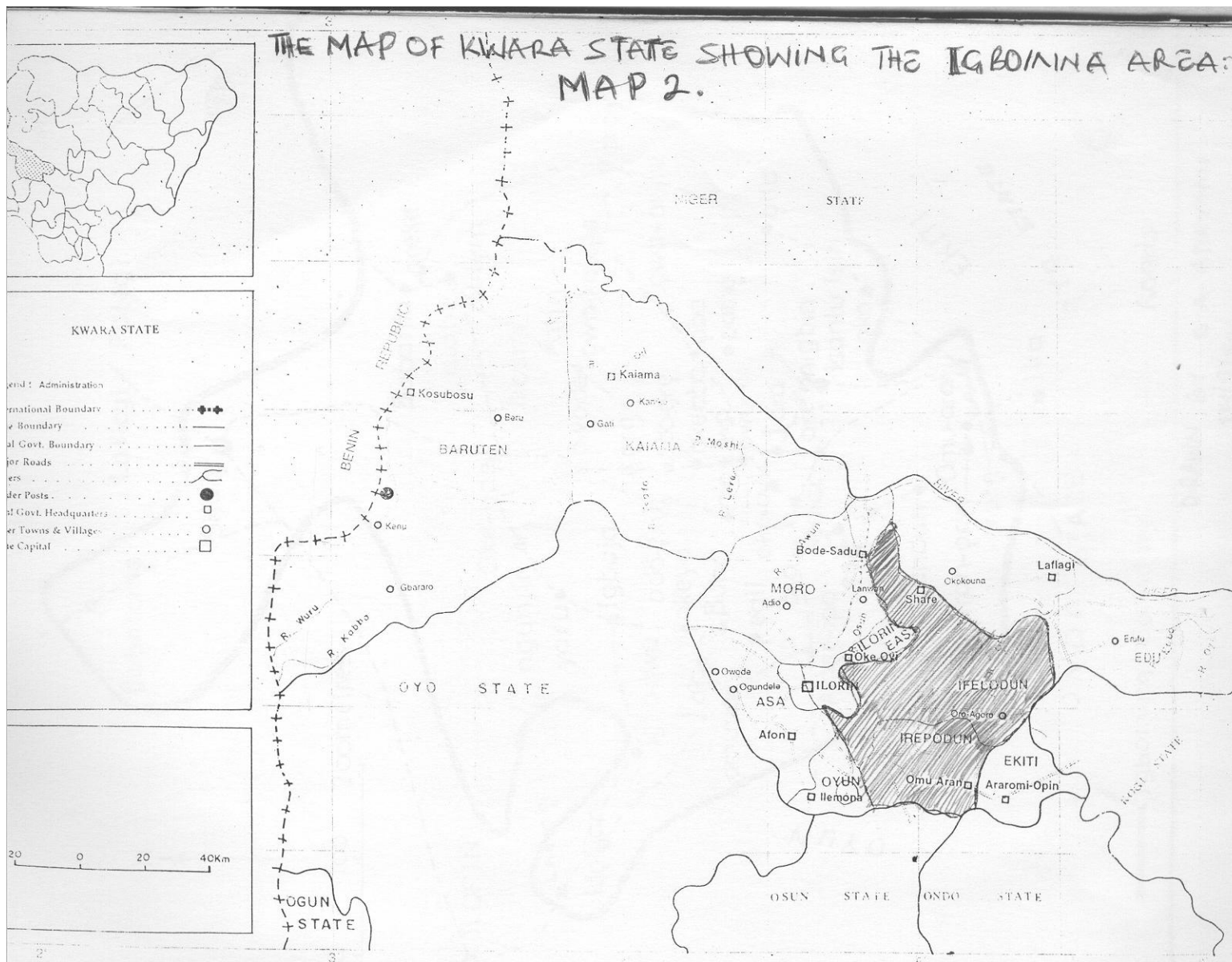


Brief facts about Nigeria

Federal Capital.....	Abuja
Area.....	923,768.68sq.Km
Population.....	88,514,50
Principal Rivers.....	Niger and Benue
National Day.....	October 1st
Remembrance Day.....	January 15th
Currency.....	Naira = 100Kobo
Time.....	GMT + 1 hour
Climate.....	Humid sub-Tropical
Weights and Measures.....	Metric
Legal and Tax System	British Oriental

SOURCE: YEAR 2002 DIARY, ISIN L.G.A, KWARA STATE

THE MAP OF KWARA STATE SHOWING THE IGBOMINA AREA: MAP 2.



SOURCE: NIGERIA: Giant in the Tropics Vol. 2: State Surveys, 1963. 33.20.1 KWARA STATE - POLITICAL

[illegible]

15/7

ILORIN EMIRATE

1920

MAP 4



Source: Dr. H. O. Danmole Thesis

MAP 5. MAP OF THE YORUBA KINGDOMS & NEIGHBOURS.



SOURCE: Robert Smith: Kingdom of the Yoruba
3rd edition; 1988. p. Xiii.

Map 1. The Yoruba Kingdoms and their Neighbours

This map is intended to illustrate the political divisions of the Yoruba between the foundation of the kingdoms and c. 1830. The limits shown for the kingdoms and groups are extremely tentative. They are mainly based on the 'cultural groups' shown on the map attached to Forde (1951); important exceptions are in the northward extension of the Egba before c. 1830 and the inclusion of the Ife, Ijesha, Owo, and Owu kingdoms. The Oyo kingdom at its zenith probably extended on the north-east as far as the Niger between Ogudu and the junction of the Moshi with the Niger, an area now mainly inhabited by Nupe.

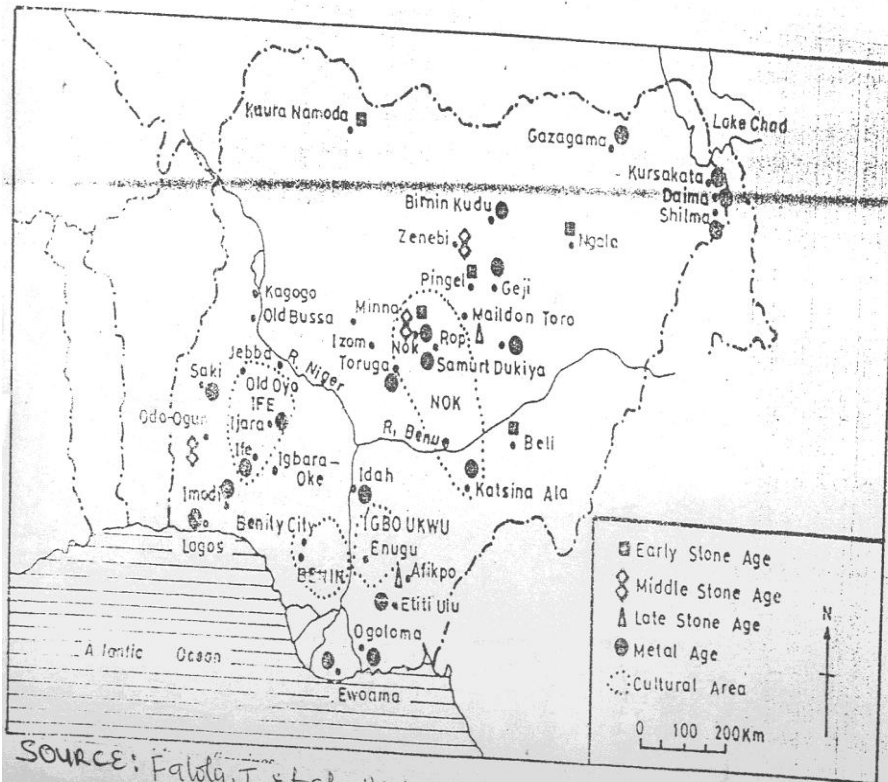


SOURCE: Robert Smith: Kingdoms... p. 49.

Plate 7 Seated figure from Esie. Soapstone. Date undetermined. Photograph by Dirk Bakker from Ekpo Eyo and Frank Willett, *Treasures of Ancient Nigeria*, London, 1982.

MAP 6.

MAP OF NIGERIA SHOWING CENTRES OF TERRACOSTA,
STONE AND BRONZE FIGURINES.



SOURCE: Fajana, T. et al - History of Nigeria 1 BEFORE 1800 A.D.
p.6.