



Yoruba Towns *and* Cities

Volume one

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CHAPTER TWO

The City of Ibadan

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Located in Oyo state, Ibadan was populated largely by the Yoruba-speaking people. It is reputed to be the largest indigenous city in sub-Saharan Africa with a population estimated to be well over 1 million.¹ It is not a city of remote antiquity, but it is highly metropolitan and urbanized. Its large size clearly marks it out among other Yoruba cities. Ibadan is a city of numerous hills (*oke*) after which some of the wards were named — Oke-Ado, Oke-Foko, Oke-Sapati, Oke-Are, Oke-Oluokun, Oke-Bola, etc. It is a city with an early cosmopolitan culture, which has been accentuated by colonial rule. Today, as a state capital, Ibadan is an administrative centre that houses the Oyo state secretariat. It is also a centre of different ideas; a home of diverse peoples with the indigenous core of the population still preserving its identity.

This chapter examines the development of Ibadan over the years, its salient characteristics, and the different aspects of its political, social and economic growth bearing in mind the changes that have taken place therein. While a detailed analysis of developments in Ibadan over time is clearly beyond the ability of a chapter, attempts shall be made here to highlight the major developments in the city and the trends which such developments have taken.

In his work on the functions of Ibadan, Mumford² identifies the role of the city as being that of a container and transmitter of culture. Ibadan, like any other city, no doubt represents a culture of its own which it transmits from one generation to the other with several innovations here and there. But this role of cultural transmission is more fascinating and at the same time complicated when one considers the different cultural strands that make up Ibadan. A city is supposed to be a melting pot, synthesizing different "culture", but in Ibadan the "culture" converge without integration. The indigenous core still maintains its traditional identity.

The city of Ibadan no doubt provides interesting study. In it, tradition and modernity are juxtaposed. While the city is far from being xenophobic, its

immigrant population in the twentieth century was clearly identifiable. This was probably why Lloyd³ could distinguish between "the nineteenth century town and its twentieth century additions". To understand this issue better, we need to examine the origins of Ibadan.

BACKGROUND HISTORY OF IBADAN

Ibadan was founded c.1829,⁴ but oral traditions speak of three Ibadan. The first was said to have been founded by an Ile-Ife prince called Lagelu. It was remembered for its sixteen gates and seventy blacksmiths' shops, none of which has survived.⁵ The town was destroyed soon after its foundation because of the insolence with which the inhabitants treated the *Egungun* (masquerade), an ancestral cult. The Egba Gbagura, and some migrants from other parts of Yorubaland like Isheri, Owu and Ile-Ife peopled the second Ibadan.⁶ By the second decade of the nineteenth century, however, it had ceased to exist.

The foundation of the third Ibadan in 1829 was linked to certain developments which began in the Oyo empire. The Fulani attacks from Ilorin on the empire and other northern Yoruba towns devastated the empire and caused many people to migrate southwards. Northern Oyo refugees joined the Ijebu and Ife in the Owu war of 1821-1826.⁷ Due to the increasing pressure from the Fulani, more refugees from the north joined this allied army, which, after the destruction of Owu, camped at Ibadan in 1829.⁸

At its inception, the third phase of Ibadan acquired a cosmopolitan outlook. Its population comprised Oyo, Egba, Ijebu, and Ife peoples and groups from other parts of Yorubaland. By the time a stable government was established, the Oyo elements had emerged as the majority in the settlement. The open nature of the Ibadan society further attracted more people into it from outside. Unlike the older Yoruba towns, Ibadan offered a lot of scope for individual achievement and merit and this drew a lot of people into the city. Another reason for this cosmopolitan character of Ibadan was its location at the border zone between forest and grassland.⁹ It thus developed as a commercial centre and received goods from the coast, the Yoruba hinterland and other areas to the north of Yorubaland. Traders from Ijebuland, Egband, Oyo, Ogbomoso, Ijaye, Hausaland and Nupe all converged at Ibadan to exchange their products.¹⁰ Later in the century, a few Brazilians who had been set free from slavery across the Atlantic and were subsequently settled in Sierra Leone found their way to Ibadan.¹¹

By 1831, the population of Ibadan was around 100,000,¹² and the city further expanded by embracing some of the deserted Egba towns in the

neighbourhood. It had walls, which were built for security purposes because of the martial spirit that pervaded Yorubaland in the nineteenth century.

The people of Ibadan were farmers, craftsmen and warriors. In fact, the cream of the society was made up of professional warriors whose military feats advertized Ibadan as a formidable power in nineteenth century Yoruba politics. Ibadan thus grew from a war camp to a metropolis — the capital of an empire which comprised such Yoruba groups like the Ekiti, Ijesa, Igbomina, etc. By the time the British came in 1892, Ibadan had already developed into a highly urbanized settlement. It offered a lot of scope for individual achievement and merit and this drew a lot of people into the city. Another reason for this cosmopolitan character of Ibadan was its location at the border zone between the forest and grassland areas of Yorubaland.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

The first system of government established in Ibadan in the nineteenth century was a republic. This was borne out of the prevailing conditions at that time. The cream of the Ibadan society was made up of the military while the whole of Yorubaland was characterized by internecine wars, thus putting most of the belligerents in a perpetual state of military readiness. The political system evolved in Ibadan was not the dictatorship of an individual leader but that of a group — the military — hence, Ibadan has been variously tagged as "military oligarchy", "military aristocracy" and "military republic".¹³ This is not to suggest that there were no outstanding individual leaders in the military class. Among notable military leaders in the century were Oluyole, Ogunmola and Latosa.¹⁴

Oluyole (ruled 1830-1847) was the most important of Ibadan's early rulers. He was a man of vision and he set out to develop Ibadan into a great town from a mere military camp. He assigned civil duties to some of the military chiefs and at the same time brought more areas under Ibadan by conquest. Due to his valour and exploits, Ibadan is praised today as the home of Oluyole. Ogunmola (ruled 1864-1867) was not only a powerful warrior but also a great administrator. He made several social reforms in Ibadan and was an impartial judge. Latosa (ruled 1871-1885) was probably the most aggressive of all the rulers of Ibadan in the nineteenth century. He struck the fear of Ibadan into the whole of Yorubaland. He actually nursed the ambition of conquering the whole of Yorubaland but was halted by the Ekitiparapo alliance of nearly all Yoruba states, which resisted Ibadan's imperialism.

As the city grew in the second half of the nineteenth century, the military leaders realized the need for a stable civil administration to be under the

surveillance of civilians. To this effect, the office of *Baale* was created for the civil leader of the state; though the incumbents were always retired war veterans and not just any civilian.

Politics in Ibadan in the nineteenth century was characterized by intrigues and feuds. The *Babaogun* (clientage) system in which a distinguished military chief became a leader of hundreds of people who became his personal followers and gave him their allegiance, further generated political intrigues in Ibadan. However, the main feature of Ibadan government, *viz.* collectivity of leadership, remained stable throughout the century.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, there had developed two distinct chieftaincy lines that could succeed to the *Baaleship*. One was the *Balogun* (military) line while the other was the *Baale* (civil) line. The *Seriki* line, which comprised some junior chiefs, was an adjunct to the *Balogun* line. The military and civil lines succeeded alternatively while promotion was from the lower titles to the higher ones. An aspirant to the chieftaincy structure joined the hierarchy at the bottom and proceeded into the next rung of the ladder via promotions occasioned by the creation of any vacancy in the upper rungs. This system ensured that there were no succession disputes in Ibadan; it also meant that only the very old became the *Baale*. The *Iyalode* line was made up of female chiefs who could not succeed to the *Baaleship* but who saw to women affairs in the city.

The imposition of colonial rule brought a lot of changes to the government and politics of Ibadan. Emphasis on military leadership was eroded as the British put an end to the Yoruba wars. More importantly, colonial rule saw the loss of power by the *Baale* and the chiefs. The British Administrative Officer wielded effective authority while the Ibadan chiefs were his assistants. The British interfered in all aspects of the politics and administration including even the choice of the *Baale*.¹⁵ What worsened matters was the fact that the chiefs were always involved in squabbles and power struggles which made them vulnerable to the British who had perfected the art of playing one group against the other.¹⁶

The councillor system, which was established in 1897, grew under the tutelage of the British. The idea of nominating educated councillors into the Council was stopped in 1907 but was reinstated in the 1930s which marked the rise of a local educated elite. This class was organized first into the Ibadan Progressive Union (IPU) and they became actively involved in the administration of the city through their membership of the Council. They advised the chiefs on how to develop the city, saw to the administration of Council affairs; and devised many development schemes for the municipality. Among such councilors were J.L. Ogunsola, D.T. Akinbiyi, Isaac Akinyele and

J.O. Aboderin, all of the IPU.¹⁷ Later, other organizations like the Ibadan Patriotic Association (IPA) also got an extension of the nomination privilege; and in 1943 the councilors were selected from territorial wards. By 1949, there was mass participation in local affairs.¹⁸

The Western Region Local Government Law of 1953 further democratized membership of the Council, which was now based on political parties. Elected councillors under a Chairman carried out effective administration of the city. The *Baale* (who became known as *Olubadan* from 1936) became the nominal President of the Council, and together with other traditional members of the Council, he was more confined to chieftaincy issues than to the general administration of the city.

By 1961 the administration of the city was severed from that of the districts. Local politics became more intensive and connected with Council matters. Political campaigns before elections, lobbying, carpet-crossing and violence were all the ingredients of local politics. The principal parties which had roots in Ibadan were the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) and the Action Group (AG), and the stalwarts of the two groups kicked a lot of dust. The most prominent among the politicians in Ibadan was Adegoke Adelabu of the NCNC who became the chairman of the Council in 1954.

During the reign of *Olubadan* Akinyele, from 1954 to 1965, chieftaincy gained in prestige, but power had slipped from the chiefs. The local government reforms of 1976 completely took whatever residue of power the chiefs had away. The *Olubadan* became powerless politically. He had no coercive power, no control over resources, he "lacked a status within the structure of government and exercised little or no influence over policy makers".¹⁹ Like other traditional rulers in Nigeria, he was void of any meaningful authority. By 1979 when the second republic took off in Nigeria, Ibadan already had three more local Councils on its periphery in addition to the Ibadan Municipal Council. These were Akinyele, Lagelu and Oluyole Councils. Meanwhile, the expanding city called for special attention and skills to meet its diversified needs.

With the advent of military rule from the 1960s, the administration of the Council passed from the hand of the Chairman to that of the sole Administrator appointed by the state government. As Ibadan continued to expand, the Ibadan Municipal Government (IMG) was divided further into five Councils.²⁰

The *Olubadan*, like other traditional rulers in Nigeria, became a spectator of local government. The only issues under his jurisdiction were chieftaincy affairs. He attended the meeting of the state Council of *Oba* (established in 1976) and entertained official visitors. As the head of the city, the *Olubadan*

provided a unifying focus for the indigenes. However, his position as the ruler of the most populous indigenous city in sub-Saharan Africa was not sufficiently tapped. He was awarded a beaded crown in 1976 as a paramount ruler, but his office was void of any power in the present political dispensation in Nigeria. The case was a very remarkable one: the city was large, its prospects were enormous, its needs could only bow to the boldest and skilfully engineered efforts by the local government; but the traditional ruler was completely incapacitated by developments and changes which had overtaken him. Moreover, the system of succession whereby only the very old and physically emaciated got into the office of the *Olubadan* weakened whatever hope one could entertain about a possible injection of some dynamism into the role of the ruler.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

(1) EDUCATION

The Church Missionary Society (CMS) under the Rev. David Hinderer founded the first primary school in Ibadan in 1853.²¹ The school, located at Kudeti had an arduous growth, but others began to follow it especially with the advent of other missionary groups in Ibadan. In 1905, the Wesleyan Methodist Mission founded a teachers' college in Ibadan. Some members of the CMS congregation founded Ibadan's first secondary school — Ibadan Grammar School — in 1913.²² Its first principal was Rev. A.B. Akinyele while on its first roll were twelve names. The Roman Catholic and Methodist Missions also founded many secondary schools. The colonial government entered the race by establishing Government College in 1929 — this school was initially a teachers' college, which was later changed to a secondary school.

However, Christian missions and the colonial government were not the only ones involved in the educational development of Ibadan; Islamic missions also sprang up in the 1930s to establish primary and later secondary schools for Muslim children. Such missions included the Ansar-ud-Deen, the Nawar-ud-Deen and the Ahmadiya Movement.²³ The need for Islamic schools arose when the Muslims discovered that Christian mission schools constituted a potent instrument for converting Muslim children into Christianity.

The economic depression of the 1930s retarded the growth of education a bit, but after 1945 education was gradually expanded with the founding of more schools and a steady increase in students' enrolment. In 1948 the University of Ibadan was founded not only for Ibadan, but also for the whole of Nigeria.

As the capital of Western region, Ibadan became the centre of educational

planning and execution for the whole region. Ibadan also enjoyed the Free Primary Education scheme launched in the region in 1955 by the Action Group (AG) government, and the Free Education Programme of the ruling party in Oyo state — the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) — between 1979 and 1983.

Today, Ibadan has a remarkable array of educational institutions. It is the seat of a federal university, a state polytechnic and a number of research institutes. It also has several schools of nursing, a growing number of secondary schools, a few teachers' colleges, and numerous primary schools.²⁴ In addition to these are many unofficial educational institutes like Koranic schools, Bible colleges, sewing institutes (fashion designing schools), secretarial institutes, continuing education centres and catering schools. All these institutions have been particularly useful in providing some vocational training for people who could not gain access to the formal institutions.

(2) RELIGION

The major religions in Ibadan were Islam, Christianity and traditional African religion. However, some modern belief systems like the Grail Movement, the Hare Krishna and the One Love Family of Sat Guru Maharaj Ji, are beginning to permeate sections of the society.

Islamic influence in Ibadan can be traced to the foundation of the city. This is because Muslims were among the original population that settled in Ibadan in 1829.²⁵ They had an Imam called Gunnugu, but the pure practice of Islam did not start until 1839 when a renowned Islamic scholar from Borno — Uthman Abu Bakr — embarked on a systematic preaching programme and reformation of Islam.²⁶ By 1871, Islam had gained a firm ground in Ibadan and the military ruler of Ibadan — Aare Latosa — was a Muslim. Other Islamic missionaries came to build up the religion in Ibadan, and by the end of the nineteenth century, pilgrims from Ibadan were going to Mecca for the pilgrimage.²⁷

Islam continued to grow in Ibadan in the twentieth century. The head of the Islamic community was the Chief Imam. The Central Mosque at Oja'ba developed as the rallying point for all Muslims, but the emergence of some Islamic organizations to provide secular education for Muslim children in the 1930s following the failure of the former to do so and the subsequent establishment of their own mosques, reduced the prestige and income of the Central Mosque.²⁸ However, there is still one Chief Imam in Ibadan and the Muslim community presents a united front during Islamic festivals like *Id-el-Fitri* and *Id-el-Malud*.

The first Christian denomination to get to Ibadan was the CMS, directed by David Hinderer who founded the first Anglican Church — St. David's at Kudeti. Other missionary societies soon followed. The Methodist came in 1888 and by 1891 they had established a firm footing. The Roman Catholic Church came in 1895, the Baptist in 1906, Salvation Army in 1921, and the Seventh Day Adventists in 1926.²⁹

Apart from these orthodox denominations, there are African churches like the United African Church, the African Church and the United African Methodist Church. On the Christian list in Ibadan are also other independent churches like the Cherubim and Seraphim (C&S) Churches, the Celestial Church of Christ (CCC), The Apostolic Church (TAC), Christ Apostolic Church (CAC), Deeper Life Bible Church, Assemblies of God, etc. Jehovah Witnesses are also to be found in Ibadan. The above list is by no means exhaustive as there are many other churches and denominations in Ibadan.

These Christian churches and groups, especially the orthodox denominations, have contributed to the Ibadan society by their educational activities and the health services provided by some of them. For instance, there are two Catholic hospitals in Ibadan — one at Oluyoro, Oke-Offa and the other at Eleta.

Talking of traditional religion in Ibadan, one has to look at the worship of Oke 'badan, the *Egungun*, ancestral cult, and other general Yoruba deities. The spirit of Oke 'badan is a goddess depicted with large breasts (Omu Oru) representing her fertility. It is the tutelary genius of Ibadan. The annual Oke 'badan festival commemorates events believed to have occurred during the founding of Ibadan.³⁰ The festival takes place on any day between March and April. Then members of both sexes are free to make obscene remarks to one another and sing lewd songs.

The *Egungun* represents the ancestral cult. The significance of its worship lies in communion with the other world, for it is a general Yoruba belief that there is life after death. The festival takes place in June and lasts for two weeks. It always coincides with the harvest of the new yam and during the celebrations, a lot of people come from the rural areas of Ibadan into the city to celebrate. Notable among the *Egungun* in Ibadan are Oloolu, Alapansanpa, Atipako and Paramole. Like other Yoruba groups, some Ibadan people also worship deities like Orisa-nla, Yemowo, Sango, Ogun, Esu, Orunmila and Oduduwa.

Relationship among the adherents of the different religions in Ibadan is cordial, especially as it is not impossible to find a single family in which more than one of the beliefs are represented. Also, Christians and Muslims tolerate one another more than they tolerate the practitioners of traditional religion whom they see as pagans.

SOCIAL LIFE

Ibadan has a very exciting social life. It has a lot of recreational facilities. The Cultural Centre situated on Mokola Hill — in the northwest of the city — has a main hall with 1,300 seating capacity, a music rehearsal hall and a theatre arena. Several cinema halls like Scala, Odeon, Queens and Rex are also built in the city. There are three sporting arenas; the Liberty Stadium, Olubadan Stadium, and Lekan Salami Sports Complex at Adamasingba. The Agodi Gardens, the Zoological Gardens at the University of Ibadan and the newly commissioned Trans-Amusement Park, all provide recreation.

To disseminate information are the *Sketch*, *The Nigerian Tribune*, *Gbougoun* and *Irohin Yoruba* newspapers, all published in Ibadan; a federal radio station (FRCN); the state's broadcasting corporation (BCOS); a national television station (NTA) and a private television, Galaxy Television. Easy transportation is facilitated by the numerous taxi cabs and mini-buses (*danfo*), which ply all major routes in the city. The state's mass transit buses also maintain a full-fledged operation in Ibadan, which is also their base. Ibadan has access roads to other towns and states in the federation. It is linked by road to Lagos, Ilorin, the north, Ekiti, etc. It has a modern airport, which provides regular air travelling services to Abuja and the states of the north.

Many hospitals, maternity centres and dispensaries in the city carry out health delivery. There are government hospitals like the University Teaching Hospital (UCH), Adeoyo Maternity Hospital, Jericho Nursing Home, the new Ring Road Hospital and a Children's Hospital also at Ring Road. There are also Christian hospitals like the Catholic Hospitals at Oluyoro and Eleta while private hospitals and clinics are innumerable.

The migrant population in Ibadan includes the Ijebu in the southwest of the city (in areas like Oke-Ado and Oke-Bola); people from the eastern parts of Nigeria concentrate in Ekotedo, Mokola and Okoro Village at Eleyele. The Hausa elements in Ibadan are found in Sabo, while many other Nigerians and non-Nigerians can be found sprinkled all over Ibadan. The nucleus of the city, however, is inhabited by the indigenes.

As the city extends, neighbouring farm settlements and villages are drawn into the orbit of the metropolis. Examples of such areas are Ogbera and Oremeji to the southeast, Olomi to the south, Ashi and Akobo to the northeast, and Ojoo, Sasa and Moniya to the north. With this expansion, the city encounters many needs which range from environmental sanitation to water supply. Despite the fact that three water projects — Eleyele, Asejire and Osegere — service the city,³¹ the problem of water shortage still persists.

Another important feature of the city is the multiplicity of social clubs and improvement unions³² in it. Among the improvement unions with member-

ship restricted to Ibadan indigenes are IPU, Lagelu Club 16, Oluyole Club, etc. Other ethnic groups in Ibadan also have their progressive unions. The social clubs in which the elite, either indigenous or migrant, meet include Rotary Club, Lions Club, etc.

The continued expansion of Ibadan is envisaged given its fluid frontiers. But this would not only produce increased prospects but also new problems. Meanwhile the population remains a mixed multitude.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Today, Ibadan has both traditional and modern markets,³³ but the modern markets have tended to outshine a few of the traditional ones. Among the traditional markets are Oja'ba, located at the centre of the city; Ayeye, Gege, Bode, Oje and Agbeni.³³ Of these markets, Oje is particularly significant because it specializes in hand-woven cloth (*aso-oke*) brought in from Iseyin, Saki and other towns in the Upper Ogun area. While the other markets are losing their prestige as the modern markets gradually overshadow them, Oje continues to gain more fame as people from outside Ibadan come every sixteen days to buy *aso-oke*.

The modern markets include Bodija, which is the foodstuff depot; Gbagi, now post-humously named after Bola Ige, the slain Attorney-General of Nigeria and one-time Governor of Oyo State, where manufactured textiles are sold; and Dugbe, where electronics, chinaware, enamelware, plastic ware, beverages and other imported goods are sold. There are also modern shopping complexes in the city like the Agbowo, Adamasingba and Adegoke Adelabu Shopping Complexes.

Apart from commercial activities carried out in markets, there are a lot of traditional craft in Ibadan. Such craft include blacksmithing, dyeing, soap making and goldsmithing. There are also modern craft like tailoring, furniture making, tinsmithing, etc.

Ibadan is also tending towards industrial development though the trend has been relatively slow when compared with a place like Lagos. Among the modern industries in Ibadan are the FUMMAN Canning Factory, NIPOL Plastics, Oyo State Paper Mill, Niger Match Company, Cashew Nut Processing Industry, Nigerian Bottling Company, Seven-Up Bottling Company and Daily Soap Factory. An industrial estate is being developed at Ring Road while a lot of small-scale factories are also springing up to meet the demands and the challenges of the twenty-first century.

Ibadan is the home of book publishing in Nigeria. The pacesetters are University Press Plc (formerly Oxford University Press), Evans Brothers

Nigeria Publishers, Heinemann Educational Publishers Plc, Spectrum Books Limited, Macmillan Publishers, and John Archers (Publishers) Limited.

The hotel industry in Ibadan is still developing. Among the notable hotels in the city are Premier Hotel, Lafia Hotel, Green Springs Hotel, JKIC Hotel and the De Rovans Hotel. Other modern economic concerns that are thriving in the city are commercial banks, insurance companies, travelling agencies, estate management and stock broking companies, and private-owned stores like chemists, pharmacies and departmental stores.

CONCLUSION

As a social magnet, Ibadan no doubt has succeeded in attracting different people right from its inception, and the continuance of this has sustained its status as a metropolitan centre. The influx of people into the city was sustained by the indiscriminatory attitude of the local population. The development of Ibadan markets and the construction of roads and railways, which linked it with other parts of Nigeria, also facilitated the in-flow of people. Moreover, the location of the administrative headquarters of the defunct Oyo province, and Western region, Western state and the present Oyo state in Ibadan has also contributed to the heterogeneity of its population as people came into the city from different parts of Nigeria.

However, the large size of the population of the city has produced many problems ranging from acute water shortage to the unsanitary conditions of a large part of the city. The overcrowded nature of the core of the city has remained a problem for town planners and health workers. Thus, a major problem of Ibadan is the inability of the municipal government to cope with the hygienic and sanitary problems of living in such close quarters. However, with the splitting of the I.M.G. into five independent local councils, these and other administrative problems facing the city are being vigorously tackled.

ENDNOTES

1. *Oyo State Administration in Pictures*. Pamphlet produced by the Oyo State Ministry of Information and Culture, Ibadan. 1991, p. 2.
2. L. Mumford, "City: Forms and functions". in D.L. Sills, ed. *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. II, (Macmillan and the Free Press), 1968), p. 451.
3. P.C. Lloyd et. al. eds. *The City of Ibadan*, (Cambridge, 1967), p. 5.
4. I.B. Akinyele, *Iwe Itan Ibadan*, (James Townsend and Sons Ltd. England, 1946), pp. 1-25.
5. A.L. Mabogunje, "Ibadan: Black metropolis," *Nigeria Magazine*, No. 68, 1961, p. 12.

6. K. Morgan, *Akinyele's Outline History of Ibadan*, Part I, (Caxton Press, n.d.) pp.41-42.
7. B. Awe, "The rise of Ibadan as a Yoruba power in the nineteenth century" (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Oxford 1964), p. 69; "Ibadan, Its Early Beginnings, in P.C. Lloyd et. al. eds. *op. cit.* p. 13.
8. *Ibid.*, loc. cit., see also T. Falola, *The Political Economy of a Pre-colonial African State: Ibadan, 1830-1900*, (Ife University Press, Ile-Ife, 1984), pp. 15-16.
9. Mabogunje, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
10. Awe, "Ibadan: Its Early Beginnings ...", *op. cit.*, p. 16.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
13. T. Falola, "The political system of Ibadan in the nineteenth century." in J.F. Ade-Ajayi and B. Ikara (eds.) *Evolution of Political Culture in Nigeria*, U.P.L. 1985, p. 105; *The Political Economy*, *op. cit.*, p. 23; Awe, "The rise of Ibadan," *op. cit.*, p. 80; see also T. Falola and Dare Oguntomisin, *The Military in Nineteenth Century Yoruba Politics* (Ile-Ife, 1984), chapter two.
14. For more details on these personalities, see Toyin Falola and G.O. Oguntomisin, *Yoruba Warlords in the Nineteenth Century* (Trenton, African world Publishers 2001), chapter eleven.
15. In 1907, the colonial authorities did not confirm the appointment of Balogun Apampa as *Baale* until 1909, while in 1912 they refused to accept the choice of Balogun Shittu by the people as *Baale*. For more details see J.A. Atanda, *The New Oyo Empire*, (Longman, London, 1973), pp. 119-120; C.H. Elgee, *The Evolution of Ibadan*, (Government Printer, Lagos, 1914, p. 22, and G.D. Jenkins, "Politics in Ibadan" (Ph.D. thesis, Northwestern University, 1965), p. 210.
16. See the activities of Capt. Ross in this respect in G. Jenkins, "Government and politics in Ibadan," in P.C. Lloyd, et. al. eds. *op. cit.*, pp. 219-222.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 223.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 224-225.
19. Toyin Falola, "Power, status and influence of Yoruba rulers in historical perspective." Paper presented at Conference on Role of Traditional rulers in the Governance of Nigeria, University of Ibadan, 1984, p. 26.
20. The five councils in the municipality are now:
Ibadan Northwest with Headquarters at Dugbe/Onireke
Ibadan Northeast with Headquarters at Agodi
Ibadan Southeast with Headquarters at Mapo
Ibadan Southwest with Headquarters at Oluyole
Ibadan Northwest with Headquarters at Bodija. For more details see *Daily Sketch*, Sept. 10, 1991, p. 3.
21. Ann Hinderer, *Seventeenth Years in Yoruba Country* (Seeley, Jackson and Halliday, London, 1873), p. 86.
22. A. Callaways, "Education expansion and the rise of youth unemployment," in P.C. Lloyd, et. al., eds. *op. cit.* p. 193.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Facts Sheet on Oyo State*. Pamphlet produced by the Ministry of Information and Culture, Oyo State, 1991, p. 9.
25. F.H. El Maari, "Islam", in P.C. Lloyd, et. al., eds., *op. cit.* p. 250.
26. *Ibid.*

27. *Ibid.* p. 252.
28. *Ibid.* pp. 254-256.
29. E.B. Idowu, "Traditional religion and Christianity," in P.C. Lloyd et. al., *op. cit.*, p. 239.
30. Mabogunje, *op. cit.* p. 12.
31. *Facts and Figures on Oyo State, 1984-1991*, Published by the Ministry of Information and Culture, Oyo State, July, 1991, p. 88.
32. Improvement unions are organizations whose membership is based on common origin from the same locality and whose activities are geared towards the development and improvement of such a locality or town. In some cases, they are called progressive union e.g., Ijesa Progressive Union for Ijesa-speaking Yoruba, Osogbo Progressive Union for Osogbo indigenes, etc.
33. Traditional markets are old markets without a well laid-out stall structure while modern markets are new with well-planned stall structures and modern facilities like toilets, banks and clinics, etc.