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LAWRENCE KOLAWOLE ALO

**The 1941 Riot in Ilesa:
Antecedents, Nature and Resolution**

Abstract

The British occupied Yorubaland in 1893. This was mainly for economic reasons. The colonial system, however, affected the social and political institutions in Ilesa, as it did in the entire Yorubaland. Of particular interest to us in this paper is the riot of 1941 in Ilesa. A riot is a violent action against public order, which could involve a group of people depending on its nature. Riot, in most cases, involves violence. The concept is obviously broad and embraces a wide range of group conduct. This work takes a critical look at issues leading to the riot of 1941, its antecedents, nature and resolution. The Native Authority system, an adjunct of the Indirect Rule policy of the colonial administration worked to the advantage of the Owa and his senior chiefs, in conjunction with the staff of the Native Authority over and above what the junior chiefs could condone. For this reason, they became discontented and their grievances gravitated into a full-blown crisis in 1941.

Introduction

Ilesa was founded in the sixteenth century¹ and is situated midway between Oyo and Benin. It became politically strong after the seventeenth century and its location in the forest belt provided protection from external invasion. Ilesa also controlled an important or strategic

trade route connecting the coast and the Niger basin; from Osogbo to as far as Akure and the Ekiti areas.² Christian Missionary records bear testimony to the network of markets in and around Ilesa.³ Trading activities and war brought several immigrants to the town, particularly from places such as Ondo, Ekiti and the Igbomina areas of the north. These immigrant populations formed a significant part of the town's title lineages today.

The fortune of Ilesa was adversely affected by the internecine Yoruba wars of the nineteenth century. The wars ended in 1893 due to the peace agreement signed with the warriors by the British.⁴ The year 1893 was therefore a turning point in the history of Yorubaland. It marked the end of an epoch and the beginning of another.

The post 1893 years in Ilesa were marked by different forms of conflicts. True, the Yoruba wars had ended but the manner in which the British enforced peace during this period was itself a source of social, economic and political discontent. The presence of the British in Yorubaland was motivated by economic factors.⁵ This had a far-reaching impact on the colonial system of administration. To achieve their economic objectives, the colonial officers had to replace the traditional institution of governance in Yorubaland with a 'new' one. The British came up with the idea of administering the entire Yorubaland through an indirect system of rule. The British would have preferred to administer 'directly' but the reasons why they could not have done this had already been discussed.⁶

The *Native Council Ordinance* was promulgated for the purpose of the establishment of a new form of administration. With the introduction of indirect rule, several councils were started at different times all over Yorubaland starting from Ibadan in August 1897.⁷ By July 1898, another had been started in Oyo, which at first had five chiefs and eventually it became seven. In February 1900, a council for Ijesa-Ekiti area was established. This council sat at Oke-Imo, Ilesa. The Travelling Commissioner was the President of this council, while the Owa and some of his senior chiefs with about fifteen or sixteen traditional Ekiti kings. These councils performed essentially legislative, executive and

judicial functions.⁸ The councils were empowered to make rules on issues bordering on: trade, agriculture, road construction, administration of justice and sanitation.

The council for the Ijesa-Ekiti area was operating for a considerably large area. The extent that its jurisdiction covered tremendously rendered its activities very ineffective. For this reason, it became obvious that it would be necessary to establish more councils at the district, town and village levels. It was in the bid to achieve this policy and enhance the authority and prestige of the paramount chiefs that the Native Authority Ordinance was promulgated in 1900.⁹ The Native Councils Ordinance made provisions for the establishment of provincial, district, town and village councils. The governor was given the power to establish the councils, after he must have confirmed the desires of the principal chiefs and people of the province or district.¹⁰ With this ordinance, the Resident or the Travelling Commissioner was no longer part of the council nor presided over it. The Travelling Commissioner, by implication, only provided advisory assistance to the Owa of Ilesa.

By 1914, because of the deficiency of local administration particularly, the Native Authority Ordinance required revision. The revision brought about proper re-organisation of the Native Court.¹¹ More significantly, the Native Administration system was put on a stronger financial footing through the introduction of direct taxation. These changes were effected through the Native Court Ordinance (1914) and the Native Authority Ordinance (1916). At this time the Native Court Ordinance made provision for the establishment of four categories of courts thus: A, B, C and D. At Ilesa, there had already been established a Grade B native court with this new arrangement, the power and authority of the Owa was tremendously increased. It is against the background of the increase in the power and authority of Owa as other paramount chiefs during this period that the highhandedness of the Owa can be appreciated. The changes that the presence of the British introduced into Ilesa as from 1897 resulted into a riot in 1941.

Our main objective in this paper is to examine the causes, nature and resolution of the 1941 riot in Ilesa. The data for writing the paper was collected from oral and archival sources. Oral interviews were

conducted with titleholders in Ilesa. Archival materials or information related to the 1941 riots in Ilesa were garnered at the National Archives in Ibadan. The data gathered from oral and archival sources were synthesized with information from existing literature on the Ijesa people.

The paper reveals that the Native Council Ordinance, which empowered the British indirect rule policy, the Native Court and the Native Treasury Systems, dealt a decisive blow at the prestige and authority of the Owa of Ilesa. The role of the Owa under the new system at the beginning of British rule was largely minimal. Under normal circumstances, the Owa presided over the Native Courts. The District Officer (D.O.) could at anytime perform the same function if he so desired. He heard appeals and reviewed cases handled by the Owa.¹² Though the Native Treasury was located at the palace of Owa; the budget of the Native Authority (N.A.) Treasury was subject to the D.O.'s approval. He also supervised collection of taxes, charges for issuances of licenses and other sundry charges that formed the bulk of the N.A. funds. This was a new phase in Ijesa history. In the past, the Owa distributed the resources of the town between himself and his chief.¹³

Another major finding of this paper is that the Native Court, which replaced the traditional judicial machinery, was not devoid of problems. All these socio-political changes led to the 1941 riots. Peace was restored by reconstituting the Old *Ajo Ijesa*, which was a traditional council of Ijesa in Ilesa and its district communities.

Background

After 1914 the *Owa* was made the 'Sole Native Authority' of Ilesa. This tended to increase his power tremendously. He was expected to seek the advice of his chiefs before reaching any political decision on the town. With a view to controlling the new system, the Owa surrounded himself mainly with his close associates among the senior chiefs. This new arrangement worked in favour of the Owa, most especially in how economic resources were shared out. In pre-colonial Ilesa, the resources of Ilesa were shared between the Owa and all his chiefs, with the Owa

receiving the largest share.

Before the advent of the colonial system, the control of the resources of the town was in the hands of the Owa and a few senior chiefs. With the abolition of tolls and the establishment of formal courts, most of the chiefs ceased to benefit from the resources of the town. This became a great source of discontentment. Besides all these, Ilesa town was filled with several complaints against the N.A. Staff's venality.¹⁴ The insensitive attitude of the Owa to the grievances of the people gradually snow-baled into the 1941 riots. The people simply decided to take the laws into their hands.

The remote cause of this riot can be traced to the prevailing socio-political and economic circumstances in the town in the years preceding 1941. The Ilesa N.A. was fraught with corrupt practices. The stipends of a number of chiefs from the district communities were not paid. Forestry Guards and other N.A. staff levied the people all kinds of irregular charges that were not reflected in the N.A. records. Native Court Clerks and Judges collected bribes from parties to cases with impunity.¹⁵ Farmland ownership tussle became an important issue that was finding its way to the Native Court as title holders were using their influence and position to acquire land that were not theirs.¹⁶ Chief Lejoka Abiola was particularly unpopular for his abuse of office as a Native Court Judge. Complaints were leveled against him about his habit of not returning to divorced husband the dowries earlier paid by them on the women seeking divorce.¹⁷

The people of Ilesa and the District Communities particularly Osu, Ijamba, Ipetu-Jesa, Ijebu-Jesa and Odo to mention a few, were disgruntled about the prevailing situation in the town. Several letters were written to the D.O. about the high handedness of principal chiefs like Lejoka Abiola and Chief Loro. Their high handedness ranged from extortion and bribery to seizure of farmland from parties to cases that were brought before them at the native court. These letters did not yield any tangible result but they served as indication on the possibility of an explosion any time the people's patience could no longer bear what they were experiencing.

By 1939, the administration of Ilesa had become chaotic. *Owa* Aromalaran's old age and uncertain health compounded the ugly situation. He was unable to play his part as the main spring of the administration. Besides, there was mutual distrust between the chiefs in respect of who should be in charge of what in the town's administration.¹⁸ This situation provided opportunity for the disgruntled elements in the town and districts to organize themselves into formidable opposition against the N.A. of which the *Owa* was the main figure.

Members of the Ilesa branch of the Nigerian Youth Movement (N.Y.M.) and the *Egbe Omo Ibile Ijesa* (the Native Ijesa Sons) championed the civil disorder that later broke out in Ilesa. The N.Y.M. was formed in Ilesa in 1937 and it attracted a number of educated young men like E. A. Fajemisin, who was its secretary, Richard Ogendengbe, the chairman, Alhaji A.R.A. Smith, the vice-chairman. The position of the N.Y.M. on the situation in Ilesa was that the Ilesa Native Court System and the palace administration be reformed.¹⁹ To make the administration of the worth become more effective they proposed that about three senior Chiefs be assigned to sit and represent the *Owa* at the palace daily. This was to remove the complaints in the town and districts that the *Owa* was always inaccessible. The N.Y.M. also demanded that the Ilesa Council meeting be held quarterly, bringing the Ilesa Chiefs together with heads of the district communities and representatives of sectional interests within the community. As good as the demands and aspirations of the N.Y.M. were, the colonial government did not do any tangible thing about them.

The *Egbe Omo Ibile Ijesa*, which was founded in 1940, was the second main party to the riot of 1941. This association became an important springboard for public opinion at the time the socio-political situation in Ilesa was getting unbearable. The Ijesa needed a brave, courageous and firm leader at this time. These qualities they found in Mr. J.A. Fadugba who became the rallying figure of the *Egbe Omo Ibile Ijesa*. The Ijesa deferred to his "good judgement" on all matters. He was fairly elderly, considerably literate and commanded the confidence and support of the people.

The *Egbe Omo Ibile Ijesa* simply interpreted the decadent political development in Ilesa to be the handiwork of some saboteurs who did not want the community to develop. They therefore called for some sorts of political restructuring. They advocated for the removal of non-Ijesa from the service of the N.A. A marked feature of this period was the sharp discrimination against non-Ijesa elements in the society, particularly those that were in the employment of the Native Administration. Yet the colonial government insisted on the power to control and eliminate this anomaly. Though it seems to be a good stance but it went some way in heightening the tension in the Ijesa society.

They demanded in particular for the removal of the Treasurer and the Senior Tax Clerk. There were indeed genuine causes for disquiet by the *Egbe Omo Ibile Ijesa*, for there were ample evidence to prove the Treasurer's venality and corrupt practices.²⁰ The Treasurer, one S.B. Ige, with the cooperation of Josiah Alade, a Forest Guard, engaged in various fraudulent practices not only in connection with the people in Ilesa but also those from district villages.²¹

Available records show that Mr. S.B. Ige received some bottles of dry gin from one Alfred Fatunase of Ajido village for 'killing a young Iroko tree'.²² This was given to Mr. S.B. Ige to prevent legal steps being taken against Mr. Fatunase. Again, Mr. Josiah Alade, the Forest Guard received a sum of six pound from one Mr. Kereusi of Ita-Apa, a sawyer. The money was supposed to be the payment for a permit to fell trees but this permit was not given to him after all.²³ Also, in 1939, Mr. S.B. Ige received the sum of seven pounds from one Bakare, a sawyer for felling a tree and a receipt of three pound was issued to him.²⁴ These and many more were the sorts of complaints leveled against Mr. S.B. Ige, the N.A. Treasurer and the Forest Guards in the N.A. office.

The *Egbe Omo Ibile Ijesa* alleged wanton irregularities in the N.A. accounts and therefore demanded for an independent audit of the accounts. This request was granted and an accounting firm from Lagos: John Adebayo & Company was assigned to do the work. On the 15th December 1940, the Auditors submitted their report to the executive members of the *Egbe Omo Ibile Ijesa* who in turn submitted it to the

Owa for appropriate action. Unfortunately, the Owa declined to take any action on it. He asked that the report be submitted to the Resident. This heightened the tension that already existed in Ilesa.

The permission granted by the colonial government for an independent audit of the account books of the N.A. was perhaps an administrative error. It is possible for the administration to have felt that the permission could be a means of showing its transparency about financial administration. But evidences of loss or mis-appropriation of funds in colonial Western Nigeria is very replete. Hence, there could not have been a basis for any show of transparency. One would have expected the colonial government to do an in-house auditing of the N.A. accounts and take necessary steps in accordance with the existing civil service regulations. Even if it was obvious that the treasury funds had been mis-appropriated, the *Egbe Omo Ibile Ijesa* should not have been allowed to conduct a private auditing of N.A. accounts. This would have averted the trouble that the report of the auditors later generated.

The Riot

Tax collection began late in Ilesa and districts in 1940. Tax receipt books however did not arrive until the beginning of November, 1940.²⁵ By mid-December, very little tax had been collected. The slow rate of tax collection was largely due to the disaffection stirred up by the *Egbe Omo Ibile Ijesa*. Though the people did not at any time express any refusal to pay tax, their morale to pay was only low given the prevailing circumstances. In order to enhance the rate at which the payment of tax was coming in and to also force others to pay promptly, the Native Court was employed to prosecute all tax defaulters. Defaulters were fined between ten shillings to one pound. Prosecution of defaulters by the Native Court further discredited the N.A. and stirred up acrimony and rancour among the people.

The immediate factor responsible for the 1941 riot was an incident connected with tax collection. On 6th January, 1941, Mr. J.A. Fadugba came to the tax office where the Chiefs were gathered.²⁶ A number of

people were waiting to pay their tax while some others were complaining about the calamity that befell defaulters. A man, said to have been prosecuted, came to the tax office to report his ugly experience to Fadugba who remonstrated with the chiefs on his behalf. The chiefs were however not budged. This made Fadugba to instruct others who came to pay to stop paying.²⁷ Mr. Fadugba was reported to the D.O. who in turn ordered his immediate arrest.²⁸ The arrest of J.A. Fadugba sparked off the riot.

It was not surprising that the furry of the mob was directed particularly against Chief Lekoja Abiola and Chief Loro who themselves were symbols of usurpation, corruption and mis-direction, that pervaded the administration of the town. The matter was made worse by the fact that the D.O. at this time was stationed at Ile-Ife. The stationing of the Administrative Officer several kilometers away from Ilesa compounded the problem. Perhaps if the D.O. was situated in Ilesa, the trouble could have been nipped in the bud, for every plan for affray would have been easily checked by him.

The D.O. advised that Fadugba should be prosecuted and a Native Court warrant was issued against him. Mindful of Fadugba's popularity in Ilesa, the D.O. ordered that Fadugba be granted bail and that his case be transferred to the Magistrate Court at Ibadan.

Course of the Riot

The attack was launched by a mob of about three thousand people. They forcefully released Fadugba from Police Custody. They directed their attack at N.A. buildings and the houses of prominent Ijesa citizens in Ilesa.²⁹ The mob, which consisted of the younger folks of the town, were armed with machetes, Dane guns, sticks and shrub branches. The N.A. tax office was attacked and the clerk was driven out by stoning. The hostility then spread to the prison where all the prisoners were released.³⁰ The N.A. Treasurer's house was seriously damaged. As people from the Districts also came to Ilesa to join in the affray, the number of the mob increased rapidly. They proceeded around the town and went

to the meeting house of the Reformed Ogboni Fraternity (R.O.F.). The need to explain what the R.O.F. really was and stood for is very necessary at this point. It is against the background of the knowledge and essence of the R.O.F. that the role it played in the politics and eventual trouble that erupted in Ilesa during our period can be appreciated.

Ogboni was an old institution among the Yoruba but most powerful and prominent among the Egba and Ijebu. It started first in Lagos in 1868 before it later spread to other parts of Yorubland. Members of the Reformed Ogboni Fraternity were duty bound to one another in distress, to succour in adversity, against danger; and to assist under all circumstances without being plunged into unwarranted debt by the demands of members.²¹ Perhaps it was introduced to Ilesa by Chief J.D.E. Abiola, the *lekoja* to create a peculiar social elite that could influence the politics of the town to favour its members. It was believed among the people that it was the Reformed Ogboni fraternity that was spearheading the spate of trouble in Ilesa.

The Fraternity was believed to control the politics of the town and seemed to owe its members every necessary support required at any trouble period. Mr. S.B. Ige, the N.A. Treasurer, who defrauded the sawyer, was said to be a member of the R.O.F. and all his misdeeds within the N.A. were simply overlooked given the influence of Chief Lekoja in the R.O.F.²² The mob torched the R.O.F. building and burnt it to ashes. The reason for this is not difficult to explain. We have earlier noted that the R.O.F. played a major role in the spate of discontent in the town.

The crowd moved to the houses of Chief Adeniran, the son of Owa Aromolaran I, Chief *Lekoja* Abiola, Chief Longe and Chief Farinmade. Similar damage was done to the official residence of the Native Court Clerk. The damage in each case was total. After completing the destruction of the houses of chiefs, the mob moved to the palace and the council chamber. The intention of the mob was not to attack the Owa but the other chiefs who were taking refuge in the palace. Persuasion and force prevented the mob from entering the palace.

Despite the severity of the riot, no death was recorded. The police did their best to prevent any loss of life. The Superintendent of Police at Ibadan sent an Inspector of Police with about twenty men to Ilesa to prevent further breakdown of law and order. The Resident himself arrived Ilesa on 7th January. He tried to pacify the rioter and promised to investigate their grievances. The outbreak of riot in Ilesa was the result of the changes introduced to Ilesa by the colonial administration. Ilesa's experience was not peculiar after all. The Iseyin-Okeiho disturbance of 1916³³ and Aburi was of 1918³⁴ among the Egba were obvious results of the socio-political and economic changes that were introduced by the colonial administration in these parts of Nigeria.

Resolution of the Conflict

Those who participated in the riot were arrested and charged to court. Initially the case was taken to the Ilesa Native Court but it was transferred to the Magistrate Court at Ibadan. This was perhaps because the judges of the Ilesa Native Court were the principal opponents of the rioters. Besides, the crowd at Ilesa would not have allowed the case to be heard if the case was not transferred elsewhere. Secondly, the charges preferred against the rioters could only be heard in a Magistrate of High Court. Apart from the first charge of preventing the payment of tax (An offence contrary to Section 24 of the criminal code), Fadugba was charged for escaping from police custody. This second offence was punishable under Section 134(1)(b) and 135(b) of the criminal code. At the end of the trial, eighteen men, including Fadugba were jailed for one-year each.³⁵

One would have expected that after the culprits of the riots and Fadugba their ringleader had been imprisoned the trouble would come to an end. This was not the case since the grievances of the rioters represented that of the generality of the people. The whole town was in confusion and people were not satisfied about how the government resolved the conflict. To make the matter worse, the colonial government insisted that riot victims must be compensated. The Ilesa people were

not pleased with this development. They considered it a grave injustice for the principal actors of the riots to have been imprisoned, while compensation was being considered for the victims.

In order to restore peace to the town, prominent citizens of Ilesa formed a Peace Party. It consisted of members of the N.Y.M., the old *Egbe Atunluse* (Improvement Society) and representatives of various sections of the town. The Peace Party met the people of the various quarters and appealed to them for calm and reconciliation. Some administrative steps were also taken to restore peace. By mid-April, 1941, Mr. Cox was sent to replace Mr. N.E. Whiting as D.O.³⁶ His assignment in Ilesa was to look into the grievances of the people and devise a machinery of government which would be acceptable to the majority of the people.

In May, another meeting was convened at the instance of the Resident, Mr. W.F.M. White. The purpose of the meeting was to find ways of resolving the crisis in Ilesa. All the senior chiefs, the junior chiefs, heads of quarters, representatives of all the societies, including the *Egbe Omo Ibile Ijesa*, attended the meeting. At this meeting, the revival of the old *Ajo Ijesa*, the traditional council, was demanded by all the representatives of the people present.³⁷ The *Ajo Ijesa* consisted of the Owa and Senior chiefs who kept in constant touch with the people through the medium of quarter heads, most of whom were members of the two lines of junior chieftaincies known as the *Elegbaji* and *Omodeowa*. The chiefs believed that this institution was destroyed as a result of the establishment of the Native Court which deprived quarter heads and the *Ajo Ijesa* their judicial powers.

As soon as the government approved the restoration of the *Ajo Ijesa* peace and tranquility was restored to Ilesa and district communities. The Ilesa Native Authority Council (I.N.A.C.) was reorganized and allowed equal representation of chiefs and councillors.³⁸ The fear of the district communities was allayed because the reorganization adequately safeguarded their position and interests. The Native Courts' membership was revised and the *Elegbaji* and *Omodeowa* line of chiefs were also to sit as members in rotation, one from one line in each of the three sessions of Native Court in Ilesa.

This riot teaches the lesson that the people had their sanctions against the high-handedness and oppression of the state. The opportunity or the power of sanction that the people possess helps in checking the excesses of the political elites in every society. Again, the informal approach to conflict resolution, that of negotiation and reconciliation which was adopted in resolving the crisis of 1941 in Ilesa explains the need for the government of today, to redirect its policies and handle contemporary problems through dialogue and negotiation. One effective means of averting group action that could in most cases be violent is to create opportunities for the expression of grievances and provide a venue for negotiation and bargaining. Such bargaining and negotiation must necessarily be a continuous one. This is more important in a political entity like Nigeria, a federation. Every federating unit needs to agree to the basis of coming together and adopt a rationale for getting along. The spate of crises in Nigeria today, calls for a general talkshop like the old *Ajo Ijesa* where all the people groups that constitute the nation can express their views and negotiate their stay together for peace and harmony.

Notes

1. J.D.Y. Peel, *Ijesas and Nigerians: The Incorporation of a Yoruba Kingdom, 1890s-1970s*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983. p. 10.
2. N.A.I., CMS (Y) 177/5 - P.J. Meffre, "Towns Destroyed by Ibadan in the Ijesa Country."
3. *Ibid.* See also J.D.Y. Peel *Ijesas and Nigerians*, Chapter 1.
4. B.A. Awe "The Rise of Ibadan as A Yoruba Power in the 19th Century". Oxford D. Phil. Thesis, 1964 p. 103.
5. J.A. Atanda, *The New Oyo Empire: Indirect Rule and Change in Western Nigeria, 1894-1934*, London: Longman, 1973 pp 47-50.
6. *Ibid.*, pp 47-50.
7. J. A. Atanda, "Indirect Rule in Yorubaland", *Tarikh*, Vol 3, No. 3, 1970. pp 16-28. See also NAI, Oyo Prof 2/3, and C.25 Political Memoranda.
8. NAI, Iba Prof 2/6, The Resident Traveling Journal, 1897-1899.
9. NAI, CSO 1/3, Vol. VI.

10. J. A. Atanda, "Indirect Rule in Yorubaland," p. 19.
11. Native Court (Amendment) Ordinance, 1914. For a detailed discussion of the Operation of the Native Courts in colonial Yorubaland see, Lawrence Kolawole Alo, *The Native Courts in Ibadan, 190-1960*. M.A. Thesis University of Ibadan, 1995.
12. N.A.I., CSO 1/3, V. Dispatches to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated 11th Nov. 1901.
13. Interview with Chief Adefoye Adedeji, the *Risave* of Ilesa on 26th January, 1999.
14. N.A.I., Ile Div - 1/1/363 Vol. III, Riots in Ilesa.
15. O.A.U., Ile-Ife, Hezekiah Oluwasanmi Library, Fadugba papers (hereafter, Fadugba Papers).
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*
18. N.A.I., Ile Div 1/1, 363, Vol III, Riots in Ilesa
19. Fadugba paper.
20. N.A.I., Ile Div - 1/1/363 Vol. III, Riots in Ilesa. See also Ile Div. 1/1/813 *Egbe Omo Ibile Ilesa: Matters Affecting*.
21. Fadugba papers.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*
25. N.A.I. Oyo Prof. 1, 3065 Vol. I Riots in Ilesa.
26. N.A.I., Ile Div 1/1, 363, Vol III, Riots in Ilesa.
27. *Ibid.* See also Oyo Prof. 1, 3065 Vol. I Riots in Ilesa.
28. *Ibid.* Almost every one interviewed at Ilesa confirmed that it was Fadugba that instructed the people to stop paying tax.
29. *Ibid.* Confirmed by Chief Olabode Philips, the Ogboni of Ilesa interviewed on 29/1/99.
30. N.A.I. Oyo Prof. 1, 3065 Vol. I Riots in Ilesa: the Nigeria Police Commissioner to the Superintendent of Police, Oyo-Ondo Province, Ibadan, dated 11th Jan. 1941.
31. *Ibid.*
32. Millicent Douglas, "About the Ilesa Ogbonis," *The Nigerian Daily Times*, Feb., 25, 1941. See also Fadugba papers. O.A.U., Library, Ile-Ife.
33. N.A.I. Oyo Prof. 1, 3065 Riots in Ilesa.
34. J. A. Atanda, *The New Oyo Empire*, pp 47-50.
35. Adubi War of 1918.

36. *Ibid.*

37. Court Proceedings in Fadugba papers.

38. N.A.I. Oyo Prof. 1, 3065 Vol. II Riots in Ilesa: Disturbances at Ilesa, compensation. D.O. Ilesa to the Resident, Oyo Province, dated 16th Dec. 1941. See also in the same file entries for 8th Sept. 1941.

39. N.A.I., Ile Div. 1/1, 363. Vol. III Riots in Ilesa.