

Extraordinary

NIGERIA GAZETTE

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Govt. Notice No. 1161

DECISION OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR ON THE CLAIM FOR A REVISION OF THE INTER-REGIONAL BOUNDARY BETWEEN THE NORTHERN AND WESTERN REGIONS.

At the meeting of the former Legislative Council, held at Lagos in March, 1951, I gave a pledge that when the New Constitution was in being I would personally examine this question of boundary revision, which was left in my hands by the General conference on the Review of the Constitution, and would give a decision. In explanation of deferring actually this controversial and delicate subject I said :-

"..... in my view the first and vital task before us is get the new Constitution into being, allowing nothing to divert us from that task. When it has been successfully accomplished the difficult and delicate question of boundaries, which can give rise to so much turmoil and unhappiness, can be considered. In the revised Constitution, as in the present Constitution, any question of the alteration of Regional boundaries will be for the Governor's decision, and I give a pledge that when the new Constitution is in being I shall personally examine the question of boundary revision and decide whether, and if so what, action should be taken - am convinced that the overriding national interests make this the best course to follow, and - ask for the confidence of Honourable Members of this Council in following that course.

I have no regrets about my action at that time. We have successfully brought into being the new Constitution, on which, after the fullest discussion at all levels, there was so gratifying a measure of agreement, and although there are, for reasons which are implicit in our great diversity, stresses and strains, I claim with confidence that the Constitution is, in general, fulfilling the hopes and aspirations of the peoples of Nigeria at this stage of their progress, and is encouraging our many well-wishers in the Commonwealth and in other Countries.

I wish that I could have made my decision sooner; but the early stages of the introduction of the new Constitution have certainly not lessened the pressure of work; and when I set in train research into the history of the boundary I found that this involved much more labour than I had anticipated.

The fruits of this research have been incorporated in the memorandum which is attached to this statement. It seemed to me that it was desirable that the information upon which my decision is based should be placed before the public. The memorandum goes a long way back into history but the past is the past and I have been deeply anxious not to stir up old passions. For that reason, every effort has been made to make the memorandum as objective and factual as possible.

As indicated in paragraph 6 of the memorandum, it has not been easy to determine with precision the actual claims which are made by those who favour revision of the boundary. The different possibilities, if a change were to be made, are the cession to the Western Region of (a) the whole of Ilorin Province; (b) the Ilorin Emirate; and (c) parts of the Ilorin Emirate.

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I can dispose quite quickly of the proposition that the whole of the Ilorin Province should be transferred to the Western Region. I have no hesitation in ruling, on the basis of the facts stated in paragraphs 7-9 of the memorandum, that any claim that two of the three Divisions of the Province, namely Borgu Division and Lafiagi-Pategi Division should be transferred to the Western Region is out of the question on any grounds - whether of racial affinities, language, history or the desires of the people themselves. The problem to be solved is reduced, therefore, to a consideration of the future of Ilorin Division, that is, of Ilorin Emirate.

The attached memorandum deals at some length with the history of the area and the peoples concerned, including the internal wars of the 19th century. This I conceived to be necessary because of the somewhat loose interpretation that is given in some quarters to these historical events. I do not, however, in this statement wish to dwell upon the events of those turbulent times: to discuss when and under whom the conception of the unity of the Yorubas first took shape, or whether the bitter internal wars of the 19th century were fought, as some claim, with the objective of uniting or reuniting, the warring clans of Yoruba stock or for less praiseworthy motives related to rivalry between Chiefs or inter-clan jealousies or trade monopolies.

The purpose is to discuss a boundary, how it came to be determined, and whether any change is justified. The memorandum recounts how the power of the Alafin Abiodun, who ruled from Old Oyo, was weakened at the beginning of the 19th century; how his Chiefs, beginning with Afonja, the Kakanfo, sought aid from Sokoto and how, partly with the help of Hausa and Fulani soldiers and partly by capitulation, the Emirate of Ilorin was established 120 years ago, the first Emir receiving from the Emir of Gwandu the flag which symbolised Fulani rule. It shows too, the fusion which occurred between Fulani and Yoruba stock; from the very start indigeneous notables took an important part in the direction of policy and the first Emir's traditional Council was formed round the four Baloguns, two of whom were indigeneous.

In 1881 the Alafin appealed to the British Lieutenant-Governor in Lagos for help in stopping the long drawn-out wars. The Lieutenant-Governor did not have authority to intervene but he used his good offices to arrange for mediation. It was Sir Gilbert Carter who, in 1893 as Governor of Lagos, brought to an end the war between the Egbas and the Ijebus, and then, at the request of the Emir of Ilorin, negotiated a peace between the Ilorins and the Ibadans. In the course of this peace-making Sir Gilbert Carter fixed the crucial point in the boundary between these adversaries - the Awere stream, south of Erin. This point is still today on the inter-Regional boundary. The decision regarding the boundary was dictated primarily by the Military balance then obtaining, and which had obtained for considerable time, between the Ilorins and the Ibadans, and it has been claimed for the latter that if British mediation had come later the entire position would have been different: that if the whistle for "no-side" of the British referee had not been blown so soon the game would already have been won by the Ibadans' team, or at least that they would have gained a lot of ground in their interval. I suggest that such speculation, almost sixty years after the event, is profitless.

More detailed boundary inquiries in 1894, by Captain (Later Lord) Lugard for the Niger Company, and Captain Bower, for the Lagos Government, delineated other sections of the boundary, and reaffirmed Sir Gilbert Carter's crucial point. When the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria was created in 1900, the existing boundary was agreed upon by Sir Frederick Lugard (as then he was) and Sir William MacGregor as the boundary between the new Protectorate and the Colony and Protectorate of Lagos. In 1904, a demand for boundary

revision in the Ekiti area was refused on the grounds that the existing boundary "had received the sanction of time and usage." In 1917, because of continued discontent in the Ekiti area a boundary commission was appointed, and was instructed to demarcate a boundary which would keep communities together on one side or the other of the boundary. The Commission found it impossible to adapt this ethnological basis, and the existing boundary was reaffirmed. The only significant change which has been made in the boundary between 1893 and the present day was the transfer, in 1936, of Otun to the Ondo Province. In making this decision considerations of history, kingship, administrative convenience and self-determination were all taken into account.

I turn now from history to the present-day aspects of this problem and I ask myself three questions. What is Ilorin Emirate? How is the Emirate administered? and what do the people of Ilorin Emirate feel on the subject?

The reply to the first question is that the Emirate consists of four different groups of Yoruba-speaking peoples, numbering in all 412,873. Of these 230,937 are Ilorins, 129,743 are Igbominas, 24,115 are Ekitis and 28,078 are Igbolos. All of these peoples have been under suzerainty of Yoruba-speaking Emirs of Ilorin for more than a century.

I have asked myself how the people of the Emirate are governed and cared for: What opportunities they have for ordering their own affairs, by participation in local administration and by representation in higher bodies: what development is going on in the Emirate. It would be untrue to say that I find the answers to these questions as satisfactory as they might be. There is considerable room for improvement; but improvement is already in train. Throughout the Northern Region the Native Authority system is in process of being adapted to meet the challenge of swiftly-changing conditions, and the process has been greatly accelerated, in consultation with all sections of the people, since the coming into force of the new Constitution, and the creation of a strong Executive Council and in the Legislative Houses, recent decisions by Lieutenant-Governor in Council have given proof of the determination of the Regional authorities to ensure that no interests in the Region are forgotten. And development has acquired a new impetus and a wider vision, and all parts of the Northern Region are now getting their fair share of help.

As regards the third question, I judge that there is a not inconsiderable difference in the feelings of the people of the Emirate on the subject of amalgamation with the West, between the Ilorins on the one hand and the Ekitis, Igbominas and Igbolos on the other. In my opinion the Ilorins, who constitute more than half the population of the Emirate, have made the Northern pattern of administration their own and have shown virtually no desire to amalgamate with the West. Amongst the other peoples of the Emirate there is a body of opinion dissatisfied with the traditional Native Authority system of local government and desirous of their is an appreciable body of this opinion in Offa Town, but not in the surrounding villages; amongst the Igbominas (there are 129,743 of them) the body of dissident opinion, in my view is not insignificant but is still a comparatively small minority; the minority in favour of transfer amongst the Ekitis, who number in all 24,115, I judge to be smaller.

The most vociferous opinion in favour of a change undoubtedly comes from people outside Ilorin Province and I unhesitatingly reject the contention put forward in some quarters that this due to repression within the Emirate. Such unhappiness and discontent as exists and gives rise to a desire for cession to the Western Region is not due, in my view, to a simple and uncomplicated desire to be joined with their "kith and kin" in the Western Region. In part, it seems to me, it

stems from dissatisfaction with the Native Authority pattern of Local Government in that area and with the place in it of dissatisfied parties. The Native Authorities are constantly adapting themselves to new conditions, and in the memorandum attached to this statement accounts are given of progressive developments which have taken place in the area with which we are concerned. I am bound to add that progress would of ten be swifter if it were not for local petty jealousies and rivalries and parochial pride, of which instances are given in the memorandum.

Earlier in this statement I rejected the proposition that the whole of the Ilorin Province should be transferred to the Western Region. There remain three other possibilities namely (a) that the Ilorin Emirate should be transferred; (b) that part of the Ilorin Emirate should be transferred and (c) that there should be no change in the existing boundary between the Northern and Western Regions.

I propose to deal first with the possibility of transferring parts of the Emirate. Even if there were no historical arguments against splitting the Emirate the foregoing assessment indicates that the majority of all the peoples of the Emirate are in favour of staying together in the Emirate. Support for keeping the Emirate as a unit comes moreover from an eminent Yoruba authority-quoted in the memorandum - and I therefore have no hesitation in saying that I reject the idea of splitting the Ilorin Emirate.

The question for final decision, therefore, is whether or not the Ilorin Emirate as a whole should be transferred to the Western Region. After the most careful and anxious thought, and after taking into account considerations of history, racial affinities, the wishes and outlook of the preponderant part of the people of the Emirate, I have decided that there shall be no change in the Inter-Regional boundary.

I know that feelings on this subject are highly charged and that the reactions, in the Western Region at least, are likely to be sharp. That is understandable. But the people of Nigeria know that my whole desire is to see this country progress peacefully and harmoniously, and that it has been my constant endeavour to do all in my power to assist this progress. I have no favourites amongst the Regions, or diverse races, in this country, and I approached the task of deciding this boundary question with a completely open mind and with the sole desire of doing what was just and right best. I call upon all concerned, whether they agree with the decision or not, to think no more about those "old unhappy far-off things and battles long ago;" to remember that the boundary in question is not a boundary between two foreign States; it is no longer a boundary between two Protectorates; it is a boundary between two Regions which are integral parts of a single country. I am confident that fair-minded Nigerians will endorse the decision and will make up their minds to work harder than ever to bring about the harmony and concord which are essential to the strengthening of a true national entity of Nigeria.

Government House,  
Lagos, 28th August, 1952.

(Sgd) J. S. Machperson,  
Governor.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE CLAIMS FOR A REVISION OF THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN THE NORTHERN AND WESTERN REGIONS.

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No. 46 Vol. 39, 3rd September, 1952 Nigeria Gaz. Extraordinary

AN EXAMINATION OF THE CLAIMS FOR A REVISION OF THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN THE NORTHERN AND THE WESTERN REGIONS.

During 1949 Conferences were called in each of the three Regions and in the Colony to discuss revision of the 1946 Constitution. Amongst the matters examined during these meetings was the adjustment of regional boundaries. The recommendations of the various Conferences on this subject were:-

(a) North - Recommendation No.4 proposed "that the Regional Boundaries should remain as they are at present, except as otherwise recommended in Resolution No.15." Resolution No. 15 proposed that Lagos and the Colony should be merged in the Western Region.

(b) East - Recommendation No. 11 merely proposed an alteration in the Colony boundary and made no other reference to Regional boundaries.

(c) Lagos and Colony - The Conference recommended that "the federal system" which is advocated should be "based on existing Regions with some modifications," but did not define these modifications except in so far as they affected the association of the Colony with the Western Region.

(d) West - Recommendations No. 1 and III envisaged three federated states "formed on an ethnic and/or linguistic basis," and corresponding to the existing Regions subject to certain modifications. The conference advised that a Commission should be appointed to establish ethnic groupings and to consider particularly the Yorubas in Kabba and Ilorin

Provinces and the Ibos in Warri and Benin Provinces. It also recommended the inclusion of the Colony in the Western Region as a separate Province.

2. At the General Conference on the Review of the Constitution, which was held at Ibadan in January, 1950, boundary adjustments were again discussed but the Northern delegates unanimously rejected the claims of the representatives of the Western Region for a revision of their common boundary. In order not to delay the review of the Constitution it was decided that the question of boundary revision should be regarded as a separate issue to be adjusted, if need be, later and that :-

"the question of inter-regional boundaries, provincial boundaries should be left in the hands of His Excellency the Governor to examine and to make arrangements for their settlement as soon as possible."

The Select Committee of the former Legislative Council, which examined the proposals made by the General Conference, supported this recommendation without comment in April, 1950.

3. Opinion in the Western Region, led by the Egbe Omo Oduduwa, remained reluctant to leave the matter there and in December, 1950, a Select Committee of the Western House of Assembly, consisting of all the unofficial members of the House, reported :-

"In view of Recommendation No. 1.3 of the General Conference on the Review of the Constitution, namely, that the question of inter-Regional boundaries should be left in the hands of His Excellency the Governor, to examine and make arrangements for their settlement as early as possible, and in view of the vital importance of this recommendation to the people of the Western Region and of the possible effect on the representation in the different Houses proposed under the new Constitution, the unofficial Members of this House recommend unanimously that Regional boundaries be settled before the new Constitution is brought into operation. They wish to record with all the emphasis at their command their opinion that the success of the new Constitution will be gravely endangered if rectification of Regional boundaries is not recognised as an essential preliminary."

"Furthermore, they are unwilling to formulate recommendations regarding the composition of the Western Regional representation on the Central Legislature until this essential point has been satisfactorily solved."

4. The Government gave these views the fullest consideration but decided to abide by the recommendation of the General Conference. Accordingly, His Excellency gave the following undertaking at the Budget Meeting of the former Legislative Council, held at Lagos in March, 1951 :-

"... in my view the first and vital task before us is to get the new Constitution into being, allowing nothing to divert us from that task. When it has been successfully accomplished the difficult and delicate question of boundaries, which can give rise to so much turmoil and unhappiness, can be considered. In the revised Constitution, as in the present Constitution, any question of the alteration of Regional boundaries will be for the Governor's decision, and I give a pledge that when the new Constitution is in being I shall personally examine the question of boundary revision and decide whether, and if so what, action should be taken. I am convinced that the overriding national interest make this the best course to follow, and I ask for the confidence of Honourable members of this Council in following that course."

Shortly after making this statement His Excellency received a deputation of members of the Egbe Omo Oduduwa and, after repeating the assurance quoted above, made it plain that it was the duty of all parties to refrain from any action likely to foment discord or to incite the people in the areas concerned, either one way or the other. At the same time His Excellency issued instructions through the Northern and Western Regional Administrations that, until a decision was reached, the future of the area affected must be regarded as subjudice and that, while law and order must be maintained, the Administration must take particular care to observe a neutral attitude.

5. The preceding paragraphs describe how His Excellency came to give a pledge to examine and give a decision on the boundary question. The next step is to examine the various claims made on behalf of the West.

6. The claims for the cession to the Western Region of territory now in the Northern Region have been advanced with more forcefulness than precision, but three variations have been expressed, or can be inferred :-

(a) The acceptance of the River Niger as the boundary between the Northern and Western Regions and the cession of the Ilorin Province to the Western Region.

(b) the incorporation of Ilorin Emirate in the Western Region, and

(c) the cession to the Western Region of south-eastern parts of Ilorin Emirate so as to unite the Ekitis, Igbominas and Igbolos with the Yoruba-speaking peoples in the Western Region.

The historical, administrative and ethnological considerations which caused the Administration to lay down the present inter-regional boundary have been exhaustively reviewed during the last few months and the facts on which those claims must be judged are set out in this account. A map showing the Administrative Division of the Ilorin Province (only part of Borgu Division is shown), the neighbouring areas in the Western Region and the various tribal areas in the Ilorin Division is attached to this Gazette as Appendix I for the convenience of readers.

7. Ilorin Province comprises three administrative divisions - Lafiagi-Pategi Division, Borgu Division and Ilorin Division - the last of which is co-terminous with Ilorin Emirate. The proposal for the transfer of the Province in its entirety is largely based on the geographical argument that the Western Provinces should be extended to the "natural barrier" of the Lafiagi and Pategi are predominantly Nupe and are directly bound by language, history, culture and trade to their kinsmen in the Nupe Emirate of Bida across the river in Niger Province. The people of Borgu Division, which comprises Bussa and Kaiama Emirates, are less directly allied to their northern neighbours than are the people of Lafiagi-Pategi, but their trade and their customs are more closely linked with the North than the West and they use Hausa as a lingua franca. Kaiama was originally a fief of the chiefdom of Nikki, now in French territory. Bussa and Nikki - and therefore Bussa and Kaiama - claim a common origin and their story, history, in which they generally maintained their independence of Yoruba, Fulani and Bussa alike, is recorded at length in the Gazette of Ilorin Province, 1929. There is no record, moreover, that effective Oyo rule was ever established in the Borgu of Lafiagi-Pategi Divisions or that Oyo rule reached the Niger except in the neighbourhood of Jebba. The distribution in Ilorin Province of the Yoruba language and place-names lends authority to this view.

8. It is the case, therefore, that neither racial, cultural nor historical considerations support the claim for merging the Borgu and the Lafiagi-Pategi Divisions with the Western Region.

9. The people of Ilorin Emirate on the other hand are almost entirely Yoruba-speaking and may be divided into four groups all of which claim a common descent from Oduduwa, the legendary progenitor of the peoples who, in recent times, have come to be known collectively as Yorubas. By some accounts the term "Yoruba" is properly applied only to the descendants of Oranmiyan, when legend described as the youngest son of Oduduwa and the father of the first Alafin of Oyo, and it is for this reason that the Oyos are today described as "Yoruba proper," The Ilorins are also sometimes described as "Yoruba proper," no doubt because of their close historical connections with the Oyos up to the end of the eighteenth century. The four Yoruba-speaking groups now in Ilorin Division are:

(a) The Ilorins (230,937) inhabiting the centre and north-west of the Emirate, including Ilorin town.

(b) The Igbominas of Igbomas (129,743) inhabiting the Ajase, Igbaja and Omu areas of the south-east together with the Oke Ode and Share areas of the north-east of the Emirate.

(c) The Ekitis (24,115) inhabiting the Ekan, Ilorin and Osi areas of the east of the Emirate.

(d) The Igboles or Iboles (28,078) inhabiting the Offa area south of Ilorin town.

The population figures shown above are taken from the 1951 Native Administration census and may be regarded as reasonably accurate except in so far as intermarriage has occurred between the Igbominas and Ilorin in Igbomina areas to the east and north of Ilorin, where settlement on a considerable scale by the Ilorins has taken place. The total population of these mixed Ilorin-Igbomina settlements is reported to be 34,767, and in them differences between the two groups have largely disappeared. Nevertheless, for the purpose of the Native Administration census, these areas are still classified in accordance with tradition as Igbomina, land and the figure quoted at (b) above includes these settlers in the general total of the Igbominas.

10. The history of the four groups, in so far as it is known, will be examined in some detail at a later stage in this paper but it is of importance first to consider the broad historical movements which affected this part of Nigeria during the nineteenth century.

11. At the end of the eighteenth century the Yorubas were, by some accounts, one nation under the Alafin Abiodun, who rules over the greater part of the present Provinces of Oyo, Ibadan, Abeokuta, Ijebu and Ono and over Ketu in Dahomey and part of what is now Ilorin Province. At that time the Alafin's capital was Old Oyo, the ruins of which are some forty miles north-north-west of Ilorin. This account of Yoruba history, which attributes paramountcy to the Alafin, is not accepted by other authorities who claim Oduduwa as the first ruler of Ife and hold that the Alafin never ruled more than "Yoruba proper," which they regard as largely consisting of the present Ilorin and Oyo Divisions. However that may be, the hold of the Alafins over their territory appears to have weakened at the turn of the century and Afonja, the Kakanfo (the holder of the highest military post in the Alafin's territories, who resided in Ilorin), revolted and marched against Abiodun's successor at Old Oyo. According to Talbot "the Alafin was forced to commit suicide ... and all the principal chiefs began gradually to proclaim their independence of Oyo, starting with Afonja."

12. Afonja had designs on the territories outside his own Ilorin and in 1817 sought the aid of Alimi, a noted Fulani Mallam Sokoto. Through Alimi he summoned to his aid bands of Hausa and Fulani soldiers, who joined forces with the Yoruba Moslems of Ilorin under Solagberu, and proceeded to wage war on his neighbours, the Oyos, the Igbominas, and the Ekitis. Afonja's attacks marked the beginning of a period intermittent fighting which was to continue until the end of the century.

13. In 1831 Mallam Alimi died. Shortly afterwards his son, Abdulsalami, overthrew and killed Afonja with, it appears, the tacit consent of Solagberu and, with the approval of the Emir of Gwandu, from whom he sought and obtained the green flag which symbolised Fulani rule, he proclaimed himself Emir of Ilorin. The implication of the granting of a flag was that Ilorin became a recognised part of the Fulani Empire. The exact part played by Mallam Alimi under Afonja is disputed but it is reasonably certain that from the date of the accession of Abdulsalami Ilorin ceased to be a part of the Alafin's Kingdom and became a separate state under a Fulani Emir. From then until the effective occupation of the country by the Lagos Government and the Royal Niger Company in the last decade of the century, the story is one of constant fighting. Oyos, Egba, Ijebus, Ekitis, Ifes and the new military power of Ibadan fought as allies or as enemies according to the ambition of their leaders. The Ilorins sometimes fought on one side and sometimes on another.

14. In or around 1837 the Alafin Cluewa of Oyo made a supreme effort to crush the Ilorins, enlisting the military help of the Chiefs of Nikki and Bussa. Abdulsalami appealed to the Emir of Gwandu for reinforcements, which were sent, and in a savage battle within the walls of Ilorin the Oyo was finally broken, both the Alafin and the Chief of Nikki being slain. The pursuit was carried into Old Oyo itself which was sacked.

15. The destruction of Old Oyo marked not only the firm establishment of Fulani rule but the growth of a new Yoruba state at Ibadan, which was originally founded as a war camp to stem the inroads of the Fulani invaders and their Ilorin allies. While the power of Ibadan grew the Fulani horsemen for the first time found themselves at a disadvantage as they attempted to penetrate into the forest of the south, and in 1843 the Ibadan routed the Ilorins at Oshogbo and checked the acquisitive, though not the fighting power of the Emir. The Ibadan then turned on their Yoruba-speaking neighbours and, in 1845, joined forces with the Ilorins in a combined attack on the northern Ekiti towns. During the 1870's the Ibadans were still in conflict with the Ekitis, the Egbas and the Ijebus. In 1878 the Illas, and those of the Ekitis who were under Ibadan, revolted against Ibadan with the help of the Ilorins but the Ibadans inflicted a severe defeat on the combined forces at the Otin river north of Ikirun. In a desperate bid for survival the Ekitis formed in 1879 the military alliance known as the Ekiti Parapo and a stalemate ensured, with the troops of the Ekiti Parapo and Ibadan facing each other in permanent camps at Oke Mesi, on the boundary of the present Oyo and Ondo Provinces.

16. In 1881 the Alafin wrote to the British Lieutenant-Governor at Lagos (the Governor-General was established on the Gold Coast) making for help in stopping the internal war. The Lieutenant-Governor had no authority to interfere forcibly in the affairs of the hinter-land but he did what he could in the way of mediation through the good offices of the Rev. S. Johnson and the Rev. C. Phillips of the Church Missionary Society, and, in 1886, sent two special commissioners who negotiated a general peace between the Ekiti Parapo and their various opponents. Meanwhile, fighting continued between the Ibadan and the Ilorins who for some years had been established in permanent war camps, the Ibadans at Inisa North of Ikirun and the Ilorins at Offa.

The peace between Ibadan and the Ekiti Parapo had not affected the Ilorin hold over the northern parts of Ekiti, where Ilorin "Ajeles" (consuls or representatives) were maintained in many places. Ilorin itself, by virtue of a treaty signed in 1885 by the Emir Aliu and the National African Company, of which the Royal Niger Company was the successor, came within the sphere of influence of the latter. Although the Ilorins were within its sphere of influence the Company was not in a position to control them, and the Lagos Government had of necessity to try to make its own arrangements to protect its trade and the peoples with whom it had friendly relations. The Ilorin situation changed temporarily for the better in 1891, when a new Emir, Moma, who was the son of a Yoruba-speaking mother, succeeded to the Emirate. He was anxious for peace and, according to Oyo sources, entered into friendly communication with the Alafin. He is also believed to have invoked (thought without success) the mediation of the Emir of Gwandu, his titular overlord, but his was chiefs at Offa remain of a very different frame of mind.

17. The real turning point of affairs at this time was the appointment in 1891 of Mr. G.T. (Soon afterwards Sir Gilbert) Carter as Governor of Lagos. His arrival coincided with a decision on the part of the United Kingdom Government to pursue a more vigorous policy. The Egbas and the Ijebus had adopted a hostile attitude both to the Yoruba-speaking peoples to the North of them and to the merchants to the south, for they resented any interference with what they hold to be their right to act as exclusive middlemen and to prevent direct trade between the interior and Lagos. In accordance with the new policy, and owing to what Johnson calls "Ijebu excess and infatuation," it was decided in 1892 to take armed action against Ijebu Ode. The town was occupied on the 20th of May, and in 1893 Sir Gilbert "protracted war, fraught with so much evil to the country." After signing a treaty with the Egbas the Governor went on to Ilorin, at the invitation of the Emir. There the Emir signed a declaration, the text of which is given in Appendix II to this account, stating that he wanted peace and friendship and wished the Governor of Lagos to mediate between his and his opponents. The Governor then proceeded to the war camps at Offa and Inisa, and after arranging for them to be disbanded, declared the Awere stream south of Erin to be the boundary between the Ibadans and Ilorins. The point of intersection of the Awere and the railway is today one of the points recorded in the official delimitation of the Regional Boundary. He also arranged for a "Resident and Travelling Commissioner" to be stationed at Ibadan and Captain R.L. Bower was to keep the peace and maintain the boundary; not, as some of the Ibadans appeared to suppose, to lead them against Ilorin. As has been mentioned, the Emir's pacific policy did not find favour with the war chiefs of Ilorin, and relations between Captain Bower and Ilorin were bad. Soon after the departure of the Governor from the neighbourhood, the Ilorins placed "Ajeles" at Oshogbo and Ikirun on the ground that these places had formerly been theirs by right of conquest. Captain Bower turned them out and went to Ilorin to protest, being received with discourtesy by the way chiefs although the Emir received him more correctly. Sir Gilbert Carter remonstrated with the Emir on the action of his chiefs which endangered the peace that had been established between the Ilorins and the Ibadans. He reminded the Emir that the Ilorin Army, in spite of all its efforts, has failed to capture Ikirun which had always been a Yoruba town. The settlement had been based on the circumstances which he found obtaining at the time of his visit - with the main positions of Ilorin army at Offa and the Ibadans' army at Ikirun - rather than on tribal affinities, otherwise the decision might have been different.

18. The uneasy balance of forces between the Ilorins and their neighbours was reflected in the sometimes acrimonious relations between the Lagos Government and the Royal Niger Company. The former considered that the latter ought to restrain the Ilorin forces from harassing the people to the South, and strong letters on the subject passed between the Colonial Office and the Foreign Office in London.

19. In December, 1894 Captain (later Lord) Lugard arrived in Ikirun, having diverged from his route in Niger Company territory in order to give Captain Bower what help he could in fixing the boundary with the Ilorins. Their joint statement of the proceedings has been included in full as Appendix III to this paper. They agreed on the Avere stream and the Awowotun swamp as the boundary of the Ilorins and the Ibadans respectively - an arrangement leaving Oruku in neutral territory. They then proceeded to delineate the boundary from Ikirun to Oruku, basing their decisions on the hold which the Ilorins and Ibadans had on the towns in the area. Ikirun, Illa, Igbohan, Aye and Aiyede were accordingly placed in the Lagos sphere, while Awtun (Otun), Obo and Oruku fell to that of the Niger Company. Negotiations to procure the Emir's signature to this agreement failed, no doubt through the influence of the Ilorin war party. Indeed, Captain Lugard wrote:-

"Apparently the real obstacle lies in the obstinacy of the chiefs, for the Emir's house has been fired in three places and burnt to the ground together with much of his property - probably because he had wished to sign."

Shortly after this incident the Ilorin war party was the upper hand. The Emir was besieged in his house, and when after seven days, further defence became hopeless, he blew himself up with his chief slave. Under his successor fighting broke out once more. In 1896 the Ekiti towns of Awtun (Otun), Ishan and Ukole revolted and expelled the "Ajeles" of the new Emir. In the following year the Ilorins attempted to reassert their authority but were defeated at Erinnope by the Ekitis with the help of a small party of Lagos constabulary. Two Ilorin assaults on Captain Bower's outpost at the Otin river, in 1896 and in January, 1897, were repulsed, while Ilorin slave raiders attacked villages on the Niger which were under the Company's protection. In order to put an end to these aggressions Ilorin was occupied in February, 1897 by a force of the Royal Niger Constabulary accompanied by the Governor of the Company, Sir George Taubman Godie, and a few days later the Emir surrendered and was reinstated after signing a treaty with the Company.

20. On the 1st of January, 1900, the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria replaced the Charter of the Royal Niger Company and in April the boundary of the new Protectorate was formally established by Sir William MacGregor and Sir Frederick Lugard on the line agreed upon with Captain Bower in 1894. In 1904 there arose a demand for revision of the boundary in the Ekiti area but Sir Frederick Lugard declined to accede to the request and in a confidential despatch addressed to the Secretary of State on the 28th of March he wrote that he believed the boundary to be "tolerably good." He expressed the opinion that it had received the sanction of time and usage" and, at the same time, recorded the view that "the large number of towns subject of much soreness with the Ilorins," The Secretary of State, in a despatch dated the 20th of September, 1906, supported the view that further revision was undesirable and ruled that :-

"In determining an administrative boundary of that kind between the British Protectorates considerations of local jurisdiction should prevail over those of racial relationship."

21. On the 1st of May, 1906, the Colony and Protectorate of Lagos was amalgamated with the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria (formerly the Niger Coast Protectorate and before that the Oil Rovers Protectorate) but again no change was made of the 30th of November, 1910 the boundary was defined in more detail but was not altered in any way and, save for one alteration of importance in the Ekiti area, which we made in 1936 (see paragraphs 25 and 28 infra) the boundary described in that Gazette remains the boundary today.

22. The adjustment in question was first proposed in 1917 when Sir Frederick Lugard, who was now Governor-General of the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria, decided to reverse the decision he made in 1904 and to examine the causes of the long standing discontent in the Otun (Awtun) area. He appointed a Commission consisting of Mr. H.R. (later Sir Richard) Palmer and Mr. R. Hargrove, representing the North and South respectively. Their terms of reference were defined as follows:-

"Their duty will be to traverse the frontier and demarcate a boundary line which they can recommend to me as a fair one in the interest of the Native Communities on either side. Where the boundary as it now exists divides any community, it will be wholly included in one or the other. In some of the more important cases there are considerable papers on the subject already. These should be submitted and a general decision taken as to whether the tribe shall belong to the one province or the other. When I have decided that point the Commissioners will define its boundaries."

The Governor-General continues:

"Beginning from the western end, the boundary between Oyo Province and Borgu corresponds I think fairly well with the boundary line between the Yorubas and Baribas. The boundary between Oyo and Ilorin may require some adjustment to the West of the Railway. It is my impression that these should be in favour of Ilorin, and that the Yorubas of the South have encroached on lands which properly belong to Ilorin. East of the railway there are important Ekiti become part of the Southern Provinces with the rest of the Ekiti tribe."

23. On the Ilorin-Oyo section of the boundary the Commission advised: "Commencing from the east of the railway the existing Southern boundary of the Ilorin Province up to the Awtun area should, we consider, remain as it is, save that the circle of four miles round the town of Illa shall no longer be considered the boundary but that the boundary shall correspond with the actual boundaries as at present observed between Illa, Oke Illa and Ora towns and Ilorin Emirate." In effect, the Commissioners found themselves obliged to give up the ethnological basis which the Governor-General had instructed them to adopt in their enquires and to accept the military and historical basis on which the boundary had been defined in 1900. After consideration of the Commissioners report the Government accepted the views of the Commissioners and advised the Secretary of State for the Colonies in a despatch dated the 2nd of November, 1917, that no changes should be made in the Otun area of elsewhere in the southern boundary of the Ilorin Province.

24. On the question of the remainder of the boundary to the West of the railway, which was not considered in the Palmer-Hargrove report, Sir Frederick Lugard wrote to the Secretary for State in paragraph 9 of the same despatch:

"there remains the boundary to the West of the Lagos-Jebba railway. No alteration is I think required along the South of the Borgu Province, but some adjustment of long standing complaints and difficulties is needed on the Western boundary of Ilorin from Offa to the ruins of Old Oyo. This will shortly be traversed and recommendations made by the two Residents, but at most it will only involve the transfer of certain villages and fields, and will not necessitate any important modifications."

No copy of the report dealing with these minor adjustment has been traced, but some notes on the section lying between the Ogbomoshu-Ilorin road and the railway by Mr. Elphinstone and Mr. Grier have been found. These officers wrote inter alia: "..... in 1910 the boundary was ratified as ..... a tree marked IN near Budo Egbe from that tree to the inter-section of the Offa - Ikirun and the Awere river.....(Northern Nigeria Gazette No. 11 of the 30th November, 1910). Previous to this date, i.e. between 1897 and 1910, several Officers visited this boundary, which has never been demarcated or cut. Major Reeve Tucker for instance placed certain cement Pillars and cut a line from Budo Egbe through Odo Ode close to Afon several miles the Ilorin side of this line to some point North of Erin. The position at this time is that owing to no demarcation having been made it is not known for certain where the line actually runs."

Demarcation was however completed by a number of officers in the 1920's and their findings justified the Governor-General's opinion that the boundary to the West of the railway would necessitate no modifications. There is no advantage in loading this account with details of the farm and village boundary settlements for such they were with which the enquiries of these years were concerned. They dealt with local problems that might arise between any two Provinces inside one Region, and general principles of "Regional" importance were not in issue. The same comments apply to the minor boundary settlement made by the Emir of Ilorin and the Orangun of Illa in 1933, which effected a transfer of farmland from one authority to the other.

25. Although the boundary in the Ekiti area had been thoroughly examined in 1904, and in 1917, opinion in some of the Ekiti Towns remained dissatisfied and in 1936 a further review of this part of the boundary was ordered. Accordingly, the Resident and the District Officer "interviewed all the (Ekiti) Village Councils and principal householders." They concluded that while Otun wishes to be incorporated in the Ondo Province, the remaining Ekiti villages preferred to remain in Ilorin Emirate. The Government accepted this finding and in the same year adjusted the boundary so as to include Otun in the Ondo Province of what is now the Western Region, it will be seen from the fuller account of the Ekiti people which is given later that considerations of history, deciding to make transfer.

26. The official description of the boundary was revised in 1938 before the division of the Southern Provinces into the Eastern and Western Provinces but the revision was merely designed to provide a more accurate definition of the boundary and did not entail alteration in the line itself.

27. The forces which have affected this border area during the last century and a half and the various agreements and settlement which led to the fixing of the present boundary have been described in broad outline in paragraphs 11 to 26 above. It is now proposed, at the risk of some repetition, to give a more detailed account of those times and incidents from the point of view of the four Yoruba-speaking peoples who now form the population of Ilorin Division.

28. The name Ekiti is said to derive from the Yoruba word "Ekiti" or "hill." The greater part of the Ekiti people live in the Ekiti Division of Ondo Province where they number 207,098 and the remainder, who live in the south-east of Ilorin Emirate, number 24,115. From early times the Ekitis were the prey of their more powerful neighbours. Tradition tells of an invasion from Benin about 1815 but the first firm date in Ekiti history is 1845 when the Ibadan and the Ilorins combined in adjoint attack as the result of which Ilorin "adjeles" for Emir's representatives installed in the northern towns. Fighting continued intermittently with the Ibadan during the next thirty-five years. In 1879 the Ekitis formed a defensive alliance - the Ekiti Parape - with the Ijeshas, the Akokos and Yagbas in a desperate effort to survive but the struggle came to an end only in 1886 when through the mediation of the Lieutenant-Governor at Lagos, a general treaty of peace, friendship and commerce was signed at Oke Mesi. The signatories included the Oni of Ife, the Alafin of Oyo, the Otun Bale and four others of Ibadan and also three Ekiti chiefs headed by the Ore of Otun. The preamble stated that the Lieutenant-Governor of Lagos has been invited to "arbitrate and determine such terms and conditions as shall secure a just and honourable peace to the contending parties;" and Clause 10 of the treaty provided that in the event of future dispute the signatories should submit issue to the Government for arbitration. On September 29th, 1886, the Ekitis, again headed by the Ore of Otun, signed a further treaty with the Lagos Government in which is mentioned their "deep and lasting obligation to His Excellency the Governor of Lagos having established peace between them and their late enemies the Ibadans and for having thereby secured the independence of the said Ekiti countries." It should be noted that no definition was given in either treaty of the "Ekiti countries," it should be noted that no definition was given in either treaty of the Ekiti countries," and that a number of Ekiti towns, including Osi, Ekan and Ilofa which are still in Ilorin Emirate, remained tributary to the Emir. In the year following the peace established by Sir Gilbert Carter in 1895, Captain Bower and Captain Lugard defined the boundary which was formally confirmed as the Protectorate boundary in 1900. By this settlement most of the Ekiti were placed south of the border, but important chieftainship of Otun together with Ekan, Osi Iloffa and Obo were included in the Emirate. Otun was a difficult problem for the authorities of the time to decide. Captain Lugard and Captain Bower had written in 1895:

"Awtun is a large and important place. There is an Ilorin "Ajele (consul) there, who was questioned. He stated that "of late he had collected no regular custom, but that for "years past it had been the custom for the Ajele of Ilorin "to collect taxes from all traders and send them to Ilorin. "The Bale was interviewed separately. He said that at the "time of the war both Ibadan and Ilorin spoilt the place. The "Awtun and both Ibadan and Ilorin spoilt the place. The "Ilorin consul alone remains, and collects tolls from "everyone. Apparently, it was now his desire to be free "of both Ibadan and Ilorin, and to be directly under the "British to raise revolts wherever they went and our "purpose was only to acquire under whom Awtun really was. "From the evidence we had heard we adjudged that there was "no doubt it was under Ilorin. The Ajele was told to remain "and the Bale was told to acknowledge Ilorin as long as the "Ajele was there. If our boundary was confirmed Awtun would "be Ilorin if not the Ajele would be withdrawn.

The decision on Otun was to be a source of under for the next thirty-five years. In the first place, while Ekan, Iloffa, Osi and Obo remained under the control of Ilorin, Otun expelled the Ilorin 'ajele' in 1896. Secondly, the Ore of Otun had traditionally been the senior chief of them sistee chiefs of the Ekitis, and now found himself separated from the main body of the tribe. Thirdly, just before the inclusion of

Otun in Ilorin Emirate he had been made the President of the Ekiti Council comprising the sixteen leading Ekiti chiefs, inaugurated by Major Reeve Tucker, the first Officer in-charge of the North-Eastern Division of the Oyo Province formed by the Lagos Government in 1899. Major Tucker's reason for including Otun in the Division was presumably because it had won its independence of Ilorin during the time which had elapsed since the Lugard-Bower agreement of 1894. The loss of Otun, however, was fatal to the new Council which soon ceased to be an administrative unit. From the start of the new Protectorate, therefore, the chiefs of Otun considered that they had been deprived by an arbitrary decision of the titular headship of the Ekitis which was their due and which they had recovered by force of arms. Eventually, in 1935, the decision was taken to restore Otun to the Ekiti Division of Ondo Province. A review of Ekiti opinion was taken in which the Resident and the District Officer "interviewed all the village councils and principal householders." While Otun wished the transfer, the remaining Ekiti villages preferred to stay in the Emirate. (This may appear surprising in the case of Osi, for in Yoruba country villages called Otun, meaning "right," and Osi, meaning "left," generally go in pairs). The Emir agreed to the change with reluctance, fearing further demands for cession. In paragraph 10 of his confidential despatch of the 8th of November, 1935, the Governor, Sir Bernard Bourdillon, described the position to the Secretary of State:-

"I sympathise with the feelings of the Emir of Ilorin who  
"may well be anxious lest the three other Ekiti Districts  
"which have been chosen to remain under his administration  
"should later change their minds and also press for transfer  
"to the Southern Provinces. Should such a request be made  
"in the future I should not be inclined to accede to it on  
"the ground that the people have had their chance of transfer  
"and have refused it."

Subsequently Sir Bernard, during a tour of Ilorin, personally gave a guarantee in this sense to the Emir and his council:-

"His Excellency assured the Emir that he would not accept  
"statements in petitions without referring them to the Resident  
"and the Emir: and that he was not prepared to approve changes  
"in the boundary except in regard to Awtun."

The Emir's fear that the transfer of Otun would not put a stop to agitation was seen justified. The transfer was effected at the turn of the year and as early as the 31st of January, 1936, the Resident of Ilorin Province reported that two village heads had asked for transfer and that the Emir of Otun was understood to have "sent messages to all the neighbouring Ekiti areas in Ilorin Province inviting them to join him in Ondo Province." One of the two village heads referred to was the Chief of New Obo. The family of the traditional chief resides in Old Obo which remains loyal to Ilorin, but New Obo is the centre of the separatist movement amongst the Ekitis today.

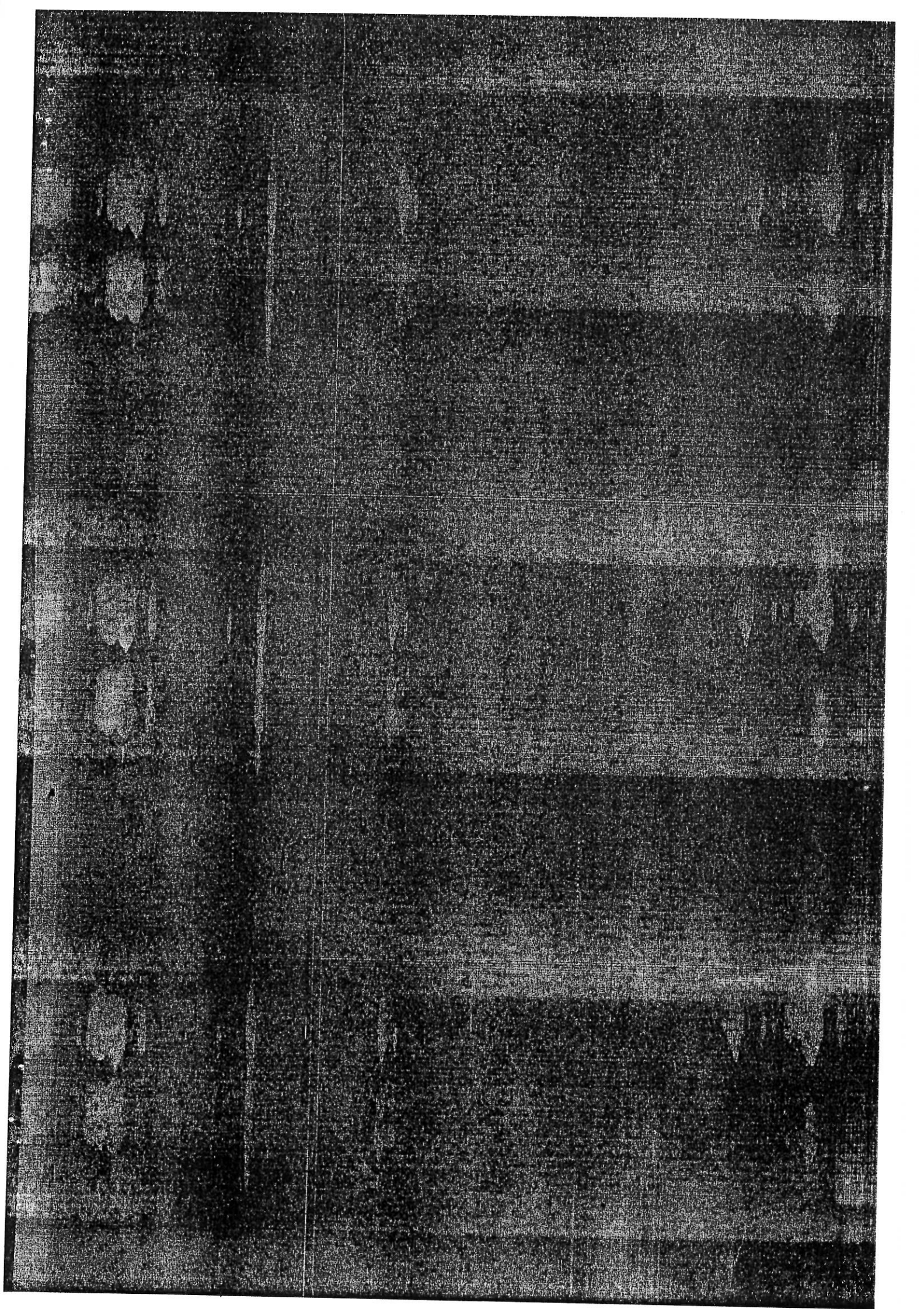
29. Local Government reform in the Ekiti area of Ilorin began in 1949 with the abolition of the District Headship but the domestic rivalries of the Village Heads delayed the establishment of an Ekiti Area Council until 1951. The Council is now fulfilling its proper function of voicing the needs of the Ekiti area in the Emir of Ilorin's full Council, but local rivalries have so far prevented the Council agreeing upon a site for the Area Council Chamber. Considerable progress has been made with the establishment of courts serving groups of villages in which the various village Heads hold office in rotation as President.

THE IGBOMINAS OR IGBONAS

30. According to the 1951 census, the Igbominas of Ilorin Emirate number 129,743. In Oyo Province 24,000 of them are centred on the border town of Illa. As has been mentioned, inter-marriage between the Ilorins and the Igbominas has already reduced the distinction between the two groups in the areas close to the Ilorin home districts. Little is known of the beginnings of the Igbomina branch of the Yoruba-speaking peoples. One version has it that they are descended from the fourth son of Oduduwa who became the first Orangun of Ila; another related in Johnson's "History of the Yoruba" states that they have affinities with both the Oyos and the Ekitis. There is another tradition that the Olupo of Ajase . . . held some kind of spiritual leadership among the Igbominas, a tradition that may be reflected in the title of "Olupo" meaning "Lord of the Oil", and it is said that the (Igbolo) Chiefs of Offa also used to send to the Olupo for the special oil required for the anointing ceremony at the installation of a new chief. Whether or not this spiritual leadership was accompanied by a right to temporal leadership can only be a matter of conjecture at the present time, but it is the case that the Orangun of Illa has claimed temporal leadership of the Igbominas. What is certain is that the Fulani conquest put an end to any Ajasse claim to seniority. Today there is no prospect whatever of the other Igbomina chiefs recognising any kind of paramountcy in Ajasse, an idea which, in its modern form, only dates back to the British expedient of Ajasse District and today survives only amongst the personal adherents of the ex-Olupo in Ajasse village. It is interesting to note that the present Olupo has been accorded a senior seat by his fellow chief in the Igbonna Area Council but that he is not recognised as permanent president of the Council, and takes his turn with the other chiefs to preside.

31. About 1750, parties of Igbominas moved northwards into the area that later became Oke Ode District and paid tribute to the Nupe chiefdom on the Niger in which their settlements lay. The Igbomina village of Oro Ago, perhaps an earlier foundation, continued, however, to pay tribute to Oyo. After the establishment of Fulani rule the Igbominas of Oke Ode continued to pay tribute to the (Fulani) rulers of Iafiagi who, as in Ilorin, became assimilated to their subjects. In 1850 the Ibadans invaded the district. The inhabitants took refuge in the hills of Oke Ode, where a town grew up that has maintained its primary in the area ever since. The original Nupe connection persists to this day in the village council where elders held both Nupe and Igbomina titles. The Ilorins do not appear to have experienced major difficulty in winning control, whether by conquest or by threat of war, over the Igbominas who unlike the Ekitis, could not sink their differences in defensive alliance. Ajasse, only twenty-three miles from Ilorin, was in no position to lead resistance even had the Ajasse claim to leadership been justified. Illa, on the other hand, which moved southwards to a new site on Akpa Land, became a centre of opposition and on this account remained in the Lagos Protectorate after the boundary settlement of 1900.

32. Under British administration the Igbominas were organised into districts on the "emirate" pattern with resident District Heads and Village Heads, Oke Ode being a District of Iafiagi Emirate, while the other Igbomina villages remained part of the Ilorin Emirate. From the outset, the rivalries of the Igbomina chiefs made district administrations difficult.



The new organisation met with initial success and in August, 1949, Oke Ode unanimously agreed to end their three years agitation for a separate Division and so took their place on the Igbona Area Council. In contrast, the Olupo of Ajasse, mindful of his former status, decided, against the advice of his own Ajasse Council, to boycott the Area Council because he was not recognised as President and because the Council for the convenience of members, sits at Igbaja, rather than Ajasse. The Area Council has functioned satisfactorily but nevertheless some sections of the press have maintained a campaign for the cession of the whole Igbomina area to the Western Region. After the establishment of the Igbona Area Council in 1949 the Olupo attempted to assert a claim to paramountcy by writing to his fellow chiefs convening a meeting at Ajasse. He claimed to have been in touch with the Alafin of Cyo and to have received instruction from "Lagos," but the Igbomina chiefs ignored his letter. The Olupo refused to obey a summons from the Emir to explain his conduct, and was accordingly arrested and charged in the Senior Alkali's Court with contravening section 38(1) of the Native Authority Ordinance. He pleaded guilty and was sentenced to three months' imprisonment against which he did not appeal. Counsel were, however, engaged in Lagos and succeeded in obtaining a Writ of Certiorari together with a judicial order for the transfer of the case to the Supreme Court. The case was heard in February, 1950, when the judge found that the trial in the Senior Alkali's Court was fair and impartial. On his release from prison the Olupo resumed office but after further acts of insubordination was dismissed by the Emir. He refused to accept the notice of dismissal and sent messages to other Igbomina chiefs seeking support, which, as on the earlier occasion, were ignored. Rioting broke out in Ajasse in January, 1951, apparently directed against members of the Ajasse Council who had petitioned for the Olupo's removal. Police restored order and shortly afterwards the ex-Olupo with his personal adherents left Ajasse for the Western Region. A new Olupo was elected in accordance with local custom in 1951, and has since taken his seat in the Igbona Area Council.

34. Meanwhile political tension had again risen in Oke Ode over the appointment of an Oba or chief of the town and outlying villages of the Oke Ode village area. The Group Council was divided between supporters of the deposed Oba and those of Bello Lakpeni, the leader of the Ile Ire section and an attempt by the Igbona Area Council to settle the matter failed. The press took up the matter and emissaries of the Egbe Omo Oduduwa visited the area. In November, 1950, the Resident visited Oke Ode in the hope of effecting a settlement but was unable to obtain any agreement amongst the Council. In June, 1951, the Igbona Area Council made a second attempt to settle the dispute by recommendation, preferring to leave the office vacant until the Oke Ode people themselves were able to agree on a candidate.

35. It should be recorded here that some sections of the press took a strong and partisan interest in the Ajasse and Oke Ode disturbances and that the effect of the press campaign was to lessen the likelihood of agreed solutions being reached.

#### THE IGBOLOS

36. The Igbolos of Ilorin Emirate number 28,078. Since early times they have occupied the District now known as Offa, south of Ilorin town. The District is small, covering only 96 square miles, but it contains the important town of Offa, the population of which in 1951 was 16,886 or more than half of the total population of the District. Ibolo, as the name is spelt in Yoruba, is no longer a term of classification in official use in the Western Region, though the Oni of Ife mentioned the people called Ibolos in his speech at the Ibadan Conference in 1950.

Direct enquiries as to the extent of the people in Yoruba country formerly called Ibolos have not been made but on page 13 of his history Johnson writes: "The Ibolos Province . . . . The . . . . important towns are Offa (?), Oyan, Okuku, Ikirun, Oshogbo, Ido, Ilobu, Ijigbo, Ede." If he was correct, the Ibolos or Igbolos in the Western Region would now number about 160,000, but it is indeed doubtful whether they are ethnologically distinct from the Igbominas. The reader of this account is already aware of the tradition that the chief of the Igbolos, the Oloffa of Offa, formerly required a special oil from the Olupo of Ajasse for the ritual of his accession. Be that as it may, the Igbolos stood apart from their Igbomina neighbours during the Fulani wars and in recent times have not shown interest in the events of Ajasse and Oke Ode or in the new Igbona Area Council. At the beginning of the nineteenth century they were established in what is now Offa District and although they were under the protection of Oyo they were harried by Majia, the last important warrior leader of the old Nupe Kingdom. At the approach of the Fulani Army, the eighth Oloffa, Olumcorin, fled with his people southwards but after three months in exile was persuaded to return peacefully and do homage to Abdulsalami, first Emir of Ilorin. In the years that followed Offa seems to have remained loyal to the Fulani Emirs to whom they paid tribute until, about 1880, the Ilorins met with a major defeat on the Otin River. No doubt as the result of this reverse, the eleventh Oloffa entered into relations with the victorious Ibadans, but was betrayed by one of his Councillors to the Emir and found himself partially blockaded in Offa town by the Ilorin Army. The Ibadans supported the Oloffa with troops and a stalemate ensued that lasted for some years. Eventually, possibly in 1981, the Ibadans withdrew to Inisa near Ikirun; the Oloffa escaped by night with his personal followers and the Ilorins sacked Offa and moved south to set up a permanent war camp near Inisa. After the establishment of British rule the Emir Sulemanu invited the Oloffa, then living in the Lagos Protectorate, to return with his people. The invitation was accepted in 1902 and from that date Offa has been a District of the Emirate with the Oloffa as District Head. The only administrative change which has been made since then took place when the village of Erin, close to the regional boundary, was separated from Offa and the village head was made directly responsible to the Emir. The change was justified on the historical ground that Erin was an earlier foundation than Offa to which it had never been subject, although it had been tributary to the Fulani Emirs.

37. From 1907 to 1915 an administrative officer was stationed at Offa in-charge of a sub-division called Offa Division. The Division was not confined to the area of Offa District but covered Igbaja, Ajasse, Omu-Isanlu and also the Ekiti Districts of Otun, Iloffa, Ekan and Osi. All these Districts were parts of Ilorin Emirate but the memory of this administrative expedient has persisted in Offa and occasionally recure in the form of a demand for its own District Officer. The history of the District in recent years is mainly notable for the growth of Offa town from a deserted ruin to its present size of 16,886 inhabitants. Politically, the Igbolos have been engaged in the domestic rivalries of the village heads under successive Oloffas and have had little time to spare for affairs beyond their borders. The "Offa Descendants Union" in Lagos made proposals for the betterment of Offa town, and these, in 1938, became a campaign for the transfer of Ilorin Emirate to the Western Provinces. The reason adduced for the campaign was the alleged neglect by the Native Authority to provide amenities proper to modern town. The Native Authority responded to this charge with a programme of public works which included welfare centre, a hospital and a project, not yet undertaken, for a reservoir and pipe water supply. In 1943 the townsmen themselves, aided by the Offa Descendants Union, raised the funds for a Grammar School which is now

assisted by the Government. In 1946 four village areas petitioned for independence of the kind already accorded to Erin but there were no grounds for making this concession which was refused.

38. The breakdown of the traditional "Northern" type of local government in the Offa District began earlier than in the Igbomina and Ekiti areas when in 1935, the Village Head of Erin was permitted to correspond directly with the Emir instead of through the District Head at Offa. The process continued when Erin was granted its own court in 1939 and it is hoped that local rivalries will permit the establishment of a group Court and Council for the remaining six villages outside Offa. It seems clear, however, that the local animosities which exist will prevent the setting up of an Area Court and Council on the Igbomina and Ekiti pattern for some time to come.

39. The Ilorins inhabit the North, West and centre of the Emirate and in 1951 numbered 230,937. Any account of the Ilorins in pre-British times must necessarily take account of three factors of major importance in the development of the Emirate.

- (a) the connection with the Emirs of Gwandu;
- (b) the dual character of the Fulani reign;
- (c) the nature of the Ilorin conquests.

These three aspects of the history of the Ilorins are directly relevant to the modern question of the incorporation of the Emirate in the Western Region and are dealt with in turn in the paragraphs which follow.

40. By 1804 the Fulani Empire had been established over the greater part of what is now termed the Northern Region, with the exception of Bornu, and for some decades the descendants of Shehu Usumanu dan Fodio guided the Empire from the two capitals Sokoto and Gwandu. The Emirs of Gwandu, the cadet branch of the founder's family, were the titular overlords of the Emirates of the south-east of their capital, as well as of lands now in French territory. Among these Emirates, which they attempted to guide rather than to administer directly, was Ilorin. The part played by Gwandu was mainly limited to diplomacy but in times of emergency was occasionally extended to the provision of troops. The relationship of Ilorin to Gwandu was not that of a subordinate but rather that of a son. Tribute was not paid but presents and greetings were exchanged on suitable occasions and, when the affairs of the young Emirate became difficult, it was to Gwandu that the Emir would appeal for advice and help. In 1837, the Emir Halily of Gwandu sent reinforcements in time for the major battle of Ilorin town which finally destroyed the power of Oyo. Later he is said to have summoned Shita, the second Emir of Ilorin, to a general conference at Rabba, the Fulani capital of what later became Bida Emirate; and subsequently he is known to have visited the Ilorin war camp at the siege of Offa in an attempt to make peace but was ignored by the Balogun Gambari - a Hausa from Katsina - who was in command of the Ilorins. There is also a tradition that the fifth Emir Moma appealed vainly to Gwandu to mediate before he made his approach to Sir Gilbert Carter in 1893. In the nineteenth century Ilorin, therefore, had definite but slender ties with Gwandu and through it with the other Emirates, and, although British rule put an end to the remove overlordship of Gwandu, the habit of looking northwards in difficult times has not been abandoned. The place once held by Gwandu is now occupied by the Northern House of Assembly and the House of Chiefs.

41. As elsewhere in the Fulani Empire, the Emir's government was theoretically a centralised autocracy, the actual strength of which depended largely upon the personality of the ruler. In addition to his temporal functions, the Emir was the religious leader of the community. His government was based on the social and religious precepts of the Koran and was financed by a system of direct taxation; justice was administered by Moslem judges using a written code of law. In order to maintain his position the Emir rewarded his important followers with the grant of fiefs but he guarded against treason by keeping these men under his immediate eye and also by ensuring that his grants of land to them were scattered in small parcels up and down the Emirate. Even in early times indigeneous Ilorin notables share in the inner councils of the Emirs of Ilorin. The traditional council was framed round four Baloguns or "war lords." They were the Balogun Fulani, the Balogun Gambari, the Balogun Ajikobi and the Balogun Alanamu, the two latter of whom were of pure Yoruba-speaking stock. The first three were granted flags of office by the first Emir, Abdulsalami, and the fourth by Shita, the second Emir. From the foundation of the Emirate, therefore, the indigeneous notables of Ilorin had an important share in the direction of policy. The earlier Emirs were able to control the Baloguns but in later years, with the power derived from their military position, the Baloguns gradually undermined the Emir's authority until they were able to force the fifth Emir Moma to commit suicide and to bend his successor to their will. From early times, therefore, it was inaccurate to distinguish between Fulanis and Yorubas in political affairs. The descendants of the four Baloguns hold hereditary positions in the Emir's Council today, and although intensely proud of their different lineages, they all regard themselves as Ilorins and, like the Emir, all speak Yoruba at their mother tongue. The dual nature of the original Fulani-Yoruba regime has disappeared in the fusion of the two races.

42. Although a great part of the Emirate was acquired in open war a number of important towns preferred to come to terms with the Ilorins rather than risk battle. This dual nature of the Ilorin conquests is reflected in the history of Offa, Ajasse and Otun, all of which are reported to have submitted without fight. The act of submission normally entailed the payment of tribute and the acceptance of an "Ajele," or Emir's representative. In return, the Emir gave his protection against other invaders, in particular the Ibadans. For example, during the reign of the fourth Emir, Aliyu (1868-91) the Ilorins were caught and heavily defeated at the Otin River crossing, which marching to the help of the Ekitis. It is impossible to decide on the exact extent of the Ilorin conquests but the frontier of the Emirate today probably represents the approximate area which the Emirs were able to hold with reasonable security until the arrival of the British. The bulk of this territory was won over a hundred years ago, the subsequent were being fought to maintain or extend it.

43. The history of the Ilorins up to the end of the nineteenth century has already been recounted, in so far as it is known, but something must be said of more recent events. The first Resident of Ilorin, who was appointed in 1900, found the Emirate in disorder and as escort of the West African Frontier force was sent for an peace was restored. In 1907 the Baloguns attempted by force of arms to re-assert their power and reduce that of the Emirs and other had again to be restored with the aid of troops. Further disturbances occurred in 1913, instigated by certain Ilorin families who considered that they had not received their fair share of land and titles from the Emir, but the agitation ceased when two representatives of the House of Afonja were given salaries posts and appointed to the Emir's Council. In 1919 the present Emir Abdulkadiri succeeded his father. His appointment was a break with custom,

there being two Houses from which it was the custom to choose Emirs alternatively, but he was a popular choice, for the people had not forgotten the trouble times of the sixth Emir Sulemanu. Under Abdulkadiri, the work of organising the Native Administration went forward steadily. A Treasury, Courts and offices, Irisons, Workshops and Police Barracks were constructed and by the end of the 1920's the Native Administration was "going concern" of the typical Northern pattern. Meanwhile, the task of organising the system of local government down to the village level had been tackled. The typical Northern "claim of authority" was established throughout the Emirate, from Emir to District Heads, from District Heads to Village Heads and from Village and Hamlet Heads to the people. The fiefs carved out by the greater and lesser war-lords and "friends at Court" of pre-British times. These fief-holders were encouraged to settle on their lands and in general, became District Heads or Village Heads. In this way twenty Districts were formed, not including the five wards of Ilorin town. The re-organisation enabled fief-holders to give public service in return for the tax they collected and new land was opened up as they encouraged friends and relations to come and settle. The very real bonds which were cemented in those days between many of the District Heads and their people - ties of kinship, gratitude for services rendered and the use of land, the obedience and respect of a soldier for his Captain with whom he has fought side by side in war - are still strong today. Duties were imposed on the District Heads - the duty to maintain law and order in their Districts, to supervise the collection of tax, to consult the people through the medium of the village heads and to account to the Emir for the peace and well-being of the District.

44. In recent years District Councils representative of the traditional Village Councils have been organised and they meet quarterly, or more frequently if necessary, under the chairmanship of the District Head. Their function is to advise the Native Authority and their Provincial Members of the House of Assembly on affairs connected with the District, but they also administer and are accountable for the expenditure of District Council funds. Representatives of the Ilorin District Councils join with representatives from the Igbomina and Ekiti Area Councils and the Emir's Advisory Council to form the Emir's full Council, which meets twice a year. The agenda for these meetings includes both matters on which the Native Authority wishes to have the Councils advice and matters which District and Area Councils wish to bring up for discussion. The value of these meetings is undoubted and steps to broaden still further the basis of representation on the council are in hand. The most recent advance in local government has been the reorganisation of the Ilorin Town Council on an elective basis so as to ensure that the will of the people is brought to bear on the conduct of affairs.

45. The events which led to the fixing of the present inter-regional boundary and the effect of these events upon the life of the four Yoruba-speaking peoples who live in Ilorin Division have been described in some detail in the preceding paragraphs. It is against this background that the Western claims must be judged and an attempt must now be made to state the cases for and against altering the boundary in favour of the West as they might be stated by moderate partisan on either side.

46. The case of the cession of territory now in Ilorin Province to the West might be summarised under five main heads-geographical, ethnic, historical administrative and political:-

(a) The geographical basis for the Western claim, as expressed by the Oni of Ife at the General Conference on the review of the Constitution held at Ibadan in January, 1950 was in the following terms:-

"We in the West have said that we would not worry if the Ibos in the West decided to join their brothers in the East. That is an example. It is unfortunate indeed that there have been movements for separation by some Yoruba people from Ilorin Emirate. We the Natural Rulers of the West would not support a move to take away an inch of land from the Emirate which has been so long established. After all, the whole of Ilorin was populated by the people of a Yoruba race. The Emirate comprises four clans of Yoruba, namely, Oyo, Ibclo, Igbomina and Ekiti. Why then should we support only two clans to break away from the rest who are also their kith and kin? What we thought was that it would be ideal to use the Niger River as the boundary between the North, the East and the West. We consider that using the River as boundary would make it a lasting peace and unity possible."

(b) The people of Ilorin Division, except the Fulani ruling class, are almost wholly of Yoruba stock and all speak Yoruba as their mother tongue, It is therefore, unjust to separate them from their kith and kin in the Western Region by an artificial boundary.

(c) The internecine wars of the Yoruba-speaking peoples during the nineteenth century were "wars of unification." The sole matter at issue was whether the Ilorins or the Ibadans would establish "Pan Yoruba State." Neither Ilorin nor any other of Yoruba territory was ever conquered by a Fulani army. The Ilorins did however have the support of bands of mercenary Hausa and Fulani soldiers and a Fulani religious leaders who "mainly through the support of influential Yoruba chiefs and his other Yoruba religious followers treacherously (not through military action) established himself as a ruler of Ilorin." The Lagos Government restrained the Ibadans from extending their control in northwards in 1893. Whereas the Royal Niger Company did not gain effective control in Ilorin until 1897. British control therefore stifled the growing power of Ibadan at a time when the Ibadans had beaten the Ilorins on a number of occasions and were in a position to extend their control northwards.

(d) Northern statement that the Yoruba-speaking peoples of Ilorin Emirate are content to remain in the Northern Region cannot be accepted at their face value. Their homes, families and livelihood are in Ilorin and while the Emirate remains in the Northern Region and under the Northern Administration they dare not express their true feelings which are for union with the West. The Yoruba-speaking peoples north to the border, no less than those in the Western Region, resent the expression of the popular people were free to express their will they would opt for incorporation in the West.

(e) Political circles in the West and in some parts of Ilorin Division, as the unrest of the last few years in Oke Ode, Ajasse and New Obo has shown, are genuinely and deeply stirred by the enforced separation of the Yoruba-speaking peoples of Ilorin Division from their kith and kin in the Western Region and are becoming increasingly anxious for re-union.

47. The reply to these claims might be summarised in the following terms:

(a) To make the Niger the boundary between the North and the West would involve the transfer to the West of peoples inhabiting the Borgu and Lafiagi-Pategi Divisions who have far greater affinities with the North than with the West. Moreover, the Niger binds rather than divides the Nupe and Kambari peoples in these Divisions with the Nupe and Kambi communities in Niger Province.

(b) It is true that in customs, language and race Ilorin Division has close connections with the West but the partnership between Fulanis and Yorubas which began in 1817 has resulted in so great a degree of fusion of the two races that today it is quite untrue to speak of the domination of the "Yoruba peoples" by an alien Fulani dynasty. It is also inaccurate to speak of the Fulani ruling class since, from the earliest days of the Emirate, Baloguns of Ilorin origin have shared fully in the inner councils of the Emirs. Moreover, the North from the earliest times has given greater weight to spiritual and temporal authority than to considerations of kinship.

(c) The Emirate of Ilorin today covers the greater part of the territory in which the Emirs and sometimes the war-chiefs of Yoruba stock acting against the Emirs wishes - were successful in consolidating their power before the advent of the British. Certain of the Ekiti Villages were ceded to the West in 1935 at the request of the inhabitants but other Ekiti communities remained within the Emirate of their own free will. On that occasion the Governor, Sir Bernard Bourdillon, assured the Emir and his Council that "he was not prepared to approve changes in the boundary except in regard to Aun." Demands for further cessions of territory to the West have therefore no historical justification and ignore the assurance given to the Emir and his Council in 1935.

(d) Since 1817 the Emirate has had administrative connections with the other Emirates of the North, first through the Emirs of Gwandu and in recent years by the regular attendance of the Emir and his chief councillors at the Northern Chiefs Conference and later at the Regional Houses of Assembly. Ilorin has made the "northern" pattern of local government its own and, as has been shown by recent developments, this pattern of government, as elsewhere in Ilorin Emirate - stillness in Ilorin Province - are in favour of being adapted so as to ensure an adequate expression of the Western Region. As regards in the Igbolos, there is a fairly strong minority in Offa town but not in the surrounding villages, which would favour inclusion in the West. Amongst the Igbominas and the Ekitis there is a relatively small proportion who are not satisfied with the present dispositions, but even in their Native Administration units than to a desire to be ceded to the Western Region. The Ilorins, who outnumber, all the other groups in Ilorin Emirate, are firm in their support of the present regime.

(e) The demand for the cession of territory to the Western Region owes almost all its strength to political forces south of the border. In the Emirate itself there is no popular demand such as would justify the Government in serving the close historical, administrative and political ties which bind Ilorin Emirate to the Northern Region.

APPENDIX II

Extract from the Despatch of Sir Gilbert Carter, K.C.M.G.,  
furnishing a General Report of the Lagos Interior Expedition.

1893. Cd. 7227 :

Copy of Declaration made at Ilorin on the 25th day  
of February, 1893, by the King of Ilorin.

"I, Abudu Salami Mama, King of Ilorin, do solemnly  
declare that it is my earnest desire that peace should be  
established between my people and the Ibadan, who have  
been in conflict for many years.

With a view to the ratification of such a peace I  
have solicited the intervention of the Governor of Lagos, in  
whom I have perfect trust and confidence, and desire that he  
should mediate between the contending parties.

I have, therefore, sent instructions to the authorities  
at the war camp at Offa to accept and act upon any decision  
which he may arrive at after consultation with the contending  
parties.

It is my desire that both the camps at Offa and at Ikirun  
should break up, and that the people therein should return  
to their respective homes, and to peaceful pursuits: and I  
desire also that my people at Offa should break up their camp  
on any day which may be named by the Governor of Lagos,  
provided that the Ibadans are prepared to move on the same  
day.

I desire also to be on terms of friendship with Her  
Majesty's Government of Lagos, and no effort shall be wanting  
on my part to attain this end.

Should a satisfactory peace be concluded through the  
mediation of the Governor of Lagos, I solemnly promise that  
in case any further dispute should arise between my people  
and the Ibadans, that no hostile action shall be taken by me  
without first communicating on the Ibadan authorities.

I desire, further, that the King of Offa and his people  
who are scattered abroad, should return to their own country  
now that there is every prospect of peace between myself and  
the Ibadan authorities."

(Signed in Arabic)  
Abudu Salami,  
King of Ilorin.

In the present of

(Signed) G.T. Cater,  
Governor of Lagos

Done at Ilorin this twenty-fifth day of February one  
thousand eight hundred and ninety three.

Signed in the presence of (Signed in arabia)  
Sumanu

(Signed in Arabic)  
Ali Mustapha Alikali

(Signed) G.B. Haddon Smith,  
Political Officer.

I, the undersigned, do swear that I have truly and  
honestly interpreted the terms of the foregoing declaration  
to the contracting parties in the Yoruba language.

(Signed) A.I. Hethersett  
Witness to signature - G.B. Haddon Smith,  
Political Officer.

## APPENDIX III

Lagos Government M.P. 144/1895 of 14th January, 1895

Statement regarding Proposed Frontier of Lagos Government and Royal Niger Company Towards Ilorin and Nupe :

On December, 16th Capt. Lugard arrived at Ikirun. Capt. Bower who was then camped on the Otin River informed him that he had been instructed to fix the point at which the boundary between the Ilorin and Ibadan Kingdoms cross the road from Offa to Ikirun. He showed to Capt. Lugard the official instructions to this effect which he had received from Lagos and these papers intimated that the Royal Niger Company had agreed to accept his decision whatever it might be - the Emir of Ilorin being within the Government of the latter. Capt. Lugard who was in command of a detachment of the R.N.C. had diverged from his route to visit Ikirun, having heard of the difficulty between Capt. Bower and the Emir of Ilorin. On hearing from Capt. Bower the above facts he intimated his intention of proceeding on his way, unless he could be of any service with regard to the difficulty with the Emir of Ilorin. Capt. Bower informed him that he had fixed upon the Awere river as the boundary, and had visited Ilorin to obtain the Emir's signature to a document to this effect. The Emir had declined to sign, being overruled by his Baloguns. Capt. Bower had then to leave, having met with scant civility from the chiefs. Subsequently the Emir had written to say he would agree, but immediately afterwards had repudiated his decision - and declined to hold any further communication with Capt. Bower, saying that he would correspond direct with Lagos and had sent letters to the Governor. Capt. Lugard before reaching Ikirun had sent forward a messenger to Ilorin explaining that he hoped to be of use in settling the difficulty, and asking the Emir to explain the grounds of the difference. This messenger returned on December 20th bringing with him 4 Envoys from the Emir and leading chiefs. Capt. Bower having told Capt. Lugard that he would be glad of his assistance in the matter, a consultation was held on December 21st at which Capt. Bower and Tucker, Capt. Lugard, the chiefs of Ikirun and a messenger from Ibadan, and the Ilorin Envoys were present. Capt. Lugard called on the Emir to accept the Awere as Boundary. They stated that they claimed Ikirun and many other neighbouring towns. Capt. Bower pointed out that during the war Ikirun had belonged to Ibadan and was their headquarters, and that the opposing armies had been camped at Offa which lay about 13 miles north on the Ilorin road (nearer to Ilorin). When peace had been made between Ilorin and Ibadan, at the instance of Governor Carter it had been agreed by both sides that they would retire

and the country lying to the rear of each army should belong to each side respectively. In pursuance of this Ibadan claimed Offa, but Governor Carter had given it to Ilorin, and the point now suggested as the boundary was some 7 miles south of Offa towards Ikirun and was therefore greatly in favour of Ilorin. At the same time Governor Carter had intimated that any people who already at that time had left Offa and gone to settle in Yoruba should be allowed to remain there unmolested, but that all who should hereafter (viz, after the signing of the peace) leave Offa should be sent back. Capt. Lugard told the Ilorin Envoys that in face of these undisputed facts it was absurd to continue to urge claims on Ikirun and other Yoruba towns, and that with regard to the Emir's request that the former King of Offa should be sent back, it was undenied that he had left Offa before the peace was signed and hence he would not be forced to return

since it was on the understanding that their refugees should remain unmolested in Yoruba that Offa had been ceded to Ilorin.

Finally Capt. Lugard called upon the Envoys to state any valid objection they could urge to the Awere as a point of delimitation. He added that Capt. Bower was making a permanent camp at the Otin, that it was useless for the Emir to ask him to retire since the stockade was within the Lagos frontier, and in reality the Emir should be glad of it for it was a guarantee against border troubles and against people from Ilorin running away to Yoruba contrary to the agreement made. The Envoys replied that some people from Erin, a town on the Ilorin side of the Awere had recently gone to Okuku (on the Ibadan side). Capt. Bower stated that Erin was in fact an Ibadan town now ceded to Ilorin. Capt. Lugard suggested that the Awere should remain the frontier of Ilorin, and that the Awowotun Stream should be the frontier of Ibadan, the intervening piece of country (in which is Okuku) should be neutral territory. The agreement for the Emir's signature was amended in this sense, and the clause binding the Emir to agree that the line of latitude which intersects the crossing of the Awere and the Offa road should be the boundary of Ilorin to the East and south was withdrawn as being incapable of proper translation and explanation to the Emir. The Envoys appeared pleased and hopeful, and only implored that Capt. Lugard's messenger should accompany them as a guarantee of the truth of their message. Capt. Bower also urged Capt. Lugard to await the return of these messengers, since if the Emir heard that he had already left there would be little change of an immediate settlement. Capt. Lugard therefore sent the Headman-informing the Emir at the same time that he was not passing through Ilorin - since such a course would inevitably result in the Emir's postponing any reply until Capt. Lugard's arrival. The Envoys started on their return journey next day (22nd December).

Captain Lugard now suggested that Captain Bower should accompany him Eastward for a short distance on his way to Ilokoja, and that they should together trace a frontier between Ilorin and Ibadan to the East, and submit it to the Lagos Government and Niger Company for approval. The plan proposed was to visit the frontier towns, and by careful enquiry on the spot ascertain which belonged to right to Ilorin, and which to Ibadan, fixing their sites by astronomical observations and route surveying. After having delimited the frontier on the South of Ilorin, it was proposed to turn Southwards and trace the frontier for a march or two between the Eastern limits of the Lagos Protectorate and the Western frontiers of the R.N.C. on December 24th Capt. Lugard marched to Ire, - only a very circuitous route being feasible on account of the hills, and thence to Illa where he was joined by Capt. Bower on December 27th. The Ilorin messengers and the R.N.C. Envoy from Capt. Lugard arrived on December 28th (having been told to turn off at Offa and come to Illa). They reported that the Emir would not sign the documents, saying that they were the same as those he had already refused, and he was awaiting the return of his messengers from Lagos. Apparently the real obstacle lies in obstinacy of the chiefs for the Emir's house and been fired in three places and burnt to the ground together with much of his property, - probably because he had wished to sign. The following are the principal places visited:

1. Illa. Ilorin lays no claim to Illa apparently. Formerly there was an Ibadan Consul, but during the war he so oppressed the people that they deserted their town. Lately they had rebuilt it, relying on the explicit promise of Governor Carter that if they would do so the Lagos Government would afford them protection. The Northern limit of fields and farms of Illa (towards Ilorin) appears to be the river Oyun, about 6 miles on a N.N.W. bearing. Illa therefore was included in the Lagos territory, the proposed boundary skirting its most northern cultivations. Its position will be seen on attached Map.+ The village of Ire is a suburb of Ikirun.

2. Passing through Igbohun which lies far to the South and is under Illa, the next town visited was Awtun. The route via Igbohun was adopted in order to ascertain the boundary point (shewn on the map) between Illa territory and the possessions of Awtun. Awtun is a large and important place. There is an Ilorin Ajele (consul) there, who was questioned. He stated that of late he had collected no regular customs, but that for years past it had been the custom for the Ajele of Ilorin to collect taxes from all traders and send them to Ilorin. The Bale was interviewed separately. He said that at the time of the war both Ibadan and Ilorin had consuls in Awtun; both Ibadan and Ilorin had spoilt the place. The Ilorin consul alone remains, and collects tolls from everyone. They are of the Okiti tribe. Apparently it was now his desire to be free of both Ibadan and Ilorin, and to be directly under the British. I said it was not the object or custom of the British to raise revolts wherever they went, and our purpose was only to enquire under whom Awtun really was. From the evidence we had heard we adjudged that there was no doubt it was under Ilorin. The Ajele was told to remain, and the Bale was told to acknowledge Ilorin as long as the Ajele would be withdrawn.

3. Passing through Gogo which is under Awtun, and therefore in Ilorin we ascertained the boundary mark, viz: the river Oro and went on to Aiye. Aiye lies much to the South, and is part of the Idjere country which is in Lagos territory. There was no Ilorin Consul, and apparently Ilorin laid no claim to the place. Consequently it is included in the Lagos Protectorate.

4. Thence Capt. Iugard proceeded in a N.E. direction to Obo, whilst Capt. Bower went S.E. to Aiedi. Obo appeared to be undoubtedly Ilorin territory. The Bale like all the rest was anxious to get the British to assist him to assert his independence; he however acknowledged that Ilorin Ajele's had been there since before his own birth some sixty years (ago). Quite recently they had driven out the Ajele acting he said under Capt. Bower's orders. Capt. Iugard told him Capt. Bower had sent no such orders, and he took a trustworthy man with him to Eruku where he was to meet Capt. Bower in order to send him back with instructions.

5. At Eruku Capt. Power and Capt. Iugard again met. Here again it was found that the Ilorin Consul had recently been driven out. On cross examination it appeared that some imposter, saying that he had been sent by Capt. Bower, and wearing European clothes, and having with him an interpreter had come to Obo, and Eruku, and ordered the people to oust the Ajele and become directly under the Queen whose messenger he said he was. He had, moreover, requisitioned large sums from the people in the name of Government. He was said to have proceeded to Egbe, the frontier town of Nupe and to have ordered the Nupe Ajele to leave, who however refused to do so. Capt. Bower is making every effort to catch this man. The Bale of Eruku said the Ilorin Ajele had been here many years since the days of their fathers. They pay a yearly tribute of 100,000 cowries, and the Ajele collects all tolls. The only town under Eruku is Ikirun, 9 miles to East. To E.N.E. is Egbe a Yagha town under Nupe; the Eruku territory ceases some 3 miles in this direction.

6. About Aiedi there had been conflicting accounts, some saying there was an Ilorin Council there, and some denying it. Capt. Power found that there had never been an Ilorin Ajele, nor had any tribute or tolls been paid to Ilorin. An Ibadan Ajele had once been there but had been driven out. The towns under Aiedi appear to extend some distance to the East.