

Review

The enduring impact of the 1804 Fulani Jihad on Igbomina society

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The Islamic revolution that swept through Western Sudan in the 19th century brought into existence the erstwhile Sokoto Caliphate that dominated the political landscape of a considerable proportion of the area that later became Nigeria. While British Colonial intervention brought to an end the exercise of political power by this empire at the beginning of the 20th century, the socio-cultural and religious influence of the Fulani Jihadist have remained all pervasive in the day to day life of the people especially the Igbomina of Kwara State even during and in the post colonial era. The article considers the mode of integration of the Igbomina into Ilorin Emirate, consequently Sokoto Caliphate and how the exercise of imperial authority have almost denied the subject people any rudiment of separate identity and independence. Despite the disruptive influence of colonialism, Ilorin influence remains unmitigated in the people's life. The article concludes that the present cry of marginalization of Igbomina people in Kwara State politics is a relic of the enduring impact of its past subservience under Ilorin Emirate administration.

Key words: Igbomina, Ilorin emirate, Fulani Jihadist, Oyo empire.

INTRODUCTION

The Igbomina are recognized by themselves and by others as a distinct dialectic sub-group of the Yoruba inhabiting the northern part of Yoruba country. Today, they are found in the two states of Kwara and Osun (Falola, 1984). In 1918, the boundary declaration between Northern and Southern Nigeria partitioned the Igbomina into these two regions, with Ila-Orangun and its southern neighbours located in the South and the others in the North (Falola, 1984). Even in the North, the Igbomina were again subdivided between two administrative divisions of Ilorin and Patigi/Lafiagi, until May 1946 when they were all merged under Ilorin. Following the Local Government reforms of 1968 and 1976 and the intense pressure for change (Adeyemi, 1984), the Igbomina were granted local autonomy and the majority now live in the Ifelodun, Irepodun and most recently, Isin Local Government Areas of Kwara State and Ila area of Osun State (Dada, 1985).

Igbomina people have for a long time, perhaps since their emergence as a distinguishable autonomous community, endured uninterrupted status of vassalage. They

have passed from the hand of one imperial lord to another in quick succession with varying degree of control of her internal affairs by the imperial authority. Of these long traditions of subordination, the tradition of Ilorin oppression is unrivalled in brutality in Igbomina colonial experiences. The bitter memory of it has also survived the passage of time. Such stories are passed down from father to children as fire-side tell-tales assuming the status of myth and legend. It sometime becomes so emotive that it is difficult to separate facts from fantasy.

However, Igbomina people claimed not to have been militarily subjugated by Ilorin to deserve such demeaning treatment and that diplomacy or "treachery" (as Igbomina people call it) was responsible for or the mode of their incorporation into Ilorin imperial system (Adeyemi, 1984). It was fear of slave raiders, they explained, and the general insecurity that pervaded the 19th century political atmosphere of Yoruba country after the disintegration of Old Oyo Empire, that made them submit voluntarily to alliance with Ilorin (Adeyemi, 1984). Ilorin on the other

hand, clearly affirms military conquest as the mode of integration of the Igbomina into the emirate system and they have as their reference point, overwhelming documentary evidence to buttress this claim.

The issue of the mode of integration of Igbomina under Ilorin emirate system has hitherto received limited attention from historians. What then was the true and authentic mode of integration of Igbomina into Ilorin emirate? But first the causes and motives of the imperial adventure in Igbomina country have to be examined. A brief review of the historical antecedent predating Ilorin incursion will be necessary.

Oyo was traditionally the dominant military and political power in Yoruba land. She had controlled an empire which gave a large part of Yoruba land both cultural co-hesion and a certain degree of political Unity. For factors classified as both external and internal, the glorious empire began to show evidence of decline towards the end of the 18th century leading to a total disintegration in the hands of the Fulani Jihadist by the third decade of the 19th century (Anene, 1970). Factors advanced by historians as responsible for the decline and ultimate collapse of Oyo Empire are as numerous as they are divergent. This research will not however, bother itself with the controversy associated with authenticating each of these factors as this has earlier been dealt with exhaustively by other scholars (Atanda, 1971). Further-more the issue falls outside the scope of this article. We would however, content our self with enumerating a number of factors which have become conventional in scholarly circles as responsible for the fall of Oyo Empire. The factors include; inherent weakness in the constitution of the Central Government of Oyo; the loose connection between the Central Government and provinces of the empire which made revolt of vassal states easy and possible; the vastness of the Empire which made effective governance impossible in the face of inadequate means of communication; deliberate weakening of the army by Alaafin Abiodun to reduce its political influence; the rise of powerful neighbours like Dahomey, Nupe and Borgu and the succession of weak Alaafin to the throne of Old Oyo Empire in the late 18th and early 19th century and a steady shift of the centre of gravity of the empire from the north to the south (Atanda, 1971). On top of these causes classified by historian as remote, two immediate causes have been identified. While some emphasize the effect of Fulani Jihad others capitalize on the breakdown of the central authority.

That views are divergent should be expected in historical writings especially on issues involving causes of an upheaval in human affairs, be it violent revolution, war or collapse of an empire. More important is the modern professional historian perception which believes that a mono-causal explanation is no longer adequate in explaining the causes of events. In line with this established principle, it is proper to declare that it was a combination of the causes enumerated above that brought about the

fall of Old Oyo Empire.

The two last causes classified as immediate are of interest to this research. Both are inter-related. The breakdown of the control of the central authority demonstrated by frequent succession disputes to Alafinate and the consequent creation of long periods of interregnum, made firm grip by the central authority of the fabric of the empire impossible. The usurpation of the constitutional power of the Alaafin by Bashorun Gaa which saw to the death of four Alaafins in quick succession weakened the central authority and made rebellion attractive and less costly to vassal states (Law, 1977). The crisis at the centre created room for Afonjas rebellion (Johnson, 1976). Afonja who was of royal blood and a rival claimant to Oyo throne, held the military title of Aare Ona Kakanfo, exclusively preserved for people of servile descent. He resided at Ilorin, then a province of Oyo (Johnson, 1976). As a commander in Chief, he was expected every three months to make war on Oyo enemies named by the Alaafin and within forty days return either victorious or carried back a corpse to Oyo. Alaafin Aole imposed on Afonja what was regarded as an impossible task of capturing the impregnable town of Iwere to ensure his death possibly. Aole was probably becoming disturbed by Afonja's inordinate ambition and the un-remitting desire for Oyo throne (Johnson, 1976). Afonja conspired with the rank and file of his army and decided to ignore the Alaafins order. The army mutinied and demanded the death of Aole. This led to the legendry curse by the Alaafin after shooting his arrow into four directions into which he said his rebellious subjects would be carried to as slaves (Johnson, 1976). The curse was apocalyptic, the civil crisis that engulfed the entire Yoruba country as a result of the breakdown of Oyo central authority emanating from this rebellion, resulted in enslavement of many Yoruba, including those of Oyo descent.

At the peak of the crisis, when things were still fluid in Oyo, Afonja decided to break totally with Oyo and create an empire of his own carved out of the former Oyo which he was supposed to defend as Commander-in-Chief of its army. To facilitate the success of his rebellion, he solicited the assistance of a Fulani Quranic teacher resident in Ilorin called Alimi. He openly defied the authority of the new Alaafin Maku by refusing to recognize his ascension to the throne (Johnson, 1976). With the assistance of his Fulani friends and Hausa slaves, Afonja attacked Oyo and dealt a final blow to the ailing empire.

Afonja's example was followed by at least one other important provincial ruler, Opele, the Bale of Gbogun, who had played a leading role in the mutiny at Iwere. With his own imperial ambition, Opele revolted and began to attack and reduce neighbouring towns to sub-ordination. He took Idofian and Igbowu, all in Igbomina territory, he was however, killed while besieging Igboho (Johnson, 1976).

The Imperial ambition of these Oyo military officials was in conflict with the survival of the empire. They all wanted to create an empire of their own at the expense of Oyo (Lasis, 2003). It was not however long before Afonja, began to find his association with Hausa/Fulani mercenaries embarrassing. They got out of control and marched about the country side pillaging towns and villages. His efforts to restrain these *jama's* cost him their friendship. The *jama's* led by Alimi openly showed that they were fighting in the cause of a Jihad and not to sustain Afonjas rebellion against Oyo. A clash was inevitable and in the ensuing conflict, Afonja was killed and Abdulsalami the son of his old friend, Alimi, became the first Fulani Emir of Ilorin in 1831. This brings to a close the period of Yoruba preeminence at Ilorin, marking as it were an effective transfer of authority to the Fulani. The Jihad was carried far into Yoruba land and consequently extended into Igbominaland which had earlier been observed as possessing special relations with Oyo.

MOTIVES FOR IMPERIAL ADVENTURE

What then are the causes of the Jihad and the real motive behind Ilorin military adventure into Igbomina land? The motives were as much political as they were religious with socio-economic and cultural undercurrents fueling the otherwise limited religious objectives.

What could be considered as the primary motives for the Jihad undertaken by Abdulsalami was religion. The ambition to expand the frontier of Islam through military conquest, as enjoined by Islam, was the primary motivation upon which other factors depended. Although the nature of behaviour and pattern of conquest of the warlords and subsequently established civil administration, leaves one in serious doubt as to the religious motivation in what seems to be purely a military adventure. However, the overall assessment of the situation, when one consider a number of steps taken by the Jihadist after the war, it would be fair to concede to the fact that the war was fought under the guides of Islamic tenets.

While it was true that Islamic evangelism was left to private initiatives in the emirate administration, there is no doubt that a number of steps were taken in official quarters, which not only made Islamic religion attractive to the general populace, but also facilitated its rapid spread. Preference was given to Islamic faith over other religion in matters of appointment into public offices in the emirate. All state institutions were Islamic and operated according to the Sharia under the supervision of the Emir of Gwandu. Islamization also went down even to the basic social aspect of the people's life. Igbomina Obas were forced to wear the turbans instead of their usual caps or crowns. Although this change in the peoples office investiture, from crown to turban, has been casually treated by some scholars as merely symbolizing a means of testing acceptance of Ilorin authority by subject

territories (Danmole, 1980), it has no doubt gone a long way in elevating the status of the religion it represented by making it more attractive.

There was also concrete evidence of efforts through official channels to convert people to Islam, although these efforts were confined to the courts of Igbomina Obas. It was done through friendship or diplomacy and sometime through psychological pressure on the ruling class whose elevation and continuance in office was made dependent on absolute loyalty. Such loyalty included acceptance of the religion of the ruler. For instance the conversion of Abidolu, the Elese of Igbaja, was said to be as a result of his friendship with Alimi, leader of Ilorin Jihad (Ekundayo, 1986). Abidolu's children were all sent to quranic schools in Ilorin.

Non-Muslims were necessarily denied positions of responsibility and trust in the emirate. It should be noted that it was in accordance with such policy that Olupo was elevated above other Igbomina Obas because of his early acceptance of Islamic faith and friendship with the Emir. The establishment of Sharia courts and other institutions of government based on Quranic injunction, are clear evidence that the intentions and behaviours of the leadership of Ilorin Jihad, though may be far from ideal, was religiously motivated.

However, while the spread of Islam has been identified as the most important factor which motivated Ilorin military adventure into Igbomina land, other equally important factors existed along with it. Indeed, to some scholars, the strongest motivation for Ilorin military incursion into Igbomina land was more political and economic than religious (Raji, 1990).

Islamic evangelism and direct conversion to the faith was largely undertaken by freelance itinerant mallams not connected with the Emirs court or any official channel in Ilorin, argued these scholars. Igbomina Obas who accepted the faith as a result of psychological pressures referred to above in the 19th century, such as the Oloro, Olupo and Elese, did so as continuation of politics through other means, that is to enhance their positions under the new dispensation.

As Danmole rightly opines, the conversation was "an exercise of political authority rather than determination to convert ..., it was the instrument used by the emirate authorities to signify acceptance by people of Ilorin Rule" (Danmole, Memograph). Thus Ilorin rather than taking a deliberate step towards evangelization in Igbomina land cleverly used the faith as a political instrument for keeping the Igbomina within the territorial confines of the emirate to facilitate exploitation for maximum benefit and survival of the metropolis. In most cases only limited political control was exercised on the conquered territories so long as they accepted the authority and over lordship of Ilorin. They were allowed to retain their local rulers and titles. Ilorin authority was more interested in the natural resources of Igbomina land like Kola, ropes, palm oil, slaves, sheep and goats, which they extorted from the

people as tributes (Raji, 1990). The economic potential of Igbomina people was exploited to serve political and religious ends.

Also the struggle for territorial expansion which formed part of the political consideration was regarded as a means to serve the economic ends. Acquisition of more territories meant a consistent inflow of booty and tributes, the most important source of wealth for the metropolis. The wealth and size of the empire would surely boost the ego of its leadership and enhance their status and pre-eminent position among the emergent successor states to Old Oyo Empire (Johnson, 1976). Many of the aggressive wars launched by Ilorin Jihadists against Igbomina land were meant to sustain her primacy and bring more subjects for taxation, to support further war efforts. Thus, resulting in endless pillaging and extortion of people by Ilorin.

Apart from religious and economic motivation, the proximity of Igbomina land to Ilorin as next door neighbour made Igbomina land a place of strategic value to Ilorin. The area, as a matter of policy could not be left free or independent of any of the succeeding emergent states in Yoruba political scene. It could easily be taken over by forces hostile to Ilorin. Nor could her neutrality be long guaranteed in the on-going conflagration that engulfed the entire Yoruba country. Its friendship had to be courted or military potential subdued, to ensure the security of Ilorin eastern border whenever there was occasion to venture on military expedition far away from home. The role Offa was claimed to have played in the *Jalumi war*, by cutting off Odo-otin bridge behind Ilorin forces was evident enough of the potential danger in living with a hostile neighbour.

Although this event was a later development than the incorporation of Igbomina into Ilorin emirate system, the wisdom of military strategy must have prompted Ilorin leadership to address their minds seriously to the necessity of securing the cooperation if not friendship, of their immediate neighbours. Therefore the integration of Igbomina into the Ilorin emirate system had strategic motivation (Elerin of Adanla, 2001).

The fertile agricultural land of the Igbomina had always been a source of envy and attraction to most of her neighbours. No wonder immediately following the victory of the Jihadist and establishment of effective civil authority in Ilorin, a large colony of Ilorin settlers moved in to some Igbomina towns and village communities. So occupied by Ilorin settlers include Igbaja, Ganmo, Amoyo and Idofian (Alabi Idofian, 2000). Such communities are still clearly distinguishable in these various Igbomina towns today. To some extent it gives such villages a cosmopolitan outlook.

To buttress this point further, it should be noted that several references to Ilorin by European travelers and colonial authority, as the "garden of the North" (Hermon-Hodge, 1921) was made a source of production of these food items that were found in abundance in Ilorin market.

The reference was administrative to Ilorin Province, and the real producer of the "garden products" found in Ilorin markets were the Igbomina (Abdlkadiri, 2003). The major occupation for which Ilorin indigenes were renowned was weaving, quranic teaching and military activities during the years of the Jihad (Abdlkadiri, 2003). They did not like farming and thought it was demeaning of their status to engage in it. The few that were interested in farming did not live in the metropolis. As has earlier been pointed out, they migrated to find colonies in the suburban districts. The incorporation of Igbomina land, the source of abundant supply of food, into the empire, was of economic and military value to Ilorin at the time as most of her citizens were engaged in services in the army outside the metropolitan city.

The exploitation of the human resources, abundantly available in Igbomina land, to promote Ilorin war efforts, was a necessity that could not be ignored at this period of pressing needs. Such human resources were used by the Ilorin dignitary to sustain domestic slavery, excess of which were sold in slave markets to replenish the armory for the continuations of the war (Robert Campbell, 1886). The relative weakness of Igbomina people owing to their non-centralized political structure in the defense policy; made it a soft spot for potential imperialist embarking on empire building. With an easy-going, peace loving disposition, Igbomina posed no major military problem to her various ambitious neighbours. One other factor that must have motivated Ilorin in her military adventure into Igbomina land was the victory Ilorin had earlier scored over Oyo and the consequent disintegration of Oyo Empire. This must have boosted Ilorin ego and spurred her to further military action in an effort to create an empire of her own.

Considering Oyo as the only major and credible power that could prevent the attainment of this objective, they thought it was a matter of time before they over whelmed the entire Yoruba country. This explained the ambitious military activities against various Yoruba Kingdoms hitherto under Oyo including the Igbomina (Anene, 1970).

Borrowing from the experiences of Old Oyo, military adventure was also used as a diversionary tactic to keep the restive warlords busy in order to maintain domestic harmony. There was the possibility of civil dissension in a placid situation where no active external policy was pursued for the economic advantage of the political and military leadership. Therefore it could be rightly conjectured that military activities that extended into Igbomina land could as well have been a necessity dictated by domestic policy (Hermon-Hodge, 1921).

Closely associated with the religious factor were the initial outbreak and the success of the Jihad in other Hausa states led by Usman Dan Fodio. The example of this upheaval was only followed by the leadership of Ilorin Jihad through the collection of flags from Usman Dan Fodio, therefore the motivation for the Jihad in Ilorin may also be found in the leadership and example provided by

Sokoto.

It is clear from the above that the motivation for the Jihad which led to Ilorin military incursion and ultimate integration of Igbomina land under Ilorin emirate was multidimensional. It was religious, political and economic. These factors equally influenced the pattern of the emirate administration that emerged after the military conquest.

CONSEQUENCIES OF ILORIN IMPERIALISM ON IGBOMINA SOCIETY

Ilorin imperial administration in Igbomina land spanned over a period well in excess of a century and involved the virtual takeover of the control of socio-economic and political life of the people. Beginning from 1835, when the first Ilorin Military expedition was reportedly launched, to 1949, when the Ajia system was terminated and Igbomina Area Council established, the impact of Ilorin imperial domination has taken so firm a root and permeated all aspects of the people's life that total disengagement seems impossible even after political separation of the two.

The event of 1949 brought a considerable relief from direct Ilorin Imperial control of Igbomina people and gave them a vestige of local autonomy and representation that was not achieved until 1968 when the military government of Col. David Bamigboye, himself an Igbomina, created Igbomina Ekiti Division out of the former Ilorin Division (Local Govt. Reform in Kwara State, 1968). However, long after this seeming separation and autonomy, Ilorin continued to cast great shadow on the political setting in Kwara State and consequently Igbomina land to such a degree that democratic governance as envisioned by the nation's 1999 constitution is made irrelevant to the situation Kwarans found themselves. The impacts of Ilorin imperial control shall therefore, be considered under a number of sub-headings which include social political, economic and cultural aspects of the people's life. This is done in order to bring out the salient points for easy appreciation.

POLITICAL IMPACT

Perhaps the present separation of Igbomina people into two, whereby the greater portion was administratively grouped into Kwara State and the other placed in Osun State would not have been so but for the conquest and integration of the people under Ilorin Emirate system in the pre-colonial period. This also determined the type of colonial experience each section was exposed to. Those formerly under Ilorin emirate came under Northern Regional administration while the other section that was free of Ilorin control became a part of Western Region.

The boundary delimitation of 1894 between Captain Bower and Captain (Later Lord) Lugard, based on

principles of local jurisdiction was a product of the 1830 event by which Igbominaland was integrated under Ilorin (NAI Oyo Prof. 4/7 File No 275/1918). That event has resulted in legitimizing the permanent partitioning of Igbomina land into two, one section in the Northern and the other in the Southern Protectorate. Subsequent boundary delimitation and adjustment, even the most recent state creation exercise, have not succeeded in correcting the anomaly.

The inclusion of Igbomina land in Ilorin Province by the 1894 boundary delimitation based on principles of established local jurisdiction also marked the genesis of the crisis later christened Igbomina west merger. That crisis engaged the attention and resources of Igbomina political elite for over two decades from the 1940's until 1968 when Igbomina/Ekiti Division was created.

The general insecurity of life and property during the turbulent years of the Jihad which falls between 1835 and 1897, or perhaps throughout the period under review, radically altered the peoples way of life. The effect was particularly more pronounced in the area of demography. Many people deserted their homes for better fortified settlement for security reasons. Many more were carried into slavery. So devastating was the state of desolation that C.S. Burnet could not but make brief allusion to it in his report when he wrote;

"that the area (Igbomina) had been somewhat unsettled since the Fulani invasion and Ibadan marauders incursion. In fact so great was the physical dislocation that by 1900, no Igbomina village was on its pre-18th century site" (NAK Ilor Prof. SNP 7/13 4706/1912).

Of course Burnets description above only shows the extent of the devastation. That no Igbomina village was on its pre-18th century site may be sheer hyperbolic expression which may not necessarily reflect the reality of the situation. The truth or falsity of such a statement is equally difficult to confirm. Definitely new villages were founded and old ones augmented by waves of refugees from neighbouring settlements, for instance Ora and Igbesi moved to Oke-Onigbin (Gege, 1987). A section of Esie refugees could also be found in Ijara and Iji. As part of permanent evidence of such movement and final relation with the former home, some Esie stone images could be found in Ijara today. This was probably carried along when the population was in flight during a war (Gege, 1987). There was overall redistribution of population in the region.

So much destruction was inflicted on the land that many people were forced into permanent exile. As a result of frequency of war and military engagements, many Igbomina kingdoms suffered permanent disintegration. An example was the Oranguns kingdom of Ila whose capital Yara was sacked (Raji, 1990). Ilorin intervention in Igbomina land brought alien political institutions such as Ajia, Magaji, Megida and so forth. Igbomina's traditional institutions became subordinated under foreign

political control. The traditional function of Ilu (town Council) as the highest and final authority in policy formulation and execution and as the final arbiter in conflict resolution was discarded for the Emirs rule and pre-eminence in almost all aspects of the people's life. At best Igbomina Obas became Chief tributes or tax collectors. They were virtually stripped of their traditional functions as persons in whom sovereignty resided.

Igbomina traditional system of appointment and deposition of Oba was discarded and the Emirs intruding power and influence were put in place with the consequent disorderly effects on various communities. Obas were appointed and deposed at will without due regard to the feelings and tradition of the people (Ekundayo, 1986). Chieftaincy offices were often offered to the highest bidder without reference to or regard for the opinion of traditional kingmakers. These anomalies have left a permanent mark on the Chieftaincy institution that became saddled with exotic values and practices which trampled under foot the ancient customs and traditions of Igbomina people that have to this day remained too enfeebled to recover from cultural asphyxia.

As part of the legacy of imperial administration was the culture of long drawn conflict often associated with, succession to Chieftaincy office in Igbomina land. Hardly could appointment be made to Chieftaincy office without recourse to conflict and litigations. It is the legacy of Igbomina colonial experience under Ilorin imperial control.

Closely associated with the above are the changes in dynastic succession which Ilorin intervention have brought permanently to some communities. Under the influence of Islamic religion, when several Igbomina Obas had to change the "crown" for "turban", Igbomina traditional institutions with regard to chieftaincy matters, underwent some transformation, the consequences of which are causing uneasiness among the Christian and non-Muslim communities today.

In places such as Igbaja and Ajasse-Ipo, the long association of the throne with Islamic overlordship has adulterated not only their customs but also hampered the chances of any non-Muslim ever becoming an Oba in such towns (Ekundayo, 1986). In Igbaja especially out of the four ruling houses that were entitled to Elese Chieftaincy stool viz; Niniola, Abidolu, Adiyefon, and Fakayode; Abidolu's line was favoured and sustained on the throne of Igbaja since 1830 when Ilorin became the appointing authority. Other lines of succession have since been forgotten (Ekundayo, 1986). This has altered the traditional dynastic succession at Igbaja and the crisis this generated had been a subject for which the Kwara State Government had to set up a Judicial Commission of Inquiry headed by Honourable Justice Olagunju in 1986 (Ekundayo, 1986). Perhaps the greatest and most positive of the impacts of Ilorin imperial administration on Igbomina people is the unintended unity of purpose and action that oppression bred among the hitherto disunited

groups. The common suffering under the yoke of Ilorin oppression welded the people together in an effort to present a common front against Ilorin which was seen as a common enemy. This unity of purpose and action crystallized into the emergence of various progressive unions that championed the cause of the peoples struggle for political autonomy.

ECONOMIC IMPACT

Ilorin was a centre of long distant trade between the North and the South as the area was transpassed by one of the major routes of the Trans-Sahara trade. The conquest and integration of Igbomina into Ilorin emirate system implied integration of the people into the economic system that is long distant trade with the North. Products such as Yam, elubo, pepper, and guinea corn were farm products derived from Igbominaland and exchanged for products of both the North and the South at Ilorin markets. It was Igbomina products that gave Ilorin the credible appellation "garden of the North", the name it was given by European visitors and administrator because of its large production and supply of farm products. Ilorin imperial control had therefore exposed Igbomina people to long distant trade. This gave them greater economic opportunity and motivated increased productivity to satisfy market demand.

On the contrary agricultural production suffered incalculable damage as a result of disruption emanating from frequent warfare in the early days of the Jihad when things were unsettled. The use of forced labour to build the Emirs, Ajele and Babakekere houses and the planting and harvesting of Ajele's farm products, took many able-bodied Igbomina away from their legitimate work thereby reducing their productive capacity.

Insecurity of life and property scared people away from their farms and other productive ventures. Local industries such as black-smithing, soap production and cloth making suffered from the scare of war. People were forced to abandon their work in anticipation of war and those who would have engaged in economically productive ventures were engaged in the battle field. It should be noted that war was very frequent in those days in that Igbomina land served more or less as a battle field in the encounters between Ibadan and Ilorin and frequent incursion of the Nupe from the North.

Trade routes were often disrupted thereby causing scarcity of some trading items such as salt, which at a time was reportedly off the shelves in every Igbomina market. However, it was to the credit of Ilorin imperial administration that a credible administrative structure which fostered the growth of intergroup economic venture across linguistic boundaries was established by the emirate. Disruption to trade routes as a result of war notwithstanding, it was still possible for traders from the south and the north to visit Gambari market at Ilorin to

exchange their products for various merchandise. Ilorin market was reported to be bolstering with activities by various visiting explorers in the 19th century (Clarke, 1861).

The burden of taxation and extortion of tributes which weighed so heavily on the people, no doubt had a number of unexpected positive impacts. Before the British introduced a modern tax system in 1904, Igbomina people were already used to Islamic mode of taxation, which was not too different from the system brought by the colonial authority. No doubt the prior imposition of the Ilorin taxation system had prepared the people for the British system and therefore made the system less painful. The introduction of taxes did not meet with serious objection in Igbomina land as it was in other parts of the federation (Aba tax Riot). The anti-tax agitation of the 1930's in Oro was not against the introduction of taxes per se, but rather against arbitrary increase in tax rate without due consultation with the people and their leaders.

It was the introduction of taxes and the heavy punishment meted out to defaulters that induced many Igbomina to seek economic fortune elsewhere in order to raise money to pay tax for themselves and their relations. Such ventures took many of them to southern towns such as Lagos to engage in trading and Ibadan, Ife and Ilesa where most of them got actively involved in cocoa plantation farming. To this day an appreciable proportion of Igbomina population is still resident in these areas. The considerable economic advantage Igbomina people enjoyed today, relative to their various neighbours, would not have been possible but for the hardship heavy taxes placed on them which necessitated labour migration down south.

SOCIO-CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS IMPACT

Ilorin imperialism did not directly result in mass conversion of people to Islam despite the fact that the concept of a jihad in Islamic faith, which they were claiming to be prosecuting, enjoined adherents to engage in proselytisation as a matter of deliberate policy.

However, Ilorin jihadists were rather more interested in the economic and political gains that were accruing from their conquering efforts and therefore pursued this with greater vigour; so as the conquest was consummated and the conqueror settled to the reality of administrative activities, they lost sight of the imperativeness of proselytisation. Therefore many Igbomina who were converted to Islam were converted through itinerant preachers not connected with the imperial court at Ilorin. Even these individuals did so, not out of share piety, but for economic reasons. Most of them were out to sell such merchandise as charm and amulets to the people and preaching came only as a means to boost their economic activities.

However, in spite of the official indifference to evangelism, there is no doubt that the mass patronage, Islamic religion enjoys in Southern Igbomina towns today, is evident in the proportion of Christian to Muslim in some southern Igbomina towns such as Ajasse, Idofian, Igbaja, Ganmo, Omu-Aran and so forth, was as a direct result of their conquest and integration into Ilorin emirate system.

The preferential treatment usually meted out to converts in the scheme of things by the imperial authority, must have tempted a number of people to embrace the religion. Appointment into public office was contingent on adherence to Islam. Also the prestige associated with belonging to the same faith with the conqueror and the universal brotherhood of converts which the religion preached could not but attract an appreciable number of converts. The religion brought an enhanced social status to converts. Although the forcing of Igbomina Oba to accept and wear the turban instead of the traditional cap or crown does not necessarily imply conversion to Islam, it however succeeded in changing traditional office investiture of the people.

Many Igbomina traditional office holders were converted as a direct result of their friendship and association with the Emirs Court. An example was the case of Elese Abidolu of Igbaja who was said to have been converted as early as the 1830's due to his friendship with Alfa Alimi, the founder of Ilorin Emirate (Ekundayo, 1986).

The large number of Ilorin settler communities found in many parts of Igbomina land today are as a result of Ilorin imperial control imposed on Igbomina. Large number of such settlers could be found in and around Igbaja, Ganmo and Ajasse Ipo. They were known to have settled there since the 19th century for farming and grazing at a time when they had the assured protection of the imperial authority. Many others came in company of various emirate officials as agents and idlers with no productive economic venture in hand. Some are totally assimilated into Igbomina society today and are difficult to distinguish from the aboriginal population. This has affected the ethnic composition of Igbomina society today in that a considerable number of them could still trace their origin to Ilorin.

Through borrowing from these various groups of settler communities, cultural and linguistic syncretism between Igbomina and Ilorin has been noted in areas such as Igbaja, Ajasse, Amoyo and Idofian where large colonies of such settlers were created. As a result of the cumulative effect of official and unofficial influence direct and indirect, Islamic religion became a religion of the majority of the people and not an alien culture embraced by a few ruling elites. Some Igbomina communities such as Ganmo, Amoyo, Igbaja, Ajasse-Ipo, Idofian and Omupo have larger Muslim converts than all other religions combined.

The impact of the religion on the socio-cultural life of the people is tremendous. Islamic acculturation has influenced the tenets and observance associated with

such traditional ceremonies as birth, death and marriages. Muslim Mallam now presides over such ceremonies and Islamic tenets are strictly followed. Both Muslim and people of traditional faith now patronize Muslim names to the neglect of traditional names. Islamic education brought Arabic literacy into Igbomina land much earlier than any other form of education. Islamic centres of learning sprang up in various communities where there were appreciable Muslim converts.

Pilgrimage to Mecca has become part of the people's socio-religious life that today people will not mind expending their entire life savings on the opportunity to fulfill this aspect of the Islamic religious obligation. Pilgrimage brought the people in contact with the outside world and enriches their knowledge and understanding. It enhanced intergroup relations through friendship made in such a journey. Islamic mode of dressing was also introduced and adopted by a considerable proportion of population. The wearing of turban, Kaftan, and wearing of the veil by women and the Pudah institution has become a familiar sight today as a result of contact with Ilorin and Islam. Islamic architectural designs in house construction features not only in building of religious centres such as mosques but also in residential building owned by Muslims. Large and modern edifices erected as places of worship have sprang up in many Igbomina towns and villages, such as Omupo, Ajasse-Ipo, and Omu-Aran

Perhaps the most negative impact of Ilorin imperial rule is the enduring strained relationship between the people of Ilorin and Igbomina today. The memory of long years of pillaging raids and extortion has kept the peoples apart. An average Igbomina man looks on Ilorin with such distrust and hatred that the relationship is characterized by hatred and recrimination for past oppression.

However, as memory fades and time passes, and gradually the generation of Igbomina who lived under Ilorin imperial control passes away, stories of Ilorin excesses and oppression will become more or less a myth, difficult to believe by succeeding generations. Time will therefore heal the wound of past relationship.

The democratization of the political processes going on in the country has opened an opportunity for cooperation based on alliance of mutual interest. In politics there is no permanent friend or foes but rather permanent interests. Belonging to the same state as it were they cannot do without each other at least while dealing with the Federal Government or other external bodies.

Already it is gratifying to note that Igbomina and Ilorin are already looking forward towards a much more fruitful and promising relationship by belonging to the same political party under the present political dispensation. It was not so during the Second Republic and even the First Republic. The Igbomina of those years would not have wished to belong to the same political camp as Ilorin. The mood of the Igbomina was accurately summarized in a song by a Second Republic Politician Warning the Igbomina of the danger in friendship with

Ilorin.

"Igbomina o seru mo
Igbomina o seru mo
Ina esisi ki jomo leemeji
Igbomina oseru mo (Olawoyin, 1983).

Igbomina will no longer be enslaved for it is unwise to be twice fooled. Igbomina will no longer be a slave. This expresses the deep-seated distrust Igbomina people had for any form of alliance or closeness with Ilorin, ostensibly recalling the result of similar alliance said to have been contracted in the pre-colonial period.

CONCLUSION

The paper has highlighted the enduring consequences of the 1804 Fulani Jihad on the current political development in Kwara State as applies to a section of the indigenes of the state, the Igbomina. Wading through the torrents of political subservience in the pre-colonial, colonial and post colonial era, the Igbomina fortunes remain quite unchanged in spite of the rapid political changes and modernity being experienced in the land. The paper concludes that the current marginalization being suffered by the people in the politics of Kwara State was a consequence of their integration into the Ilorin Emirate System in the 19th Century.

However, Igbomina fear of association with Ilorin has to a great extent been justified by the events of the recent years which have kept bitter memories of past oppression alive. Since 1999 when the advent of the 4th Republic ushered in some modicum of democratic governance in Nigeria polity, a great number of such areas that have been under socio-polical dominance of conservative emirate authority have enjoyed some level of relative relief from oligarchy tyranny. The Igbomina experience has been completely different in that despite the era of democracy that Nigeria as a nation now enjoys, the level of marginalization and domination of its internal politics has been overwhelming. Perhaps arising from traditional form of relationship, Igbomina position in Kwara State politics has been relatively unimpressive when considered in proportion to its population strength. In terms of appointment into the public service and political offices and also allocation of state resources, there has been extreme compromise of its interest. Consequently, the subject of this paper is essentially to establish that the Fulani Jihad of 1804 have very deep impact on the modern day historical development in Kwara State. This has been adequately taken care of in the above discussion and it is the belief of this author that but for Jihad, the situation in Kwara State today would have been different.

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