

# HISTORY AND DIPLOMACY

ESSAYS IN HONOUR OF ADE ADEFUYE

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## CHAPTER TWO

### NEIGHBOURHOOD AND HOMELAND

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TUNDE ODUWOBI

The aim of this chapter is to achieve two goals. The first is to draw attention to Ososami, the neighbourhood in the city of Ibadan, where Ade Adefuye grew up. Shortly before his death, he had expressed the desire to share fond memories of Ososami in his proposed memoirs to be written after his retirement. Although the write up in this chapter has not captured the personal experiences of Prof Ade Adefuye, we hope to partially fulfil the dream by beaming the historical searchlight on Ososami showing that his association with that community was no coincidence. The second goal is to examine the geo-political configuration of his homeland, Ijebu-Igbo, and place history at the service of the community in resolving contemporary chieftaincy crises which have festered since the 1980s. His expertise was in fact solicited at some point, and there is no doubt that he would have remained relevant in the continued search for peace in the community if he is still alive. By attempting to fill that vacuum, we hope to extol the value of history in conflict management and to pay our due respect to the memory of this great teacher and mentor.

#### OSOSAMI: HISTORICAL INSIGHTS INTO AN IBADAN NEIGHBOURHOOD

The composite nature of Ibadan is not in doubt. From the foundations of the Ibadan city-state to the contemporary period, the rich potential of the urban experience had been explored vigorously by diverse settlers and inhabitants. The city-state had by the end of the nineteenth century, grown to become the most powerful state in Yorubaland. Under British colonial rule, it retained its important roles and position as a cultural melting pot, political base, and an important emporium. It became one of the most vibrant, urbanized, pluralized and well-populated towns in Yorubaland.<sup>1</sup> One of the most prominent stranger elements that constituted Ibadan were the Ijebu. They were well established in Ibadan from the pre-



colonial period. Subsequently, they formed part of the groups that enjoyed economic dominance in the modern city.<sup>2</sup> As a result of this, the accommodation of stranger elements has often led to important questions of identity, existence, neighbourhoods and integration. These have been well covered in the literature.<sup>3</sup>

The settlement of the Ijebu in Ibadan witnessed both a flourishing capitalist culture and a sense of alienation. As can be guessed, the experiences of an average Ijebu person growing up in Ibadan in the mid-twentieth century provide an apt illustration of the ambivalent nature of modern cities. In his work titled, *The City is Our Farm: Seven Migrant Ijebu Yoruba Families*, Daniel Aronson examines the lives of the Ijebu resident in Ibadan, articulating some of their life histories, social life, inter-ethnic contacts, residential arrangements, work experiences, education and lifestyles and social positions. However, in a much more significant way, he also studied how they *acted*.<sup>4</sup> The Ijebu who populated several parts of Ibadan have over the years become prominent citizens of the modern Nigerian state. They have risen to exalted positions flaunting their membership of this proud city even while latching on to their ancestral identities.

What roles do cities and neighbourhoods play in the development of the human person? What is the nature of the urban experience in a plural African city? How do we assess the relevance of the city or neighbourhoods for the daily lives and aspirations of the inhabitants? These questions help us to critically locate the Ososami, Oke Ado, Ibadan within the development of stranger elements in the context of modern aspirations and change.

Ososami area, Oke-Ado, an Ibadan neighbourhood populated by Ijebu elements derived its nomenclature from Chief (later Oba) Ososami. The inhabitants of the area had grappled with everyday life and the complexities of the community. Ibadan became a British Protectorate in 1893. Four structures became the vector of migrations after this period: colonialism; commerce; transportation; and, government administration. These sectors began to yield advantages to various segments of Yoruba society and the Ijebu who were themselves conquered by the British in 1892 responded vigorously to these new opportunities. Ibadan was well placed to play an active role in the new scheme of things. Migrants then facilitated the expansion of this new economy.<sup>5</sup> One important niche that the Ijebu carved for themselves in the cocoa economy that developed from the twentieth century was as buyers and transporters of cocoa. Ijebu middlemen transported these products to the wharf where they handed over the products to the foreign firms to ship abroad. Ibadan, with its new networks of roads and railways provided the opportunity to these non-cocoa growing Ijebu to serve as traders. The new economy also provided opportunities for wage employment for clerks, labourers and others.<sup>6</sup>



Thus, from its nineteenth-century roots, the city grew to become one of the most important modern cities in Africa south of the Sahara. Therefore, it has since its foundation provided a powerful example of the principles of social interaction. The topography of Ibadan lent itself to diverse classifications. These are distinguished by where people lived, farmed, traded, worshipped and socialized. There were also battle sites and religious forests for certain spiritual purposes. The character of these areas was determined to a large extent by how people related to them. Ibadan residential areas lent themselves to certain uniqueness. Where we live matters for our health, vitality and outlook to life. This is why it is also imperative to understand the role of neighbourhoods in our consciousness and development. The city of Ibadan had over time developed diverse neighbourhoods that proved extremely vibrant and in some cases, segregated. The Ijebu formed a significant part of this vibrant city.<sup>7</sup>

The Ibadan sense of hospitality is tremendous. With the open-door policy of the Ibadan indigenes, the Ijebu began to constitute one of the major groups of strangers in the Oyo-dominated city of Ibadan.<sup>8</sup> From the wars that wracked Yorubaland in the nineteenth century, hordes of refugees found home in this city, swelling its population thereby stimulating the growth of an urban settlement. When the railroad got to Ibadan in 1901 it induced a revolutionary change in the socio-economic content of the city. In 1939, the city became the capital of the Western Provinces of Nigeria. Four waves of Ijebu settlers in Ibadan, starting from the nineteenth century, were identified by Aronson. Interestingly, each group had different motivations, settled in different areas, and had different relations with the non-Ijebu people.<sup>9</sup>

Relations with the Ijebu and Ijebuland had commenced since the pre-colonial period and were present at the founding of Ibadan. In spite of that, frictions developed between both groups over time. The *Oriki* (praise poem) of the Balogun Ibikunle sheds some light on an aspect of this relationship:

[Balogun Ibikunle] Okunrin kiribiti – A really hefty personality  
 O kilowo kilese bi ogidan – With strong plump hands and feet of a gorilla  
 O fowogunmu 'Jebuapa Otun – Spiteful of the Ijebu on his right  
 Adeyewon oba won tiije Awujale! – Adeyewon their Awujale  
 O fowogunmu 'Jebuapa Osi – Also spiteful of the Ijebu on his left.<sup>10</sup>

Although not always very friendly with the Ijebu, the Ibadan hosted the Ijebu in various compounds and segments. Ibadan comprised several compounds (*agboole*) made up of groups that descended from the same ancestral line. These also turned out to be the landowners governed by



rules and conventions. The landholding groups also had the power and privilege of giving out land to strangers. This was at the base of the spatial organization that came to define Ibadan. The Ijebu that settled predominantly in Amunigun, Agbeni, OkeAdo and Oke Bola of Ibadan owed their settlements to various landowning families that granted land to the strangers. Some of these settlements even began to bear the names of the grantees. Many of the place names in Ibadan, as Bolanle Awe has noted, derived their nomenclatures or identities from the founding and ownership of localities traced to particular individuals. Others include place names reflecting the nature of original settlement or those indicating the sub-ethnic groups that settled in an area.<sup>11</sup> Of particularly interest to us in this chapter is the Ososami area of Oke Ado populated by the Ijebu. Here, Ijebu visitors began to subsist at the pleasure of the prominent Ado family of Ile Ado (Ado's Compound). Chief (later Oba) Ososami, himself an Ijebu man had the area named after him.<sup>12</sup> But just like the average Ijebu in Ibadan, they were also exposed to experiences that reflected the experiences that shaped Ibadan-Ijebu relations based on a uniform pattern of cultural identity of the time.

The Ijebu in Ibadan became a forward leaning and engaging people. In areas where they settled, the enterprising Ijebu competed economically with the Ibadan, Syrians and Lebanese. They established shops along Agbeni and Amunigun streets and constituted part of the important trading structures in the Gbagi/Dugbe axis.<sup>13</sup> There was no doubt that by the 1940s, the character of Oke Ado had become purely Ijebu both in population and property holdings.<sup>14</sup> But the commercially vibrant nature of the area also came hand in hand with certain tribulations. According to Aderinto, "The degree at which the Ijebu acquired land in Ibadan created acrimonies and resentments. There were instances when families and compound heads refused to sell land to Ijebu on account that if the Ijebu 'land hunger' was not controlled, the control of the town might slip out of the hand of the natives."<sup>15</sup> The prejudiced nature and disposition of the local government to the welfare of the Ijebu enclave became evident. Basic amenities were neither extended to the area nor adequate security provided. In essence, the Ijebu were seen as a group whose burgeoning wealth and influence had to be checked and curtailed.<sup>16</sup>

Nevertheless, what gave Oke Ado and by extension, Ososami its special character was principally the existence of commercially vibrant enterprises and trade, together with burgeoning businesses. Akin Adesokan, a U.S.-based literary scholar and academic had this recollection of Ososami area: "There used to be insurance offices there, and by being named after an Ijebu person made us think that, well 'Ijebu m'ojuwow'" (literally, the Ijebu value money).<sup>17</sup> Also, apart from the existence of printing presses in the area, the *Nigerian Tribune*, the only surviving colonial era newspaper



established by Chief Obafemi Awolowo complemented the business nature of the area. The Ijebu of Ososami remained a forward leaning, engaged people whose capacity for progress remained a cause of consternation. A blogger had claimed that "an Ijebu man, Chief Isamota Ashiru from Ijebu Igbo was banned from building further houses in Ibadan having owned ninety-nine percent (99%) of houses on Ososami Street, Ibadan (left and right)."<sup>18</sup>

But the area was not only about trade. The area has been well watered by Christianity. As early as 1958 the CAC had planted a church in Ososami through the activities of one Prophet Akintaro, the Pastor-in-charge of CAC Agbokojo. In August 1958, the church took off from the residence of Elder Adeniyi Adegbulugbe in Ososami. He became the first patron (Baba Ijo) of the church.<sup>19</sup> Other churches also had their roots here. The Wisdom Church of Christ International, Lagos, also had its roots at Ososami. According to Prophet Bisi Olujobi, "We started the ministry over twenty years ago, but later moved to Lagos after ten years. We started at Ososami in Ibadan, Oyo State."<sup>20</sup>

In sum, it is essential to note that the complex web of distinct and multifarious populations that have characterized Ibadan since its establishment in the nineteenth century had come to give it a vibrant character. Inter-group relationships which are historically framed have also revealed the struggles of the Ijebu among their Ibadan hosts. Nevertheless, the Ijebu in Ibadan surmounted all odds and became noted for investing their profit in business, landed property and the education of their children.<sup>21</sup> This no doubt gave them a head start in administration and education. This was the environment in which Adebowale Adefuye was nurtured. We now turn our attention to the chieftaincy palaver that had been brewing in his homeland, Ijebu Igbo.

### THE ORIMOLUSI AND IJEBU-IGBO IDENTITY

As the name clearly indicates, the town of Ijebu-Igbo forms a part of Ijebu-land. The Ijebu territory covers the eastern sections of Ogun and Lagos States of modern Nigeria. The division of the Ijebu under the two states is to be traced to the colonial period. In pre-colonial times, the Ijebu territory constituted a single kingdom under the *Awujale* who was also the titular ruler of Ijebu-Ode, the capital of the kingdom. Most Ijebu towns were made up of two or more territorial units or quarters called *itun*. The quarter head was called *oloritun*. The office of *oloritun* was usually filled by the oldest man in the quarter judged to be of sound mind, body and satisfactory character. In some cases, however, the post was hereditary within a particular family in the quarter. There were two main categories of town heads, namely, crowned and uncrowned. The crowned head was generi-



cally referred to as *oba*; while such titles as *oloja*, *otonba*, and *olorilu* designated the uncrowned head. Succession to the headship office of a town was hereditary except in the case of the *olorilu*. The *olorilu* was appointed from among the *oloritun* in the town on a rotational basis, though in some other instances the office was the preserve of a particular quarter in the town. The hereditary town head was appointed in rotation from among two or more families tracing descent from an apical or primal ancestor. Only the siblings born of a previous town head in the families were eligible for succession. Such eligible candidates were referred to as *omoba* (prince or princess) in a town headed by an *oba*.

On a broader plane, the Ijebu Kingdom was organised on a system of confederating communities, each of which was identified by a name. A confederating community was made of a group of towns that had the joint control of a political association, the Pampa society, which coordinated commercial, communal, and military activities in the area. The term: 'Ijebu-Igbo' (Ijebu forest) is an allusion to the forested nature of this area of Ijebu, but it specifically referred to a confederating community of five towns. These were Okesopin, Ojowo, Atikori, Oke-Agbo, and Japara. At the head of each of the five towns was an *olorilu* whose office, as pointed out above, was non-hereditary.

As is well known, the British defeated the Ijebu Kingdom in May 1892 and subsequently brought the area under colonial rule. For Ijebu-Igbo as well as some other traditional confederating communities like Imusin and Ago-Iwoye, British colonial administration engendered a process of political integration in these three areas as they were brought under single headships designated *baale*, a generic term which denoted uncrowned status borrowed from the Oyo-Yoruba. In Ijebu-Igbo, the head or *Olorilu* of Okesopin, was appointed the *ex-officio Baale* of Ijebu-Igbo because of the primacy traditionally accorded to Okesopin as the earliest inhabited settlement in the area.

The conversion into political units, through the policy of establishing a centralized headship for the erstwhile confederating communities, became gradually reinforced through a process of transforming the central agency into the status of the more prestigious and respected hereditary crowned head or *oba*. By the end of the 1920s, local agitation for the resuscitation of defunct hereditary titles for the headships of the three areas had begun. These were the *Orimolusi* for Ijebu-Igbo, the *Oloko* for Imusin, and the *Ebumawe* for Ago-Iwoye. A crucial role was played in this process of political integration by the rising number of educated elite, who viewed such unity as a better means of advancing territorial group interest under the colonial dispensation. They therefore formed associations to champion the cause of their respective areas. These were the Ijebu-Igbo Patriotic Society, Ago Progressive Union, and the Ijebu-Imusin Progress Society,



formed respectively in 1922, 1926, and 1932. Through these associations, members of the educated elite were involved in the agitation for the resuscitation of hereditary titles for paramount headship in their respective areas. As one of their members later reminisced:

After the advent of the British, certain significance and prominence were accorded to crowned chiefs and villages and towns under them, with the result that many areas formerly having no crowned chiefs did all things possible to get crowns.<sup>22</sup>

In 1924, the *Orimolusi* title, which for some time previously had been in abeyance, was reinstituted. It has been suggested that the title was originally a religious title. Early sources often referred to the *Orimolusi* as an *oloja*, which was applied to titleholders with religious functions. Thus, for example, an *alagemo* (a priest of the *Agemo* cult) was referred to as an *oloja* whether or not he was a town head. According to a report in 1926, "The title [of *Orimolusi*] is according to Native law and custom very important. The man appointed by virtue of his office has certain annual ceremony to perform for the benefit of *Ijebuland* in general and more especially *Ijebu-Igbo* where he resides."<sup>23</sup>

It would appear then that the *Orimolusi* was originally an *alagemo* (i.e., one of the sixteen principal *Agemo* priests) who by some unfortunate circumstances lost the right to participate in the annual *Agemo* festival at *Ijebu-Ode*. A similar fate befell the *Moki*, one other *alagemo* in *Ijebu-Igbo*, sometime during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The *Moki* is said to have had his baggage of charms carried away by the *Agbarun River* while on his way to *Ijebu-Ode* to attend the annual festival. The *Moki* was asked by his colleagues to invoke his powers to cause a reduction in the size of the river in order to avoid a recurrence in future. The *Moki* was, however, unable to perform this feat, and so was banned from attending the annual festival. The task was subsequently carried out by the *Bajelu* of *Imuku*, causing the *Agbarun River* to shrink in size to the mere stream that it is today.

In 1905, *Sodiye*, said to be the seventh *Orimolusi*, died. The title subsequently fell into abeyance owing to family squabbles and financial constraints in performing the obsequies of the deceased *Orimolusi*. These problems were settled in 1924, and one *Adesemowo* was elected as the new *Orimolusi*. The restoration of normalcy within the *Orimolusi* family, however, followed hard on the heels of the death of *Fowora*, the *Baale* of *Ijebu-Igbo* in March 1924, and consequent upon which the *Orimolusi* family put forward its claims for the political headship of the *Ijebu-Igbo* community. As *Adesemowo* described himself: "I [am] ... *Orimolusi Oloja Igbo of Oketako*...which is the real chief, the head of *Ijebu-Igbo*."<sup>24</sup>



The political ambitions of the *Orimolusi* family were, however, fiercely opposed by the Okesopin aspirants vying for the vacant post of the *Baale* of Ijebu-Igbo. As it turned out, the claims of the *Orimolusi* family were dismissed by the local British officials. Situ was appointed as Fowora's successor, but he was removed from office in February 1929 on corruption charges. Again, the members of the *Orimolusi* family put forward their claims. And this time, their request was favourably considered. The *Orimolusi* was consequently officially recognised as the titular ruler of Ijebu-Igbo.

The Ijebu Native Administration as the local government apparatus was called under the headship of the *Awujale* was divided into six administrative units termed districts, each with a district head. The six district heads and their respective districts were the *Akarigbo* of Sagamu, for the Western District; the *Dagburewe* of Idowa for the West-Central District; the *Olowu* of Owu for the East-Central District; the *Ajalorun* of Ijebu-Ife for the Southern-Eastern District; the *Olisa* of Ijebu-Ode for the Central District, and the *Baale* of Ijebu-Igbo for the North-Eastern District. With the assumption of the *Orimolusi* as the ruler of Ijebu-Igbo, he thus replaced the *Olorilu* Okesopin who also doubled as the *Baale* of Ijebu-Igbo as the district head of the North East District.

Once appointed as the ruler of Ijebu-Igbo and a district head, the issue that next arose was the status of the *Orimolusi* either as a crowned or uncrowned head. It is instructive to note here that the new *Orimolusi's* original name was Ogunsemowo which was changed to Adesemowo. The adoption of the prefix *ade* (crown) was intended to reflect royal ancestry. Already in 1927, three members of the IPS had in a book titled *Iwe Itan Ijebu Molusi Tabi Ijebu-Igbo* (A History of Ijebu Molusi otherwise known as Ijebu-Igbo) published a traditional account which claimed a crowned head status for the *Orimolusi*.<sup>25</sup> But the local authorities refused to recognize him as such. The Ijebu-Igbo community, with the IPS in the vanguard, however, saw things differently. Claims of a royal ancestry were considered to suitably accord with the *Orimolusi's* position as district head. All the other district heads were crowned heads (*oba*); the exception was the *Olisa*, whose position as the *Awujale's* traditional second-in-command obviated this inadequacy. The people of Ijebu-Igbo therefore found the non-recognition of the *Orimolusi* as an *oba* illogical, and were in this connection particularly galled by the fact that the *Orimolusi* because of his uncrowned status, was required to greet the *Awujale* by prostration as well as remain without a head dress while in his presence.

The new *Orimolusi* often times surreptitiously availed himself of the use of a crown, but as often as this breach came to the notice of the *Awujale* did it attract stiff sanctions. For example late in 1929, some months after his assumption of office, the *Orimolusi* was suspended for three months



without pay for being in possession of two crowns. Again, in March 1934, another crown with which the *Orimolusi* intended to celebrate his fifth anniversary in office was confiscated from him.

The non-recognition of the *Orimolusi* as an *oba*, and the sanctions imposed on him for his pretensions generated discontent in Ijebu-Igbo. Indeed out of this frustration, the claims for the *Orimolusi* as an *oba* gradually resulted in the demand of a separate and autonomous Native Administration for Ijebu-Igbo. This led to a political dispute when in February 1939 the *Orimolusi* refused summons from the *Awujale* to his palace for caution. The imbroglio was actively propelled by the IPS, whose members, employed by the *Orimolusi* as his clerks, handled his correspondence to the *Awujale*. The tone of their letters was manifestly defiant. For example, on 20 February 1939, the *Awujale* wrote to the *Orimolusi*: "Come to the Afin [palace], Ijebu-Ode, with the other Bales of Ijebu-Igbo, 12 representatives of Osugbo and some members of the Patriotic Society on Monday the 27th February at 10 a.m."<sup>26</sup> He repeated the summons two days later. To these, T.A. Odugbesan of the IPS replied on behalf of the *Orimolusi*:

With reference to your letter dated 20th February, and the more imperative sequel of 22nd February, 1939, I am to inform your Alaiyeluwa [Highness] that we do not desire to come to Ijebu-Ode...We should be immensely grateful if your Alaiyeluwa, for your own sake, may not press the invitation.<sup>27</sup>

The next day, a telegram was sent to the government by the same author, which read:

Awujale Ijebu-Ode imperatively request Oba Orimolusi Ijebu-Igbo to proceed with his chiefs and Osugbo to Ijebu-Ode on Monday February 27th. There is consternation among Ijebu-Igbo natives feeling insulted by Awujale's letters. Action amounts deliberate travesty of sacred traditions. Unpleasant civil cataclysm follows immediately if Awujale is allowed by government to drag Ijebu-Igbo dignitaries to his Afin.<sup>28</sup>

Many more of such salvoes emanated from the pens of the *Orimolusi*'s clerks in the ensuing weeks. The deadlock was broken when the government compelled compliance with the *Awujale*'s order on 29 March.

But nothing had changed. On 17 February 1942, the *Orimolusi* while on an official visit to Ijebu-Ode was challenged for donning a headdress that had all the appurtenances of a crown. This was seized, and the *Orimolusi*'s humiliation was made complete by the fact that he was compelled to return home bare headed. The indignity attracted loud protests



from Ijebu-Igbo championed by the IPS. Petitions were addressed to the government denying that the controversial headgear was a crown. The *Orimolusi* received a stern official caution as a result; but as the *Awujale* had cause to complain the next year for the same offence, the *Orimolusi* remained intransigent. "I have received further reports of the wearing of beaded headgear having all the appearance of a crown," the *Awujale* informed the local British officials. "I am constrained to invite your serious attention to the *Orimolusi*'s persistence in unconstitutional acts. He had been repeatedly, privately and publicly, warned against this tendency."<sup>29</sup>

The local British officials attributed the *Orimolusi*'s refractoriness to bad influence from the IPS. The association, a report went, "undoubtedly gives the *Orimolusi* bad counsel which he is inclined to follow. Their general attitude is to foster strained relations between the *Awujale* and the *Orimolusi*."<sup>30</sup> The secretary of the association, Tommy [Thomas] Idowu, described in 1939 by an official as a "cheeky youth," was considered the greatest problem. He was consequently removed from the scene by conscription for military service in Burma in the course of the Second World War. He returned after the war and became a staunch member of the anti-colonialist Zikist Movement.

The *Orimolusi* was granted crowned head status in 1950, but by then the spirit of independence had become too deep-seated in Ijebu-Igbo to be assuaged by this development. Hence following the introduction of the Local Government Law (1952) from the mid-1950s, the Ijebu-Igbo community made sustained efforts to win administrative and political autonomy. Successive governments, however, refused to accede to these demands.

A new epoch only dawned from 1973 as Ijebu-Igbo has become the headquarters of self-governing local government councils over the years. It is currently the headquarters of Ijebu North Local Government. Yet, even this air of political freedom has in ensuing years become moderated by other administrative arrangements, throwing up new interests in which the centralizing essence of the *Orimolusi* in the community suffered some setback in the process.

The official profile of the *Orimolusi* attained respectable heights when in 1982 Oba Adetayo was elevated to the status of a First Class ruler which qualified him for a permanent seat in the State Council of Obas. The *oba* and his community interpreted this as the logical step towards the official recognition of the *Orimolusi* as one of the paramount rulers of the state. To actualize this vision, the Ijebu-Igbo community proposed converting the segment heads to subordinate *obas* under the *Orimolusi*; and more significantly, to request for an autonomous traditional council excised from the general council established for all the local council areas in Ijebu under the headship of the *Awujale* as the paramount ruler. The *Orimolusi* and his



people were certainly in a difficult position. By the statutes of the state, a traditional council can only be composed of *obas*; and it was only through the medium of a traditional council that a ruler could be elevated to the status of an *oba*. Needless to say, the *Orimolusi* was reluctant to accept the elevation of the segment heads through the *Awujale* and the Ijebu Traditional Council.<sup>31</sup> However, the segment heads found the prospects of conversion into *obas* tantalizing and as the *Orimolusi* was without the official powers to carry it through resorted to the *Awujale*. In the event, the *raison d'être* of the *Orimolusi's* paramount status in the town came under challenge. The wheel of history seemed to have turned full circle. The centripetal conception of political centralization inaugurated during the colonial period seemed to be yielding to that of the original confederal association of pre-colonial times, unleashing centrifugal dispositions.

Matters were not helped by the continued lengthening of the interregnum arising from the death of Oba Adetayo Sami in May 1994. This lacuna certainly facilitated the recourse to the *Awujale* through whom the segment heads have now become *obas*.

Yet, for the eighty-six years (1929–1994) before the present interregnum that it served as the titular head, the *Orimolusi* institution has bequeathed a self-identity on the Ijebu-Igbo community. Should the spirit of this identity be sufficiently strong enough to end the interregnum, then some formula would have to be arranged to foster harmonious relations between the king and the five erstwhile *Olorilu* who have now themselves become officially recognized crowned heads like him without recourse to his office. The key point to emphasize, however, is that if the *Orimolusi* institution is to remain relevant as the symbol of the identity of the Ijebu-Igbo community, then its sole consenting and prescribed powers in the community as enshrined in the relevant statutes of the day (the Chiefs Law) must remain intact and inviolate.<sup>32</sup>

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> E. Krapf Askari, *Yoruba Towns and Cities. An Enquiry into the nature of Urban Social Phenomenon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 29.

<sup>2</sup> Toyin Falola, *Ibadan: Foundation, Growth and Change 1830-1960* (Ibadan: Bookcraft, 2012), 730–31.

<sup>3</sup> Toyin Falola, "From Hospitality to Hostility: Ibadan and Strangers, 1830-1904," *Journal of African History* 26, no. 1 (1985); A. L. Mabogunje, "Stranger Communities: The Ijebu," in *The City of Ibadan*, ed. P.C. Lloyd, A.L. Mabogunje, and B. Awe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967); E. A. Ayandele, *The Ijebu of Yorubaland, 1850-1950: Politics, Economy and Society* (Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books, 1992); O.A. Adeboye, "Intra-Ethnic Segregation in Colonial Ibadan: The Case of Ijebu Settlers" in *Security, Crime and Segregation in West African Cities since the 19<sup>th</sup> century*, ed. Laurent Fourchard and Isaac Olawale Albert (Paris: Karthala, 2003), 303–19.



<sup>4</sup> Daniel R. Aronson, *The City is Our Farm: Seven Migrant Ijebu Yoruba Families* (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, Second printing, 2009).

<sup>5</sup> A Callaway, "From Traditional Crafts to Modern Industries," in *The City of Ibadan*.

<sup>6</sup> Aronson, *The City is Our Farm*, 14.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 20.

<sup>8</sup> In 1916, the land on which Sabo (for the Hausa community) is built was donated to the Hausa community by Baale Ireferin (1912-1914). See Isaac O. Albert, "Contemporary Hausa-Yoruba Relations in Ibadan," in *The City State of Ibadan: Texts and Contexts*, edited by. Dele Layiwola (Ibadan: The Institute of African Studies, 2015), 138.

<sup>9</sup> Aronson, 25.

<sup>10</sup> Bolanle Awe, "Praise Poems as Historical Data: The Example of the Yoruba Oriki," *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 44, no. 4 (Oct. 1974): 340-44; see also, I.B. Akinyele, *Iwe Itan Ibadan* (Exeter, 1946), 57-62.

<sup>11</sup> Bolanle Awe, "Some Ibadan Place-Names: A Source of Historical Evidence," *African Notes. Bulletin of the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan* 6, no. 2(1970-71): 85-93.

<sup>12</sup> Chief Ososami owned the GLO building on the Oke-Ado-Ososami axis of Ibadan. Thanks to Oloye Lekan Alabi and Dr. Gani Adeniran of the University of Ibadan for the information.

<sup>13</sup> O. A. Adeboye, "The Ibadan Elite, 1893-1966" (PhD thesis, University of Ibadan, 1996), 281.

<sup>14</sup> O. A. Adeboye, "Intra-Ethnic Segregation in Colonial Ibadan: The Case of Ijebu Settlers," in *Security, Crime and Segregation in West African Cities*, *passim*.

<sup>15</sup> Saheed Aderinto, "Discrimination in an Urban Setting: The Experience of Ijebu Settlers in Colonial Ibadan, 1893-1960," in *Inter-Group Relations in Nigeria in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, edited by Olayemi Akinwumi, Okpeh O. Okpeh, and J. D. Gwamna (Aboki Press, 2006), 365.

<sup>16</sup> Aderinto, "Discrimination in an Urban Setting," 365-77; see also, Justin Labinjoh, *Modernity and tradition in the politics of Ibadan, 1900-1975* (Ibadan: Fountain Publications, 1991), 28-30.

<sup>17</sup> Personal Communication, Dr. Akin Adesokan, Literary Scholar and Academic, 22 November 2016.

<sup>18</sup> Fapounda Babatunde Adeniyi (Prince Tunde's Blog), "Facts about a Race. Some amazing facts about Ijebu," <http://www.princetunde.com/facts-about-a-race> (accessed 25 January 2016).

<sup>19</sup> CAC Oke-Ado DCC Media and Publicity Team, "History of CAC Oke-Ibukun, Oke Ado, Ososami, Ibadan," [www.cacokeibukun-okeado.org/cac\\_okeadodcc.pdf](http://www.cacokeibukun-okeado.org/cac_okeadodcc.pdf).

<sup>20</sup> Yetunde Oladeinde, "How to recover all, by Olujobi," *The Nation* (Lagos) 28 December 2014, [thenationonline.net/recover-olujobi/](http://thenationonline.net/recover-olujobi/).

<sup>21</sup> Toyin Falola, *Ibadan: Foundation, Growth and Change 1830-1960* (Ibadan: Bookcraft, 2012), 732.

<sup>22</sup> D.A. Odutayo, *An Introspection into the History of Ijebu-Imusin* (Author: Ijebu-Imusin, 1978), 16.

<sup>23</sup> J.A. Mackenzie, Interim Report on Ijebu-Igbo Affairs, 1939 [The private papers of Prince A.O. Adesanya, Ijebu-Igbo].

<sup>24</sup> Statement of Oath by Abraham Adesanya Adesemowo, 24 July 1924, IjeProf.10/1, National Archives Ibadan (hereafter NAI).



<sup>25</sup> J.A.B. Osiyemi, S. A. Banjo, and I. O. Osopale, *Iwe Itan Ijebu Molusi Tabi Ijebu-Igbo* (A History of Ijebu Molusi Known also as Ijebu-Igbo), n.p. n.d. (1927).

<sup>26</sup> Awujale to Orimolusi, 20 February 1939, IjeProf 2, file no. C.54, vol. 1, NAI.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., Orimolusi to Awujale, 24 February 1939.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., Orimolusi to Chief Commissioner, 25 February 1939.

<sup>29</sup> Awujale to Resident, 21 August 1943, IjeProf 1, file no. 601, vol. 1, NAI.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., Resident to Secretary, Western Provinces, 12 March 1942.

<sup>31</sup> Adetayo Sami (Oba), *Ijebu-Igbo and the Trials of Development* (Lagos: Flame Publishers, 1993), 170-77.

<sup>32</sup> *The Laws of Ogun State of Nigeria*, 1978, CAP. 20, 285.