

# *Slavery on the Frontiers of Islam*



*Paul E. Lovejoy, Ed.*

**Chapter 3**  
**Ilorin as a Slaving and Slave-Trading**  
**Emirate**

**Ann O'Hear**

Ilorin, situated in northernmost Yorubaland, was the southwesternmost emirate in the Sokoto Caliphate. Its population, very largely Yoruba, included powerful Fulani and Hausa minorities.<sup>1</sup> Before the early nineteenth century, Ilorin appears to have been a small town, on the eastern rim of the Oyo Empire, apparently a base from which to watch the Igbomina to the east and the Nupe to the northeast. It came to prominence as the headquarters of Afonja, the general who rebelled against the empire and helped to bring about its fall. To assist him in his activities, Afonja invited to Ilorin a Fulani *malam*, Salih (often called simply Alimi), who attracted support from pastoral Fulani, Muslim slaves of northern origin, and Yoruba Muslims. The jihad manifested itself in Ilorin as a revolt of the northern slaves against the empire in 1817. Afonja was overthrown by the Fulani and their allies, and Ilorin was then incorporated as an emirate in the Sokoto Caliphate in 1823. The final destruction of the capital city of Oyo occurred in the early 1830s, with refugees streaming southward to escape the jihad.

Afonja inaugurated an expansionist period for Ilorin that continued under the early emirs. The aims of the new emirate were to destroy the Oyo Empire and to "dip the Koran in the sea."<sup>2</sup> By the end of the 1830s, Ilorin's advance into Yorubaland was checked, partly by the rising power of Ibadan, one of the centers founded by Oyo refugees, and partly by the ineffectiveness of the Ilorin cavalry in forested and otherwise inhospitable terrain. While direct conquest to the south was thwarted, Ilorin continued to pursue its expansionist aims on behalf of Islam, initially by a flanking movement through Igbomina and Ekiti (northeast Yoruba) and then by allying with first one and then another of the independent Yoruba powers in the hope of eventually weakening them all. On occasion, Ilorin cooperated with Ibadan, but essentially the two states were enemies, and their alliances were matters of expediency. After the middle of the century, Ibadan became more powerful than Ilorin, in part because of access to guns. Thereafter Ilorin's military strategy was as much defensive as aggressive, with the aim of retaining its sphere of influence in the savanna,<sup>3</sup> which it did with reasonable success.<sup>4</sup>

By the 1820s, Ilorin had taken over some of Oyo's role as a slave supplier, both by capturing people and by re-exporting slaves from further north.<sup>5</sup> As Robert Gavin has pointed out, Ilorin, like Oyo, was in a good position as an entrepôt ecologically and in its strategic location south of major Niger River crossings. The Ilorin government actively promoted its middleman role between north and south.<sup>6</sup> It provided a "wealth of interpretary and mediatory skills" for Hausa-speaking traders. Their quarter, Gambari (the Yoruba name for Hausa), was the location of "the lodging house keepers, the brokers, the dealers and the mallams who would see to their wants, direct them to buyers, provide finance as required, help find return cargoes and advise generally about the local environment."<sup>7</sup> The city rapidly became a major slave-trading center and by the middle of the nineteenth century Ilorin was reported to have the largest slave market in the region.<sup>8</sup>

Slaves were offered for sale in several of its markets, but especially in Gambari quarter.<sup>9</sup> There are a few reports of actual numbers of slaves on sale: 500-600 were observed at the end of the 1850s, "hundreds" some 20 years later, and 30, 50, and 100 on various occasions in 1893.<sup>10</sup> Of course, the most sought-after slaves, as elsewhere,<sup>11</sup> may have been sold outside the actual market place. This surmise is supported by the fact that the British observer Haddon-Smith saw only "old men, old women, middle-aged men and women, and children" when he visited the Gambari market in 1893,<sup>12</sup> whereas it was attractive girls, followed by boys and young men, who commanded the highest prices and were sold privately. Robert Campbell, in mid-century, noted "several small numbers exposed in different places throughout the town,"<sup>13</sup> and oral data reveal that they were sold in various compounds, including, it would seem, that of the Balogun Gambari (the title of the war leader who headed the Gambari quarter) himself.<sup>14</sup>

The slaves sold in Balogun Gambari's compound were no doubt a mixture of those brought in trade from the north and those captured by Ilorin itself. The slaves who were put on the market in Ilorin, following capture by its war chiefs and others, joined a trade which flowed overwhelmingly from north to south, a pattern revealed by Paul Lovejoy to apply in the central Sudan generally.<sup>15</sup> Even after the Atlantic trade from Lagos declined in the 1850s and died out entirely after annexation in 1861,<sup>16</sup> the north-south flow continued unabated. Yoruba demand appears to have sustained the trade on a substantial level.<sup>17</sup>

Much of the trade from the north flowed into Ilorin, via the Niger crossing at Rabba, especially from Kano. It seems likely that the majority of traders engaged in this trade were themselves from

the central Hausa emirates.<sup>18</sup> In the late 1850s, Rabba was described as the highway from Kano to Ilorin and the principal route to the coast.<sup>19</sup> As W.B. Baikie reported,

The number of slaves taken from...Nupe, down the Kwora [Niger] is very trifling, the greater part being conveyed by caravans to the Yoruba country, chiefly to Ilorin. These caravans are mostly from Kano, and they cross the Kwora at Rabba, at which place, during our stay there of a fortnight, we met 2 carrying slaves, horses, and ivory.<sup>20</sup>

Ilorin informants confirm the importance of Kano, "the headquarters of slave traders," as a mart for the purchase of slaves to be brought to Ilorin.<sup>21</sup> Slaves also came from Abuja and elsewhere. As Alhaji Hassan and Mallam Shuaibu Na'ibi contend,

the Chiefs went raiding the pagan villages to capture slaves.... [Then] rich merchants would take the slaves down into the Nufe [Nupe] or the Ilorin country and sell them there.... Sometimes the Nufe and Ilorin traders would come with their goods to Abuja and take back the slaves with them.<sup>22</sup>

Ilorin traders, including Yoruba, travelled north to buy slaves for resale as well. These Yoruba traders included weavers from Ilorin who sold their cloth as a means of acquiring slaves. As one descendant related,

My forefathers would sell their cloth to the Hausa area then buy their cotton.... Sometimes, after selling their cloth then they would buy slaves. Then they would bring the slaves home and put them together with the ones they themselves had captured in war. Then they would resell these slaves.<sup>23</sup>

By no means all of the slaves from the north passed through the Ilorin entrepôt, not even all those who entered the Atlantic trade through Lagos or other ports in the Bight of Benin. Some were moved through Borgu and Dahomey, or even via Asante, to Ouidah.<sup>24</sup> Other slaves entered the Biafran trade via the River Niger. But Ilorin was a major center, and its position was strengthened in later years by the decline of the Niger route<sup>25</sup> and the continuing, even increasing, demand from the Yoruba states directly to its south.

As well as dealing in slaves, Ilorin also produced them. Indeed, slaves were an important product of the process of undermining and eventually destroying the power of the Oyo Empire until the mid-1830s. Afonja is reported to have captured the inhabitants of various towns and

resettled them around Ilorin so as to make it into what it has become. The able-bodied men he enrolled among his soldiers, and several [*sic*] women and children he sold into slavery, in order to have wherewith [*sic*] to maintain and supply arms to his war boys.<sup>26</sup>

His campaigns targeted the immediate environs of Ilorin, and the Igbomina, Igbolo, and Epo areas.<sup>27</sup> From Ilorin, Afonja's Fulani and Hausa allies moved into the western part of the Oyo Empire and made Iseyin a base for raids in Ibarapa province.<sup>28</sup> In the reign of Emir Abdusalami, "many slaves" were said to have been taken during campaigns to the south of Omu, in Igbomina country.<sup>29</sup>

In the 1840s, slaves were captured during Ilorin raids on the Ekiti towns.<sup>30</sup> The town of Eruku was overrun by Ilorin forces, and "large numbers of the population were taken away and sold as slaves."<sup>31</sup> In 1858, Daniel May reported an Ilorin raid on a Yagba town in which "a party of people" were

attacked and carried off.... This is the occupation and mode of procedure of the army from Ilorin here, as of Ibadan and Nupe or any other power anywhere else on a marauding and slave-hunting expedition.<sup>32</sup>

May learned of this expedition while visiting Ejeba, a Yagba town under Nupe.

Eventually, Ilorin found itself faced with the growing power of Ibadan trying to re-establish itself in the southeast and with the quest for territory of the Nupe emirates in the northeast. In both cases, cooperation proved to be profitable in terms of slave acquisition. Samuel Johnson identified the Wokuti expedition of 1875-76, in which Ilorin forces joined those of Ibadan, as an "expedition for slave-hunting" in Ekiti, Yagba, and Akoko country. The Ilorin forces, he reported, "did very well for themselves in the pursuit" of the people of the town of Ikole.<sup>33</sup> Later still, Ilorin is said to have joined Etsu Maliki of Nupe (reigned 1882-95) and his successor, Abubakar, in "extensive slave-raiding of Kabba, Ebirra and Oworo lands."<sup>34</sup> War against Ibadan also provided slaving opportunities, as in 1860, when Ilorin formed an alliance with Ijaye and then engaged in "kidnapping in the Oyo farms."<sup>35</sup>

In the later years of the century, Ilorin's conflict with Ibadan centered on the prolonged siege of its rebellious vassal town of Offa. The long periods when Ilorin encamped in Offa's vicinity provided further opportunities for slave seizure through forays and kidnapping expeditions. At various times, Ilorin forces were reported to be "in

the habit of kidnapping the caravans between Offa and Erin,"<sup>36</sup> "despatching expeditions into the Ijesha country,"<sup>37</sup> and conducting "kidnapping expeditions in the Ogbomosho farms."<sup>38</sup> War captives were also taken from among the population of Offa itself. Nathaniel Popoola Olawoyin, for example, was captured and sold to a buyer in Abeokuta, and his mother and sister were taken to Ikirun. Other Offa people were "sold to wealthy people in Lagos."<sup>39</sup>

Ilorin took Offa in 1887. Ilorin and Ibadan continued to skirmish thereafter, and in 1889 Ibadan authorities complained that the Ilorin army was engaged in "treacherous acts" around the camp at Ikirun:

[W]e shall be ready against their surprises within our boundary, as five days ago they surprised Otau, a town near us, and took away 31 persons, and today they took away two persons near the walls of Ikirun.<sup>40</sup>

The Ilorin forces are said to have surprised the Ibadan army during a fire at the Ibadan camp at the end of 1890 and to have captured "about 120" of them.<sup>41</sup>

There is some question as to how far Ilorin maintained its success in capturing slaves. Its activities may have diminished in scale over time. As early as c.1838, for example, Ibadan defeated Ilorin at Oshogbo apparently curtailing the emirate's freedom of movement to the south.<sup>42</sup> For a time, Ilorin was still able to operate relatively undisturbed to the east, but its activities there were eventually limited by the ineffectiveness of cavalry in this mountainous, forested, and tsetse-ridden country.<sup>43</sup> Also, as Gavin points out, the extension of Nupe and Ibadan control in the east meant that Ilorin's access to the richest slaving areas "thenceforward depended upon either the weakness or the complicity" of these other powers<sup>44</sup> (though, as has been seen, this "complicity" could be very profitable). Gavin suggests that Ilorin's involvement in the Ekitiparapo war "brought as many losses as gains in...slaving terms,"<sup>45</sup> not least because, while in alliance with the Ekiti, Ilorin could hardly continue to raid as before. Slave capture was certainly important during the siege of Offa and Ilorin's subsequent skirmishes with Ibadan, but the events around Offa suggest that Ilorin's field of operations had shrunk into a relatively small area. However, while it is clear that the majority of Ilorin forces were occupied around Offa and the Ibadan camp, Ilorin's activities were by no means confined to this locality. Ilorin apparently joined the Nupe forces in raids far to the east, and in the 1890s was able to maintain *ajele* (resident representatives) in towns on the route to the east.<sup>46</sup> The Ilorin forces were reported, in 1894, to have "started on a kidnapping expedition" as far away as

"the Akoko country, distant about twenty days travel from Ilorin,"<sup>47</sup> likely aided by these *ajele*.

Considerable numbers of slaves, whether through capture or trade, stayed in Ilorin itself, or were settled in the countryside around Ilorin. Some were even returned to the north as tribute to Gwandu or Sokoto,<sup>48</sup> although, of course, some of these may have subsequently been re-exported south by the caliphate authorities. Many slaves from the north were sold to Ilorin buyers.<sup>49</sup> There is no way of ascertaining the number who stayed in Ilorin territory, but a 1912 report mentions "the enormous slave population which grew up under the Fulani,"<sup>50</sup> and a 1950s estimate suggests that up to half of the population in the metropolitan districts surrounding the city were of slave descent.<sup>51</sup> Ilorin informants agree that slaves were numerous, although whether slaves formed a majority of the population is disputed.<sup>52</sup> Large numbers of slaves in and around the city were employed in agriculture, and in a variety of other occupations, including military, industrial, and domestic work.<sup>53</sup>

In Ilorin, there was, broadly speaking, a preference for male over female slaves. Males were valued for their physical strength, especially on the farm, which was largely a male domain there as elsewhere in Yorubaland (in contrast to the case in many other areas). Males are generally said to have been more in demand than females and fetched higher prices (except in the case of a "beautiful female," destined undoubtedly for concubinage).<sup>54</sup> This preference for male slaves seems to have extended further south. The slaves of central Sudan origin who left the Bight of Benin for the Americas (perhaps 75,000 to 124,000 between 1800 and 1850, according to Lovejoy's estimate) were almost entirely males.<sup>55</sup> And, as Lovejoy further notes, male slaves from the central Sudan were also commonly found in southern Dahomey and Lagos in the 1850s.<sup>56</sup>

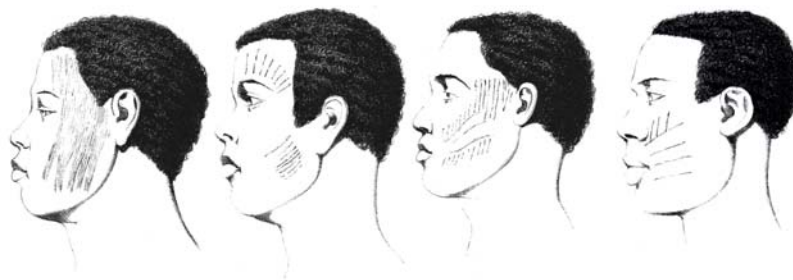
Despite the numbers of slaves who were absorbed into the Ilorin economy, large numbers continued their journey south to Ibadan, Abeokuta, Ijebu Ode, Lagos, and beyond.<sup>57</sup> Of these, many joined the Atlantic trade, until its demise. Sigismund Koelle's informants among liberated slaves in Sierra Leone (1850-53) provide anecdotal evidence of the Ilorin connection with the slave trade and the composition of the slave population which was "processed" through the city in the first half of the century. One of Koelle's "Yoruba" informants was Ogbaleye, who was born in "Ogo" (apparently Oyo), where he was kidnapped by the "Phula" (Fulani) when he was about twenty-five, that is in the early 1820s.<sup>58</sup> Another of Koelle's informants was a "Boko" from Wuene, who had been born in "Kaioma" (Kaiama) in Borgu,

where he lived till about his twenty-fifth year, when he had to join a war-expedition against Ilori, on which occasion he was taken by the Phula, who at once sold him to Yoruba, whence he was delivered to the Portuguese. He has been in Sierra Leone eight years, with four countrymen, who have all died.<sup>59</sup>

Koelle also interviewed Habu, who had been born in Kano and was captured during an expedition against Gobir when he was twenty. The Gobir army sold him to slave dealers who “at once carried [him] to the sea by way of Kadzina [Katsina], Zalia [Zaria], Nupe, Ilori, Dsebu [Ijebu], and Eko [Lagos],” apparently in about 1846. At about the same time, another man who had been enslaved near Katsina was taken through Ilorin to the coast along with eight other people also from Katsina emirate:

Mohamadu...[was] born in Berni Ndada, a small city...about half a-day's journey from Kadzina, where he lived till his sixth year, when he was removed by his parents to the Kadzina capital itself, where he grew up, and had been married two years, when he was kidnapped, whilst working on his farm, by some Phulas, who sold him to Gobur...where he remained for three years. After this he was brought to Damagaram in the Bornu country, where he remained eight years. He was then carried to the sea, by way of Raba and Ilori.<sup>60</sup>

#### IMAGES FROM CASTELNAU OF MUSLIMS FROM CENTRAL SUDAN



Francis de Castelnau, who interviewed slaves in Bahia in the late 1840s, provides further anecdotal evidence. Castelnau's informants included five Hausa slaves who were brought south through Ilorin.



One of these, born in Kano, was captured in an expedition against Borgu. Another, from Zaria, was captured while on campaign by a group identified as "Ayaguis (Nagos)," that is, Yoruba. A third, from Kano, was also taken during an expedition. The fourth had already been a slave; he was captured on a journey through Zamfara, "as a stranger." The fifth, a native of Zaria, perhaps born a slave, was sold to a merchant travelling to the coast.<sup>61</sup> All nine individuals were males.

Many other slaves must have ended their journey in southern Yorubaland, like the Offa captives referred to earlier. The nineteenth century in southern Yorubaland saw the rise of military city-states and of warrior-entrepreneurs engaging in large-scale production, not only to support their households, followings, and armies, but also to benefit from the newly introduced opportunities of "legitimate" trade at the coast. All this depended on slave labor.<sup>62</sup> As Baikie noted in 1862, the growth of legitimate trade in Yorubaland had led to "an increased demand and price for slaves."<sup>63</sup>

To meet the local and southern Yoruba demand, the trade in slaves to and through Ilorin continued to the end of the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth. Although the public slave markets in the city disappeared almost immediately after the British took effective control in 1900, slave dealing continued for some years, almost certainly longer than the colonial officers realized.<sup>64</sup> And slave acquisition by capture remained important to the city until the British take-over. Various examples of raiding activities in the 1890s have already been described. In the early to middle 1890s, slave seizures were linked with a major dispute between Emir Moma and his chiefs. Between 1897 and 1900 there was another period of escalated seizures, very likely related to the mass exodus of a large number of slaves from the city at the time of the Royal Niger Company Expedition of 1897 and to the general threat of further British intervention, during which the Ilorin elite would have felt the need to recoup their losses of slaves before it was too late.<sup>65</sup>

Ilorin was a major contributor to the process of acquisition and trade in slaves in the Nigerian hinterland in the nineteenth century. Many slaves were acquired by capture, and, despite various constraints, raiding and seizure continued on a significant scale right up to the turn of the century. Ilorin was also a major entrepôt in the trade of slaves brought south from the mart of Kano (especially) and elsewhere. Slaving and slave trading were clearly important for Ilorin itself and for the movement of slaves into the Atlantic trade until its end c.1860 and thereafter to meet southern Yoruba demand.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> C. S. Whitaker estimated that the Yoruba have always made up at least 90 percent of the Ilorin population (*The Politics of Tradition: Continuity and Change in Northern Nigeria, 1946-1966* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970], 123). In 1929, Ilorin Resident H. B. Hermon-Hodge wrote that "Ajikobi and Alanamu are definitely Yoruba wards, as are the Ibagan [*sic*] and Okaka sub-wards of the Gambari and Fulani wards respectively. The emir's ward and two of the sub-wards of the Fulani ward possess Fulani rulers, and three sub-wards of the Gambari ward a Hausa administration; but in none save Zongo and Karuma in the Gambari ward, essentially Hausa quarters, does any but the Yoruba predominate among the ordinary population" (*Gazetteer of Ilorin Province* [London, 1929], 272).

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Johnson, *The History of the Yorubas* (1921; reprint, Lagos, 1976), 288.

<sup>3</sup> For the argument that Ilorin's warfare had become basically defensive, see, e.g., the emir's argument, quoted in Johnson, *History of the Yorubas*, 517.

<sup>4</sup> For a fuller discussion see Ann O'Hear, *Power Relations in Nigeria: Ilorin Slaves and Their Successors* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1997), 21-22, and Robin Law, *The Oyo Empire c.1600-c.1836* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977), 246-48, 255-59, 278-99.

<sup>5</sup> Robin Law, *The Slave Coast of West Africa 1550-1750* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), 190-91; and Law, *Oyo Empire*, 227-28, 281.

<sup>6</sup> R. J. Gavin, "The Impact of Colonial Rule on the Ilorin Economy 1897-1930," *Centrepoin* (University of Ilorin) 1 (1977): 17-18.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 19-20.

<sup>8</sup> Its reputation as a center of trade lasted into the early years of colonial rule after 1900. Robert Campbell, *A Pilgrimage to My Motherland. An Account of a Journey among the Egbas and Yorubas of Central Africa in 1859-60* (London: W.J. Johnson, 1860), 62; M. R. Delany, *Official Report of the Niger Valley Exploring Party* (New York: T. Hamilton, 1861), 40; R. H. Stone, *In Afric's Forest and Jungle, or Six Years among the Yorubans* (New York: Revell, 1899), 156; Rhodes House, Oxford (hereafter cited as RH), Mss. Afr. s.958, Dwyer (P. M.), Extracts from Reports [on] Ilorin 1902-1908, Annual Report 1904; E. Adeniyi Oroge, "The Institution of Slavery in Yorubaland with Particular Reference to the Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., University of Birmingham, 1971), 366.

<sup>9</sup> Campbell (*Pilgrimage*, 62) says the Gambari market was almost entirely devoted to the sale of slaves. S.S. Farrow indicates that slaves were for sale only in the Gambari market; Church Missionary Society Archives (hereafter cited as CMS), G3 A2/0 1895, no. 36, Report of a Journey to Ilorin Undertaken by Rev. S. S. Farrow, Abeokuta, 13 November to 5 December 1893. However, G.B. Haddon-Smith refers to slaves being sold in both the Gambari and emir's markets (Foreign and Commonwealth Office Library, London, Interior Mission to Yorubaland 1893, Extracts from the Diary of

G. B. Haddon-Smith, Political Officer, 22 February 1893, and Notes on Ilorin).

<sup>10</sup> Campbell, *Pilgrimage*, 62; J. Milum, "Notes of a Journey from Lagos to Bida, etc. (1879-80)," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, n.s., 3 (1881): 36; Haddon-Smith, Diary, 22 February 1893; Gilbert T. Carter, *Despatch from Sir Gilbert T. Carter, Furnishing a General Report of the Lagos Expedition 1893* (London, 1893), 23; CMS G3 A2/0 1895, Report of Journey by Farrow.

<sup>11</sup> David Carl Tambo, "The Sokoto Caliphate Slave Trade in the Nineteenth Century," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 9 (1976); Beverly B. Mack, "Women and Slavery in Nineteenth-Century Hausaland," *Slavery and Abolition* 13 (1992): 98.

<sup>12</sup> Haddon-Smith, Diary, 22 February 1893.

<sup>13</sup> Campbell, *Pilgrimage*, 62.

<sup>14</sup> Interview by O. Adesiyun with Alfa Abdul Lasisi, Pakata, 14 July 1975 (Lovejoy Collection, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria), translation of tape 8; E. B. Bolaji/ S.T. Salami/ B. Elesin interviews, 1988 (organized by E. B. Bolaji, Kwara State Polytechnic, Ilorin); Musa Adewale Aremu, "The Life and Times of Balogun Abubakar Karara: The Balogun of Gambari between 1868-1891" (B. A. dissertation, History Department, University of Ilorin, 1986), 57.

<sup>15</sup> Paul E. Lovejoy, "The Central Sudan and the Atlantic Slave Trade," in *Paths toward the Past: African Historical Essays in Honor of Jan Vansina*, ed. Robert W. Harms et al. (Atlanta: African Studies Association Press, 1994), 345, 347, 350. For Lovejoy's definition of the "central Sudan," see 345.

<sup>16</sup> Kristin Mann, "Owners, Slaves and the Struggle for Labour in the Commercial Transition at Lagos," in *From Slave Trade to "Legitimate" Commerce*, ed. Robin Law (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 145.

<sup>17</sup> See the following for reports of the north-south flow, both before and after the end of the Atlantic trade: CMS CA 2/049/104, Rev. David Hinderer, Account of Ibadan, 23 October 1851; "Exploratory Tours in Yoruba," *Church Missionary Intelligencer* 7 (January 1856): 21, 22; CMS CA 2/085/265, Journal of Rev. Henry Townsend from March to September 1859, 25 Aug.; Public Record Office (hereafter cited as PRO), London, FO 84/1061, B. Campbell to Earl of Clarendon 6 March 1858, encl. F. H. Davis to Campbell 31 January 1858; CMS CA 1/069/13, Oyo Station, Journal Extracts of Geo. Meakin, October 1859 to March 1860, 31 October 1859; CMS CA 2/056/51, Rev. James Johnson, From Ibadan to Oyo and Ogbomosho, 18 May 1877; interview by Toyin Hassan with Alfa Raji, Singini Quarter, Ilorin, July/August 1981; RH Mss. Afr. s.958, Dwyer, Annual Report 1904. There was also some trade in slaves from Ilorin to the north; see CMS CA 2/066/88, Rev. A. C. Mann, Journal for the Quarter ending September 1855, 2 August.

<sup>18</sup> For Hausa involved in trade between Ilorin and Hausaland, see Ann O'Hear, "The Economic History of Ilorin in the Nineteenth and Twentieth

Centuries: The Rise and Decline of a Middleman Society" (Ph.D. diss., University of Birmingham, 1983), 62-63.

<sup>19</sup> Samuel Crowther and John Christopher Taylor, *The Gospel on the Banks of the Niger* (1859; reprint, London, 1968), 94, 95, 97; PRO FO 84/1062, W. B. Baikie to Earl of Malmesbury, 17 September 1858.

<sup>20</sup> PRO FO 84/1061, Baikie to Clarendon, 4 January 1858. By this time, the trade in slaves down the Niger was in decline; see n. 25 below.

<sup>21</sup> Adesiyun interview with Abdul Kareem, Singini Quarter, 9 July 1975, translation and transcript of tape 1; Salami interview with Magaji Adeyi, 20 October 1988.

<sup>22</sup> Alhaji Hassan and Mallam Shuaibu Na'ibi, *A Chronicle of Abuja*, rev. and enl. ed., trans. Frank Heath (Lagos: Frank Heath, 1962), 79.

<sup>23</sup> Adesiyun interview with Alfa Sheu, Alowa [Alawaye] Compound, 12 July 1975, translation of tape 6. See also Adesiyun interviews with Alfa Abdul Lasisi (transcript) and Alfa Salimonu, Pakata Isale Oja, 14 July 1975, translation of tape 10; Hassan interview with Alfa Raji.

<sup>24</sup> Lovejoy, "Central Sudan," 350; Law, *Oyo Empire*, 282 (on the 1820s); Robin Law and Paul E. Lovejoy "Borgu in the Atlantic Slave Trade," *African Economic History*, 27 (1999), 69-92.

<sup>25</sup> For the Biafran trade and its decline, see, e.g., Susan Martin, "Slaves, Igbo Women and Palm Oil in the Nineteenth Century," in *From Slave Trade to "Legitimate" Commerce*, 176. Heinrich Barth, who travelled widely in the northern part of the caliphate (but not further south), reported that the best slaves from the north were sent to Nupe, and from there down the Niger to be shipped overseas (*Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa* [London, 1857], 2: 132, 135). This seems, however, to have been somewhat out of date, since by the time of Barth's visit to the caliphate the Biafran trade was well into its decline.

<sup>26</sup> Johnson, *History of the Yorubas*, 200.

<sup>27</sup> Law, *Oyo Empire*, 278; Johnson, *History of the Yorubas*, 200, also 194, 197. The Epo province included the area around modern Oyo and the town of Iwo; see Law, *Oyo Empire*, 105.

<sup>28</sup> Law, *Oyo Empire*, 257.

<sup>29</sup> Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna (hereafter cited as NAK) SNP 7/13 4703/1912, Omu District - Offa Division - Assessment Report, Omu Report, June 1912 [by C. S. Burnett], para. 9; see same file for Omu-Isanlu District Assessment Report by V. F. Biscoe, 1912, para. 6.

<sup>30</sup> RH Mss. Afr. s.1210, C. W. Michie, Political Situation, Northern Provinces and History of Ilorin, Report on Local Government Reform in the Bala and Afon Districts of Ilorin Emirate, 1954, para. 11, pp. 114-15; NAK SNP 10/4 304p/1916, District Assessment Report Osi by G. O. Whitely, paras. 6, 7.

<sup>31</sup> NAK SNP 10/4 304p/1916, District Assessment Report Osi by G. O. Whitely, para. 10.

<sup>32</sup> Daniel J. May, "Journey in the Yoruba and Nupe Countries in 1858," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 30 (1860): 226.

<sup>33</sup> Johnson, *History of the Yorubas*, 403-4. For Akoko, see n. 47, below.

<sup>34</sup> L.A.K. Jimoh, *Ilorin: The Journey So Far* (Ilorin: Atoto Press, 1994), 167-68. Jimoh gives the dates of Etsu Maliki's reign as 1884-95, but Maliki's accession date was actually 1882. See Michael Mason, *The Foundations of the Bida Kingdom* (Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Press, 1981), 112-13. Jimoh does not give any source for the information that Ilorin joined Nupe in these raids. S. J. Hogben and A. H. M. Kirk-Greene, whose work Jimoh utilizes, do not mention Ilorin-Nupe cooperation. See *The Emirates of Northern Nigeria* (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), 300-301. Also see Kolapo in this volume.

<sup>35</sup> Johnson, *History of the Yorubas*, 338; J.F.A. Ajayi and Robert Smith, *Yoruba Warfare in the Nineteenth Century* (Ibadan: Cambridge University Press, in association with the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1971), 88-89.

<sup>36</sup> Johnson, *History of the Yorubas*, 564.

<sup>37</sup> A.F. Mockler-Ferryman, *Up the Niger* (London: J Philips & Son, 1892), 196.

<sup>38</sup> Johnson, *History of the Yorubas*, 605.

<sup>39</sup> Nathaniel Popoola Olawoyin was the grandfather of a prominent Offa politician; see J.S. Olawoyin, *My Political Reminiscences 1948-1983* (Ikeja: John West Publications, 1993), 10.

<sup>40</sup> PRO CO 879/33, African (West), no. 399 (printed), Lagos, Correspondence Respecting Native Affairs and Mr. Alvan Millson's Mission, Colonial Office, August 1891, no. 14, Ag. Gov. G.C. Denton to Lord Knutsford, Lagos, 28 January 1890, encl.: Ajayi Balogun and other authorities of Ibadan to Ag. Gov., Ikirun, 24 December 1889, 51.

<sup>41</sup> Jimoh, *Ilorin*, 129, quoting two articles in *Iwe Irohin Eko*, 17 January 1891. Since this was a Lagos publication, and thus anti-Ilorin, the number of alleged captives may have been exaggerated.

<sup>42</sup> Johnson, *History of the Yorubas*, 288. For the date of the battle of Oshogbo, see Robin Law, "The Chronology of the Yoruba Wars of the Early Nineteenth Century: A Reconstruction," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 5 (1970): 217, 218.

<sup>43</sup> S. A. Akintoye, *Revolution and Power Politics in Yorubaland, 1840-1893* (London: Longman, 1971), 35-36.

<sup>44</sup> Gavin, "Impact," 14-15.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>46</sup> *Nigeria Gazette (Extraordinary)*, Decision of H. E. the Governor, An Examination of the Claims for a Revision of the Boundary Between the Northern and Western Regions, 989, para.19; 992, para. 28; Appendix 3, 1004, para. 5. See also Akintoye, *Revolution and Power Politics*, 224.

<sup>47</sup> *Lagos Weekly Record*, 29 September 1894. Hogben and Kirk-Greene mention that Akoko "formed one of those unhappy districts alternately raided by Nupe, Ibadan, and Ilorin" (*Emirates*, 300). For the location and population of Akoko, see Daryll Forde, *The Yoruba-Speaking Peoples of South-Western Nigeria* (London: International African Institute, 1969), 4, 60.

<sup>48</sup> S. A. Balogun, "Gwandu Emirates in the Nineteenth Century with Special Reference to Political Relations: 1817-1903" (Ph.D. diss., University of Ibadan, 1971), 391-92; CMS CA 2/006/88, Mann, Journal for Quarter ending September 1855, 6 August.

<sup>49</sup> Adesiyun interviews with Abdul Kareem and Alfa Abdul Lasisi (translations); with Babankudi, Olukodo Compound, 11 July 1975, transcript of tape 4; and with Alfa Adelodun, Idi Igba Compound, 17 July 1975, transcript of tape 16; Elesin interview with anonymous informant 2. See also O'Hear, *Power Relations*, 39, for female slaves of northern origin in Ilorin as members of the *bori* cult, and 64-65, for the exodus of northern slaves from Ilorin after the Royal Niger Company attack in 1897. Many of those who left appear to have been from Hausaland; other slaves of northern origin who left, according to informants, included those who departed for Gwari, Nupe, Borno, and Borgu.

<sup>50</sup> NAK Ilorinprof 4 900/1912, Re-Assessment Report by Asst. Resident Lethem, Progress Report, para. 11.

<sup>51</sup> NAK Ilorinprof 17/1 NAC/30/c.1, Report on Local Government Reform in the Metropolitan Districts of Ilorin Emirate (excluding Bala and Afon), 26 April 1955, para. 14.

<sup>52</sup> Adesiyun interview with Alhaji Yahaya Kalu Olabintan, Olabintan Compound, 15 July 1975, translation of tape 11; Salami interview with Magaji Adeyi; Bolaji/Salami interview with Alhaji Yusuf Olore, 28 October 1988; Bolaji/Elesin interview with anonymous informant 1, 2 November 1988; Elesin interview with anonymous informant 2, 15 November 1988; Elesin interview with anonymous informant 3, 11 December 1988.

<sup>53</sup> O'Hear, *Power Relations*, chap. 2.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 27-28. On women's limited role in agriculture in Yorubaland generally, see also Robin Law, "'Legitimate' Trade and Gender Relations in Yorubaland and Dahomey," in *From Slave Trade to "Legitimate" Commerce*, 201-2.

<sup>55</sup> Lovejoy, "Central Sudan," 345, 356; Paul E. Lovejoy and David Richardson, "The Initial 'Crisis of Adaptation': The Impact of British Abolition on the Atlantic Slave Trade in West Africa, 1808-1820," in *From Slave Trade to "Legitimate" Commerce*, 40, 41

<sup>56</sup> Lovejoy, "Central Sudan," 357.

<sup>57</sup> See, e.g., references cited in O'Hear, *Power Relations*, 207-8, n. 56.

<sup>58</sup> Sigismund Wilhelm Koelle, *Polyglotta Africana*, reprint ed., with new introduction by P. E. H. Hair (Graz: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, 1963), 5. Koelle's "proper Yorubans" appears to refer to people from Oyo. Koelle's diacritical marks have been omitted from this quotation and those below. See Robin Law, "Ethnicity and Slavery: 'Lukumi' and 'Nago' as Ethnonyms in West Africa," *History in Africa* 24 (1997).

<sup>59</sup> Koelle, *Polyglotta*, 17. Koelle adds that "Kaioma is five days journey from Raba, four from Busa, and six from Niki, the Barba capital. The country of Boko is subject to Baarba, and extends north-east as far as Busa on the Koara, which is its chief town." For the people of Kaiama called "Bokoboro," see Hogben and Kirk-Greene, *Emirates*, 578. This individual

may have been enslaved in the Eleduwe War, in which Oyo and Bariba forces marched on Ilorin but were repulsed (tentatively dated to 1835-36; see Law, *Oyo Empire*, 295), although according to Koelle's information, he would have been captured around 1840.

<sup>60</sup> Koelle, *Polyglotta*, 17.

<sup>61</sup> Francis de Castelnau, *Renseignements sur l'Afrique centrale* (Paris: P. Bertrand, 1851), 10, 21-23, 26-28, 37-39, 41-42. For Castelnau and Koelle, see also Paul E. Lovejoy, "Background to Rebellion: The Origins of Muslim Slaves in Bahia," in *Unfree Labour in the Development of the Atlantic World*, ed. Paul E. Lovejoy and Nicholas Rogers (Ilford, UK: Frank Cass, 1994), 159. For the use of the term "Nago" as applied to Yoruba-speakers, see Law, "Ethnicity and Slavery."

<sup>62</sup> Toyin Falola, "Slavery and Pawnship in the Yoruba Economy of the Nineteenth Century," in Lovejoy and Rogers, *Unfree Labour*, 221-45.

<sup>63</sup> Quoted in Law, "'Legitimate' Trade and Gender Relations," 198 (and see 211, n. 16).

<sup>64</sup> *Colonial Reports Annual: Northern Nigeria, 1900-1913* (London, 1900-1914), bound volume 1900-1911, 10 (1900-1901), 402 (1905-1906), 629 (1907-1908); RH Mss. Afr. s.958, Dwyer, Annual Report 1904; RH Mss. Br. Emp., Lugard Papers, s.64, Ilorin Report, 115; Oroge, "Institution of Slavery," 366.

<sup>65</sup> See O'Hear, *Power Relations*, 63-68.