CHAPTER 7

THE ROLE OF CHRISTIANITY IN SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTHERN NIGERIA, 1854-1960

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Abstract
Christianity was a stimulator for far reaching changes in the area that later became Nigeria. However, prevalent literatures on Christian missionary activities in Nigeria have focused more on the religious impacts, giving little attention to its socio-economic impacts. Thus, this study was aimed at examining the place of Christianity in the socio-political development of Southern Nigeria from the eve of colonisation up to the creation of the Nigerian state down to the independence of Nigeria. Adopting historical methodology, consisting of both primary and secondary sources, this study found that commercial interests was the primary factor that drew European interests to Nigeria, making Christian missionary activities a means to an end, rather than an end in itself. The study also found that the introduction of Christianity contributed to socioeconomic development of Southern Nigeria in the areas of human capital development, new cultural identity, social mobility and modernisation. The study concludes that Christianity did not only impact the peoples relationship with God, it had far reaching impacts on the peoples day to day activities.

Keywords: Christianity, Christain Missionaries, Sothern Nigeria, Socio-Economic developments, Political developments

Introduction

The introduction of Christianity into the area that came to be referred to as Nigeria was accompanied by changes in the socio-economic and political landscape of the area, and particularly the southern parts of the country. It is necessary to discuss the process of British imperialism and the colonial economic policies within the same area. Specifically, the process of incursion and the missionary activities will also be on focus. However, it is apposite to know the major factors that impelled the British to make an incursion into Southern Nigeria, in the first instance.

The British incursion into Nigeria was imperialistic. But what does the concept of imperialism connote? One source sees it as "the policy, practice, or advocacy of extending the power and domination of a nation especially by direct territorial acquisitions or by gaining indirect control over the political and economic life of other areas".[1] Most authorities on colonialism or imperialism agree that it has to do with the establishment and maintenance of an extended time of rule over alien people that are separate from and subordinate to the ruling power, and the the imposition of alien authoritarian regimes on subordinate society. Having established the masterservant relationship, the colonizer trains a few of their subjects in bureaucratic management after which the superseding authority demands passive acquiescence from the colonized. It also has to do with the political control of the colonisers.[2]

Just like the first conception, the second view of imperialism takes it to be a period of establishment of extended economic and political control over a group of people, by another group of people, taken to be superior to the former. Thus, a system of unequal relations exists between the colonizer and the colonized.Further to the first definition, the second view regards the colonizer as being authoritarian in outlook in her dealing with the colonised. Also, the second conception takes imperialism and colonialism as meaning one and the same thing.

Claude Ake examines the concept of imperialism in two, though, interrelated senses; one is broad, and the other is narrow.[3] In the broad sense, imperialism is the subordination of one country to another or at any rate, the attempt to maintain a relationship of unequal exchange. The subordination may be military, economic, political and cultural or some combination of these.[4] The strict sense of capitalism is attributable to the Lenin's negative view of the capitalist economic order. In this sense, imperialism is a stage in the development of the capitalist mode of production.

Drawing on Lenin's thesis (*Imperialism, the Highest Stage of capitalism*),[5] imperialism "is capitalism in the state of development in which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital has established itself; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun; in which the division of all territories of the globe among the great capitalist powers has become completed."[6]

Examining the broad sense of imperialism as rendered by Ake, we can readily see that it agrees with the two earlier conceptions. However, the second view of imperialism introduces a somewhat ideological connotation to our discussion and common understanding of the concept involved. It specifically attaches imperialism to the development of liberal capitalism at the global level. Understandably, this thinking seems to be not too far from the fact, when we remember the discourse or project of the present globalization[7] of the values associated with "liberal democracy" and "economic liberalism".[8] Certainly, the second sense of imperialism could not be possibly wished away in the British incursion into Nigeria. This submission will be proved in due course.

We need to put British imperialism in the Southern Nigeria in proper perspective in order to understand the underlying reasons for incursion. We could assert that the British, in establishing their domination over Nigeria, adopted two interrelated methods; these were informal influence and the use of force. The former was largely the work of conscious and unconscious agents of British imperialism like traders and Christian missionaries. Both were of English origin and they operated in Yorubaland. The direct agents of the British government accomplished the latter. Both methods were used almost side by side and began in the mid-nineteenth century, reaching its climax at the end of the century.[9]

British Incursion into Southern Nigeria

All political structures use violence or coercion, but they differ in the manner in which and the extent to which they use or threaten to use it against other political organizations. These differences play an unambiguous role in determining the form and destiny of political communities. It was not so much the prestige of power but direct economic interests, among other considerations, that impelled Britain into Africa. The British incursion into what is generally called Southern Nigeria today can be attributed to three basic reasons: Exploration, Missionary and Trading/Commercial purposes.[10]

The exploration motivation[11] preceded all forms of motivation. The first set of European intruders into the Nigeria area were the so-called explorers, whose motives and the results of

whose activities certainly went beyond mere exploration. They were not only potential imperialists; they also held moral, religious and political ideas, the partial application of which in the future was to undermine the indigenous milieu they were constrained to respect during the early period of intrusion.[12] Ideologically, they were the *avant-garde* of the missionary, the trader and the soldier.[13] By wishing the triumph of Christianity over the religions of darkness and abolishing slavery and slave trade, the explorers prepared the way for the Christian missionary. By expostulating on the commercial and technological achievements of Europe to Nigerian rulers, the explorers increased the interests and avidity of the indigenous people for greater economic relations with Europe. By advertising the economic potentialities of Nigeria to their countrymen in Europe officially through their publications, the explorers opened the eyes of empire builders to the underdeveloped state[14] of what is now Nigeria. There was really no Nigeria as a political unit as such before 1914.

There was also the missionary interest,[15] which was secondary. Right from the outset, it was not only the British missionaries that came to Nigeria, but only Britain was able to establish an appreciable foothold in the southern part of the country. Northern Nigeria was practically beyond the pale of Christian activity.[16] Initially, at least, the Christian missionaries did not consciously promote British imperialism. Their primary objective was to help in the campaign to stop the nefarious trade in slaves[17] and evangelise the Yoruba society.

Christian missionaries, including the Saros, converting natives and experimenting with the ideology of 'Bible and Plough', championed the new culture.[18] Agege planters and the African Church Superintendents helped to spread cocoa growing in Yoruba hinterland as they 'were very active in the early development of cocoa growing in Western Nigeria, both as farmers … and as advocates of cocoa growing by other Yoruba farmers'.[19] The humanitarian sponsored missionaries to go and preach the gospel of Christ in the hope that through conversion, the indigenous people will permanently terminate trading in their fellow human beings and give up the unholy practice of human sacrifices, cannibalism and twin murder.[20] The Saros and other Europeans were responsible for integrating Western and Eastern Nigeria. By the late nineteenth century, Christianity had gradually started to expand in the southern region, but Northern Nigeria was essentially outside the purview of Christian activity.[21]

The British government supported the "Niger Expedition" of 1841, which was organized by British missionary and activist organisations with the goal of sending Europeans to the Niger region of Africa to negotiate treaties with the locals and deter them from taking part in the slave trade. The voyage was a dismal failure, and it demonstrated the necessity for more African laborers in missionaries' attempts to enter Nigeria's interior. Of the 145 Europeans, 130 perished. African personnel training became the only long-term solution.[22]

The first attempt to get the Church in touch with Abeokuta was after the Niger Expedition. The Methodist leader in Ghana, Thomas Birch Freeman, sent a letter to Chief Sodeke in Abeokuta when he arrived in Badagry in September 1842 and Sodeke was eager to help the missionaries.[23] Indeed, the history of the CMS mission in West Africa is closely related to much of the Christian missionary effort that laid the groundwork for the transformation of the Nigerian region. The CMS mission forged a strong relationship with British colonial authorities in Lagos.

This relationship was bolstered when the CMS arranged a meeting for Reverend Crowther with the prime minister, the colonial secretary, Queen Victoria, and Prince Albert in London in 1850.[24]

The Methodist opened a station in Badagry in 1842, the Church Missionary Society in Abeokuta in 1846, and the gospel quickly spread to Ibadan and Ijaye.[25] Father Francisco

Borgero, an Italian, founded the Roman Catholic Mission of the Society of African Missions was founded in 1856.[26] In 1885, the Society of Holy Ghost Fathers from Ireland arrived on the Niger.[27] Through their activities, the missionaries saved thousands of souls; winning Africa for God.[28] They relentlessly worked to Christianise Yoruba society, spreading the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ and His saving grace for lost souls. Their zeal to plant Christianity in Nigeria, indeed, caused many of them to sacrifice their lives for the indigenous people. Their activities ultimately served the cause of nationalism as they created the educated *elite* who were later to be at the head of the nationalist movement through education.

Commercial consideration also impelled the British to Nigeria. Economic imperialism is considered as the strongest of the major determinants behind British colonisation of Africa. It was of importance to the British involvement in the affairs of the indigenous people of SouthernNigeria.[29] The push for the appropriation of the hinterland of Southern Nigeria actually began in 1881.[30] Britain had already established their consular administration and the traders were resultantly emboldened to interfere in local politics earlier in 1849.[31] The Old Calabar traders persuaded king Eyo Honesty II to dissociate himself from the custom of using slaves instead of goats in burying free men. This is a commendable positive development in a hitherto conservative society. In fact, it can be rationally argued that the traders incursions were commercially inclined, and it was fundamentally so. In fact, the history of the whole of Africa seems to be incomplete if the roles that Europeans played both as traders, and later rulers, are left out. Perhaps, this must have prompted J.D. Fage to state in the 'Foreword' to a work that: ... *If colonial history is unfashionable today, African history is not. There certainly was a period in which African continent was dominated by European rulers and traders, and this is now as much a part of African history as it is of the history of European overseas ...*[32]

The policy of the British government in Africa was to 'encourage in the natives the exercise of those qualities which may render it possible' for them 'more and more to transfer to the natives the administration of all governments, with a viewto their ultimate withdrawal from all, except in Sierra-Leone.'[33] But in the face of growing commercial competition, which characterised their activities in the beginning, the British were forced to act or face being squeezed out of Africa. Forts and castles were, therefore, built, especially along the West African coast, to defend commercial interests against foreign interlopers and expand trade as well.[34]

The whole story of European commercial incursions initially started on a friendly note. In the beginning, many Africans naively conceived of colonisation as an alliance or a strengthening of friendship with the Europeans rather than an act of occupation.[35] However, the European traders later adopted some measure of 'persuasion by force'. Although these European traders had their initial bickering with one another,[36] they were, however, united in their traditional policy with their Nigerian counterparts. From The Royal Niger Company worked fervently for British extension into the interior, an acquisition commercial feat that was accomplished under Sir George Goldie.[37] In the nineteenthcentury, the Lagos traders (Europeans) were confronted with difficulties arising from the series of wars raging in the Yoruba hinterland, wars that did not abate until decisive British intervention in 1893 compelled the combatants to sheath their weapons and return to their homes and farms.[38] The government provided security and infrastructural facilities for the lagos traders in order to render conditions favourable to British interests.[39] The power of coastal and inland middlemenwas broken, the hinterland roadswere opened to unrestricted commerce,[40] and thus, the Royal Niger Company began to enjoy a monopoly of trade over commercial rivals.[41] The reasons why British capitalist

imperialism made its incursion into south-western Nigeria becomes clearer when one understands that European monopoly firms operated by constantly fighting to gain control over raw materials, markets and means of communication.[42] British merchants penetrated into the hinterland because of their desire to search for raw materials for their industries back home. The planting of valuable commercial products like coffee, cocoa, rubber, cotton etc. was limitlessly encouraged. Resultantly, trade of Lagos and the Yoruba country experienced unlimited expansion.[43]

Apart from that, the industrial revolution in Britain led to the mass mass-production of goods. It, thus, became necessary to look for new markets, and Yorubaland provided one such market.[44] British colonial government also tried to protect the local population by controlling access of the European firms to land in Southern Nigeria. Invariably, the weight of shipping company's oppressive freight rates was borne by small traders who had no resources to secure comparable advantages. The associated firms soon become the major beneficiaries of 'imperialism' in Southern Nigeria, and Britain brought tremendous opportunities for her capitalist interest-groups by forcibly tying the indigenous people to the soil.[45] It could be said that the presence of Britain in Nigeria was synonymous with the opening up of the southern part of the country to British trade and the establishment of a raw material estate for British traders, bankers, ship owners, and manufacturers in the territories.[46]

The African Association of Liverpool came with "commerce in their hands and good feelings in their hearts to assist the natives."[47] The European firms' profits were normally repatriated to Europe and invested in European industry.[48] This is why an historian asserted that Imperialism *was "essentially an economic phenomenon"* that does not "*necessarily lead to direct political control.*" The Europeans just grabbed whatever they thought meant profitsin Africa, *"and... acquired many areas not for immediate exploitation but with an eye to the* future."[49]

This is, however, to be expected as Britain did not come to Nigeria for a tea party. Colonialism was definitely extractive, generally for-a-profit operation. The idea that the imperial objective was commercial profit is the theory of economic imperialism.[50] The question of how profitable colonialism was, even for Britain, is still subject to some controversy. However, colonialism was geared towards the generation of maximum revenue at the least expenditure, and where possible, the natives were forced to work without pay.[51]

Considerations of equity or ethics were not the salutary hallmarks of colonialism. Economic considerations, not moral reasons, were behind the the European occupation of Africa.[52] The reason why Christian Europeans had to wait until the eighteenth century before expressing any interest in converting Africans to their own religion may even be questioned. having been conducting trade with the inhabitants of the Nigerian region since the sixteenth century, why bring in religion in the eighteenth century? The British government was ever so cost conscious and were avidly unwilling to undertake new expenditure unless they were convinced that it would yield returns sufficient to recoup the initial cost. The British were intolerant of native activities that threatened their objective. Where activities such as rebellion or civil disobedience occurred, they were crushed instantly and mercilessly.[53]

One can submit that it was the inordinate commercial/economic interest that made the British to annex the whole of Nigeria. Their agenda was to established British paramountcy in order have economic dominance. Indeed, it would be difficult to attribute much positive impact to the colonial enterprise as they systematically halted the development of indigenous institutions and introduced changes that were not conducive to rapid positive growth and

development. As it would be revealed in subsequent sub-topics, they executed their agenda faithfully.

Introduction of Western Education and Human Capital Development

The British knew that primary, secondary, and vocational education was crucial for the manifestation of progressive social development. They, therefore, introduced western education through the involvement of missions. Christian Missionary Society (CMS) mission stations expanded rapidly in Yoruba communities, and it came with the establishment of schools. In Lagos, there were 256 elementary-level students in 1856, and 549 kids in nine schools in the Yoruba region.[54] Additionally, the CMS mission provided teachers for the CMS Grammar School in Lagos in 1859, and they established a girls' secondary school ten years later. St. Andrews College teacher training institution was also established in 1896.[55]

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the Egba United Kingdom worked with the local government to set up elementary and secondary schools in Abeokuta. By 1904, over 2,000 students were enrolled in Egba schools as a result of their efforts. Five years later, the Abeokuta Grammar School, Nigeria's first community secondary school, was founded. CMS penetration of Ijebu-Ode resulted in the emergence of a thriving Anglican Church movement and their activities led to the establishment of the Ijebu-Ode Grammar School in 1913.[56]

The CMS's example was followed by the the Southern Baptist Convention (USA), Niger Delta and the South-east region of the Igbo people, and several other Christian missions. The American Baptist Convention encouraged the building of mission stations from Lagos through the Yoruba hinterland to the River Niger.[57]The dedication of Yoruba pastors and church leaders helped the Baptist missionary work, and this led to the establishment of Araromi Baptist Church and several primary schools in Lagos Island.[58] The CMS Press also established its headquarters in Lagos in 1913, and went on to open bookshops in Ibadan, Ijebu-Ode, Ile-Ife, and other Yoruba towns. These bookstores promoted the expansion of literacy, and the print culture emerged as an essential tool for group social activity, helping to define identity in a society with a growing diversity of people.[59] In the 1840s, the CMS Saro missionaries encouraged the cultural ramifications of western literary traditions in Yoruba communities. Ajayi Crowther highlighted the English Bible's significant development by translating the Bible into Yoruba language.[60]

Additionally, Christian missionaries promoted contemporary apprenticeship in Nigeria. Yoruba Christians returnees from Brazil, Cuba, and Sierra Leone came with craft skills in basic architecture, carpentry, bricklaying, tailoring, and watch repair. In fact, the 1840s witnessed the promotion of industrial training[61] as mission school established apprenticeship program where masons, printers, bricklayers, and carpenters were educated. The products of such apprenticeship soon became influential middle class in Yoruba cities such as Lagos and Abeokuta. CMS in Eastern Nigeria expanded rapidly due to the close collaboration between Nigerian and European missionaries,.[62] Indeed, the Yoruba missionaries' inventiveness supplied the crucial social environment for the rise of politico-economic advancements.[63]

Christianity and the Emergence of New Cultural Identities

Apart from the role the British played in the introduction of western schools, there is the need to emphasise the exclusivity of social change and the traits of those who promoted these intricate social transformation processes at this time. The Afro-Brazilians (the Aguda) due to their Catholic identity began to enter Lagos in the second half of the nineteenth century, and their craftsmen and traders had developed, taking advantage of the burgeoning circumstances in

Lagos.[64] Their brand of Catholicism enriched the vibrant social and cultural environment, particularly in the cities of Lagos and Abeokuta, that were fast expanding. Although Christian missionaries from Europe believed that they were bringing light into a region of darkness, their message of sin and salvation was perceived by Africans as a local problem of translation.[65]

Christian missionaries in Nigeria made numerous adjustments to the local social and political climate. Early Christians, who were typically poor, former slaves, or who were isolated from other Yoruba communities proliferated, and they began to seek empowerment under the expanding hegemony of British imperial authority. They received support from the Christian missions doctrines and British business interests. Christianity was reconciled with indigenous cosmology, a move that attracted converts and missionaries who linked the heavenly and earthly spheres, and stressed Christ's sacrifice.[66]

During this pivotal period in Yoruba history, a shared pantheon of gods and spirits, mutual political experiences, and a widespread belief in the common ancestry of Yoruba dynastic traditions, contributed to the development of an ethno-national discourse of shared Yoruba culture, which was based on the myths of common origin. These traditions recognised Ile-Ife as the cradle of Yoruba civilization and Oduduwa as their progenitor. The tradition, religion, and customs of the Yoruba people profoundly influenced their way of life, politics, religious activities, economic structures, and overall worldview.[67]

Christianity and Social Mobility in Southern Nigeria

Christianity also influenced social mobility in colonial Nigeria as the conversion of Yoruba to Christianity occurred within the context between Christianity and the Yoruba religious system. The Yoruba Christian converts reconciled temporal and transcendental forces, connecting the power of Christianity to rapidly changing social conditions within a Yoruba frame of reference. This is in contrast to Western Christian evangelical perspectives that drew a distinction between the secular and religious.[68] Christianity thrived among the Yoruba people during colonial rule because it offered a critical method of negotiating the increasingly complicated social, political, and economic milieu of Nigerian society in the early twentieth century. Indeed, the Yoruba Christian church organization, Aladura, successfully adapted Yoruba religious practices to the modernizing objective of mission Christianity.[69]

Christian marriage provided aristocratic status the same way the Yoruba polygamy tradition ensured access to social networks.Educated Yoruba Christians who married Christians began attained new social positions as a result of missionary education, Christian decency, and elite networks, which complicated the definition of power in Yoruba society.[70]Married *elite* Christian women increased the economic power of their husbands, and they expanded on customary Yoruba marriage customs to negotiate social ties and lineage networks.[71] The economic transformation fostered by missionary Christianity and the colonial economy was bound to the complex social change brought about by these interactions between Christian and Yoruba marriage customs. European traders and missionaries, especially those who linked cocoa growing to their Christian message frequently disseminated their expertise of cocoa agricultural practices.[72] Indeed, the quick expansion of cocoa farming was a result of economic opportunity.

Christianity and Modernisation in Southern Nigeria

Indeed, the activities of Christian missions remarkably transformed the Yoruba communities in Ibadan and Ijebu-Ode. Reverend David Hinderer and his English wife, Anna Martin, arrived in Ibadan in May 1853, and founded the first CMS mission. Generally speaking, the pioneering

Christians got along well with the locals. For instance, Baale Oyesile Olugbode, the mayor of the city, gave Reverend Hinderer a home in which to establish the mission's first elementary school.[73] Christian commoners' children received education at mission primary and secondary schools in Yorubaland during British rule. For instance, All St. Primary School, Oke Onigbin in Irepodun Local Government Area and ECWA secondary school, Igbaja, in the present Kwara State, provided such opportunities for children and fostered Christisn relationships.[74]
Although Chiefs had mixed feelings towards western education, fear over the tarnishing effects of Christian principles on local traditions still predominated.[75]

By the 1930s, the growth of missionary education had increased the influence of Christians with Western educations in local politics, creating conflict between a younger generation of Christian elites and the old guard, which was primarily made up of traditional chiefs. Christians who had received education from a missionary school used it to advance the interests of their ancestral hometown inside the colonial administrative structure and gain access to new professional prospects. This emerging elite group's leaders repeatedly urged colonial rulers to include educated Christians in the local administration.[76]
Indeed, the social impact of mission Christianity was felt in Ijebu towns much more quickly than in other communities in the Yoruba hinterland that came under British control. The resourceful Ijebu, who maintained control over trade routes between the Yoruba hinterland, strategically embraced fundamentally changed social and political situations by embracing Christian missionaries, who were crucial to modern development.[77] The importance of Western education increased the profile of Christian educated elites, particularly teachers, clerks, and clergy. Protestant Christian missions predominated in Yoruba villages, but this was far from a simple acceptance of progressive principles dedicated to modern education and Western enlightenment. Uncertainty regarding the rate and direction of change in Nigerian communities persisted among some European missionaries.[78]

Conclusion

Having interrogated the role of Christinaity in the socio-economic development of Southern Nigeria between 1854 and 1960, it is clear from the findings of this study that the impact of Christianity moved beyond the four walls of the Churches founded by missionaries; it permeated the soico-economic dynamics of the people. Christianity altered the soico-economic landscape of the people of Southern Nigeria such that a new socio-economic system emerged from the dual intrusion of Christianity and colonial rule, such that at independence in 1960, Southern Nigeria was radically different from what it was before the advent of Christianity and colonial rule.

Colonial religious movements left indelible marks on Southern Nigerian region. The introduction of western education aided human capital development, and gave rise to a new elite in the region. Similarly, Christianity altered the pre-existing social order by making it possible for people to rise within social ranks, especially those who accepted Christianity. In addition, Christianity contributed to the advancement of commuties that embraced the religion. However, Christianity had detrimental social effects, particularly on the development of many cultural identities. Thus, it may be stated that the development of Christianity in colonial Southern Nigeria was one of mixed blessings.

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5 V.I. Lenin, 1935. *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism,* New York: International Publishers.

6 Claude Ake, 1982. *Social Science as Imperialism: The Theory of Political Development.* P. 137.

7 Globalization can either be taken as a discourse or as a project. As the former, it is a subject that has been dominating the debates of the intellectual community in recent times. For example, see Jan Aart Schulte, 'Beyond the Buzzward: Towards a critical theory of Globalization' in Eleonore Kofnon and Gillian Young's (eds.), *Globalization: Theory and Practice,* London and New York: Printer, 1996, p. 45. As the latter, Globalization is multi-dimensional as its trajectory. See also Globalization: A World Systems Perspectives,http://c.s.f.colorado.edu/jwsr/archive/vol.5Number 2/htm./close-dum/indezx.

8 Francis Fukuyama, 1992. *The End of History and the Last Man,* London: Penguin, p. 44.

9 J. A. Atanda, 1980. *An Introduction to Yoruba History.* Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, p. 44. [10] This idea is derived from E.A. Ayandele's work, "External Relations with Europeans in the 19th Century: Explorers, Missionaries and Traders"Obaro Ikime (ed.). *Groundwork of Nigerian History.* Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books (Nig.) Plc. 1980, pp. 367 - 379.

11 R.T. Rotenberg (ed.), *African...* p. 368-369. [12] R.T. Rotenberg (ed.), *African...*

13 These were the three other precursors, apart from explorers, of British imperialism in Nigeria. [14] E.A. Ayandele 1980. "External Relation with Europeans: Explorers, Missionaries and Traders" in Obaro Ikime (ed.) *Groundwork of Nigerian History,* p. 370.

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22 CMS Original papers, Yoruba Missions, 1907. See also https://www.commonlit.org›texts

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For an early 20th century account of this war, see J. F. A. Ajayi & R. S. Smith, *Yoruba Warfare in the 19th century* (London: Methuen, 1969), Chapters 9 & 11. After the 1893 war, the economy of Yoruba cities became predominantly agricultural, and the peoples saying was: '*oko ati ada ton fi fagun ku, oko lan ft ro*', which literally translate to: 'the hoes and cutlasses we had used in the wars shall now be used to till the soil.' See also Toyin Falola, 1984. *The Political Economy of a Pre-colonial African State*: Ibadan, 1800 - 1900.

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