

**CHANGE AND ADAPTATION IN THE COMMERCIAL
SECTOR OF OSUN DIVISION, WESTERN NIGERIA,
1900-1960**

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ABSTRACT

The advent of colonialism in Osun Division occasioned changes which impacted greatly on the commercial sector of the division. This is well attested by the remarkable adaptation of the sector to the changes. Issues relating to change and adaptation in the commercial sector have been neglected by the available studies on Osun Division. This study, therefore, examined change and adaptation in the commercial sector of Osun Division in the areas of transportation, currency, banking and entrepreneurship between 1900 and 1960 with a view to ascertaining how the colonial innovations were integrated into the Yoruba commercial practices.

This study adopted the historical approach. Oral interviews were conducted with 30 purposively selected key informants. They comprised kings and chiefs, former railway officials and passengers, artisans and traders whose ages ranged from 68 to 120 years. Interviews were carried out in major towns of Osogbo, Ikirun, Inisa, Okuku, Ejigbo, Ogbomoso, Gbongan, Ede and Iwo. Archival materials were derived from the National Archives, Ibadan and Sopolu Library, Ikenne. These included Colonial Secretary's Office papers, Government gazettes together with annual and intelligence reports. *Town Series* and maps were collected from relevant government ministries in Osogbo and Ibadan. Data were subjected to historical analysis.

People of Osun Division adapted in diverse ways to the changes introduced by colonialism. In the area of transportation, extension of railway to Osogbo in 1907 and the subsequent construction of feeder roads elicited massive emigration of people to other parts of Nigeria and further to West African countries like Republic of Benin, Togo, Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire. This stimulated international trade in which the people of Osun Division were well known. New markets and urban centres emerged around the railway stations in Iwo, Ile-ogbo, Kuta, Yawu, Origo, Ede, Osogbo, Ikirun, Inisa and Okuku. Around these stations, human portorage became commercialised with the emergence of the *alabaru* who were mostly women. The need to have the new money introduced in 1904 gave birth to currency counterfeiting by the smart blacksmiths, who used their local technology to forge British coins. Traders were lured to more lucrative businesses of cash crops and imported items in order to gain more profits. Inadequacies in the operations of the British Bank of West Africa established in Osogbo in 1924 made *sogundogoji*, a hybrid of the pre-colonial *Iwofa* credit and modern banking systems to emerge in order to provide greater amount of money for traders and other needy individuals. In the system dominated by European and Levantine firms, indigenous entrepreneurs assumed the roles of distributors of European merchandise and agents of cash crop trade. As indigenous aids to trade complemented the foreign ones, the volume of local and international trade increased. This led to the emergence of commercial *elite* who became a force to reckon with in the politics of Western region. The Cooperative Produce Marketing Union they formed influenced government policies for better cocoa prices and protection of members from exploitation.

Change and adaptation in the commercial sector of Osun Division of Western Nigeria during the colonial period occurred in respect of transportation, currency, banking and entrepreneurship. The outcome was a hybrid that was partly traditional and partly modern. Nevertheless, indigenous commerce thrived simultaneously with foreign trade.

Key words: Osun Division, Colonialism, Commercial sector, Change and Adaptation, Western Nigeria.

Word count: 496

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the Almighty God, who in His mercy made this study a success, and my darling wife, Olufunmike Comfort Ajayi, for standing by me throughout the period of my study. May God bless Her.

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Abiodun Ajayi

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CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that this study was carried out under my supervision by Abiodun Ajayi for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of History, University of Ibadan, Nigeria.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABC	-African Banking Corporation
ADO	-Assistant District Officer
AG	-Action Group
ANCE	-Association of Nigerian Cooperative Exporters
ANFC	-All Nigeria Farmers' Congress
AWAM	-Association of West African Merchants
BBWA	-Bank of British West Africa
BCGA	-British Cotton Growing Association
CFAO	-Compagnie Francaise de l'Afrique Occidentale
CHC	-Church Historical Committee
CPMU	-Cooperative Produce Marketing Union
CSO	-Chief Secretary's Office
CUWN	-Cooperative Union of Western Nigeria
DIV	-Division
DO	-District Officer
DTS	-District Traffic Superintendent
FBC	-First Baptist Church
HSN	-Historical Society of Nigeria
IJE	-Ijebu
LBA	-Licensed Buying Agents
LCC	-Lagos Chamber of Commerce
MANR	-Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources
MDS	-Mercantile Delivery Service
NAAIE	-Nigerian Association of African Importers and Exporters
NAI	-National Archives Ibadan
NBC	-Nigerian Baptist Convention

NCNC	-National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon
NFU	-Nigerian Farmers' Union
NMTU	-Nigerian Motor Transport Union
NRC	-Nigerian Railway Corporation
OAC	-Okuku Anglican Church
PBM	-Pink Boll Worm
PWD	-Public Work Department
PZ	-Patterson Zochonis
RWFF	-Royal West African Frontier Force
SCOA	-Societe Commerciale de l'ouest Africain
SDA	-Seventh Day Adventist
SNAR	-Southern Nigeria Annual Report
ST	-Saint
UAC	-United African Company
WACCB	-West African Cocoa Control Board
WNFC	-Western Nigeria Farmers' Council
WNFU	-Western Nigeria Farmers' Union

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CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Introduction

The Yoruba people constitute one of the major ethnic groups in modern Nigeria. They effectively occupy the whole of the present Ekiti, Lagos, Ogun, Ondo, Osun, Oyo and a substantial part of Kogi and Kwara States as well as the South-eastern part of the Republic of Benin (formerly Dahomey). These areas formerly known as the Yoruba country before the European partition of Africa still constitute the traditional homeland of the Yoruba people found in other parts of Nigeria, West African countries, the West Indies and South America.¹ Globally, it is estimated that they have a population of over fifty million with over forty million inhabiting the homeland.² The Yoruba country lies roughly between latitude 6⁰ and 9⁰ North and longitude 2⁰30¹ and 6⁰30¹ East, with an estimated area of about 181,300 square Kilometres.³

The Yoruba comprise a number of sub-ethnic groups recognised as kindred by the groups themselves. In Nigeria, some of these include the Oyo, Ibarapa, Ife, Ijesa, Igbomina, Egba, Egbado, Yewa, Awori, Egun, Ijebu, Ekiti, Ilaje, Ikale, Owo, Akoko, Ondo, Yagba, Okun and so on.⁴ The first attempt to portray Yorubaland as a single country in the literature is in Samuel Johnson's, *The History of the Yorubas*.⁵ The most important Yoruba kingdom was Oyo, whose people were the Yoruba eponymous. It became the largest and most militarily powerful in the 17th and 18th century.⁶ In varying degrees, Oyo exercised an imperial

1. G.O. Oguntomisin, 2007, *A Comprehensive History of the Yoruba People up to 1800*, Ibadan: John Achters Publishers Ltd., p3.

2. G.O. Oguntomisin, 2007, *A Comprehensive History of the Yoruba People up to 1800*, Ibadan: John Achters Publishers Ltd., p3.

3. S.O. Arifalo and O Ogen, 2003, *The Yoruba in History up to 1987*, Lagos: First Academic Publishers, p. 5.

4. S. Biobaku, 1973, *Sources of Yoruba History*, London: Clarendon Press, p. 1.

5. S. Johnson, 1921, *The History of the Yorubas: From the Earliest times to the Beginning of the British Protectorate*, Great Britain: Lowe and Brydone Printers Ltd., p. 26

6. S. Biobaku, 1991, *Egba and their Neighbours*, Ibadan, University Press Plc. p. 2.

suzerainty over the rest of Yoruba kingdoms. Its importance can be seen in the attendant military and political crisis that plagued Yorubaland, thereby affected the fortunes of many other kingdoms following its fall in the 19th century.⁷

For the purpose of this work, the parts of Yorubaland covered are delimited to Osun Division of the defunct Western region of Nigeria. Osun Division is defined as the area occupied by the old Osun administrative division, It was created out of the old Oyo province due to the agitation of the educated elite of the area. The agitation started in 1934, when Ibadan began to receive better attention under Ward Price, the Colonial Resident. By 1940, agitation for the carving out of the division had reached its climax. Thus, Osun Division came into being on 12 July, 1951 with Osogbo as its headquarters.⁸

Osun division lied between latitude 7° and $8^{\circ}21'$ North and longitude 4° and 5° east. It was bounded on the South by river Sasa at Ode-Omu, on the North by the Igbomina of Ila, Ora, and Oke-Ila. It was demarcated on the North-West by Ejigbo and on the North-East by Okuku. River Oba in Iwo demarcated it from the old Oyo division in the West, while it was bounded in the East by the Ijesa.⁹ The location of Osun Division on an arable land made it easy for the indigenous pattern of production to be steadily modified to pave way for a predominantly export economy in agricultural products.¹⁰

7. R.C.C. Law, 1973, "Traditional History" in S. Biobaku (ed) *Sources of Yoruba History*, London: Clarendon Press, p.32.

8. Osun State Government, 1992, *Osun State: State of the Living Spring, 1 year*, Osogbo, Macmillan Press Ltd. pp. 4-5.

9. O. Adegbola, 1972, *The Impact of Migration on the Rural Economy of Oshun Division of Western Nigeria*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, University of Ibadan, p. 14.

10. A. Olorunfemi, 1980, "The Export Trade of Southwestern Nigeria During the Interwar Years" in, *Department of History, University of Ife Seminar Papers, 1979-80*, Ile-Ife : Kasolayo Press, p. 322-344.

Osun Division comprised Ayedaade, Ede, Egbedore, Ejigbo, Ifelodun, Ikirun, Odo-Otin, Osogbo and two uncooperative members-Iwo and Ogbomoso districts.¹¹ The division lies entirely within the tropics and its climate follows the usual tropical pattern of heavy rains from around April to August. This is followed by a break that ushers in heavy rains till early November. This is also followed by a more protracted dry season, particularly noticeable in the northern fringes where the effect of the dry harmattan winds which blow irregularly from the North-East is highly felt, especially from the middle of December to early February.¹²

According to R.K Udo, a good knowledge of the climatic factors of any environment is fundamental to the understanding of its socio-economic history.¹³ As a matter of fact, many modifying features give character and meaning to the climate of any land. Rainfall appears to be of great importance in this regard, especially as far as agriculture is concerned. Other factors include temperature and humidity, the altitude of the land, the prevalence of winds, and so on.

The vegetation of Osun Division consists mainly of tropical rain forest and oil-palm bush, which covers the greater part of the country south of Latitude 7⁰N. Following this forest and palm belt is the savanna zone in the northern part of the country, where Ejigbo and Ogbomoso are located. The division is well drained by numerous rivers and streams among which Osun from which the division derived its name is the most important. Other important rivers include: Otin, Oba, Omi, and Sasa to mention just a few. All the rivers flow south-wards and discharge into the

11. N.A.I. Osun Division Annual Report, 1956.

12. A.Olorunfemi, 1972, The Export Trade of South Western Nigeria 1906-1950: A Study in the Economic Development of the Yoruba Country, Unpublished M. Phil Thesis, University of Ife, p1

13. R.K.Udo, 1976, *Geographical Regions of Nigeria*, London, p10.

lagoon system and eventually find their ways into the sea through the outlet of the Lagos lagoon, or through the estuary of the Benin River.¹⁴

Osun Division possesses a relatively good soil with no large scale soil erosion or the widespread sheet and gully erosion common in parts of the northern states of Nigeria. A large part of the division consists of fertile loamy soil exceptionally good for agriculture in which the Yoruba great skill has long been recognised. The foregoing geographical analysis is significant in the discussion of the Yoruba Economy, because it serves as a basis upon which the Division's economy witnessed considerable development.

The economy has been witnessing changes right from the earliest periods, when the settlers were hunters and gatherers, using simple tools to scratch the land for bare subsistence.¹⁵ Following this were other settlers who settled down to farm and exchange surplus commodities. The technology was more improved here with the use of metal for farming and manufacturing purposes. A dynamic change in the Yoruba economy came with the advent of European merchants on the coast as from the 15th century, the European explorers and missionaries in the 19th century and more importantly the European colonialists in the 19th and 20th centuries. However, it is very important to point out that, in spite of the various changes imposed on the Yoruba economy by colonialism and the simultaneous adaptation of the former to the latter, considerable aspects

14. B. Adediran, 1998, "Yorubaland up to the Emergence of the States" in Deji Ogunremi and Biodun Adediran (eds) *Culture and Society in Nigeria*, Ibadan: Rex Charles Publication, 1988, p. 2.

15. D. Ogunremi, 1998, "Foundation of the Yoruba Economy in the pre-Colonial era" in Deji Ogunremi... p. 113. See also, T. Falola and A. Adebayo, (2000). *Culture, Politics and Money Among the Yoruba*, New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers. They opined that the economy has been changing and dynamic, reaching its most prosperous phase in the mid-twentieth century, when it was able to sustain an expanding elite.... p.13.

of Yoruba culture are still in existence, either in original or modified form.¹⁶

For the purpose of this study, commerce is defined as, “trade and aids to trade”.¹⁷ With this definition in mind, effects of the colonial economy on the commercial sector of Osun Division was made clearer. This is because, adaptation and change, especially in the period of our concern (1900-1960) was examined in the area of commerce and trade, distribution and exchange of goods and services in the market places, various modes of transportation employed, all forms of currencies used as media of exchange and various other institutions, which were interlocked and indistinguishably blended with these economic practices.

Statement of Problems

Existing literature have argued that, the dynamism of African economy was destroyed by colonialism. These authors are of the opinion that, the contemporary African economic activities lack the vestiges of indigenous African practices due to the overwhelming influence of colonialism and indiscriminate adoption of western civilisation.¹⁸

Most studies on Nigeria’s economic history focus more on trade relations with Europe or the activities of the European trading firms in the country than on the indigenous commercial engagements. Thus, indigenous economy, especially commercial themes have been neglected in Yoruba studies.

16. E.A. Afigbo, 1980, “Education, Urbanisation, and Social Change in Colonial Africa” in Ogbu Kalu, U.(ed) *Readings in African Humanities: African Cultural Development*, Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publications, p.130.

17. H. L. Jones and R. P. Jones, 1978, *Groundwork of Commerce*, Book 2, 6th Edition, Hong Kong: Edward Arnold, pp. 8-10.

18. J.F.A Ajayi, 1988, “The Resilience of African Traditional Institutions and Cultures” in A.I. Asiwaju and B.O. Oloruntimehin, (eds) *African Unity: The Cultural Foundation*, Lagos: Civiletis Intl. p. 15.

Scholars have shown more interest in Yoruba history in the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial times. Most works which were carried out on different Yoruba kingdoms or on the Yoruba country generally pay little or no attention to certain aspects of the people's culture that are equally of great importance. In the economic aspect of Yoruba culture, for example, most works that have been done are subsumed under the general Yoruba history or Western Nigerian history. As a result, important issues like how Yoruba economic practices were grafted into the European economy were only mentioned in passing.

Also, the wide territorial extent of Yorubaland makes an indepth study extremely difficult and tasking. Thus, one can easily fall into the temptation of making generalisations and presenting the basic outline, thereby ignoring important local peculiarities.¹⁹

Finally, indigenous economy and operation of the colonial economy in Ibadan, Lagos, Ijebu, Egbaland and some other parts of Yorubaland have been well discussed. But commercial activities of Osun division have not been well articulated within the colonial context.

Objectives of the Study

This study intends to beam historical searchlight on the commercial activities of the Yoruba ethnic group in southwest Nigeria. It is an attempt to complement existing works on the colonial experience of the Yoruba people through an examination of their economy vis-a-vis its encounter with colonialism.

The study examines adaptation and change as distinct features of the commercial sector of Osun division of Western Nigeria in the colonial

19. T. Falola, 1984, *The Political Economy of a Pre-colonial African State: Ibadan. 1830-1900*, Ile-Ife: University of Ife Press Ltd. p.6

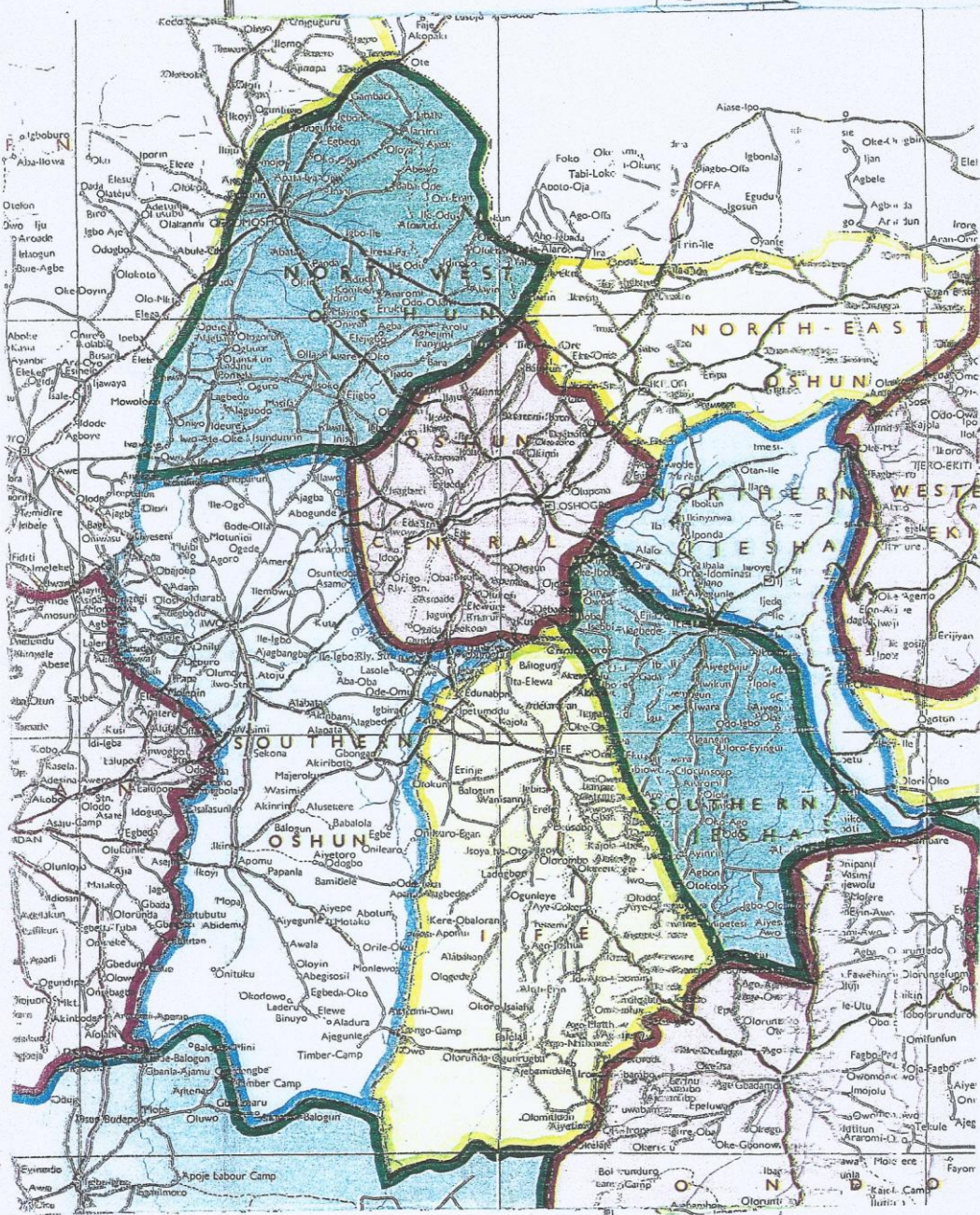
period with special interest in extent and mechanism. By so doing, it examines the various institutions that aided the survival of the existing Yoruba indigenous commercial practices as well as change and adaptation in the indigenous method of buying and selling, effects of the various European demands on the volume of the indigenous commerce and the condition of the indigenous entrepreneurial class in the new commercial orientation.

Thesis Statement

African cultures have not responded to colonialism through extinction, but through change and adaptation. In fact, modernity and its features have so far failed to displace traditional cultures, which Ade Ajayi categorised as “continuity from the past within a dynamic context”.²⁰ Therefore, these cultures have been and remained the instruments of survival from the pressure of both colonial and neo-colonial external factors.

20. J.F.A Ajayi, 1988, “The Resilience of African Traditional Institutions and Cultures” in A.I.Asiwaju and B.O. Oloruntimehin, (eds) *African Unity: The Cultural Foundation*, Lagos: Civilentis Intl. p. 15.

Osun Division in the Map of Western States of Nigeria



Source: Map Dept., Office of the Surveyor General, Oyo State, Nigeria

Scope of the Study

The study focuses on Osun Division of colonial Western Nigeria. Before the birth of the division in 1951, this area was a part of Ibadan Division during which it was known as the Northern Districts of Ibadan Division. It comprised ten district councils namely, Ayedaade, Ede, Egbedore, Ejigbo, Ifelodun, Ikirun, Odo-Otin, Osogbo, Ogbomoso and Iwo. Osun Division was chosen as the spatial scope of this study due to its significance in the indigenous Yoruba commerce in the colonial period, coupled with the availability of sources in the area.

The time frame of this study is from 1900 to 1960. The choice of 1900 as the starting point is because it marked the year when the area, like other parts of Yorubaland, fell under the British effective occupation. The choice of 1960 as the terminal point is hinged on the fact that, it was the year Nigeria of which the division was a part, gained her independence from British colonial rule.

Significance of the Study

The study of the indigenous commercial sector of Osun Division represents a remarkable departure in Nigeria economic history from that which deals primarily with trade relations with Europe or concentrates on the activities of the European trading firms to one that focuses on the responses of the Yoruba indigenous commercial sector to the changes induced by colonialism. In many respects, findings on Osun Division are applicable to or representative of other parts of Yorubaland.

This study no doubt complements the few studies on the colonial era of the division and at the same time serves as a baseline for a study and understanding of the post-colonial era of the entire Yorubaland. The study adds to the body of the existing knowledge on economic historical studies of the Yoruba people. The study has contributed in no small

measure to a proper understanding of the performance of the Yoruba traditional commercial practices during the colonial period. However, with strict adherence to the aim of the current study, Yoruba traditional commercial system had been situated in a proper historical perspective.

Methodology

This work adopted the historical approach, which depends on written, oral, and archival sources. The narrative and descriptive methods for effective and thorough analysis of phenomena, such as colonialism, colonial commercial economy, and traditional economy, were also utilised.

An examination of the commercial sector of the Yoruba economy was made with a view to identifying the changes that it had witnessed in the colonial period. The areas of possible adaptation of the Yoruba traditional economic culture to the European culture or the latter's adaptation to the former were also explored. The importance of this enquiry lies in the fact that, the idea of mistaking the Yoruba culture for that of the European and vice versa had been corrected.

In fact, different aspects of the commercial sector of the Yoruba traditional economy were identified with a view to determining areas of their change and adaptation in the colonial period. These include entrepreneurship, capital formation, transportation, marketing, bargaining and advertisement among others. Thus, the relevance of these commercial practices, justification for their preservation and institutions that aided their preservation such as religion and other social institutions as well as the supporting functions they performed, have been adequately examined.

Oral interviews were conducted with 30 purposively selected key informants from Osun Division. They comprised kings and chiefs, iyalojas, former railway officials and passengers, artisans and traders

whose age ranged from 68 to 120 years. The target of the study to get first-hand information about the relevance, the means of preservation and the changes in the commercial sector of the Yoruba economy was achieved.

Archival materials were made up of documents such as Colonial Secretary's Office papers, parliamentary papers, Government gazettes, annual and intelligent reports derived from the National Archives, Ibadan and Sopolu Library, Ikenne. Town series were collected from relevant ministries in government secretariats in Osogbo and Ibadan.

Under secondary sources, books that have generally analysed the Yoruba traditional market and commercial system as well as the colonial period in the Yoruba country were consulted. Books written on other Yoruba institutions that are related to economy were also utilised. This enabled the researcher to have a broad view of the concepts of change and adaptation in relation to the Yoruba economy and the institution that have performed supporting functions in the preservation of the different aspects of the Yoruba traditional economy concerned. All these also helped the researcher in no small measure in studying change and adaptation in the Yoruba traditional economy. Other relevant materials were also consulted.

Definition of Concepts

Change

Change is the process of becoming different.²¹ This can be explained as ceasing from being in one state or condition or form. It also means conversion or transformation. Change is a feature that applies to almost everything, be it natural or man made and it is as old as the period of creation of the world. This fact alone makes it deserving of its description as the essence of history.²² All facets of human life experience changes, thus we can have, political, social, religious and more importantly economic change as applicable to Yorubaland in the period under study.

Moreover, a change can be negative, if it has an adverse effect on people and positive if its effect is good. Emanating from this is the fact that change can be desired if people are interested in it, and resented if it is seen as inimical to their well being. Worthy of mention here was the change imposed on Africa by colonialism, that of the loss of sovereignty, which the people resented vehemently.²³ While commenting on the issue of change, R.A. Olaniyan said:

History is about change, and change is the stuff of history. In other words, changes that affect our world, our society, can also modify our conception of history itself in order for history to be current and relevant.²⁴

21. E.A. Afigbo, 1980, Education, Urbanisation, and Social Change in Colonial Africa in Ogbu Kalu,U.(ed) *Readings in African Humanities: African Cultural Development*, Enugu: Fourth Dimension Pulications, p.130.

22. J.F.Ade Ajayi, 1988 “Resilience of African Traditional Institution and Culture” in, Zaccheus Sunday Ali et al (eds) *African Unity; The Cultural Foundations*, Lagos: Centre for Black and African Arts and Civiliazation, p. 15.

23. E.A. Afigbo, 1980, Education, Urbanisation, and Social Change in Colonial Africa in Ogbu Kalu,U.(ed) *Readings in African Humanities: African Cultural Development*, Enugu: Fourth Dimension Pulications, p.130.

24. R.A. Olaniyan, 1990, *Nigerian Diplomacy: The Burden of History*. Inaugural Lecture Series 102, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife: O.A.U. Press L.t.d. p. 3.

Equally, the comments of B.O. Oloruntimehin is in line with the intention of this study when he remarked that, “the task of the historian is to study and interpret the changes embodied in society and explain the reasons for them”.²⁵ Thus, as much as possible, this work will study and interpret the changes in the commercial sector of the Yoruba economy in the period of our concern and explain the reasons for them.

Adaptation

Adaptation is the evolutionary process through which a population becomes better suited to its habitat. This process takes place over many generations and is one of the basic phenomena of history.²⁶ Adaptation may also refer to a feature, which is especially important for an organism to survive.²⁷ For example, adaptation of the Yoruba traditional economy to the political economy of colonialism implies the process by which Yoruba economic practices were made to suit the conditions and situations that characterised the colonial era. Thus, it implies the continuity of Yoruba traditional economy in an adapted form. Hence, adaptation helps organisms to survive as many Yoruba traditional economic practices survived the onslaught of the corrosive European culture.

This issue of adaptation shows that, Yoruba traditional economic practices are so flexible, which is an important feature that helps them to fit into the new economic system brought by the Europeans. However, flexibility which is embedded in adaptation is the ability of a particular organism to maintain itself in different conditions rather than going into

25. B.O. Oloruntimehin, 1976, *History and Society*, Inaugural Lecture, Series 18, Ile-Ife: U.P.L. Ile-Ife .p.10

26. C. Patterson, 1999, *Evolution*, London: Natural History Museum, p.1.

27. R.C. King, W.D. Standfield and Mulligan, 2006, *A Dictionary of Genetics*, Oxford. 7th Edition.

complete extinction.²⁸ This is because, if a particular organism cannot move or change sufficiently to preserve its long-term viability, then obviously, it will become extinct.²⁹

Therefore, the fact that Yoruba traditional economy adapted to different conditions, especially colonialism as demonstrated in this study, shows that it is a flexible economy. This refutes the various European descriptions of African economy as static, unchanging, backward, subsistent and inflexible. In fact, as stated *inter alia*, this issue of adaptation further proves that African cultures have not responded to colonialism through extinction, but through adaptation and continuity with remarkable resilience.

Literature Review

In order to show how the present endeavour fits into and bridges the gaps in the existing literature, it is expedient at this juncture to make a review of the previous works which relate to it.

In his study of *Osomalo* system, D.O Aluko attempted an examination of indigenous entrepreneurship in Ijesaland.³⁰ While he made it clear that the term *Osomalo* carries both derogatory and complimentary connotations, he equally pointed out that, it describes Ijesa people as tough and astute managers of businesses and monies. According to him, the system had supported past generations of Ijesa

28. T. Dodzhansky, "On Some Fundamental Concepts of Evolutionary Biology", *Evolutionary Biology*. 2, 1-34

29. T. Dodzhansky, "On Some Fundamental Concepts of Evolutionary Biology", *Evolutionary Biology*. 2, 1-34

30. J.O. Aluko, 1993, *OSOMALO, The Early Exploits of the Ijesa Entrepreneur*, Ibadan: African Book Builders.

people, and contributed to the impression others had about them. This is because, the system predated colonial era in Yorubaland.³¹

The restrictive model adopted by the scholar, and his focus on an important aspect of the indigenous commercial activities made his study similar to the present study. But, the main concern of the scholar was to rewrite the history of Ijesa by erasing the erroneous views, which other people hold about them. In fact, he was prompted to embark upon the study by the various insults he had to face in the office as an Ijesa man. According to him, the system antedated the *Kiriji* war (1877-1886), and indeed the product of the end of the slave trade and beginning of legitimate trade. To him, it is rather safer to say that, the system was a product of European economic interaction with Nigerians. This outstanding innovation of Ijesa people was in the adaptation of the European credit system to Nigerian economic situation.

However, the study failed to mention how the traders related with markets in Ijesaland and different other areas where they operated. Also, the work was absolutely silent about the roles of women in the system, thus *Osomalo* was described as exclusively men's profession. Even if it was, the supporting functions of women and cases in which they were actually involved, need to be part of the discourse. The author had successfully discussed the occupation of the Ijesa people in the European merchandise. In other words, what happened to the indigenous buying and selling of local commodities were not treated by the author. All these are being intended in the current study.

31. J.O. Aluko, 1993, *OSOMALO, The Early Exploits of the Ijesa Entrepreneur*, Ibadan: African Book Builders, p.15.

A notable study on indigenous entrepreneurship in western Nigeria was done by Adesina.³² In his work entitled “The Colonial State’s War-time Emergency Regulations and the Development of the Nigerian Entrepreneurial Class, 1939-1945”, the experiences of the Nigerian entrepreneurs were well analysed, especially during the Second World War. The author traced the defects manifested by the contemporary Nigerian economy and its entrepreneurial class to the strategies adopted by the colonial state in the war time Nigeria (1939-1945). The study according to the author was a complement to the various existing works on the effects of the Second World War on Nigeria. However, he felt that economic challenges thrown up by the war had not been given its due scholarly attention.

The study focuses on colonial commerce and European relationship with African entrepreneur during the Second World War. The author succeeded in treating the colonial state’s preferential treatment of European merchants through the adoption of certain policy options which made African entrepreneurs appendages of the British traders and subsequently hindered the former’s evolution into an autonomous and self-sustaining sector thereafter. Author’s discussion about trading in both cash and food crops was between the Europeans and Africans. This implies that, important issues such as trading among the Yoruba people themselves, change and adaptation in the indigenous methods of buying and selling, effects of the various European demands on the volume of indigenous commerce and the condition of the

32. O.C. Adesina, 1997, “The Colonial State’s War-Time Emergency Regulations and the Development of the Nigerian Entrepreneurial Class, 1939-1945”, in *Ibadan Journal of Humanistic Studies*. No. 7.

indigenous entrepreneurial class in the indigenous Yoruba commercial sector, all of which constitute the focus of the current study, were not exhaustively discussed as intended in this study.

In another study, O.C. Adesina examined the exemplary entrepreneurship of Adebisi Sanusi Giwa as a way of beaming light on the roles and impact of indigenous entrepreneurs on Yoruba communities. The study focuses on the development of indigenous entrepreneurship within the context of colonial economic development and western-style commercial elitism.³³ The material development of this class and its implications for social and economic change in Yorubaland of Western Nigeria was equally discussed by the author. The socio-economic transformation in Ibadan in the twentieth century as a result of the new economic orientation occasioned by British colonisation of Yorubaland gave birth to a new generation of indigenous entrepreneurs, whose activities ultimately affected the structure of their society in a very profound way.

The author described the pre-colonial economy of Ibadan as indigenous and more or less self-sustaining. It was not dependent on, but was related to the external market. It was the incorporation of Ibadan into the world capitalist system through the imposition of the informal empire and colonial rule that pushed her entrepreneurs into a subordinate position. Thus, in the new economy, they participated as producers, agents, and merchants, and contributed their own quota to the economic transformation of their region. Following the expansion and establishment of agencies and trading posts into the hinterland of

33. O.C. Adesina, 2006, "Adebisi Sanusi Giwa (?-1938): The Life and Career of an Ibadan Entrepreneur and Community Leader", in *Lagos Notes and Records A Journal of the Faculty of Arts, University of Lagos*. Vol. XII, May.

Yorubaland by the European firms, the structure of entrepreneurship in Ibadan underwent a transformation. As a result, two groups of merchants developed. There were those who participated in the produce trade and those who traded in European merchandise, although there were exceptions where some operated as general merchants to whom European firms advanced imported goods in return for the future delivery of produce.

However, both studies were concerned about the roles of indigenous businessmen in the expatriate commercial activities and the forms of entrepreneurial classes that evolved with the expansion of the British commercial activities into the hinterland of Yorubaland. Unlike in the current study, the two studies of Adesina did not give enough room for the discussion of how the indigenous commercial sector fared during the colonial era. In his second study, reference was made to indigenous trade in one sentence only, as, “the domestic distributive trade remained solely in the hand of the Yoruba traders”. What happened to the volume of the indigenous trade and its different areas of change and adaptation as being intended in the present endeavour were not properly accounted for.

Falola’s “The Caravan System of the Nineteenth Century” gave elaborate analysis of the Yoruba’s long distance trade.³⁴ The scholar did not end his discussion without making some comments on the effects of colonialism on the system. He described caravan as a company of traders traveling together for the purpose of safety. It was comprised not only of regular traders (mainly women) who covered long and short

34. T. Falola, 1991, “The Yoruba Caravan System of the Nineteenth Century” in *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 1. pp. 111-132.

distances, but occasionally of soldiers who traveled to obtain fire arms and ammunition in trade cum-military expeditions. In agreement with the view of Atanda, the scholar claimed that this extensive trade was an outcome of the combination of manufacture and agriculture which urbanisation gave birth to.

However, the imposition of colonial rule during the second half of the nineteenth century brought about a great change in caravan system. According to Falola, the building of roads and railways and the European penetration of the hinterland of Yorubaland put an end to caravan organisation. Although trade continued, the convoy of traders, with loads on their heads was replaced by fast-moving lorries and trains.

In his article, 'My Friend the shylock': Money-lenders and Their Clients in South-western Nigeria, Toyin Falola examined money-lending (*sogundogoji*) as a synthesis of the pre-colonial credit system of *iwofa* (pawnship) and the colonial credit system, such that money-lending evolved as a modernisation of the Yoruba *iwofa* (pawnship) credit system.³⁵ Therefore, the system borrowed from the ideas of *iwofa* credit system and the colonial credit system.³⁶ According to Falola, out of the three pre-colonial credit systems, *iwofa*, which was the costliest arrangement, was the only mechanism for raising large sums. However, unlike the more generous *ajo* and *esusu* systems that provided for the financial needs of their members with neither collateral nor interest, *iwofa* system involved the use of labour as a way of paying interest on a loan until the loan was fully repaid.

35. T. Falola, 1993, " 'My Friend the shylock': Money-lenders and Their Clients in South-western Nigeria", in *Journal of African History*, 34, pp. 403-423.

36. T. Falola, 1993, " 'My Friend the shylock': Money-lenders and Their Clients in South-western Nigeria", in *Journal of African History*, 34.

According to Falola, it was impossible for the three indigenous credit systems to survive the colonial period without transformation, because they were inadequate to cope with the demands of capital for big projects such as building and trade. They were also too slow to cater for the city dwellers' quick and risky ventures. Money-lending was, therefore, a phenomenon of the colonial period, due to people's inability to access modern credit facilities such as banking, hire purchase and cooperative societies which were all urban based and enjoyed by a new educated *elite* who understand their operations.³⁷ Thus, they were discriminative and restrictive in nature. People were, therefore, left with no other alternative than taking up loans through money-lenders (*sogundogoji*). This system was characterised with vices such as cheating, deception and violence, which often made borrowers to be worse of.³⁸

As good as this study is, especially on the issue of change and adaptation in the Yoruba culture during the colonial system, it is urban-based as shown by the various examples cited in the study. Examples were all from Lagos and Ijebu Remo areas. In other words, the nature of credit institutions in the remote parts of the country was not given attention. The study was silent about the presence and operation of money-lenders in Osun Division that the current study is concerned with.

In his book, *Ejigbo Local Government: A Positive Reference Point and the Profile of the Prominent Indigenes*, Babatunde Lasisi conducted a generalised study on Ejigbo local government.³⁹ He examined both the

37. T. Falola, 1993, "My Friend the shylock': Money-lenders and Their Clients in South-western Nigeria", in *Journal of African History*, 34, pp. 403-423.

38. T. Falola, 1993, "My Friend the shylock': Money-lenders and Their Clients in South-western Nigeria", in *Journal of African History*, 34, pp. 403-423.

39. B.I. Lasisi, 2005, *Ejigbo Local Government: A Positive Reference Point and Profiles of Prominent Indigenes*, Ejigbo, BIL Communication and Publishers.

traditional and modern system of administration with emphasis on the council administration in which he analysed the administration of various council chairmen since inception till 2003. Other issues, such as educational achievement, profiles of prominent indigenes, infrastructural facilities and diaspora factor on the community were equally touched.

He dated population drift or Ejigbo commercial contact with Abidjan back to the 19th century. The case of Mr. Lawal Oke, an indigene of Isoko who was in Cote d'Ivoire as early as 1862 was cited to authenticate this fact. According to him, this early contact emanated from the need for employment opportunities and trading activities.

Moreover, the construction of railway by the French colonial government necessitated the recruitment of a large number of laborers towards the end of the 19th century. This made a large number of people to migrate to Isibioye in Benin Republic from where they proceeded to Abidjan in Cote d'Ivoire. These people settled in Abidjan metropolis and after the construction of the railway project, they embarked on petty trading from where they made much fortune. Consequently, various other set of people migrated to Cote d'Ivoire in the early 20th century. Majority of these were from Ejigbo community. The author also commented on the organisation of Ejigbo people in Cote d'Ivoire and the changing fortunes of the Nigerians, sequel to the incessant political changes in the country.

Unlike in the present attempt, the scholars did not establish a nexus between the international trade of the Ejigbo people and colonialism. The present study therefore examines the impact of colonialism on the international trade in Osun Division. The study also examined the role of the Abidjan trading venture on economic, social and political life of the people.

S.O Osoba who also discussed labour migration in Nigeria differs from the view of Lasisi.⁴⁰ He attributed people's migration to the

influence of colonialism by claiming that migrants in the colonial era came from areas that were remote from markets, where the economy is predominantly of the subsistence type, and where opportunities to earn cash were rare. He established this view in order to refute what he called the social scientist partial view that migration has always been from the northern savanna belt to the coast. According to Osoba, social scientists' view cannot adequately explain the migration of the colonial era, since both the North and South were agrarian economies with a preponderant subsistence element existing alongside scattered pockets of monetised and commercialised economy.⁴¹

Although Osoba differs from Lasisi in the area of relating external migration to colonial era, they both hold the view that the bid to better their lots through better jobs and commercial activities applied to all migrants. The authors failed to analyse the impact of colonialism on the Yoruba traditional commercial sector, and by that fact, failed to establish a nexus between the migration for commercial purpose and growth of the community as being intended in the current study. Osoba's study focused on labour migration in Nigeria with little or no attention paid to the commercial activities, especially the long distance or international trade that is peculiar to Ejigbo and other communities in Osun Division. The restrictive nature of the current study no doubt gives room for an indepth examination of the commercial activities of the people being focused.

40. S.O. Osoba, 1969, "The Phenomenon of Labour Migration in The Era of British Colonial Rule: A Neglected Aspect of Nigerian's Social History", in *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*. Vol. IV.No.4. June, p. 520.

41. S.O. Osoba, 1969, "The Phenomenon of Labour Migration in The Era of British Colonial Rule: A Neglected Aspect of Nigerian's Social History", in *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*. Vol. IV.No.4. June, p. 520.

A.I. Asiwaju analyses the pattern of commerce in Yorubaland during the colonial period in his comparative analysis of The French and British colonialism in western Yorubaland.⁴² According to him, trade was the main objectives of developments which took place in agricultural and transportation systems during the colonial period. For this purpose, each of the two colonial administrations encouraged trading firms of nationalities other than its own alone to settle and do business in its area, although export-import trade of each administrative area was dominated by business interests drawn principally from their metropolitan countries: the French in Dahomey and the British in Nigeria. At first, the clauses in the Anglo-French agreement of 1889 provided for freedom of trade and of human movement across the Nigeria-Dahomey boundary, but policy differential and excesses of the people on the two sides made it to be abandoned. In fact, the concern of both the British and French rulers was to integrate their portions of the Yoruba culture area into their respective metropolitan economic systems.

This study, like the two others previously reviewed concentrated more on European commercial activities to the detriment of the indigenous commercial system. Although he discussed changes in the area of communication and currency, handling of crops that were not meant for exportation, the scope of modern transportation system and its effects on human portage characteristic of the pre-colonial era suffered

42. A.I. Asiwaju, 1976, *Western Yorubaland Under European Rule, 1889-1945: A Comparative Analysis of French and British Colonialism*, London: Longman Group Limited. p. 154.

a great neglect. These and others pertaining to them are the main focus of the current study.

In Olaoba's *Bodija Market in Ibadan 1987-1995*, an analysis of markets in traditional Yoruba society was done.⁴³ A substantial part of the book was devoted to discussion of the fundamental and structural patterns of Bodija market as well as the spread of its tentacles to selected markets in the city, the role which the market had been playing in the economic development of city dwellers in Ibadan and the obstacles hindering rapid development in the market.

He examines the production sector of the Yoruba economy as a background to commercial activities. He agrees with other scholars that the main occupations of the Yoruba people were farming, trading and craft and that leisure times were spent on playing *ayo* and hunting. Although the work is about a market in the post-colonial period, it was more of a discussion of continuity of the Yoruba commercial practices that had pre-colonial origin in spite of their encounter with modernity.

In Toyin Falola's *Ibadan: Foundation, Growth and change, 1830-1860*, an analysis of Ibadan economy was done.⁴⁴ The inclusion of the colonial period as shown in its title and its extensive discussion in the book, made the study an improvement over his earlier study on Ibadan, particularly, *The Political Economy of a Pre-colonial African State: Ibadan, 1830-1900*.⁴⁵ With the detail analysis of the formative, growing and the advanced stage of Ibadan, its economy as representative of other parts of Yorubaland was described as specialised, diversified and

43. O.B. Olaoba, 2000, *Bodija Market in Ibadan: 1987-1995*, Ibadan: John Archer Publishers L.T.D.

44. T. Falola, 2012, *Ibadan: Foundation, Growth and change, 1830-1860*, Ibadan: Bookcraft.

45. T. Falola, 1984, *The Political Economy of a Pre-colonial African State: Ibadan, 1830-1900*, Ile-Ife: University of Ife Press Ltd.

highly dynamic. All these refuted various Eurocentric ideas about Yoruba economy. Thus the economy rather than being closed was opened to changes through political, commercial and various other contacts. As a matter of fact, autarchy was never a part of Yoruba economy.

The study was not only on economy as substantial part of it was devoted to discussion on political, social and religious institutions which were on their own good aids to economic development. This is because, they were indistinguishably blended with economy and an attempt to separate them will be a way of drawing lines of demarcation where they never existed. As good as the study is, it is a general study compare to the present attempt. This is because, commerce is a subsector of a general economy. Thus, it could not give attention to the Yoruba commercial cultures especially those that are peculiar to Osun Division. However, since Falola's discussion of commerce was subsumed in the general economy and that the economy of Osun Division was more remote compared to that of Ibadan, there is definitely a gap to be filled by the present study.

Most of the books reviewed are general works, which have either treated economic matters as part of a general history of the Yoruba people or concentrated on other aspects of the Yoruba economy rather than commerce. By so doing, they are unable to pay due attention to the issues relating to change and adaptation in the people's indigenous economy, especially in the commercial sector during the colonial period as being intended in the present study. The major concerns of the works reviewed have been to demonstrate the selfishness of the colonialists in their relationships with their subjects. This accounts for the portrayal of the colonialists' developmental projects as means of exploitation.

In addition, most of the works are discussions of the variation in the policy options adopted by the Europeans in their periods of study.

Although some of the studies were concerned with the effects of the introduction of cash economy on the Yoruba people, what became of the economic activities that is considered indigenous to the people suffered a great neglect. This work is a slight departure from them all, by concentrating on the Yoruba people themselves in relation to their cherished commercial culture during the period of the great challenge of colonialism. As a matter of fact, it is not a discussion of the European activities in Yorubaland, but that of how the Yoruba people manoeuvred their commercial culture during the period of colonial rule, especially in Osun division of Yorubaland.

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN

CHAPTER TWO

THE STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF THE YORUBA COMMERCIAL SECTOR

Introduction

The fact that economic institution is believed, by many, to be the foundation of all other activities makes it impossible to conceive of life in which there is no production or economic activity. The focus here therefore is the study of how the Yoruba people, through the centuries, have organised their resources to satisfy their material needs. Essentially, the study is concerned with the material progress of the people, how they have fought with their surroundings to eke out a living and economise resources at their disposal to satisfy their fundamental needs of simple food, clothing and shelter. However, the analysis of the structure and function of the Yoruba economy attempted here shows how economic factors have affected subsequent social and political history of the Yoruba people. In the final analysis, the economy is seen as complex and progressive as opposed to the Europeans' contrary opinions about it.

Basic Features of the Yoruba Indigenous Economy

Long before the advent of the Europeans in Africa and the subsequent colonial rule, Yoruba traditional economy had exhibited a considerable level of advancement. Evidence of this abounds in the presence of almost all the features the Europeans claim as exclusive to their economy. Although they may not be so named, activities that are given different names as: demand, supply, choice, bargaining, advertisement and so on were not alien to the Yoruba economy.¹ In fact,

1. A.Olorunfemi, 1999, "Pre-colonial Economy of the Yoruba of South-Western Nigeria" in *Olofa: Journal of African Studies*. Vol. 3. No. 1. April, p1.

the different features exhibited by the economy, such as dynamism, specialisation, and diversity, as analysed in this chapter, go a long way to negate the eurocentric assumption that the arrival of the white men in Africa marked the beginning of civilisation in Yorubaland.² An assertion has often been made that the European presence transformed the static, subsistence and backward African economy into a more progressive and commercialised one.³

As Falola pointed out, this and various other portrayals of the Yoruba economy as uni-dimensional and unprogressive have all been proved wrong by the fact that, before the arrival of the Europeans, Yoruba people participated in various occupations ranging from agriculture and allied activities, to craftsmanship, manufacturing and trading.⁴ Consequently, there was a diversity of economic activities, such that the conclusion that people in the pre-colonial Yoruba economy were engaged exclusively in farming is refuted.⁵

For example, many cultivated the land as farmers, many hunted for games, many fished the sea and rivers, and many others made goods. A good analysis of the production and distribution systems of the Yoruba people shows three important major characteristics. Firstly, the economy was diversified as mentioned earlier. This evolved in a way that, different aspects complemented one another in a manner not different to the general equilibrium analysis of the European macro economy. According

2. A.Olorunfemi, 1999 "Pre-colonial Economy of the Yoruba of South-Western Nigeria" in *Olofa: Journal of African Studies*. Vol. 3. No. 1. April, p. 1.

3. A.Olorunfemi, 1999, "Pre-colonial Economy of the Yoruba of South-Western Nigeria" in *Olofa: Journal of African Studies*. Vol. 3. No. 1. April, p. 1.

4. T. Falola, 1985, "Nigeria's Indigenous Economy" in R.A. Olaniyan, (ed) *Nigerian History and Culture*, England: Longman Group L.T.D. p. 97.

5. T. Falola, 1985, "Nigeria's Indigenous Economy" in R.A. Olaniyan, (ed) *Nigerian History and Culture*, England: Longman Group L.T.D. p. 97.

to this theory, a problem in a part or an aspect of the economy, such as transportation, distribution or production can affect other sectors, thereby causing a problem for the whole economy.⁶

Though the majority depended largely on the exploitation of land as farmers, there was a very large number too who exploited the forest and the mineral resources as hunters and craftsmen. There were also specialists in many fields of human endeavour, such as in government, medicine, art and music. Thus, there existed in Yorubaland, what economists call “Primary and Secondary” activities, which operated in the economy not restricted to farming.⁷

The economy was also characterised by a high degree of specialisation. This emanated from the fact that, no domestic unit could be self sufficient, and that mineral and other resources were not ubiquitous.⁸ An inevitable symbiotic relationship, therefore existed among producers on the one hand and traders on the other. This fact was well illustrated in the words of Fadipe, when he commented on the degree of specialisation that was involved in cloth weaving:

Both the mallet and the block of wood were from a Specialist-in this case, the carpenter. The shuttles used in the actual weaving have likewise been supplied by the carpenter, weft piece is the work of another specialist, while the iron rod used in rolling up the complete section of any strip the weaver works upon is the work of a blacksmith. The yarn out of which the cloth is woven has been spun by housewives, who

6. T. Oyeniyi, 2005, *Micro Economics Theory and Applications, 3rd Edition*. Lagos: Cedar Publishers (Nig.) Ltd. p.669.

7. I.A. Akinjogbin, 1980, “The Economic Foundations of the Oyo Empire” in, I.A. Akinjogbin and S.Osoba (eds) *Topics on Nigeria Economic and Social History*, Ile-Ife: University of Ife Press Ltd. p.50.

8. D.Ogunremi, 1998, Foundation of the Yoruba Economy in the Pre-Colonial Era in D. Ogunremi and B. Adediran (eds) *Culture and Society in Yoruba Land*, Ibadan: Rex Charles and Connel Publications, pp. 114-124.

used whorl supplied by another class of specialist while the Iron-rod used in pressing the seed out of the Cotton has been purchased from the blacksmith.⁹

Thus, the services of other specialists such as the carpenter, the blacksmith, and housewives are of great importance in accomplishing the task of weaving. Specialisation in specific occupational lines also existed along family compound.¹⁰ Thus, we have drumming family or compound as depicted by the name, *Ile Alayan* (house of drummers) in different Yoruba towns, *Ile Olose* (compound of soap makers) and so on. This development, which made household to be identified with the nature of their trade or industry, has been attributed to the intensity of economic activities by Banwo.¹¹ Notable compounds in Ilorin according to him included:

Ile Alagbede (compound of the blacksmiths), *Ile Olokun* (compound of rope makers), *Ile Magun* (compound of housekeepers or dealers), *Ile Asinleke* (compound of beadmakes), *Ile onikoko* (compound of pot-makers), *Ile eleru* (compound of slave merchants), *Ile-onilu* (compound of drummers), and *Ile Akewusola* (compound of Islamic scholars).¹²

Fadipe corroborates the foregoing when he avers that much time were saved as weavers subscribed to the advantage derived from the

9. N. A. Fadipe, 1970, *The Sociology of the Yoruba*, Ibadan: University Press Limited, p. 53.

10. T. Falola, 1984, *The Political Economy of A Pre-colonial African State: Ibadan, 1830-1900*, Ile-Ife: University Press Ltd. p. 56.

11. A. O. "Banwo, 1998, Ilorin Economy in the 19th Century" in *The Nigerian Journal of Economic History (NJEH)* No.1. September, P. 131.

12. A. O. "Banwo, 1998, Ilorin Economy in the 19th Century" in *The Nigerian Journal of Economic History (NJEH)* No.1. September, p.131-132

division of labour, by allowing others to carry out those tasks which they know best.¹³

Secondly, the economy was developed beyond the subsistence level. The people produced far in excess of their immediate needs and there were avenues, through the highly organised trading system, to dispose of the surplus.¹⁴ The concept of a subsistence economy, said to be applicable to many African societies, had been dismissed as a myth. This is well attested to by Newbury when he says that, “it is difficult to think of any West African community which relied solely on subsistence crops and lacked the simplest surplus for gifts, tribute and trade”.¹⁵

Above all, the economy was highly ritualised.¹⁶ This is borne out of the Yoruba providential conception of life as encapsulated in their world view. For instance, the Yoruba universe is populated by man and two opposing forces, one of which is benevolent to man, while the other is malevolent. The benevolent forces, who are four hundred in number, are collectively known as the *Orisa* (divinities). The Malevolent forces, who are two hundred in number, are known as the *Ajogun* (the Anti-god). The word *Ajogun* literally means “warrior”, hence, they wage war against both the humans and the *Orisa*.¹⁷ This makes the Yoruba cosmos to be chaotic, and the only means of restoring order is

13. N. A. Fadipe, 1970, *The Sociology of the Yoruba* ... cited in L. Olurode and P.O. Olusanya, 1994, *Nigerian Heritage: The Yoruba Example*, Lagos: Rebonik Publication Ltd. 1994, p43.

14. Records of exchange of goods, particularly kolanuts, between Old Oyo Empire and Hausa city states abound in literature. See R.O Olaniyi, “Hausa-Yoruba Relations, 1500-1800: A Historical Perspective”, in T. Babawale and O. Ogen (eds) *Culture and Society in Nigeria*, Lagos: Concept Publications, p. 243.

15. C.W. Newbury, 1969, “Trade and Authority in West Africa, 1850-1900”, in L.H. Gann, and P. Duigan, *The History of Colonialism 1870-1914*, Cambridge, p23.

16. D. Ogunremi, 1998, “Foundation of the Yoruba Economy in the Pre-Colonial Era”, in Deji Ogunremi and Biodun Adediran (eds), *Culture and Society in Yorubaland*, Ibadan: Rex Charles Publication, p. 124.

17. K. Abimbola, 2006 *Yoruba Culture: A Philosophical Account*, Great Britain: Iroko Academic Publishers, p. 69.

sacrifice. However, sacrifice became known here as a means of symbolic and ritual communication between all the forces of the Yoruba Cosmos.¹⁸

More so, in the Yoruba cosmology, whatever happened to an individual or society, either boom or doom, is usually ascribed to either the blessings of the divinities (the *Orisa*) or the evil machinations of the malevolent spiritual forces (the *Ajogun*). This in the main, warranted sacrifices of various forms such as thanksgiving, propitiation and atonement, foundation, substitution, preventive and votive.¹⁹ All these show the importance of the belief system on every facet of life of the Yoruba people, particularly the economic aspect, in which sacrifice is a common place. For example, the Yoruba annually offer sacrifice to *Orisaoko*, which was in charge of farming because of the belief that, he ensured the continuous production of yam.²⁰ So were other Yoruba occupations believed to be under one god or another, which the practitioners revered by way of observing a ritual or a sacrifice. According to George Simpson:

Some persons maintain that they are Christians or Muslims but say they are compelled because of occupation to continue the worship of one or more deities. Outstanding here are the hunters, blacksmiths, taxi or truck drivers who feel obliged to participate in ceremonies for *Ogun*, traditional protector of warriors and those who work with iron: In one case, a man who was converted to Islam more than thirty years ago

18. K. Abimbola, 2006, *Yoruba Culture: A Philosophical Account* Great Britain: Iroko Academic Publishers, p. 63.

19. K. Amponsah, 1975, *Topics on West African Traditional Religion*, Cape Coast: Mfantisiman Press LTD. p. 41-45.

20. D. Ogunremi, 1998, "Foundation of the Yoruba Economy in the Pre-Colonial Era", in Deji Ogunremi and Biodun Adediran (eds) *Culture and Society in Yorubaland*, Ibadan: Rex Charles Publication, 1998, p. 124.

participates in the annual rituals for *Ogun* because formerly he was a hunter.²¹

All these account for pervasiveness of rituals and festivals in the different seasons of the Yoruba calendar year. For example, harvesting seasons are usually characterised with festivals during which thanksgiving sacrifices are offered to the gods for their good dispositions of making the season prosperous.²² An example of this is the new yam festival, which features prominently in Yorubaland although under different names in different towns. Festivals like that of *Orisa oko* in Irawo, *Orisa Ogiyan* in Ejigbo and Isundunrin, *Oseemanjo* in Aato, *Eje* in Ijebu Manuwa, *Ijesu* in Ilara, *Owe* or *Orolofin* in Ile Oluji, *Ogun* in Itaji, *Orisa nla* in Ile-Ife and Ibadan, *Orisa popo* in Ogbomoso, *Orisajaye* in Ijaye among others, are all new yam festivals which the people observe annually in order to show gratitude to their gods.²³

However, anchoring all these is the political economy in which the buoyancy or depression of the economy is a function of the duo of the prevailing peace or warfare in the land and the head (*ori*) of the ruler of a particular kingdom. Thus, ruler's star (head) stands as a mono-causal explanation for either economic and political fortune or misfortune of the state at the expense of other more obvious reasons. This makes economic prosperity or otherwise to be difficult to analyse by an outsider, even if the reasons seem obvious to him.²⁴

21. G. Simpson, 1994, *Yoruba Religion and Medicine in Ibadan*, Ibadan: University Press, p. 147.

22. B. Idowu, 1975, *Olodumare, God in Yoruba Believe*, Great Britain: Campton press, p.122.

23. O. Awolalu, 1979, *Yoruba Beliefs and Sacrificial Rites*, UK: Longman Group Limited, p 21. Also, see, A.A.Lawal, 2006, "Agriculture in Yoruba Society and Culture", in T. Falola and A.Genova, (eds), *The Yoruba in Transition: History, Values, and Modernity*, Durham: Carolina Academic Press.p. 376.

24. D. Ogunremi, 1998, "Foundation of the Yoruba Economy in the Pre-Colonial Era" , in Deji Ogunremi and Biodun Adediran (eds) *Culture and Society in Yorubaland*, Ibadan: Rex Charles Publication, p. 113.

The importance of the strength of a ruler lies in the necessity of protection of the people, and extension of the state through conquest. On the other hand, the weakness of a ruler can warrant economic decline, while unrest can be a common place due to his despotism or ill-luck. In the case of incessant wars, diversion of more hands to war effort will result into shortage of labour, thereby leading to low production and subsequent adverse effect on the growth of the economy. Similarly, natural disasters such as flood, drought, and attack of pests such as locusts which could decimate crops and also cause famine were also traced to the luck or otherwise of the ruler.²⁵

As a matter of fact, the foregoing development was made possible by the benevolent political entity of which the economy was a subset.²⁶ Indeed, it is hardly possible to treat the Yoruba economy in isolation without reference to other aspects of the peoples' culture, especially the polity.²⁷ The *Oba* had exclusive control of land and economy as embedded in the Yoruba parlance, "*Oba loni le*" (land belongs to the king).²⁸ To confirm his headship of agriculture was his holding of the community land in trust. Thereafter, he allocated it to lineage or family heads or any one who wanted to use it for production.

Every town was composed of numerous lineages (*idile*), living in different compounds (*Agbo ile*). Also, playing the role of entrepreneur at their levels were these lineage heads who also held land, the main means of production, in trust for every member. He ensured that every body had

25. D. Ogunremi, 1998, "Foundation of the Yoruba Economy in the Pre-Colonial Era" in Deji Ogunremi and Biodun Adediran (eds) *Culture and Societies in Yorubaland*, Ibadan : Rex Charles Publication, p.114.

26. S. Biobaku, 1991, *Egba and their Neighbours*. Ibadan: University Press Limited. Ibadan: U.P.L p. 20.

27. I. A. Akinjogbin, 1980, "The Economic Foundation of the Oyo Empire" in I.A. Akinjogbin and S.O Osoba, (eds) *Topics on Nigerian Economic and Social History*. Ile-Ife: U.P.L. p.37.

28. O.B. Olaoba, 2000, *Bodija Market in Ibadan, 1987-1995*, Ibadan: John Archers Publishers, p.10.

sufficient land for cultivation.²⁹ Like access to land, organisation and direction of labour were lineage-based. For example, recruitment, training and mobilisation for all sorts of activities were done in the different lineages. The various households operating within the larger lineage were the primary production and consumption units. The father/husband controlled his wife or wives and children and mobilised their labour for production activities.³⁰

Notable at the lineage level were seniority, specialisation and division of labour. These, in every compound, were based on age, status and sex. As an important factor in interpersonal relationship, seniority defined the pattern of relationship in the household and compounds with the youth or the junior respecting the elders or the seniors. This culminated into division of labour between the junior and the senior (*aburo ati egbon*) or the young and old (*omode ati agba*), each playing specific roles and duties at work. The status of an individual also defined his relationship to others at work. For example, supervisory roles were reserved for the chiefs and wealthy citizens.³¹ Division of labour also existed along the line of sex. For example, while men were predominantly farmers, craftsmen, hunters and soldiers, women predominated in trading and production of commodities like, dye, thread, oil etc. which they took to the market to sell.³²

29. A.A.Lawal, 2006, "Agriculture in Yoruba Society and Culture", in, T. Falola and A.Genova, (eds), *The Yoruba in Transition: History, Values, and Modernity*, Durham: Carolina Academic Press, p. 366.

30. T. Falola, 1984, *The Political Economy of A Pre-colonial African State: Ibadan 1830-1900*, Ile-Ife: University Press Ltd.p.51.

31. T. Falola, 1984, *The Political Economy of A Pre-colonial African State: Ibadan 1830-1900*, Ile-Ife: University Press Ltd.

32. J. Adekunle, 2006, "Yoruba Associations: Sources of Empowerment", in Falola, T. and Genova, A. (ed) *The Yoruba in Transition: History, Values and Modernity*. Durham: Carolina Academic Press, p. 383

Various individuals and households in the compound did not stand in isolation from one another, since their autonomy did not mean severance from other members of the compound. In a similar vein, the lineage provided insurance to every member against starvation and unemployment. This made training of youths an integral part of the lineage solidarity and socio-economic bound.³³ As people worked within their respective compounds, so did they receive their training mainly in their compounds or in those of others. Nobody was unskilled, because everybody was born into a system which saw vocational training as part of the socialisation process.

Training of the youth was the responsibility of every lineage rather than being the strict responsibility of the parents, hence, the behaviour of a young man was seen as a reflection of his lineage. For example, stealing by a person was capable of damaging the reputation of a lineage, which could be stigmatised to as “the lineage of thieves” (*idile ole*). Although vocational training was emphasised, character training that would make a child fit into an already established system which emphasised lineage solidarity and virtues like honesty, respect for elders and humility were equally held in high esteem.³⁴

Also important in the structure of the Yoruba indigenous economy was the guild system which is a form of organisation into which different professionals constituted themselves. It, therefore, served as a medium through which the state exercised control over producers. As recognised bodies, the state supervised them and ratified the appointment of their leaders by supporting their executives’ control and discipline of their

33. T. Falola, 1984, *The Political Economy of A Pre-colonial African State: Ibadan 1830-1900*, Ile-Ife: University Press Ltd. p. 56..

34. B. Fafunwa, 1984, “A History of Educatioun in Nigeria” cited in Toyin Falola, *The Political Economy of A Pre-colonial African State: Ibadan 1830-1900*, Ile-Ife: University Press Ltd. p.57.

members. The heads of these guilds had different names in relation to their profession as: *Baale ahunso* for weavers, *Baale agbe* for farmers, *Araba* for diviners, *Parakoyi* for traders and *Ojugbede* for blacksmiths. The existence of these titles in the Yoruba economy implies that industries were not insulated from politics as they acted as intermediaries in the groups' interactions with the king and his council.³⁵ They were usually carried along when crucial decisions relating to the development of the town were to be taken.³⁶

As a matter of fact, state interference over production was minimal, since the most important determining parameters were the need for survival and accumulation of wealth by individual members of the ruling class. However, state control was more noticeable over the exchange sector of the economy, because it was through it that the state partly obtained revenue to maintain itself. However, some forms of control were also maintained over the flow of wealth, the markets and the traders. Helping the state in controlling the markets were the aforementioned officials, the chiefs, and the *Iyaloja* whose activities were well felt in the fixing of prices of commodities and levying of taxes in order to enrich the state treasury.³⁷

In the final analysis, the economic system was dynamic. From the 1830s to the 1890s, it was a story of growth in every sphere of the economy, which exhibits a great deal of adaptation to changes both from

35. A. O. Banwo, 1988, "Ilorin Economy in the 19th Century" in, *The Nigerian Journal of Economic History* (NJEH) No. 1.p. 132.

36. T. Falola, 1984, *The Political Economy of A Pre-colonial African State: Ibadan 1830-1900*, Ile-Ife: University Press Ltd p.68.

37. T. Falola, 1984, *The Political Economy of A Pre-colonial African State: Ibadan 1830-1900*, Ile-Ife: University Press Ltd p.69.

within and without.³⁸ Production kept pace with increasing population and with demands from external markets. This was made possible, not by revolutionary technological innovations, but mainly by the involvement of more hands and growing capacity for managing the expanding labour force. Many people usually joined lucrative businesses and produce enough to meet demand. For instance, farmlands were expanded to cope with increasing demand for food.³⁹

Similarly, the increasing demand for palm oil at the coast from the 1840s onward was met by the participation of many people in oil processing. Thus, oil was transported to the coast in large quantities not by using modern transportation methods, but by human portage which coped with the changes in the volume of trade mainly by engaging the services of more porters.⁴⁰ The production of craft goods also increased with the population growth. There was no need, for example, to buy from abroad those goods manufactured in Yorubaland (e.g. Iron implements) because the local manufacturers could produce enough.⁴¹

Structure and Function of the Yoruba Market

There are numerous viewpoints about what the concept of market entails. However, there seems to be no single definition covering all marketing processes. Scholars, among whom are Hodder,⁴² Whetham,⁴³ Baker,⁴⁴

38. T. Falola, 1984, *The Political Economy of A Pre-colonial African State: Ibadan 1830-1900*, Ile-Ife: University Press Ltd p. 87.

39. I. L. Bashir, 1986, "Metropolitan Intellectuals, Policies and Economic Growth in Colonial Nigeria" in *Odu, A Journal of West African Studies*. No. 29, January, .p. 45.

40. I.L. Bashir,1986, "Metropolitan Intellectuals, Policies and Economic Growth in Colonial Nigeria, in *Odu, A Journal of West African Studies*. No. 29, January, 1986.p. 45.

41. I.L. Bashir, 1986, "Metropolitan Intellectuals, Policies and Economic Growth in Colonial Nigeria" in *Odu, A Journal of West African Studies*. No. 29, January, 1986.p. 45.

42. B.W. Hodder and Ukwu, U.I., 1969, *Markets in West Africa*, Ibadan: University Press L.t.d.

43. E.H. Whetham, 1972 *Agricultural Marketing in Africa*, London: Oxford University Press.

44. J. Baker,1989, *Agricultural Marketing*.Second Edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kempner,⁴⁵ and Kohls,⁴⁶ have all made their own contributions towards the conceptualisation of marketing activities.⁴⁷ Of all the various definitions, description of market as “a social and economic institution for the exchange of goods and services”, by Duah and Osuji seems to fit the Yoruba idea of market.⁴⁸ The Yoruba word for market is “*Oja*”, which etymology is difficult to discern. It probably came into use when exchange of goods began among the Yoruba people. Two processes are embedded in market. These are selling (*Oja tita*) and buying (*Oja rira*), which must take place together. Thus, there will be no buying if there are no goods for sale and vice versa.⁴⁹

The existence of market among the Yoruba people further authenticated the advanced nature of their economy. This runs contrary to the Europeans’ erroneous conception of the Yoruba indigenous economy as subsistent.⁵⁰ It is an indication of production above consumption of every household. The idea of marketing in Yorubaland may have started with the “barter system”. It is a very important feature of the Yoruba era of collectivism, such that, as population grew, there emerged the system of surrendering what was outstanding in agricultural production to be used by those incapacitated by one problem or another. The problems included health hazards, warfare, climatic conditions and crop diseases. This collectivist idea was very advantageous to the development of the society⁵¹.

45. T. Kempler, (ed).1976, *A Handbook of Management*, London: Penguin.

46. R.L. Kohls,1968, *Marketing of African Products*, London: Macmillan.

47. O.B. Olaoba, 2000, *Bodija Market in Ibadan: 1987-1995*, Ibadan: John Archer Publishers L.T.D, p.1.

48. J.O. Duah and L.O. Osuji, 1981, “Urban Market Administration in Nigeria: A Case Study of Urban Market in Imo State of Nigeria”, *The Quarterly Journal of Administration*, Vol. 16.No. 16. Nos.1 and 2 Oct.1981, p.71.

49. O.B. Olaoba, 2000, *Bodija Market in Ibadan: 1987-1995*, Ibadan: John Archer Publishers L.T.D, p8

50. A.Olorunfemi, 1999, ‘Pre-colonial Economy of the Yoruba of South-Western Nigeria, in *Olotu, Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 3. No.1 April, 1999, p. 6.

51. O.B. Olaoba, 2000, *Bodija Market in Ibadan: 1987-1995*, Ibadan: John Archer Publishers L.T.D.p9.

In the Yoruba traditional setting, the main markets were situated near the ruler's residence, known as the *Oba's* market (*Oja oba*). This gives the ruler, opportunity to maintain effective control on market proceedings through his representation by the queens and palace envoys. This is because, the king was forbidden by tradition and custom to attend market sessions himself. The reason for this location was to ensure security of the market, since the *Oba* enjoyed unparalleled guard by powerful men, reputable hunters, and the magical personalities.⁵²

Attendants of the market were sure of adequate protection for which they paid in form of tributes and tolls to the ruler. Another reason for sitting market in front of the palace was because of various other social activities that took place in its square. Such activities included celebration of festivals, performance of public rituals that have to do with the peace and prosperity of the community among others. For example, on the second day of *Alugbua* festival in Kuta, the chief goes to *Mosun* market to dance, and this end the official part of the festival.⁵³ As the market served as the sources of such ritual materials, so were they consummated right there in the market with the *Oba* and priest officiating.⁵⁴

The market square also served as a medium of disseminating information from the palace. For instance, in the evening of *Wiwa Osun*, a ceremony in preparation for *Osun* festival in Osogbo, the *Ataoja* and the *Iya Osun* visit the market to declare publicly that it is time “to eat new yam” and thus remove the taboo forbidding the harvesting and selling of

52. D. Ogunremi, 1998, “Foundation of the Yoruba Economy in the pre-Colonial era” in Deji Ogunremi and Biodun Adediran (eds) *Culture and Society in Yorubaland*, Ibadan: Rex Charles Publication, p. 120.

53. A.L. Mabogunje and J. Omer-Cooper, 1971, *Owu in Yoruba History*, Ibadan: Ibadan University press. p. 108.

54. O.B. Olaoba, 2000, *Bodija Market in Ibadan 1987-1995*, Ibadan: John Archers Publishers, p.11.

new yams in Osogbo.⁵⁵ Official announcement of Ogun festival in Ondo is also done in the market, nine days to the festival.⁵⁶

Although there was a specialised medium for this, decisions, policies and programmes of development had better hearing during market sessions, because attendants would take the information home for the benefit of other members of their families.⁵⁷ Market equally served as a court where difficult disputes that deserved public hearing were adjudicated. As a matter of fact, market was a place for entertainers, a hideout for criminals, debtors and mentally deranged people. A market session was very important for beggars, and love makers, friends, and relations to meet for settling quarrels, make deals and exchange views. Medicinal herbalists, religious proselytisers, diviners, and so on also attended markets to win new converts and sell their products and services.

Equally, political matters, discovery of new ailments, of new techniques and of new crops were made known in the markets.⁵⁸ Markets were places where celebrants of important occasions brought their entourage and drummers.⁵⁹ On the other hand, markets could be closed by religious or cultural confinements or ceremonies. *Oro* and *Egungun* cults imposed curfews in some parts of Yorubaland, during which women had to remain indoor. Markets in Ibadan were closed for a day or two during the annual festival of *Oke Ibadan*.⁶⁰ Likewise, in Oyo and Ondo towns,

55. M. Joseph Murphy and Mei-Mei Sanford, 2001, *Osun Across The Waters: A Yoruba Goddess in Africa and Americas*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press. p. 54.

56. J.K. Olupona, 1992, *Kingship, Religion, and Rituals in a Nigerian Community: A Phenomenological Study of Ondo Yoruba Festivals*, Ibadan: Layday Limited. .p.119

57. P.O. Sada and M.L. McNully, "Traditional Market in Lagos: A Study of the Changing Administrative Processes and Marketing Transactions", *The Quarterly Journal of Administration*, Vol.8. pp. 149-165.

58. D. Ogunremi, 1998, "Foundation of the Yoruba Economy in the Pre-colonial Era" in Deji Ogunremi and Biodun Adediran (eds) *Culture and Society in Yorubaland*, Ibadan: Rex Charles Publication, p.121.

59. M. K. McIntosh, 2009, *Yoruba Women, Work, and Social Change*, Indiana: Indiana University Press. p. 66.

60. M. K. McIntosh, 2009, *Yoruba Women, Work, and Social Change*, Indiana: Indiana University Press, .p. 66.

markets were closed for a day, during annual festivals of *Oro* and *Moko* respectively.⁶¹

Equally worthy of note was the excellent organisation of market in Yorubaland. Although there was no specific structure or arrangement, generally open space which could be attended by as many people as possible and which could give room for expansion or contraction depending on circumstances, was usually chosen as market.⁶² Trees were usually planted to provide shade. In addition to these trees were open sheds, consisting of low thatched roof, surrounded by wide posts. All these facts were corroborated by the missionaries, especially the adventurous Reverend Bowen.⁶³

The trees in the markets were not for shade only. They equally served as means of conveying symbolic messages to the people. A very important symbolic message of such was the death of the *Oba* that had to be communicated in sign before the public announcement. A way of doing this was the cutting of the branches of the trees which people will also not find difficult to understand. This practice continues till the present time in some Yoruba towns. Following the trimming of the branches of the trees was the closure of the market and at such occasions, confusion and commotion ensued.⁶⁴ In many Yoruba markets, several trees that are regarded as habitual residence of certain spirits or gods were planted. For example, feet of *Akoko*, *Peregun* and *Iyeye* are shrines where *Ogun* is usually worshiped.⁶⁵ The shrine of *Esu*, a chunk of laterite, was

61. J.K. Olupona, Kingship , 1992, *Religion, and Rituals in a Nigerian Community: A Phenomenological Study of Ondo Yoruba Festivals*, Ibadan: Layday Limited. p. 62.

62. D. Ogunremi, 1998, "Foundation of the Yoruba Economy in the Pre-colonial Era" in Deji Ogunremi and Biodun Adediran (eds) *Culture and Society in Yorubaland*, Ibadan: Rex Charles Publication, p. 121.

63. O.B. Olaoba, 2000, *Bodija Market in Ibadan 1987-1995*, Ibadan: John Archers Publishers, p.11.

64. O.B. Olaoba, 2000, *Bodija Market in Ibadan 1987-1995*, Ibadan: John Archers Publishers, p.11.

65. E.B. Idowu, 1975, *Olodumare: God in Yoruba Belief*, Great Britain: Campton Printing Press. p. 126.

also an essential element of the market place. This is because of the Yoruba belief that, he must be placated for peace to prevail in the market. Hence, he is believed to be notorious for starting fights.⁶⁶ Market continued to play this traditional religious role until recent time when it started to serve as locations for central mosques in Yoruba towns and cities.

Market was so well arranged that sellers of the same commodity assembled at a place. This enabled buyers, to know the exact place to buy things, and as much as possible, effective control of the market and orderliness were ensured. Thus, the arrangement gave room for uninterrupted communication and human passage.⁶⁷ The market setting was not without its own unique advertisement, bargaining, ware housing and other economic features, all of which depict the Yoruba culture.

Internal and External Trades

As economists make us to understand, production remains incomplete until the goods get to the consumers. Also, in Yorubaland, there existed a comprehensive commercial interaction among the people and the outside world. This idea was born out of the variations in goods produced in different parts of the country, such that, what could not be produced in one part of the district was procured by trading off what were produced in excess. Therefore, trade developed, because of the necessity to get rid of surplus products, and to ensure distribution of articles to where they were not produced, but needed.⁶⁸

66. O.I. Obateru, 2003, *The Yoruba City in History: 11th Century to the Present*, Ibadan: Penthouse Publications. p. 221.

67. O.B. Olaoba, 2000, *Bodija Market in Ibadan 1987-1995*, Ibadan: John Archers Publishers, p.11.

68. A.Olorunfemi, 1999, 'Pre-colonial Economy of the Yoruba of South-Western Nigeria' in *Olofa: Journal of African Studies*. Vol. 3. No. 1. April, p.5.

Market came into being probably at the commencement of exchange of goods among the autochthonous Yoruba groups. The idea of trade may have originated from the “barter system”, which involves exchange of good for good.⁶⁹ All these are embedded in the collectivist theory (I am because we are) in which the Yoruba display of hospitality is based.⁷⁰ For example, the farmer who produced more foodstuffs than he and his family could consume had to do away with the surplus which was badly needed by the cloth-weaver who had no farm. Similarly, the farmer needed cloth for his dress, and this had to be supplied by cloth weavers. As a result of this inevitable interdependence, internal trade developed. Daily and periodic markets also developed, and they have since become important features of the economic organisation of the Yoruba people.⁷¹

Even where there were no formal market places, the people had found it possible to organise trade. An example of this was the leaving of bunches of plantains or bananas and other articles at specific spaces on bush paths or near village huts for prospective buyers to exchange them for their own products or for “money”. This is in form of roadside-silent market.⁷² The daily markets served the needs of the people living close to places where they were located. Buyers could buy in small quantities since they could go again the next day. Cooked food and perishable goods like vegetables were brought from the farm to be disposed of on daily bases.⁷³

69. D. Ogunremi, 1998, “Foundation of the Yoruba Economy in the Pre-colonial Era” in Deji Ogunremi and Biodun Adediran (eds) *Culture and Society in Yorubaland*, Ibadan: Rex Charles Publication, p.121.

70. A.Olorunfemi, 1999, ‘Pre-colonial Economy of the Yoruba of South-Western Nigeria’ in *Olofa: Journal of African Studies*. Vol. 3. No. 1. April, p.6.

71. O.B. Olaoba, 2000 *Bodija Market in Ibadan 1987-1995*, Ibadan: John Archers Publishers, p.10.

72. A.Olorunfemi,1999, ‘Pre-colonial Economy of the Yoruba of South-Western Nigeria’ in *Olofa: Journal of African Studies*. Vol. 3. No. 1. April, p. 6.

73. T. Falola, 1984 *The Political Economy of A Pre-colonial African State: : Ibadan 1830-1900*, Ile-Ife: University Press Ltd p.107.

Daily market could be held either in the morning or in the evening. Evening market was a commonplace in the Yoruba traditional economy, and is still in practice in most towns today. In the periodic markets of towns such as Ibadan, Akure, Owo, Ondo, Ilesa, Apomu, Ilorin, Badagry and many others, trading went on, on days worked out on a temporal schedule. Because people had to travel some distances and traders had to prepare well in advance, periodic market could only be held at intervals. The volume of trade was larger and the number of attendants more than in the daily markets. All the periodic markets were connected together in sequences of operation, thus leading to a repetitive market cycle, which enabled the traders to trade in most of the markets. Examples of these include; *Oba* market in various towns (*ojaba*), *Atapara* market in Ede, *Odo-ori* market in Iwo, *Odo-oba* market in Ogbomoso and many more in Yorubaland.⁷⁴

It has long been recognised that women predominated marketing activities. Traditionally, they took little part in actual farm work, though they were always useful during harvesting period. However, attendance of market formed part of way of life to most women in Yorubaland and their rewards in this was not restricted to financial gain, but included the pleasure accruable from the social life offered by the markets. These, more than any other considerations, seem to be enough as an explanation for their predominance in the market.⁷⁵

74. A.Olorunfemi,1999, 'Pre-colonial Economy of the Yoruba of South-Western Nigeria' in *Olota: Journal of African Studies*. Vol. 3. No. 1. April, p.7.

75. L. Olurode and P.O. Olusanya, 1994, *Nigerian Heritage: The Yoruba Example*, Lagos: Rebonik Publication Ltd. p.43.

External trade involved exchange of goods between Yorubaland and other places within and outside Nigeria. This commercial cooperation on a wider territorial level emanated from the need to distribute both necessary and luxurious articles that are regionally based.⁷⁶ Factors for this regional variations include, specialisation and skill acquisition. In the case of Nigeria, geographical difference, more than any other factors, necessitated the need for trade between the north and the south. The northern part consists of a broad belt of grassland running from east to west, classified by geographers as belonging to three different types of savanna. These are, the Sahel to the north, the Sudan in the middle, and the Guinea savanna to the south.⁷⁷

This classification is premised upon rainfall and vegetation which diminish northward thereby making guinea savanna to have deciduous trees and grasses. Sahel savanna has stunted thorn trees and short grasses. To the south is the tropical rain forest which merges into swamps near the coast. Also, some areas received a fairly high rainfall and have fertile soils because of their elevation. Examples in this regard include Jos and Bauchi Plateau where relief rainfall makes trees taller than one another within the Guinea savanna belt. The geographical variation analysed above made exchange a necessity among the sub-regions of Nigeria especially when it is realised that some crops will prosper well only under certain conditions of rainfall, humidity and fertility.

For example, in the forest region where such valuable crops like kolanuts and yam thrive, tsetse fly do not allow for the kind of animal husbandry that characterised open savanna belt to the north. As a result,

76. A.G. Hopkins, 1973, *An Economic History of West Africa*, London: Longman Group Ltd. p. 51.

77. T. Falola, "Intergroup Relations", in T. Falola and A. Adediran (eds), *Nigeria: People, State and Culture before 1800*, Lagos: John West. p. 25.

cattle, upland rice and millet, which were the product of the savanna region, had to be exchanged for kolanut and palm produce, which cultivation was well developed in the forest zone. Even within the same geographical zone, there were variations, like sub-zonal specialisations in fishing, hunting, manufacturing and mining. Thus, trade relations developed out of the necessity to obtain goods that could not be produced in a state.⁷⁸

The overall effect of this is the friendly relations that existed among the different ethnic groups that make up Nigeria, West Africa and Africa in general. Instrumental in this effect were what Falola called requirement of trade. These include currencies, language of communication, trade routes and market which all served to promote interactions among states because they had unifying effects. Professional long-distance traders were noted for their skills in foreign tongues, especially Hausa language, which dominated the commercial areas to the north.⁷⁹

There were various ways of sourcing capital. The simplest of them was by collecting commodities from the family farms with the profit accruing from the sales used as initial capital. Another source was the money realised from the trader's husband, family and friends. Personal savings and periodic saving of meager sums (*ajo*) also appreciated to a sum with which petty trading could be started. *Ajo*, otherwise known as "mobile bank"⁸⁰ because of the *Alajo*'s ways of going round to collect

78. T. Falola, "Intergroup Relations", in T. Falola and A. Adediran (eds), *Nigeria: People, State and Culture before 1800*, Lagos: John West. p. 25.

79. T. Falola, "Intergroup Relations", in T. Falola and A. Adediran (eds), *Nigeria: People, State and Culture before 1800*, Lagos: John West. p. 25.

80. T. Falola, 1993, "My Friend the Shylock" :Money-lenders and their Clients in Southwestern Nigeria", *Journal of African History*, 34, p.405.

money from his clients, was very important in Yorubaland. *Alajo* is the person saddled with the responsibility of collecting the money.

Esusu has been identified as the most organised way of sourcing capital to start a trade. William Bascom defined it as “a fund to which a group of individuals make fixed contributions of money at fixed intervals. The total amount contributed by the entire group is assigned to each of the members in rotation”.⁸¹ The system loomed large in marketing operations among the Yoruba people. As Falola had observed, *ajo* and *esusu* are alike somehow. However, the fact remains that the two systems are aids to economic development in the Yoruba traditional economy. Long distance traders required more working capital than the internal local traders. They needed capital for credit advances in goods and in cash to their customers, to purchase goods needed for transportation like canoes and slaves. They obtained their capital by raising loans, by saving and by reinvesting their money.

A basic necessity of trade, both internally and externally, was transportation. The two major means available in Yorubaland were land and water, both of which were well organised. With the emergence of a class of non-agricultural professional traders, the relay system, which was the earliest form of transportation, gave way to highly organised commercial highways. As a result, there were many trade routes most of which linked Yorubaland with the neighbouring communities. In fact, Yorubaland was criss-crossed by a network of routes with important ones linking Yorubaland to the coast and their northern neighbours. For example, some trade routes began in Badagry and Lagos, passed through

81. W. R. Bascom, 1952, “The Esusu: A Credit Institution of the Yoruba” , *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol.82, p. 63. Also, see, J. Adegunle, 2006, “Yoruba Associations: Sources of Empowerment” in T. Falola and A. Genova (eds) *The Yoruba in Transition History, Values and Modernity*, Durham: Carol Pres p384.

places like Egbado and Oyo and continued through Raba on the Niger to Kano.⁸²

Transportation on land routes were chiefly by head portorage. This mode of transportation is not limited to the past, rather it constitutes an essential component of contemporary means of mobility. Early in the morning, hired carriers, usually women of marriageable age visited farms where produce were stored. Sometimes, the women were hired for free (obligatory labour) or they were organised age grade helpers who rotated labour among members (reciprocal labour).⁸³ The women could visit the farm as many times as possible, depending on the volume or size of the commodity to be transported. The number of porters to be engaged at a point in time would be a function of the social status of the farmer. Baskets and calabashes were the basic tools needed by the porters for their services. Some of the commodities transported were even sold in the market, either with or without the containers.⁸⁴

Sometimes, traders carried the goods themselves or made use of their family labour or slaves, especially in the case of external trade. Slaves were commonly used because many of the long-distance traders were also slave dealers. The slaves were self-transporting and they also carried articles of trade. Many traders would not sell their slaves until they disposed of their goods. The distance from one place to another was reckoned in days and hours, and the average rate of traveling was five

82. T. Falola, 1985, "Nigeria's Indigenous Economy" in R.A. Olaniyan, (ed) *Nigerian History and Culture*, England: Longman Group L.T.D. p.108.

83. J. Adekunle, 2006, "Yoruba Associations: Sources of Empowerment", in T. Falola and A. Genova, (eds), *The Yoruba in Transition: History, Values and Modernity*, Durham: Carolina Academic Press, p. 379

84. O. B. Olaoba, 2000, *Bodija Market in Ibadan 1987-1995*, Ibadan: John Archers Publishers, p.14.

kilometers an hour. A trader could carry between eighty to hundred and twenty pounds of loads.⁸⁵

Water transportation was practicable in places where there were navigable waterways. However, the use of canoe was a common place in such places. The fact that pack animals cannot be used in tsetse fly infected areas made human portage and canoes the available options for the Yoruba people. Although water transport was considered to be cheaper, it was not widely used in Yorubaland. The few navigable water routes that existed were: Weme, Opara, Ogun, Osun, Oluwa, Yewa, Oni, some of their tributaries and the lagoons running from Makun, Omi, (Ijebu waterside) to Badagry. By implication, the Ijebu, Egba, Awori and Ikale were perhaps the few Yoruba who effectively employed canoes of various sizes to convey their merchandise from one place to another.⁸⁶

The limitation of this form of transportation is that the volume of most rivers got highly reduced in the dry season-October to March, and they had to be constantly cleared of all sort of snags and other obstructions. However, these problems notwithstanding, canoes, which were usually flat-bottomed and which could move on formidable rivers were effectively used.⁸⁷ Also, human portage had its problems, porters could become nuisance on long distance journeys far away from their homes, their carrying capacity was highly limited to about 50-70 Ibs pack and their speed was slow, especially while in caravan and on narrow and

85. T. Falola, 1985, "Nigeria's Indigenous Economy" in R.A. Olaniyan (ed) *Nigerian History and Culture*, London: Longman Group, p.109.

86. D. Ogunremi, 1998, "Foundation of the Yoruba Economy in the Pre-colonial Era" in Deji Ogunremi and Biodun Adediran (eds) *Culture and Society in Yorubaland*, Ibadan: Rex Charles Publication, p.123.

87. D. Ogunremi, 1998, "Foundation of the Yoruba Economy in the Pre-colonial Era" in Deji Ogunremi and Biodun Adediran (eds) *Culture and Society in Yorubaland*, Ibadan: Rex Charles Publication.

unkept routes. All these made them costly and thereby making the goods so transported costly.⁸⁸

Guild formation was more pronounced in this sector. Here, the broad classifications were *Egbe Alajapa* (the guild that traded in inanimate objects such as, food, and medicinal items) and *Egbe Alarobo* (which traded in animate objects such as goat, sheep and poultry). Apart from these broad classifications, there were various other sub-guilds also named after their commodities. For example, there were guilds of pepper sellers (*egbe alata*), cloth sellers (*egbe alaso*), soap makers (*egbe olose*), e.t.c. All the guild heads (*olori*) often organized their members in readiness for the journey to a market town.⁸⁹ Although the two groups were particularly involved in long distance trade, *Alajapa* seemed to have done a great deal of traveling.⁹⁰

Another important feature of the Yoruba indigenous commercial sector was the caravan system, which involved the moving together of a large number of long distance traders mainly for security reason. Although it was common in the periods of war and peace, caravans of the war period were always bigger than those of peace time. These caravans had to be accompanied by armed guards provided by the state.⁹¹ This system was so organised that rather than stopping trading activities, war encouraged traders to try new markets in distant towns to open new horizon on neutral grounds or in border territories to allow traders from

88. D. Ogunremi, 1975, "Human Portorage in Nigeria in the Nineteenth Century- A Pillar in the Indigenous Economy" in *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. viii, No.1, p. 51.

89. D. Ogunremi, 1998, "Foundation of the Yoruba Economy in the Pre-Colonial Era" in Deji Ogunremi and Biodun Adediran (eds) *Culture and Society in Yorubaland*, Ibadan: Rex Charles Publication, p.122.

90. I.A. Akinjogbin, 1980, "The Economic Foundations of the Oyo Empire" in I.A Akinjogbin and S. O. Osoba (eds) *Topics on Nigeria Economic and Social History*, Ile-Ife: University of Ife Press, p.49.

91. T. Falola, 1984, *The Political Economy of A Pre-colonial African State: Ibadan 1830-1900*, Ile-Ife: University Press Ltd. p.134.

friendly and hostile states to exchange goods. In this regard, examples of Ejio, Eruwa, and Iberekodo markets were cited by Toyin Falola as the ones, which existed between the Egba and Ibadan in the late 1870s and early 1880s.⁹²

Unlike in other caravans prominent in the literature, Yoruba caravans were usually dominated by women who were traders themselves rather than being wives or concubines of male traders. Also, there were men in the caravans as porters, escorts and even male traders, although they were well outnumbered by women. The dominance of women probably accounted for the reason why the distances covered by most of the caravans were not too long and their relative short duration when compared to other caravans dominated by men in the Saharan region.⁹³

Although many did not travel on long distances, they traveled a lot within their commercial region as dictated by the market periodicity. It is true that some women left their homes for long periods, but many could not do this because of the demands of their children and spouses, physical danger posed by war or slave raiding and difficulty in gaining enough capital. Women, whose children were young and those still in their reproductive years, did not enjoy the privilege of extensive trips.⁹⁴

Women who excelled in long-distance trade in the Yoruba traditional economy rarely fit the conventional pattern of wife and mother. They included women who were married with adult children who could take care of their houses in their absence, or those who were

92. T. Falola, 1984, *The Political Economy of A Pre-colonial African State: Ibadan 1830-1900*, Ile-Ife: University Press Ltd. p. 134.

93. T. Falola, 1985 "Nigeria's Indigenous Economy" in R.A. Olaniyan (ed) *Nigerian History and Culture*, London: Longman Group, p.110.

94. T. Falola, 1985, "Nigeria's Indigenous Economy" in R.A. Olaniyan (ed) *Nigerian History and Culture*, London: Longman Group, p.110.

childless, those who were widows and who headed their own households, and those whose husbands had other wives, who had access to some capital and porters and who could in some cases assert themselves and damn the social consequences of independence and capital accumulation. They were often perceived as having masculine qualities.⁹⁵

Apart from the normal purpose of helping to provide for themselves and their children, women used their profits from trade in many ways. These include spending to propitiate *orisa*, obtain information from an *Ifa* divination, or assist Muslim or Christian institutions. Many spent parts of their earnings in joining and contributing to *egbe* (societies), gaining social, economic, and religious benefits. Wealthier women usually invested in human, such as slaves and pawns, and material properties like, land, expensive clothing and jewelry, as well as the kinds of public benefactions that might lead to a chieftaincy title.⁹⁶

An important aid to trade in the Yoruba traditional economy was cowry shell, which was the earliest form of currency. It, therefore, became generally accepted as medium of exchange, thereby solving the trade by barter problem of double coincidence of wants. Originally found in the Indian Ocean, cowry shells were formally priced by collectors for their beauty.⁹⁷ When exactly they were introduced into West Africa was not known, as there were diverse opinions concerning the time of its introduction. Its success as a legal tender was due, among other reasons, to its size and shape, which made it easy to handle conveniently and impossible to counterfeit, while its durability meant that it is storable for many years. All these features made it easy for European merchants to

95. M. K. McIntosh, 2009, *Yoruba Women, Work, and Social Change*, Indiana: Indiana University Press. p.131.

96. M. K. McIntosh, 2009, *Yoruba Women, Work, and Social Change*, Indiana: Indiana University Press. p. 132.

97. T. Falola and A Akanmu, (2000), *Culture, Politics and Money Among the Yoruba*, New Brunswick (USA) and London (UK): Transaction Publishers. p.20.

quickly adapt their own accounting system to cowry currency; thus for the British in the middle of the eighteenth century, 20,000 cowries were worth one pound of gold, which was then equivalent to about £4.⁹⁸

The cowry was not without set backs. Yoruba people had no control over its source and could therefore, not control its issuance. Its value was stochastic, for it changed from one geographical region to another, depending on the distance from the coast. It also had a low unit value which made it difficult for people to carry large sums of money for a long period. However, it was not until the British occupation of Lagos, when metallic coins began to circulate in the hinterland, that the colonial government attempted to reconcile English currency with cowry arithmetic with the following value.⁹⁹

30 cowries	—————	1/10 of one penny
40 cowries	—————	1 string of 1/25 of 3 pence
150 cowries	—————	1/2 pence
300 cowries	—————	1 penny
200 cowries	—————	1 bunch (Igbio)
5 Bunches	—————	(Egberun) — 3 Pence
10 Bunches	—————	1 head (Egbaa) — 6 Pence
10 Heads	—————	1bag (Oke kan) —5 Shillings ¹⁰⁰

Another problem associated with the use of cowry as a form of money was its inability to be recognised by the European merchant firm who got them cheaply from India and treated them not as money, but as

98. A.Olorunfemi,1999, 'Pre-colonial Economy of the Yoruba of South-Western Nigeria in *Olotá: Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 3. No. 1. April, p. 8

99. A.Olorunfemi, 1999, 'Pre-colonial Economy of the Yoruba of South-Western Nigeria in *Olotá: Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 3. No. 1. April, p.8

100. A.Olorunfemi,1999, 'Pre-colonial Economy of the Yoruba of South-Western Nigeria in *Olotá: Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 3. No. 1. April.

an article of trade on which they were expecting some profits. As a result, they did not accept the cowry as a medium of exchange, though they preferred to exchange their own goods as well as cowries for palm oil and palm kernels.

The relative surplus in the supply of cowry, therefore, resulted in massive inflation and depreciation, which paved the way for a wide circulation of metallic coins preferred by the European merchants and the British colonial government. This took a long time and some form of cohesion to effect. However, it was not until the introduction of a special nickel-bronze penny and 1/10 penny in 1908 that the cowry had a rival in its own field of small purchases.¹⁰¹ However, this acceptance of European currency, though on gradual process, helped, in no small measure, in removing obstacles to European trade penetration into the Yoruba country and the consequent restructuring of the economy in the twentieth century, following the political intervention of the last decade of the nineteenth century.¹⁰²

A very important factor for the success of trade was the considerable level of peace enjoyed by the traders. The land and waterways were safe for the traders' use except during wars and hostilities. This was made possible by the awareness on the part of the rulers of the respective communities of the need to maintain effective control over the economy. This included, taking care of the trade routes and traders that passed through their domains and doing everything possible to encourage trade. It was not unusual, therefore, for armed

101. T. Falola and A Akanmu, 2000, *Culture, Politics and Money Among the Yoruba*, New Brunswick (USA) and London (UK): Transaction Publishers p.20.

102. J.A. Atanda, 1970, *The New Oyo Empire*, London: Longman Group Limited, p. 49.

guards appointed by rulers to accompany traders or to patrol trade routes.¹⁰³

For instance, during the period of interregnum that followed the death of *Alaafin* Oluaso in the sixteenth century, the neighbouring Ijesa people became troublesome to the people in Oyo territory by kidnapping them in their farms and molesting caravans to and from Apomu market in Osun area. Timi, a notable hunter was posted there to restore normalcy. Ede, his garrison centre later became a source of wealth to him and Alaafin through the toll of five cowries each he collected from traders.¹⁰⁴

There were many other sanctions and customs that made it possible for traders to have hitched free journeys. Every Yoruba community had customs that forbade killing, molestation and kidnapping of fellow village or town dwellers. This had a very good effect on trade within a community. There were also some established institutions which promoted peace in inter-community trade. For instance, some communities entered into mutual agreement never to attack one another. For example, the peace agreement signed by the two peace parties of Ibadan and Abeokuta on 25 August 1864 was to open trade routes that

103. T. Falola, 1985, "Nigeria's Indigenous Economy" in R.A. Olaniyan (ed) *Nigerian History and Culture*, London: Longman Group, p.110.

104. S. Johnson, 1921, *The History of the Yorubas: From the Earliest times to the Beginning of the British Protectorate*, Great Britain: Lowe and Brydone Printers Ltd., p.155-156. However, the wealth eventually spelt doom for Timi, when he attempted stopping the remittance of the proceeds to Alaafin, as he was eliminated with the help of *Eliri-Onigbajo*, the Gbonka. According to G.O. Oyeweso, the military might of Oyo was responsible for security and political stability in most parts of Yorubaland during this period. See G.O. Oyeweso, 1998, "Ede Participation in the 19th Century Yoruba Wars" in I.A.Akinjogbin (ed) *War and Peace in Yorubaland, 1793-1893*, Ibadan: Heinemann PLC., p. 65.

had remained unused as a result of the protracted war between Ibadan and Ijaye.¹⁰⁵ Both parties later swore to *Sango* to observe the term.¹⁰⁶

Marriage ties cemented trade relationship between many communities. Many traders deliberately chose wives in commercial centres and towns along the trade routes and this further strengthened the relationship between communities. Equally important as an aid to trade was religion. For example, Muslim traders regarded themselves as brothers who must not harm one another.¹⁰⁷

Through trade, all the Yoruba communities were linked together. The favourable geographical setting and absence of much natural barriers gave room for free movement of traders within and outside the Yorubaland. The trade contact had many advantages. They allowed for a free flow of goods from one area to another. Farm products, manufactured goods, basic necessities and luxury articles were taken from where they were surplus to where they were scarce.¹⁰⁸

Articles like dried fish, salt and from the fifteenth century onwards, European goods like tobacco, arms and ammunition and spirits were conveyed from the coastal area to the hinterland. For example, the Ijebu and Egba traders made coastal and European goods available in the interior of Yorubaland. The Benin traders went to eastern Yorubaland for the exchange of goods. The arrival of the Europeans from the fifteenth

105. J. F. Ade Ajayi and R. Smith, 1971, *Yoruba Warfare in the Nineteenth Century*, Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, p. 118.

106. J. F. Ade Ajayi and R. Smith, 1971, *Yoruba Warfare in the Nineteenth Century*, Ibadan: Ibadan University Press.

107. T. Falola, 1985, "Nigeria's Indigenous Economy" in R.A. Olaniyan (ed) *Nigerian History and Culture*, London: Longman Group, p.110.

108. S.A. Akintoye, 1980, "The Economic Foundation of Ibadan's Power" in the Nineteenth Century, in I.A. Akinjogbin and S. Osoba (eds), *Topics on Nigeria Economic and Social History*, Ile-Ife: University of Ife Press Ltd. p. 60.

century further stimulated the Benin-Yoruba trade and this led to a free flow of the European articles like, cloth, red caps, brandy, and fire arms into Yorubaland.¹⁰⁹

The benefits of trade went beyond circulation of goods and services. It was the leading medium in the promotion of inter-group relations and interaction among the various Yoruba sub-groups. Through trade, people shared, exchanged and borrowed ideas on cultural, economic, political and religious institutions. It is however, indubitable that trade routes and traders served as carriers of culture and civilization and they provided the avenue for the intermingling of peoples and the exchange of ideas. For instance, the trade routes provided the lines of communication for the spread of Islam and in the nineteenth century the spread of the Christian faith in Yorubaland.¹¹⁰

Trade also contributed to the growth and development of many Yoruba towns and villages. Lagos, Ibadan, Akure, Owo, Ondo, Ilesa, Apomu, Ilorin, to mention a few, owed their sizes, wealth and population to trade. Nevertheless, trade had its disadvantages. It was responsible for some wars and hostilities in Yorubaland. The struggles for the control of trade in many communities, especially in the nineteenth century, are good examples in this regards.¹¹¹

109. G.O. Oguntomisin, (ed), 2007, *A Comprehensive History of the Yoruba People up to 1800*, Ibadan: John Archers Publishers Ltd. p.99.

110. T. Falola, 1985, "Nigeria's Indigenous Economy" in R.A. Olaniyan (ed) *Nigerian History and Culture*, London: Longman Group, p. 117.

111. S.A. Akintoye, 1980, "The Economic Foundation of Ibadan's Power in the Nineteenth Century, in I.A. Akinjogbin and S. Osoba (eds), *Topics on Nigeria Economic and Social History*, Ile-Ife: University of Ife Press Ltd.p. 60-61.

Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to examine the general features of the Yoruba economic sector. However, the basic feature of the people's indigenous economy added here becomes necessary, since it enhanced a better understanding of the commercial sector. Undoubtedly, the chapter has corroborated the view of various scholars who have worked on the Yoruba economy, that, the economy was multi-dimensional and advanced. It was an economy that was devoted to social welfare rather than personal gains that characterised capitalist economy of the western world.

However, it is convincing that the economy was progressive in growth, and responsive to innovation before the British colonisation in the late 19th century. It has therefore, been demonstrated that, pre-colonial Yoruba economy was a typical traditional African economic system, in which production depended largely on family labour, communal efforts, and professional guilds. It has also been shown that ecological differences led to interdependence and consequently the development of a trade network among the various Yoruba sub-groups. However, it is worthy of note that, Yoruba traditional economic culture was in line with communal socio-economic formation.

CHAPTER THREE

BRITISH COLONIALISM AND THE NEW SOCIO-ECONOMIC ORDER IN OSUN DIVISION

Introduction

By the beginning of the 20th century, the British had virtually completed the task of transforming Yorubaland into a colony. This occupation of Yorubaland by the British colonial government has received a serious attention among historians.¹ The reason for this is not far-fetched. It was a major landmark in the political, social and economic history of the Yoruba people, as it was, in different other communities of Africa. The British colonisation of Yorubaland in the 19th century was a means to a new commercial order. The railway system, road networks, currency and banking as well as entrepreneurship introduced by the colonial economy, dramatically revolutionised the indigenous commercial activities in Osun Division.

Equally, the advent of a new commercial order in colonial Yorubaland and other parts of Africa has received scholarly attention from historians, such as, Ekundare, Hopkins, Omosini, Falola, Ogunremi, just to mention a few.² Despite all these, there exists a yawning scholarly gap in the economic history of the hinterland of Yorubaland, especially Osun Division.

1. E.A Ayandele, 1966, *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria*, Sir Alan Burns, 1962, *History of Nigeria*, J.F.A. Ajayi and S.A. Akintoye, 1980, "Yorubaland in the Nineteenth Century", in, O. Ikime (ed) *Groundwork of Nigerian History* and O. Ikime, 1977, *The Fall of Nigeria: The British Conquest*.

2. R.O. Ekundare, *An Economic History of Nigeria, 1860-1960*, London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., A.G. Hopkins, *An Economic History of West Africa*, London: Longman Group Ltd., T. Falola, (ed). *Politics and Economy in Ibadan, 1893-1945*, Lagos: Modelor Design Aids Ltd., O. Omosini, "Background to Railway Policy in Nigeria, 1877-1901" in I.A. Akinjogbin and S.O. Osoba (eds) *Topics on Nigeria Economic and Social History*, Ile-Ife: UPL Ltd., D. Ogunremi and E.K. Faluyi, (eds). *An Economic History of West Africa since 1750*, Ibadan: Rex Charles and Connel Publications.

The commercial system of Osun Division comprised trade and its aids inform of cowry as its currency, human portage as its transportation, dug holes and other secret places as its banks, personal houses as warehouses. It had its unique advertisement and was dominated by women. It was known for its simplicity and network of markets under the management of the kings, chiefs and other appointed representatives, such as *Iyaloja*.³ All these and other important features of the indigenous commercial system seriously felt the onslaught of the new extraneous commercial order in Osun Division.

This chapter discusses the British colonial economy in Osun Division with a view to analysing its effects on the Division's indigenous commercial activities. This, no doubt, will enhance our understanding of the performance of the Yoruba indigenous commercial sector in the colonial period.

The British Colonisation of Yorubaland

The earliest contact of the British with the interior of Yorubaland dated back to the 1840s, when the activities of their traders and Christian missionaries became noticeable in Badagry and Egbaland.⁴ From these two centres, the Missionaries made incursions into the hinterland of Yorubaland. Until the last decade of the 19th century, the activities of the British commercial firms and the missionaries were restricted to the coastal towns of Badagry and Lagos colony, which became the bridgehead for the British penetration of the interior of Yorubaland. The British gained a foothold in Yorubaland when they established their

3. T. Falola, 1984 "The Political Economy of a Pre-colonial African State: Ibadan, 1830-1900", Ile-Ife: UPL., p. 65.

4. J. F.A. Ajayi, and S.A. Akintoye, 1980, "Yorubaland in the Nineteenth Century", in, O. Ikime (ed) *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Ibadan: Heineman Educational Books PLC, p. .288.

consulate in Lagos in 1851. From then on, they continued to expand their influence in Yorubaland. Ten years after (in 1861), Lagos was declared a British colony and gradually began to bring all the surrounding areas of Lagos under the direct administration of the colonial power in Lagos.⁵ As in the case of Lagos in 1851, force of arm was employed in the British occupation of Ijebu in 1892 and Oyo in 1895.

The subjugation of Ibadan, Ijesa and Ekiti districts was relatively an easy one, since it came as an outcome of the 19th century Yoruba wars, particularly the Ekiti parapo-Kiriji war in which the British played the role of an arbiter in 1893.⁶ The British avowed aim of opening Yoruba hinterland to legitimate commerce in the 19th century accounted for the 1892 military expenditure in Ijebuland. The foregoing analysis, therefore, made the opening of trade routes through Yorubaland, and elimination of Ijebu's restriction of foreign traders to their frontier market expedient.

Compared to Lagos and Ijebu, subjugation of Ibadan, Ijesha and Ekiti was an easy one, but does not mean that the people willingly surrendered their sovereignty. Rather, British occupation came as a logical outcome of the 19th century Yoruba war, particularly the Ekiti Parapo *kiriji* war. In their bid to achieve their two aims of establishing a conducive atmosphere for the growth of import and export trade and acquiring territories overseas, the British saw the establishment of peace in the chaotic interior of Yorubaland as a necessity.⁷

For example, in 1894, Captain R.L. Bower set up a military garrison at the bank of River Otin, near Inisa town, for effective occupation of, and to provide security for Osun Division and the

5. J.F.A. Ajayi, and S.A. Akintoye, 1980, "Yorubaland in the Nineteenth Century" in, O. Ikime (ed) *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Ibadan: Heineman Educational Books PLC, p. 288.

6. O. Ikime, 1977, *The Fall of Nigeria: The British Conquest*, Ibadan: Heinemann Books PLC, p. 54.

7. N.A.I., Lagos Annual Report, 1894.

neighbouring Ekiti towns. Apart from his military hardware at the garrison, he was assisted by over 200 Hausa militia.⁸ While the British were mediating between the warring sides, they cleverly included in the various peace treaties signed in 1886, 1888 and 1893, clauses which gave them the virtual *dejure* control of Yorubaland, since they were later invoked by the British to intervene in Yoruba affairs and assault the sovereignty of the people.⁹

Following the effective occupation by the British, Yorubaland came, like other parts of Nigeria, under a British administrative superstructure which had the governor at the zenith of authority. Yorubaland was initially divided into six districts, each headed by a traveling commissioner and assisted by a detachment of the colonial police for the maintenance of *Pax Britannica* (peace of Britain). The central district, of which Osun Division was a part, had its headquarters at Ibadan and comprised the Ibadan, Oyo and Ile-Ife areas.

The present day Egbado was also constituted into the Western - District and the headquarters were based at Badagry, Imeko and Ilaro. The northwest district also had its headquarters in Ilesa, and Ado-Ekiti. Eastern district constituted by Owo, Idanre, Ondo, Akure and Okitipupa had its headquarters in Ode-Ondo. A district commissioner was also placed in charge of the Ijebu region. In addition to the recognition the British had for the 1812 Anglo-Egba treaty, the Railway commissioner, still functioned as the traveling commissioner. However, all these

8. S. Johnson, 1921, *The History of the Yorubas: From the Earliest to the Beginning of the British Protectorate*, Thetford: Lowe and Bryndone, p. 649.

9. J.A. Atanda, 1979, *The New Oyo Empire*, London: Longman Group Limited, p. 49.

administrative districts were reorganised into provinces in 1914 and the title of “Resident” was substituted for commissioner.¹⁰

Right from 1900, Osun Division was administered as a part of the general Yoruba protectorate. This was the period of the British consolidation of her hold on the Yoruba people through the provision of infrastructure that made the hinterland of Yorubaland an easy access to the European merchants and government officials. However, Osun Division formed part of what later became known as Ibadan Division (the northern districts of Ibadan Division) in the Oyo province established in 1914.

The actual birth of Osun Division was a product of the 1951 HLM Butler’s Commission, set up to recommend on how the frequent unrests among the Osun people, the Ibadan and the domineering *Alaafin* of Oyo could be stopped. The commission was also to be responsible for the co-ordination of government activities and the collection of taxes from Osun people who before then were paying tribute to the *Alaafin* of Oyo and the imperial army of Ibadan.¹¹ However, the commission reported in favour of the people in Osun districts and the resultant political entity that became known as Osun Division included the entire area of the present

10. A. Afolabi, 2010, “The Colonial Taxation Policy among Yoruba of Southwestern Nigeria and its Implications for Socio-Economic Development” in *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. 19, p.83.

Osun Division had been a part of the Ibadan administrative council created by Governor McCallum in 1897 and it also formed a part of Ibadan Native Administration when Governor MacGregor inaugurated the conciliar system in 1901. For detail on this, see J.A. Atanda, “Indirect Rule in Yorubaland” in, *Indirect Rule in Nigeria, Tarikh*, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1970, p. 20. Also, see O. Adejuyigbe, 1975, *Boundary Problems in Western Nigeria: A Geographical Analysis*, Ile-Ife, University Press Ltd. p. 29.

11. A. Ajayi, 2004, *The Development of Cash Crop Economy in Osun Division of Western Region, 1900-1960*, unpublished M.A. Research Project, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, p. 6.

day Osun State, excluding the Ife and Ijesa areas but including Ogbomoso which now forms part of the current Oyo State.¹²

Thus, Osun became a separate division on 12th July, 1951, with Osogbo as its capital. It comprised ten district councils.¹³ These included Ayedaade, Ede, Egbedore, Ejigbo, Ifelodun, Ikirun, Odo-Otin, Osogbo, Ogbomoso and Iwo.¹⁴ The last two were non-cooperating members, because they did not want to be carved out of Ibadan Division with other eight districts to form Osun Division. This had a serious implication for the development of the newly formed Osun Division. This is because the unsatisfactory situation in which Iwo and Ogbomoso found themselves affected the British administration of the division. Both Iwo and Ogbomoso declined from cooperating in the council apart from attending the appeal court and using the divisional prison on repayment. These districts have administrative officers of their own.¹⁵

For the purpose of election into the Western House of Assembly in 1956, Osun Division was further delimited into four zones as follows:

- A. Osun Central made up of: Osogbo, Ifon-Osun, Ilobu, Erin-Osun, Ilie, Oba-oke, Oba-ile, Ido-Osun, Ede, Awo, Ara and Iragberi.
- B. Osun North-East made up of: Eko-Ajala, Eko-Ende, Iba, Ikirun, Inisa, Ekosin, Igbaye, Ekusa, Ijabe, oyan, Okua, Otan, Igbajo, Irun, Aagba, Ororuwo, Obaagun, Iresi, Ada, Eripa, Iree and Iragbiji.

12. A. Ajayi, 2004, The Development of Cash Crop Economy in Osun Division of Western Region 1900-1960, unpublished M.A. Research Project, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife.

13. O. Adegbola, 1972, The Impact of Migration on the Rural Economy of Oshun Division of Western Nigeria, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, University of Ibadan, 1972, p. 6.

14. Osun State Government, 1992, *Osun State: State of the Living Spring, 1 year*, Osogbo: Macmillan Press Ltd. On Delimitation of Osun Division, see D.Z. Olupayimo, 2005, The Impact of Judicial Intervention on Chieftaincy Institution in Old Osun Division, 1946-1991, M.Phil Thesis, Department of History Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, p. 14

15. N.A.I. Osun Div 1/1 Annual Report on Osun Division, 1956.

C. Osun North-West made up of ogbomoso, Ejigbo, Isundunrin, Idewure, Masifa, Ife-Odan, Ola, Ajaawa, Iwata, Ilawo, Isoko, Oko, Iresapa and Iresadu.

D. Osun South made up of: Ikire, Apomu, Ago-Owu, Odeomu, Gbongan, Iwo, Ile-Igbo, Kuta, Tonkere, Ogbaagbaa and Ikonifin.¹⁶

However, in the British administration of Yorubaland, two distinctive systems were adopted. In the Lagos territory, which included the Island, Badagry district, Ikorodu and Epe, the crown colony system was adopted. People in this area were treated as “British subjects”, which implies that, they owed no allegiance to any indigenous authority, but the British crown exemplified by the Governor-in-council. On the other hand, the hinterland of Yorubaland fell under the British protectorate system of administration. Here, the inhabitants were just “British protected people”. The implication of this was that British law statutorily had no place, instead, the indigenous authorities held sway.¹⁷

Colonial Economy in Osun Division

The economy resulted from, and was governed by the needs and demands of the manufacturers of Britain and of the colonial government officials. The overall idea was that, colonies must be developed and be financially independent. Equally, revenue must be derived for the mother country (Great Britain).¹⁸ These external demands made the colonial

16. NAI. osun Div. 1/1 1476, Electin to Western House of Assembly: 1956 General Procedure. This delimitation was contained in the letters of the the Registration Officer, Osun South-East to the District Officer in Osogbo on the 11th Jauary, 1956 and that of the Divisional Adviser to the Provincial Adviser, Ibadan Province on the 13th, March 1956, p. 219.

17. S. Oyeweso and O. Oshin, 1998, “British Conquest and Administration of Yorubaland” in D. Ogunremi and B. Adediran, (eds), *Culture and Society in Yorubaland*, Ibadan: Rex Charles and Connel Publications, p. 45.

18. A. Afolabi, 2010, “The Colonial Taxation Policy among Yoruba of Southwestern Nigeria and its Implications for Socio-Economic Development” in *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. 19, p. 63.

economy to exhibit the features analysed below.

The need of primary crops by the European manufacturers at home, made the trading firms to pressurise the government to pursue the policy of its mass production. This accounted for the emphasis on production of primary products, which the economy was known for. This particular feature gave the economy a befitting name “export economy”, hence; it involved the encouragement of the production of traditional crops, such as cotton, palm produce and maize, which were found suitable as export crops on account of increase in their demand in Britain. New crops, such as cocoa, coffee, castor oil, and teak were introduced from tropical South America and the West Indies to further strengthen the export or commercial economy. Exotic food crops, such as cassava, Chinese yams and rice were also introduced. All these had far-reaching consequences on the agricultural sector of Yorubaland in the colonial period and beyond.¹⁹

To promote the production of these primary products, manufacturers in Britain formed different associations such as the British cotton-Growing Association, formed in 1902 by the British cotton manufacturers, to promote the cultivation of cotton in Yorubaland and other British colonies in Africa. Lever Brothers, the largest British soap manufacturing firm, promoted the production of palm kernels. Confectionery manufacturers and cocoa processing firms made cocoa cultivation attractive in Yorubaland as in other parts of Africa. Agricultural stations were set up in some parts of Yorubaland for the production of and study of cash crops like cocoa, cotton, groundnut, palm

19. N.A.I. Osun Div. 1/1 51/9 Annual Report on Ibadan Northern Districts, 1944, p. 377. Also, see J.A. Atanda, *An Introduction to Yoruba History*, Ibadan: University Press Ltd. 1980, p.60. and D.Z. Olupayimo, *Judicial Intervention in Inter-community Boundary Disputes in Southwestern Nigeria, 1946-1996*, Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife., p. 169.

tree, rubber etc. Fuel plantations were set up in Osogbo, Ede, Ejigbo, Iwo, Asejire and many other places, rice farm was established in Iragberi.²⁰ Through this, improved seeds and seedlings were produced and distributed to farmers in areas suitable for each crop.

The encouragement given to growers of cash crops was such that, no farmer or community in a cultivating area could afford to be exempted. To do such would have meant impoverishing themselves, since the economy of the colonial period was strongly tied to the production of cash crops or minerals for the fast growing European industries. In most cases, only crops with the best yield and least cost of production were grown in each area and research efforts were not directed at diversification.²¹ As a result of the foregoing, African countries relied on only a few export commodities. For example, major commodities in Yorubaland were palm produce, cotton before cocoa, tobacco and rubber were added later in the second decade of the 20th century.²²

Moreover, the reason for this policy was not unconnected with the aim of enabling the British colonial government to acquire at least one source of revenue, through indirect taxation of the commodities since the home government was not prepared to use her funds to develop the

20. N.A.I., Osun Div. 1/1 Annual Reports, 1956, p.39.

21. This is in line with the theory of comparative cost advantage, which states that, a country will specialise on the product it can produce better at a reduced cost in relation to other country, See T.A. Oyeniyi, 2005, *Microeconomic Theory and Applications, 3rd Edition*, Lagos: Cedar Publishers Nig. Ltd. This theory was used by O.O. Olubomehin to explain the trade relation between Britain and Nigeria, in his "Road Transportation and the Economy of South-western Nigeria, 1900-1920", in A. Oyebade, (ed) (2003) *The Foundation of Nigeria: Essays in Honour of Toyin Falola*, Trenton: Africa World Press Inc. p. 390. It was described as, Comparative Natural Advantage by Hayami Yujiro, cited in O.C Adesina, 1994, *Indigenous Participation in The Economy of Western Nigeria, 1900-1970*, Ph.D Thesis, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife.

22. A.I. Asiwaju, 1976, *Western Yorubaland Under European Rule, 1889- 1945: A Comparative Analysis of French and British Colonialism*, London: Longman Group Ltd. p. 169.

colonies.²³ But, it was soon realised that the British aim of easy exploitation of the resources that existed in Yorubaland could not be achieved without a corresponding development of transport system.

Transport

Indeed, as some transport economists have shown, improved transport and communication are indeed fundamental to all types of development, hence it constitutes the formative power of economic growth and the differentiating process.²⁴ The importance of these modern transport infrastructures lay in the need to quicken the pace of the transition from predominantly subsistent economy to modern exchange economy.²⁵ All these authenticate the fact that, British colonial government did not come to Nigeria for a tea party, but to trade and make profits. It therefore became a partner to expatriate companies through its construction of roads, railway lines and harbours to facilitate a conducive environment for the companies to operate.²⁶

Waterways

In the absence of roads and railways, the only way to pursue British policy of exploiting enormous quantities of produce still hidden in the hinterland was to make the existing waterways navigable for the launches, stern, wheelers, lighters, and generally large river craft of the

23. O.O.Olubomehin, 2003, "Road Transportation and the Economy of South-western Nigeria, 1900-1920" in A. Oyebade (ed) *The Foundation of Nigeria: Essays in Honour of Toyin Falola*, Trenton: AWP. Inc. p. 390.

24. O. Oshin , 1990, "Nigerian Railway under Stress 1912-45: A Study in Colonial Transport Planning and Management" in *ODU: New Series*, No. 37.January/July, p. 49.

25. S.A. Olanrewaju, 1987, "The Infrastructure of Exploitation: Transport, Monetary Changes, Banking, e.t.c." in Toyin Falola (ed) *Britain and Nigeria: Exploitation or Development?* London: Zed Books Ltd.

26. A. Afolabi, 2010, "The Colonial Taxation Policy among Yoruba of Southwestern Nigeria and its Implications for Socio-Economic Development" in *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. 19, p.72.

European traders. Two traditional limitations of inland water transportation in Yorubaland had been limited coverage and the seasonality of the rivers. Rivers and creeks leading from the coastal trading deports to the inland markets were often silted up and blocked by snags. To surmount this problem, Britain's immediate effort was the dredging of the rivers to render them navigable by river crafts drawing at least five feet of water on a year round basis, so as to open the river basins to direct exploitation by their traders.²⁷

Improved transportation system in Yorubaland was actually an initiative of the European merchants and a very important instrument they employed in achieving this was lobbying. Incessant pressure was applied on successive native administrations in Yorubaland, as in other parts of Nigeria, between 1885 and 1914 to improve the navigability of the coastal rivers. This pursuit was to enable the British merchants to realise substantial increases in the quantity of raw materials available for export from the forest of the hinterland.

The improved transportation system was equally necessary for administrative purpose to make the hinterland of Yorubaland accessible for the British administrative officers in the course of their duty.²⁸ The hope was that, it would make it convenient to send troops at once to Possible rebellious groups and ease administration tremendously.²⁹ The important roles of a good transportation system in the task of the British administrative officers at that time could therefore, not be over emphasised.

27. S.A. Olanrewaju, 1987, "The Infrastructure of Exploitation: Transport, Monetary Changes, Banking, e.t.c." in Toyin Falola (ed) *Britain and Nigeria: Exploitation or Development?* London: Zed Books Ltd p. 67.

28. M. Olaniyan, 1980, *Economic History of West Africa*, Akure: Olaniyan Publishing Company (Nig) Ltd. p. 80.

29. W. Oyemakinde, 1974, "Railway Construction and Operation in Nigeria, 1895-1911: Labour Problems and Socio-Economic Impact", in *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. 7, No. 2, June, p. 303.

Thus, Lagos Government carefully explored, dredged and mapped the coastal creeks and rivers of Lagos and Yorubaland. This made travel by large river-craft through the lagoon and creeks linking the Western Delta with Lagos possible by 1896. However, the influence of water transport was limited to the areas around river basins; this made the British government to expedite action on the possible alternatives.³⁰

Railway

The importance of this means of transportation to the British commercial motive in Yorubaland could be seen in the fact that European commercial community in Lagos had to wait for its construction before they could expand their operations into the hinterland. As a matter of fact, it was regarded as the practical answer to the problem of joining the Nigerian coast to its hinterland.³¹ The initiative for the construction of the railways came from the European merchants, particularly the section of the Liverpool and Manchester chambers of commerce. After a series of survey works between 1890 and 1895 on the proper courses and terminal for the railway lines, report favoured railway construction in Yorubaland. This initiative emanated from the success of the railway construction in the economic development of America and Europe as well as in the commercial exploitation of Asia in the 19th century.³²

By the 1890s, series of pressures for the construction of railways into the hinterland had gathered momentum. All these emanated from the

30. S.A. Olanrewaju, 1987, "The Infrastructure of Exploitation: Transport, Monetary Changes, Banking, e.t.c." in Toyin Falola (ed) *Britain and Nigeria: Exploitation or Development?* London: Zed Books Ltd p. 67.

31. W. Oyemakinde, 1974, "Railway Construction and Operation in Nigeria...p. 303. See also, A. Olukoju, 2003, "Subsidising the Merchants at the expense of the Administration" : Railway Tarif and Nigerian Maritime Trade in the 1920s", in A Oyebade, (ed), *The Foundation of Nigeria: Essays in Honour of Toyin Falola*, Trenton: Africa World Press Inc.p. 373.

32. M. Olaniyan, 1980, *Economic History of West Africa*, Akure: Olaniyan Publishing Company. p. 80.

European merchants' aim at exploiting the natural resources of West Africa, which could not be possible without having effective transport system stretching into the interior of Yorubaland. This made the need for transport in colonial Nigeria as in all economies, a derived one.³³ It should be pointed out that, the imperial policies were that before construction of railway could be approved, Africans themselves must show a desire for it. But subsequently, its constructions were made without the consent of the people.³⁴

Railway construction began in December 1895, with a line extending in a northeasterly direction from Lagos. It was initially planned for a wide area, but finance made it to be limited to Yorubaland. This was a time when there were no roads except those within the townships. Railway therefore became so prestigious that important Yoruba *Obas* like *Owa* of Ijeshaland wrote Governor Macgregor in 1901, entreating him to make the railway pass through his domain and boastfully promised in return to make his people plant whatever crops Lagos wanted for export.³⁵ By 1897, the line had reached Ota, Abeokuta in April, 1899 and Ibadan in December, 1899; a distance of about 193 kilometres from Lagos. The Lagos-Ibadan line was opened on 4th March, 1901. Within the next few years, the line had passed through Yoruba towns in Osun division like, Ede, Osogbo, Ikirun, Inisa and Okuku from where it

33. O. Oshin 1990, "Nigerian Railway under Stress 1912-45: A Study of Colonial Transport Planning and Management" in *Odu: New Series*, No. 37, January/July, p. 50.

34. See B. Awe and O. Albert, 1995, "Historical Development of Osogbo" in C.O. Adepegba, (ed) *Osogbo, Model of Growing African Towns*, Ibadan: Institute of African Studies. p. 11, for the reported of how Alaafin refused the construction of railway in his kingdom because of the likely adverse effect it would have on the gods and cultures of the land. Eventually, it was diverted to Osogbo.

35. N.A.I CSO 1/1 Vol.47 Confidential Report on the Oshogbo Extension of the Lagos Government Railway, 67/1904, enclosed in Lagos Governor to S. of S. No. 258 of 22 July, 1904.

proceeded to the North.³⁶ Scheme of railway operation in and outside Osun Division, extracted from Lagos-Jos thorough passage service is shown below.

Train Timings

Up (North bound)		Down (South bound)
Lagos (Iddo) dep.	12 noon Thursdays	Ilorin arr. 17.53 Monday
Lafenwa arr.	14.50	„ dep. 18.03
„ dep.	14.53	Offa arr. 19.30
Ibadan arr.	17.30	„ dep. 19.39
„ dep.	17.50	Osogbo arr. 20.50
Osogbo arr.	20.42	„ dep. 21.00
„ dep.	20.52	Ibadan arr. 23.42
Offa arr.	22.19	„ dep. 1.56 Tuesday
„ dep.	22.29	Lafenwa arr. 4.51
Ilorin arr.	23.52	„ dep. 4.56
„ dep.	00.03	Lagos (Iddo) arr. 7.51

Source: The Nigerian *Daily Times*, Lagos, Monday, February 5, 1945.

As envisaged by the British, Railway, which Crowder (1968) described as the major legacy of the economic policies of the colonial powers, contributed a great deal to the economic revolution that took place in Yorubaland, as in other parts of Africa.³⁷ According to Omosini, it had perhaps the greatest impact of any single innovation in transport brought into West Africa from Europe.³⁸ Railway stations and quarters began to attract population: Petty traders loitered around railway workers'

36. N.A.I.-CSO record Group 11-12 Vol.1.A Special list of records on the Nigerian Railway, p. III.

37. M. Crowder, 1968, *West Africa under Colonial Rule*, London: Hutchinson and Co. LTD. p. 273.

38. O. Omosini, 1971, "Railway Projects and British Attitude Towards the Development of West Africa, 1872-1903", in *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. V, No. 4, June, p. 507.

houses to sell foodstuffs and other necessities. Markets also grew around the stations. For example, Bower market (Oja Bower) was formerly opened in Inisa town on Wednesday 25th May, 1938 after series of interactions between the station manager, the Assistant District Officer in Osogbo, District Officer in Ibadan and the District crown rulers, such as, *Akirun* of Ikirun, *Olobagun* of Obagun and *Olokuku* of Okuku. These rulers were asked to appoint market officials to represent their interests in the market.³⁹ The market was meant to ensure adequate supply of cash and food crops from the hinterland to the coast in exchange for European manufactured goods.

New services developed to cater for the interests of these workers. In this category was palm wine tapping, undertaken by the Illa people as a result of its being more profitable to them than working on the railway.⁴⁰ Letters, telegrams, and goods were sent and received through the railway workers. Adjoining towns and villages also regulated their time with stations' clocks. These stations boomed with economic and social activities, and Christian missions made some of them avenues for spreading the gospel. Equally, European mercantile firms utilised them as strategic places to build their stores. All these made the railway stations and quarters to develop into commercial centres for neighbouring towns and villages with station masters playing the role of economic advisers to the village and town heads.⁴¹

39. N.A.I., Osun Div. 1/1 107 Railway Department Matters, p.122. Baale of Inisa and Iba were invited.

40. W. Oyemakinde, 1974, "Railway Construction and Operation in Nigeria, 1895-1911: Labour Problems and Socio-Economic Impact" in *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. 7, No. 2 June, p. 323.

41. N.A.I. Osun Div. 1/1 107 Railway Department Matters, p. 122. Also, see W. Oyemakinde, "Railway Construction and and Operation in Nigeria, 1895-1911: Labour Problems and Socio-Economic Impact", p. 323.

Examples of towns and villages, which developed into big urban centres in Osun Division were Osogbo, Ede, Iwo, Ikirun and Inisa. These towns grew into railway buying stations as shown in the Palm Kernel Export Production Programme of 1942-43 below.

Export Production Programme (Palm Kernel) 1942-43

(Annual Maximum Potential Production allocated to each centre)

BY RAIL ABEOKUTA-IBADAN DISTRICTS:

BUYING CENTRES	ALLOCATION (TONS)
Odo-Oba	300
Iwo	1,000
Ile-Igbo	650
Ede	5,200
Osogbo	7,400
Ikirun	3,250
Inisa	150
Okuku	800

Source: N.A.I., CSO26:39361. “Export Production Programme (Palm Produce) 1942-43”. Issued in March 4, 1942.

Thus, railway enhanced their prestige vis-à-vis Ogbomoso, Ejigbo and other towns in the division which were quite remote from the railway.⁴² It should be pointed out that, in the old Oyo Empire and throughout the nineteenth century, these towns were not more than insignificant hind towns of Yorubaland. But, they quickly emerged into pre-eminence with

42. D. Ogunremi, 1978, “The Nigerian Motor Transport Union Strike of 1937”, in *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. 9, No. 2, June, 1978, p. 132.

the advent of the railway. The introduction of railway into Yorubaland, therefore, made towns to emerge where they did not exist before, while the already existing but very small towns expanded and developed.

In Iwo district, for example, railway line was so constructed that no traditional town lies on it. The trio of Iwo, Ile-Igbo and Kuta are six, three and a half and three miles respectively away from the rail line. In stead, new settlements such as, Yawu, Iwo, Kuta and Ile-Igbo stations developed along the line. These settlements were occupied largely by traders, produce buyers, railway staff and teachers. The presence of a relatively large number of non-farm people equally created markets for food crops.⁴³

Also, as soon as Osogbo, the headquarters of the division, was opened up for further development by railway line in 1905,⁴⁴ there was a massive construction of roads that linked the town with other major urban centres such as: Ibadan, Ife, Iwo, Ede, Ilesa and Ikirun. This paved the way for the arrival of large scale European trading companies like, the United African Company (U.A.C.), G.B. Ollivant, A.J. Tangalakis, John Holt among others and a number of Lebanese and Indian traders. Thus, the town became a trading and distribution centre for imported goods which attracted people from within and its immediate environment. As a

43. O. Adegbola , 1972, *The Impact of Migration on the Rural Economy of Oshun Division of Western Nigeria*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, University of Ibadan, p.14.

44. L. Egunjobi, 1995, "Osogbo: Aspects of Urbanisation, Physical Planning and Development" in C.O. Adepegba (ed) *Osogbo: Model of Growing African Towns*, Ibadan: Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, p. 17.

matter of fact, her population grew considerably as indicated in the table below.

Population Growth of Osogbo (1911-1963) (Table 1)

Year	Population	Percentage increase
1911	59,821	—
1921	76,576	28%
1931	98,024	28%
1952	164,639	68%
1963	251,674	53%

Source: Federal Office of Statistics (1980)

Railway workers also created credit through chains of dealing, which they had initiated by buying with promises to pay on their payday. This often made people to promise one another in turns and thereby making a chain of credits to develop.⁴⁵

Apart from its provision of opportunity for waged labour, railway also resulted into a transport revolution and stimulated the production of marketable commodities, which in return equipped people with the necessary purchasing power for the consumption of local and foreign goods.⁴⁶ Indeed, railway helped in no small measure in the commercialisation of the Yoruba economy.

Roads

Between 1906 and 1940, the development of road construction in Yorubaland featured prominently. Before the arrival of the Europeans on

45. W. Oyemakinde, 1974, "Railway Construction and Operation in Nigeria, 1895-1911: Labour Problems and Socio-Economic Impact" in *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. 7, No. 2 June, p. 323.

46. Osun Div. 1/1 51/8 Ogbomoso Matters, p. 272.

the coast, there was no need for roads, as wheeled traffic appeared to have been unknown. All that were necessary for daily transactions of business were tracks and bush paths. Road construction and its concomitant motor transportation resulted into a greater economic revolution than that of the railways. This is because, motor vehicles as means of transportation have a range which far exceeds that covered by the trains. The early development of road transportation in Yorubaland was due to the need of finding solution to transportation system in a place where tsetse fly made the use of animals of burden impossible.⁴⁷ Thus, possibility of motor transport served as an early stimulus to the construction of roads.

Initially, the construction of roads started from the necessity to build feeder roads for the railways. Roads were designed to provide passengers and cargoes for the newly constructed railway lines. There was also the need to link the interior of Yorubaland with the coast as a way of opening up Yorubaland for economic development. As a matter of fact, the first motorable road in Yorubaland and the entire Nigeria was built in 1906 from Ibadan to Oyo and it was linked to the railways by a railway operated road transport service. After this, motor road services were made available to the public from Ibadan, Osogbo, Ilesa, Ede and Iwo.⁴⁸

In Osun division, most colonial roads were constructed through free or voluntary rather than wage labour. Whenever money was provided

47. S.A. Olanrewaju, 1987, "The Infrastructure of Exploitation: Transport, Monetary Changes, Banking, e.t.c." in Toyin Falola (ed) *Britain and Nigeria: Exploitation or Development?* London: Zed Books Ltd p. 70.

48. O.C. Adesina, and A. Olorunfemi, 1998, "The Economy of Western Nigeria, 1900-1980" in D. Ogunremi and B. Adediran (eds) *Culture and Society in Yorubaland*, Ibadan: Rex Charles and Connel Publication, 1998, p. 129. Also, see Ogunjumo, A. 1985, "The Political Economy of Transportation Investment in Nigeria, 1884-1945", *Ife Social Sciences Review*, Vol. 8, No. 1 and 2, pp. 76-101.

by the colonial government, it was to complement the effort of the people, hence the fund was usually grossly inadequate. Examples of this abound in the construction of roads like: Iwo-Ejigbo road, Iwo-Ikire road and many others.⁴⁹ Also, several meetings were held by Osun Divisional Finance Committee on how to spend £15,000 voted by the Regional Government for the improvement of the existing roads and the construction of new ones in Osun Division.⁵⁰ This was because, the money was grossly inadequate.

The foregoing, therefore, made road construction to depend on *covee* labour throughout the colonial period. Sections of the roads were assigned to labourers from neighbouring villages.⁵¹ Also, while the labourers may be forced in some other parts of Yorubaland as some authors claimed,⁵² Messers Simeon Fakunle and Jimoh Afolabi who were among the labourers that constructed Ikirun-Ofa road expressed how enthusiastic they were about the work, because their villages were being opened up.⁵³ Such was a period when accessibility to motor transport was regarded by the various communities as an important index of progress in the new era.

Demand for road, therefore, became a factor in the native administration politics. And when the administration, invariably for

49. N.A.I., Osun Div. 1/5 OG. 192 Iwo-Ejigbo Road.

50. Osun Div 1/1 1004 Vol.II, Feeder Road Grants, p. 22.

51. Oral interviews with, Mr. Simeon Fakunle, a native of Inisa in Odo-Otin Local Government, 87 years and Jimoh Afolabi, a native of Ila-Odo in Odo-Otin Local Government, 85 years (24/06/2011). The two of them are migrant farmers who are now based in Odigbo, in Odigbo Local Government of Ondo State. They provided the voluntary labour needed for the construction of the road that passed through their villages on Osogbo –Ofa road. Equally, see A.I. Asiwaju, *Western Yorubaland Under European Rule, 1889-1945: A Comparative Analysis of French and British Colonialism*, London: Longman Group Limited, p. 161. Osun Division Annual Reports of 1941, p. 64, equally attested to the above.

52. J.A. Atanda, 1979, *The New Oyo Empire*, London: Longman Group, p. 217 and A.I. Asiwaju, 1976, *Western Yorubaland Under European Rule, 1889-1945: A Comparative Analysis of French and British Colonialism*, p.161.

53. Oral interview, Mr. Simeon Fakunle and Jimoh Afolabi who are natives of Odo-Otin Local Government.

financial reasons, could not meet the insatiable demands for road construction, as it was always the case, demanding communities themselves undertook the works.⁵⁴ In this regard, no sacrifice was considered too great to construct roads capable of carrying motor traffic for villages which were in dire need of them.⁵⁵ The great zeal and enthusiasm with which the people of Osun Division participated in road construction was no doubt, an indication of the fact that, they regarded it as a paramount amenity.⁵⁶ On the other hand, the British colonial government placed greater emphasis on roads that led to large palm produce and cocoa growing areas.⁵⁷ Thus, approvals of road construction were usually granted with the hope that such roads would lead to increase in the supply of cash crops. This was the case in the construction of Ara-Ojo and many other roads in the division.⁵⁸

Road construction and maintenance were the responsibilities of the Public Works Department (PWD), established by the central government in 1896. This department co-operated with various native authorities in building major roads in Yorubaland. Majority of these roads were untarred, but they were adequate for the limited number of vehicles available for carrying goods and passengers. Most of these roads came

54. N.A.I. Osun Div. 1/1 1109/4- Touring Note on Ede District 17th- 18th January 1949, p.6.

55. A.I. Asiwaju, 1976, *Western Yorubaland Under European Rule 1889-1945: A comparative Analysis of French and British Colonialism*, London: Longman Group, p. 161.

56. N.A.I, Osun Div. 1/1 1109/4 Touring Notes on Ede District. Jan. 1949. p. 6.

57. See Osun Div 1/5 OG.192 Iwo-Ejigbo road, where production of cash crop became a strong reference point in the request for roads construction. Here the petition of Ifeodan people was presented by Elejigbo of Ejigbo to the District officer in July, 1949. The people needed the nine miles road to be constructed from Bode on Iwo-Ejigbo road in order to ease the conveyance of cocoa and palm Kernel that the place was known for.

58. N.A.I, Osun Div. 1/1 51/9 Annual Report, 1944. p.332. Also in 1905, Governor Egerton argued for the construction of a road between, Osogbo, Ilesa, and Ekiti claiming that, “the country was rich and was expected to export a considerable amount of corn and cotton”, see O.O. Olubomehin, 2003, “Road Transportation and the Economy of South-western Nigeria 1900-1920” in A. Oyeade (ed) *The Foundation of Nigeria: Essays in Honour of Toyin Falola*, Trenton: Africa World Press. Inc. p. 396.

into being by widening and straightening the bush paths and tracks with the use of unskilled village labour generally under the supervision of government officials. As in the case of railways, majority of the roads were built in Yorubaland after preliminary survey. This was the case in the construction of the Lagos-Abeokuta road, Iwo-Ejigbo road, Okuku-Oyan, among other roads.⁵⁹

The colonial government designed the construction of trunk roads to run horizontally across the country so as to link the regional capitals and facilitate the movement of goods and services. From 1906, construction of roads continued and before the interruption by the First World War in 1914, a considerable number of them had been built. For example, Osogbo-Ilesa road was constructed in 1911, Osogbo-Ogbomoso road 1912, Osogbo-Ede road 1913.⁶⁰ This trend in road construction was interrupted in 1914 by the First World War which brought about a general reduction in revenue. While the government had little to spend on road construction, the war also brought about a fall in the income of motor transport operators.⁶¹

However, road construction continued in 1922 with renewed energy. This is because, Europe faced post war problem of finding raw materials to get her industries back to operation as in the pre-war period.⁶² At the end of the Second World War, both regional and local government authorities considerably improved roads in Osun Division by providing more mileage of improved, all-weather roads and by constructing several

59. N.A.I. Osun Div 1/1 51/9 Annual Reports on Ibadan Northern Division 1943. Also, M. Olaniyan, *Economic History of West Africa*, Akure: Olaniyan Publishing Company. p. 86.

60. N.A.I., Ibadan Div. 1/1 Vol. 1, 1253 Osogbo District.

61. O.O. Olubomehin, 2003, "Road Transportation and the Economy of South-Western Nigeria, 1900-1920", in A. Oyeade, (ed), *The Foundation of Nigeria: Essays in Honour of Toyin Falola*, Trenton: Africa World Press Inc. p. 398.

62. O.O. Olubomehin, 2003, "Road Transportation and the Economy of South-Western Nigeria, 1900-1920", in A. Oyeade, (ed), *The Foundation of Nigeria: Essays in Honour of Toyin Falola*, Trenton: Africa World Press Inc.

thousands of additional miles of access roads. This has been an important factor in encouraging the production of export and food crops and their onward movement to their places of need. In spite of all these efforts, by the 1950s, when colonisation was nearing its end, a considerable part of Yorubaland was still in need of good roads.⁶³

However, the available roads as at 1920 were utilized by the Railway Transport Service and a few indigenous transport operators. Prominent among the private transport operators was W.A. Dawodu of Lagos. Apart from being a dealer and importer, he had vehicles which he used for transport. By 1920, when he extended his mechanic shop to Osogbo, he was not only the largest vehicle importer in Nigeria, but also a builder of motor lorries in the country. At Osogbo, he employed fifty men in his mechanic workshop and had a service of two-ton trucks.⁶⁴ He was later joined in the transport service by others like Salami Agbaje of Ibadan, who also had a motor transport company in Osogbo by 1927, Jacob Oparinde, who became the President of the Nigerian Motor Transport Union, Osogbo branch, Bokin and his brother, Adeleke Transports Service, Oloke Transports Service, and a host of others. Although Armels Transport Service also carried passengers, it specialised in transporting mails to the eastern part of the country.⁶⁵

63. M. Olaniyan, 1980, *Economic History of West Africa*, Akure: Olaniyan Publishing Company. p. 87.

64. O.O. Olubomehin, 2003, "Road Transportation and the Economy of South-Western Nigeria, 1900-1920", in A. Oyebade, (ed), *The Foundation of Nigeria: Essays in Honour of Toyin Falola*, Trenton: Africa World Press Inc.p. 396. See also O.T. Asabi, (2004). *The Colonial Administration of Osogbo, 1894-1960*. Unpublished B.A. Long Essay in the Department of History, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, p. 37. Also, Olaniyi's claim that, entrepreneurs were among the first set of people to import and operate commercial motor vehicles confirms W.A. Dawodu's prominence in this regards. See R.O. Olaniyi, "Chief D.O. Sanyaolu 1896-1960: A Yoruba Merchant Prince in Metropolitan Kano", in *Journal of French Institute for Research in Africa*, Vol. 1 2005, p. 132.

65. Oral interview with, Mr. John Afolabi Oparinde, Oparinde's house, Osogbo, 81 years, 06/12/2012. and Mr. Victor Taiwo Babarinlo, 39, Shittu street, Oke Onitea, Osogbo, 72 years, 04/08/2012. According to them, Armels was a Lebanese transport company.

Construction of roads had tremendous effects on the internal trade of Yorubaland. Road transport was generally cheaper than railways and was able to provide door-to-door services which obviated the necessity for loading and unloading at stations. It, therefore, made it easy for commodities of the country districts to be easily transported to the coast for export and this further encouraged internal production of cash crops.⁶⁶ Availability of roads also enhanced distribution of European merchandise in the interior of Yorubaland. It had a considerable effect on both internal and external trade.⁶⁷

Currency

A very important feature and of course, an aid to European commercial activities in Yorubaland was the newly introduced general-purpose currency to replace the cowry.⁶⁸ In fact, money was a necessary condition for meaningful trade in a country. By the time the British effectively occupied Yorubaland in 1900, cowry was the most popular currency in use. Hence, it superseded other forms of currency such as slaves, gold, strips of cloth, copper, silver, and iron rods.

However, obstacles to European trade in Yorubaland were removed through the introduction and the gradual acceptance of the European currency. To the British, control of the monetary system of the colony was a necessity in order to enhance the exploitation of

66. A. Afolabi, 2010, "The Colonial Taxation Policy among Yoruba of Southwestern Nigeria and its Implications for Socio-Economic Development" in *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. 19, p.79.

67. O.O. Olubomehin, 2003, "Road Transportation and the Economy of South-Western Nigeria 1900-1920", in A. Oyebade, (ed), *The Foundation of Nigeria: Essays in Honour of Toyin Falola*, Trenton: Africa World Press Inc.p. 398. He expressed it that , as importers of European manufactured goods could reach wider market in the hinterland, so were foodstuffs, like yam cocoyam and vegetables could reach distant markets.

68. T. Falola, 1984, *The Political Economy of a Pre-Colonial African State: Ibadan, 1830-1900*, Ile-Ife: University Press Ltd. p. 165.

Yorubaland. The first step taken by the British in this regard was the demonetisation of the local currencies by assuming that currency was non-existent in the country before their arrival. Thus, they spoke glibly of replacing “barter” with coin as they referred to local currencies as “trade goods” rather than currencies. However, the British insisted that all payments be made in British currency.⁶⁹

To drive cowry out of circulation, British coins of different denominations were introduced to replace it. Attempts were also made to restrict the supply of the shell currency in order to give new subsidiary coinage a fighting chance of replacing it. This was done by prohibiting all further importation of cowry through the importation of cowry prohibition proclamation, No. 6 of 1904. Following the reconciliation of the British currency with the local cowry, the continued use of cowry as currency was barely tolerated and could be terminated by law at any time by the high commissioner, who had been empowered to make rules regulating, restricting or prohibiting the use of cowries as currency within the southern protectorate from time to time.⁷⁰

Also, as a part of colonial currency changes during the First World War, paper money was introduced in denominations of £1, 10s, 2s. and 1s in 1916.⁷¹ However, in spite of the considerable local prejudices against it, the new currency later became widely accepted as a medium of exchange, although in the £1 and 10s denominations only.⁷² These, premeditated

69. A.G. Hopkins, 1966, “Currency Revolution in South-West Nigeria in the late Nineteenth Century”, in, *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. III, No. 3, December, p. 473.

70. A.A. Lawal, 1996, “Transition from the Traditional to Modern Currency System in West Africa”, in, G.O. Ogunremi, and E.K. Faluyi, (eds) *An Economic History of West Africa Since 1750*, Ibadan: Rex Charles and Connel Publications, p. 169.

71. N.A.I., NL/D “Governor Hugh Clifford’s Address to Legislative Council” Lagos, December 20, 1920, p. 107.

72. A. Olukoju, 2002, “Currency Counterfeiting in Colonial Nigeria”, in G.O. Oguntomisin, and Ademola, S (eds) *Readings in Nigerian History an Culture*, Ibadan: Hope Publications, p. 155.

steps put the control of money supply in the colony into the hands of the British. It also enhanced the establishment of a uniform and generally acceptable currency system in Yorubaland and the rest parts of Nigeria. It was a system which enhanced British manipulation of the colonial monetary system to her economic advantage.

Banking

Complementary to this monetary system was the colonial banking system. Under the existing circumstance at the beginning of the twentieth century, there was no real local demand for a bank in the indigenous economy of Yorubaland. However, since the banks were foreign owned, they were predominantly concerned with meeting the needs of expatriate government and business enterprises. These banks did nothing to develop local entrepreneurship, since they provided few or no loans and advances to the local people. Only the expatriates were the borrowers acceptable to the banks. Thus, African traders experienced great difficulty in obtaining financial assistance due to lack of confidence by the banks in their credit worthiness.⁷³

The first bank in this regard was the African Banking Corporation, established in 1891 in Lagos where European trading firms were formerly localised before their subsequent extension into the hinterland of Yorubaland. Apart from the objectives of provision of banking services for the British trading enterprises and the British colonial administrations, the bank was to assist in the extension of the use of British currency in the country. As opposed to the expectation of Nigerians that, the bank

73.T. Falola and A.Adebayo, 2000, *Culture, Politics, and Money Among the Yoruba*, New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, p. 140

would assist in financing of trading activities, it was not helpful for the expansion of the scope of their business activities.⁷⁴

However, their hope was dashed as they soon discovered that the bank had monopolized the importation of currency from the Crown Agents in London. Mr. George Neville, the Lagos agent of the bank and the local agent of Elder Dempster Shipping Lines, was seen as the brain behind the discrimination against Africans in the trade competition contrary to the tenets of the British economic philosophy of free market operation of the period. This resulted into protests by the African traders until the abrogation of African Banking Corporation and the coming of a branch of the Bank of British West Africa in 1894.⁷⁵

The Bank of British West Africa was owned by Alfred Jones, a shipping magnate whose shipping line had monopolised the shipping trade of British West Africa. Thus, its coming did not mitigate African problems. However, since its inception in 1894, the bank enjoyed the patronage of the government of Lagos and the monopoly of all banking business in the colony (Yorubaland) until the late 1920s and the early 1930s, when Nigerians began to make effort to break its monopoly, especially in the Yoruba area. Thus, African banks began to feature from the 1930s with the aim of liberalising credit for African businessmen and women and actualising indigenous economic growth and progress.⁷⁶

This became necessary in order to enable African businessmen meet up with European and Lebanese businessmen who had gone ahead to set up a high standard in both local and international trade before the

74. D.O. Chukwu, 2010, "The Economic Impact of Pioneer Indigenous Banks in Colonial Nigeria, 1920-1960", in *Journal of The Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol.19, p. 94.

75. D.O. Chukwu, 2010, "The Economic Impact of Pioneer Indigenous Banks in Colonial Nigeria, 1920-1960", in *Journal of The Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol.19,

76. J.O. Aluko, 1993, *Osomalo: The Early Exploits of the Entrepreneur*, Ibadan: African Books builders Ltd. p. 45-46.

period. The foregoing was premised on the fact that economic freedom of any nation depends on its sound banking operation. As a matter of fact, whoever controls the banking system of any nation normally controls the currency and economy of that country.⁷⁷

Impact of the New Economic Orientation on Osun Division

The new economic order attributable to the colonial period no doubt revolutionised the commercial sector of Osun Division. Although cash crops were the targets of the European trading firms, trade in food crops and other indigenous merchandise witnessed a tremendous expansion. This had a positive impact on the standard of living of the people in the division. Apart from the employment opportunities that the new economic orientation generated, people's purchasing power was improved. Hence, colonial demands boosted indigenous production. At about this period, available records showed that trade in local articles thrived over and above cash crops. For example, it was an excellent period for farm crops like kolanut, yam and fruits in which the division was known. Kolanut trade from Osogbo, Ede, Ikirun and Odo-Otin to the North also thrived.⁷⁸

This would not have been possible without the railway, which had traversed Osun Division since the first decade of the twentieth century. The division had four railway stations in: Iwo, Ede, Osogbo, and Ikirun respectively. These towns became commercial centres out of which Osogbo was the most important. As mentioned earlier, the railway necessitated the construction of feeder roads. This development, as well as the roads constructed to link the different districts with the divisional

77. N. Azikiwe, 1961, An Address at the Opening of the Ogui Road Branch of the ACB (Enugu), 30th April, 1959, cited in Azikiwe., *Zik: A Selection from the Speeches of Nnamdi Azikiwe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p.231.

78. N.A.I., Osun Div 1/1 51/9 Annual Reports on Northern Districts of Ibadan Division, 1941.

headquarters, provided a serene environment for increasing agricultural specialization, which must have paid dividends in term of rising productivity that enhanced the development of both local and international trade in the division.⁷⁹ As a matter of fact, Osun Division was placed at a great advantage in relation to other neighbouring divisions as shown in the data below:

Divisions	Cocoa	Palm Kernels
Osun Division	5,300 tons	9,905 tons
Ilesa ,,	2,822 ,,	5,665 ,,
Ife ,,	6,786 ,,	4,401 ,,

Source: Letter of Secretary of Osun Divisional Council to the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Local Government, Western Region of Nigeria, Ibadan. 8/10/1954. (N.A.I., Osun Div 1/1 1004/II Town and district roads Osogbo District, p. 21.)

The figures given for Osun Division exclude produce from Iwo and Ogbomoso Districts, which were large produce areas. If both districts are added to the figures above, produce from Osun Division will no doubt double those of Ife and Ilesa Divisions.⁸⁰

In fact, there was a record of the rush for the production of yam in Odo-Otin District to be supplied to the military efforts and Lagos population in 1944. In the whole of the Northern districts of Ibadan Division, Odo-Otin was regarded as the largest supplier of yam to Lagos.⁸¹ In order to facilitate improved production, Chinese yam was introduced to Osogbo and Ikirun Districts in 1944 and 1945. Some

79. J.A. Atanda, 1979, *The New Oyo Empire*, London: Longman Group Ltd. p. 232.

80. N.A.I., Osun Div 1/1 1004/II Town and district roads Osogbo District, 1954, p. 21.

81. N.A.I. Osun Div. 1/1 51/9 Annual Report on Northern Districts of Ibadan Division, 1944, p. 329.

Nigerian Railway Corporation Osogbo



Source: Field Work in Osogbo 17/10/2012

MAN

farmers showed interest in it. Although the yam was palatable, it was very small and could not be stored for long after harvest.⁸²

As a matter of fact, the improved transportation equally facilitated the movement of valuable products from Osun Division of Yorubaland to Lagos, from where they were shipped to Britain and a few other European countries. For instance, railway shipment of yams from Osogbo, Ede and Ikirun stations showed that between May and August of 1942, 1,456 tons had been conveyed out of the area.⁸³

As in other parts of Yorubaland, the foregoing economic opportunities created were quickly utilised by the trading companies whose direction of expansion depended initially on availability of palm produce, cocoa and adequate means of transportation. Osogbo, the capital, was found most suitable in the division for European commercial expansion into the hinterland. Hence, it served as a hub for the neighbouring Ife-Ijesa and Ondo Divisions. In their pursuit of the promotion of peaceful commerce in the hinterland of Yorubaland, seven of the firms had established centres at Osogbo by 1909.⁸⁴ These were Paterson and Zochonis, G.L. Gaiser, W. B. MacIver & Co., John Holt, the Lagos Stores, Witt & Bush and Miller Brothers. Others were G.B. Ollivant, A.J. Tangalakis, Gottschalk and United African Company (U.A.C.) which was formed through the merger initiated by the Lever Brothers. These firms dominated trade in the division from 1920s.

82. N.A.I. Osun Div. 1/1 51/10 Annual Report on Northern Districts of Ibadan Division, 1945, p. 377.

83. N.A.I. Osun Div. 1/1 51/9 Annual Report on Northern Districts of Ibadan Division, 1942, p. 377.

84. A. Olorunfemi, 1972, *The Export Trade of South-Western Nigeria, 1900-1950: A Study in the Economic Development of the Yoruba Country*. Unpublished M.Phil Thesis, University of Ife, Ile-Ife, 1972. p. 29.

SCOA Plc, Osogbo



Source: Field Work in Osogbo 17/10/2012

UAC PLC Osogbo



Source: Field Work in Osogbo 17/10/2012

PZ Plc, Osogbo



Source: Field Work in Osogbo 17/10/2012

MDS Plc Osogbo



Source: Field Work in Osogbo 17/10/2012

John Holt Plc, Osogbo



Source: Field Work in Osogbo 17/10/2012

G.B. Ollivant Plc, Osogbo



Source: Field Work in Osogbo 17/10/2012

AJ Tangalakis Plc, Osogbo



Source: Field Work in Osogbo 17/10/2012

BCGA Plc and UAC Plc Osogbo



Source: Field Work in Osogbo 17/10/2012

v

British Bank of West Africa, Osogbo



Source: Field Work in Osogbo 17/10/2012



MDS Street in Osogbo



Source: Field Work in Osogbo 17/10/2012

Most of these companies had their Nigerian headquarters in Lagos.⁸⁵

Their main concern was export crops among which cocoa, cotton and palm produce were of high demand. This is a follow-up on the development in Britain where the end of the Great Depression of the late nineteenth century had led to a vigorous revival of industries.⁸⁶ In return, they sold imported articles such as textiles, salt, drinks, beads, kerosene, iron sheet and cutleries. The available statistics on the volume of this import and export trade have only treated Osun division as a part of the larger Oyo province.⁸⁷ But there can be no doubt that import and export trades were considerable in the division during the period under study.

The arrival of the European trading firms and their agents in Yoruba towns as a follow-up on the railway expansion into the interior facilitated the transfer of produce to the coast. In this category, palm produce had the greatest percentage as indicated below.

85. L. Egunjobi, 1995, "Osogbo: Aspects of Urbanisation, Physical Planning and Development", in C.O.Adepegba (ed) *Osogbo: Model of Growing African Towns*, Ibadan: Institute of African Studies, p. 17.

86. A. E. Mudson, 1959, "The Great Depression in Britain, 1873-1896: A Re-appraisal", *Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 19, No. 2, June, pp. 199-228.

87. B. Awe and O. Albert, 1995, "Historical Development of Osogbo", in C.O.Adepegba (ed) *Osogbo: Model of Growing African Towns*, Ibadan: Institute of African Studies, p. 7.

Palm Produce Export, 1906-1910 (Western Province) Lagos (Table 2)

	PALM OIL		PALM KERNEL		COMBINED VALUE AS % OF TOTAL EXPORT
	TONS	VALUE(£)	TONS	VALUE(£)	
1906	10,271	198,676	48,341	529,282	71.0
1907	12,829	285,751	57,505	729,138	74.6
1908	12,446	221,247	52,899	503,284	74.0
1909	17,004	305,646	67,817	775,252	75.4
1910	18,420	442,086	79,157	1176,186	78.5

Source: Southern Nigeria Annual Report, 1910

As a matter of fact, it should be pointed out that the above estimate did not represent the volume of production, because, a greater proportion of what was produced was consumed locally, due to the fact that palm oil was an important item of the people's diet. Palm kernel showed a greater percentage because, not much of the people's output was consumed locally.⁸⁸

Equally important in the trade was cotton, this was sequel to a halt in the rubber boom as a result of the embargo placed on rubber tapping in most of the producing districts in 1900. Improved cotton seeds were distributed from time to time, because Europeans would not buy native

88. A. Olorunfemi, 1972, *The Export Trade of South-Western Nigeria 1900-1950: A Study in the Economic Development of the Yoruba Country*. Unpublished M.Phil Thesis, University of Ife, Ile-Ife, 1972, p. 33.

seed. A problem that was peculiar to this crop was Pink Boll Worm, which did serious damage to cotton in the 1940s and reduced output by 50%.⁸⁹ However, in spite of the great attention it received by Government and the agents of the British Cotton Growing Association, it was practically of secondary importance to the palm produce trade, especially in the forest zones of Osun Division.

The upward trend both in volume and prices of these produce up to the outbreak of the First World War resulted from the competition among various European merchant firms who bought the produce in Lagos. The largest consumer of palm oil was Britain, while the bulk of the palm kernel went to Germany. On the other hand, European traders accused African producers and traders of adding kernel shells to bags of kernel, soaking bags of kernel in water to increase their weight and nailing hanks of wood inside palm oil casks in order to increase their capacity. In spite of these claims, the competition became so keen that it culminated into what became known as “mad” competition, a situation in which some firms bought produce regardless of its standard. As a follow up on the foregoing, collection of palm kernels which had fallen off the palm trees itself became an enterprising business for women and children.⁹⁰

This trend continued until the outbreak of the First World War, which further enhanced the value of palm kernel. This was because Britain realised the advantage of using the glycerin content of palm kernels in the manufacture of ammunition and explosive for the war. Thus, it ceased from being the monopoly of the soap boilers and chandlers or the margarine producers. Up till 1913, ninety percent of palm kernels went to German firms who were found almost everywhere

89. N.A.I., Osun Div. 62 Vol.II Cotton.p. 251.

90. A. Olorunfemi, 1972, *The Export Trade of South-Western Nigeria 1900-1950: A Study in the Economic Development of the Yoruba Country*. Unpublished M.Phil Thesis, University of Ife, Ile-Ife, 1972, p. 35.

in the main centres of the Yoruba country, while most British firms were based in Lagos.⁹¹

Germany was able to secure this strong position in the kernel trade and many other important items of both import and export trades, because her trade was more enterprising and more industrious than their British counterparts. They were helped, among other factors, by their avowed aim at creating and fostering a large overseas trade, cheapness and better quality of their imported merchandise, and above all, readiness of their traders to adapt themselves to the requirements and humours of purchasers, to listen to their complaints, give them what they wanted and constantly asked for suggestions. With all these, Germany was able to monopolise palm kernel trade until February, 1915, when her great market were closed by the British Government, under the “trading with the enemy (prohibition) Act” of August, 1914.⁹²

The decade following the First World War, precisely 1919-1929, witnessed a general business boom in which the prices of agricultural commodities increased as a result of expansion in both their demand and supply.⁹³ However, this was short-lived as the succeeding years ushered in global economic depression which severely threatened the viability of the colonial state in Nigeria. As the economic depression worsened, the situation degenerated to the extent that farmers thought it was not worth their while to harvest their crops for sale. This is because they considered the labour that would be expended on the harvest and sales of the products in dull market that will fetch them minimum financial returns as a great loss.⁹⁴ In spite of this, the subject people had to buy the colonial

91. N.A.I., Lagos Annual Reports 1902.

92. Elder Dempster, 1929, *Review of West African Affairs*, Vol. 8, No. 30, p. 51.

93. W. Oyemakinde, “Colonial Government Policies on Agriculture” in *Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria*, p. 243.

94. Osun Div.1/1 51/ IX Annual Report on the Northern District of the Ibadan Division, 1944, p. 329.

master's products with their little income. Equally, salary earners were not spared as many of them suffered retrenchment.

As a matter of fact, economic recovery had to wait for World War II, which lifted the price level and elevated the confidence of workers and farmers alike. The war witnessed a high demand for agricultural products in the metropolitan factories. Nigerians were also made to produce food crops some of which they donated as a way of contributing to war efforts.⁹⁵ In Osun Division, several contributions of yam were made by churches, farmers associations, chiefs, towns and villages. For instance, in September, 1943, two tons of yams was donated by Saint Peter's Personage Inisa, 360 tubers of yam harvested from the school farm was donated by Oro United School Okuku and in December of the same year, *Oba* Lagunju of Otan Ayegbaju presented 1,558 tubers of yam contributed by his people to the "War Effort", people and chiefs of Igbajo Ifelodun Federation donated 1000 yams, and Oyan Farmer's Association of Odo-Otin Federation donated 1000 yams.⁹⁶

People also contributed generously to various relief funds. This included general War Relief Fund, Greece Relief Fund, Troop's Comfort Fund, Accra Earthquake Relief Fund, Mobile Canteen, Fun Fairs and so on. Palm kernel Campaigns were also organised. Almost all towns and villages contributed to this and several schools, such as Baptist School Iresi, Native Authority School Ede, Baptist School Ede, Baptist School Iree and Baptist School Iragbiji spent a considerable number of days in cracking palm kernel for war efforts.⁹⁷

95. N.A.I. Osun Div.1/1 51/ IX Annual Report on the Northern District of the Ibadan Divivision, 1944, p. 329.

96. N.A.I. Osun Div. 1/1 712 Gift of foodstuff to Military p.1-6. Also see, W. Oyemakinde, "Colonial Government Policies on Agriculture" p. 244.

97. N.A.I. Osun Div. 1/1 504/4 II War Relief Funds, p. 451.

This Mobile Canteen was provided by town and villages in the Osogbo district of Nigeria



Source: Osun Div 1/1 504/4 - Nigeria War Relief Fund p. 3 18 17/10/2012

But for the establishment of a system of controlled commodity marketing under the name “Marketing Board”, the boom of the World War II era would have earned the farmers a high prosperity. As a matter of fact, Marketing Boards served as an intermediary market between the farmers of export crops and the ultimate purchasers of their products. This was done through the Licensed Buying Agents (LBA), who were commissioned to buy agricultural produce for the boards at the various buying stations at no less than the minimum prices set by the boards for the year. This had adverse effects on agricultural production as it weakened producers’ incentives and limited output and employment generation in the sector.⁹⁸

In these import and export trades, European traders were also joined by the Syrians and Lebanese traders in the 1920s. Although they encountered some initial difficulties, they soon became successful traders in the division by transforming into dealers of textile and Jewelleries from their initial petty trading. Their commercial strategy involved going out of their shops into the districts to sell cloth in yards and other goods from motor lorries. This warranted reactions from agents of the different European trading firms who petitioned the District Officer in Osogbo in 1938 on the need to stop the act. Chiefs of Ogbomoso town equally petitioned the District Officer in 1938, stating that Syrians and Lebanese could only be welcomed in Ogbomoso, provided that they would rent stores or build for themselves. They added that on no condition would they be permitted to sell their wares about upon public high ways.⁹⁹

98. E.A. Walker, 2003, “British Colonialism and Economic Transformation”, in A. Oyebade, (ed), *The Foundation of Nigeria: Essays in Honour of Toyin Falola*, Trenton: Africa World Press Inc. p. 362.

99. N.A.I. , Oyo Prof. 1, 1964, Syrian Traders in Osogbo, p.1.

The foreign domination of import and export trades in the division was premised upon the fact that indigenous traders who could have challenged them lacked capital and better organisation to do so. Besides, indigenous firms could not organise external trade to the same extent as the European firms, which were naturally better placed than them to find markets in Europe, particularly in Britain.¹⁰⁰ In this circumstance, the benefits accruable to the indigenes of the division came to them largely in their role as producers of agricultural products needed by the Europeans. Some also benefited as middle-men between the producers and the European firms, which were the main buyers. Also, the indigenes benefited largely from the import trade in their roles as retail traders. Retailers and produce buyers in Osun Division were among the 1931 provincial estimate of 12,106 and the 51 people who engaged in road transportation in the province as at 1931. In spite of this situation, there was no doubt that a great deal of trading activities took place in Osun Division during the period under study.¹⁰¹

This was the period when there were few roads in the whole of Osun Division. European merchants in the Division, therefore, discovered that because of transport difficulties, they had to depend on the Yoruba middlemen to gather commodities from the widely scattered producing areas, and transported them to the buying centres.¹⁰² This new class of middlemen (later found in cocoa trade from 1920 upward) earned the name of “touts” or “produce clerk”. Some of them worked in the buying depots on fixed wages, while others were actually sent out into the

100. D.O. Chukwu, 2010, “The Economic Impact of Pioneer Indigenous Banks in Colonial Nigeria, 1920-1960”, in *Journal of The Historical Society of Nigeria*, p. 102.

101. J.A. Atanda, 1979, *The New Oyo Empire*, London: Longman Group Ltd.p. 57.

102. O.C. Adesina, 1994, *Indigenous Participation in the Economy of Western Nigeria, 1900-1970*, Ph D Thesis in the Department of History, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife p. 205.

districts where they bought kernels from the producers as cheap as they could in order to make some profits from the advances of money given to them by the European firms.¹⁰³

The development of extensive internal and external trade necessitated a change in the means of exchange. Since banking institution is necessary for effectiveness of this new means of exchange, the branch of the British Bank of West Africa was established in Osogbo in 1924.¹⁰⁴ It was basically a government bank, serving as a medium of withdrawing unwanted currency from circulation as well as issuing new ones.¹⁰⁵ Various government payments such as salary and wages and other expenses in respect of projects were made through the bank. It equally enhanced the success of European trading firms by taking care of their money and by offering them credit facilities.¹⁰⁶

It was not until the 1950s, when indigenous bank began to feature in the division that some petty traders in Osogbo, the capital, began to have access to bank credits facilities. The majority of petty traders, mostly women, still depended on *Ajo*, *Esusu* and *Iwofa* credit systems. High rate of urbanisation associated with colonial economic order further made these indigenous credit systems more widespread.¹⁰⁷ In the long run, the new economic order had adverse effects on production of local industrial items. Since European imported goods flooded the division as

103. N.A.I., CSO26: 09987 'Reports on General Markets', 1923. O.C.. Adesina, 1994, Indigenous Participation...p. 205.

104. S.A. Falade, 2000, *The Comprehensive History of Osogbo*, Ibadan: Owolabi Press, p. 99. This was equally confirmed by Canon Rev. J.L. Omigbodun in an interview conducted with him on the occasion of his hundred years, Pa. Omigbodun was the first chairman of Osogbo District Council at its inception, 4/08.2012.

105. N.A.I. Osun Div.1/2 OS. 64 Nickel Coinage and Currency general, pp. 44 and 53.

106. J.A. Atanda, 1979, *The New Oyo Empire*, London: Longman Group Ltd p. 57.

107. T. Falola, 1993, " 'My Friend the Shylock': Money-lenders and their Clients in the South-western Nigeria" in *Journal of African History*, 34, No. 3, p. 404. Here, Falola described money-lending, *sogundogoji* (convert twenty to forty) as a development of the colonial period and as adaptation of the pre-colonial *Iwofa* (pawnship) credit system.

in other parts of Africa, it killed indigenous industrial initiatives, especially, in important industries like, blacksmithing, pottery, carving, and so on, all of which could have developed to advanced stages at their own pace by now.

Market

Following the linking of various District councils with Osogbo the divisional headquarters, district headquarters became commercial centres for the towns and villages in their surroundings. Specifically, organised marketing system developed in towns like Osogbo, Ede, Ikirun, Okuku, Gbongan, Ikire, Ejigbo, Iwo, Ogbomoso and many others.

There were daily markets which usually held in the evening in most of these towns. For instance, *ojaba* in Osogbo (*oba's* market), *odefa* and *akesan* market in Gbongan were daily markets, it also existed in many other towns of the division.¹⁰⁸ However, important markets like Sekona market, Obada in Ode-omu, Opopo in Inisa, Owode in Apomu, Oje and Atapara in Ede, Odo-Ori market in Iwo, Iresa-Apa market and Oko market in Ogbomoso area, Olufi market in Gbongan, Amala market in Ikirun and so were periodic markets which served wider areas. Some of these periodic markets pre-dated the colonial period and their prominence got derived from their position as termini on the pre-colonial long-distance trade routes that linked Osun Division with other parts of Yorubaland and beyond, such as Ilorin, Ife, Ijesa and Ijebu divisions.

Commercial importance of Ikirun emanated from its favourable location on the trade route that linked Osun Division with Ilorin.¹⁰⁹

108. Oyo State Town Series, Ikire, Apomu, Gbongan and Ode-omu, Ibadan: Ministry of Local Government and Information, pp.10-22.

109 S. Johnson, 1921, *The History of the Yorubas: From the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the British Protectorate*, Great Britain: Lowe and Bryndone Printers Ltd. p. 649.

Sekona was located in the middle of Ife, Origbo, Gbongan, Ode-omu, Ijesa, Osogbo and Ede. Obada market in Ode-omu, Olufi and Egbejoda markets in Gbongan, and Owode market, which developed from the ruins of the historic Apomu market, were also located on the road linking Ibadan with Osogbo. Market witnessed rapid expansion during this era due to the network of roads that linked the various districts of the division together.¹¹⁰

Some of these markets were specialised, Oje market in Ede, Egbejoda market in Gbongan and Amala market in Ikirun were kolanut markets, Obada and Sekona market were food stuff markets, while owode market in Apomu, Atapara market in Ede and markets in other important towns like Osogbo, Iwo and Ejigbo were markets for European manufactured and other varieties of items. These markets were organised into four or eight days cycles, with different markets being held on each day. Over 80 percent of the traders in the markets were women and between 50 and 60 percent of them sold foodstuffs.¹¹¹

Colonial government involvement became more noticeable at this period, especially in the bigger markets of the urban centres. In addition to the traditional market officials, government officials (*akoda*) were appointed to issue receipts to market women as a way of gathering revenue for local councils. As at 1950s, 1 shilling receipt (flat rate) was issued to petty traders in the market across Osun Division. In return, government developed the markets by building stalls, slaughter slab and coolerator for storage of unsold meat (beef). Some council authorities also located lorry parks near markets as a way of improving commercial

110. O.B. Olaoba, 2000, *Bodija Market in Ibadan, 1987-1995*, Ibadan: John Archers Ltd.

111. Oyo State Town Series, Ede. Ibadan: Ministry of Local Government and Information. p. 35

activities in their different areas.¹¹² All these further enriched local treasury as fees were charged on the various government provisions. For instance, 10 shilling was charged on a cow killed in the abattoirs and 2 shilling on a goat. Also, a receipt of 10 shilling per annum was issued to a palm wine seller, an owner of a bicycle paid 10 shilling per annum, while lorry drivers paid 2 shilling on daily basis.¹¹³

In addition to the agelong basket and calabash, other forms of measurement adopted by market women, especially in the sales of grains and gaari, were denge, peregi and kuwa.¹¹⁴ The services of the traditional officials such as *babaloja*, *iyaloja*, and various guild heads in the new commercial orientation were to ensure market women's compliance with the various regulations put in place by the government, which took over the administration of the markets from the traditional power *elite* who were formerly in charge.¹¹⁵ They also collected gifts for kings on various festive occasions.¹¹⁶

New markets were established through collaborative efforts of the traditional and colonial authorities. For instance, although Bower's market was an initiative of Inisa railway station, it was opened by the crown heads on Wednesday 25th May, 1938 according to the native customs and laws.¹¹⁷ This is with the understanding that, the crown rulers were bonafide owners of the district portion with land mark terminating

112. These facilities were provided in Ede and Ejigbo markets, see NAI. Osun Div. 1109/4 Touring notes Ede District, November 1950- March 1951.p.25 and Annual Reports on the Northern District 1938. p. 185.

113. Oral interview with Mr Gabriel Opayinka, a retired colonial police officer, 107 years, 5/4/2013

114. Oral interview with Mrs Janet Adejumo, a Kolanut seller in Igbaye, 82 years, 24/6/2011.

115. P.O. Oyewale, 2012, "Traditional Market in Osun State: A Case Study of Obada Market in Odeomu", in *Ondo Journal of Arts and Social Sciences (OJASS)* Vol. XI, No.1April

116. Oral interview with, Chief Mrs. Saudat Olatunde, the Iyaloja of Oluode market Osogbo, 88 years, 3/7/2011

117. Mr Ikundayo, the station manager made series of contacts with the A.D.O Osogbo, D.O. Ibadan, Resident Ibadan, Traffic inspector Ibadan, District Traffic Inspector Osogbo, Crown Rulers and Baales of Odo-Otin area.

Railway station Inisa



Source: Field Work in Inisa 17/10/2012

Captain Bower's Cenotaph Inisa



Source: Field Work in Inisa 17/10/2012

Site of Bower's Market Inisa



Source: Field Work in Inisa 17/10/2012

Cocoa store beside Bower's Market at Inisa



Source: Field Work in Inisa 17/10/2012

Colonial bridge on Otin River in Inisa



Source: Field Work in Inisa 17/10/2012

Railway Pit Site Inisa



Source: Field Work in Inisa 17/10/2012

at Otin River.¹¹⁸The market was to:

- A) assist through cooperation, the Nigerian Railway and the main Government with regard to revenue.
- B) settle all outstanding bequeathed prejudices and matters among different rulers and people of this area.
- C) improve condition of affairs with settled opinions based on mutual confidence and sympathy.¹¹⁹

All these were based on the condition that:

- i) these district rulers shall appoint officers of the market who will see to the welfare and progress of the market.
- ii) the market is opened to the public and subject to the control of the appointed officers.
- iii) there should be no disruption whatsoever on this market with regard to interference of land mark.
- iv) there would be annual election of *Iyaloja* of the market.¹²⁰

The foregoing indicated that, the commercial sector of Osun division witnessed introduction of new ideas and the development of the old ones. However, the outcome was a hybrid that was partly traditional and partly modern. Entrepreneurial elements within the Yoruba culture also allowed easy adaptation to colonial commerce due to their capacity to innovate, perpetuate and occasionally to modify essentially unchanged virtues.

Conclusion

From the foregoing, it has become glaring that, the British colonisation of Yorubaland had a great impact on the economy of Osun Division. This is

118. N.A.I., Osun Div. 1/1 107 Railway Department Matters, p. 122.

119. N.A.I., Osun Div. 1/1 107 Railway Department Matters, p. 122

120. N.A.I., Osun Div. 1/1 107 Railway Department Matters, p.122

because, the new economic orientation it brought about, culminated in the provision of basic infrastructures that enhanced exploitation of the resources of Osun and the adjoining divisions of Ife-Ijesa and Ondo. For example, various towns and villages were opened up to the world economy by the network of roads and railway that were constructed to facilitate trade. However, as the people took to the production of crops needed by the Europeans as a way of making case for their own needs of modern transportation system, their economy got incorporated into the British capitalist economy.

The coming of the European trading firms also resulted into loss of independence by the indigenous entrepreneurs. Hence, they became subservient to the European trading firms. Those who had earlier served as middlemen between the division and Ibadan and Lagos expanded the scope of their trading activities, while smaller and several petty traders emerged, especially in the outlying districts of Osun Division. However, it needs to be pointed out here that, although cash crops were the concern of the European firms, trade in food crops expanded greatly in the colonial Osun Division. Evidence of these abound in the importance attained by Odo-Otin and its environ as a result of its supply of yams, both as a contribution to “winning the war effort” and to the Lagos community in the colonial period. While trade in cash crops dropped in this area in the 1950s, trade in kolanut and food crops from Ikirun and Odo-Otin to the North thrived greatly during the same period.

CHAPTER FOUR

BIOGRAPHIES OF SOME COMMERCIAL *ELITE* IN COLONIAL OSUN DIVISION

Introduction

The concept of *elite* has been variously defined. For the purpose of this study, Adeboye's definition is more appropriate, because it conforms with the Yoruba notion of the concept.

A group of individuals, some of whom may or may not occupy formal positions of authority in society but all of whom have a carriage that set them apart, who possess influence over others that attracts to them a corresponding measure of deference from the rest of the society.¹

Elite is a minority group who are able to organise themselves effectively, whether formally or informally. It is a superior group by virtue of its high status in the society. Also, it is highly influential not necessarily through the exercise of former authority or power, but through its ability to affect or change others' disposition, position, outlook, actions and lives. The above description corroborates Yoruba view of *elite* as *eekan*, that pinned down and held together the society and so whatever affected them affected the entire community.² In colonial Osun Division, *elite* comprised several categories. These included the chiefs, who could be called traditional political *elite*, wealthy individuals who corresponded to the commercial *elite*, and the first generation educated intelligentsia whom we could call the educated *elite*.³

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1. O. Adeboye, 2003, "Elite lifestyle and Consumption in Colonial Ibadan" in, A. Oyebade (ed). *The Foundations of Nigeria: Essays in Honour of Toyin Falola*, Trenton: Africa World Press, Inc. p. 282.
 2. O. Adeboye, 2003, "Elite lifestyle and Consumption in Colonial Ibadan" ...p. 283.
 3. O. Adeboye, 2003, "Elite lifestyle and Consumption in Colonial Ibadan" ...p. 284.

As a matter of fact, the *elite* in Osun Division together with all that constituted their features and practices exhibited certain reactions to European colonial hegemony. Although evidence of change pervaded every sector of Osun Division, there is no doubt that a considerable aspect of the peoples' way of life adapted to the new politico-economic dispensation.

Most of the changes that took place resulted largely from the development projects carried out by the colonial government to facilitate easy access to and exploitation of the resources in the division.⁴ It is, therefore, the focus of this chapter to examine the nature of entrepreneurship in Yorubaland, using Osun Division as a case study. Equally, it is our hope that, as shown in the works of Asiwaju⁵, Adesina⁶, and Olaniyi⁷, the level of adaptation and change in the indigenous entrepreneurship, sequel to the advent of the European commercial system in Osun Division, would be ascertained. This becomes expedient as various changes of the colonial Yorubaland did not completely sweep away the traditional commercial practices.⁸

4. J.A. Atanda, 1979, *The New Oyo Empire*, London: Longman Group Limited. p. 49.

5. A.I. Asiwaju, 1976, *Western Yorubaland Under Colonial Rule, 1889-1945: A Comparative Analysis of French and British Colonialism*, London: Longman Group Limited. p. 161.

6. O.C. Adesina, "Adebisi Sanusi Giwa (?-1938): The Life and Career of an Ibadan Entrepreneur and Community Leader", in *Lagos Notes and Records, A Journal of The Faculty of Arts University of Lagos*, Vol. XVII, May, 2006.

7. R.O. Olaniyi, 2008, *Diaspora is Not Like Home: A Social and Economic History of Yoruba in Kano, 1912-1999*, Muenchen: Lincom Europa Academic Publications

8. M. K. McIntosh, 2009, *Yoruba Women, Work, and Social Change*, Indiana: Indiana University Press. p.57.

Entrepreneurs, Agents and Stakeholders in the Commercial Sector of Osun Division

Commercial *elite* included individuals who performed various marketing functions involved in the sales and purchase of goods as they moved from producers to consumers.⁹ The four main groups of middlemen identified by Adeyokunnu are: assemblers, commission agents, wholesalers and retailers. Assemblers who were also known as bulking middlemen bought in small lot, but sold in larger quantities to wholesalers, retailers and other assemblers. They were itinerant middlemen, because they obtained their supplies from farmers and processors in villages and rural markets. They travelled from one market to another to obtain their supplies.

Commission agents were middlemen who sold their services to their principals, because their main stock-in-trade was market knowledge which they used in bringing sellers and buyers together. The commissions they received on their services served as their income. They were usually found in long-distance trade.¹⁰ Wholesalers sold to retailers and other wholesalers, but not in any significant quantity to the final consumers. They bought in large quantities and sold in bulk. They usually obtained their supplies from producers, assemblers and other wholesalers. Wholesalers operated in urban markets and very rarely directly in rural markets.

There was some degree of specialisation at this level. They handle a group of two or more related commodities. For example, those

9. T. Adeyokunnu, 1970, "The Markets of Foodstuffs in Western Nigeria", in *ODU, New Series*, No. 3, April, pp. 78-79.

10. E. B. Ikpe, 1996, "The Rise of the Merchant Class in West Africa" in G.O. Ogunremi and E.K. Faluyi (ed) *An Economic History of West Africa since 1750*, Ibadan: Rex Charles and Connel Publications, p. 115.

who deal in rice, invariably sell beans. Retailers are the petty domestic distributors of goods and services who constitute the final link in the chain of distribution of foodstuff from producers to consumers. They buy from producers, assemblers, wholesalers and other retailers in small quantities and sell in smaller amounts. The two groups that were identifiable are sedentary retailers and itinerant ones. Sedentary retailers sell their goods in stalls in the market, while the itinerants hawk their goods round the market, in parks, residential areas and so on. This group of middlemen constitutes the greatest percentage of sellers in any market whether urban or rural. Thus, the economy remained indigenous and self-sustaining as in the pre-colonial time.¹¹

As in the pre-colonial era, political and economic institutions remained intertwined to the extent that, one cannot be isolated from another. Such an attempt will amount to creating an artificial dichotomy where there is no division at all.¹² The stake-holders in the commercial sector, therefore, included members of the ruling *elite* and prosperous merchants who were favourably placed to appropriate vast resources. This time around, they were agents who were carrying out the order of the colonial government. For instance, having become wage officers of the colonial government, they co-opted their chiefs to ensure that their subjects produced the needs of the European firms even against the will of the people. For example, production of palm kernel increased greatly in the whole of Osun Division, because the kings ensured that their chiefs went round the farms, so as to report all farmers who were not harvesting their palm trees regularly. Since the farmers equally heeded

11. T. Adeyokunnu, 1970, "The Markets of Foodstuffs in Western Nigeria" in *ODU, New Series*, No. 3, April, p. 78.

12. T. Falola, 1984, *The Political Economy of a Pre-colonial African State: Ibadan, 1830-1900*, Ile-Ife: UPL, p. 65.

the warning not to leave their palm fruits un-harvested, the result was a marked increase in its production. The loyalty of the kings equally derived from their awareness of the fact that provision of basic infrastructures was attached to the production of the needs of the Europeans.¹³

Some demobilised colonial soldiers, able-bodied men who left their farms to join railway construction work and liberated slaves who became better informed through their experience as sojourners abroad were also part of the commercial *elite*.¹⁴ This is because, as most unwanted element left towns for more congenial places after the wars, those whose efforts were diverted to meet the many calls for labour resulting from the presence of war camps, returned to businesses and their other pre-war vocations.¹⁵ Also, many of the slaves who escaped from their masters in Egba and Ijebu areas, following the British outlaw of slavery, were from Osun Division. Many of these manumitted slaves took to trading on their arrival in their different towns and villages.¹⁶

At the apex of the sector was the king, who saw to the maintenance of law and order in the market through his appointed officials who gave him daily reports on commercial activities. These officials tried minor offences at the market places and referred serious ones to the king or his chiefs.¹⁷ They also saw to the collection of market dues. In the market, these officials were usually recognised by the cutlass, sword or guns, which they carry. In some markets, such as *Oje* in Ede, *Opopo* in Inisa,

13. NAI Osun Div. 1/1 51 IX Annual Reports on Northern Dstricts of Ibadan Division 1944, p. 329.

14. The duo of Chiefs J.A Oparinde and David Fasina were employee of the Nigerian Railway Corporation, before they left for produce business in the early 20th century.

15. NAI Osun Div. 1/1 51 IX Annual Reports on Northern Dstricts of Ibadan Division, 1944.

16. B.A. Agiri, " The Development of wage labour in Agriculture in Southern Yorubaland 1900-1940", in *Odu: New Series*, No.37 February 1990. p. 30.

17. C.E.F. Beer, 1976, *Politics of Peasant Groups in Western Nigeria*, Ibadan: University Press Ltd. p. 2.

Ojaba in Osogbo and many other towns of the division, the officials had permanent places, which they used as their posts.¹⁸

In many towns were *Iyaloja* and the various trade guilds whose heads helped in no small measure in allying them to the constituted authority by way of enforcing the order of the latter in their guilds. Apart from the two guilds of general traders, the *Egbe Alajapa* and the *Egbe Alarobo*, there were other sub-guilds organised on the bases of what they sold. For example, *egbe eleran iso* (guild of goat and sheep sellers), *egbe alaso* (guild of cloth sellers), e.t.c. These guilds equally helped in the maintenance of peace and order in the various markets at no cost.¹⁹ In similar vein, *Iyaloja*, “mother of the market” was expected to see to the maintenance of the market and she reported back to the chief who was in charge of the market. As a matter of fact, members of the trading guilds who excelled in their profession, and by that fact qualified to be called prosperous merchants, were those who formed commercial *elite* together with the aristocracy in the various kingdoms of Osun Division.

Different kingdoms established some form of control over these guilds by recognising, supervising and ratifying the appointment of their leaders and by supporting the authority of the guild’s executives to control and discipline their members. The heads of these guilds were sometimes co-opted by the town councils when some decisions relating to criminal offences were to be taken.²⁰ The reason for this was to secure their maximum cooperation and make them equally responsible for the town’s collective decisions. The kingdom’s interest in these guilds was

18. Oral interview with Olunisa of Inisa in Odo-Otin local government, His Royal Majesty, Oba Joseph Oyedele Fasiku II, 20/8/2012.

19. I.A. Akinjogbin, 1980, “The Economic Foundations of the Oyo Empire”, in I.A. Akinjogbin and S.O. Osoba (eds), *Topics on Nigerian Economic and Social History*, Ile-Ife, UPL. p. 49.

20. T. Falola, 1984, *The Political Economy of a Pre-colonial African State: Ibadan, 1830-1900*, Ile-Ife: UPL, p.65.

based on what it could obtain from them. For example, kolanut guild in Osogbo was responsible for the provision of kolanut needed for annual Osun Osogbo festival. Likewise, the guild of cloth dealers equally supplied the *Ataoja* with the cloths needed for the celebration of the Osun Osogbo festival. Special yams from Ogbomoso were also provided by the guild of yam sellers during the annual Osun Osogbo festival. Other guilds contributed their own quota to the successful celebration of the festival.²¹

However, with the gradual extension of the various developments of the colonial economy into the division by the beginning of the twentieth century, indigenous entrepreneurship witnessed a tremendous development. At the beginning of the century, the British frontiers of trade had actually shifted to the hinterland of Yorubaland with its characteristic money economy, road and railway construction, from the coast, where it had remained for centuries. Following this, the European trading firms, who were the promoters of the new trade, began to move into the division from 1909. The first seven to move to Osogbo were: Perterson and Zochonis, G.L. Gaiser, W.B. Maclver and Co., John Holt, the Lagos Stores, Witt and Busch and Miller Brothers.²² These were later joined by, Russell, African and Eastern Trade Corporation, G.B. Ollivant, Societe Commerciale de l'Quest Africain and D.J.Doherty.²³ The primary interest of these companies was more in the exploitation of the forest

21. Oral interview with Mrs Kojusola Oparinde, Iyaloja of Adenle Market, Osogbo, 90 years, 18/07/2012. This idea was corroborated by T. Falola and A Adebayo, 2000, *Culture, Politics and Money Among the Yoruba*, when they established that, the state used the commercial sector to sustain itself through the guilds' offering of gifts, payment of dues in the market, payment of different levies and tolls in the case of trade that transcend boundaries, p. 103.

22. NAI Oyo Prof 1/1 1964, Syrian traders in Osogbo, p. 2.

23. B. Awe and I.O. Albert. 1995, "Historical Development of Osogbo" in C.O. Adepegba, (ed), *Osogbo, Model of Growing African Towns*, Ibadan: Insitute of African Studies, p. 11.

products than in commerce only. For example, U.A.C., John Holt, P.Z., C.F.A.O. and A.J. Tangalakis owned general mercantile stores in Osogbo. During this period, Osogbo constituted the centre of attraction. As the divisional headquarters, it possessed obvious advantages over the other towns in the area.

In order to remain relevant in the new commercial orientation, the indigenous commercial classes had to identify with and find accommodation within the new formation. As a result, a corpus of western-style businessmen developed on the heels of incorporation of Osun division into the British sphere of influence. This perfected the incorporation of the people into the world capitalist system in which the British utilised indigenous personnel and institutions for some complementary or supportive functions.²⁴ Thus, indigenous people in their subordinate positions participated in the colonial commerce as agents and merchants and adapted to the changes in the colonial economy of Osun Division.

While the foreign companies had the control of import and export in their hands, they still depended on male African agents to obtain supplies from local producers. For distribution of imported goods, European firms sold to African entrepreneurs who established wholesale and retail businesses. Even when marketing boards were created for cocoa and palm kernel after World War II, local representatives hired by the European licensed agents (large firms) were men.²⁵ These men who operated in towns and markets employed sub-buyers referred to as the scalers under whom were assistant runners to collect smaller quantities

24. O.C. Adesina, 1994, *Indigenous Participation in the Economy of Western Nigeria, 1900-1970*, Ph D Thesis in the Department of History, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife p. 202. See page 97 for the activities of these European trading companies.

25. A.I. Asiwaju, 1976, *Western Yorubaland Under Colonial Rule, 1889-1945: A Comparative Analysis of French and British Colonialism*, London: Longman Group Limited, p. 161.

directly from the producers. Thus, indigenous entrepreneurs became an appendage of the foreign firms. This was a relationship that further made foreign firms to amass wealth at the expense of the indigenous entrepreneurs.²⁶

Following the creation of the Nigerian Cocoa Marketing Board in 1947, an organised section of the peasantry developed. The peasants combined to form Cooperative Produce Marketing Union (CPMU), with which they were able to influence government policies in respect of the controlled scheme that characterised the board. Various other cooperative societies that were approved by the Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources (MANR) in the 1950s included, Association of Nigerian Cooperative Exporters (ANCE), Association of West African Merchants (AWAM), Nigerian Farmer's Union (NFU), Western Nigeria Farmers' Council (WNFC), Western Nigeria Farmers' Union (WNFU), All Nigeria Farmers' Congress (ANFC), and Nigerian Association of African Importers and Exporters (NAAIE). Of all these, Cooperative Produce Marketing Union (CPMU) and Western Nigeria Farmers Union (WNFU) were the most prominent in Osun Division. Officers of the Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources (MANR) confirmed the existence of branches in Iwo, Ayedaade, Osogbo, Ifelodun, Egbedore, Ogbomoso, and other towns in Osun Division. Their leaders included, Chief Obisesan of Cooperative Union of Western Nigeria (CUWN) and other indigenes of the division, such as Mr. Samuel Tade, Mr. A Ajani and Chief Banjo who were members of Western Nigerian Farmer Union (WNFU).²⁷

These organisations were formed to fight for better cocoa prices, Nigerian representation in the Marketing Board, protection of members

26. O.C. Adesina, 1994, *Indigenous Participation in the Economy of Western Nigeria, 1900-1970*, Ph D Thesis in the Department of History, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, p.226.

27. C.E.F. Beer, 1976, *Politics of Peasant Groups in Western Nigeria*, Ibadan: University Press Ltd. p. 83.

from ill-treatment by forest guards, against cheating by produce inspection officers and an end to growing delays in Marketing Board's payments for cocoa. As a matter of fact, they succeeded in aggregating grievances and demands from members and channeling them to the government.²⁸ All these indicated the fact that commercial *elite* in Osun Division also contributed their own quota to the development of militant nationalism of the post World War II era, when nationalists came to rely fully on provincial mass, rather than Lagos elitist support.

For instance, these associations, particularly, the Nigerian Association of African Importers and Exporters (NAAIE) were part of the delegate of the Nigerian Youth Movement who protested against the appointment of the wives of the European mercantile officials into government departments where secrets relating to trade of the country and of the firms and individuals were available. Specific cases mentioned here were, Mrs Westcott who was at import control office and her husband was the manager of the Kingsway Store of United African Company (UAC). Mrs. Brady was serving as the Acting Assistant oil and transport control officer in Benin area, while her husband was the manager of United African Company (UAC), Benin city.²⁹

These peasant associations became important instruments in the hands of the politicians right from the 1950s, when the Action Group (AG) took over power in the Western Region.³⁰ By this time, Osun division was divided into two main political groups, the Action Group (AG) and National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC). Acting as

28. C.E.F. Beer, 1976, *Politics of Peasant Groups in Western Nigeria*, Ibadan: University Press Ltd. p. 84.

29. Sopolu Library, Ikenne, File No. 1736, *The Nigerian Youth Movement*, p. 61.

30. Sopolu Library, Ikenne, 2003, Ref.No. A.G H.Q 73A1/1 *Action Group Touring Programme*, p. 2. This file contains the touring programme of the Action Group top officials with evidence of spending nights in some Osun Division towns like, Osogbo, Ede, Ikirun and Ogbomosho.

the Chairman of NCNC in Osogbo, was a seasoned produce buyer, Bello Gaizer, while Joseph Adebayo Oparinde, a son and successor of Pa. Jacob Oparinde's business enterprise, acted as the chairman of the Action Group until his death in 1959.

Mr. Joseph Oparinde's position in the party was further strengthened by the fact that Osunremi, the divisional organising secretary, lived in his house. Thus, the duo of Awolowo and Akintola slept in the house during many of their official meetings and electioneering campaigns.³¹ Other important traders who were actively involved in the politics were Chief Ibrahim Adigun, Chief Obeesun, an Ijesa man who was resident in Osogbo and many others.³² They were also part of the entourage that followed Chief S.L. Akintola during his campaigns of 1960 to 1964.³³

In the dependency situation that ensued in entrepreneurship, two groups of merchants developed. These were those who participated in the produce trade, and those mainly in the urban centres who traded in merchandise. In some cases, some merchants operated as general merchants to whom the firms advanced imported goods in return for the future delivery of produce.³⁴ All these western-style indigenous merchants carried out the requirements of the trading companies. For example, in Osogbo the agents of the European trading companies were

31. O.C. Adesina, 1994, *Indigenous Participation in the Economy of Western Nigeria 1900-1970*, Ph D Thesis in the Department of History, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, p. 166

32. Oral interview with Mr. John Afolabi Oparinde, Oparinde's house, Osogbo, 81 years, 11/03/2013

33. C.E.F. Beer, 1976, *Politics of Peasant Groups in Western Nigeria*, Ibadan: University Press Ltd. p. 83. Also in his "Chief D.O. Sanyaolu 1896-1960: A Yoruba Merchant Prince in Metropolitan Kano", *Journal of French Institute for Research in Africa*, Vol. 1 2005. p. 132, R.O.Olaniyi affirms that, in the post World War II nationalist movement, many Nigerian entrepreneurs used their economic power to support political groups as in the case of D.O. Sanyaolu in Kano city.

34. O.N. Njoku, 2007, "Trading with the Metropolis: An Unequal Exchange", in T. Falola, (ed). *Britain and Nigeria, Exploitation or Development?* London: Zed Books, p. 132.

Chief Jacob Oparinde, Adeleke Laniyan, Agboola Laniyan, Pa. Fagbewesa, Sule Akanbi, Thomas Ajani, Kolapo Onimajesin and a host of others. These people were traders, to whom the various European firms advanced merchandise usually on credit. Their articles of trade included: kerosene, iron sheet, nail, cigarette, soap, bucket and salt. Some of these traders like Adeleke Laniyan, and Jacob Oparinde added produce buying to their imported merchandise trading.³⁵ They were linked to one another and usually to the mercantile firms by ties of credit and clientage.³⁶

Although some of these traders added produce buying to their business through which they bought cocoa, palm kernel for the European trading firms, there were specialists in this area. Produce buyers included, Mr. Daniel Ogundun, who was the secretary of the Cocoa Buyers Association in Osogbo. He bought cocoa in Okuku, Ila and Ifelodun areas, while Mr Owolabi, another member of the association, bought cocoa in Ile-Ife, Ifetedo and Oke-Igbo areas. Mr. Tella, a native of Ejigbo and Chief Jacob Oparinde bought cocoa in Ede, Ejigbo, Ogbomoso and Iwo areas, Mr. Adejumo, the master of Chief Oparinde bought cocoa in Ede and Egbedore areas, Prince Adesoji Aderemi and Chief Joseph Odeleye bought cocoa in Ayedaade district, Jinadu Owotoki, Gbadamosi Aroworowan, Shitu Ajala, Elizabeth Omolambe and Solomon Babawale were cocoa buyers in Odo-Otin district.³⁷

Although their operations were restricted in comparison with the expatriate firms, they were a force to reckon with. They formed a vital

35. Oral interview with Chief, Samontu Laboye Olude, a Mangaji in Osogbo, 80 years, 15/08/2012.

36. O.C. Adesina, 1994, Indigenous Participation in the Economy of Western Nigeria 1900-1970, Ph D Thesis in the Department of History, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife p. 201.

37. Oral interview with Mr. Albert Oluseyi Olayemi, a former employee of G. B. Ollivant but now a distributor for MDS, a branch of UAC. 82 years, 16/8/2012. and Olunisa of Inisa, Oba Joseph Oyedele Fasiku II, 20/8/2012 and some cocoa buyers in the division.

link in the chain that bound the indigenous people and the foreign firms. Their resilience in spite of the skirmishes that characterised the unequal bilateral relationship between them and the expatriate firms made them to be rightly described as an efficient channel of collection and distribution.³⁸

Some of these indigenous entrepreneurs, especially the cocoa dealers became wealthy and they invested their money on various projects. A good number of them like, Mr. Tella of Ejigbo, Chief Jacob Oparinde and Mr. Agboola Laniyan of Osogbo spent much of their money in educating their children. Chief Oparinde also invested his money on transport business. Most of them adopted modern building materials such as the zinc roof and cement as well as the erection of storey-style houses, which eventually became status symbol in the new era.

Equally, many of them continued with the pre-colonial institution of polygamy by spending parts of their earnings on acquisition of more wives. While Chief Oparinde had about seven wives, both Agboola and Adeleke Laniyan had not less than ten wives each.³⁹ Many of them also spent their money on expensive clothes, imported items and lavish entertainments.⁴⁰ Houses of many of these *elite* were always in a festive mood, with drummers attaching themselves permanently to them. They remained there as long as it was economically wise for them to do so.⁴¹

38. O.C. Adesina, 1994, *Indigenous Participation in the Economy of Western Nigeria 1900-1970*, Ph D Thesis in the Department of History, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife p. 211-212

39. Oral interview with Alhaji Ganiyu Oyedele Laniyan, Oja oba area Osogbo, 86 years. 14/09/2012. Also see O.C. Adesina, 1994, *Indigenous Participation in the Economy of Western Nigeria...* p. 94

40. T. Falola and A Adebayo, 2000, *Culture, Politics and Money Among the Yoruba...* p.18. Also, see O. Adebayo, 2003, "Elite Lifestyle and Consumption in Colonial Ibadan", in A. Oyebade, (ed), *The Foundations of Nigeria: Essays in Honour of Toyin Falola*, Trenton: Africa World Press, pp. 285-288.

41. O.Adebayo, 2003, "Elite Lifestyle and Consumption in Colonial Ibadan", in A.Oyebade, (ed), *The Foundation of Nigeria: Essays in Honour of Toyin Falola*, Trento: Africa World Press Inc. p. 292.

Acting as agents of the trading firms were the Syrians and Lebanese who received their merchandise directly from Lagos and from the European trading firms that were based in Osogbo. They dealt mainly in cloths, which they sold directly to the people in the town and in the outlying districts of the division.⁴² They also bought cocoa and palm kernel for the trading firms. The Syrians and Lebanese had their shops in Idiseke area of Osogbo. Their shops were sited next to those of the European trading firms on the station road.

While the European trading firms dealt in wholesale and warehousing, the Syrians and Lebanese, otherwise known as the Corals (Levantine) were both wholesalers and retailers who made direct contact with the people of the division. Following the stores of these Lebanese on the station road leading to the *Ataoja's* palace enroute Ilesa were the shops of the indigenous entrepreneurs mentioned earlier on. In other words, the European trading firms sited their stores very close to the railway station, because they dealt in large merchandise and they were all wholesalers.⁴³

In the outlying districts of the division, the European trading firms and Lebanese had some agents who bought produce for them. Some of them were general merchants who added trading in European merchandise to produce buying. Examples of these people included, Mr. Tella of Ejigbo, Ogunbile Adediwin of Masifa, near Ejigbo town. Apart from the development that was attached to the colonial economy, entrepreneurial skill of traders who specialised in indigenous merchandise like kolanut and other commercial activities in which the people of the

42. Oyo Prof 1 1964, Syrian Traders in Osogbo Districts, p. 1.

43. Oral interview with, Mr. Bayo Babarinlo, a former administrative officer of the Osogbo Steel Rolling, 72 years, 4/8/2012

division were well known also advanced. Examples in this regard were, beef trade in Iwo, *adire* trade in Osogbo, black soap trade in Ede, Erin Osun, Ilobu, Ifon and many other towns in Odo-otin and Ifelodun areas.⁴⁴

Also worthy of mentioning here is the emergence of commercial *elite* in international trade in the division, especially in Ejigbo, Ogbomoso, Ede and Iwo areas. Although people in these areas have been migrating to Abidjan and other places before the colonial period, various developments of the colonial period, particularly in the area of transportation further encouraged massive out-migration of people from these areas to Abidjan and other countries of West Africa. This development resulted into expansion of commerce in Osun Division as goods of the division moved out in exchange for the products of the countries to which the people migrated. In Ejigbo for example were foreign cloths, (Ankara), soap, rice, macaroni, tapioca, ancheke. e.t.c. all of which with foreign language enriched the culture of the people in the areas and in Osun division in general.⁴⁵

The foregoing massive out-migration culminated into Yoruba Diasporas, as we have Yoruba communities with strong establishments in various non-Yoruba speaking areas like Hausaland, Igboland, and other west African countries such as, Benin Republic, Togo, Gold Coast, Cote d' Ivoire and Burkina Faso. In most of the areas mentioned above, many indigenes of Osun Division and other Yoruba people excelled in their different businesses of choice. For instance, Iwo indigenes were butchering specialists in most of the places mentioned above.⁴⁶ According

44. O. Adegbola, 1972, The Impact of Migration on the Rural Economy of Oshun Division of Western Nigeria, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, University of Ibadan, p.11.

45. O. Adegbola, 1972, The Impact of Migration on the Rural Economy of Oshun Division of Western Nigeria, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, University of Ibadan, p. 25.

46. Oral interview with Mr. Lasisi Afolabi, Tantan's house Monlete hill, Iwo, 96 years, 2/11/2012.

to Olaniyi,⁴⁷ prominent Yoruba entrepreneurs in Kano during the colonial rule included, Chief D.O Sanyaolu, Alhaji Abdullahi Salihu Olowo, Mr. Albert Onayemi Onamusi and Alhaji Suleiman Bello Yada, who was from Ogbomoso in Osun Division just to mention a few. Various other examples in West African countries abound in the studies conducted on Yoruba people by the trio of Adegbola⁴⁸, Asiwaju⁴⁹ and Sudarkasa.⁵⁰

However, in spite of the fact that, European trading firms preferred men to women in their choice of agents, women were not in any way idle in the new economic orientation. This is because, indigenous people, especially the women, handled petty trading in both produce and somewhat more profitable trade in merchandise.⁵¹ Hence, foreign firms often relied upon them to act as the bottom layer of the distribution. Thus, in addition to the new opportunities and gains, such as the production and sales of palm products and other agricultural export goods, which the new economic orientation earned them, they still dominated marketing activities in the division as in other parts of Yorubaland.⁵²

This section demonstrates the roles played by the individual entrepreneurs as well as the contributions they have made to the growth of the division's economy, since they were at the forefront of the commercial venture in Osun Division. Nine traders have been selected

47. R.O. Olaniyi, 2008, *Diaspora is Not Like Home: A Social and Economic History of Yoruba in Kano, 1912-1999*, Muenchen: Lincom Europa Academic Publications, pp. 217-240.

48. O. Adegbola, 1972, *The Impact of Migration on the Rural Economy of Oshun Division of Western Nigeria*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, University of Ibadan, p.11

49. A.I.Asiwaju, 1976, *Western Yorubaland Under Colonial Rule 1889-1945: A Comparative Analysis of French and British Colonialism*, London: Longman Group Limited, p. 161.

50. N. Sudarkasa, 1979, "From Stranger to Alien: The Socio-Political History of the Nigerian Yoruba in Ghana, 1900-1970", in, W.A. Shack and E.P. Skinner (eds), *Strangers in African Societies*, Berkely: University of California Press, pp. 143-167.

51. O.C. Adesina, 1994, *Indigenous Participation in the Economy of Western Nigeria 1900-1970*, Ph D Thesis in the Department of History, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, p. 206.

52. M. K. Mcintosh, 2009, *Yoruba Women, Work, and Social Change*, Indiana: Indiana University Press, p.66.

(Four cocoa dealers, some of whom were general merchants, two yam deslers, two kolanut dealers and one international trader) based on their roles in the commercial sector of Osun Division and their influence in their different areas of operation.

Chief Jagun Jacob Ademola Oparinde (C 1874-1946)

Jacob Oparinde was born into the family of Jagun Fadeyi Akinsowon's house in Osogbo around 1874. He engaged in farming early in his life, under the tutelage of his father. However, at the beginning of the twentieth century, he took up employment with Railway Corporation, where he took part in the construction of the rail line, which passes across Osun Division. In the 1920s, he left the railway service for apprenticeship under his cousin, Mr. Adejumo, who was a produce (cocoa and palm kernel) buyer in Ede. When he became an independent buyer in the late 1920s, he made Oko in Ejigbo District his base, from where he bought cocoa in towns under both Ogbomoso and Ejigbo Districts. As a successful produce buyer, he had sub buyers in Ede, Ejigbo, Ogbomoso and other outlying districts of Osun Division. Thus, he acted as a broker, buying produce from farmers, and selling them to John Holt in Osogbo.⁵³

Usually, John Holt advanced money to him to buy cocoa for them. In turn, he shared the money among his numerous sub buyers who went round the towns and villages to buy the trading items. At his control was a fleet of vehicles for carrying his farm produce (cocoa) and conveyance of people.⁵⁴ He started the transport business in 1927, and when his eldest son, Joseph Adebayo Oparinde completed his second year (II) middle

53. Oral interview with Mr. John Afolabi Oparinde, at Oparinde's house, Osogbo, 81 years, 06/12/2012

54. Church Historical Committee, 2002, *Miracles of the Church-On-the-Hill: The History of First Baptist Church, Oke-Okanla, Osogbo*, Osogbo: Kola Prints and Publishers, pp. 22-23.

education in 1935, he was put in charge of the business.⁵⁵ Pa J.A. Oparinde was also a successful farmer. He cultivated a large expanse of land bequeathed to him by his late father in *oke-omu* (omu hill) area along Ibokun road. He planted yam, maize, oranges and pineapple, which he took in his vehicle to market for sale. He also had a farm planted with cocoa, kolanut and palm trees.⁵⁶

Chief J.A. Oparinde was also a general merchant. He had a shop where he marketed goods advanced to him by John Holt Group of Companies. The goods included cloths (locally known as *kaki*, *teru* and *mantin*), salt, kerosene, nail and iron sheet. However, he became prominent as a trader to such an extent that he caught the admiration of the generality of people in Osogbo, including the ruling *Ataoja*. This further gave him the opportunity to use his wealth and wisdom to influence his town positively. His fame during this time endeared him to Peirera, the Divisional Transport Control Officer. He single-handedly paid the wages of the labourers employed to construct Oleyo road, along which his house was situated, to the admiration of the Transport Control Officer.

Although he was not educated, he learnt the art of reading and writing, which helped him a lot in his business. He demonstrated his love for education by educating his children such as Benjamen Oparinde, who was later appointed as Chief Jagun by *Ataoja* Adenle, Adebayo Oparinde, and Taiwo Oparinde. Some of them, particularly, John Afolabi and Taiwo Oparinde were graduates of School of Agriculture and College of Arts, Science and Technology where they were trained as agriculture and

55. NAI, Osun Div. 1146/7, Mr. J.A. Oparinde: Application for Loan from Western Regional Production Development Board, p.1.

56. Oral interview with Mrs. Kojusola Oparinde, Iyaloja of Adenle Market, Osogbo, 90 years, 18/07/2012.

Pa Jacob Oparinde's House built in 1938



Source: Field work 17/10/2012

Pa Jacob Oparinde's House completed by his son Joseph Oparinde in 1946



Source: Field work 17/10/2012

medical officers respectively. He single-handedly paid the salary of teachers at Oke-Okanla Baptist Day School for many years during his tenure as the school manager.⁵⁷

Above all, chief Oparinde was highly religious. Although he could not become a deacon as a polygamist, he did not allow this to disturb his religiosity, generosity and philanthropy. In spite of this, his impact was greatly felt especially his contribution in cash and kind. For instance, he contributed greatly to the building of the church and the Baptist Primary School. Also, his co-foundation of Oko Baptist Church during his trading journeys along Ejigbo-Ogbomoso road was a great contribution in the area of evangelism.⁵⁸ He also held important offices like treasurer and patron through which he further contributed greatly to the growth of his church.

He had seven wives and many children. In spite of this, he was very wealthy. He had five houses and he remained in active service to humanity until his death in 1946 at about the age of 70 years.

Chief David Olaluwe Ajagbe Fasina (C 1885-1961)

David Olaluwe Ajagbe Fasina was born into the family of Chief Olaluwe, the then *Oloriga* of Osogbo, and mama Adeole Oparinde around 1885. Early in the twentieth century, he was employed in the Railway Corporation, where he took part in the construction of the railway line from Ibadan to Osogbo in 1900.⁵⁹ However, his preference for personal business instead of wage labour made him to leave railway early enough for farming at Ipesun where he cultivated cocoa, kolanut, coffee and palm

57. Oral interview with Mr. John Afolabi Oparinde, Oparinde's house, Osogbo, 81 years, 06/12/2012

58. Oral interview with Rev. Sunday Oyinlola, First Baptist Church, Oke-Okanla, Osogbo, 68 years, 20/9/12.

59. Church Historical Committee, 2002, *Miracles of the Church-On-the-Hill: The History of First Baptist Church, Oke-Okanla, Osogbo*, Osogbo: Kola Prints and Publishers p.26

trees. His success in this endeavour developed into the business of produce where he became an agent of John Holt, a major cocoa and palm kernel buying company in Osogbo.⁶⁰

He advanced quickly in this business by becoming a scale owner in 1927, when he bought his first weighing scale about 2000 Ibs at £30. He bought his first Eagle bicycle No 83403 at £5.12s.6d. He bought his first lorry for carrying his produce at £240 in 1930, during which he opened his store at Oja-oba, in Osogbo, where he sold bags of salt, kerosene, iron sheet, and other kitchen wares. Thus, he equally operated as a general merchant by buying cocoa and palm kernel for John Holt who in turn advanced European imported items to him for sale at his store in Oja-Oba.⁶¹

Chief Fasina became successful early enough that he built modern corrugated iron-roofed house in Osogbo in 1932. His fame at the time earned him admiration of Ataoja Oyedokun Akano Latona (1933-1943) who conferred on him the chieftaincy of *Oloriga* of Osogbo on 26th of October, 1941, a position which became vacant, following the death of his father, Chief *Oloriga* Olaluwe. He was elected a member of the Osogbo Native court in 1942 under the then Ibadan Native Administration where he subsequently emerged as a judge until 1946 when Osogbo became independent of Ibadan Native Administration.⁶²

Chief Fasina was a devout Christian who used his resources to develop his church, Oke-Okanla Baptist Church, and the community at

60. Church Historical Committee, 2002, *Miracles of the Church-On-the-Hill: The History of First Baptist Church, Oke-Okanla, Osogbo*, Osogbo: Kola Prints and Publishers, p.26

61. Church Historical Committee, 2002, *Miracles of the Church-On-the-Hill: The History of, First Baptist Church, Oke-Okanla, Osogbo*, Osogbo: Kola Prints and Publishers p.26.

62. A.O. Tejumade, 2004, *The Colonial Administration of Osogbo, 1894-1960*, B.A. Long Essay, Department of History, University of Ibadan, p. 17.

large. He was a pioneer of the First Baptist Church, Oke-Okanla, Osogbo by preparing his store at Oja-oba for Sunday worship service before the first church building was erected on Okanla hill. In spite of the barrier of polygamy, which denied him the title of deaconship, he was an active member of his church. A record titled “Osogbo Baptist Church Ticket of Membership for 1922” found in his box showed that he contributed one shilling monthly into the fund of his society for the upkeep of the church for many years.⁶³

He donated a huge sum of money for the development of the church’s primary school and this subsequently earned him the honour of opening the tenth window at the occasion of dedication of the new school building on 11th June, 1939.⁶⁴ Chief Fasina was a delegate of the First Baptist Church, Oke-Okanla Osogbo, to the Nigerian Baptist Convention, on several occasions. His attendance of Centennial celebration at Abeokuta was outstanding. As a matter of fact, his active membership of many church societies, particularly, evangelism society (*Egbe Ajihinrere*) in which he was the president for many years can never be forgotten among his peers. He was in this active service to humanity until his death on 15th July, 1961 and interred at the church cemetery.

Prince Jacob Oyedele Abifarin (C1882-1971)

Jacob Oyedele Abifarin was born into the Oyedele’s royal family in Inisa in 1882. He had no access to western education, but he struggled to acquire the knowledge of reading and writing at his adulthood. He grew up as a farmer under the tutelage of his father. In his bid to make a

63. Church Historical Committee, 2002, *Miracles of the Church-On-the-Hill: The History of First Baptist Church, Oke-Okanla, Osogbo*, Osogbo: Kola Prints and Publishers p.27.

64. Church Historical Committee, 2002, *Miracles of the Church-On-the-Hill: The History of First Baptist Church, Oke-Okanla, Osogbo*, Osogbo: Kola Prints and Publishers

better living, he went, like many other indigenes of Inisa, to the Gold Coast at the beginning of the twentieth century, where he learnt the art of trading. During his sojourn in Apedua near Kibi in the Gold Coast, he was said to have sent in conjunction with his friend, Pa. David Adedeji, an indigene of Okuku, the kolanut which later became known as *Olokuku (obi olokuku)*, to Prince Moses Oyinlola in Okuku.⁶⁵

On his return, he engaged himself with farming with a special interest in cultivation of yams, in addition to his provision trade, a business he brought from the Gold Coast. However, he began his yam business in 1926, and his success here earned him titles like, *Baba onisu* and *Baale agbe* (head of farmers). His popularity and excellence in this business won him the contract of supplying yam to military camps in Ofa, Osogbo and Ede as well as the Pullen market in Lagos during the Second World War. In Lagos, his customers included, Mrs. Adenrele, Mr. Lasisi Giwa, Mr. Ajomole, the father of the current Action Congress party chairman in Lagos and many others.⁶⁶

Yam business earned him political fame to the extent that, he became one of the first councilors to emerge following the creation of Odo-otin district council in 1954. This feat enabled him to contribute a lot to the development of his town. For instance, his influence was much felt in the upgrading of the railway halt station to a full-fledge station in 1938, the building of the Seventh Day Adventist hospital and the propagation of Christianity in the town. Apart from being the second person to become a Christian in the town, he helped in no small measure in harnessing the resources of indigenes who resided in the Gold Coast for the development of the church and the town in general. He went to the Gold Coast on

65. Oral interview with, His royal Maesty, Oba, Joseph Oyedele Fasiku II, The Olunisa of Inisa, 20/8/2012.

66. Osun Div. 1/1 51 IX Annual Reports on the Northern Districts of Ibadan Division, 1944, p. 329.

church errand for not less than seven times to collect money from indigenes who were also Christians, for the development of the church.⁶⁷

The resources gathered in his business were expended partly on polygamy. He had four wives and twenty children. This hindered him from achieving much, as he was unable to build more than a house of nine rooms. However, he died in 1971 at about the age of ninety. His associates in yam business with whom he formed yam sellers' club in Inisa included, Mr. Lawrence Ogunyomi, Mr. Fakorede Subokun, Mr. Gregory Idowu, Mr. Shittu Adeyefa, Mr. David Adefemi, Mr. David Omisola, Mr. Jeremiah Tutuola, Mr. Joseph Toogun Folayan, Mr. Bakare Adegbite. Mr. Baruwa Bakare, Mrs. Fagboyinbo Folawiyo, Chief, Gabriel Olapade Fakorede and many others.

Mr. Oni

Mr. Oni was a farmer of repute in Okuku. When the Europeans arrived with their massive demand for food crop especially during the Second World War, he became a yam dealer *par excellence*. He also had a good record of being a contractor who supplied yam to military camps in the division and the Lagos community which was in dire need of the food stuff during the Second World War. He also formed a guild of yam sellers with people like, Pakoyi Onisowo Idowu, Mr. Bello Faleke, Chief, Oluode Ogungbile, Mr. Salami Obada and Mr. Salami Ijaya.⁶⁸

When motor transport began to erode the popularity of rail transport, he bought a Bedford lorry with which he transported yam to Ibadan and Iddo in Lagos, where he had many customers. A principal

67. Oral interview with, His royal Majesty, Oba, Joseph Oyedele Fasiku II, The Olunisa of Inisa, 20/8/2012.

68. Oral interview with Prince I.A. Oyebamiji, Babakekere of Olokuku, 85 years, 06/10/2012. He is the head of Oluronke's ruling house (The current ruling house in Okuku)

customer to whom he consigned large quantity of yams in the 1940s was Mr. Babalola.⁶⁹ His business transaction during this time was so important that it caught the attention of the Assistant District Officer, who discussed it in his reports to the District Traffic Superintendent.⁷⁰ He equally had a house with zink roof. In addition, he made a considerable contribution to the growth of Okuku Anglican Church, pioneered by his brother, Abegunde. Apart from all these, the remaining parts of the proceeds of his trade were squandered on acquisition of more wives, a culture that constituted a menace to capital formation in Yorubaland. He had five wives and many children.⁷¹

Chief Emmanuel Alabi (Oba Abidjan) (C 1901-1985)

Chief Alabi was born into the family of Pa Ogunwoye Alabi, early in the 20th century. He attended Baptist Primary School Idi-Ape for his Standard five Certificate. At about the age of sixteen, his father handed him over to Pa Raji Akande, a successful business man, who took him to Abidjan. During his apprenticeship, he became an asset in the business of his master who bought cloth and cigarette in Adjame for sale in the different villages in Abidjan. When his master saw how diligent he was, he gave him a considerable level of freedom in which he was allowed to be on his own in the trade although for his master rather than for himself.⁷²

At the age of twenty-six, after he had gained his freedom, he added farming to his business. He cultivated cocoa, kolanut and coffee which was the backbone of the economy of Abidjan at the time. He became so

69. Osun Div. 1/1 107 Railway Department Matters, p.139.

70. Osun Div. 1/1 107 Railway Department Matters, p.139.

71. Oral interview with Alhaji Bello Ajani, Elemoso's house Okuku, 98 years, 06/10/2012.

72. Oral interview with Honourable George Alabi, Oba Abidjan's house Ejigbo, 62 years, 07/10/2012.

famous in cocoa and coffee cultivation that he caught the admiration of the French trading firms. He cultivated over eighty acres of land and became so rich that he had two trucks and four open cars, which he used for farming business. He had about 34 coffee milling machines in his farms and in the 1950s his poultry had become so successful that he had acquired many hatching machines. All these made him to be well known to the politicians and the government of the day. Eventually, the president of the Republic of Cote d'Ivoire appointed him as the representative of all Nigerians in Cote d'Ivoire. This feat gave birth to the title, Oba Abidjan (King of Abidjan) in 1953.⁷³

Pa Emmanuel Alabi built houses in strategic places in Abidjan. These include, Deu Cente Vent, petite Plateau and Habitat. That of Adjame is the biggest. It was built on eight plots of land. It had 32 shops at the basement and about 15 flats upstairs, all occupied by the Lebanese. There are halls where various meetings were held and open spaces for celebration and festivities. The high fence constructed round the house made it a fortress, especially during the crisis that threatened the survival of foreigners in Cote d'Ivoire in the early 1990s. During the crisis, foreigners, especially Nigerians, stayed in the house for over three months during which the government of Houphouet Boigny deployed soldiers to protect them. The house was a place of meetings for Nigerians, and every month, a meeting used to hold, where Nigerians who misbehaved were publicly disciplined. They were often flogged publicly.⁷⁴

73. B.I. Lasisi, 2005, *Ejigbo local Government: A Positive Reference Point and the Profile of Prominent Indigenes*, Ejigbo: Bil Communications and Publishers, p. 84.

74. Oral interview with Honourable George Alabi, Oba Abidjan's house Ejigbo, 62 years, 07/10/2012.

Pa Emmanuel Alabi represented Nigerians so well that he made the entire people of Cote d'Ivoire to show interest in the leadership of the Nigerian community. He became so respectable that government had to discuss any policy that had to do with foreigners with him, such that he would discuss them with Nigerians before the government made the policy known to the public. No other Nigerian enjoyed such high profile privilege apart from him. This was demonstrated in the various elections held among Nigerians in Cote d'Ivoire where they always showed their preferences for chief Alabi.

Chief Alabi built his first house at Idi-Ape area, Ejigbo in 1940. It was the first two-storey building in Ejigbo. However, he built a bigger one at No.1 Oba Abidjan Street in Ejigbo in the 1950s. His philanthropic impact was felt both within and outside Ejigbo township. For example, he built a school for Osinmo village and a church in Inisa Egoro. Various other kings from villages under Ejigbo came to him for help in their villages. Whenever there was any need for developmental services in Ejigbo, he mobilised the resources of indigenes of Ejigbo who resided in Abidjan.⁷⁵

Chief Alabi had eleven wives, six of these had a child each. His children were forty-one in number. Many of these children had French education because of his base in Abidjan, a francophone city. His children in Nigeria were poor educationally, due to the negligence on the part of their guardians, when their parents were in far away Abidjan. Eventually, he died in 1985 at about 84 years of age.

75. Oral interview with Honourable George Alabi, Oba Abidjan's house Ejigbo, 62 years, 07/10/2012.

Pa John Alamu Tella

John Alamu Tella was born into the family of Tella in Ejigbo at the close of the 19th century. Although much is not known about his childhood, he grew up to become a successful trader. At first, he dealt in European merchandise like, cement, iron sheet, kerosene, salt, nail and bucket which he bought from European trading firms in Osogbo, particularly, G.B. Ollivant. Subsequently, he became a produce agent of U.A.C. He became so engrossed in buying cocoa and palm kernel that trade in European merchandise was eventually abandoned.⁷⁶

As a produce buyer, he acquired much wealth with which he bought a large expanse of land on which his two houses and shops were built. He donated part of the land for construction of Idi-Ape Baptist church in Ejigbo. He had two cars and about eight Bedford lorries that he used for transportation of cocoa from his collection centres to Ejigbo and subsequently to Osogbo where they were usually delivered to U.A.C., the European trading company that usually advanced money to him for the business. He had sub-buyers in different villages and towns in Ejigbo district council and beyond. For example, he bought cocoa and palm kernel from Ogbomoso, Iwo, Ede and Olode in Ile-Ife area. Many of his agents were given scales.⁷⁷

Moreover, he gained the admiration of the people and politicians within and outside Ejigbo district council. For example, he began to serve as the adviser to Ejigbo native council in 1936. In March, 1954, when Ejigbo became a district council in the newly created Osun Division, he emerged as the first council clerk. Having acted in clerk capacity for two years, he acted as the secretary of the council for another two years from

76. Oral interview with, Mrs. Grace Ibitowa, Tella's house, Ejigbo, 83 years, 07/10/2012.

77. Oral interview with, Mrs. Grace Ibitowa, Tella's house, Ejigbo, 83 years, 07/10/2012.

1956 to 1958. Throughout this period, the Elejigbo of Ejigbo was the chairman of council up till 1960.⁷⁸ As a matter of fact, Pa. J.A. Tella was described in the 1944 annual reports as a literate trader who attended all councils in an advisory capacity before he eventually became a member of the council.⁷⁹ He financed the construction of a road which became a street named after him. He had five wives and many children some of whom were educated.

Chief Joseph Odeleye (C 1890-1990)

Chief Joseph Odeleye was also an icon in cocoa trade in Gbongan. He was born into the family of Pa. Odeleye in 1890, a background that prepared him for his future endeavour. He learnt trading from his father whom he followed to Ejinrin and other neighbouring markets. When he became independent, he expanded the scope of his business by going to Hausaland from where he bought *suku*, *onikolobo*, feather and other products for sale in Ejinrin and other markets in Gbongan area.⁸⁰ On his journey to Hausaland, he took along with him alligator pepper, Iyere, tobacco and other products of the south for sale. Some of the railway stations he used during his various journeys to the north and Lagos were Ede, Iwo and Ile-Ogbo railway stations.⁸¹

The scope of his business became more expanded in 1936, when he added produce buying. This became his focus as his former business was

78. Osun Div. 1/1 51 IX Annual Reports on the Northern Districts of Ibadan Division, 1944, p. 331. Also refer to B.I. Lasisi, 2005, *Ejigbo local Government: A Positive Reference Point and the Profile of Prominent Indigenes*, Ejigbo: Bil Communications and Publishers, p. 31.

79. Osun Div. 1/1 51 IX Annual Reports on the Northern Districts of Ibadan Division, 1944.

80. O.O. Olubomehin, 2002, "Port and Market Development in Ejinrin 1892-1953", in G.O. Oguntomisin and S.A. Ajayi, (eds), *Readings in Nigerian History and Culture: Essays in Memory of Professor J.A. Atanda*, Ibadan: Hope Publication, p. 185.

81. Oral interview with, Chief, Ebenezer Odeleye, the Akogun of Gbongan, 84 years, 16/19/2012

eventually abandoned. He became very successful in produce buying that he was invested with Manye chieftaincy in Gbongan in 1948 by Oyeniyi, the then *Olufi* of Gbongan. He was recognised as the head of the Modakeke household in Gbongan.⁸²

Chief Odeleye had agents in the various villages under Gbongan. He also had a lorry, which he used to collect cocoa and palm kernel from his agents and to deliver merchandise at U.A.C. store in Ibadan. His contemporaries in the produce business included Arowolo Ojo, Adewole Joseph, Lanrewaju Babalakin, Oriyangi Abraham, Gabriel Adedeji and Adesoji Aderemi. He involved himself in some part-time businesses. For instance, when salt was very scarce in the 1940s, he bought Ijebu local salt which he sold secretly in Iwo and Ile-Ogbo. This was because, the local salt did not meet the standard of the British imported salt that was very hard to get, and therefore, it was outlawed.⁸³

As a Christian, Chief Odeleye took active part in the building of the famous Saint Paul's Anglican Cathedral at Oke-church, Gbongan (*Awo sifila* Church). His contribution to the building of Saint Paul's Anglican Primary school was of great importance. Thus, he contributed in no small measure to the development of Gbongan as a trader, christian and politician. However, he built four houses, all in Gbongan. He had six wives and many children, some of whom were educated. He died in 1990, at about a hundred years of age.⁸⁴

82. Oral interview with, Chief, Samuel Alabi, the Basorun of Gbongan, 82 years, 16/19/2012.

83. Oral interview with, Chief, Ebenezer Odeleye, the Akogun of Gbongan, He was one of the porters who helped his father to carry the illegal salt to Ile-ogbo in 1941.

84. Oral interview with Pa. Gabriel Adebisi Opayinka, he was a policeman in the district during the colonial period, 107 years, 16/10/2012.

Kolanut Traders

Kolanut trade was predominantly dominated by women. The whole of Osun Division had earlier on been visited by Hausa traders, who bought kolanut from women traders, who in turn bought it from the farmers. The Hausa traders would remove the pericap and package the kolanut in baskets for onward conveyance to the north where there was a great demand for it. Some women equally took kolanut to markets in Igbomina and Ilorin areas, where they could obtain fairer prices. From these places, the kolanuts were taken further north by Hausa and Yoruba women traders.

Moreover, this situation changed in the 1940s, when some daring women decided to bypass the Hausa intermediaries through whom their merchandise used to reach the north. In the 1950s, when there was a record of increase in kolanut trade in Odo-Otin area, prominent traders in Ikirun and Inisa towns included Mrs. Limota Ajeigbe, the current *Iya egbe olobi* of Osun state, Mrs. Adetoun and Mrs. Adepate, who were the first and second *Iya egbe olobi* respectively in Ikirun.⁸⁵ Alhaja Humaani Apan and Alhaja Asimowu Oyedokun, who were also *Iya egbe olobi* of their times in Inisa were good examples of those who made it, as long distance kolanut traders (*alajapa* kolanut traders).⁸⁶

This people competed with the Hausa kolanut dealers as commercial intermediaries and emerged as a new class of *elite* in their business of choice. Some of the markets that served as their depot

85. Oral interview with, Chief Mrs. Limonta Ajeigbe, The *Iya egbe Olobi* of Osun State, She is a native of Ikirun, 93 years, 12/10/2012.

86. Oral interview with a group of Kolanut sellers in Inisa under the leadership of Alhaja Sabitiyu Odegenle, others were Olanike Olatunji and Muniratu Oladejo, they are all in their 80s (85, 82 and 80 respectively) 17/10/12. Also, see R.O. Olaniyi, 2008, *Diaspora is Not Like Home: A Social and Economic History of Yoruba ...* pp. 133. where he also confirmed that most of the *alajapa* kolanut traders came from many towns of Osun division such as, Ifon, Ilobu, Erin, Ikirun among others.

included, the Ujili market in Gwamaja quarters, Mariri Kolanut market in Kano, Kumi, Sabon-Gari, Kafar Nassarawa market, Maiduguri market and Galadima street market. Many of their landlords (*bale*) and brokers, (*alagbata*) who collected the merchandise from them and sold it, were also Yoruba and this helped in no small measure in boosting the production of and marketing of Kolanut in Osun Division. A typical example was Alhaja Kuburat Fulani from Ilesa town, who was the pioneer Yoruba woman kolanut *alagbata* and *baale* in Mariri market.⁸⁷

Alhaja Hunmaani Apon Oyekunle

Alhaja Hunmaani Apon was a reputable kolanut trader. She learnt trading from her mother whom she followed around right from her childhood. Her mother bought Kolanut from villages such as, Agbeye, Ilie, Ore, Ira, Okua, e.t.c. She became an independent trader when she got married to Mr Oyekunle. She later joined the bandwagon of traders who acted as intermediaries between the farmers and the Hausa buyers. She became so successful that she was able to get enough money to engage in long distance trade between Osun Division and Hausaland (*ajapa*).⁸⁸

Alhaja Oyekunle made so much wealth from the trade that she became one of the few women who built houses with zinc roof in the 1950s. She bought a bus in the post-colonial period for transportation of kolanut to the North. She used her wealth for the education of her children. She became so famous that she was made *Iya egbe olobi* of Inisa and *Iya Suna* of the Muslim community in Inisa. This further enabled her to use her wealth to educate her children and promote the

87. R.O. Olaniyi, 2008, *Diaspora is Not Like Home: A Social and Economic History of Yoruba in Kano, 1912-1999*, Muenchen: Lincom Europa Academic Publication, pp. 133.

88. Oral interview with a group of Kolanut sellers in Inisa under the leadership of Alhaja Sabitiyu Odegbenle...

course of Islam in her town. She bequeathed the trade to some of her children and apprentices before her death. One of her children, Mr. Jimoh Oyekunle eventually rose to become the manager of the First bank in the 1970s.⁸⁹

Alhaja Asimowu Oyedokun

Alhaja Asimowu Oyedokun was another icon in the long distance trade in kolanut. She learnt the trade from her mother and became an independent trader when she got married to Alhaji Oyedokun. Like her contemporaries, she was a local trader buying kolanut for Hausa traders until she became involved in long distance trade in the 1940s. She traded in kolanut in between Odo-otin and Hausaland (*ajapa*).⁹⁰

Moreover, Alhaja Oyedokun acquired much wealth with which she built a house with corrugated iron sheet. She also bought a bus later in the post-colonial period for the conveyance of kolanut to Hausaland. Eventually, she was made *Iya egbe olobi* and *Iya Suna* after Alhaja Hunmaani Apon. She, therefore, used her wealth for the promotion of the course of Islam in her town. She equally used her wealth for the education of her children. Some of them eventually became successful in their careers of choice. A good example is Mr. Lasisi Oyedokun, who graduated as a pharmacist from the University of Ife in the 1960s.⁹¹

Conclusion

This chapter has reiterated the fact that, the Yoruba commercial *elite* were not eliminated from the colonial commercial system. Rather,

89. Oral interview with, His Majesty, Oba, Joseph Oyedele Fasiku II, The Olunisa of Inisa, 20/8/2012.

90. Oral interview with a group of Kolanut sellers in Inisa under the leadership of Alhaja Sabitiyu Odegbenle...

91. Oral interview with, His Majesty, Oba, Joseph Oyedele Fasiku II, The Olunisa of Inisa, 20/8/2012.

they played key roles as they served as links between European trading firms and the generality of people in Osun Division. The survival of the indigenous commercial *elite* with little or no access to the extraneous aids to trade, was an indication of adaptation of Yoruba commercial practices to the new commercial dispensation.

For instance, with inadequate transportation facilities, which made many of these traders to rely on human portage on many occasions, they still coped as intermediaries between the European trading firms and the local markets. Many of these traders had no access to banking facilities. They started businesses with money they either raised personally or loaned them by their relatives. For example, Chief J.O. Oparinde, Mr. Oni and Prince J.O. Abifarin started businesses with money they raised from farming. Chief David Olaluwe Fasina was an example of those who started businesses with the money they earned from their service as employees of Railway Corporation. Chief Emmanuel Alabi (*Oba Abidjan*) and Mr. Joseph Odeleye who were trading apprentices were given money and merchandise by their masters to start their own businesses after serving their masters meritoriously for years. The duo of Alhaja Humaani Apon and Asimowu Oyedokun inherited kolanut business from their mothers. Their mothers who were equally their masters taught them trading and eventually gave them money to start their own kolanut business when they got married.

Many of these traders depended on *Ajo* and *Esusu* to boost their businesses. However, credit facilities enjoyed by those who had direct dealings with European trading firms helped them in no small measure. This accounted for the success of Pa. J.A. Tella, Chief David Fasina, and many others who added cocoa buying and European merchandise to their businesses. People in this category were known as, new commercial *elite*,

since their businesses emanated from the extension of European trading firms to Osogbo, the headquarters of Osun Division.

Access to government loan did not come until the 1950s when many people applied for loan from Western Region's Production Development Board to expand their businesses. Notable among these people were, Abigasi Bolajoko Ladejobi, Joseph Adebayo Oparinde, Sule Akande, Raji Atanda, Sule Amao, Saka Makanju, S.A. Oloke, S.A. Olaniyan and Bello Alabi.⁹² A.B. Ladejobi applied for a loan of £1,000 in 1952 to purchase motorised corn mills and to erect a building to house them. As the government was planning to extend public utilities to Osogbo around 1955, she applied for another of £3,000 to buy electrically run equipment for an enlarged modern bakery that would serve the entire area around the town⁹³.

Joseph Adebayo Oparinde, the eldest son of Chief Jacob Oparinde who took over the management of his father's business in 1946 also applied for a loan of £10,000 to expand Oparinde's Bus Transport Service so as to give regular services to the people and to provide comfortable transports, which will link the people of the various districts of Osun Division to Osogbo, the head quarters.⁹⁴ The business got expanded in his hand as three lorries were bought in 1948, one lorry was bought in 1949 and two more lorries were bought in 1950 from Messers C.F.A.O.⁹⁵

92. NAI Osun Div. 1/1 1146/3 Dada Transport Service Osogbo, Application for loan of £ 10,000, 1146/5 Mr. S.A. Oloke: Application for loan, 1146/7 Mr. J.A. Oparinde: Application for loan, 1146/8 Mrs. Abigasi Bolajoko Ladejobi: Application for loan, all from Western Region's Production Development Board.

93. NAI Osun Div. 1146/8 Mrs. Abigasi Bolajoko Ladejobi: Application for loan from Western Region's Production Development Board. p.1.

94. NAI Osun Div. 1146/7 Mr. J.A. Oparinde: Application for loan from Western Region's Production Development Board, p.1.

95. NAI Osun Div. 1146/7 Mr. J.A. Oparinde: Application for loan from Western Region's Production Development Board, p. 1

Moreover, non-profitable practices embarked upon by most of these traders spelt doom for their businesses. Many of them married too many wives and they had many children. Their properties, therefore, had to be shared among these wives and children. Unhealthy *rivalries* among these wives and children during and after their death often made it impossible for good successors to emerge. For instance, Joseph Adebayo took over the dwindling business of his father. He could not manage it for long when he died mysteriously after series of contests with his brothers, particularly Benjamin Ade Oparinde, who wrote a petition against his request for loan on the ground that the house he was using as collateral did not belong to him alone.⁹⁶ However, the death of Joseph Oparinde marked the end of the business.

Children of Chief Emmanuel Alabi (*Oba Abidjan*) were still managing the remains of their fathers business in Cote d'Ivoire. Chief Ebenezer Odeleye, the current *Akogun Mayegun* of Gbongan inherited his father's business. He is no longer practicing because of old age and none of his children is interested in it. Most businesses folded up or died with their owners, because they were sole proprietorship. In other words, none of them developed into a scale comparable with European trading firms. Indeed, mismanagement has always been a prominent factor in the collapse of many African enterprises after the death of their owners. Succeeding managers of such businesses often lack the required zeal, orientation or dexterity to sustain them and these factors often spelt doom for them.⁹⁷

96. NAI Osun Div. 1146/7 Mr. J.A. Oparinde: Application for loan from Western Regional Production Development Board p. 3.

97. NAI Osun Div. 1146/7 Mr. J.A. Oparinde: Application for loan from Western Regional Production Development Board p. 3.

However, in spite of these limitations, their businesses thrived and served the purpose for which they were meant. Most of them also achieved more than their contemporaries who were in other professions, such as farming, mining, and craft, among others.

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN

CHAPTER FIVE

ADAPTATION OF THE YORUBA COMMERCIAL CULTURE AND THE CHALLENGES OF CHANGE IN THE COMMERCIAL SECTOR OF OSUN DIVISION

Introduction

In spite of the various developments that characterised the colonial economy, Yoruba commercial sector, although expanded, still retained most of its pre-colonial features.¹ This makes it more appropriate to talk about adaptation, rather than outright change. For example, in Osun Division, development in communication was basically in the area of Road and Railway and these were not evenly distributed as most roads were constructed towards the end of the colonial period.² The reason for this is not far fetched. Since the British interest in Yorubaland generally was to promote trade, areas with abundance of primary products needed by the European industrialists were given priority in the construction of roads.³

The roads were constructed with great enthusiasm. This is because, the hope that local communities would be linked with the world through road made people to troop out *en mass* to construct their own part and call the neighbouring communities to link up with them where they stopped. This was how people of Osogbo, Ikirun, Inisa, Okuku, Ila-odo

1. T. Falola, (ed), 2000, *Tradition and Change in Africa*, The Essays of J.F. Ade Ajayi, Trenton: Africa World Press, Inc. p. 158.

2. 1930s, 40s and 50s witnessed construction of roads in the Division, examples are, Iwo-Ejigbo road 1937, Osogbo- Ikirun road 1935. Osun Div 1/1 Annual report 1939-43, p. 63 and Osun Div. 1004 Vol.II. Town and Districts roads Osogbo, p. 6, T. Falola, (ed), *Tradition and Change in Africa*...p. 158.

3. Osun Div. 1/1 51 IX 1944 Annual Reports, had it that, Ara-Ojo road was approved with the hope that it will increase the supply of palm kernel, p. 332. Also see Osun Div. 1/5 Iwo-Ejigbo road, p7. For the need to link Ikonifin Farming scheme with Agricultural headquarters of Oyo and Ibadan by good road and bridge on river Oba between Awe and Ife-Odan, this was to enhance the save traveling of Agricultural Officer to the farm project, p. 7. See, Wale Oyemakinde, "Railway Construction and Operation in Nigeria. 1895-191: Labour problems and Socio-Economic Impact" *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol, VII, No. 2, June, 1974, p. 308.

constructed their own parts of the road linking Osogbo to Ofa and Ilorin in the 1940s.⁴ Other main roads linking various districts of the division were constructed in the same manner, while towns and villages in the various districts remained connected with foot paths throughout the colonial period.

The implication of the forgoing is that commercial activities in Osun Division had to depend on age-long system of human portage with traders and their carriers trekking over long distances for commercial transactions. On the existing main roads like Iwo-Osogbo, Ejigbo-Ogbomoso and Osogbo-Ofa, which were motorable, lorries were very scanty. For example, in the 1940s, people of Inisa had to wait for ten days interval, before any of the available lorries could come around.⁵ The cost of transportation was also high. For example, in the 1940s, people paid 3½ shillings for transportation from Inisa to Ilorin and from Okuku to Osogbo.⁶ This made people to prefer trekking even when lorries were available for them to board.⁷

In actual fact, motor transport was only a complement of the existing transportation system in the division. Transportation on foot along paths still prevailed, while road transportation was employed on a long distance.⁸ This involved transportation to places outside Osun Division, such as Ibadan, Lagos, Ondo among others.⁹ Available lorries in the division were meant for the transportation of primary products to

4. Oral interview, Pa Samuel Fakunle, Inisa, June, 24, 2011

5. Oral interview, Pa Samuel Fakunle June, 24, 2011

6. G.O. Ogunremi, 1978, "The Nigerian Motor Transport Under Strike of 1937", *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. 9, No. 2, June, p.133.

7. Oral Interview, Pa Samuel June, 24, 2011

8. D. Ogunremi, 1975, "Human Portage in Nigeria in the Nineteenth Century- A Pillar in the Indigenous Economy", *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol, 8, No. 1, December, p. 39.

9. Oral interview with Mrs Janet Adejumo, 85 years,20/07/2011.

railway stations, for onward conveyance to Lagos where they were shipped to European countries.¹⁰

Alarobo in Ikirun took advantage of the ease of road transportation in the long distance trading. Hence, they traveled as a group in lorries to Igbaja and Ajase in Igbomina area where they bought livestock such as: goats, sheep, pigeons, hens and other livestock that existed in abundance in the savannah region, for marketing in Ikirun and other towns in their neighbourhood.¹¹

Up till the 1940s and 1950s, Ikirun, Iresi and other adjoining towns were connected together with footpaths. Silent road side-trade persisted in Osun division, as items like sugarcane, *aadun*, banana and boiled yams were placed beside foot paths for passersby to buy for their immediate consumption, usually at prices that would be indicated by certain numbers of stones or other things.¹² In essence, a substantial aspect of commerce, particularly goods that were being traded before, still depended on the old system of human portage (carrier system), while long distance trading became dependent on motor transportation.

Another complement to indigenous transportation system in the colonial Osun Division was railway. This means of transportation came much earlier than motor transportation in Osun Division. It traversed important towns in the division, such as Iwo, Ede, Osogbo, Ikirun and Inisa. Other towns of the division benefited from it through feeder roads. While primary products were directed to the railway stations through the

10. O. Oshin, 1990, "Nigerian Railways under Stress, 1912-1945", *ODU*, No. 37, January, p. 50.

11. This was well attested to, by Mrs. Janet Adejumo, whose mother was a kolanut trader, but herself an *Alarobo*. She accompanied her mother to Igbajo and Iresi, a journey of about 10 miles, to buy Kolanut that existed in abundance.

12. Oral interview, Mrs Janet Adejumo, Igbaye, July 8th, 2011.

feeder roads, European merchandise needed by the people was made to reach people in the different towns of the division through the roads.¹³

While it may be true that European constructed railway for their own selfish end of tapping the resources of Yorubaland, goods that are indigenous to Osun Division moved up and down the railway. It eventually became an avenue, through which kolanut, local soap (*Ose ogidi*), mats, cloth and other goods reached Northern Nigeria. Beans, *Tinko* (sun-dried meat), fish, cows, sheep, goats of the North were brought down South through the same means.¹⁴

The fact that railway passed across a few towns of the division is a limitation on its own. And apart from its being used only by the North bound traders and vice versa, it enhanced the development of commerce in the towns through which it passed. For instance, at the beginning of the 20th century, towns like Osogbo, Iwo, Ede and Ikirun became important commercial centres.¹⁵ In these towns, traders profited greatly in several ways, workers on the railroads and their passengers created demand, especially for food. Petty traders settled next to the railways stations where they offered ready-to-eat food and poultry.¹⁶ Development of water transportation in Yorubaland was limited to riverrine areas. Hence, there was no navigable waterway worthy of such development by the British in Osun Division.¹⁷

13. G.O. Ogunremi, 1978, "The Nigerian Motor Transport Under Strike of 1937", *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. 9, No. 2, June, p. 133.

14. Olufemi Omosini, 1971, "Railway Projects and British Attitude towards the Development of West Africa, 1872-1903", *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. 5, No. 4, June, p. 497.

15. J.A. Atanda, 1979, *The New Oyo Empire*, London: Longman Group, Ltd.

16. M. K. McIntosh, 2009, *Yoruba Women, Work, and Social Change*, Indiana: Indiana University Press, p. 152.

17. S.A Olanrewaju, 1987, "The Infrastructure of Exploitation: Transport, Monetary Changes, Banking, etc.", in, Toyin Falola, (ed) *Britain and Nigeria: Exploitation or Development?*. London: Zed Books, 1987, p.66

The expansion in commerce necessitated a change in the means of exchange in Yorubaland. In Osun Division, cowries did not finally cease to be legal tender, at least for petty transactions, until about the 1920s. This is because, it could be used to purchase small items which the least denomination of the British coin (tenth of a penny) could not.¹⁸ Its elimination from the society was very gradual as it coexisted with British currency in the first two decades of the twentieth century. However, with the development of large scale trading activities, cowries soon lost their popularity, only to remain as adornments for *sekere* (a type of calabash drum) as well as divination and decoration coins for gods like, *Ifa* and *Esu*. In its place came the growth of new monetary terms such as, *eepinni* (half-penny), *kobo* (copper-penny), *sile* (shilling), and *poun* (pound).¹⁹

Assisting in the extension of the use of British currency in the division was the bank of British West Africa (BBWA) through its branch that was established in Ibadan in 1910. However, in 1924, another branch which was the division's first experience in banking service was established in Osogbo. The bank joined European trading firms and the government in discouraging the use of cowries. It refused to have anything to do with the money and it further assisted in imposing the new currency.²⁰

The level of indigenous commercial enterprise in Osun Division in the period under study did not require bank. *Ipsa facto*, Osogbo branch of the BBWA provided banking services for the expatriate trading enterprises and the British colonial administrations. Indigenous traders experienced great difficulties in obtaining financial assistance, due to lack

18. Iba Prof. 3/10 Letter No. 103/104, April 30, 1909.

19. J.A. Atanda, 1979, *The New Oyo Empire*, London: Longman Group, Ltd.

20. Osun Div. 1/2 OS. 64 Nickel Coinage and Currency General. See also, Toyin Falola, *Politics and Economy in Ibadan, 1893-1945*, Lagos: Modelor Design Aids Limited, 1989, p. 77

of confidence by the bank in their credit worthiness.²¹ Hence, they were denied bank facilities such as loans and overdrafts on the ground that, they could not provide the needed collateral. It was reasoned that, since they could not provide security, the possibility of repayment was slim.

These conditions abound even in spite of the fact that, African businessmen gave the bank a backing through their deposits. For instance, it was estimated that, the saving of Africans constituted over 95% of the banks total deposits pool in its early years. In addition, after its first ten months of operation, the balance sheet showed deposits of £87,665 and almost the whole of the sum was deposited by Africans.²²

It should be pointed out here that, banking services were not totally absent in Osun Division before the advent of the Europeans. These were being rendered by individuals and groups who were money lenders whose interest rates were usurious in their different villages.²³ In most cases, borrowers worked in their creditors' farms for certain number of days. This served as both collateral and interest on the money lent to them.²⁴ This is known as *Iwofa* system (pawnship), as opposed to *sogundogoji* system (redeeming twenty with forty) under which the interest was paid in cash at an amount equal to the principal loan.²⁵

Pawnship system presented a unique case in Osun Division during the colonial period. Its prevalence during the period showed a marked difference between the urban and the rural economies in Yorubaland.

21. J.A. Atanda, 1979, *The New Oyo Empire*, London: Longman Group, Ltd.

22. R. Fry, 1976, *Bankers in West Africa: The Story of the Bank of British West Africa Ltd*, London: Hutchinson Benham, p. 67.

23. O.C. Adesina, 1994, *Indigenous Participation in the Economy of Western Nigeria, 1900-1970*, Ph.D Thesis in the Department of History, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, p. 119.

24. Oral interview, Mrs. Rachael Ajayi, Okua, June, 24th, 2011.

25. O.C. Adesina, 1994, *Indigenous Participation in the Economy...* p. 119. Money-lending system emanated from the discriminating attitudes of the British colonial banks, see T. Falola, "My Friend the Shylock: Money-Lenders and their Clients in South-Western Nigeria" in, *The Journal of African History*, 34, 1993, p. 405.

Thus, when it was being replaced in Lagos, Ijebu, Egba and Ibadan by *sogundogoji*, a hybrid of pawnship and modern banking systems, it became more widespread in Osun Division.²⁶ When the notice of its outlaw was sent to the crownheads in the division in 1927, many of them were not happy about it and colonial government was asked to make provision for an alternative before the system could be abolished. *Oba* Kusamotu Oyewole II, the *Akirun* of Ikirun, wrote a letter to the District Officer in Osogbo in 1933 to express his dissatisfaction about the government sanction against the system that meant a lot to the people. This is because it was likeable to mortgaging cocoa and palm trees, which were recoverable after the redemption of a debt. There was therefore, the fear that things will get worse, since lenders will not be willing to give out money without a pawn.²⁷

The notice specifically stated that, no boy or girl of under the the age of sixteen years shall be pawned after 28th February, 1927. And with effect from 15th June, 1927, the labour of a pawn (*Iwofa*) shall be paid for at a fixed rate per 100 heaps. Also, the value of their labour shall be calculated towards the extinction both of the debt and the interest there on. In addition, all debts are revocable in the native courts or personal courts and the rate of pay will be as follows.

In Oyo Division 2d per 100 heaps

In Ibadan Division 3d per 100 heaps

In Ife Division 3d per 100 heaps²⁸

Rather than stopping the system, subsequent judicial intervention in various pawnship cases only provided ways of escape for some pawns

26. T. Falola, 1993, "My Friend the Shylock: Money-Lenders and their Clients in South-Western Nigeria" in, *The Journal of African History*, 34, p. 405.

27. NAI. Osun Div 1/1 192 Pawnship System, p. 16.

28. NAI. Osun Div 1/1 192 Pawnship System, p. 2

and cases of pawnship became more rampant in the division because, there was no other alternative for people to exploit. For instance, it took the interventions of the District Officer in Osogbo and the *Olokuku* of okuku for chief Eshuja of Oyan to release his pawn, Shittu who had worked for five years for £12-10-0.²⁹ Mr. Ogunleye of Ogbaagbaa near Iwo pawned six small boys of Ibiloye, an aspirant to the *Timi* stool for a loan of £36. It took the help of Sijuade of the district office in Osogbo before the boys could be freed.³⁰ Salawu, a boy of fifteen years was pawned by his father to one Adegunle in Ibadan for eight years, Awobimpe, a small girl of eight years was pawned to Abeni Ojo in Masifa village near Ejigbo for £3 borrowed to treat her grandmother with whom she had lived for some years before the woman became ill.³¹ Oyetayo of Ojuabere's compound in Masifa area of Ogbomoso also pawned Oke, the eldest brother of Ezekiel Adeniran for £15 taken by their father Abolarin. Oke absconded after serving for twenty years. Adeniran his brother was taken as a replacement for another fifteen years, but he also absconded and petitioned the District Officer in Osogbo after which he was released.³²

Examples of groups which rendered banking services were societies formed to better the social and economic conditions of members. *Egbe Kososi* (*kososi* club) was formed by some traders in Ede in the 1950s. Every member contributed 1 kobo each on weekly basis, these were to be shared after a year. From this contribution, individual traders could borrow money to boost their trading activities, but it has to be repaid before the end of the year.³³ Similar societies existed in Ikirun

29. NAI. Osun Div 1/1 192 Pawnship System, p. 10

30. NAI. Osun Div 1/1 192 Pawnship System, p. 337

31. NAI. Osun Div 1/1 192 Pawnship System, p. 369

32. NAI. Osun Div 1/1 192 Pawnship System, p. 376

33. Oral interview, Abibatu Adesola Iyalaja of Oje Market, Ede, 70 years, July, 3rd, 2011.

and other towns in Osun Division in the 1950s. These *Ajo* and *Esusu* societies, which have been frequently discussed by scholars as characteristic of the Yoruba economy were common places in the various towns of Osun Division in period covered by this study.³⁴

These credit systems formed the bedrock of finance under colonial rule, when access to credit through formal markets was foreclosed by the discriminatory practices of both the government and the expatriate banks. The informal credit system, therefore, represented not only a socio-economic adaptation to a condition of need, but also served as a mechanism by which the people promoted group solidarity and identified with the agitators for socio-economic and political independence.³⁵

Sellers of storable goods like Kolanut and palm oil equally rendered some banking services. For example, individuals who wanted to use their money (that is, their share of contribution or proceed of the sale of farm products) at a later date kept money with them, so that the money could be used to buy kolanut for keeping till a later period, when its price might have appreciated considerably. The profit of such transactions were usually divided into three with one third going to the owner of the money and the remaining two third going to the trader. At the end, the trader would have made gains for the owner of the money. This gain served as the interest on the money and, therefore, served as benefit of parting with their money.³⁶ This is not different from the banking method of paying interest on individuals holding of savings account.

34. C.E.F. Beer, 1976, *The Politics of Peasant Groups in Western Nigeria*, Ibadan: University Press Ltd. p. 3. Also M.K. McIntosh, 2010, in her , *Yoruba Women and Social Change*, confirmed that as at 1861, over 300 esusu clubs were in operation in Abeokuta alone.

35. O.C.Adesina, 1994, *Indigenous Participation in the Economy of Western Nigeria, 1900-1970*, Ph.D Thesis in the Department of History, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, p. 119.

36. This is a unique case analysed by Alhaja Saudat Olatunde, the Iyaloja of Oluode market, Osogbo, during an oral interview on July, 2nd, 2011.

As in the pre-colonial period, people's idea of hollowing out soil to keep money persisted in Osun Division.³⁷ Thus, if there were people who kept money in the bank, they would not be more than those who dealt in European merchandise or buy produce for European firms. In other words, percentage of these people was very small.³⁸ All these testify to the words of McIntosh, when she remarked that, "Although colonialism brought profound changes to Yoruba life, the new pattern did not eradicate the core features of Yoruba culture and society".³⁹ However, more than the colonial administrators would like to admit, their African subjects transformed European policies and institutions into new syncretic forms in line with their own values and culture. Thus, with their rich material culture, a complex ideology and a well defined constitution, the Yoruba readily adapted the new culture of the British to their own needs.⁴⁰

Factors that Aided the Survival of Yoruba Commercial Activities

Although Yoruba commercial activities generally consisted mainly of petty domestic distributive trade in farm and manufactured products which were basically necessities and luxuries, large scale commercial activities existed in different parts of Osun Division in the period of our study.⁴¹ Important in this regard were the kolanut trade in Ikirun, Okuku, Ede, and Osogbo areas of the division, beef trade in Iwo area and Yam

37. S.A. Aluko, 1993 *OSOMAALO: The Early Exploits of the Ijesa Entrepreneur*, Ibadan: Wemilore Press, p. 48.

38. S.A. Aluko, 1993 *OSOMAALO: The Early Exploits of the Ijesa Entrepreneur*, Ibadan: Wemilore Press, p.45

39. M. K. McIntosh, 2009, *Yoruba Women, Work, and Social Change*, Indiana: Indiana University Press, p.152.

40. M. K. McIntosh, 2009, *Yoruba Women, Work, and Social Change*, Indiana: Indiana University Press,

41. Osun Division Annual Report, 1956, p.51.

flour trade in Ogbomoso and Ejigbo areas. These were articles in which people have been trading before the arrival of the Europeans.⁴²

Although both the cola *acuminata* and *nitida* are indigenous to Africa and are especially wide spread in West Africa, only kola *acuminata* was known in Osun Division.⁴³ Kola *nitida* tree is commonly found in the region stretching between the modern republic of Guinea and Gold Coast (now Ghana), but most frequently in the forest area of Ivory Coast and Gold coast from where it was introduced to Yorubaland. Kola *nitida* was believed to have been introduced into Osun Division by Prince Moses Oyinlola (the father of the former governor of Osun State, Olagunsoye Oyinlola) who became the king of Okuku. Hence, the kola was known as “*obi Olokuku*” (Olokuku’s kola).⁴⁴ On the other hand, *acuminata* tree grows wildly in the rain forest belt of the division. It is indigenous to the entire Yoruba people.⁴⁵

Before the introduction of kola *nitida* known as *obi Olokuku* in the 1920s, kola *acuminata*, which was considered indigenous to the area was known to have been of high commercial importance and played an important part in the social gift-exchange of the people of the division. Contrary to the claim of Rufus Akinyele that farmers adopted *kola nitida* because it served as shade trees for cocoa, majority of the farmers claimed that they were fascinated by the whiteness of the specie.⁴⁶ *Kola*

42 I.A. Akinjogbin, 1980, “The Economic Foundations of the Oyo Empire”, in I.A. Akinjogbin and S.O.Osoba (eds), *Topics on Nigerian Economic and Social History*, Ile-Ife:UPL. p. 50-51.

43. B.A Agiri, 1975, “The Yoruba and the Pre-Colonial Kola Trade” in *ODU, A Journal of West African Studies*”, No. 12 , July, p. 55.

44. Oral interview with, His Majesty Oba Joseph Oyedele Fasiku II, the Olunisa of Inisa, 20/8/202012 (84 years). Also See Bolanle Awe and Olawale Albert, “ Historical Development of Osogbo” in , C.O. Adepegba, *Osogbo: Model of Growing African Towns*, Ibadan: Insitute of African Studies, 1995, p. 11

45. O. Adegbola 1972, *The Impact of Migration on the Rural Economy of Western Nigeria, 1900-1970*, Ph.D Thesis in the Department of History, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, p. 8.

46. S.S. Berry, 1975, *Cocoa, Custom and Socio-economic Change in Rural Western Nigeria*, Oxford: Clarendon Press. p.147.

nitida is usually bigger, more stimulating and storable than the indigenous *kola acuminata*, which is usually red, and has more than two cotyledons. The adoption of *Kola nitida* revolutionised kolanut trade in Osun Division as in other parts of Yorubaland.⁴⁷

Trade in kolanut was derived from its importance in the Yoruba societies. Hence, the use of kolanut like garunia kola (*orogbo*) and alligator pepper (*ataare*) appears to have ancient origins.⁴⁸ *Kola acuminata* and later *nitida* are both chewed as stimulants by the people of West Africa as each nut (dry weight) contains equal quantity (two percent) of caffeine. Right from the onset, the nuts have been presented by the people as gifts to guests. In Yorubaland of which Osun Division was a part, it was chewed individually or in a social setting, to restore vitality and ease hunger pangs. Kolanut is an important part of the traditional spiritual practice of culture and religion in Yorubaland, particularly in Osun Division. It is used as a religious object and sacred offering during prayers, ancestor veneration, and significant life events, such as naming, wedding and funeral ceremonies. It is also used in a traditional divination system, called kolanut divination (*Obi dida*). For this purpose, kolanuts with four lobes are suitable. Here, lobes of kolanuts are cast upon a special wooden board and the resultant patterns is interpreted by a trained diviner.⁴⁹

The foregoing made kolanut to be of great importance in Osun division to the extent that traders in it became rich and important in their different towns. This is evident in some of the banking services they

47. B.A Agiri, 1975, "The Yoruba and the Pre-Colonial Kola Trade" in *ODU, A Journal of West African Studies*. No. 12, July, p.59.

48. Oral interview with, His Majesty Oba Joseph Oyedele Fasiku II, the Olunisa of Inisa,

49. Oral interview with, His Majesty Oba Joseph Oyedele Fasiku II, the Olunisa of Inisa,

rendered. These traders went to farms, markets and villages to buy kolanut from farmers. On their arrival at home, they would peel the cover of the kolanuts and store them in a dry cool place. This is usually done during kolanut season, and during off-season when the price of kolanut must have appreciated, they would be selling it. Through this, they made so much gains. Apart from local markets which served as their points of sales in the division, they usually visited houses of diviners.⁵⁰

Traditional festivals within and outside the division such as *Osun* in Osogbo, *Irele* in Ikirun, *Ogiyan* in Ejigbo, *Edi* in Ile-Ife; *Ifa*, *Ogun* and *Sango* served as the period of boom for the traders. Caravan of kolanut traders used to attend *Edi* festival in Ile-Ife. They also sold kolanut in the villages along the road before they got to Ile-Ife where they usually stayed till the end of the festival. Thus, they left home for days in order to sell their wares. This was how they attended other festivals within the division usually on foot in their bid to make sales on their way and escape high cost of motor transportation.⁵¹

Geographical distribution of the *acuminata* tree in Yorubaland had important implications for the trade in its nuts within Osun Division and also with other parts of Yorubaland and Hausaland. The northern part of the division where we have Ogbomoso and Ejigbo like some part of Yorubaland lay within the savanna region and were ecologically unsuitable for the cultivation of trees whereas, the trees thrived in the pocket of rain forest of Ede, Osogbo, Gbongan, Ikire, Ikirun and Okuku areas.⁵² As a result, trade in this commodity developed within Osun

50. Oral interview with. Alhaja Saudat Olatunde, The Iyaloja of Oluode Market, Osogbo, (80 years) 20/09/2011 (she inherited kolanut trading from her mother).

51. Oral Interview with. Alhaja Saudat Olatunde...

52. B.A Agiri, 1975, "The Yoruba and the Pre-Colonial Kola Trade" in *ODU, A Journal of West African Studies*. No. 12 , July, p. 57.

Division and in-between the division and other parts of Yorubaland for onward export to Hausaland.

However, of great importance in the kolanut trade in Osun Division was the presence of the Hausa people. Various studies have revealed that the migration of the Hausa into Yorubaland was closely connected with trade in cattle and kolanuts. Although their migration could be traced to the 19th century when they began to exchange their sheep, goat and cows with kolanut, the cultivation of kolanut increased with great tempo in the twentieth century. This is not unconnected with the mechanical form of transportation that characterised colonial rule in Yorubaland. At this period, Hausa people would come with their rams and goats, especially when *Ileya* festival (*Edil fitri*) was forth coming. After selling their rams, they used the proceeds to buy kolanuts from the local traders. To such Hausa bulk buyers, kolanuts were usually counted in two hundreds (*igba*) for six shillings or more or less, depending on the existing season.⁵³

Even in Hausaland, kola *acuminata* had been a very important article of trade before the introduction of kola *nitida*. Although the first recorded importation of kolanut into Hausaland occurred in the fifteenth century when a king of Nupe sent eunuchs and kola *acuminata* to queen Amina of Zauzzau.⁵⁴ It should be pointed out that Hausa city states equally took a portion of kolanut from Oyo kingdom that was located in the savanna region just south of the river Niger with which they had established commercial contacts as early as about the sixteenth century. Oyo kingdom in turn derived her supply of kolanuts from the southern areas, inhabited by the Awori, Egba, Egbado, Ijebu, Ijesa, Ife and osun

53. K. Faluyi, 1998, "The Response of the People of Oyo Division of Western Nigeria to Cash Crop Development. 1935-1960: The Example of Ogbomosho and Ipetu-Ijesa" *Nigerian Journal of Economic History* (NJEH).No.1.Sept.

54. R.O. Olaniyi, 2008, "Hausa-Yoruba Relations, 1500-1800: A Historical Perspective", in T. Babawale and O. Ogen, (eds) *Culture and Society in Nigeria*, Lagos: Concept Publications, p. 256.

Division.⁵⁵ Although kola *nitida* otherwise known as *goro* was introduced into Hausaland at about the time when commercial transactions began between Hausaland and Yorubaland, kola *acuminata* had certain advantages over *nitida* in Hausaland.⁵⁶ For instance, Nupe and Yorubaland, which were the main sources of the kola *acuminata* were nearer than Gonja from where the Dyula merchants brought kola *nitida* through Songhai. Thus, the nut (*nitida*) remained a luxury item, restricted to the Hausa and Bornu aristocracy throughout the pre-colonial period. The proximity of the production centres of kola *acuminata* to the demand centres in Hausaland also made it cheaper to buy for the ordinary people among the Hausa.⁵⁷

Moreover, the association of kola *nitida* with the spread of Islam possibly made it unacceptable to the majority of the Hausa people who were poorly Islamized before the Fulani jihad of 1804. In order to make *goro* more acceptable and to promote its sales among the Moslems, the Dyula merchants embarked upon the spreading of fallacious legend that, “the prophet (Mohammed) sat under kola (*goro*) and offered its nuts to all his disciple”. This story had no source in Islamic teaching because, kola trees for ecological reason do not grow in Arabia.⁵⁸

This propaganda became a popular idea with the establishment of the Sokoto caliphate in 1804, because the caliphate discouraged the use of alcoholic beverages. However, a suitable substitute was eventually found in *goro* nut. In spite of this Islamic propaganda about kola *nitida*, *acuminata* nuts of osun Division continued to find their way into the

55. Oral Interview with. Alhaja Saudat Olatunde, The Iyaloja of Oluode Market, Osogbo. 20/09/2011.

56. R.O. Olaniyi, 2008, “Hausa-Yoruba Relations, 1500-1800: A Historical Perspective”, in T. Babawale and O. Ogen, (eds) *Culture and Society in Nigeria*, Lagos: Concept Publications, 259.

57. B.A Agiri, 1975, “The Yoruba and the Pre-Colonial Kola Trade” in *ODU, A Journal of West African Studies*. No. 12, July, p. 56.

58. B.A Agiri, “The Yoruba and the Pre-Colonial Kola Trade” in *ODU, A Journal of West African Studies*. No. 12, July

market of Hausaland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Thus, Oyo-Yoruba of which Osun people were among, exchanged *Kola acuminata*, palm oil, among other items for articles like: horses, potash, used in making snuff, cooking and dyeing items. Other articles included textile, *gaburu* (dried onion leaves) and some types of valuable beads called *erinla* and *esuru* from Kano and Sokoto.⁵⁹

Although there was much pressure on the production of *kola acuminata* as a result of the increase in demand for it in the nineteenth century Hausaland and Brazil, sales of kolanut in the division was directed to the north.⁶⁰ The increase in the demand for the nut (*acuminata*) in the Fulani emirates was due partly to the fact that common people continued to chew them as stimulants because of the high price of the *goro* and partly to the women who used them as cosmetic for staining their teeth red or dark. Newly evolved populous settlements like Ibadan became centers of demand. Initially, the nuts came into Ibadan in form of tribute. Regular trade in which women dominated emerged between Ibadan and her newly won territories for the rest of the 19th century and beyond. The territories included Osogbo, Iwo, Ijebu-Remo and Abeokuta.

As a matter of fact, the reason for the aforesaid late introduction of *kola nitida* to Osun Division could not be ascertained. However, Agiri attributed this to the Yoruba's deliberate resistance because of its association with Islam, which during the nineteenth century was devoted to the forcible overthrow of the Yoruba kingdom.⁶¹ Equally, *goro* could not satisfy the ritual purpose for which its rival, the *acuminata* nuts which

59. B.A Agiri,1975, "The Yoruba and the Pre-Colonial Kola Trade" in *ODU, A Journal of West African Studies*. No. 12 , July p.57.

60. R.J. Gavin and Wale Oyemakinde,2000, "Economic Development in Nigeria since 1800" in Obaro Ikime(ed), *Groundwork of Nigerian History*,Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Publication. p. 500.

61. B.A Agiri, 1975,"The Yoruba and the Pre-Colonial Kola Trade" in *ODU, A Journal of West African Studies*. No. 12 , July p. 59.

normally have more than two lobes were suitable. The introduction of kola *nitida* not only revolutionised the production and trade in kolanut in the division, it also resulted in an influx of Hausa traders who, according to Alhaja Saudat Olatunde, passed through Ilorin-Ofa route to Osogbo, accompanied by their sheep, rams, goats and donkeys laden with trons and other goods.⁶² They returned home by the same route with bundles of *goro* nuts loaded on their donkeys. Colonial period was that of an expansion in the production of kolanut through the adoption of kola *nitida* in Osun Division, and extensive trade with the north.

Also well pronounced in Osun Division in the period under study and after was the trade in food stuffs. Although cultivation of food crops was a common place in the whole of Osun Division, certain parts of the division were known as specialists in its production. Thus, while kolanut thrived in the southern and eastern parts of the division, northern districts, in the area of Ejigbo and Ogbomoso which lies in savanna land specialised in the production of yam, maize and guinea corn.⁶³ This served as a base for the trade in food stuffs, especially yam flour in which Ogbomoso, Ejigbo and Iwo people became famous during the colonial period and beyond.⁶⁴

Since every part of Yorubaland engaged in the production of food crops, the popularity of the Northern part of Osun Division, (Iwo, Ejigbo and Ogbomoso) may be based on the principle of comparative cost advantage. The foregoing is based on the influence of the nature, since the area lies within the savanna belt of the modern day Nigeria. By that

62. Oral interview with. Alhaja Saudat Olatunde The Iyalaja of Oluode Market, Osogbo. 20/09/2011

63. K. Faluyi, 1998, "The Response of the People of Oyo Division of Western Nigeria to Cash Crop Development. 1935-1960: The Example of Ogbomosho and Ipetu-Ijesa" *Nigerian Journal of Economic History* (NJEH). p. 43.

64. O.A. Olutayo, 2005, "Women in Informal Long-Distance Trade: The Family and the Rural-Urban Market Nexus in South-Western Nigeria", *Ibadan Journal of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 3, No. 2, p.70.

fact, tree crops, such as kolanut could not be cultivated in large quantities because, the land was not suitable for its cultivation. For instance, while cocoa and kola *nitida* were successfully introduced and became an important source of wealth for farmers in other parts of Yorubaland in the 19th and 20th centuries, both crops were tried unsuccessfully in the northern part of Osun Division.⁶⁵ Eventually, tobacco that was well adapted for the land was discovered. Similarly, palm trees were not available in large quantity as in other parts of Osun Division. These made the people in the area to depend on the production of food crops for their livelihood.⁶⁶

Ogbomoso became so famous in food crop production and marketing especially yam, to the extent that places in the neighbourhood and far away places depended on her. For instance, the Ataoja of Osogbo usually ordered for some special types of yams (*Okunrunmado*) from Ogbomoso for *Ilasu* ritual during which yams were sliced for the gods in preparation for the annual Osun Osogbo festival.⁶⁷ Marketing of foodstuffs was formerly a rural-rural trading, since it was limited to the *oriko* (farm). Some of the towns and villages with which Ogbomoso traded included: Iluju, Iregba, Oko, Okin, Tewure, Adifala and Igbeti among others, such that these articles of trade got to far away places through the relay of traders who attended the same market with the food stuff dealers.⁶⁸

65. K. Faluyi, 1998, "The Response of the People of Oyo Division of Western Nigeria to Cash Crop Development. 1935-1960: The Example of Ogbomoso and Ipetu-Ijesa" *Nigerian Journal of Economic History*.

66. A.Olorunfemi, 2008, "From Slaves to Palm Produce in West Africa: The South-Western Nigeria Experience, C1850-1914", *Ife Journal of History*, Vol. 4, No. 3, August, p. 21. This observation was equally made by K.A.Faluyi, "The Response of the People of Oyo Division of Western Nigeria...p.43.

67. Oral interview with. Alhaja Saudat Olatunde The Iyaloja of Oluode Market, Osogbo. 20/09/2011

68. Oral interview, Chief Mrs. Bosede Oyetunde, Iyaloja of Ogbomoso, 12th July, 2011.

However, with the introduction of mechanical means of transportation during the colonial period, coupled with the fact that people had to expand their production of food crops in order to take care of their ever-increasing wants, long distance trade developed in the local articles of trade.⁶⁹ Ibadan-Ogbomoso road was the first of its kind in Ogbomoso area. This eased the movement of the food items that were being produced in large quantity to Ibadan, which was a fast growing urban centre at the period.⁷⁰ At this time, it had become a middlemen affairs as opposed to the pre-colonial house wives' business during which they took their husbands' yams to the markets for sale.

The advent of the middlemen eliminated the services of the housewives, since they went to farms to buy yam and other food items from farmers.⁷¹ These items were then conveyed to the market with the use of *daruke* system, which involves the use of carriers (*alabaru*). The yams and other items would be bought by another set of middlemen who would either prepared them for long distance trade or sell them to other traders who have come from far away places to buy the items for sale in their own towns or markets. This long distance trade was made possible by the availability of motor transportation of the colonial era. As a matter of fact, motor vehicles encouraged the transportation of more food items to their places of demand, especially urban centers like, Ibadan, Osogbo, Lagos, and Ilorin among other places. It also encouraged farmers to be

69. G.O. Ogunremi, 1978, "The Nigerian Motor Transport Under Strike of 1937", *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. 9, No. 2, June, p. 133.

70. O.A. Olutayo, 2005, "Women in Informal Long-Distance Trade: The Family and the Rural-Urban Market Nexus in South-Western Nigeria", *Ibadan Journal of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 3, No. 2, p.68.

71. Tomilayo Adeyokunnu, 1970, "The Markets for Foodstuffs in Western Nigeria", *Odu*, New Series, No. 3, April, p.78.

more productive and sell their products on time, due to lack of storage facilities.⁷²

In order to solve the problem of storage facility, farmers devised the idea of yam-flour production which requires the fermentation of yams to help in the preservation of what cannot be sold. This is essentially a woman's affair, hence, she is responsible along with the children for peeling, sun-drying and subsequent grinding to yam-flour. This article of trade had been an important source of income for women since the pre-colonial time. This is because, it became an important product in the long-distance trade. Moreover, it has helped a lot in women empowerment, especially when new yams are no longer available in the market. Many people even reserved their yams specifically for this purpose. The product has even accorded Ogbomoso and its neighbours a great fame.⁷³

In the case of Ejigbo and its suburbs, cassava flour was more popular. This is of low quality compared with yam-flour. The process of turning cassava into flour is not different from that of yam. It is equally a woman's affair. Cassava can also be peeled and sun-dried, or it can be soaked in water for some days after which its cover would be removed. It will then be put in the sun to dry. Cassava could also be turned to gari.

A unique pre-colonial business in which Iwo people of Osun Division have excelled was cow slaughtering. The two main sources of supply of cows to Iwo were Ogbomoso and Ilorin, where Fulani communities otherwise known as *Sabo* existed with the herds of their cattle. Children and apprentices of the meat sellers usually trekked to

72. O.A. Olutayo, 2005, "Women in Informal Long-Distance Trade: The Family and the Rural-Urban Market Nexus in South-Western Nigeria", *Ibadan Journal of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 3, No. 2, p.72.

73. O.A. Olutayo, 2005, "Women in Informal Long-Distance Trade: The Family and the Rural-Urban Market Nexus..."

these towns to buy as many as possible cows usually ranging from fifty to eighty. The journey to and from Ilorin used to take five days, while that of Ogbomoso took three days. On each trip, apprentices were usually given two and a half shilling each by a very kind master or father for feeding on the journey. From 1930 onward, cost of a very big cow was six pound.⁷⁴

From 1930, cow business became more advanced with the introduction of *Bojuwa* system. This was a reserve of the well to do businessmen who did not engage in actual killing of cows. Since they have enough money, they majored in importation of cows from the two source areas and resell to those who slaughter them for the peoples' daily need. This is a sort of wholesale-retail relationship which is still in existence today in the various parts of Yorubaland.⁷⁵

While the actual killing of cows was done by men because of the rigour that is involved in it, women participated at equal level with men in the selling of the beef. Thus, there is a sort of division of labour in relation to peoples' gender. Also, in *Arobo* business that is related to this, women specialised in fowls, while men specialized in sheep, ram and cows. Some of these livestock were equally slaughtered for sale like cows by men and women in Iwo area. Although many of these livestocks were bought from Ogbomoso and Ilorin like cows, a substantial number were also bought by the *Tani leran ara* men and women. These are livestock buyers who went around the villages and towns.⁷⁶

As in the case of the other two trading activities discussed earlier, practitioners of this business also depended on human portorage in the

74. Oral interview, Alhaji Ajibike, beef dealer in Igele market, Ondo, 88 years, 17th November, 2011.

75. Oral interview, Alhaji Ajibike beef dealer in Igele market, Ondo, 88 years, 17th November, 2011.

76. Oral interview, Mr. Kareem Alade, beef dealer Igele market, Ondo, 70 years, 12th August, 2011.

process of carrying raw meat around the towns and villages in Iwo area. Even in the process of transporting cows from Ilorin or Ogbomoso, people preferred leading their herds of cattle on foot in like manner as the Fulani go about with their cattle. Many of the people involved enjoyed the act, hence it transpired throughout the colonial period.⁷⁷

Moreover, the source of capital remained the pre-colonial *Ajo* and *Esusu* financial institutions as in the case of other trading activities discussed earlier. A very unique method that accompanied the *Bojuwa* trading system was that of collecting twice the number of cows they paid for, from the Fulani in Ogbomoso and Ilorin.⁷⁸ However, this was usually accompanied with various cases of bad debts, as many of the credit buyers ran away without paying their debt to the Fulani. Notable *Bojuwa* traders in Iwo town included, Mr. Amoo of Olowe's Compound Iwo. He is also known as Baba Olowo (the rich man), Mr. Alasi of Oweyo's compound, Baba Agbera of Ori Olowo's compound, and Baba Abulapa of Aroworeki's compound just to mention a few. Most of these traders were so wealthy that, they became so important in their time in Iwo and its environ.⁷⁹

In spite of the expansion witnessed by the divisional commercial sector in the colonial era, a considerable aspect of the peoples' commercial culture persisted. For instance, people still kept money in their houses especially in places where nobody could easily have access to it. These included dug holes in the ground, in the roof or in the bush.

77. Oral interview, Mr. Rasheed Kadiri, beef dealer Igele market, Ondo, 72 years 12th August, 2011

78. Abdulwahab Tijani, "Ethnic Relations: A Study of Hausa Community in Ogbomoso, Nigeria-(1924-1967)", p.257. JSS-17-3-253-8-420-Tijani-A-Tt.Pdf (Secured)

79. Oral interview, Alhaji Ajibike beef dealer in Igele market, Ondo, 88 years, 17th November, 2011.

Aspects and Agents of Change in Osun Division Commercial Sector

While it may be true that adaptation was what took place in the Yoruba indigenous economy during the colonial period, especially in the commercial sector, yet evidence of change abound in the different aspects of it. Thus, as changes occurred in the political, religious and social sector of the Yoruba people as various scholars have shown, economic sector equally underwent a level of transformation during the colonial period. For example, the adoption of cash crops and other new and improved seedlings as well as the subsequent expansion in production, which resulted from it were all indicative of changes.

The advent of the colonial domineering trade with its peculiar aids which was an episode in African history contributed its own quota to the various changes that took place in the Yoruba indigenous commercial sector.⁸⁰ All the development projects of the British colonial government which Atanda claimed were responsible for economic changes were in line with the aforementioned aids to trade.⁸¹ Hence, they were in themselves aids to the British commercialised economy in Yorubaland.

However, of all the agents of change in the Yoruba indigenous commercial sector, the British transportation projects, particularly the wheeled transportation system was the most important.⁸² First in this regard was the railway. Coupled with the construction of roads, which were necessary for effective functioning of the railway systems, the transportation system was revolutionised.⁸³ By 1933, all the

80. T. Falola, (ed).1972, *Tradition and Change in Africa: The Essays of J.F. Ade Ajayi*, Trenton: Africa World Press, Inc. p. 157.

81. J. A. Atanda, 1979, *The New Oyo Empir*, London: Longman Group Ltd. p. 216.

82. O. Oshin,1990, "Nigerian Railways under Stress, 1912- 1945: A Study in Colonial Transport Planning and Management", *Odu: New Series*, No. 37, January, p. 49.

83. E.A. Walker, 2003, "British Colonialism and Economic Transformation",in A Oyebade (ed), *The Foundation of Nigeria:Essays in Honour of Toyin Falola*, Trenton: Africa World Press Inc. p. 248. See also, O.O. Olubomehin, 2003, "Road Transportation and the Economy of South-western Nigeria, 1900-1920, also in A.Oyebade...p. 393.

major towns of Osun Division which later became headquarters of districts were connected by roads and the system of head portage over long distances and movement of caravan along footpaths was almost at an end. Human portage therefore, became confined to villages where roads were yet to be constructed. Thus, movement of farm produce from farms to the villages and subsequently to the major towns no longer depended solely on human portage. At least, the foundation for a modern transport system had been laid.⁸⁴

Reasons for this lateness in road construction in Osun Division were not far fetched. Since both rail and road were to open up different areas for economic exploitation, railways had no place in places where export crops were not available.⁸⁵ The roads were also amazingly small when they were constructed, hence connection of different villages with their district headquarters had to wait till the 1950s. For instance, as at 20th of June 1955, Odeyinka-Ago-Owu, Ejigbo-Ika-Ayigbiri- Ilobu, Osogbo-Iloba, Gbongan-Owu, Gbongan –Ile-Igbo, Sekona-Tonkere, Ede-Sasa, Ifon-Ilie, Ogbomoso-Ayegun-Ifeodan, Ikirun-Obagun, Iba-Oyan, Oba-Ilie and Ikire-Iwo roads had not been constructed.⁸⁶ The available roads were meant for maintenance of peace by the British administrative officers and promotion of trade in the division.⁸⁷

Although both the rail and road systems of transportation were meant for the conveyance of goods needed by the colonial government and firms to the coast, it equally became an avenue through which items

84. J. A. Atanda, 1979, *The New Oyo Empire*, London: Longman Group Ltd, p. 219.

85. N.A.I. Osun Div. 1/1 Annual Reports of 1944, p. 332. Also, see, G. O. Ogunremi, "The Nigerian Motor Transport Union Strike of 1937", *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. 9, No. 2, June, 1978.

86. All these roads were parts of the new roads recommended for construction in the memorandum submitted by the Road Development Committee of Osun Division to the Regional Road Development Committee in June 1955. See N.A.I. Osun Div. 1/1 1004 Vol. II, Feeder Road Grants, Osun Division, p. 71.

87. W. Rodney, 1972, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Dar-es-Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, p. 228.

of local trade and articles of indigenous trade were conveyed to their places of need and through which European products got to the people in their different villages.⁸⁸ With this development, human portage which was seen as the pillar of the economy in Osun Division, where neither canoes nor pack animals existed, began to lose its importance.⁸⁹

Also, the new means of transportation were not put in place so that Africans could visit their friends. They were not constructed to facilitate internal trade in African commodities. There were no network of roads connecting different parts of Osun Division in a manner that make sense with regard to Africans' needs and development. They were impelled by British political, economic and strategic imperatives.⁹⁰ Both the roads and railways led down to the sea as a way of tapping the resources of the interior of Yorubaland for the need of the British home industries. In other words, any catering for African interests was purely coincidental and transportation remained labour intensive in most parts of the division throughout the colonial period. In the words of Walter Rodney, these facilities were nothing more than infrastructures for underdevelopment.⁹¹

Moreover, where roads were available, they were in bad condition and this constituted a major problem for commerce in the division.⁹² A good example here was the experience of the cooperative members in Iwo, who were willing to link up with railway station where they had a grading store. In the report of the Assistant Registrar of cooperative societies, Ibadan to the Senior Divisional Adviser to the Division Officer

88. N.A.I. Osun Div. 1/1 1004 Vol. II, Feeder Road Grants, Osun Division, p. 4.

89. D. Ogunremi, 1975, "Human Portage in Nigeria in the Nineteenth Century- A Pillar in the Indigenous Economy", *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol, 8, No. 1, December, p. 55.

90. E.A. Walker, 2003, "British Colonialism and Economic Transformation", in A Oyebade (ed), *The Foundation of Nigeria: Essays in Honour of Toyin Falola*, Trenton: Africa World Press Inc p. 248.

91. W. Rodney, 1972, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* Dar-es-Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, p. 228.

92. N.A.I. Osun Div. 1/1 Osun Division Annual Report, 1956.

of Osun Division, Osogbo, the bad road was responsible for the society's loss of over twenty pounds annually due to the excessive transport cost.⁹³

As a result of the foregoing, human portage became an inevitable complement of road transportation. For example, absence of network of roads among different villages in the districts of the division made human portage to remain the only alternative in some places.⁹⁴ Thus, it became the means of transportation of goods on short distances. In long distance trade, articles were carried, using members of the household of the traders or hired carriers (*Daruke* methods) to junctions or places where the articles would be conveyed by lorry to their places of needs and vice versa.⁹⁵ This complementarity of both the old and new forms of transportation continued until after the colonial era. For example, people of Odo-Otin, Ifelodun among other parts of Osun Division had to depend on head portage, since most of the roads and bridges linking them with their district headquarters were constructed in the late 1930s and early 1940s.⁹⁶

With this combination of road with head portage system, some of the challenges associated with human portage were either surmounted or reduced. For instance, high cost of transportation of the era of total dependence on human portage both on a short and long distance trades was reduced.⁹⁷ This was due to the increase in the supply of goods and services as a result of better carrying capacity of lorries, which took over transportation of foods and services on long distances. Since men now

93. N.A.I. Osun Div. 1/1 Osun Division Annual Report, 1956.

94. D. Ogunremi, 1975, "Human Portage in Nigeria in the Nineteenth Century- A Pillar in the Indigenous Economy", *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol, 8, No. 1, December, p. 39.

95. I.A. Akinjogbin, 1980, "The Economic Foundation of the Oyo Empire" in I.A. Akinjogbin and S.O Osoba, (eds) *Topics on Nigerian Economic and Social History*. Ile-Ife: U.P.L. p. 50.

96. N.A.I. Osun Div. 1/1 Annual Reports on the Northern Districts of Ibadan Division, 1942.

97. N.A.I. Osun Div. 1/1 1004 Vol. II Feeder Road Grants, Osun Division, p. 21.

have to carry articles of trade on short distances, their carrying capacity improved beyond the pre-colonial 60-70 lbs³ per man.⁹⁸ Equally, the cost of feeding and other forms of remuneration of carriers became reduced and these had a positive impact on the cost of goods they carried and the services they rendered.

Women still predominated in carriage service and household labour. In this part of Yorubaland, a family of numerous children was still a source of opulence and prosperity. Men devoted so much time to land cultivation and other jobs that they had no time for either carriage job or going to market. Both jobs came to be regarded as occupations suitable only for women and children. Thus, it became a division of labour by sex and age.⁹⁹ However, since the scale of production still remained small, this age-long system of transportation was still relevant and adequate for the economy.

A very important development at this period was the evolution of hired carriers as opposed to the pre-colonial dependence on family labour. This is not unconnected with the monetisation of the Yoruba economy by the British. Indeed, there does not seem to be any evidence to suggest that professional carriers, free people who obtained their livelihood solely from carrying goods prevailed before the penetration of the Europeans into the interior of the country.¹⁰⁰ The practitioners were usually attracted to the job by the need for money and other new demands, especially the European manufactured products. Although they must have been a small class, their existence in the colonial period is

98. D. Ogunremi, 1975, "Human Portage in Nigeria in the Nineteenth Century-A Pillar in the Indigenous Economy", *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol, 8, No. 1, December, p. 51.

99. Oral interview with Prince I.A. Oyebamiji, Babakekere of Olokuku, 85 years, 06/10/2012. He is the head of Oluronke's ruling house (The current ruling house in Okuku)

100. D. Ogunremi, 1975, "Human Portage in Nigeria A Pillar in the Indigenous Economy"... p. 42.

what Deji Ogunremi regarded as a change in labour force. Professional careers were not tied to particular masters, unlike slaves and family relations, they could give their services to anyone they chose. They could also demand higher wages and better conditions of service. They could also agitate or withdraw their services, if they were denied their requests.¹⁰¹

Equally, the problem of slow speed of porters, who could walk normally at three to three and a half miles per hour, was also surmounted by the introduction of wheeled transport.¹⁰² This problem was further compounded by weather. Porters often moved faster in the dry season and less in the wet season. Heavy downpours could make a porter's speed to be slow. Right from the onset, human portage was often employed more for local transactions than for long distance trade. Since it was usual for porters to earn less per day for a journey that was done within their vicinity, than for long distance journey, that might take them away for days or even weeks.¹⁰³

Cost of trade items became reduced as human portage was confined to the traders' immediate locality, probably within ten miles or a day return journey of about twenty miles from one market place to another or from the surrounding villages to the main towns. This was due to the fact that, in most parts of Yorubaland, the bulk of the total trade was in the hands of small-scale local traders who head loaded their products to consumers. As a result of this, many porters were made available to the extent that, their supply exceeded traders' demand for

101. D. Ogunremi, 1975 "Human Portage in Nigeria A Pillar in the Indigenous Economy" *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol, 8, No. 1, December, 1975.p. 43.

102. T. Falola, 1984, *The Political Economy of a Pre-colonial African State: Ibadan, 1830-1900*, Ile-Ife: UPL. p.65.

103. Oral interview with Prince I.A. Oyebamiji, Babakekere of Olokuku, 85 years, 06/10/2012.

them. This accounted for the reduction in porters' remuneration. Labourers who had daily wages of 9d would normally be prepared to take 3d per day for short distance portage.¹⁰⁴

Yoruba indigenous commercial system witnessed a tremendous change in the area of exchange. This was due to the British avowed aim of controlling the means of exchange. Thus, they were bent on putting it in the form acceptable to them for the purposes of administration. This began by the British order in 1894 to change cowry, the most popular means of exchange, for British currency. The expected transition took time, since the British ordinary silver coin and cowries continued to be used interchangeably.¹⁰⁵ For example, while the British silver coin, although unpopular, became acceptable everywhere from 1904, cowries continued to be used in nearly all retail transactions in the native markets, all because of their low purchasing powers.

This situation was not unconnected with the smallness of the scale of the economy, such that both the silver and bronze coins were too large for many needs. It was only with the introduction of a special nickel-bronze penny and one tenth penny in 1908 that cowries had rivals in its own field. These newly introduced smaller denominations did not win immediate acceptance, since it was not until the 1920s that cowries disappeared finally from the main centres of trade.¹⁰⁶ As a matter of fact, cowries were well reconciled in response to the complaints about the rate of exchange with the British currency between 1900 and 1920. However, this was soon standardised when cowries became outdated.¹⁰⁷

104. N.A.I. Osun Div. Annual Reports on the Northern District of Ibadan Division 1956, p. 51.

105. J. A. Atanda, 1979, *The New Oyo Empire*, London: Longman Group Ltd., p.219.

106. A. G. Hopkins, 1966, "Currency Revolution in South-West Nigeria in the late Nineteenth Century", *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. III, No. 3, December, p. 483.

107. A. Olorunfemi, 1999, "Pre-colonial Economy of the Yoruba of South-Western Nigeria", *Olota: Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 1, April, p.5.

In Osun Division, like in other parts of Yorubaland, the scale of the traditional commercial system remained very small throughout the colonial period. This was because, the economy remained basically rural and the peoples' level of income was very low. The people's participation in the exchange economy was on a relatively small scale. In spite of all these, the British eventually achieved their aim of taking over the control of the means of exchange.¹⁰⁸ After all, cowries equally had attributes of money, such as unit of account, durability, portability, acceptability as a medium of exchange and so on.¹⁰⁹

Indigenous means of keeping substantial amount of money wrapped in cellophane paper in unexpected places, such as, dug holes in the bush or at home persisted in most towns of the division. Some traders also kept parts of their money loose in their sleeping rooms or just any part of the house where under normal situation no one would expect them to keep such a huge amount of money.¹¹⁰ Some people also saved their money in kind. Traders used their money to buy valuable crops or goods that were available locally, but which would fetch them profit in the cities where they would later buy their articles of trade. Such articles included melon, groundnuts, cereals, and other agricultural produce.

Some goods were even bought during their seasons and were sold off-season when their prices might have appreciated to fetch traders enough profit. Examples here included kolanuts and palm oil, which were both important articles of trade in the period under study.¹¹¹ However, banking organisations evolved with the establishment of the new system of currency as a means of incorporating foreign exchange. This was

108. N.A.I. Osun Div. ½ OS 64 Nickel Coinage and Currency General, p. 24.

109. T. Falola, 1984, *Political Economy of a Pre-colonial African State: Ibadan, 1830-1900*, Ile-Ife: UPL. p. 107.

110. J.O. Aluko, 1993, *Osomalo: The Early Exploits of the Ijesa Entrepreneur*, Ibadan: Wemilore Press, p. 48.

111. Oral interview with, Alhaja Saudat Olatunde, Iyaloja of Oluode market, Osogbo, 89 years

basically urban-based, as the first experiment in Osun Division was established in Osogbo in 1924. This made modern banking services to be accessible to some inhabitants of Osogbo and environs whose trading activities and jobs demanded for it.¹¹²

Challenges of Change in the Commercial Sector of Osun Division

Although all the infrastructure of the colonial economy brought improvement on Osun Division as in other parts of Africa, they were not without their challenges.

Railway

In the first instance, construction of railway would have come earlier in Nigeria, if not for the high cost that was involved in it. Thus, it was too big for its promoters who were enthusiasts with grandiose plans but lacked the financial capacity to execute them. At this stage, railway schemes were not well defined and the attendant high costs underscored colonial government apathy to it. The project therefore, failed to secure official support.¹¹³

At the initial stage, the task of construction was extremely slow. Labour was not forthcoming as the Consulting Engineer had expected. Instead, the people were tied to the soil and preferred being self-employed to submitting their labour for hire, a state they considered degrading especially when there was land to go round. Some of those who took up waged labour provided by railway construction did so in

112. J. A. Atanda, 1979, *The New Oyo Empire*, London: Longman Group Ltd, p.233.

113. A. Olukoju, 1996, "Transportation in Colonial West Africa" in, G.O. Ogunremi and E.K.Faluyi (ed), *An Economic History of West Africa since 1750*, Ibadan: Rex Charles and Connel Publications, p. 152.

order to gather money with which they later settled down to trade.¹¹⁴ A good example here was Chief David Fasina (*Oloriga* of Osogbo) who embarked upon cash crop farming with the money he gathered during his service as a railway worker.¹¹⁵ On the other hand, the condition was not better in relation to the white railway workers, as the damp hot climate was usually unfriendly and malaria took heavy tolls on them.

Coupled with the above was the irregular supply of the construction materials owing to shipping problems and the difficulty in the Lagos harbour. In spite of this, there was no alternative to the importation of steel sleepers, on which railway construction depended. Also, much labour was required in carrying the sleepers from Lagos and ballast from Abeokuta quarry for use along the lines in the hinterland. All these handicapped the progress of the construction of the railway in the hinterland of Yorubaland, particularly in Osun Division.¹¹⁶

Moreover, the mix reactions of the Yoruba people in relation to the provision of the wheeled transport was equally a great challenge to the colonial government. As the government was bent on maintaining her colonies with minimum cost it decided to construct a line of railway for easy transportation of goods from the hinterland to the coast and for administrative purposes, such as sending troops at once to possible rebellious groups. The construction was confronted with two reactions. While some people refused the construction of railway on their farmlands and some other sacred locations, many others bombarded the office of

114. W. Oyemakinde, 1974, "Railway Construction and Operation in Nigeria, 1895-1911, Labour problems and Socio-economic Impact in, *Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. 7. No. 2.

115. Church Historical Committee, 2002, *Miracles of the Church-On-the-Hill: The History of First Baptist Church, Oke-Okanla, Osogbo*: Kola Prints and Publishers, pp. 26.

116. W. Oyemakinde, 1974, "Railway Construction and Operation in Nigeria, 1895-1911, Labour problems and Socio-economic Impact in *Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. 7. No. 2.

Railway Extension Survey Party with requests for construction of railway across their territories. For instance, while the Alaafin of Oyo did not allow railway to pass through Oyo so as to ensure adequate preservation of Yoruba culture, various railway stations in Osun Division, such as Inisa, Ede, Origo, Yawu, Ile-Ogbo, Kuta and Iwo stations were all created on requests by the people.¹¹⁷

For instance, Ede station was established after an appeal was made by the *Timi* of Ede to the General Manager of Nigerian Railway that the station served a large area comprising Ogbomoso, Ejigbo, Ede, Ife, Edun-Abon and Gbongan districts.¹¹⁸ He pleaded that Kano trains should be stopping at Ede to pick up and discharge passengers when going to and coming from the Northern Province. However, to the traffic inspector of the Nigerian Railway, such requests could not just be granted, because, twelve people's booking at Ede and even lesser in Ikirun as at July, 1935 did not justify service by limited train.¹¹⁹

Eventually, inflexibility of the rail line created a dependency situation between the towns with railway stations and those that are not on the rail line. For instance, people as far as Ogbomoso, Ejigbo and Origo areas depended on Ede station for transportation up north and down south with their produce.¹²⁰ Most of these towns and villages were connected with footpaths along which the people head-loaded their goods to the railway stations. However, most of these footpaths were eventually expanded to become feeder roads, which enhanced effective functioning of railway system in the division. For instance, places in the nearby and

117. N.A.I. CSO 1/1 Vol. 47, Confidential Reports on the Osogbo Extension of the Lagos Government Railway, 67/1904, enclosed in Lagos Governor to S. of S. No. 258 of 22nd July, 1904.

118. N.A.I. Osun Div. 107, Railway Department Matters, p. 181.

119. N.A.I. Osun Div. 107, Railway Department Matters, p. 178.

120. N.A.I. Osun Div. 107, Railway Department Matters...

far away places, such as Ilesa, Ondo and Ekiti districts, depended on Osogbo for rail transportation. In the 1920s, a considerable quantity of cocoa railed from Osogbo emanated from Ilesa.¹²¹ Also, as at 1920, cotton was being taken by road from Ekiti districts to the agents of the British Cotton Growing Association (BCGA) in Osogbo.¹²²

Railway system also involved theft. For instance, sixteen guinea fowls of Mr. I.B. Abileye was reported stolen in Dan Kano train during a standstill in Osogbo on 3rd September, 1940.¹²³ Also, there were complaints of discrimination against some goods, especially those that were not needed by the Europeans at the coast. Notable in this regard was the complaints by the Ikirun kolanut dealers, that their merchandise was being delayed considerably in transit to Kano. This was conveyed to the District Officer at Ibadan by the traffic inspector of the Nigerian Railway in his letter of 4th March, 1947.¹²⁴

In his letter of 12th March, 1947 to the District Officer of Northern Districts of Ibadan Division at Osogbo, *Timi* of Ede, Adetoyese Akangbe (1945-1974) complained that traders of Ife, Edun-Abon and Ejigbo were experiencing difficulty in booking their goods and joining trains in Osogbo. The traders themselves expressed resentment on their waiting to entrain in Osogbo with unnecessary delay to obtain tickets. Many of them suffered great losses as they often had to return home after failing to

121. A.Olukoju, 2003, ““Subsidising the Merchant at the Expense of the Administration””: Railway Tariffs and Nigerian Maritime Trade in the 1920s, in A Oyebade (ed), *The Foundation of Nigeria:Essays in Honour of Toyin Falola*, Trenton: Africa World Press Inc. p. 381.

122. O.O. Olubomehin, 2003, “Road Transportation and the Economy of South-western Nigeria, 1900-1920”, in A. Oyebade, (ed). 2003, *The Foundation of Nigeria: Essays in Honour of Toyin Falola*, Trenton,: Africa World Press Inc. p. 396.

123. N.A.I. Osun Div. 107, Railway Department Matters, p. 50.

124. N.A.I. Osun Div. 107, Railway Department Matters, p. 179.

board train, as a result of the unnecessary delay at the ticket counter in Osogbo.¹²⁵

In addition, rail transportation was grossly expensive. For instance, as at 1920, the rate for rail transport was 10 pence per mile. This made colonial government to see it as a panacea for economic ills of Nigeria.¹²⁶ It therefore, became clear that motor transportation attracted more produce to the Lagos market than railway. This was because, it was cheaper to convey produce by road than by railway. It was observed by the Lagos Chamber of Commerce that railway was discouraging agricultural production through high rates, while construction of more roads and decreasing costs of road transportation encouraged production.¹²⁷

Roads

Right from the onset, colonial government was not really committed to road construction in such a way as to serve the development needs of Nigerians. Rather, they were mindful of their own economic interest. To the colonial government, the roads were to serve the needs of the British administrative officers and to enhance free flow of trade for their firms and agents in the hinterland.¹²⁸ The foregoing accounted for inadequate provision of roads in Osun Division up till the end of the colonial period.

125. N.A.I. Osun Div. 107, Railway Department Matters, p. 178.

126. O.Omosini, 1971, Railway Project and British Attitude Towards the Development of West Africa, 1872-1903, in *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. 5, No. 4, June, 1971, p. 493.

127. A. Olukoju, 2003, "Subsidising the Merchant at the Expense of the Administration: Railway Tariff and Nigerian Maritime Trade in the 1920s", in A Oyeade, (ed), *The Foundation of Nigeria: Essays in Honour of Toyin Falola*, Trenton: Africa World Press Inc. p. 384.

128. N.A.I. Osun Div. 1/1 1004 Vol. II Feeder Road Grants Osun Division, p. 4.

Early in the colonial period, the labour used in road construction was mainly covee. When a road was to be built, the British administrators with the help of their engineers and surveyors decided what course the road should follow. They also decided how many hands would be needed in a week and then informed the head chiefs of the towns to be linked by the road to provide the labourers needed. These Chief then supplied the required number of labourers who were usually discharged weekly or fortnightly to be replaced by another group. Although people were offering their labour with great interest, this was having an adverse effect on their jobs and businesses. This is because taking a week or a fortnight off a job will no doubt reduce productivity through a reduction in the number of man-hours made available for their daily jobs.¹²⁹

From the 1920s onward, wage labour became an important feature of colonial road construction. Incidentally, the period marked the end of the enthusiasm that characterised road construction before the period. Employees were then working for money rather than the joy of linking one's village to the global world. As a result, record of laziness of labourers became a common-place. For instance, *Aringbajo* of Igbajo, *Oba* Adebisi wrote a letter to the District Officer in Osogbo on 22nd April, 1936 calling his attention to the fact that, the workers employed on Igbajo township road were too playful, they were not doing their work.¹³⁰ Also, in the letter of the District Officer to the *Akirun* of Ikirun, dated 18th November, 1938, Babalola Bello Aberefa was dismissed for being lazy, untrustworthy and inefficient as a worker on the road.¹³¹

Even with the evolution of wage labour in road construction in 1920, forced labour continued to be used. This was as a result of

129. J.A. Atanda, 1979, *The New Oyo Empire*, London: Longman Group Ltd. p. 232.

130. N.A.I. Osun Div. 1/1 344, Ikirun-Igbajo Roads, p. 738.

131. N.A.I. Osun Div. 1/1 344, Ikirun-Igbajo Roads...

inadequacy of funds. Hence, government could not take care of the various demands of the people for road construction, in spite of the people's production of cash crops, a very important factor in African request for roads. For example, £15,000 feeder road grant given to Osun Division by the Western Region government in 1954 was meant for reconstruction of six bridges and sixteen roads as follows.¹³²

1. Aro bridge on Awo-Iwo road at the cost of £1,500
2. Igbaye-Ekosing bridge at the cost of £350
3. Inisa-Agbeye bridge at the cost of £350
4. Inisa-Ekosing bridge at the cost of £350
5. Ikirun-Inisa bridge at the cost of £200
6. Tonkere-Edun-abon bridge (hand rail) at the cost of £20

Roads

1. Osogbo District: Ede-Erin-Ifon road 9mls
Osogbo-Iragbiji road 8mls
2. Ifelodun District: Iresi-Koro road 12mls
Iragbiji-Osogbo road 9mls
Igbajo-Iresi road 3mls
3. Odo-Otin District: Ekosing-Agbeye road 3mls
Okuku-Okua road 4mls
4. Ikirun District: Inisa-Iba-Ire road 7mls
5. Ede District: Awo-Aro river bridge 5mls
Aro-Ojo 3mls

132. N.A.I. Osun Div. 1/1 1004 Vol. II Feeder Road Grants...pp. 22-23

6. Ejigbo District: Ara-Ejigbo road 4mls
Ejigbo-Masifa-Oba river road 18mls
7. Iwo District: Aro-Iwo road 16mls
8. Ayedade District: Ikire-Iwo road 12mls
9. Egbedore district: Ode-Omu-Iwo road 8mls
Gbongan-Ogbaja 3mls.

From the above analysis, it becomes glaring that up till the 1950s and even after the colonial period, most bridges in the division were wooden and the roads were often in bad conditions, since they were not well maintained. For example, the rainstorm of the night of 9th-10th, July 1933 made the main Ogbomoso township roads to be covered with water to the depth of two feet, especially in the places around Oba and Oloko streams. This made the roads to remain non-motorable for a long time.¹³³ In his letter to Iwo District Council on the 16th of May, 1955, the district Engineer also confirmed that, the provincial roads in Iwo District suffer from lack of funds to carry out proper maintenance.¹³⁴ Also, in 1938, Ikirun-Igbajo road was closed to vehicular movement, because it was in a very bad condition.¹³⁵

In similar vein, most roads were built by communal efforts without any technical advice. Most of the European engineers were highly inexperienced as many of the roads they proposed were struck out of the road programme in the 1930s because their original layouts were bad and uneconomic. This accounted for the delay in the construction of Osogbo-Ibokun, Inisa-Oyan and Okuku-Oyan roads. These roads were not

133. N.A.I. Osun Div 1/1 OS 79/68 Ogbomoso Matters, p. 70.

134. N.A.I. Osun Div. 1/1 1004 Vol. II Feeder Road Grants, p. 60.

135. N.A.I. Osun Div. 1/1 344, Ikirun-Igbajo Roads, p. 46.

constructed until after revised layouts and surveys were done.¹³⁶ Also, several existing culverts collapsed on Ogbomoso-Ikoyi, Ikirun-Igbajo and Ikirun-Okuku roads. This made the roads to remain non-motorable for most part of 1941, as new culverts had to be made in their places.¹³⁷

Equally, lorries and cars plying the roads were very scanty. As at the 1940s in Okuku, Inisa and different other parts of the division, people had to wait for eight days or more before the only lorry plying their roads could come. In 1950, when Iwo-Ejigbo road was to be tarred, the total number of heavy, light lorries, cars and motorcycles using it were estimated to be 708 per week.¹³⁸ All these made road transportation to be costly. Pa Fakunle of Inisa related how he always preferred trekking to Osogbo and used his money to buy things he needed to waiting for a long time for a costly motor transportation.¹³⁹ Improvement in this area came on the eve of the colonial period when many people bought cars and lorries in the division. Thus, human portorage was still widespread in the division in spite of the network of roads and the railway that passed through it. In other words, head loading along the existing roads and footpaths complemented the wheeled transportation of the colonial era in Osun Division.

British administrative officers were not exempted in the use of human portorage in the division. For instance, the Assistant District Officer of the Northern Districts of Ibadan Division wrote a letter to the *Baale* of Inisa requesting him to arrange for ten careers to meet Mr. Smith at the culvert on Inisa road to carry his load to Inisa. He also solicited voluntary labour from the *Baale* to put a temporary bridge across Otin

136. N.A.I. Osun Div. 1/1 Annual Reports on the Northern District of Ibadan Division, 1940.

137. N.A.I. Osun Div. Annual Report on the Northern Districts of Ibadan Division, 1941.

138. N.A.I. Osun Div. 1/1 1004 Vol. II Feeder Road Grants, p. 155.

139. Oral interviews with, Mr. Simeon Fakunle, a native of Inisa in Odo-Otin Local Government, 87 years.

River.¹⁴⁰ Human portage, “*Alabaru*” became more popular and commercialised in Okuku, Ogbomoso, Osogbo, Ifon, Ilobu, Erin and different other towns where people embarked on farming at a commercial scale. All these had adverse effects on trade in the division.

Currency

The problem of how to accept cowry over which the Europeans had no control as a currency was their first challenge in this area. This is because effective control of money was a necessary condition for a meaningful trade in a country. Control of money equally became expedient in order to enhance the effective exploitation of Yorubaland. In this regard, the task of demonetizing the cowry which the Europeans embarked upon was not an easy one, as it was not easy to convince the people that cowry which they had been used to as a legal tender was a commodity rather than money. The reason for this is not farfetched. While cowry was adequate for the scope of trade that was going on in Yorubaland, especially the petty trading that pervaded various village settings, it could not cope with the scope of the export trade in which the Europeans were involved.¹⁴¹

Cowry, therefore, constituted a serious barrier to European commerce in the whole of Yorubaland. This is because in spite of the imposition of Cowries Prohibition Proclamation No.6 of 1904, people continued to use cowries in defiance of the law and a fine of fifty pounds or three months imprisonment. Even when its importation was outlawed, large quantities of cowry that had been hoarded were put to use in the

140. N.A.I. Osun Div. 1/1 344, Ikirun-Igbajo Roads, p. 46.

141. N.A.I. Osun Div 1/1 Annual Reports, on Northern Districts...p. 51.

villages for market transactions and small scale purchases till 1946.¹⁴² However, with the gradual acceptance of the British currency, such as silver, nickel and bronze coins, which were of the value of 1d, 1/2d, 1/4d and 1s denomination respectively in the first and second decades of the twentieth century, the barrier associated with the indigenous currency got broken.

Moreover, the task of demonetisation made affluent members of the division with large stocks of traditional currencies to become impoverished overnight as their possession became useless sequel to lack of adequate means of equitable exchange for the newly introduced currency. The foregoing therefore, had adverse effects on their social status and living standards. Thus, they were unable to perform their usual social obligations to many dependants in their extended family system.¹⁴³

The magnitude of the challenges involved in demonetisation and monetisation could be seen in its longevity, such that cowry existed side by side with the British currency until 1946. This is sequel to the problems involved in reconciling the two currencies before the exchange rate was eventually standardised as follows.

300 hundred cowries	=1d
1000 cowries	=3d
20000 cowries	=5d (Oke kan i.e. 1 bag of cowries which was the highest denomination)

As a matter of fact, the greatest challenge in the area of monetisation was currency counterfeiting, a practice that pervaded the whole of Yorubaland in the colonial period. The smiths applied their

142. A.A. Lawal, 1996, "Transition from the Traditional to Modern Currency System in West Africa" in, G.O. Ogunremi and E.K. Faluyi (eds) 1996, *An Economic History of West Africa since 1750*, Ibadan: Rex Charles and Connel Publications, p. 169.

143. A.A. Lawal, 1996, "Transition from the Traditional to Modern Currency System in West Africa"...

artistic skills in counterfeiting the new coins for circulation through their women agents, who spent them in markets.¹⁴⁴ This official account was corroborated in oral accounts that forgers were believed to fall upon their wives, hawkers, and traders to distribute their bad money.¹⁴⁵ Exchanging their counterfeits for legal money was possible in two ways: the women agents could buy goods for resale, thus collecting good money in the process or they could spend counterfeits of higher denominations in order to receive change in legal money. Counterfeit money could also be sold to agents or other dealers at half their face value. Counterfeit money also got into circulation through payment of fees and fines demanded by the government. This explains how bad money found its way to tax offices and courts. Forgers also recruited new members as a way of circulating their product.¹⁴⁶

The expertise was so perfect that it was difficult to distinguish counterfeit from good money. There were cases in which good money were mistaken for counterfeit. In 1937, the branch of G.B. Ollivant in Osogbo received a large amount of counterfeit, all well made to the extent that they were not detected at the initial stage.¹⁴⁷ This act undermined the confidence in good money and dampened the morale of those who were pursuing money through legal means.

This act continued for years, in spite of the various efforts at curbing it. Notable among these efforts was currency changes that took place at such periods as, 1918, 1928, and 1939, when a new form of alloy coinage with a “security edge” was substituted for the counterfeited alloy

144. Ije Prof 4/J 433 Vol.II Counterfeit Coin.

145. T.Falola and A . Adebayo, (2000), *Culture, Politics and Money among the Yoruba*, New Brunswick (USA) and London (UK): Transaction Publishers.p. 235.

146. Oyo Prof, 2/3 /C.23.

147. T. Falola and A. Adebayo, (2000), *Culture, Politics and Money among the Yoruba...*p. 235.

coinage.¹⁴⁸ Also, accompanying every new introduction were pieces of information to advertise and encourage their use. Specimens were distributed and people were warned to always be on the look-out for fakes. Complicated designs, concave edge and rare colours were suggested to make duplication difficult. A popular suggestion was to revert to silver coinage, which was more difficult to forge.¹⁴⁹ This is with a view to catching counterfeiters by surprise and throwing them out of business.

In Osun Division alone, very many people were arrested, convicted and sentenced to prisons on various terms. For example, on 1 July, 1946, Orisasona Alabi and Dada of Otan Ayegbaju were convicted of currency counterfeiting, 4 unfinished C' felt shilling were found in their possession. They were both sentenced to six months imprisonment.¹⁵⁰ Lawani Tafa of Ede was also involved in the crime of currency counterfeiting, hence, he was found with 30C' felt shilling.¹⁵¹ On the 3rd April, 1950, Abraham Abe was also convicted for unlawful possession, hence, he was also found with fake eleven shilling. He was later sentenced to two months imprisonment.¹⁵² At Sekona market, on the 30th November, 1950, Adejumo Isola and Lasisi Oyedele were both convicted of counterfeiting offence and they were both sentenced to six months imprisonment.¹⁵³ On the 6th December, 1950, Moses Ogbozo was also convicted for forging African currency note, he was therefore, sentenced

148. N.A.I. Osun Div. 1 /2OS 64 Nickel Coinage and Currency General, p. 24

149. T. Falola and A . Adebayo, (2000), *Culture, Politics and Money among the Yoruba*, New Brunswick (USA) and London (UK): Transaction Publishers p. 242.

150. N.A.I. Osun Div. 1/1 119 Returns of Offences Against Currency Counterfeiting, p. 82.

151. N.A.I. Osun Div. 1/1 119 Returns of Offences Against Currency Counterfeiting p. 70.

152. N.A.I. Osun Div. 1/1 119 Returns of Offences Against Currency Counterfeiting p. 124.

153. N.A.I. Osun Div. 1/1 119 Returns of Offences Against Currency Counterfeiting

to two years imprisonment.¹⁵⁴ Cases of this nature were rampant in the whole of Osun Division in the colonial period.

Bank

The branch of the Bank of British West Africa that came to Osogbo in 1924 was the first of its kind in the division. It was established to complement the British financial system. Thus, it was basically a government bank, serving as a medium of withdrawing unwanted currency from circulation as well as issuing new ones. Apart from the benefit that people derived from its services as the medium through which government paid salaries and wages to the few African beneficiaries, it only enhanced the success of European trading firms by taking care of their money and offering them credit facilities.¹⁵⁵

A few Africans who transacted businesses with the bank could not really trust its workers for the security of their deposits and guarantee of withdrawals. They did not know the equivalents between the old and the new currencies. Also, the bank was strictly prejudicial in the application of its regulations. It did nothing to develop local entrepreneurship since it provided little or no loan and advances to local people. Only the expatriates were the borrowers acceptable to the bank, African traders therefore, experienced great difficulties in obtaining financial assistance due to lack of confidence by the bank in their credit worthiness.¹⁵⁶

154. N.A.I. Osun Div. 1/1 119 Returns of Offences Against Currency Counterfeiting

155. N.A.I. Osun Div. 1 /2OS 64 Nickel Coinage and Currency General, p. 29

156. D.O. Chukwu, 2010, "The Economic Impact of Pioneer Indigenous Banks in Colonial Nigeria, 1920-1960" in, *Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol.19, p. 94. See also R.O.Olaniyi, "D.O. Sanyaolu 1896-1960:A Yoruba Merchant Prince in Metropolitan Kano", in *Journal of French Institute for Research in Africa*, Vol. 1, 2005,p. 135, Here, he further affirmed that, a systematic attempt was made by the expatriate banks to keep indigenous entrepreneurs out of business by denying them loans.

Being the only bank in the division, its few customers had to travel long distances from their villages to Osogbo where it was located to collect new notes and coins.¹⁵⁷ Nevertheless, the cost of frequent travels to procure the new money was only borne and endured by only an insignificant proportion of the people. However, rather than resigning to the fate imposed on them by the horrendous currency system, majority of the peasants resorted to hoarding of both the new and old currencies inside pits, pots, holes in the banana trees at the risk of fire disaster, termites, other destructive insects and soil erosion.¹⁵⁸ Even when paper money was introduced in 1918, the people still kept it in cigarette cup, and buried it in the ground instead of taking their money to the bank.¹⁵⁹ The only record of African traders' benefit from banking service in Osun Division was found in 1956 annual reports, about the time when indigenous banks had begun to render some banking services to the people.¹⁶⁰

The two World Wars were intervening variables that presented both European and African traders with serious challenges. The upward trend in volume and prices of farm products of early twentieth century was disrupted by the First World War. Even the business boom of the post war era did not last long. This was sequel to the global economic depression that severely threatened the viability of the colonial economy in the division as in other parts of Africa. The challenge posed by this

157. T. Falola and A. Adebayo, (2000), *Culture, Politics and Money among the Yoruba*, New Brunswick (USA) and London (UK): Transaction Publishers p. 145.

158. J.O. Aluko, 1993, *Osomalo, the Early Exploit of the Ijesa Entrepreneur*, Ibadan, African Books Builders Ltd. p. 45.

159. A.A. Lawal, 1996, "Transition from the Traditional to Modern Currency System in West Africa" in, G.O. Ogunremi and E.K. Faluyi (eds), *An Economic History of West Africa since 1750*, Ibadan: Rex Charles and Connel Publications p. 171.

160. T. Falola and A. Adebayo, 2000, *Culture, Politics and Money among the Yoruba*...p. 140.

problem to Nigerian farmers and traders alike, was the fall in the prices of agricultural products. For instance, cocoa, which was sold for £50 per ton in 1929, went as low as £20 in 1930. The situation was so bad that, Nigerian farmers refused to harvest their crops.¹⁶¹

This trend continued until the beginning of the Second World War, when economic situation was brightened again. Thus, price level was lifted and the confidence of workers, farmers and traders was elevated again. Unfortunately, the people were not allowed to enjoy the boom of the World War II era, as the government organised a system of controlled commodity marketing under the name, Nigerian Marketing Boards. Here, an arrangement was made to collect and dispatch the key export crops, so that farmers did not trade directly with the ultimate purchasers of their crops, but transacted business through an intermediary market. This system deprived farmers of the prosperity, which the normal market would have fetched them by way of making part of the earnings on the crops to stay in the coffers of the boards in trust for the imperial government.¹⁶²

In addition, the people of the division were made to incur some more losses through the compulsory contribution to “winning the war effort”. Here, apart from their participation in the war through the contribution of able bodied men as soldiers, they were also forced to surrender what would have fetched them some more fortunes, such as foodstuff and palm produce through their kings as a way of supporting their colonial masters in the ongoing world war.¹⁶³ As a matter of fact, Osogbo, Ikirun and Odo-Otin areas gave many gifts of palm kernel for

161. N.A.I. Osun Div. 1/1 Annual Reports on Northern Districts, 1944, p. 329.

162. W. Oyemakinde, 2005, *Essays in Economic History*, Ibadan: Sunlight Syndicate Ventures, p. 245.

163. N.A.I. Osun Div. 1/1 Annual Reports on Northern Districts, 1944, p. 329.

this purpose. Children were not left out of the feat; schools in the aforementioned areas collected palm kernel, to be cracked by pupils as a way of contributing to “winning the war effort”. All these made the burden of the war to be heavier on Africans.¹⁶⁴

All the above transpired in spite of the elimination of the cut throat competition posed by German trading companies before the First World War. The British got over this challenge through the proclamation of “prohibition of trade with enemy act” of August 1914. However, British trading firms entered into a period of fiercer competition in 1938, when the Syrians and Lebanese embarked upon an aggressive commercial expedition in the division. The viability of the British trading firms was so threatened to the extent that, they had to campaign against the Syrian traders in Osun Division.¹⁶⁵

For instance, representatives of, John Holt and Co. Ltd., G.B. Ollivant Ltd., A.J. Tangalakis and Co., Paterson Zochonis and Co. Ltd., C.F.A.O. Ltd., SCOA Ltd. and the United African Company Limited were all signatories to the letter written to the District Officer of the Northern Districts of Ibadan Division, in Osogbo on 20th January, 1938, entreating him to stop Syrians and Lebanese aggressive trading campaigns. This further posed a serious problem for the European trading firms, which were battling with the dragging global economic depression.¹⁶⁶

164. N.A.I. Osun Div. 1/1 Annual Reports on Northern Districts, 1942, p. 269.

165. N.A.I. Oyo Prof 1 1964, Syrian Traders in Osogbo District, p. 1. This contains a letter written by the the District Officer of the Northern Districts to the Resident of Oyo Province in which he conveyed the complaints of agents of the European Trading firms about the Lebanese traders.

166. N.A.I. Oyo Prof 1 1964, Syrian Traders in Osogbo District, p. 2.

Effects of the Changes on the Commercial Sector of Osun Division

All the aforementioned agents of change had tremendous effects on the indigenous commerce of Osun Division. Irrespective of the scale and scope of its operation, introduction of the wheeled transport had a multiplier effect on the commercial sector of Osun Division.¹⁶⁷ The change in the means of exchange resulted in the monetisation of the entire economy of the division. The need for money to pay taxes by men and to attend to domestic needs by women increased peoples demand for money and disrupted the Yoruba social gift-giving culture. The culture began to dwindle as goods that were formerly meant for the social exchange now formed part of articles of trade through which individuals boost their incomes. Gift-giving can be taken to mean, help (*Iranlowo*), gift (*ebun*) and kindness (*Oju anu*), all referring to occasions on which a person rendered help by giving parts of his products or expert services to his friends, kinsmen, neighbours or strangers. A person should not be left to die of hunger, to be without a shelter or to go naked because he was poor. Everybody was expected to come to the aid of one another in time of need, difficulty, and even in moment of joy. All these implied that gifts were usually given to express goodwill and hospitality. They also represented a demonstration of generosity and a display of wealth. Among the *elite*, exchange of gifts was also a show of camaraderie.¹⁶⁸

Occasion for gift-giving include burial and marriage ceremonies, when the relatives of the celebrant would give something in cash or kind as their own contributions to the cost of the ceremony, thereby reducing

167. N.A.I. Osun Div. 1/1 51/9 Annual Reports on Northern Districts, 1942, p. 269.

168. O.Adeboye, 2003, "Elite Lifestyle and Consumption in Colonial Ibadan", in A. Oyebade, (ed), *The Foundation of Nigeria: Essays in Honour of Toyin Falola*, Trenton: Africa World Press Inc. p. 291.

the financial burden on the main celebrant.¹⁶⁹ Exchange of gifts was also common during festivals and other ceremonies.¹⁷⁰ The diminution of this practice as a result of the monetisation of the economy resulted into the expansion of commerce as more items turned out for sales rather than for gifts.

Also emanating from the new transportation was mass emigration of people from the division, first to Lagos, Ijebu, Egba, Ife, Ondo and later to far away places like Benin Republic, Togo, Ghana, Abidjan and other west African countries. Although records show that people have been moving to these areas before 1900, the number was very negligible.¹⁷¹ Following the British occupation of Nigeria in 1900 with their dire need for cash crops, different agricultural centres were established in Lagos and Egba areas.¹⁷² Since the British authority had outlawed slave labour in 1901 and pawnship early in the 20th century, there arose an acute shortage of labour which culminated into the emergence of wage or paid labour which migrants from Oyo province, particularly Osun Division provided. Hence, people from different parts of Nigeria, such as the Hausa, Sobo, Ekiti, Ebira, Agatu, Idoma and Oyo Yoruba of which Osun Division is a part migrated to these areas where

169. Toyin Falola, 1984, *Political Economy of a Pre-colonial African State: Ibadan 1830-1900*, Ile-Ife: University Press Ltd. p.104.

170. O.Adeboye, 2003, "Elite Lifestyle and Consumption in Colonial Ibadan", in A. Oyebade (ed) *The Foundation of Nigeria: Essays in Honour of Toyin Falola*, Trenton: Africa World Press Inc. p. 291

171. S.O. Osoba, 1969, "The Phenomenon of Labour Migration in the Era of British Colonial Rule: A Neglected Aspect of Nigeria's Social History", *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. IV, No. 4, June, p. 520.

172. B.A. Agiri, 1990, "The Development of Wage Labour in Agriculture in Southern Yorubaland, 1900-1940", *Odu*, No. 37, January, p. 39.

they worked in some of the big farms before they either established farms of their own or ventured into other businesses.¹⁷³

People of Osun Division formed the majority of the employees of the various farm settlements in the areas mentioned above. This is because, as modern transportation reached their towns or passed closed to it, they utilized its advantages by migrating to Lagos and its environs. For example, with the completion of the Ibadan - Oyo - Ogbomoso motor roads and the inauguration of a lorry service on it by the Lagos Government in 1906, many Ogbomoso people migrated to Lagos in search of employment. In a similar vein, the extension of railway to Osogbo in 1907 facilitated emigration from Osogbo, Ikirun, Iree, Eripa, Iwo, Ogbaagba, Ile-Ogbo, Kuta and Ejigbo. From the southern part of Yorubaland, majority proceeded to Benin Republic, Togo, Ghana, Abidjan and other parts of West Africa. Ejigbo, Ede and Iwo people concentrated in Togo and Abidjan, while people from Ogbomoso concentrated in Ghana and Northern Nigeria.¹⁷⁴

The early migrants found the trip hazardous. Only a few had the money in the new coins to pay for the railway fare. Some of them even found it necessary to trek to Lagos. Some boarded the train without obtaining a ticket and either hid away from the train officials or got their help by doing some odd jobs for them. Others went to the nearest big towns, like Ibadan or Osogbo, worked there until they earned their fare and then took the train to Lagos and further to other West African countries.¹⁷⁵

173. B.A. Agiri, 1990, "The Development of Wage Labour in Agriculture in Southern Yorubaland, 1900-1940" in *Odu: New Series*, No. 37. February, p. 38.

174. O Adegbola, 1972, *The Impact of Migration on the Rural Economy of Osun Division of Western Nigeria*, Unpublished Ph D Thesis, University of Ibadan, 1972, p. 6.

175. B.A. Agiri, 1990, "The Development of Wage Labour in Agriculture in Southern Yorubaland, p. 37.

Many reasons were adduced for this mass emigration of people from Osun Division in the colonial time. But of all these, economic motives predominated. Many Ikirun people were lured by the opportunity to earn money more quickly than they would at home. This, according to Osoba, is common to people in the areas that are remote from markets and places where opportunities to earn cash are very rare.¹⁷⁶ Other reasons for migration analysed by Agiri include, the bid to escape iron rule of the authorities, the need for good job to repay debts incurred at home, need for money for new brides and the need for money to pay huge fines imposed on some people by *Sango* priests in addition to the loss they incurred through the thunder strike, which burnt down their houses.¹⁷⁷

For instance, Messers Kareem Alade and Rasheed Kadiri claimed that some of the first set of people who migrated to Lagos area and further to Cote d' Ivoire from Iwo did so in order to avoid being punished for certain offences they committed. Hence, most of them were criminals who took or slept with wives of their fellow men, or who stole other people's properties, incurred debts that they were incapable of paying among other offences that demanded that they hid their faces for sometimes. However, when some of them began to return home with wealth after a while, other people were encouraged to leave home. This,

176. S.O. Osoba, 1969, "The Phenomenon of Labour Migration in the Era of British Colonial Rule: A Neglected Aspect of Nigeria's Social History" in, *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. IV, No. 4, June, p. 525.

177. B.A. Agiri, 1990, "The Development of Wage Labour in Agriculture in Southern Yorubaland, 1900-1940" in *Odu: New Series*, No. 37. February, p. 37. This was also confirmed in Oral interview with Pa. Lasisi Afolabi, Tantan's compound, Molete hill, Iwo, 96 years, 02/11/2012.

according to our informants, accounted for mass emigration of people to Cote d' Ivoire later on.¹⁷⁸

In Ejigbo and Ede communities, the first set of people to go to Abidjan went to take appointment in the French railway construction towards the end of the 19th century. Isibioye in Benin Republic was their first destination before they proceeded to Abidjan. However, these people eventually settled as traders in Abidjan metropolis after the completion of the railway construction. Consequent upon their tremendous success as a result of their hard working, many other people became interested in the long distance trade in which Ejigbo, Iwo and Ede people became famous.¹⁷⁹

This is in line with the claim of R.O. Olaniyi, that migration is often undertaken out of economic necessities. These in Osun Division included the bid to gain access to fertile land occasioned by the development of a cash crop economy during the colonial era.¹⁸⁰ Movement of people out of the division to Ijesa, Ife and Ondo areas, where land suitable for cultivation of cocoa abound in large quantity authenticated this.¹⁸¹ In addition, migration of the people to Abeokuta, Lagos and further to Benin Republic, Togo, Ghana, Abidjan and other

178. Oral interview with Messers Kareem Alade and Rasheed Kadiri, two of them (71 and 75 years respectively) were butchers in Igele market in Ondo. These people claimed that, nobody was expected to leave his home town unless he was involved in a crime that was punishable by such excommunication. Also, see, B.I. Lasisi, 2005, *Ejigbo Local Government: A positive Reference Point and The Profiles of Prominent Indigenes*, Ejigbo: Bil Communications and Publishers, p. 75.

179. B.I. Lasisi, 2005, *Ejigbo Local Government: A Positive Reference Point and The Profiles of Prominent Indigenes*, Bil Communications and Publishers, p. 75.

180. R.O. Olaniyi, 2008, *Diaspora is Not Like Home: A Social and Economic History of Yoruba in Kano, 1912-1999*, Muenchen: Lincom Europa Academic Publications, pp. 15-20.

181. S.A.Berry, 1975, *Cocoa, Custom and Socio-economic Change in Rural Western Nigeria*, London: Clarendon Press, p. 69.. Majority of the migrant farmers interviewed by S.A.Berry in Ife and Ondo villages were from the Northern and South-eastern parts of Osun Division. See also, E.A. Walker, 2003, "British Colonialism and Economic Transformation", in A. Oyebade, (ed), *The Foundation of Nigeria: Essays in Honour of Toyin Falola*, Trenton: A. W. P. Inc. p. 355.

parts of Africa during the colonial period was in line with the theory of migration put up by the neoclassical economists such as, E.G. Ravenstein, W. A. Lewis, L.A. Sjaastad, M. Todaro, among others. They observed that migration emanated from the natural factor of uneven geographical distribution of labour, capital and other resources.¹⁸²

All other opinions revolved around this. For instance, O. Stark, A. Anderson, R. Skeldon and F. Bryceson see migration as diversifying strategy aimed at increasing family income in order to minimise risks such as, unemployment, loss of income, crop failures and other imperfections that plague credit and insurance markets of the sending regions.¹⁸³

Since Osun Division lies in the savanna region of Nigeria with pockets of rain forest, it therefore had little opportunities for improving standard of living compared to the adjoining divisions, such as, Ife and Ijesa.¹⁸⁴ As a result of this, the people of the division were bound to migrate to other places where means of improving livelihood abound in large quantity. The foregoing accounted for reasons why the people of the division were highly involved in long distance trade.¹⁸⁵

Conclusion

This chapter has examined adaptation as a major response of the Yoruba indigenous commercial practices to the colonial economy. It has lent

182. R.O. Olaniyi, 2008, *Diaspora is Not Like Home: A Social and Economic History of Yoruba in Kano: 1912-1999*, Muenchen: Lincom Europa Academic Publications, p.15-22.

183. R.O. Olaniyi, 2008, *Diaspora is Not Like Home: A Social and Economic History of Yoruba in Kano...*

184. O Adegbola, 1972, *The Impact of Migration on the Rural Economy of Osun Division of Western Nigeria*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, University of Ibadan, p. 10.

185. O Adegbola, 1972, *The Impact of Migration on the Rural Economy of Osun Division of Western Nigeria*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, University of Ibadan, p. 5.

credence to the fact that, commerce, as a very important aspect of the Yoruba culture, cannot be easily separated from the people.

In addition, the chapter has been able to identify the sentiment attached to the British provision of developmental projects such as roads, railways, banks and currency, such that their self centeredness was responsible for their lopsided distribution which, in turn, culminated into unequal development of Osun Division and the Yorubaland in general. Thus, some places developed at the expense of others and many places were made to depend on some other parts. The effect of the foregoing was the complementarity of both the European and African commercial systems. In other words, rather than going into extinction, various Yoruba indigenous commercial practices such as haggling, human portorage, advertisement and articles of trade, have all adapted to the new commercial orientation although with one form of modification or another.

While it may be true that a considerable aspect of African culture survived the onslaught of colonialism in the name of adaptation, it has been proved beyond reasonable doubt here that, there were a lot of changes in the system. This becomes glaring when we consider the features of the colonial commerce, which were themselves agents of changes in the African commercial sector, particularly in Yorubaland that is our focus. Various infrastructure of colonial exploitation such as wheeled transportation, currency and banking have all had an unprecedented impact on the colonial sector of Osun Division. These included elimination of cowry, an indigenous currency that existed side by side with barter trade, elimination of human portorage among other changes, which culminated in the improved commercial activities in the division.

However, these changes did not actually go down well with the people of the division as they presented them with many challenges. These included uneven distribution of roads and railways and its associated high cost, currency counterfeiting, demonetisation and monetisation huddles, discrimination in the banking sector, among other challenges. Despite all these challenges and their associated exploitation, the changes still had multiplier effects on the division's commercial sector.

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CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Summary

This study, which is a progressive analysis of the commercial history of the Yoruba people, has refuted some of the misconceptions of the Europeans about Africa. In like manner as various works reviewed in it have shown in their various areas of concentration, the study has reiterated that even before the advent of the Europeans, African economy had been undergoing changes and it had also been adapting to various situations in time perspectives. Colonial economy to which Yoruba commercial sector exhibited various reactions, such as adaptation and change was, therefore episodic. In other words, contrary to the opinion of Sir Philip Myth that, “in all 30,000 years, African societies and institutions stagnated, and that, in all African history, social change and reform are to be found only in the colonial period”,¹ Yoruba indigenous economy had passed through various stages of development, beginning with the primitive stage at the lowest ebb.

However, by 1900, when the British took effective control of Nigeria, commerce was an important feature of Osun Division. Trade and its aids, such as transportation, warehousing and advertisement were at advanced stages.² Colonial commercial economy with its own unique aids had only contributed to the development or otherwise of various Yoruba commercial practices. In fact, indigenous economy was multi-dimensional and advanced. It was an economy that was devoted to social

1. P. Myth, cited in, T. Falola, (ed), 2000, *Tradition and Change in Africa: The Essays of J.F.A. Ajayi*, Asmara: Africa World Press, p.156.

2. H. L. Jones and R. P. Jones, 1978, *Groundwork of Commerce*, Book 2, 6th Edition, Hong Kong: Edward Arnold, pp. 8-10.

welfare rather than personal gains that characterised capitalist economy of the western world.

However, it is convincing that the economy was progressive in growth, and responsive to innovation before the British colonisation in the late 19th century. It has therefore, been demonstrated that the pre-colonial Yoruba economy was a typical traditional African economic system, in which production depended largely on family labour, communal efforts and professional guilds. It has also been shown that ecological differences led to interdependence and consequently the development of a trade network among the various Yoruba subgroups. However, it is worthy of note that this traditional economic culture that is in line with communal socio-economic formation was intrinsically practised.³

In the case of Osun Division, the new economic orientation occasioned by colonialism, culminated in the emergence of a commercial centre on which the neighbouring divisions of Ife-Ijesa and Ondo depended. For example, various towns and villages were opened up to the world economy by the network of roads and railway that were constructed to facilitate trade. This was well utilised by the people of the division, who took to the production of crops needed by the Europeans as a way of making case for their own needs of modern transportation system.⁴

The coming of the European trading firms made indigenous entrepreneurship to loose their independence. Thus, they were turned into agents of exploitation in the new economic orientation. Those who had earlier served as middlemen between the division and Ibadan and Lagos

3. T. Falola, 1984, *The Political Economy of a Pre-colonial African State: Ibadan, 1830-1900*, Ile-Ife: UPL. p. 65.

4. N.A.I. Osun Div. 1/5 Iwo-Ejigbo road, p.7

expanded the scope of their trading activities, while smaller and several petty traders emerged especially in the outlying districts of Osun Division. However, it should be pointed out here that, although cash crops were the concern of the European firms, trade in food crops expanded greatly in the colonial Osun Division. Evidence of these abound in the importance attained by Odo-Otin and its environ as a result of its supply of yams both as a contribution to “winning the war effort” and to the Lagos community in the colonial period.⁵ While trade in cash crop dropped in this area in the 1950s, trade in kolanut and food crops from Ikirun and Odo-Otin to the North thrived greatly.⁶

However, to all these extraneous commercial culture, some aspects of Yoruba commercial sector adapted by way of surviving in a modified or original form. As a matter of fact, this has lent credence to the fact that commerce is a very important aspect of the Yoruba culture, which cannot be easily separated from the people.

Adaptation as a response of the Yoruba indigenous commercial practices here was due to the sentiments attached to the British provision of developmental projects such as road, railway, bank and currency, such that their self-centeredness was responsible for their lopsided distribution which in turn culminated in unequal development of Osun Division and Yorubaland in general. Thus, some places developed at the expense of others and many places were made to depend on some other parts.⁷ The effect of the foregoing was the complementarity of both the European and African commercial practices. In other words, rather than going into extinction, various Yoruba indigenous commercial practices such as

5. N.A.I. Osun Div.1/1 Annual Reports on the Northern Districts of Ibadan Division, 1944, p. 329.

6. N.A.I. Osun Div.1/1 Annual Reports on the Northern Districts of Ibadan Division, 1956, p. 7.

7. N.A.I. Osun Div.1/1 107 Railway Department Matters, p. 181.

haggling, human portage, advertisement and articles of trade, have all adapted to the new commercial orientation although with one form of modification or another. Other main features of the Yoruba commercial organisation that survived the onslaught of colonial domination included house trade and rotational markets which had formed the pre-colonial distributive system. The survival of these indigenous commercial practices was due largely to their capacity to innovate, perpetuate and occasionally to modify essentially unchanged virtues.⁸

While it may be true that a considerable aspect of African culture survived the onslaught of colonialism in the name of adaptation, there is no doubt that various aspects especially in the commercial sector changed greatly. This becomes glaring when we consider the features of the colonial commerce, which were themselves agents of changes in African commercial sector, particularly in Yorubaland that is our focus. Various infrastructure of colonial exploitation such as wheeled transportation, currency and banking have all had an unprecedented impact on the commercial sector of Osun Division. These included elimination of cowry, an indigenous currency that existed side by side with barter trade, elimination of human portage among other changes, which culminated into improved commercial activities in the division.

However, these changes did not actually go down well with the people of the division as they presented them with many challenges. These included uneven distribution of roads and railway and its associated high cost, currency counterfeiting, demonetisation and

8. O.C. Adesina, 1994, *Indigenous Participation in the Economy of Western Nigeria, 1900-1970*, Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife. p. 206. Also, see A.G. Hopkins, 1973, *An Economic History of West Africa*, London: Longman Group, p. 251.

monetisation huddles, discrimination in the banking sector among other challenges.

Conclusion

Contrary to the Eurocentric view of Africa as static and unchanging, this study has contributed to the various efforts of various scholars at showing the progress of African economy over time. It has, therefore, corroborated the views of Falola and Adebayo that Yoruba economy has always been changing and dynamic, reaching its most prosperous phase in the mid-twentieth century, when it was able to sustain the emerging *elite*. It has also shown that commerce is an essential part of the Yoruba economy.

Moreover, commercial sector of Osun Division had its own components (trade and aids to trade) in like manner as the European commercial sector. As a matter of fact, colonial period in Osun Division, as in other African communities, witnessed the introduction of novel ideas in the guise of western values. But more importantly, it was a time of interaction of cultures in which traditional values interacted with western values. However, the outcome was a hybrid that was partly traditional and partly modern. It was a culture undergoing transformation, laying, as it were, the foundation of a new society.

Nigerian economy in the colonial period can therefore, be described as one with a traditional sector, which co-existed with a mode in European enclave economy. Rather than being a symbiotic relationship in which they both had backward and forward linkages effects on each other, it was the one in which European enclave economy fed on the traditional sector. This made the distribution of surplus to be to the detriment of the traditional sector and thereby contributed to the underdevelopment of the economy.

The preference in the colonial economy was always for the monopolistic method of commercial organisation intended to draw the various expatriate companies together to share the colonial market. Thus, it enhanced inequitable distribution of surplus. It was also a system in which indigenous producers and entrepreneurs were marginalised. This retarded the development of indigenous entrepreneurs and the development of indigenous based capitalists.

In the final analysis, while all the aims and objectives of the colonial government and merchants were vigorously pursued, certain aspects of the indigenous commercial sector of Osun Division underwent adaptation, while others changed. This was due largely to the inherent discrimination in the extraneous commercial system. Africans, therefore, had no option than to utilise the various European infrastructure of exploitation for the development of their economy. In the commercial sector, trade in indigenous and imported items got expanded, even in the face of the various challenges that characterised the newly introduced commercial system.

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Mr. Jimoh Afolabi	85	Farmer	Oba's Compound Ila-Odo	24/6/2011
Chief Mrs. Kojusola Oparinde	90	Iyaloja Adenle Market, Osogbo	Oleyo street Osogbo	16/7/2011
Mrs. Janet Adejumo	82	Kolanut Dealer	Jagun's compound Igbaye	24/6/2011
Mrs. Rachael Ebunlomo Ajayi	86	Trader	Jagun Onigbinde's Compound, Okua	24/6/2011
Mrs. Abibatu Adesola	70	Iyaloja, Oje market, Ede	Oke-Gada area Ede	3/7/2011
Mrs. Saudat Olatunde	88	Iyaloja, Oluode market, Osogbo	Gbaemu area Osogbo	3/7/2011
Chief Mrs Bosede Oyetunde	85	Iyaloja of Ogbomoso	Ogbomoso	12/7/2011
Mr. Kareem Alade	70	Beef dealer	Aroworowon's Compound Iwo	12/8/2011
Mr. Rasheed Kadiri	72	Beef dealer	Onilete area Iwo	12/8/2011

Alhaji Ajobike	88	Beef dealer	Isale-Oba area Iwo	17/11/2011
Late Canon Rev. J.L. Omigbodun	100	First chairman of Osogbo District council	Olobado's compound Osogbo	4/8/2012
Mr. Victor Bayo Babarinlo	72	Retiree of Steel Rolling Osogbo	Olobado's Compound Osogbo	4/8/2012
Chief Samontu Laboye	80	A Mogaji in Osogbo	Isale Osun area Osogbo	15/8/2012
Mr. A. O. Olayemi	82	Retiree of G.B. Ollivant	MDS area Osogbo	16/8/2012
Oba Joseph Oyedele Fasiku II	78	Olunisa of Inisa	Olunisa' Palace	20/8/2012
Mr. Solomon Babawale	78	Cocoa dealer	Oluode's compound Inisa	20/8/2012
Alhaji Ganiyu Oyedele Laniyan	86	Retired Police	Laniyan Street Osogbo	14/9/2012
Rev. Sunday Oyinlola	68	Minister in Charge of Okanla Baptist Church	Okanla Baptist Church Osogbo	20/9/2012
Prince I.A. oyebamiji	85	Baba kekere of Olokuku	Olokuku's palace	6/10/2012
Alhaji Bello Ajani	98	Farmer	Elemoso's house Okuku	6/10/2012
Hon. George Alabi	62	Politician	Oba Abidjan house Ejigbo	7/10/2012

Mrs Grace Ibitowa	83	Trader	Tella house Ejigbo	7/10/2012
Chief Mrs. Limonta Ajeigbe	93	Iya egbe Olobi of Osun State	Oluode's compound Ikirun	12/10/2012
Chief Ebenezer Odeleye	84	Chief Akogun of Gbongan	Akogun's compound Gbongan	16/10/2012
Chief Samuel Alabi	82	Chief Basorun of Gbongan	Basorun's compound Gbongan	16/10/2012
Mr. Gabriel Adebisi Opayinka	107	A retired police of the colonial period	Alagbada street Gbongan	16/10/2012
Alhaja Sabitiyu Odegbenle	85	Kolanut dealer	Imam's compound Inisa	17/10/2012
Mr. Lasisi Afolabi	96	Retired soldier and beef dealer	Tantan's compound Iwo	2/11/2012
Mr. John Afolabi Oparinde	81	Retired civil servant	Oleyo street Osogbo	6/12/2012

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APPENDIX

Appendix I

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Archival Documents on Colonial Currency in Osun Division

On account of the circulation of counterfeit coin in the form of the present alloy coinage, a new form of alloy coinage ^{will} a "security edge" is to be substituted. The new coin will be of the value of 1/- and 6d. and will circulate along with the present coin. It will be freely exchangeable for the present alloy coin at all Banks and Treasuries. After the first issue of the new coin, there will be no fresh issues of the present form of alloy and only "security edge" coin will be put into circulation. The value of the present alloy coin will not be affected but those in possession of the present alloy should exchange their coin for the new coin.

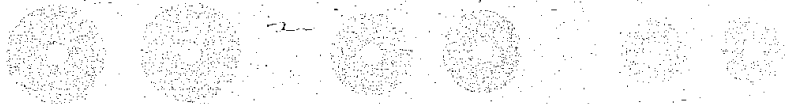
Instead of the present alloy 3d. a new coin of the value of 3d. in nickel bronze, but without a hole in the centre, will be put into circulation. It is a larger coin in size and should be more convenient than the present small coin. The present coins will be exchanged for the new ones at all Banks and Treasuries after the 16th of January 1939.

NEW COINS

Osun Division in the Map of the Western States of Nigeria

There will soon be new penny, halfpenny and one-tenth penny coins in use in Nigeria. These coins will be the same size and shape as those already in use and will have the same design on them, but they will be made of a different metal and will have a different colour.

This is the colour of the present coins :—



And this is the colour of the new ones :—



The new coins will be worth just as much as the old ones, and the old ones will still be used.

There will be only small quantities of the new coins in use at first, but more and more of them will be issued as fresh supplies arrive.

Specimens of the new coins can be seen at any Government Treasury or Post Office and at all branches of The Bank of British West Africa Ltd., Barclays Bank (Dominion, Colonial and Overseas), the National Bank of Nigeria Ltd., and the British and French Bank (for Commerce and Industry) Ltd.

The Treasury,
Lagos.

Dec. 2nd, 1952.

H. R. Hirst
Currency Officer

25

AKTIKALAH KAH (KAWONHO KAH).

Hitori nina ti awon qawonran nua owo nigeduru bi owo
 gidi ti isisiyi, a o bere si na orini owo niran ti eti re
 yato siye oyiti a nua nisisiye. A o se silo hikan (1/-) ati
 isisiyi (5d) re, na si na na a po pelu oro ti a nua nisisiye.
 isisiyi ad lo na owo ti isisiyi lo si (gogbo banki tabi Eto-owo
 Ijoba lati si pare owo titun na. Bi owo titun na ba ti jade
 gbona ijoba ko ~~titun~~ ni ko titun leu owo ti isisiyi wa na.
 Ogofo owo isisiyi-ara-oto yi nikan ni a o na na. awon owo ti a
 nua nisisiye ko ni (in ni iyo ti o wa lara won; sugbon ki
 awon ti o ba ni owo ti isisiyi lowo ki o lo pare re si owo
 titun yi.

Awo toso (5d) owo oyiti a nua nisisiye a o na na leu toso
 niran ti o si ara je hobo sugbon ti ko ni iho larin. Toso
 tobi
 titun na ju ti isisiyi lo, yio si wotan lati na ju koreke ti
 isisiyi lo. A o bere si si owo titun yi pare owo ti isisiyi
 ni gogbo banki ati Eto-owo Ijoba larin owo ilor-indilogun owo
 kiki (Fasinsy) owo ti o nbo (1939).

No. 100/314.
15th April, 1939.

Handwritten:
H. H. A. G. H. H. D. H.

From
Accountant-General, (on tour)
S. H. G. U.

To
The Comptroller
The Secretary, W. P.,
F. B. A. S. G.

It would appear that Native Administrations are exchanging old alloy for new alloy at Local Treasuries. This adds greatly to the Government cost of specie remittances.

Native Administrations must make their own arrangements for exchange with the nearest banks. Only the ~~Public~~ may exchange old alloy for new at Local Treasuries. I should be obliged if you would inform Native Administrations accordingly.

(Sgd.) H. K. Mackintosh
Accountant-General
(on tour)

See page 34

No. W. P. 1650/143.
Ibadan, 25 April, 1939.

Copy to:-

The Comptroller,
C/o Secretary,
Igo.

For information.

(Sgd.) Owen V. Lee
For Secretary,
Western Provinces.

Notes
1/25
37-139

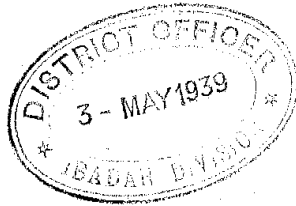
Handwritten initials
C.B.

No. OY. 623/309.
Oyo, April, 1939.

Copy to:-

The District Officer, Ibadan.
The District Officer, Oyo.
The District Officer, Ife-Ilesha.
The District Officer, Oshogbo.
(Chro' D. C. Ibadan)
The Assistant District Officer, Ilesha.

For information.



B. Shindani

Resident : Oyo Province.

UNIVERSITY

No. 3775/3/405.

Secretary's Office,
Western Provinces,
Ibadan, Nigeria.
10th December, 1947.

The Senior Resident, Oyo Province.	}	Copies for D. Os.
The Resident, Abeokuta Province.		
" " Benin "		
" " Ijebu "		
" " Ondo "		
" " Warri "		

Nickel Coinage.

I am directed to ask for particulars of all nickel coinage held by Native Administrations at 30th November, 1947. Similar returns are being compiled in the Eastern and Northern Provinces. It is hoped that this information will enable the Accountant General's department to arrange for a better distribution and more constant circulation of nickel coinage throughout Nigeria.

2. It would be helpful if Residents would state whether the present amount of nickel coinage in circulation in each division is considered adequate, insufficient or excessive.

OSAI W. R. HATCH
Secretary,
Western Provinces.

Suber:

3775/3/418.

10th February, 1948.

The Senior Resident,
Oyo Province,
Oyo.

Nickel Coinage.

With reference to my letter No. 3775/3/405 of the 10th of December, 1947, replies so far received appear to indicate a general shortage of nickel pence.

2. Nickel coinage is being received by the banks in considerable quantities and Native Administrations may be able to assist in putting it back into circulation. The Bank of British West Africa at Oshogbo has at present £150 nickel pence surplus to its requirements. It is suggested that Native Administrations in Abeokuta, Benin, and Warri Provinces should apply to the banks at Abeokuta and Sapele. If the banks are unable to supply Native Administrations' requirements, the Regional Treasurer reports that he may be able to arrange for a supply to be made available.

3. It is probable that Barclay's Bank at Ijebu Ode will also have nickel for disposal in the very near future. They will be prepared to supply this nickel to Native Administrations, whether the particular Native Administration bank with them or not.

(sgd) W. R. HATCH
For Secretary,
Western Province.

25/2/48
64

No. 623/450.

OYO: 19 February, 1948.

Copy to:-

- The Senior District Officer, Ibadan (2)
- The Senior District Officer, I f e (2)

Subd. 25/2/48

For information with reference to my endorsement No. 623/458 of the 17th of December, 1947.

Obidimu
Snr. Resident : Oyo Province.

JOK:

DE

a large proportion of nickel in your pay is a help to your men. Nickel has been

No. S.P. 3775/S/149.

Secretary's Office,
Southern Provinces,
Nigeria.
Lagos, 15th September, 1954.

The Resident,
Oyo Province,
Oyo.

Nickel Coinage.

With reference to your letter No. 623/133 of the 14th of June, 1954, I am directed by the Lieutenant-Governor to request that not only should the people be informed through the usual channels of the Native authorities and Native Courts that worn nickel coin will be redeemed at the Local Treasuries and Native Administration Treasuries, but that notices to this effect should be posted at suitable public places for the general information of the public.

A. I am to add that it is being suggested to the Treasurer that worn nickel coin should be accepted at Treasury Centres in packets of less than £10 in order to facilitate redemption.

(Sgd) W. A. Miller
For Acting Secretary,
Southern Provinces.

No. 623/1431.

Oyo, 27th September, 1954.

Assistant District Officer,
Northern District,
Osogbo.

for information and action.

S. Please let me know early the requirements of your Division for 1955 - 56.

H. L. Williams

8/20/53

NO. 20719.
DISTRICT OFFICE,
Ibadan, (S.W. Nigeria), 1953

My dear Sirs,
I am writing to you.

Local Councils.

Please inform your Councils that I have been made
available in the week end they should obtain supply for
distribution.

You should guide against ^{being} local councils to a point.

- The Ataoja & Council, Oshogbo
- The Akirun & Council, Ikirun
- The Elejigbo & Council, Ejigbo.
- The Bale & Council, Ogbomosho
- The Balogun & Council, Ede
- The Olokuku & Council, Okuku

Respectfully,
Your obedient servant,

W. J. R. MELLOR.
District Officer,
Abacha (Western District).

UNIVERSITY

51

No. F. 3775/25.

Secretary's Office,
Western Provinces,
Ibadan, Nigeria.

12th December, 1950.

The Honourable
The Chief Secretary to the Government,
Nigerian Secretariat,
Lagos.

West African Currency Notes.

53

With reference to your letter No. 20225/82 of the 21st of November, His Honour agrees with the views in your second paragraph and welcomes the proposal to introduce new issues of 20/- and 10/- ^{Ten shilling} currency notes in British West Africa. His Honour strongly urges that the introduction of the new notes should be preceded, well in advance, by an intensive propaganda campaign to prepare the public and to guard against frauds by unscrupulous persons.

2. The following comments by the Regional Treasurer, Ibadan, which His Honour considers to be most helpful, are forwarded for the consideration of the West African Currency Board:-

" (i) The design of the New Notes.

- (a) A good and large watermark should be adopted.
- (b) A thread insertion will certainly hinder forgery but it must be remembered that a note with a thread insertion quickly breaks and tears if folded or creased frequently on the thread. West African Notes must stand up to hard wear (this drawback of a thread insertion is frequent in the U.K.)
- (c) Numbers should appear in opposite corners and not the two top corners as at present. Many of the notes damaged by damp and insects and exchanged by the Treasury for the Currency Board are notes that have been put away folded. When folded it seems most usual for the numbers to be first destroyed; one number is essential for identification.
- (d) In size the longer and narrower a note is the easier it is to count. A "square" note always causes difficulty to cashiers. An American dollar bill is an example of a well proportioned note.
- (e) A pictorial design should be retained. The introduction of a portrait, of who ever it may be, may cause displeasure to some.

(ii) The introduction of the New Notes.

- (a) Intensive propaganda will certainly be necessary and the ease of forgery and the danger to holders of the present notes must be put forward as one and only reason for their withdrawal. Any aesthetic reasons will almost certainly be misinterpreted.

/(b)

- (b) Presumably the Banks alone cannot be expected to deal with the exchange. I foresee much hard work coming to our hard pressed Sub and Local Treasuries, Post Offices and N.A. Treasuries.
- (c) A definite time limit on a pound for pound exchange must be announced and adhered to. We do not want to see the economic law of bad money (in this case perhaps "unpopular" money) driving good money out of circulation. If this happened the old notes might continue to be used in certain areas to the detriment of the new currency and we should have another 'Manilla' to redeem."

A.G.R. Mooring
for Secretary,
Western Provinces.

No.F. 3775/26.

Ibadan, 12th December, 1950.

COPY to:-

The Resident, Benin.	}	with sufficient copies for District Officers.
The Resident, Oyo.		
The Resident, Ondo.		
The Resident, Abeokuta.		
The Resident, Warri.		
The Resident, Ijebu.		

For information.

2. A copy of the Chief Secretary's letter No. 20225/82 of the 21st of November referred to above is attached herewith.

J.C.A. Warman
for Secretary,
Western Provinces.

Nigerian Secretariat,
Lagos, Nigeria.

21st November, 1950.

The Secretary,
Western Provinces,
Ibadan.

West African Currency Notes.

*Other **

I am directed to inform you that the West African Currency Board have under consideration the question of a new issue of 20/- and 10/- currency notes in the British West African Territories. Their main reason for doing so is that, although the existing type of note has served well since 1928, it is time to provide an issue of improved design incorporating features which will present greater difficulties to forgers. An additional reason is that the large increase in the note circulation (now £30m out of a total circulation of £66m in West Africa, with a tendency to even greater expansion) is indicative of the important place which notes have come to occupy in the West African currency system and justifies an improved design.

2. It is arguable that when backward communities have only recently come to put their trust in notes of the existing form a change might cause them to lose confidence. Against this, the Currency Officer and the Superintendent, Criminal Investigation Division, with whom the District Manager of the Bank of British West Africa agrees, urge most strongly that a change of design is most desirable to defeat the efforts of evil-doers. Forgeries of existing notes are improving in design and some very realistic specimens have recently come into the possession of the Police and the Currency Officer. Furthermore, they are increasing in number, and it is not unlikely that something like 10,000 a year are being put into circulation. These Officers consider that the increasing circulation of forged notes, which will tend to find their way into backward areas, is likely to undermine confidence more than a new issue would do, provided that the issue is preceded by intensive propaganda throughout the country.

3. It will be appreciated that the detailed design of currency notes is a matter for experts, and it is intended that on receipt of the views of the four Governments concerned, detailed designs should be prepared by the Board and referred back with their comments and recommendations. In the meantime, certain technical recommendations have been made by the Board, namely:-

- (a) that, as affording a greater measure of security, it is desirable to have two direct plate printings and two lithographic tint printings on the front of the notes;
- (b) that, for the same reason, there should be a direct plate printing on the back of the notes; and
- (c) that an improved type of watermark should be adopted, such as an animal head.

4. The officers whose views have been quoted in paragraph 2 agree with these recommendations and make the following comments as regards points of detail:-

- (a) Since all forgeries so far discovered in Nigeria have been produced by photographic methods and not by engraving, so that photographic reproduction of the design has,

except for the background, to be done largely by hand colour washing, the object should be to make the tints as varied and as difficult as possible to reproduce;

- (b) It is desirable to retain the same general background of colouring with which the public are familiar, but the particular red employed for 20/- notes should be changed, as it is comparatively easily reproduced with gold chloride, which is in general use by goldsmiths in this country;
- (c) It is desirable to adopt a slightly smaller size of note which would not only be more convenient, but would remove the existing correspondence with the size of half-plate photographic paper;
- (d) If possible, an easily visible thread insertion should be incorporated;
- (e) Since direct plate printing on the back of the notes would involve the removal of the present Arabic Characters, these should be reproduced in smaller dimensions on the face of the notes, preferably not in black, which can be correctly reproduced photographically.

5. It is clear that any recommendations for design must be indicative of West Africa as a whole, although the Board consider that the main design ought to contain a well engraved portrait, which would be most difficult to copy. However, it may be considered that a pictorial design is preferable, since it might be difficult to obtain a portrait design representative of West Africa generally. With regard to the watermark, the suggestion has been made that the head of a crown bird would be suitable.

6. I should be grateful for the favour of His Honour's views on the general question of a new note issue and of such detailed comments as he may wish to offer. It will thereafter be necessary to communicate the recommendations of this Government to the other West African Governments for final suggestions to be forwarded to the Board so that designs may be prepared.

(Sgd.) F.D.C. Williams
for Acting Chief Secretary to the
Government.

56

Secretariat.

27/3

(Sd) F.O.A. WARMAN
17/3/58 For C.S.A.A.

All Residents.

N.5778 r bytel P three seven seven five of twentieth
February r Proclamation declaring new coins legal
tender from twentysixth March has been signed and will
appear in Nigeria and western regional Gazettes of
nineteenth March r Posters should be displayed Monday
twenty third March r

OLV880.

EO:768/A.

Copy to :-

Ibadan. 20 March, 1958.

The Senior Dist. Officer, Ibadan.
The District Officer, Oshun Div. Oshogbo. (5).

P579

For information and necessary action, Posters
in English, Hausa and Yoruba languages are enclosed
as follows :-

To	LANGUAGES.	To.
S.D.O., Ibadan.	English	18.
D.O. Oshogbo.	"	18. <i>Received</i>
S.D.O., Ibadan.	Hausa	19. <i>Received</i>
D.O. Oshogbo.	"	19. <i>Received</i>
S.D.O., Ibadan.	Yoruba	20. <i>Received</i>
D.O. Oshogbo.	"	20. <i>Received</i>

of 27/3

A. Brown
SECRETARY : FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

Akiyesi ti Ijoba fi si ode

OWO TITUN

Li aipe yi, a o mu owo titun jade fun awon enia lati ma na: oriṣi meta ni owo na, koḅo, epinni ati onini.

Ko ni si iyato larin awon owo yi ati awon eyi ti a nna nisisiyi, ni gege bi won ti tobi si, tabi onà ti a se si won li ara, sugbon irin ti a o lo lati fi se won yio yato, awò awon owo na yio si pon rakòrà-kò gege bi koḅo lailai ti a nlo ki a to da aipe-lu-ja si ode.

Awon owo titun yi yio wa fun nina bakanna gege bi awon ti a ni nisisiyi. Iye kanna ni a o ma gba won gege bi eyi ti o wa lode oni.

Eniti o ba fe ri gege bi awon owo titun yi ti ri, le lo si ile Ijoba nibiti a nfi owo pamo si (Treasury), tabi ni ile ibiti a ti nfi awon iwe ikini sowo si ilu miran (Post Office), ati ni gbogbo ibi ti a si ile ti a nfi owo pamo fun awon Onisowo si, gege bi Bank of British West Africa Limited, Barclays Bank, National Bank of Nigeria, ati British and French Bank Limited.

H. R. Hirst

Alase owo ti a nna

(1)

A.D.O.
Sir

Your minute at p. 60. Below is suggested distribution of the leaflets. May the Hausa version be sent to Sarikin Hausawa, Sabo, Oshogbo and the Sobo version to the Oshogbo R/Room plse?

	English	Yoruba	
A.D.O. Iwo	2	2	✓
✓ Ogbomosho	2	2	✓
President N.A. Oshogbo	1	3	✓
✓ ✓ Ede	1	3	✓
✓ ✓ Ifelodun	1	3	✓
✓ ✓ Odo-Otin	1	2	✓
✓ ✓ Ogbomosho	2	3	✓
✓ ✓ Ejiro	1	2	✓
✓ ✓ Iwo	2	3	✓
✓ ✓ Egbedore	1	2	✓
✓ ✓ Aiyedade	1	2	✓
Oshogbo R/Room	1	1	✓
Ede R/Room	1	1	✓
D.O. Oshogbo's Notice Board	1	1	✓
	18	30	

~~EMA~~
D.C., 27/3/53.

(2)

Pl. distribute as above.
RE
28/3

(3)

Distributed pl.
W. Adeyemo
28/3/53.

PA
RE
31/3

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN

No. 27541/5

Ministry of Local Government,
Western Region of Nigeria,
Ibadan.

27th July, 1953.

The Resident, Abeokuta Province, Abeokuta. }
The Resident, Benin Province, Benin City. }
The Resident, Ibadan Province, Ibadan. } With sufficient
The Resident, Ijebu Province, Ijebu-Ode. } copies to District
The Resident, Delta Province, Warri. } Officers and Native
The Resident, Ondo Province, Akure. } Authorities.
The Resident, Oyo Province, Oyo. }
The Administrator of the Colony, Lagos. }
The Deputy Director of Audit, Ibadan. (3)

Nickel Coinage.

I am directed to inform you that the West African Currency Board desires to call in all nickell coinage and to replace it by bronze as soon as possible. In order to facilitate this operation it is desirable to ascertain the amount of nickel held in the Western Region.

2. I shall be grateful if the attached form may be completed in all Native Treasuries and returned direct to the Regional Treasurer, Ibadan.

3. When these returns have been received and consolidated, sufficient bronze coin will be made available at the appropriate Banks and Government Treasuries as indicated in the returns, and these institutions will notify each Native Treasury direct when the exchange may be effected.

D. A. Murphy
Ag: Permanent Secretary.

TO:

No.768/11.

Resident's Office,
Ibadan.
4th January, 1955.

The Assistant Local Government Inspector,
Ibadan Division, Ibadan. (5)

The Assistant Local Government Inspector,
Oshun Division, Oshogbo. (15)

Nickel Coinage.

Further to my letter No.768/9 of the 6th of August, 1953, please inform all Local Government Treasuries that the West African Currency Board is very anxious to speed up the exchange of old nickel pence and halfpence for the new bronze coins. To encourage this process the Currency Officer, Lagos, will refund labour and transport costs of exchanges of coin worth £100 or over, "on submission of invoices supported by receipts".

2. Whether they can make up to £100 or not, please ask Treasurers to endeavour to retain and exchange nickel coinage whenever possible. For large amounts, prior notification should be given to the bank.

D.A. MURPHY
AG: RESIDENT : IBADAN PROVINCE.

Lac'

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN

Cn. 176/III/31a

CURRENCY OFFICE,
TREASURY, IAGOS.

11th October, 1958.

The Resident,
Ibadan Province,
Ibadan.

(728/24)

Repatriation of Nickel Pence and Half-pence
Ref. to para. Circular Letter No. CB/176/102
of 15/10/58.

In order to speed up the withdrawal of the cupro-nickel coins it would be of great assistance if arrangements could be made for the Native Administration Treasuries to retain all cupro-nickel penny and half-penny coins which pass into their hands, and for such coins to be exchanged at the nearest Branch of the Bank of British West Africa or Barclays D.C.O. who are the Agent Banks of the West African Currency Board. Stocks of bronze coin in replacement if required will be available.

2. In return for this service these Banks, will pay, on behalf of the Board, a sorting charge of 1/- for every £1 of such cupro-nickel coins paid into them in this way as from the 1st October, 1958. It should be noted that the arrangement applies only to pennies and half-pennies and not to the three-penny nickel coins for which there is no equivalent bronze coin.

3. The Board is also prepared to accept responsibility for meeting reasonable charges for transporting the nickel to the Banks. In this connection it is particularly requested that discretion be exercised to keep the cost to a minimum and special journeys to the Banks should not be undertaken unless they are warranted by the quantity of coin involved. Where re-imbursment is required, claims supported by invoices and receipts should be submitted to the Manager of the Bank branch receiving the nickel who will, after certifying the claim is in order and the charges reasonable, transmit it to this office for payment to be arranged.

4. The withdrawal of this coin is of considerable importance to the Sterling Area as it is used in the manufacture of new cupro-nickel coin which is exchanged for silver alloy coin circulating in the United Kingdom. The salvage of this silver being a most important dollar saving operation.

5. Whilst no general publicity is being given to the scheme I have written in similar terms to major firms and undertakings operating in Nigeria and your co-operation in this matter would be very greatly appreciated.

(Sgd.) W.E. Duryea
FOR CURRENCY OFFICER.

NO. 748/15.

Copy to :-

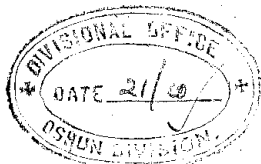
Ibadan, 10th October, 1958.

The Senior District Officer, Ibadan. (5)
The Divisional Officer, Oshun, Oshogbo. (15).

For necessary action with reference to my letter No. 702/11 of the 4th of January.

W. E. Duryea
f. no. RESIDENT, IBADAN PROVINCE.

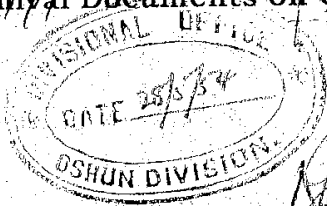
348:



See returns at bc. to go to all S.D.s. and S.W.s. for info. w. 1.10.58 P. 70?
Jax
25/10

Appendix II

Shun Division
1004 Vol II
Archival Documents on Construction and Maintenance of Roads.



No. 37/4.

Council Offices,
Oshun Division,
Oshogbo, 27 May, 1954.

28/5
The Asst. Local Govt. Inspector,
Oshun Division,
Oshogbo.

Divisional Roads - Maintenance of.

*of minutes
received
7/54*

I am directed by the Oshun Divisional Finance Committee at its meeting held on the 13th of May, 1954, to request you please to advise the District Engineer, Public Works Department, Oshogbo, to know whether he is aware that Regional Government has voted £15,000 for the improvement of Oshun Divisional Roads; and if he is aware, could he tell the above Committee what his plan for dis-bursing the money is.

2. I shall be much grateful for your early attention please.

J. P. Salami
ASST: COUNCIL CLERK,
OSHUN DIVISION

A.D.O.
Ade.

Return on this must await the submission of the minutes of the Oshun D.W. Co. held on 13/5/54.

B. 29/6

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN

17

MINISTRY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT,
WESTERN REGION OF NIGERIA,
I B A D A N.

19th June, 1954.

27861/142.

J.A. Orogge, Esq., M.H.A.
Chairman,
Ikirun District Council,
Ikirun.

Sir,

Western Regional Production Development Board:
Feeder Roads: Grants.

The Honourable the Minister for Local Government will be pleased if you will form a Committee, with yourself as chairman and the other Honourable Members of the Western House for the Oshun Division as members, to make recommendations regarding the expenditure of the £15,000 granted to Oshun Division by way of non-specific allocation for the "improving of communications in neglected areas and the construction of feeder roads which will facilitate the evacuation of foodstuffs and produce".

2. It is suggested that the Committee should co-opt as members, or consult, the District Engineer, Oshogbo, and the District Officer, Oshogbo; and invite the views of the Iwo and Ogbomosho District Councils and of the Oshun Divisional Council.

3. I attach for your information :

- (1) A copy of letter No. 1150/86 from the District Officer, Oyo, dated the 2nd of February, 1954.
- (2) A copy of letter No. 61/10/6A dated the 22nd of October, 1953, from the Resident, Ibadan Province.
- (3) A copy of letter No. 61/11/19 of the 11th of May, 1954, from the Resident, Ibadan Province.

4. Oyo Divisional Native Authority has been allocated £10,000 (non-specific) for similar purposes. Of this sum it has asked leave to spend £2,000 towards construction of the bridge over the Oba River (on the Awe-Ifedan-Ejigbo road) mentioned in (1) and (2).

5. Copies of this letter and its attachments go to the Resident, Ibadan Province, and through him to the District Officer, Oshun Division, with copies for the Councils concerned, and for the District Engineer, Oshogbo. Copies also go to the Resident, Oyo Province, and through him to the District Officer, Oyo, the District Engineer, Oyo, and the Oyo Divisional Native Authority. Spare copies are enclosed to facilitate you in communicating with members of the proposed Committee.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

D.A. MURPHY.

Acting Permanent Secretary.

Ohan.

Copy.

No. 1150/86.

Divisional Office,
Oyo, Nigeria.
2nd February, 1954.

The Resident,
Oyo Province,
Oyo. (2)

Application for Feeder Roads Grant.

With reference to my letter No. 999/3/90 of the 9th of July, 1953, in which I requested £17,500 from the Western Regional Production Development Board for the current Feeder Road Programme, I shall be grateful if you will recommend this application for an additional grant of £2,000.

2. The purpose of this additional £2,000 is to enable the bridge to be constructed over the River Oba on the Awe-Ife Odan-Ejigbo road. This has been an approved Feeder Road since the Nigerian Government Estimates of 1949/50.

3. The building of the bridge has been under consideration ever since the road was started by voluntary labour in 1945, and the Oyo N.A. has £1,760 on deposit as a contribution. ** notes*

4. Continuous postponements have taken place since 1951 due to hopes of financial assistance from Iwo and Ejigbo Native Authorities, and it has now become clear once again that no help will be forthcoming from either N.A. or District Council during 1954-55. It is evident that if the project is to depend on their financial support it will never be completed at all.

5. The attached copy of Resident Ibadan's letter No. 61/40/6A of the 22nd of October, 1953, shows that the bridge will be of benefit to both Oyo and Ibadan Provinces, and permission to obtain the necessary steel girders has already been granted on the strength of Resident Oyo's recommendation referred to in my letter No. 1150/65 of 21st January, 1953, (copy attached).

Note 6. Since the proposed bridge would link the Ikonifin group farming scheme with Agricultural Headquarters of Oyo and Ibadan Provinces at Oyo the Provincial Agricultural Officer has said that he will try to make a tractor available if required to assist in construction.

7. Since I understand that the next meeting of the Board takes place on February 8th I shall be grateful if this request may be forwarded with your recommendation as soon as possible.

(Sgd.) L.R.K. Fyffe

f. District Officer,
I/c Oyo Division.

Copy.

No. 61/10/6A.

Provincial Office,
Ibadan, Nigeria.
22nd October, 1953.

The Resident,
Oyo Province,
Oyo.

Oyo - Awe - Ikonifin road.

We have spoken (de Garsten - Robinson) and agreed that a bridge over the Oba River to link Oyo with Ife Odan, Ikonifin and Ejigbo is very desirable.

2. The Provincial Engineer considers that such a bridge would cost £3,000 approximately but has promised to make a full investigation in the dry season when the river has subsided.

3. I believe that the Oyo people are even more anxious that this bridge be built than the Oshuns and that there is money deposited in the Oyo Treasury to cover. I suggest then that the Provincial Engineer Oyo should build it, with our help, rather than the other way round. Do you agree? The crossing is close to Oyo. *

4. Perhaps the Engineer at Oyo has already obtained detailed requirements? If so, may I know how far his plans have progressed?

5. I have sent a copy of this letter to Mr. Rowe, Provincial Agricultural Officer, because he may be able to help by providing tractors and mechanical aids for the road on either side. As there is an agricultural project at Ikonifin under his supervision, he would be saved travelling over many miles of roads were this link to be built. So I hope he will co-operate. * Note pls

(Sgd.) H.K. Robinson.
Resident : Ibadan Province.

Copy.

No. 61/11/19.

Resident's Office,
Ibadan, Nigeria.
11th May, 1954.

The Permanent Secretary,
Ministry of Local Government,
Western Region,
Ibadan.

Road Tarring - Iwo - Ogbagba - Iwoye -
Awo - Ede Road.

I understand from the Secretary, Western Regional Production Development Board that a sum of £15,000 has been voted by the Board for Feeder Road Construction in Oshun Division. Apparently the sum has not been allocated against particular Roads, and it is intended that funds should only be released for the construction of new Roads on the recommendation of the Minister for Local Government.

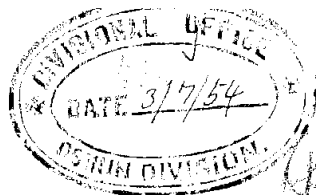
X 2. I should, therefore, like to put in a request for assistance on the Iwo-Ogbagba-Iwoye-Iwo-Ede Road. Construction is not yet properly completed as in the rainy season it sometimes becomes impassable. A grant to assist in bringing its construction up to full 3rd class Public Works Department standard would be very beneficial.

3. If the Minister would agree in principle to a grant based on 50% of Native Authority expenditure, detailed estimates could be prepared and the new District Councils asked to consider how to raise any further funds required of them.

(Sgd.) A.B. Jones.
Resident : Ibadan Province.

Copy to :-

The District Officer, Iwo.



No. 51/137.

District Office,
Iwo: 29th June, 1954.

The Divisional Officer,
Oshun Division,
Oshogbo.

Western Regional Development Fund:
Allocation of £15000 to
Oshun Division.

11/54
I attach a copy of Egbedore District Council's letter No.54/97 of 11th June to which I presume the answer is in the negative.

See p.147

2. I am rather vague about this £15000 but I do not consider that Egbedore deserve any of it when there are other more important roads to be constructed.

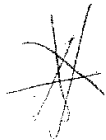
This is based on production records from this

D.F. Bennett

District Officer,
Iwo.

ALF.

UNIN



1004 ✓

No. 37/41.
COUNCIL OFFICES,
OSUN DIVISION,
OSOGUN.
28 October, 1954.

The Permanent Secretary,
Ministry of Local Government,
Western Region of Nigeria,
Ibadan. (3)

Sir,

WESTERN REGIONAL PRODUCTION DEVELOPMENT
BOARD, FEEDER ROADS : GRANTS.

With reference to your letter No. 27331/142 of the 19th of June, 1954, addressed to Mr. J.A. Croge of Ikirun, I am directed to forward to you three copies of the minutes of the Committee set up to make recommendations on the expenditure of the £ 15,000 granted to Osun Division for the improvement and construction of feeder roads.

*Not different on the petition of Ibadan **

2. The Committee considered the grant insufficient to improve all the roads in the Division and therefore requested me to inform you to apply on behalf of the Committee for more grants from the Western Regional Production Development Board. In support of this demand, I wish to bring to your notice that Cocoa and Palm kernels are produced in large quantity in this Division than either Ife and Ilesha Divisions. According to the figures of graded produce compiled from the Monthly Reports of the Produce Inspection Office Ilesha, the followings are the tonnages of Cocoa and Palm kernels produced in Osun Division in comparison with Ife and Ilesha Divisions for the past twelve months :-

Notes pls.

	<u>Cocoa</u>	<u>Palm Kernels.</u>
Osun Division	5,500 tons	9,905 tons
Ilesha "	2,822 "	5,885 "
Ife "	3,755 "	4,401 "



The figures given for Osun Division exclude produce from the Iwo and Ogbomosho Districts, and if both districts are taken into consideration along with others since they are large produce areas, it would be seen that produce from this Division is almost double those of Ife and Ilesha Divisions respectively.

3. In this circumstance, I shall be grateful if you can support the demand of the Committee and recommend more grants for the Division.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your Obedient Servant.

Joe Olatinji
Secretary,
Osun Divisional Council.

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN

No.1/54-55.

16th October, 1954.

OSHUN DIVISIONAL COUNCIL:
SPECIAL COMMITTEE MEETING :

The minutes of a SPECIAL COMMITTEE MEETING held at the Oshun Divisional Council Hall, Station Road, Oshogbo, on Saturday, 16th October, 1954, at 11.15. a. m.

Present at the meeting were :-

CH-AIRMAN: J.Ade. Oroge Esqr. M.H.A.

MEMBERS: Messrs. S.A. Oyaniyun; Oshogbo District, M.O. Ojewale; Aiyedade District, T.A. Taiwo; Ede District, G.A. Adeshiyun; Egbedore District, D.A. Ogunleiyé; Ejigbo District, and J.O. Abidoys; Ikirun District, all representing the Oshun Divisional Council. Messrs. J.A. Ogumuyiwa, M.H.A., I.A. Adejare, M.H.A., S.O. Ola, M.H.A., S.I. Ogunwale, M.H.A., and Mr. Lawani, (representative of Iwo District Council).

IN ATTENDANCE: The Asst. Local Govt. Inspector, Oshun Division, Oshogbo, - C.B. Dodwell Esqr. The District Engineer, P.W.D., Oshogbo, - Stephenson Esqr., The Secretary, Oshun Divisional Council, - J.O. Oladimeji Esqr.

CLERK: Clerk of the Committee - Mr. J. A. Faluyi.

ABSENT: Messrs. A. Dahunsi; Ifelodun District, R.A. Lana; Odo-Otin District, S.L. Akintola, M.H.A. and J.Ola. "dipun M.H.A.

1. WESTERN REGIONAL PRODUCTION DEVELOPMENT BOARD'S GRANT OF £15,000: - The Committee read letter No.27861/142 of 19th June, from the Ministry of Local Govt. regarding a grant of £15,000 given for the improving of communications in neglected areas and the construction of feeder roads in Oshun Division. The Committee was of the opinion that the grant should be spent on the construction of bridges and maintenance of existing roads which are not well looked after. Mr. Ogunwale M.H.A., from Iwo District stated that the Iwo District Council would like the grant to be shared among District Councils in Oshun Division on population basis. However, the Committee recommended that the following existing wooden bridges be replaced with concrete decking and the following existing roads be improved :-

- A. BRIDGES: (i) Awo - Iwo road at an estimated cost of £1,500 and if new bridge is desirable at a cost of £2,500.
(ii) Igbaye - Okosin Bridge at a cost of £350.
(iii) Inisha - Agboye Bridge at a cost of £350.

No.1/54-55.
16th October, 1954.

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IN ATTENDANCE: The Asst. Local Govt. Inspector, Oshun Division, Oshogbo, - C.B. Dodwell Esqr. The District Engineer, P.W.D., Oshogbo, - Stephenson Esqr., The Secretary, Oshun Divisional Council, - J.O. Oladimeji Esqr.

CLERK: Clerk of the Committee - Mr. J. A. Faluyi.

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 - A. BRIDGES: (i) Aro bridge on Awo-Iwo road at an estimated cost of £1,500 and if new bridge is desirable at a cost of £2,500.
 - (ii) Igbaye - Okosin Bridge at a cost of £350.
 - (iii) Anisha-Agboye Bridge at a cost of £350.

(iv) Inisha-Kosin Bridge at a cost of £350.

(v) Kirun-Inisha Bridge at a cost of £200

(vi) Tonkere-dun-abon Bridge (hand rail at a cost of £20.

Total cost of items (i) - (vi) is £3,770 with an allowance of £230 for other expenditures on drainages.

RECOMMENDED: That the sum of £4000 be set aside for the re-construction of bridges listed above.

B. ROADS:

Roads to be improved

(i)	Oshogbo District	Ede-Brin-Iron Road	9 mls.
		Oshogbo-Iragbiji Road	8 "
(ii)	Ifelodun District	Iressi-Koro Road	12 "
		Iragbiji-Oshogbo Road	9 "
		Igbajo-Iressi Road	3 "
(iii)	Odo-Otin District	Ekosin-Igbeye Road	3 "
		Okuku-Ukua Road	4 "
(iv)	Ikirun District	Inisha-Iba-Ire Road	7 "
(v)	Ede	Awo-Aro River Bridge	5 "
		Aro Ojo	3 "
(vi)	Ejigbo District	Ara-Ejigbo Road	4 "
		Ejigbo-Masifa-Oba River Road	18 "
(vii)	Iwo District	Aro-Iwo Road	16 "
(viii)	Aiyedade District	Ikire-Iwo Road	12 "
(ix)	Egbedoro District	Ode-omu-Iwo Road	8 "
		Egbongan-Ugbaja Road	3 "

RECOMMENDED: (i) That the sum of £11,000 be allocated for the improvement of the 122 miles road stated above.

(ii) That the District Engineer be asked to work out the estimated cost of the roads per mile.

(iii) That the balance of money estimated for Kirun-Ogbomosho road should be made available on 100% grant basis.

(iv) That in view of the fact that Cocoa and Palm Kernels are evacuated in large quantity from the division, more grants should be asked for from the Board through the Ministry of Local Government, Western Region.

Note

The meeting adjourned at 1. p. m.

J. A. Saluyi
COMMITTEE CLERK,
OSHUN DIVISION.

SATURDAY, 16TH OCTOBER, 1954.

Saluyi.



27861/5/32.

16 February, 5.

The Resident,
Ibadan Province,
Ibadan. (3)

Western Regional Production Development Board:
Feeder Road Grants.

I am directed to refer to your letter No.61/14 of the 11th of January, 1955, and to say that approval for the bridge improvement programme costing £4,000 as recommended at paragraph 1A of the proceedings of the Oshun Divisional Feeder Road Committee meeting held on the 16th of October, 1954, will be given provided the Oshun Divisional Council/Committee --

- (a) confirms that the estimates are those of the District Engineer;
- (b) gives an assurance that the case of the Oba river bridge has been fully considered (vide my endorsement (of letter addressed to Mr. Oroge) No.27861/142A of the 19th of June, 1954); and
- (c) confirms that the bridges will be constructed by direct labour unless the District Engineer advises otherwise.

2. Approval will also be given for the re-lease of funds for the road improvement programme (estimated at £11,000: vide paragraph 1B of the Committee's minutes referred to above) subject to the following conditions :-

- (a) The District Engineer's estimates referred to at B. (11) of the Committee's recommendations should be forwarded to this office.
- (b) The terms of paragraph 1(1)(iv) of my circular letter No.27861/777 of the 25th of May, 1954, three copies of which are attached hereto, should be complied with.

3. As regards additional grants requested in Secretary, Oshun Divisional Council's letter No.37/41 of the 28th of October, 1954, a copy of which was forwarded with your letter under reference, it is suggested that the Oshun Divisional Council/Feeder Road Committee should apply to the Western Regional Production Development Board direct.

4. A copy of this letter goes to the Secretary, Western Regional Production Development Board for information.

[Signature]
Ag: Permanent Secretary.

VMA.



No. 61/12/17A.

Ibadan, 4th March, 1955.

Copy to :-
The Divisional Officer,
Oshun Division, Oshogbo. (2)

For information, with reference to your letter
No. 1004/29 of the 24th of December, 1954.

2. I attach a copy of the terms of paragraph
1(i)(iv) of circular letter No. 27861/77 of the 25th
of May, 1954.

Clarence Osoyoke

Adex'

AG. RESIDENT : IBADAN PROVINCE.

D. C.

P. Fairclough

UNIVERSITY

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN

MINISTRY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT,

WESTERN REGION,

I B A D A N.

25th May, 1954.

No. 27861/77.

The Administrator of the Colony, Lagos.
The Resident, Delta Province, Warri.
The Resident, Ondo Province, Akure.
The Resident, Benin Province, Benin City.
The Resident, Oyo Province, Oyo.
The Resident, Abeokuta Province, Abeokuta.
The Resident, Ijebu Province, Ijebu-Ode.

Road Grants to Local Government Councils.

In the light of further directions received from the Minister, it is regretted that it is necessary to amend the instructions contained in my letters No. 27831/40 to 53 of the 13th of May, 1954, addressed to Residents, as follows :-

(1) In all cases of lump sum ('non-specific') grants to a Division, whether such Division is covered by one or by several Native Authorities, no funds will be released by the Board until schemes have been submitted to and approved by the Minister. The schemes, which should be prepared by the Native Authority or joint committee, as the case may be, should show :-

- (i) The projects to be undertaken - in the case of roads, the approximate route should be simply described and the mileage should be stated.
- (ii) Whether projects are for new construction or for improvements.
- (iii) The estimated cost of each project.
- (iv) Whether the work is to be undertaken by direct labour or by contract. If by contract, the Minister's approval of the scheme will be conditional upon the completing of the usual formalities (invitations to tender, Tenders Boards, etc.) and the signing of contract documents.

(2) In cases where funds have been allocated by the Board for specific projects, no funds will be released by the Board until the Minister has been notified either (a) that the Council will undertake the project by direct labour or (b) that the usual formalities have been completed (invitations to tender, Tenders Boards etc.) and that contract documents have been signed.

2. The accounting instructions contained in the second last paragraph of my letter are replaced by the following :-

"Funds released in respect of each individual approved project should be placed on deposit in a separate account, expenditure on the project being charged against that account."

3. The inconvenience caused by these changes is much regretted.

(Sgd) D. A. MURPHY.
ACTING PERMANENT SECRETARY.

1004/R
No. 461/32

Public Works Department,
- Oshogbo.
16th May, 1955.

The District Council,
IWO.
Copy to D.O.Iwo. ✓

ROAD DEVELOPMENT.

Reference your 19/A/32 of 26/3/55, it is, I believe, up to the Council to decide (with necessary technical advice from me) what programme of development it intends to follow.

2. If, therefore, there are any specific points you will like to raise in connection with any agreed programme I shall only be too willing to give assistance in any way possible.

3. I should like to point out, however, that the provincial roads in Iwo District suffer from lack of funds to carry out proper maintenance. At the moment only the Iwo - Ibadan road of all roads listed has bituminous surface and it is not satisfactorily maintained. Unless adequate financial provision can be made in future for road maintenance, it is inadvisable to confront the road development Committee with a bituminous resurfacing programme. In these days £100 per mile per annum is required for normal maintenance with a further £600 per mile for resealing every four years.

SOF/BII "

A. A. A. A.
District Engineer,
P.W.D., Oshogbo.

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN

MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED TO THE REGIONAL ROAD
DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE ON 20TH JUNE, 1955.

67

On behalf of the Osun Divisional Council, the Road Development Committee set up to recommend a road development programme in Osun Division, after full consultation with the District Councils in this Division, has come to the conclusion that a programme outlined below be submitted for consideration of the Regional Government.

MAN

2. In drawing up the programme, particular consideration has been given to roads now classified as Provincial and to Trunk "B" roads. The Division has forty miles of Provincial roads all of which have been recommended for tarring and all trunk "B" roads in the Division are tarred or have been approved for tarring by the Regional Government except the Ikirun Fawn-Ikirun Railway Station which is now being put forward for tarring.

(by 1955)

3. All over the Division, the need for Road Improvement and construction is greatly felt. An extensive road construction scheme could easily have been recommended but the financial responsibility that this will throw on the Divisional and District Councils has modified the Committee's attitude towards making new roads. Consequently, few new roads of 155 miles have been put forward for construction and a large number of existing roads need to be improved.

note pls

4. Even in recommending roads for improvement, the Committee has before it the problem of providing annual recurrent funds for maintenance. If it is possible, that District Councils be relieved of this financial responsibilities a bolder programme of road development will be reasonable.

5. The Division is a comparatively large one and grows a great many cash crops. It is adequately linked up by roads, but most of these roads having been built by communal efforts without technical advice, need to be greatly improved.

note this
conclu

6. It will be noticed that most of the roads recommended for tarring are provincial with a view to interesting the Divisional Council in their maintenance costs.

7. The submitted programme has been arranged in order of priority and the following comments will be necessary to present our views to the Government as regards what we consider most expedient.

8. TARRING: This is the most expensive item of the programme and if from consideration of insufficiency of funds our proposal have to be curtailed, it is imagined that this may take place under this heading. This fact notwithstanding we would like to emphasis that it is our wish that all roads under this heading be given due consideration. In the case of the 6th item we strongly recommend that even if the Regional Committee does not find it possible to tar Ikirun/Igbajo road, every effort should be made to tar the Ikirun-Iragbiji road since there is an important Cocoa grading station at Iragbiji. The items have been arranged in order of priority.

*late
revise*

9. NEW CONSTRUCTION:

No unnecessary new construction has been encouraged in our consideration. Although we feel that existing roads should be given priority over those not yet constructed, roads have nevertheless been recommended to be constructed where: (a) such roads shorten distances between places of commercial importance; (b) cash crops are now transported by head to selling stations.

Note

10. ROADS FOR IMPROVEMENT: This item of work is extremely important in order to put existing roads in a shape fit for regular maintenance processes. It is hoped that every effort will be made to carry out all recommendations under road improvement.

11. SPECIAL WORK: Under Special Work some bridges have been put forward to be built. This happens where roads have been built by communal efforts and no funds are available for bridging such rivers as are encountered.

12. ESTIMATES: A rough Estimate has been attached to give the Regional Government Committee an idea of how much money this division will require for its road development.

Adedunji
Secretary,
Oshun Divisional Council

Adedunji
Chairman, Divisional
Road Development Committee

PART 'A'.

ROADS TO BE TARRED.

Constructed in 1935 and being tarring

Ikirun Town/Ikirun Rly. Station
2 miles at £2,200 per mile.
Maintained as Trunk 'K' road.

£ S D
4,400: =: =

(i) Iwo/Ejigbo
22 miles at £2,500 per mile.

55,000: =: =

(ii) Ikirun/Okuru/Illa-Odo
11 miles at £2,000 per mile.

22,000: =: =

(iii) Gbongan/Iwo
19 miles at £2,000

38,000: =: =

(iv) Awo/Iwo
19 miles at £2,000 per mile.

38,000: =: =

(v) Apomu/Ago-Owu/Araromi
19 miles at £2,200 per mile.

41,800: =: =

(vi) Ikirun/Iragbiji/Agbaje
13 miles at £2,200 per mile.

28,600: =: =

£227,800: =: =

PART 'B'.

ROADS TO BE CONSTRUCTED.

(i) Aiyetoro/Odejide
7 miles at £500 per mile.

£ S D
3,500: =: =

(ii) Ogbomosho/Iseyin 40 miles at £200 p.m.
7 Bridges @ £1,500 each }
9 Culverts @ a total of £500 }

8,000: =: = }
11,000: =: = }

(iii) Odeyinka/Ago-Owu 6 miles @ £500 p.m. ✓

3,000: =: =

(iv) Ejigbo/Ika/Ayigbiri/Iloba ✓
8 miles @ 500 pounds per mile

3,500: =: =

(v) Oshogbo/Iloba 10 miles @ £500 p.m. ✓

5,000: =: =

(vi) Gbongan/Owu 10 miles @ £500 p.m. ✓

5,000: =: =

(vii) Gbongan/Ileigbo 9 miles @ £500 p.m. ✓

4,500: =: =

(viii) Sekona/Tonkere 6 miles @ £500 p.m. ✓

3,000: =: =

(ix) Ede/Sasa. 16 miles @ £500 per mile. ✓
One Bridge @ £2,000

8,000: =: =)
2,000: =: =)

(x) Ifon/Iliye 10 miles @ £300 per mile. ✓
2 Bridges at £2000 per bridge

3,000: =: =)
4,000: =: =)

(xi) Ogbomosho/Aiyegun/Ife-Odan ✓
Iwo. 25 miles @ £500 per mile.

12,500: =: =

(xii) Ikirun/Obagun/Iba/Oyan 10 miles @ ✓
£500 per mile.

5,000: =: =

(xiii) Oba/Iliye 6 miles at £300 per mile. ✓
One Bridge at £3000

1,800: =: =)
3,000: =: =)

(xiv) Ikire/Owode 3 miles @ £500 per mile. ✓

1,500: =: =

87,300: =: =

71

PART 'C'.

ROADS FOR IMPROVEMENT.

72

(i) Ikre/Ile/Iwo.	6 miles at £100 per m.	£600	==	==
(ii) Ikre/Ojapapa	15 " " £120 " "	1,800	==	==
(iii) Owa/Ajeganle	5 " " " " " "	600	==	==
(iv) Ipcha/Ajawa-Otamokun/Oguro/Sijigbo	12 " " " " " "	1,400	==	==
(v) Iwo/Ikre	13 " " £100 " "	1,300	==	==
(vi) Iwo/Gbongan	13 " " £90 " "	1,170	==	==
(vii) Bode/Ajagasha	6 " " £200 " "	1,200	==	==
(viii) Iwo-Oyo	10½ " " £80 " "	840	==	==
(ix) Bode/Ife-Oden (Total Reconstruction)	11 " " £120 " "	1,320	==	==
(x) Iwo/Ile-Igbo Railway Stn.	7½ mls. at £90 " "	675	==	==
(xi) Inisha/Agbeye	3 miles at £90 per mile	270	==	==
(xii) Inisha/Elkusa/Igbayo	5 " " " " " "	450	==	==
(xiii) Agbeye/Elkosi/Iyeku	6 " " " " " "	540	==	==
(xiv) Oyan/Illa-Orengun	9 " " " " " "	810	==	==
(xv) Iragbiji via Agbada/Ibokun	8 " " £100 per mile.	800	==	==
A bridge at a cost of	£600	600	==	==
(xvi) Igbojo/Ikoto (IkidiDiv).	9 mls. at £200 p.m.	1800	==	==
(xvii) Edun-Akon/Tonkare	6 " " £100 " "	600	==	==
(xviii) Aiyetoro/Oniken	9 " " " " " "	900	==	==
(xix) Ede/Kajola	15 " " " " " "	1,500	==	==
(xx) Oba/ Eko-Ende/Iliye	6 " " £120 " "	720	==	==
1 Bridge	£3000	3,000	==	==
		<u>£ 22,895</u>	<u>==</u>	<u>==</u>

PART 'D'.

SPECIAL WORK.

(i) Asa Bridge on Offa / O ghomasho Road	£5,000	==	==
(ii) Bridge on Oba/Iliye Road	3,000	==	==
(iii) Walkway on Ede Bridge	1,710	==	==
(iv) Resealing Iwo/Ibadan Boundary 9 Mls at £600 p.m.	5,400	==	==
	<u>£ 15,110</u>	<u>==</u>	<u>==</u>

SUMMARY.

Part A Roads to be tarred	£ 227,000	==	==
" B " " " constructed	87,300	==	==
" C " " " improved	22,895	==	==
" D Special Work	15,110	==	==
	<u>£ 352,305</u>	<u>==</u>	<u>==</u>

B. BRIDGES:				
(i)	Oba Bridge on Ejigbo/Oyo Road	£1000:	=:	£
(ii)	Aro " " Ede/Iwo "	2420:	=:	"
(iii)	3 Bridges at £350 per Bridge	1050:	=:	"
	10% Contingencies on (ii) and (iii) above	247:	=:	"
		<u>£4817:</u>	<u>=:</u>	<u>"</u>
SUMMARY:				
A.	ROADS FOR IMPROVEMENT	£19,765:	4:	6d
B.	BRIDGES FOR CONSTRUCTION	<u>4,817:</u>	<u>=:</u>	<u>"</u>
	Total :-	<u>£24,582:</u>	<u>4:</u>	<u>6d</u>

At this stage, Mr. J. Ola, Adigun repeated his statements recorded in minute 6 of the previous meeting held on 27th April, that since the grant of £1200 previously earmarked for the improvement of Ogbomosho/Ikirun Road is for the benefit of Ogbomosho/Ikirun, Odo-Otin and Oshogbo Districts, he saw no reason why roads in Ogbomosho District should not be recommended for improvement under the £15,000 grant. The Committee however decided that the District Engineer should inspect and recommend any of the following roads in Ogbomosho area for improvement :-

- (a) Ipoba/Ajawa
- (b) Iwo-Ate
- (c) Iwase/Ola/Ejigbo
- (d) Gbodo/Iebata/Ajase/Ganbari.

- RESOLVED:**
1. That the estimates of the District Engineer for the sum of £19,765: 4: 6d for the improvement of roads be accepted.
 2. That the sum of £4,817: =: = earmarked for the construction and reconstruction of bridges accepted.
 3. The resolutions 1 and 2 are subject to amendment if and when the District Engineer's recommendations on Ogbomosho District roads are submitted.
 4. That a delegation be sent to the West Regional Development Production Board for interview on an application for an increase of the grant made to Oshun Division.
 5. That members of the delegation should be Messrs:- J. Ade. Oroge; J. Ola. Adigun; M. O. Ojewale; S. Ayo. Oyaniyun; G. A. Adeshiyen and the Secretary of the Oshun Divisional Council - J. O. Oladimeji, and that the arrangement be made with the Secretary of the Board for the date of the interview.
 6. That the delegates should interview the Board with the Draft estimates in their possession.

X

X

X

The meeting adjourned at 4.30 p.m.

Jee Oadimeji
 SECRETARY,
 OSHUN DIVISIONAL COUNCIL,
 OSHOGBO.

1004/142. 142

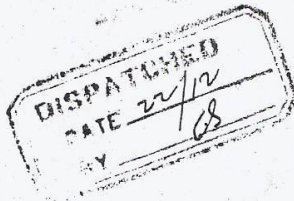
21 December, 55.

The Local Government Inspector,
Ibadan Province,
✓ Ibadan.

Feeder Road Grants to Local Government Councils.

130
P. 110
P. 111
With reference to your endorsement No. 61/12/58 of 26th October, 1955, and my endorsement No. 1004/131A of 4th November, 1955, I received a letter in November from the Western Region Production Development Board that authorisation of grants had been passed to the Public Works Department; I consequently wrote to the Public Works Department asking the position. I have now received your endorsement No. 61/132 of 10th December, 1955, saying that the responsibility has been passed to the Ministry of Local Government. In view of my endorsement No. 1004/131A of 4th November, 1955, may the grant therefore be released to the Secretary/Treasurer Oshun Divisional Council, who are apprehensive that if it is not soon received they will not be able to carry out the work before the rainy season.

ISO!



Asst. Local Govt. Inspector,
Oshun Division.

No. 1004/142A.

Oshogbo: 21 December, 1955.

Copy to:-

The Secretary/Treasurer,
Oshun Divisional Council, ✓
Oshogbo.

For information with reference to your letter
No. 37/5/112 of 16th December, 1955.

ISO!

Asst. Local Govt. Inspector,
Oshun Division.

Bu 21/1

1004/142A

No. 61/11/28.

Resident's Office,
Ibadan, Nigeria.

af
2/8
10 August, 1955.

The Permanent Secretary,
Ministry of Public Works,
Western Region,
Ibadan.

Tarring of Iwo-Ogbagba-Iwoye-Awo
Ede Road.

I should be very grateful to know if there is any prospect of the tarring of the Iwo-Ogbagba-Iwoye-Awo-Ede Road being included in the £4,000,000 programme. Not only would this provide a shorter route from Ibadan to Oshogbo but would divert Oshogbo traffic from the already overloaded Ibadan-Ife Road.



Ag. Resident : Ibadan Province.

No. 61/11/28A.

Ibadan, 10 August, 1955.

Copy to :-

The Divisional Officer,
Oshun Division, Oshogbo.

For information.

X - see 'M

Ag. Resident : Ibadan Province.

SOB'

10/8

155
No. 13/Vol.2/85.

District Council Office,
Ejigbo: 27 April, 1956.

The Permanent Secretary,
Ministry of Works,
Western Region Secretariat,
Ibadan, Nigeria.

Ejigbo - Iwo Road : Tarring of.

Further to the Ejigbo District Council's letter No. 13/Vol.2/77 of 27th February, 1956, I am directed by the Council to inform the Honourable Minister of Works through you that a daily count of the vehicles using the road was taken for a period of one week and it was carefully found out that the total number of heavy, light lorries, cars and motor/cycles using the road is 708, per week.

2. I am directed to forward this information to you to support the previous application as above quoted. A fresh copy of the application is also hereto attached. The Council will deem it a favour if the Ejigbo - Iwo Road can be tarred in connection with Iwo- Ibadan road.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your Obedient Servant,

B. P. O. O.
Secretary, Ejigbo District Council,
E j i g b o.

AAT/



No. 13/Vol.2/85A.
Ejigbo: 27 April, 1956.

Copy to:-

The Divisional Adviser, Oshun Division, Oshogbo.

Above is for your necessary information, with reference to your letter No. 1004/150 of 19th March, 1956.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your Obedient Servant,

B. P. O. O.
Secretary, Ejigbo D. C.
E j i g b o.

AAT/

G.C.B. to take action on P. 157, pls.

Jaw
9/5