

1914 History of Lagos

John B. Losi

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EDITED TO PRINT 2026

with

1979 Origin and Birth of Lagos State

Senator Sikiru A. Shitta-Bey, OFR

LL.B. HONS. (LOND.), B.L.

FIRST PUBLISHED 1979

MAYBAO ENTERPRISES, LAGOS

SPECIMEN PREVIEW

For Şita

EDITED BY HAKIMI ŞITA

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1914 History of Lagos

by John B. Losi

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This 2026 publication restores the 1914 English text to print for a new generation, with updated archive and editor notes. Losi's historical text is preserved for this edition.

1979 Origin and Birth of Lagos State

by Senator Sikiru A. Shitta-Bey, OFR
LL.B. Hons. (Lond.), B.L.

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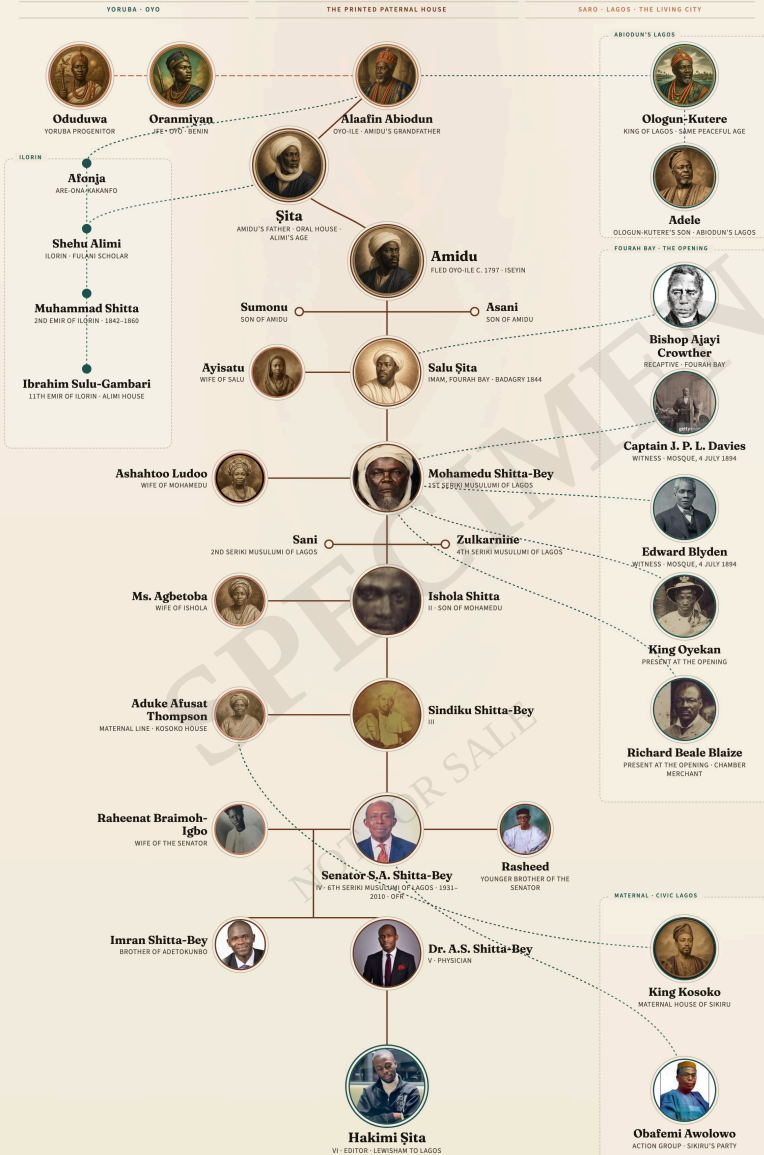
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The House of Šita

Editor's lineage — the printed house, the older house, and the city it came home among



Salu after J. B. Lusi and the published Saro-Badagry record. Amidu after Professor Siyan Oyeweso, *Across Three Centuries: The Life and Legacies of Mohammed Shitta-Bey (1824-1895)*. Abiodun is Amidu's grandfather; Šita here names Amidu's father in the oral house — not a name fixed in the printed English life. Side figures stand where the house stood — Freetown, Fourah Bay, Ilorin, Isele Eko — not as a single pedigree.

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1914 · J. B. LOSI

Author's Preface

FRONT MATTER



From the original History of Lagos — Tika-Tore Press, Lagos, 1914.

*The young man may not have witnessed
the events, still he can act on the
information of others.*

This English edition owes its existence to the request made by certain classes of men who could not read Yoruba, and yet are anxious to know the history of Lagos. As I was much gratified at the acceptance by the public of the Yoruba issue I was encouraged to undertake the

translation of it into English, and fresh informations have been added. I have endeavoured to make this information as concise as possible.

It is nearly seven years since the desire first came to me of writing a small history of Lagos but when considering all the troubles and tediousness which such a work would necessarily involve, I almost despaired of ever putting my idea into execution.

In the year 1910, Reverend Father F.J. Weiss, Manager of the Roman Catholic Schools, being interested in the history of our native land, exhorted me to compile a short history of Lagos in pamphlet form for the use of the schools, and also for those who desire to know the history of Lagos. I therefore hope this history will be to the benefit of our country. When I began this work I had grave fears that it would not be possible for me to collect sufficient data to enable it to merit the name of "a history of Lagos." However I recollected a Yoruba proverb which says, "the young man may not have witnessed the events, still he can act on the information of others."

To obtain some unauthenticated facts I had to approach the aged. I endeavoured to make a compilation of the chronological events recorded in this history with the aid of the Almanac of the late Honourable J. A. Otunba Payne.

It would be ingratitude on my part if I did not express my thanks to those who so kindly furnished me with many important facts and events, though many of them

preferred that their names shouldn't be mentioned in this paper. However I am greatly indebted to them all.

ARCHIVE NOTE

Losi wrote this preface for the first English edition at the request of readers who could not read Yoruba. Even here, at the threshold, the printed English book confesses that another life of this history came before it: an earlier Yoruba issue, already accepted by its first public, already circulating strongly enough to call forth translation.

The materials now in this repository prove that the Yoruba issue preceded 1914, but they do not yet prove its exact publication year beyond dispute. For that reason we do not force a date onto the page that the archive has not conclusively earned.

Our part is not to improve Losi's voice, nor to modernize his witness into something easier, flatter, or more forgetful. Our duty is to keep the line of transmission intact: Yoruba before English, family memory beside printed record, inheritance beside publication.

So this note stands as the first sign of the house tradition guiding the edition. Losi speaks in the center. Around him, the descendants keep watch over what was printed, what survived, and what must never again be allowed to disappear.

— *Raheenat Braimoh-Igbo*

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The Early Lagosians

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The Former Condition of Lagos

THE CHRONICLE



Lagos as swamp, lake, and landing place for fishermen.

Iga Idunganran — the Pepper Palace — on Aromire's farm.

It is necessary to know a little about Lagos, such as it was in the olden times; a bush full of swamps and lakes. In reality it might be called a landing place for fishermen who came here from time to time, but who afterwards began to

cultivate the soil and form farms. The Egbados and the Aworis often met at Ido Wharf for the purpose of marketing.

During that period, there lived a man called Ọlọfin, who was a chief. He was powerful and brave; and had thirty-two sons, the eldest of them called Olumegbon. Among these sons we find the chiefs commonly called in these days “White-Cap-Chiefs.” The Island of Lagos was divided among ten of his sons. The first of these sons, who came and took possession of the land, was one called Aromire, who used to fish at Ebute-Ero, and after fishing, rested there for a short time, before retiring to his home on Ido Island.

In due course he built a camp in this place, and brought over his people, and they dwelt together. After a short time he informed his two brothers, Onitona and Onitolọ who were very friendly with him, how he was managing to cultivate some vegetables there; and requested them to come and take possession of the land, should they so desire; thus, Onitona came and took possession of Idumota Wharf for his resting place and Onitolọ took possession of Tolo Wharf.

Some time after, both of them did like Aromire and built camps on their lands. The inhabitants of Isale-Eko dwelt on Aromire’s farm, where he planted vegetables such as herbs, pepper, and various other kinds. On account of this, the people called the present King’s palace, “Iga-

Idunganran”, “the Pepper Palace”, “Idun”, means “house”, “Iganran” means the “Pepper” because it is the site of Aromirẹ’s pepper farm.

After this the rest of the Ọlọfin's sons took possession of various lands and built new dwellings, the Oniru at Iru, the Onikoyi at Ikoyi and so on with the rest who similarly settled.

It was the practice with the Ijẹbus to fish at Idumagbo Wharf, after some time they moved to the site which is at present known as Erelu's tomb; and the people continued to increase in number and occupied the site from Idumagbo to Tọlọ.

The story is told of a woman named Aina, who was very rich. This woman on account of her riches was falsely accused of witchcraft and was therefore requested to leave the town. In the course of the dispute one of her pet animals was killed by some of the Chieftain's men. This woman was very much enraged and went, and lodged a complaint to the Ọlọfin. She complained bitterly of the action of the Ọlọfin's people.

The reply received from the Ọlọfin was a sarcastic one, i.e. “If your goat has been killed by some of my people what do you want me to do?” On receiving such a reply from the Ọlọfin, the woman became hysterical and left the town and went to complain to the King of Benin and implored the king’s aid to avenge the wrongs that had been done to her.

The king after listening to her story promised to extend help to her.

The king of Benin thereupon sent some of his men to Ido Island to make enquiries about the story that had been related to him by the woman Aina.

The king's messengers left Benin City in canoes, and when they got near Ido Island they perceived from afar off fishing stakes on which were hung fishing baskets and they took these for the men who were getting ready to fight them and they at once returned in their canoes to report to the king of Benin that the men of Ido Island were prepared to attack them and that they were strongly armed.



Messengers from Benin — and the fishing baskets mistaken for warriors.

The king thereupon re-inforced them and added to their number, three captains of war, namely:—Aşeru, Akigbida and Ȯlorungbiwa. The men again started for Ido Island.

They landed at Ebute-Ero, and afterwards went to Ido Island, and met the Ọlọfin and his people who on seeing them attacked them and repulsed them. The Benins returned to the king and related their losses. The king, thereupon again sent them re-inforcement; but they were again defeated. From this time they continued periodical attacks on the Ọlọfin, and were always repelled.

At last the Ọlọfin's wife whose name is Ajaye revealed to her husband's enemies wherein lay the Ọlọfin's strength. Before revealing the secret she was promised coral beads and so forth.



Ajaye — and the Abyss that still binds oaths at Ido.

The Benins now overcame the army of the Ọlọfin and took him captive to Benin City. At Benin, the Ọlọfin was kept in a building built without any entrance, surrounded with high walls, in order that he might die of starvation. After three days it was found that nothing had happened to the

Ọlọfin. On the contrary since the time that he had been incarcerated in this building, every night noises were heard within the building as if they were of people in a public market place. When the news reached the king that the Ọlọfin was still alive, he commanded him to be brought out and set free; afterwards he was sent back to Ido.

Before leaving Benin City it was reported to him that his fall was brought about by his wife Ajaye betraying him. Therefore as soon as he landed at Ido and saw his wife, he at once ordered her head to be cut off.

The story is told that although Ajaye's head had been cut off, yet, she still moved about headless. She was looked upon with very great astonishment.

One day a friend of the Ọlọfin named Alaworo paid a visit to him and saw the headless body of Ajaye moving about, and on enquiry, was informed by the people of the cause. It was a great wonder to him, he then, (by the power of his charm) commanded the body to rush into the lagoon and the body fell into it. Henceforward no one ever saw the headless body of Ajaye; and the depth of the sea, where she drowned herself is called the "Abyss of Ajaye."

On this account it has been a general practice for anyone who has to take an oath at Ido Island to say "If I be guilty of such and such a crime may I die in the Abyss of Ajaye."

In the meantime, there was also a man who lived at Ido Island, who was a blacksmith named Ogunjasa. On the capture of the Ọlọfin and his subsequent transportation to

Benin City, he was filled with such great sorrow, that he plunged himself into the depth of the sea called the "Abyss of Ogunjasa" from that time henceforth no blacksmith worked at Ido Island, until the advent of the British Government.

After his return to Ido, the Ọlọfin lived for many years but also suffered the same fate by drowning himself in the Abyss of Ajaye.

The history of the two people who perished in the watery abyss, convinces me that they were very powerful men at Ido Island in those days. The people considered them so powerful that they worshipped them after their death as gods.

Aṣẹru one of the three captains who had been sent by the king of Benin to fight the Ọlọfin remained in possession of Ido Island after the capture of the Ọlọfin, and carried on war with the neighbouring towns. He went and fought with the Aworis and conquered them. He proceeded as far as Iṣẹri, and there he died.

The people of Iṣẹri did not like his body to remain with them; knowing that he was the great ambassador of the king of Benin. Aṣipa therefore conveyed the body of Aṣẹru to Benin City and brought it before the king. He was received with great glee for his noble deed.

On this account he was rewarded by the king, by being decorated with the title of Head Wharf-Chief over his warriors at Ido Island. He was given men to assist him in

carrying on his duties as governor of the town. He received the Royal Drum (Gbedu) which is the one usually beaten only by the kings of Lagos. All the descendants of Aşipa are called the kings of Lagos to this date; as the attached list will show.



Aşipa receives the royal drum — the line of Lagos kings begins.

ARCHIVE NOTE

The Gbedu is not a present. It is the drum beaten only by the kings of Lagos. What Aşipa received at Benin was the office itself: Head Wharf-Chief at Ido, men to govern the town, and this instrument reserved for the throne.

Losi is careful to say that Aşipa's descendants are still called the kings of Lagos. The genealogical index that follows is the attached list he promised — the line this book then walks, reign by reign.

— *Hakimi Şita*

Genealogical Index

REFERENCE

LINEAGE

- | | |
|----|---|
| 1 | Aşıpa was the father of Ado |
| 2 | Ado was the father of Gabaro, Akinşemöyın and Erelu. |
| 3 | Gabaro was the father of Eletu Ơmơ |
| 4 | Akinşemöyın was the father of Onisiwo, Oniru, Akiogun and şadeko. |
| 5 | Laogba who was the husband of Erelu, was the father of Ologunkutere and Erelu the mother of şoroko. |
| 6 | Ologunkutere was the father of Ơşınlokun, Adele and Akintoye. |
| 7 | Adele was the father of Oluwơle. |
| 8 | Ơşınlokun was the father of Idewu Ojulari and Kosỏkỏ. |
| 9 | Idewu Ojulari had no son. |
| 10 | Oluwơle had no son. |
| 11 | Akitoye was the father of Dosunmu, Asi, the mother of Ajose. |
| 12 | Kosỏkỏ was the father of Odunsi, Olojo, Charles, and John. |
| 13 | Dosunmu was the father of Oyekan, Eşugbayi Eleko, Abioye, Akiloye, Omơyơle and others. |

The Reigning Kings of Lagos

NAMES.	(CIRCA)	DATES.
1. Ado.	—	1630
2. Gabaro.	—	1669
3. Akinşemọyin.	—	1704
4. Ologun Kutere.	—	1749
5. Adele.	—	1775
6. Ọşinlokun.	—	1780
7. Idewu Ojulari.	—	1819
8. Oluwole.	—	1834
9. Akitoye.	—	1841
10. Kosọkọ.	—	1845
11. Dosunmu.	—	1853
12. Oyekan.	—	1885

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White-Cap Chiefs of Lagos

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White-Cap Chiefs of Lagos

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A.D. 1630

Ado A.D. 1630

THE KINGS OF LAGOS



Ado — named for whom the island of Ido was called.

The island of Ido was derived from the name Ado.

There are no documents of the present monarch. Yet, we learn that after the death of Aşipa, one of his sons Ado became King. It was on this account that the name "Ido" derived from "Ado" was given to the island of Ido.

Formerly, the Island was known and called the house of the Ọlọfin. After he became King, Ado followed in the footsteps of his father—and exacted tributes from his subjects for the King of Benin.

Often he would send his messengers to harass and oppress the sons of the Ọlọfin who at that time resided in Lagos.



Ado's messengers harass the children of the Ọlọfin.

When these children grew tired of the oppression, they resolved to have a place of meeting where they might consult and exchange views together; in this way they built a house on the Aromire's pepper farm which they called the meeting hall. Still the messengers of the King continued to harass them. And at last Ado resolved to leave Ido and carry the seat of his government to Lagos; but before he could accomplish his design he died.

A.D. 1669

Gabaro A.D. 1669

THE KINGS OF LAGOS



Gabaro — crowned successor after Ado's reign.

After the death of Ado, Gabaro succeeded to the throne.

Very little is known as regards this King, because all those who were well acquainted with his history and the events of his reign are dead. But still we hear that after the death of King Ado, he succeeded him on the throne, and that he began his reign about the year A.D. 1669.

After his accession, Gabaro, by influencing the children of the Qlofin, succeeded in moving the seat of government from Ido Island to Lagos Island and settled in the meeting hall which is now known as the Palace of Idunganran.



The seat of government moves from Ido to Lagos.

This monarch also induced his subjects to pay yearly tributes to the King of Benin City; he gave the children of the Qlofin absolute power and authority over their lands, and these are called the “Idejos,” or “land owners.” He also made them Chiefs; and white caps are the distinguishing marks of their office. The Chiefs who came from Benin City wore silk hats, but, in order that there might be uniformity in their dress they adopted the white-caps used by the Lagos Chiefs.



Yearly tribute to the King of Benin.

In this way, there existed a similarity in many of the uniforms of the chiefs of this country and those of Benin City.

One of the chief characters of this reign was Akinsemoyin, a brother of the King. He was a very obstinate man and was remarkable for his tyranny; the King (his brother) called him and warned him of his conduct but he would not listen, he therefore, accused him before his Chiefs, in the hope that they might reprove him; they did so, but their efforts were to no purpose and Akinsemoyin continued his wicked conduct. At last he was banished and fled to Apa. The King of Apa received him kindly in his country as they were friends.

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Akinsemoyin A.D. 1704

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A.D. 1749

Ologun-Kutere A.D. 1749

THE KINGS OF LAGOS



Ologun-Kutere — palm kernels, beans, and the white traders.

*Trade flourished — beans, palm-oil, and
palm-kernels in exchange with white
traders.*

We are told that this King was a good King and reigned well over his people. He was proclaimed King of Lagos after the death of King Akinşemọyin about the year A.D. 1749. His reign was as peaceful and prosperous as was the reign of King Abiodun of Oyo, who was also his contemporary.

During this reign, friendship was established between the Lagos people and the Ijẹbus. The Portuguese traders were introduced to the Ijẹbus, and trade flourished.

The Ijẹbus were in the habit of bringing their produce to Lagos for sale, and foodstuffs became plentiful. The important produce: Beans, Palm-Oil, and Palm-Kernels flourished. These products were sold to the white traders in exchange for spirits, tobacco, and various other articles.

During this reign, a quarrel arose between Lagos and Ido people, because the Ido people refused to pay their tributes to the King. A messenger was sent to Benin City to inform the King of the attitude taken by them. During the quarrel the Ido people were conquered and were forced to continue to pay tribute to the King of Lagos.

The Kings of Badagry viewed with great awe and respect the Kings of Lagos, so much so that it was thought that Badagry was brought under Lagos by conquest, because the Kings of Badagry would not do anything without first obtaining the consent of the Lagos king.



Beans, palm-oil, and kernels — the trade that built Lagos.

When the King of Lagos heard of the threatened invasion of Badagry by the Dahomeans, he sent presents to the King of Dahomey and begged him to spare the country for his sake because the King of Badagry was his very good friend.

The following were presents he sent:- one hundred slaves, one hundred kegs of powder, one hundred pieces of cloths, one hundred bags of cowries, one hundred demi-johns of rum, and one hundred rolls of tobacco.



Presents to Dahomey — a king who spared
Badagry.

When the King of Dahomey heard of the very valuable presents sent to him by the King Ologun Kutere, his wrath became quelled, and he gave up fighting the Badagrians, and spared them.

This King was known as a kind-hearted, and philanthropic man. He had many children who were like him in all things. He loved his Chiefs very much. It was he who established the hereditary titles of the Chiefs of Lagos.

A.D. 1775

Adele A.D. 1775

THE KINGS OF LAGOS



Adele — exile at Badagry with his aged mother.

*A peaceful and prosperous reign —
contemporary with Abiodun of Oyo.*

We are told by historians that after the death of King Ologun-Kutere, he was succeeded by Adele on the throne. Prince Ọsinlokun was the rightful heir; but the elders followed their own way in this instance.

Adele was the favourite of his father and was much beloved because he served him, and took care of his property during his life time.

Every five days when the Ifa priests came to sacrifice to Ifa for his father, Adele was to arrange the Ifa altar before their arrival.



Adele at the Ifa sacrifice — learning the arts of rule.

When they began the divination he paid attention and listened attentively; by doing so he became master of the Ifa divination. From his youth, Adele had been accustomed to be always with his father; and whenever his father received visitors, Adele always acted as the interpreter to the King.

In this way, he became very popular among his father's children and so much so that all the chiefs loved him, and this is the reason why he was made King.

When he ascended the throne, he had all the thoughts and manners of the elders; acting as King during the day he would disguise himself during the night and visit each of his chiefs, would play with them and he would even discuss with them on matters which affected their hearts; and as he continued to do this, the elders took notice of his good conduct. But as our grand fathers had belief in olden times, that if a King lived long and reigned for many years before he dies; the life of his successor would be short; following this idea the elders wished to make sacrifice of Adele for Oṣinlokun.

But on account of their love for Adele they did not concern themselves much about Adele's succession, and so the latter was able to continue his reign. Adele reigned many years and governed well for he surpassed the chiefs and would give money and other gifts; and this conduct induced all the chiefs to love him, and he became very important.

But when Oṣinlokun proceeded to Ebute Iga near Ikorodu to worship his mother's fetish, Adele who did not desire that Oṣinlokun should usurp his throne waged war against him. A war commenced between them in which the Ijebu's assisted Oṣinlokun, and defeated Adele.

After some time, the Chiefs began to grow tired of Adele, because he had changed his mode of government.

Meanwhile, Oṣinlokun came back to Lagos. The King attempted to take his father's remains to be buried at Benin City (according to the old customs); Oṣinlokun secretly

sent a message to the Iwere people, by the way of Ijọ country, that they should fight and take the corpse from Adele, and by all means he should not be allowed to enter Benin City.

When Adele and his attendants with the corpse reached the above mentioned place, the Ijọs fought desperately with them; and had it not been for the tact and bravery of the old Aṣogbọn, the King's War Captain, the Ijọs would have taken the corpse from them.

After the fight, the elders investigated the matter from the Ijọs who informed them to take the corpse, as the Ijọs did not understand Lagos language mistook the name Ọṣinlokun and the Lagos people misunderstood it to mean ṣoroko.

On the arrival of the King Adele, and his attendants at Lagos, a mass meeting was held at Emu-Owa to which ṣoroko of Iga Iduntafa was summoned.



Badagry — refuge for the kings of Lagos.

When he got to the meeting, he was accused of being a traitor by the elders; they informed him that the King had received his message on his way to Benin City: he was suspected of being the instigator of the Ijòs to fight the King and to prevent him from proceeding to Benin City. They decided that he should leave the town.

şoroko denied having any thing to do with the matter and to prove his innocence, he swore bitterly, but he was not believed. Seeing that the elders insisted on his leaving the town, şoroko said, "A needle goes not twice into the fire; And spittle once out of the mouth gets no more thither;" meaning that the false accusation that had been laid on him can never be effaced.

During the course of the dispute there arose a civil war, in which şoroko's first son named Odunran was killed. şoroko then resolved to leave the town. When he was about to leave, he took with him his Osu god (the god of iron) and directed his steps to the borders of the Lagoon; pointing the Osu god to the four corners of the earth; and finally standing in the direction of the sea, he invoked the god of water in the following words; "Thou, oh sea! If I am guilty of this charge let me not travel through thee safely; but if otherwise prepare a dry passage for me through thee, oh mighty god of ocean!" And immediately the sea divided; and gave him dry passage to Ijede (a village near the Palaver Island) and this event caused admiration to the people.

After şoroko had left the town, the fact became known that şoroko was not the man who had instigated the Ijọs against the King, but Ọşinlokun, who was therefore banished from the town and took refuge at Işẹri.

The elders now grew tired of Adele's behaviour towards them. His children had introduced the Egun, (A fetish masquerade,) and this Egun was in the habit of always coming out of the King's palace. This fetish known as the Egun (the god of the spirits) is very unbecoming to the dignity of a King.

The Mohammedan religion was also established during this reign. Liberty was granted to all subjects. All these had caused the elders to fall away from him.

Soon after this, a proposal was made by the elders on the Oşiki playing ground, to call back the rightful prince to the throne. This proposal was agreed to by the elders. Not long after, some of the King's attendants heard of it, and reported the news to the King. He then took great precaution and spoke to the chiefs, but they would not listen to him. He was afterwards dethroned, and Ọşinlokun was called to the throne. When King Adele heard that Ọşinlokun was coming on the morrow, he waged war against him; but his efforts were fruitless. He was driven out of the town with his followers and children and took refuge in Badagry.

Whilst Adele was going to Badagry he carried with him his aged mother and the skull of his father.

On his arrival there the people welcomed him, and were so edified by this behaviour, that they appointed him as their paramount Chief.

After a time, through the advices and admonitions given by bad people; Adele was encouraged to undertake a war against Lagos; he did so, but the result was unfortunate; his troops were utterly defeated; and the bravest generals and warriors were taken captives, and condemned to the most cruel death; many of whom were also sold as slaves. Then, Adele remained in exile at Badagry.



The skull of his predecessor — carried into exile.

During this time, the King of Dahomey sent his troops against the people of Badagry. It was in the high water season, the Dahomians' army took the road leading to the lake called Oropo which is between the towns of Badagry and Iworo; as this lake was always dry during the dry season the people could walk through it to Badagry.

On the arrival of the Dahomians' army on the lake, the water was very high, and they could not cross it so they began to cut big logs to fill up the lake; the people of

Badagry were watching them afar off.

After many days labour the lake was nearly filled up, and the people of Badagry knew that it would only take the Dahomians' army one day and a half more to complete the work; the Badagrians began to despair for fear of being taken captives by Dahomians before day break of the third day.

Therefore, the Ex-King Adele told the King of Badagry that there should be no fear, but that he would conquer the enemies. He commanded the women to prepare some white beans for native bread; after it had been prepared, and pounded, he took strong poison, and poured it into the beans, and mixed it with the pounded beans, and fried it.

Adele then with the power of his charms - transformed himself into a beautiful lady, and carried the calabash which contained the bread, and crossed over the lagoon towards the Dahomians. As they saw her coming with the calabash-of-bread, they were not aware of the danger that was before them; they bought all the bread from her, and ate it. After she had sold the bread, and left their camps she got to Iworo, where she broke the calabash into pieces on the spot of the Elegbara of Iworo; (Elegbara means the god of the devil) and then came back to Badagry. During the same night, all the Dahomian warriors who had eaten of the bread died before the break of day; the remaining army fled away to their country, Thus the Ex-King Adele conquered them.

Afterwards he visited Abẹokuta and Benin City; thence, he was called back to the throne; and reigned about two years before he died.

In his reign, he rendered much assistance to the Ẹgbas. During the war between the Ẹgbas and Ijẹbus at the Owiwi river. He helped the army of the Ẹgbas so that they were able to conquer their enemies. Subsequently, he invited some elders of both parties to Lagos and effected a reconciliation between the two nations.

It is said that the cause of Adele rendering assistance to the Ẹgbas was that he had chosen a beautiful lady named Ẹfunrẹmi, a descendant of Owu town in Abẹokuta for his wife.



Adele aids the Egbas at Ota — inter-tribal war troubles Lagos.

The following appellation well known to many people shows his courage, power, and influence:

ENGLISH

YORUBA

1	Gentle in manner resolute in deed	Aṣelẹbẹ koro janjan
2	When an elderly man is absent in the country the country becomes useless	Agba ko si ilu bajẹ
3	When a house-holder is dead the house becomes desolate	Bale ile ko ile d'ahoro
4	One with numerous medicines	Ajigidi ogun
5	A deliverer who delivers his neighbours	Ọgbagba ti ngba ara adugbo
6	He saves ọkẹnu	O gba ọkẹnu sile
7	He rescued Apati and his children	O gba Apati tọmọtomọ

ARCHIVE NOTE

Exile at **Badagry**, the poisoned bread that broke **Dahomey**, return, and aid to the **Ẹgbas** for **Ẹfunrẹmi** — then the **Ọta** war before the appellations.

— *Sultan Shitta-Bey*

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Osinlokun A.D. 1780

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Osinlokun A.D. 1780

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Idewu Ojulari A.D. 1819

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Oluwole A.D. 1834

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Akitoye A.D. 1841-1853

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Kosoko A.D. 1845

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A.D. 1853–1885

Dosunmu A.D. 1853–1885

THE KINGS OF LAGOS



Dosunmu crowned — placed on the throne with British support, 1853.

*Peace restored under British influence —
a new Lagos emerges.*

When king Akitoye died in 1853, he left as his heir his eldest daughter, named Asi, the mother of Ajoṣe. She was accordingly informed by the Chiefs that she was to be the sovereign in the place of her deceased father. But when the

question was brought before the English Consul, he declared that king Akitoye had left a will in which he named his son (Dosunmu) to be made king after his death.

The fact was that in the early hours of the morning that the king died, two of his messengers hastily ran to the English Consul with the will made by Akitoye, and prevailed upon him to choose the eldest son of the deceased king whose name was Dosunmu to be their future monarch. When the question of the election arose between the Chiefs and the English Consul in Council, the Chiefs in order to comply with the Consul, agreed that a son born of the same parents as Asi should be chosen. In this way Dosunmu was placed on the throne of Lagos on the 22nd of June 1853. He received the support of the English Government.

One day during the month of March 1854, King Dosunmu left home to offer sacrifice to the god Erinkiran at a village called Okępa. He went with his attendants and some of his wives; after he had left, his courtiers began to clean the palace in order that when the king arrived in the evening he might find everything neat and tidy; they took all the furniture and other things out of the house, swept the whole and put them back to their proper places, but they forgot outside the casks containing gun powder which according to custom were generally stored inside the palace unlike the Europeans.

When it was dusk they remembered that the kegs of the gun powder were still left outside, and at once they began to remove them into the house; as the kegs were being rolled into the house a lot of powder fell out of one of them, without being perceived by anyone. When evening came a man named Ode whose duty it was to light the lamps in the court threw by accident a match on the ground and it set fire to the powder on the floor, which ran along until it came to the kegs in the store. All the kegs took fire, blew up, and there was a terrible shock. By this time, king Dosunmu was not returned from his sacrifice. But when he was coming home in his paddle canoe, some of his sons hastened to inform him that the kegs of powder were on fire during his absence; then the canoe men proceeded to row with great joy and were singing homeward, the following sweet song -

#	ENGLISH	YORUBA
1	The shock which took place did not meet Akamo at home	Isle to se ko ba Akamo n'le
2	The purple-bird is never affected with the evil intended against him	Aseba ki ba Agbe,
3	For the evil-designed against the green Pheasant cannot afflict him	Aseba ki ba Aluko
4	The powder set on fire did not injure *Akamo	Etu to gbina ko ta Akamo n'le

The entry of a leopard — On the 2nd of August 1854, a male leopard entered the town, and caused many injuries; he nearly killed two men by inflicting wounds upon them.

This Leopard was at last killed by a Diviner (Babalawo) from the interior.



The treaty of cession — a new era begins.

A few days after this occurrence, a deer also gained entrance into the town, and was killed by the people. The 15th of April 1856, witnessed the expulsion of Madam Tinubu from Lagos by king Dosunmu.

The cause was this,—this woman was very rich, and her wealth was so great that she hardly knew the number of her slaves. As there is scarcely anything a rich person cannot do, she would take upon herself the responsibility of issuing orders which should come only from the king; she was a friend of the king of Dahomey, and anything that occurred in Lagos was secretly reported by her to that king.

When king Dosunmu became tired of her conduct, he complained about her to Consul B. Campbell, and received authority to banish her from the town. The consul even supplied the king with policemen to assist him in driving out the woman.

Dosunmu accordingly sent her an order to leave the town at once, and not to pass another evening in the town, but that she should sleep in her farm-house at Igbobi. But Tinubu came to the king at his palace, and began to relate to him, the story as to how she and the king's father (Akitoye) had been on very friendly terms which fact he himself was aware of. But the king informed her that he did not want her to live any more in the town, and more also he did not like her to sleep in Lagos that night.

When she returned home, her slaves were prepared to fight the police men, but she informed them that she was not a slave at all, but a free born; and that she had walked to Lagos and that God blessed her; she said that she and her slaves should not fight, but that she was willing to leave Lagos.—In this way Tinubu left Lagos that day.

Declaration of cession. The signing of the treaty — On the 6th of August 1861, a public declaration was made that the country was ceded to the English Government; this declaration was confirmed by king Dosunmu himself who signed the document in the afternoon at his square, in the following terms :—I Dosunmu king of Lagos have this day ceded to the Queen of England (Queen Victoria) her heirs and successors this land for ever. We Norman Beddingfield

Commander of the royal Warship Prometheus, and the high Commissioner of Benin District, and the Honourable William MacCorky, the present Consul, have taken possession of this land in the name of Her Majesty (Queen Victoria).

Disputes between the Idejo and King — There was great dispute however between the Idejos and the king, because the land of Lagos and its neighbourhood did not belong to king Dosunmu, and for that reason they asserted that he had no right to give them away to the British Government, because the owners of the land of Lagos from the beginning were the “White-cap chiefs” called the “Idejos”, and none of them had signed the treaty of cession of land to the English Government, which king Dosunmu and his kinsman named Talabi, and two Chiefs, the Apena and Asogbon, with one fetish priest, Obanikoro, had signed on the 6th August 1861.

On account of the disputes between the king and the Idejos, king Dosunmu impressed it on the English officers to add two clauses to the Treaty.

Thereupon, the two clauses were accordingly added by the Commodore and the Consul. The following are the clauses :—

Clause 2.—Dosunmu will be allowed the use of the title of " King " in its usual African signification, and will be permitted to decide disputes between natives of Lagos, with their consent, subject to appeal to British laws.

Clause 3.—In the transfer of lands, the stamp of Dosunmu affixed to the document will be proof that there are no native claims upon it, and for this purpose he will be permitted to use it as hitherto.

In spite of the addition made to the treaty, the Idejọs still refused to give their consent to the treaty which king Dosunmu had signed ; and said that they could not give their land away to Europeans. For six months they persisted in this refusal.



Colonial Lagos rises along the lagoon.

On the 11th of February 1862, Consul Henry Stanhope Freeman the then Governor of Lagos convened a meeting of the Idejọs and king, in order to explain to them the treaty of cession to the English Government. He assured them that the Treaty would not deprive them of their power and right over their land in Lagos; and that they

were the owners of their land, that king Dosunmu and his leaders had no land anywhere here except what they [Idejọs] gave them.

When the declaration was publicly made by means of Government notification, the Idejọs and king Dosunmu unwillingly agreed to the treaty of cession; and afterwards an arrangement was made as to the yearly stipend to be paid by the English Government to the king: after this there were no more wars; and everything went on peacefully during the rest of his reign.

The entrance of harbour bar was blocked up — In the month of April 1870, the entrance to the Lagos harbour was blocked up with a heap of sands so that steamers could not enter the Lagoon. All the Chiefs in consequence went to Governor Dumaesq (the Governor and father of small children), and told him that they desired to offer sacrifice to the sea god (Yemoja); for it had been the custom, when the harbour bar was thus closed, to offer a propitiatory sacrifice to the sea god. The Governor gave them power to carry out their purpose, and even encouraged them by giving them some presents. The head of the fetishers who conducted the worship at the time was Chief Omu.

So on the 28th of April, all the different worshippers of idols began the work of preparing the worshippers of the sea god (Yemoja), god of wind (Ọya), god of Thunder (Şango), the goddess of love and beauty (Ọbatala), and other fetishers went daily to the sea shore to offer sacrifice with rams, sheep, and other things. Their sacrifice was

accepted as they believed, and the heap of sand disappeared from the mouth of the harbour, and the steamers were able to come in and go out.

A comet visible — In the month of September 1882, in the twenty-first year of his reign, a comet appeared in heaven, and caused great excitement among the people in Lagos: people said that it signified bloodshed, confusion in countries, famine, deaths of great personages and kings, the destruction of countries, and also other evils of a general character that occasionally visit the people of any nation.

The great quarrel began — Some time after, a great misunderstanding arose among the elders of the town at “Itakuta Court” at Isale Eko, where warry play was always indulged in. The names of the personages who fell into displeasure were the following ; — His Majesty King Dosunmu, the old Aṣọgbọn, Apena Ajaasa, Taiwo Olowo, Ogunbewon and others. The dispute became so serious that it would have led to civil war if the country had not been in the hands of the English Government.

Yet the quarrel continued so far that it was handed down to the offsprings of these men, who in turn were bent on the destruction of one another. This misunderstanding lasted for many years ; it was recognized under the name of “Quarrel of Taiwo Olowo and the king Dosunmu”. The same dispute caused the quarrel between Apena and the king which necessitated the interference of the English Government.

Apena was the Chief of Osugbo—the Magistrate of the Council ; and the king was so much attached to him that he gave him the right and power of granting to the public the "Ẹyọ Play," which is a ceremony connected with the funerals of distinguished persons in the town. Apena was also allowed to receive from the Government the royal seal of Lagos on all licences issued by him. Thus Apena was placed above the other chiefs, and his position was so high that whenever the other chiefs and Apena were present at the king's palace, Apena's seat would be set next to that of the king. He put on the same beads and necklace as the king. The chiefs looked on in wonder at this special friendship and favour between the king and the Apena.

After some time, the chiefs formed a compact against them. One day, when there was a convocation of the chiefs, the chief Eletu who gave an insinuation to king Dosunmu saying — "Rich Gentleman" — (the name for the king when there was a new "Ologun Ategbo" nominated). The position of such chief in Lagos was next to the king without our knowledge? For are you trying to imitate your Majesty. Apena then answered, and said "who are you, the Eletu, that you would thus deride me"? The Rich Gentleman too became involved in the matter, and was questioned by Apena, whether he too was an enemy with the other chiefs. Thus the quarrel became greater and greater among the chiefs with Apena.

At length, king Dosunmu deprived Apena the right of issuing Ẹyọ licences to the people; and prevailed upon the Governor to refuse the king's royal seal to any one; unless

he should apply for it himself.

Mean-while, a gentleman named Jacob Alesinloye intended to secure "Ẹyọ Play" in honour of the funeral obsequies of his mother, and therefore, went to Apena to make arrangements about having the Ẹyọ. Apena consequently went to the king in order to procure Mr. Alesinloye the necessary licence, but was told by the king in a negative manner that, "you can do as you please."

Apena then applied to the Government for licence, but it was refused him, and was told that unless he received permission from king Dosunmu he could not obtain it. He asserted he had already been granted the right by the king to receive the royal seal for his licence. He was answered that it was indeed a fact, but at present, instructions had been received from the king to give the royal seal to nobody, and if he wished still to obtain it, he must produce a warrant from the king.

ARCHIVE NOTE

The quarrel over Alesinloye's Ẹyọ licence is the dual seal in miniature: Dosunmu still names who may play, and Government House still holds the stamp. Losi's page shows Apena trapped between a king's shrug — *you can do as you please* — and a colonial desk that will not move without a warrant. A funeral rite becomes the paperwork that later ends in deportation.

— *Hakimi Şita*



Indigenous chiefs and the colonial government.

When the letter was presented at Government House, the Governor sent it back with one of his policemen to king Dosunmu. When the king saw the letter which was sent to enquire whether he had written it or not the king gave a negative answer; he then called Apena, and reprimanded him for having inserted his name in the letter sent to the Government without his knowledge. This circumstance however created great dissatisfaction between the king, Apena, and the Chiefs.

A meeting was then called to discuss the matter and to put an end to it. Apena, however was boasting and threatened the Chiefs and the king. Seeing the attitude of Apena towards the King, Oyekan the king's son stood up, and suddenly gave Apena a slap on Apena's face adding that, if Apena were to insult his father it should be in Apena's house; and that Apena should never take such advantage in the king's palace. The king did not approve of

this action of Oyekan, he got vexed and uttered the following imprecations, saying: — “The boy who has thus acted should be lost”. Taiwo Olowo at once wiped off the imprecations by saying: — “The boy shall not be lost, but he will live a long life of prosperity.”

This action of Oyekan opened fresh wounds in the quarrel instead of curing it. When the Chiefs of the Council or the “Ogbonis” began to beat the big drum, which gave an insinuating sound against Apena, he got inflamed at the instance, went to the “Ogbonis House”, interfered, and told them not to beat it any more, and threatened them with punishment if they should do so.

On leaving the lodge the members went to report him to the king who told them not to take any notice of Apena’s words.

On the next session of the council, the Chiefs beat the drum in the same manner, and were feasting themselves; when Apena heard it, he rose up in anger, and took his sword and hastened to the lodge room. He spoke thus to the members of the lodge;— “I, the Apena have forbidden you to beat this drum, and you take no notice of my command.” So saying, he thrust his sword into the drum and tore it. The report of this action of the drum was brought to the King and Chiefs, who at once came out to look for him in the lodge room but he had gone away after committing this wicked act. If he had been met either on

the way or in the lodge room, he would have had to pay very dearly for his action; and probably a civil war would have ensued.

Soon after, the chiefs approached the then Governor of Lagos, R. K. Barrow, and related to him the matter. He called Apena and reproached him for his bad behaviour. The chiefs however, were not satisfied with Apena, and brought over charges against him, and asked the Governor to settle the unceasing disputes among them by deporting him from Lagos. For, if he should not take this step a civil war would follow, since there could not be two kings in one town.

Thereupon, the Governor sent Constable Willoughby to arrest Apena and his fellow insurgents on the 17th of September, 1884, the following are the names of those who were arrested:—Apena Ajasa, Okoya Idoluwo, Agoro Akinwunmi, and Obirikiti. When these people were brought up, the Governor transported them to the Gold Coast.

Before the departure of the steamer, Apena stood out and said. “Odideṛe ki ku s'oko Ifeje.”—that is, “A Parrot never perished when looking for her living” meaning he was sure to return again to Lagos in safety.

After their deportation, the town was in peace. Then the king's party sang, and said—“While the English were looking for soldiers, Ajasa was packed up and went away beyond the seas.”

On the 31st of August 1884, two Mohammedan pilgrims from Mecca, one—Isau the son of Onipede, and the other an elderly Mohammedan residing at Olowogbowo returned to Lagos from their pilgrimage, on Obun-Eko Market day. It was a grand occasion for the Mohammedans to see them return, after their departure since 1877. All the Mohammedans went to meet them at Ebute-Ero. Many went on horseback; on their way home they visited Imam, and also King Dosunmu at his palace. He received them kindly, because they were the first men to go from Lagos to Mecca and to return safely.

This king had great affection for his chiefs; he desired the prosperity of his country, and would often impress it on his chiefs that the times have fallen into the hands of the Europeans; and therefore, there was no more injustice and barbarous practices. By his wisdom, he freed himself from the annoyances and difficulties of his times, notwithstanding the change of government. Whenever his people trespassed against the English laws he would reproach them for it, and caution them to avoid such act in the future. This was his conduct during his reign; he was twenty-five years on the throne, and died on the 26th of February 1885.

The following appellation well known to many people shows his courage, power and influence: —

#	ENGLISH	YORUBA
1	To surprise a leopard is a source of danger,	Akamọ Ẹkun ti lapon ninu
2	He who comes to fill the house with people	Ode ki 'le kun
3	He who brings prosperity to the house	Okun odele teruteru
4	One of Majestic form	Alara – gbayida
5	A man very remarkable in company	Ayo ninu egbe daradara
6	A clean man enters the market and walks about gaily.	Afinju wo'ja o rin gerere
7	But a dirty person is ridiculous in his gait	Obun wo ja pa siosio
8	The dirty person will carry home the parcels of the well dressed	Obun siosio ni o ren afinju wo'le
9	Behind whose gate Ipọsu was fighting in-effectually	Eni Ipọsu n'ja leyinkunle re sukesuke
10	And went off empty handed	Owo dododo lo nson lo
11	Powerful but merciful	A to se mase
12	Having the right of revenge but forbearing	A to sika se suru

A.D. 1885–1900

Oyekan A.D. 1885–1900

THE KINGS OF LAGOS



Oyekan — jubilee, telegraph, and the modern city.

*Telegraphic communication opened at
Lagos — the world rushes in.*

After the death of king Dosunmu, his son Oyekan succeeded him on the throne, March 1885. He received the support of the British Government as his late father; no war or trouble of any kind was witnessed during his reign,

the quarrel that had existed when his late father was alive was still raging but not in a severe manner, on account of the British influence.

The return of Chief Apena — Seven months after Oyekan's accession, Chief Apena and his followers who had been deported to the Gold Coast, returned to Lagos on the 24th of September 1885. On their arrival a crowd of people went to meet them at the Marina in merry and jubilant attire, singing songs as they proceeded through the streets. The people thought that it was necessary for the men to go first to the King's palace before their own homes. But, some experienced men amongst the crowd said such a course was unnecessary, and that every one must go to his house for fear of the King's men who had got ready to fight them if they attempted to enter the palace; all the doors of the palace were locked, except the big gate where Asi the mother of Ajose, the then Erele, took her seat in order to prevent their entrance. When the people reached Enu-Owa so many spectators were going towards the palace but some aged persons turned them back, and every one went his way.

After the return of Apena Ajasa to Lagos the King's party and the Apena's began to sing 'Kerikeri songs' in abusive tones to one another; Damole was the leader of Apena's party, and Bisi the King's. As the songs were frequently sung, which made the matter worse than ever, and in order to avoid a civil war in the town, His Excellency Governor Barrow forbade the use of the Kerikeri drum and songs.

A year and a half of this reign witnessed the meeting of small Kings, and Chiefs, and also the envoys, and messengers from the interior great kings, who came to sign a Treaty of Peace with Governor Moloney in order that there might be peace between the interior kings and chiefs, and for the purpose of bringing to an end the war that had existed between the Ibadans and Ilorins. These kings and envoys affixed their signs and seals to the Treaty on the 4th day of January 1886.

In the second year of his reign there was a regular down-pour of rain from the month of May to June of 1887, the rain fell day and night beyond measure so that the town was filled with ponds, and lakes, so much so that the people thought the town would be inundated. The king had a bell rung round the town saying that the elders wished to propitiate the gods, and therefore, every house-holder should contribute 200 cowries and bring them to the King's Wharf. After this, a letter was addressed to the leading clergy men of the different denominations, and Mahommedan Imams for fervent prayers. The fetish worshippers (Babalawo) offered their sacrifice at Tinubu Square. Agbaosi was the leader, and he conducted the work of propitiation. Few days after, God removed the fear and danger, the waters were abated and rain ceased

Queen's Jubilee — 21st of June 1887, witnessed the celebration of a great event which will ever be remembered in Lagos, this was the late Queen Victoria's Jubilee; on that day the whole town was filled with

rejoicing, and both young and old participated in the festivities, with the greatest honour, pomp, and to the satisfaction of the British Government.

Cause of Ijebu war — In the year 1892, the Ijebus broke the Treaty they made with the Lagos Government. They closed the roads through their country to the interior, they also assumed a warlike attitude when they denied a pass to Major Stanley to Ijebu from Itokin, and threatened to kill him should he venture to proceed, and also the Right Rev. Bishop Tugwell was treated in like manner.

When Governor Carter determined to declare war against them, the king and chiefs, and elders of Lagos were moved with pity; the king then sent some of his emigrants to king Awujale to entreat him to comply with the wishes of the Governor by opening the roads and thereby avoid bloodshed.

The following were the envoys from Lagos;—chief Okoya, and prince Ademuyiwa Haastrup. When these messages were delivered to the Ijebus, they refused to take the advice of the king of Lagos, and gave the following reply: — (1) That they had never entered into a treaty of relationship with the Lagos Government. (2) They also affirmed that they had never deputed Mr. Otunba Payne, and Mr. Jacob Williams to act in their behalf in signing a Treaty or “Splitting Kola Nuts”. (3) They repudiated the charge that they turned Major Stanley and the Right Rev. Bishop Tugwell back when the former was sent on a mission to them by the Lagos Government. (4) They asked

that the term of thirty days be allowed them to come to a decision in the matter. Notwithstanding the unwillingness of the Ijẹbus to hear the advice, the elders held an interview with His Excellency Governor Carter and implored him not to wage war against the Ijẹbus, but the Governor replied that there was no alternative; that the plan of waging war had been determined; preparations already made. And must be finally carried out.

Therefore, on Thursday the 12th of May, His Excellency Governor G. T. Carter sent an expedition consisting of the following order of troops under the command of Colonel F. G. Scott C.B. against the Ijẹbus :—the West Indian troops under Major Maddon, the Hausas of the Gold Coast Constabulary under Captains Bailey, the Hausas of the Gold Coast Constabulary under Captains Tarbet, G. B. Haddon-Smith and R. E. D. Campbell. The advanced guard of Hausas under Captains Gordon and Bower, the artillery under Lieutenant Laurie, and the Ibadan native contingent under Captains Hardinge and Akere (native) the whole army numbered about 1,000 men. They embarked on the Steam Yacht, four launches, seven boats and five canoes, and steered away amid showers of rain from Government Wharf at about 12 o'clock mid-day, in the presence of a large gathering of people who were eagerly waiting their departure.

The Expedition at Epe — They arrived at Epe on Friday the 13th. Immediately after anchoring, Captain R. E. Owen, Chief of the Staff, made a preliminary survey of the town, and the troops began to disembark at 6 o'clock a.m. The

Ibadan contingent under the command of the Honourable Captain A. S. Hardinge landed, and took up a northerly position, and were quickly followed by the advanced guard of Hausas under Captains Gordon and Bower; the Hausas of the Lagos constabulary under Captains A. F. Tarbet, G. B. Haddon-Smith and R. E. D. Campbell under Lieutenant Laurie; the West Indian troops under Major G. C. Maddon, and the Hausas of the Gold Coast constabulary under Captain Bailey, whilst the Ambulance corps under Dr. W. R. Henderson, followed by the Transport Branch, came last under the direction of Captain U. V. Ussher.



Telegraphic communication opens at Lagos.

The force immediately took up positions which gave it the entire command of the town. The native scouts and advanced guard occupied the northern, the Hausas the

central, and the Staff escort and West Indian troops the southern position near the landing with several divisions maintained by a line of patrols.

Owing to insufficiency of carriers supplied by the Lagos Government, it was found that the transport service was totally inadequate to meet the requirements of the force. Colonel Scott therefore decided to halt at Epe and recruit carriers for this service. Head-quarters were established in the premises of one man called Gani, who was very kind and exerted himself to the utmost to accommodate his military guests. Report came that morning that the Ibadan contingent had attacked the Ijebu village of Asajo to the north. The Ijebus inhabiting Epe deserted the town, and it was said that a force of about 1,000 strong has gone to join their country men. In the afternoon, three armed men were captured by the Ibadans, having between them four guns.

Sunday the 14th was occupied in procuring carriers. Captain Haddon-Smith was dispatched to Lekie and Igbogun to recruit carriers. A slave woman who had escaped, and was brought in by the Ibadan scouts reported that she had been recently sold from Ijebu Ode to a village hard by, and that hearing the arrival of the expeditionary force, she ran away. A reconnoitring party of Ibadan visited the villages of Iraye and Oloye, and reported that the Ijebus had all deserted them, taking all their belongings with them.

On Sunday the 15th Captain Haddon-Smith and Mr. C. A. Willoughby returned from Lekie with 71 carriers, and reported that the Ship Margaret was aground near Lekie and that Constance arrived from Lagos. Captain Gordon and Lieutenant Davies went to reconnoitre the Osun River, and returned with the report that the river was unnavigable for the steam launch to any extent. The Ibadans also went to reconnoitre, and visited six small villages the inhabitants of which had all fled. They succeeded in capturing two princes, sons of the late king of Ijebu, who reported that they were sent to look after property at Epe.

Pobo war — On the 16th the troops left Epe at 7:30 a.m. taking the road to Ijebu Ode through a dense forest. Several deserted hamlets were encountered on the way which were burnt. Pobo a town about six miles from Epe, was reached at 11:30 a.m. The Ijebus were in considerable force in the bush about the town, and received the advanced guard with a sharp volley, which was quickly returned by the Ibadan contingent supported by the Hausas; the town was then stormed by the troops who set fire on it at several points, the Ijebus retreated to the bush, and fell back upon their next town Naforija.

Naforija war — After a short halt the force proceeded to Naforija, where they were greeted with another sharp volley from the Ijebus, who were driven off by the troops. The Ibadans conducted themselves courageously under the direction of Captain Hardinge and Mr. C. A. Willoughby, whilst the Hausas maintained their wonted

reputation for bravery, which was greatly spurred on by the fearless conduct and admirable coolness of their white officers.

The casualties on the English side in the attacks on two towns were eight, with two men dangerously wounded. The loss of the Ijẹbus is not known as they were entirely under cover in the bush, but it is believed that they suffered considerable loss. The Ijẹbus were reported to have concentrated a large force at the town of Pasida and a sharp engagement was expected to take place with the force at that town. The wounded were at once transferred to the Ambulance corps under Dr. W. R. Henderson, and the wounds looked after and the bullets extracted. The Ijẹbus appeared to be well supplied with back shots as all the wounds were inflicted with those. The force encamped for the night at Pobo, having returned to that town from Naforija.

Pasida war — On the 17th the troops started from Pobo to reconnoitre the places along the path. They had not proceeded far when the enemy was reported to be in hiding and in full force under thick and dense forest at a place called Pasida where the troops reached at about 8 o'clock a.m. From this place the Ijẹbus started to fire volleys upon the troops as they moved on. The awkwardness of the troops position did not allow them to reply, and they were ordered to push forward in the face of this deadly fire of the Ijẹbu army, and tracking this rugged

and hilly place the troops were at last posted in a commanding position from which they replied the fire of the enemy.

The Ibadan detachment under the command of Honourable Captain A. S. Hardinge, and two columns of the Hausas soldiers under the respective command of Captains Gordon and Bower were posted to the northern wing, and Captain Owens' columns were ordered to outflank the enemy, and cut out their means of retreating. The combined firing of these columns aided by the artillery under the command of Lieutenant Laurie did a telling work on the Ijebu army. The Ijebu army retreated before the hot and deadly firing of the English troops to join their main army not far away, and on reaching a corn fields situated in a northerly direction, they, under the shelter of the green corn, offered a stubborn resistance. The artillery shelled the enemy and they fled, leaving many of their dead behind. The Hausa detachments were ordered to pursue the retreating Ijebus. Here Mr. A. C. Willoughby received a fatal wound through the heart. The Honourable Captain Hardinge whose Assistant and Interpreter Mr. C. A. Willoughby was, also received a slight flesh wound in the thigh. The death of Mr. C. A. Willoughby necessitated their halting in this place. The casualties on the English side consisted of one man killed and four men wounded. The Ijebus must have suffered severely but they were able through the dense forest to carry their dead and dying away with them.

The Ijẹbus fought here with wonderful courage, fearlessness and bravery. They posted their men in a warlike and masterly position as was felt by the effect of their shots. This disposed of the rumour current before the force started that the Ijẹbus were unprepared for war. But for the capital and masterly disposition of the troops by the commanding officer Colonel Scott, and the exceptional coolness of the white officers in spite of danger, the troops would have had to tell another tale of this engagement. The Ijẹbus deserted the three villages Eredo, Agoa and Iragusi. The troops bivouacked at Iragusi.

The troops left Iragisi on the 18th of May, at about 25 minutes to six o'clock a.m. At 10 minutes after 7 o'clock a.m. two villages were discovered on the right and on the left which were deserted. As the troops were proceeding on a hilly direction they espied a big town and artillery was dispatched to shell it. The West Indian Regiment under the command of Captain Maddon were asked to take the cover of the artillery and attack the town. They came to report that the town was deserted recently.

This report made the force to conclude that the Ijẹbus were concentrating their army some where, and that a heavy and severe fighting should be expected. It was also reported that the Ijẹbus have recalled the column operating at Itoikin to join the main army. Without taking into account the small detachments to the right and left the English main army pressed forward; at about 8.30 a.m. the troops reached a place which was the halfway mark from Ijẹbu Ode to Epe. They crossed a river at about 10:30 a.m.

After marching for a little distance the troops arrived at a place called Majoda where the troops encamped. The force expected a big encounter in the morning as there were indications here and there that the Ijẹbus were concentrating not far away.

Osun river war — On the 19th of May, the troops left Majoda at 5 o'clock in the morning. After stopping to see that everything was in order, they crossed a river at 7 o'clock a.m. and met a small detachment of Ijẹbus that proceeded their main force; here some fighting took place, but the Ijẹbus retreated to join their force behind. This force stood behind the Osun river, where there was a dense forest, and the road which led to it was rugged and slippery with bush on the right and left. About 700 men were hidden round the place, and these repeatedly fired on the troops as they advanced in the hollow and rugged path. When the firing became intense the troops could only difficulty move forward along the path, and the situation was aggravated by the men who were wounded and killed, and who fell on the road as they advanced. They were in this position for half an hour, and received continuous volleys from the Ijẹbus, who plainly saw them as they proceeded on the road.

When they came out of the hollow path, and reached an open field near the Osun river, the troops instantly stretched to the right and left, Captain Bailey commanding the right column, and Captains Gordon and Bower commanded the left column, Captain Owen commanded the central column. The troops marched in this way till the

bank of the river was reached. At this point the Ijẹbus fired sharp volleys, and as a result of this firing, the troops could not cross the river until the artillery cannon was arranged and fired, which caused considerable havoc among them – under the protection of the cannon the troops crossed the river which was waist deep, and reached the other side. The Ijẹbus repeatedly fired for about one hour and a half, and afterwards they retreated.

The engagement was so severe that Colonel Scott jumped into the river amidst the volleys, and the water reached his waist as he gave command to the troops; Captain Owen received shots in two places in the river.

When the troops reached the other side of the river, the Ijẹbus found it very hard to stand before them, and the artillery guard under the command of Captains Laurie, Mr. F. C. Green, and Akere scattered them. They made another attempt to rush against the troops, but they were instantly driven back by the three columns behind under the command of Captains Tarbet, G. B. Haddon-Smith and Campbell; notwithstanding the dangerous and rugged position of the road, the Ijẹbus were soon dispersed by the troops and put to flight, and did not attempt to face the troops any more.

Praise was due to the Ijẹbus for the unexpected bravery they displayed; they maintained their position for two hours without moving. The troops proceeded for about two miles, and halted to arrange things.

The honour of the day was due to the courage of the West Indian troops, and their gallant commander Captain Maddon; for when the engagement became severe and the Ijẹbus fired sharply, the Hausa force lingered to rush into the river, the West Indian troops were commanded to rush, and the Hausa troops followed, and they crossed the river.

Dr. W. R. Henderson was also worthy of praise. He was commanded to advance forward to attend the wounded. He performed his duty with great courage under the sharp shots of the Ijẹbus, who fired to such an extent that many shots penetrated through his helmet. His assistant Dr. Croft was under the same danger near him performing the same duty.

When the review of troops was held it stated that the casualties were three men killed, one Hausa soldier, a native of Ibadan, and one labourer; three Captains received slight wounds, Captain E. R. Owen, Hon; Captain Hardinge, and Captain Laurie. Among the West Indian troops two men received slight and dangerous wounds, one native Officer from Gold Coast, and thirteen of the Hausa soldiers,

six natives from Ibadan, and three labourers. The Ijẹbus sustained a very great loss in this attack, many corpses were seen here and there in the bush.



Jubilee celebrations — Victoria's reign reaches
Lagos.

After a short halt, the troops reached Magbon at 11 o'clock a.m., on inspecting the town it was found that the Ijẹbus had encamped there for some days; they built a long camp but instead the long hut two miles in length, with camp which was about two miles in length, with this it was concluded that the concentrated force of Ijẹbus was about 10,000 brave men. Here two white flags tied on two pieces of plank fixed on two long poles, one on the right, and the other on the left were flying in the air. When this news was brought to the knowledge of the General of the troops (Colonel Scott) he commanded two Captains, Gordon and Laymor and Mr. F. C. Green to go and watch them; only the flags were found, and nobody else; they gave a loud cry, in order to call attention of any one that might be hidden in the bush, but no answer was received; the troops encamped at Ligbosi.

The troops left Ligbosi on the 20th of May at about 5.30 a.m. for Ijebu Ode. After the troops had marched for about two miles, a wounded man was found in the bush left by his party the day before. His thigh bones were completely shattered and he was taken by the ambulance corps. As they proceeded, six Ijebus were espied with their white flags in their hands, and when brought before the commander-in-chief of the army, they were found to be envoys from King Awujale; they delivered the following message to Colonel Scott;— “We are sent by the King to thank you cordially for the assistance you have rendered him during his reign. The king had told his people, and endeavoured to force them to keep the Treaty signed by them with the Lagos Government, but they were obstinate, and refused to abide with it; the king cannot enforce them to keep his commands. And now they had tried the European power, and known it, and learned to obey him. The king entreats you to stop the fighting.”

Then the Colonel ordered four of the king's messengers to lead the army on, and despatched two of them back with message to king Awujale in the following terms:— “You must inform king Awujale that I am coming to Ijebu Ode, and if no shot is fired on me, I shall stop the fight; but, if there should be a single shot fired on my force, all the towns on my way shall be burnt down, and Ijebu Ode shall be destroyed.”

The four messengers with white flags in their hands led the army, which reached Ijebu Ode at about 11 o'clock a.m. without the least danger. Then two of the Awujale's

messengers were sent to go and inform him that the colonel desires to see him and his chiefs for an interview; when the envoys did not return in time, Captain Gordon and Mr. F. C. Green were sent and on their return they were followed by king Awujale and his chiefs. After a short conversation about their delay, the Colonel told the king that he came to open the roads, and he had determined to see all the roads open; the king answered that it was glad to see the Colonel and he thanked him for having done so. The Colonel answered,—“If you are glad why then you sent your warriors to fight me”?— The king said, “I forbade my people to fight you, but they paid no heed to my command”. The Colonel then asked, “where are your warriors”?—

The king answered, I do not know where they had gone to,—they had been dispersed and scattered, they had all fled, every one goes his own way, though, I shall not allow any of them to come to town. The Colonel said,—All the roads from north to south shall be opened, I shall remain here to see that it should be so, and you shall be supplying me—and my force with provisions. The king said,—“I had agreed before this”. The Colonel asked,—“Where are the ammunitions of your people?” The king answered,—I cannot tell, because I do not know where they were laid. The Colonel then commanded that the ammunitions should be brought to him. After that the Force pitched their tents near king Awujale’s palace, Colonel Scott encamped in the front of the palace.

The remaining Ijẹbus in the town feared exceedingly, because the Ibadans took away their property as spoils, deserted the town, leaving their king alone with other five chiefs, on whom a sentinel was appointed to guard in order to prevent their escape.

The Colonel ordered the king to call his subjects back to the town, and told him that failure to carry out the order shall be considered a sufficient proof of their hostility against the force. In the evening Colonel Scott gave a hearty thanks to the army, especially to the white captains and the natives for the bravery and perseverance displayed which enabled them to conquer the enemy whose number greatly exceeded their own and to reach the destination on account of which they left their homes.

On the 21st of May, the town was surveyed by the commanders of the army, and the cannon and ammunitions were placed in proper places in order to protect the army against the enemy. The camps were put in proper order, strengthened to prevent any possible attack, and kept in a very clean and sanitary condition.

It was reported that the enemy would give an attack during that night, and preparations were made for them. Colonel Scott laid down strict instructions against plundering, and charged Captain Haddon-Smith to inflict severe punishment on any one who might be found guilty of it.

On the 22nd of May the Ijẹbus began to return to the town; the changes and new order of things seemed to agree with them. The women came to sell foodstuffs such as farina, corn and other things, to the force. Colonel Scott told the King that he proposed to send a detachment to the town of Oru next day; the King, on hearing the news, instantly despatched his messengers to the people at Oru, and warned them not to withstand or show any sign of defiance to the troops, and above all that they must sell foodstuffs to them.

Six men among the Force were flogged before the whole army for plundering; one Hausa soldier, and five carriers.

A slave came to town, and asked for the Colonel's protection. He was hungry and was handed over to the hausa soldiers who were his country men. He reported that the principal force of the Ijẹbus had retreated to a village called Musin on the East, and that they were powerless.

Since the entry of the troops at Ijẹbu Ode, the British flag was flying in the air at Awujale's square, where it was fixed on arrival. Captain Haddon-Smith who was provisionally appointed as District Officer of the town, sent guards to watch any one who might commit plunder, and who, he declared should be brought to him. It was observed that the Ibadans were not in favour of the instructions against the plundering, but they were made to understand that violation of the instruction might be attended with great risk on their part.

On the 23rd of May, it was reported that during the night the people of Epe put on their armours, embarked in canoes for the town of Ejinrin, and waged war against that town and set fire to it. The Ejinrin men succeeded in capturing three of the men, and sent them as captives to Ijebu Ode. The news did not give on the part of the Ejinrin people.

At 6 o'clock a.m. a detached force under the command of the Captain Owen was despatched to Oru town. At about 20 minutes to 8 o'clock a.m. it reached a village called Igbeni, but the Ijebus shewed no signs of fighting. The force reached Oru at 11 o'clock a.m. and met with the same calmness on the part of the inhabitants, notwithstanding there were many people in the town. Immediately on arrival the Captains summoned the chiefs, and elders, and told them that the British force had occupied Ijebu Ode and that the Government has determined to secure perfect peace and freedom in the intercourse between the interior people and the Ijebus, and that on this account the British Government has occupied Ijebu Ode, and for the same reason the force and its Captains were sent to their town to explain the circumstances, and also to polish the gate way of their town.

The chiefs replied that they were ready to follow anything British Government would tell them, but that they had no particular gate way to their town. It was reported that there was a gate in the neighbourhood not far away called Aha; some selected soldiers were despatched to the place by the chiefs of the Staff to break it

down. The chief of the Staff commanded the chiefs to bring foodstuffs for the force and so save them from pillaging for the satisfaction of their hunger: shortly after, the people brought some yams and domestic animals, and were paid. Five slaves escaped and mixed with the force, three men, and two women.

On the 24th of May, Captain Owen summoned the chiefs of Oru early and informed them that he was leaving for Ijebu Ode, but that they should understand that no interruption should be placed to the perfect freedom of the trade routes north and south. The chiefs answered that they thoroughly understood him and that no interruption or obstruction would be caused by them. Some Ibadans were despatched to Ibadan to inform the Yoruba people that the English Government occupied Ijebu Ode and that the roads were open and free.

The column left Oru at 7 a.m. and whilst crossing the bridge over the stream at foot of the hill, one of the tree trunks forming it gave way and Mr. H. Plange fell into the stream and sustained some slight injuries, arrived at Igbene at 3.30 a.m., where the troops halted for a quarter of an hour and proceeding, arrived at Ijebu Ode at 10.30 a.m. Messengers despatched to Epe returned and reported that the Ijebus were reinhabiting their town and villages destroyed on that route. They were said to have been fully impressed with the power of the English Government and were anxious to conciliate and be on friendly terms with it. They manifested no hostility whatever to the messengers, but were very kind, and entertained them.

On the 25th of May, a detachment of Hausas with artillery guard under the command of Captain J. R. P. Gordon accompanied by an ambulance corps under Dr. Henderson and 60 labourers, departed for Ito-kin at 6 o'clock a.m. to escort His Excellency Governor Carter to Ijebu Ode. At 7 o'clock a Royal Salute in honour of Her Majesty's Birth day was fired by the troops in the square in front of the King's palace. The whole force paraded, and were formed into three quarter square, the King's palace filling the fourth, the artillery being placed on the right and left flanks of the troops. The staff took up position in the center of the square, headed by Colonel Scott, and at 7 o'clock the Colonel gave the word of command and the whole body presented guns, which was followed by ringing cheers for Her Majesty the Queen. The carriers numbering over 500 men stood on the outside on the south of the square, and the scene was a very impressive one, and greatly fascinated the king and chiefs who were in the verandah of the palace. The Ijebus appear to be more reconciled to the new condition of things.

On the 27th of May, His Excellency the Governor had an interview with the king at 8 o'clock a.m. in which the destiny of Ijebu Ode was practically settled. The king admitted that he had full knowledge of all communications prior to and in respect of the treaty. He also admitted that human sacrifices had been offered, but limited the number of victims to 6; examination however proved that the number was greater. At this interview the representations of Lagos deputation were shewn to be

ostensibly intended to lead the Government astray. Captain Tarbet with a force of Hausas has been placed in charge of the Ijebu country, in which the king's status depends entirely on his own behaviour.

At this interview, there were present besides the Governor, Honourable G. Stallard, Queen's Advocate, Colonel F. C. Scott C.B., Commander of the Expeditionary force, Captain F. R. Owen, Chief of the Staff, Captain J. R. F. Gordon, Intelligence Officer, Mr. A. L. Hethersett Interpreter, and the Special Correspondent of the "Weekly Record," the Awujale, Chiefs and Attendants. His Excellency the Governor addressing the Awujale said:— "I am sorry to meet you under the present distressing circumstances but you will admit that the fault is not mine. I shall be glad to hear any explanation you have to make, for though your position is unfortunate the responsibility falls on you."



Railways and trams — the modern city takes shape.

The Awujale:— “I thank you for what you have said. All that has happened comes from God. I was here in Ijebu when the king ran away to Epe, and I was then elected king, I refused, but the Baloguns and people begged me to accept the honour, which I did. They were glad and I thought I was loved, and I placed confidence in the people, but latterly the chiefs and young men were opposed to me, particularly the princes sons of the late king. Things were on until Governor Denton arrived in Ijebu, when it was said by the people that I had sold the country to the British Government. On your arrival, the Lagos Government wanted free roads, but the whole people were opposed to it. I had no power. Mr. Payne and others were sent to warn us against any opposition to opening the roads, and of the coming of the expedition. Everything is now in your hands and I will only ask you to point out what will be best for me to do”.

The Governor:— “You sent a deputation to Lagos to do a certain thing and after it was done, you repudiated it, and I should like to hear what you have to say about it, you must admit that every forbearance was shewn to you and your people. I fully explained everything that the Government required of you, and I also gave you the option of sending a deputation to Lagos or of coming to Ijebu myself, and you preferred sending a deputation to Lagos. I not only deputed Captain Haddon-Smith to bring a letter and see that its contents were rightly explained to you, but sent another in further explanation so that there might be no mistake.”

Awujale:— “Your messages and letters were fully explained to us”

The Governor— “Was everything explained to you”

Awujale— “Everything”

The Governor— "After which you sent deputation down and I took it that they represented the Ijebu nation and negotiated with them accordingly. They distinctly stated that they represented the whole Ijebu nation, and I told them plainly and clearly what the Government wanted and what it was necessary to do, and that if your people were not prepared to fall in with the wishes of the Government they must bear the consequences. As the deputation professed not to understand “Book”, two well known natives of Lagos signed the Treaty for the deputation, after the customary oath had been taken on kola nuts and water which I was assured was the most binding form of promise which Ijebus could make. I afterwards took the deputation aside and spoke to them in a friendly manner warning them that serious trouble would arise if the Treaty were broken.”

Awujale— “They told me everything.”

The Governor— "And as a special favour I gave them my own yacht to convey them home."

Awujale— “They told me all.”

The Governor— "Imagine my surprise when a fortnight afterwards you repudiated the whole thing."

Awujale— “The people met at the Ogbonis and selected the deputation to go to Lagos and sent to inform me of it. The deputation returned and delivered its message to the Ogbonis, Owu Agunrin did not bring back message to me till after a lapse of three days. The people came back from the Ogboni meeting and said that they would not accept the Treaty sent from Lagos asking them to accept it. Some missionaries passed, I gave them sheep and sent them on. Then the Yorubas came from Ibadan and began to pillage and that brings trouble.”

The Governor— “That was a condition provided in the Treaty and you should have sent to Ibadan to inform me.”

Awujale— “After that a white man came and said that he heard that three men had been killed. The crowd then became furious and since then the people have become uncontrollable. I afterwards heard of the Expedition and told the people to beg the Governor, but they refused; and when the Expedition got to Epe, I again told the people to yield. But now their eyes are down, and they have been made afraid. The people having found the worse, look to me to beg the Governor. I hope the Governor will have mercy and beg him to help re-arrange matters.”

The Governor— “I have heard your story and believe it. But it all points to one thing, and that is that you are not master of your people. It is impossible under the circumstances that I should leave you here, I have therefore decided to take you to Lagos. I propose to leave a force here to command the country I have not taken all this trouble to

leave the Ijebu people to their own devices. It would be foolish on my part to do so. I am sorry, but the people had brought the trouble on themselves. They have played their game and lost. The Government told them over and over again that it did not want their country, but only required the roads to be kept open. They refused, and now the Government has been obliged to do it in its own way, and has the whole matter in its own hands. It would be folly to leave you here as you have no authority, I shall therefore take you to Lagos.”

The Balogun here interposing said—“If matters are spoilt, they can be made good by some one. The devil always desires the matters should continue wrong. The Ibadans used to pass freely before and we hope the Governor will be merciful with us.”

The Governor— “You have placed yourselves in the position that I cannot believe you. How am I to believe you after what has passed. There is no use in your saying that you will abide by anything when your people will not have it. They are simply likely to do the same thing again. It is circumstances which impel me to this step, and you must not think that it is any pleasure to me.”

Awujale— “I shall be suffering doubly if any steps be taken against me and I beg that the Governor will have pity on me.”

The Governor— “I do not regard it as any trouble or suffering to you, and if I were in your place I should be delighted.”

Awujale— “My people would think and say it is the result of my lies. And I would only ask the Governor to support me in my authority.”

The Governor— “What your people may think will be of no consequence, and that shall not deter me from doing what is best under the circumstances. I suppose you would want me to remove the soldiers as well?”

Awujale— “Yes.”

The Governor— “You must think me very simple. It is impossible that they should be removed or that you should be allowed to remain. You have not fulfilled your promise to bring in food to supply the soldiers, and it was on the condition that you would do so that the town was saved.”

Awujale— “My people all ran away when they began to be plundered, so I had no one to procure provisions.”

The Governor— “Why make a promise which you cannot fulfil? Why not inform Colonel Scott that you were unable to do it?”

Colonel Scott—“You saw the people flogged for plundering?”

Awujale— “I had no one near me and could not do it.”

The Governor— “Why promise when you are unable to fulfil it? I have told you my intention with respect to yourself and have not spoken without consideration of the matter. You will be taken to Lagos and must hold yourself in

readiness. Any property you desire to be taken care of, and your people to the number of six you may desire to have with you, you can take and they will be cared for."

Awujale— "Such a course will be like death to me."

The Governor— "You are an old man it is true, still you must be conscious that it would be extremely foolish to leave you here. It is necessary for many reasons that you should be removed. I desire that both Ijẹbus and Ibadans should come to Lagos, and the Lagos Government will keep this road open itself, we do not wish to interfere with your farms or lands, but we must have some voice in the government of the country."

Awujale— "If the Governor will leave an officer and Hausas I can see that everything goes on right."

The Governor— "There are other questions besides that of commerce. There is the fact that this large country continues to indulge in human sacrifice which is a great disgrace to its people whilst the interior people have given up the practice, the Ijebus on the edge of the lagoon and adjacent to Lagos have not done so. How could it be possible for Her Majesty's Government to tolerate such a thing?"

Awujale— "If prohibition of the practice is put into Treaty I will accept it."

The Governor— "Your people will refuse it. I will consider the question of your removal, and will give you a definite answer tomorrow, but it is absolutely necessary that troops

should be left here, whether you will or not.”



The longest reign ends — Oyekan's funeral procession.

And the interview was terminated. On the 30th of May, another interview took place between His Excellency the Governor and the Awujale, when His Excellency informed the king that he had considered the matter and that he would be allowed to remain in his country. He informed him also that his safety and welfare would depend upon the loyalty and faithfulness manifested by him to the officer left in charge of the troops and expressed a hope that the king would understand his position and adapt himself to it.

On the 31st of May, the force left for Lagos via Ito-Ikin at 8.30 a.m. Arrived Ito-Ikin at 3 o'clock p.m. and embarked at 5 o'clock a.m.

In the year 1893, a joyous event took place in Lagos, after Governor Carter had made peace between the Ibadans, Ilorins and Okitiparapos, on his returning to Lagos he heartily welcomed by the people of Lagos. The public streets through which he was to pass were nicely decorated from Ebute-Ero to the Government House at Okokomaiko, the Chiefs, the elders, the Baloguns, Giwas, or native Captains, surrounded by a crowd on foot and on horse back, lined the pathways both right and left.

When His Excellency arrived at Ebute-Ero, he mounted his charger, and accompanied by his escort, followed by the crowd with drums, horns and tomtoms, the people who lined both pathways shouting everywhere, "O ku abo,"—"Welcome," till accompanied by pathways shouting everywhere, "O ku abo, O ku abo, Welcome," till His Excellency's arrival at the Government House. The guard of honour presented arms, and the band played "National Anthem". As he entered the house he was received by the Chief Registrar Otomba Payne and the white-cap chiefs headed by Chief Eletu Odibo. Then three cheers were given and His Excellency bowed and thanked them all, this closed the occasion.

Attempted taxation — In the year 1895, there was a great fear on the people caused by an attempt by His Excellency Governor Carter to levy a tax on house and land in the island of Lagos. A deputation of the aborigines waited upon the unofficial members of the Legislative Council and expressed their disapproval of the same. After this, about 5,000 citizens of Lagos consisting of all classes went in a

body to Government House to express their disapproval of the proposed house and land taxes. It was thereby rendered null and void.

Bishop Tugwell's letter — In the same year (1895), the Right Rev. Bishop Tugwell sent a letter to the king, the chiefs and elders of Lagos on the mortality of people in Lagos. A mass meeting was held at Enu-Owa by the chiefs of Lagos to devise means whereby the death rate would be diminished; the letter proved that the death rate was attributable to the action of the native medicine men and the Şango worshippers who are using foul means in the town.

At the meeting the leading worshippers were deputed to consider the matter. But the evidence given by the following leading men, namely:— Arobadade, Bamgbose, Agbaosi, Ajanaku, Awise, Lemomu and Alufa Abibu, went against the above charges. Afterwards, it was resolved to address a letter to the leading clergymen at Lagos requesting them to arrange for a week of fervent prayer for that purpose. A letter was also addressed to Bishop Tugwell signed by chiefs Eletu and Onimole stating that what the Bishop regarded as foul means was their remedy the “Omi Ero”. The Bishop then replied in a lengthy letter showing that the high rate of mortality could not have been due to the cause assigned by them, but (1) the crowded condition of the town (2) the absence of any system of drainage, (3) the presence in many of the back streets and nooks of the town, of decaying and rotten vegetables, dirt, filth, rubbish, etc. (4) the need for an embankment or wall on

the north side of the island. (5) the lack of any water supply for the town. (6) the inexperience of the native doctors, their ignorance of the simplest rules of health and of the laws of nursing, the indifference on the part of the sick and their friends to the directions of skilled and qualified medical men. (7) the prevalence of gross mortality among all classes of the community, heathen, Mohammedans, and Christians was the anger of God. He further stated that the “Omi Ero” was a sin to God, and that all should repent of their sins, and serve the true God, and advised that a deputation should wait on the Governor on the matter of sanitation of the town.

The King’s character — King Oyekan was of a modest, and retiring disposition from his youth, he was of a fair and light complexion; he was fond of keeping company with his comrades, he was a hard working fellow, and was a trader; he used to trade in the following market places in the Lagos districts; Ejirinrin, Epe, Badagry, and many other places

He was also a good and kind king. He never meddled in political matters nor interfered with the concerns of the Government, except when called upon to render assistance, which he often did to the great appreciation of the Government. It is said that His Excellency Governor McCallum was so satisfied with the services and general attitude of the king to the British Government that he got his stipend of £300 a year increased to £400. He died comparatively young, having reigned fifteen years. He had been in ill health for a considerable time, and

notwithstanding his indisposition he performed the royal duty till Tuesday the 10th of September 1900 when he died. His death removed from the arena of political life of Lagos a great personage. His death was premature, so that the news caused an alarm to many; but his poor health had been known to his royal family.

ARCHIVE NOTE

Oyekan's long reign carries Losi's chronicle into a recognizably modern Lagos: telegraph, rail, imperial ceremony, and the accelerated tempo of a city being pulled into world systems without ceasing to be itself.

— *Hakimi Şita*

A.D. C. 1833

Opo-Olu

NOTABLE FIGURES



Opo Olu — wealth, power, and accusation at court.

This princess whose history we are about to relate was the grand-daughter of king Ado by Erelu. And on account of the part she played in Lagos in those days our narration would be rather incomplete were we to leave out her name.

In her last days she was very influential of a benevolent disposition. She was blessed with riches and never grudging to spend it. She was equally beautiful, amiable, gentle, patient, and forbearing. By her conduct she gained the esteem of all.

In fact, she was so renowned that her influence almost surpassed that of the then reigning King of her period. As it is customary with the princesses, that when they attained the marriageable age to select their own suitors, she selected her own suitor, but unfortunately she was for many years barren. This unhappy state led her to have recourse to the deities; at last she was told to buy or redeem a slave and make him her husband, she sent accordingly to Ejinrin Market and purchased a Yoruba man by name Olurikiti; by whom she begot a twin. Trusting to her influence she ignored the native custom that no twin shall live, and she took care of them.



The twin — defiance of a cruel custom.

After some time the Ologbonis sent to tell her to destroy the twin, but she refused to obey the order. Opo-Olu herself was compelled to leave Lagos for Iro, in order to nurse her children. Yet the Ologbonis sent to Iro and destroyed the twin.

This unhappy princess was much persecuted in those days, she was three times accused of witchcraft by Chief Eletu Odibo and the Abogbon Chiefs.

In December 1833, a civil war broke out; in this war Olurikiti was killed, and several other influential slaves. As her grand-cousin Kosokọ was much annoyed at this persecution he commenced a civil war against Chief Eletu and the Abogbon Chiefs.



December 1833 — civil war and persecution.

Ọpọ-Olu in the latter part of her days, stayed at Ibese to avoid the violent persecution of her enemies. Governor Glover even attempted to settle this dispute but while the negotiation was going on she died.

Princess Ọpọ-Olu was broad-minded, and was much beloved and respected by her slaves so much so she was always called by them “Yeye” —which means “Mother”.

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War-Captain Osodi Tapa

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A.D. 1824–1895

Mohammed Şita Bey

NOTABLE FIGURES



Mohammed Şita Bey — Saro merchant, Niger route-builder, financier, and patron of the mosque.

*The Sultan of Turkey conferred upon him
the order of the Medjidie — with the title
of Bey of the Ottoman Empire.*

Mohammed Şita was a native of Sierra Leone, and was born in the year 1824. His father's name was Salu, and his mother's Ayisatu; both were pious Mohammedans.

In the year 1844, when Şita was twenty years of age, he left Sierra Leone with his parents and came to settle in Badagry. In the same year, owing to his pious disposition, Salu was elected as Imam by the Mohammedans at Badagry; and Şita was under his good influence and paternal care till the year 1847, when he died.



From Badagry to Lagos — he arrived to take over, not to pray.

In 1852, Şita removed with his mother, his newly married wife and other compatriots from Badagry to Lagos ; this was during the civil wars under king Akitoye. After peace had been restored on the accession of king Dosunmu under the British influence in 1868, he began his trading business which he carried as far as the Niger coast. He built a factory at Egan, and subsequently began to carry on trade with Captain Croft, the Agent of Messrs Miller Brothers. Having well established his trade at Egan, he placed his brother Yesufu as Agent of the firm there, and

returned to Lagos. It was his practice to pay visits to Egan, from the month of September to October, and he generally returned to Lagos during the high water season. He carried on business at the place for many years, at the end of which time, he packed up and removed his trade to Lagos. He was a wealthy merchant, Heaven blessed him abundantly; his wealth increased, and he had many children.

In the year 1892, he completed the erection of a very splendid Mosque at his own expense at a cost of over £3,000 with the quarters for the Imam, and muezzin for the Mohammedans' use at the hours of prayer. The Mosque stands opposite his own house. The building of this made him more popular, and his fame went so far that the Sultan of Turkey conferred upon him the honourable decoration of the order of the "Medjidie," the highest distinction usually bestowed on a civilian, with the title of "Bey" of the Ottoman Empire.



The mosque crowned a commercial empire already built — Medjidie honour at the opening.

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Appendix III

BACK MATTER



Losi's year-by-year chronology of Lagos.

DATE	EVENT
1704	Europeans [originally Portuguese] reached Lagos in the reign of king Akinşemøyin, and foreign slave trade began
1779	King Adele dethroned and left Lagos about Dec
1844	King Oluwọle killed by lightning
1851	King Akitoye and suite (taken from Badagry to Fernando Po in June by Consul Beecroft
Jan. 1st 1852	Sierra Leone Emigrants (Dúdú Yínro) came with king Akíntoye from Badagry to Lagos
June 10th 1852	Oyinbo Alapako (Rev. C. A. Gollmer) reached Lagos from Badagry
1852	Legitimate trade commenced and European Merchants established (Oyinbo Outrin and Sikalu)

DATE	EVENT
1853	Consul Campbell also's Ajase Alpha arrived
Nov. 7th 1853	C. M. S Schoolmaster's house (Mr. Parsee) at Faji struck by lightning—Great lamentation
1853	Oyinbo Gbokero (English Merchant of Banner Brother's House) established
1853	Oyinbo Apongbon [English Merchant McCoskery]
Jan. 28th 1854.	Meeting of King Dósùnmú and Kosòkò's chiefs at Ikosi
Feb 29th 1854	Funeral Obsequies of King Akintoye performed by King Dósùnmú
Aug 2nd 1854	A large full grown male Leopard was killed near C.M.S. House after having attacked and severely wounded two men
Oct. 24th 1854	Bishop Vidal reached Lagos (first Bishop to Lagos)
1855	British Consulate built (tile Ajéle)
April 17th 1857	Madam Tinubu expelled by king Dósùnmú from Lagos
1857	H. M. S. "Bruce" (Oko Ogun) stationed in Lagos harbour for the protection of British interests
May 20th 1858	Consul Campbell visited Abeokuta
1859	First Brick Kiln, alias Oko Tijolo, established at Ebute Meta by Mattheu da Cruz
May 17th 1861	Oko Elefi Apongbon alias S, S, "Advance" (1st Branch Steamer) arrived at Lagos
May 17th 1861	Consul H. G. Foote died at Lagos
Jan. 3rd 1862	First Sessions opened at Government House
Sept. 16th 1862	Kosòkò and chiefs returned to Lagos from Epe

DATE	EVENT
Jan. 22nd 1862.	Governor Freeman arrived
Dec. 3rd 1862.	Meeting of King Dosunmu and King Kosòkò
1863	Oyinbo Adapé Yèyé (2nd Chief Magistrate) arrived
Feb. 18th 1863.	Governor Freeman bombarded Epe, Major. Leveson, Colonial Secretary and Lieutenant Dolborn, R.N. wounded
June 1863.	Second Brick Kiln called “Ebenezer Brickfield” established at Ebute Meta by the Rev. I. M. Harden, American Baptist Mission
June 15th 1863	Oko Etu Oba Government Hall at Apapa
Oct. 7th 1863.	African Commercial Association first formed by all the different tribes in Lagos with J. H. Gooding and Pedro Pacheco as President and Vice-President
March, 13th 1863	Erected Separate Government by letter Patent
September 7th 1864.	Governor Glover visited Egbá Camp at Iperu
Oct. 21st 1865.	Lagos Oil Mills, alias Okuta meji npakuro ni Aladin began operations
July, 1866.	Streets opened and improved particularly Ehin-Ogba alias Victoria Road
Aug. 27th 1867.	Ilegbo expedition by Governor Glover
Feb. 1868.	Naming the Streets of Lagos by Payne
Mar. 1868.	Egba refugees (Christian Converts) granted by Governor Glover at Ebute Metta
Oct. 19th 1868.	Streets Lamps erected and Public wells completed by Governor Glover
June 25th 1869	Police Court (Ile ejo kekere) removed from Olowogbowo to Tinubu Square
June 1872	Governor Glover left

DATE	EVENT
21st Feb 1824 Feb 1874	Ashantee War began Continued 1863-64 and Dec. 1873 ended
April 13th 1876	Grand Funeral Customs held in honour of King Dosunmu's mother
April 28th 1876	Lagos Chiefs obtained permission from the administrator to offer ram, sheep to propitiate the God of fish in the river
Nov 7th 1876	Division of Mahommedans on the Koran owing to a commentary introduced by Solumani from Kano, Lemomu and Nala versus Alli and Momo meeting at Government House
Feb 14th 1876	Firing of guns and rockets in the town of Lagos prohibited
March 2nd 1877	Robbery of 1000 kegs of powder at the Magazine by Hausa guards, headed by Abu Bakare
April 4th 1877	New Court House Tinubu Square, opened
May 9th 1877	Lieut. Governor Lees distributed the Ashantee Medals from England to 100. Housa and Yorubas who went to war in 1873
Aug. 28th 1877	Baruwa Adaramaja fined £200 for assaulting the Mohammedan Priest Alli : owing to division on the Alkoran. Great excitement
Jan 11th 1877	Capt. Dada Bajulai tried at the Assize and fined £50 and one month imprisonment for being engaged in the service of King Tofa
Jan 25th 1878	Public meeting of chiefs, elders and about 2000 people at Government House with Administrator Dumaresq against the Lagos Alien Registration Ordinance
May 10th 1878	Dada proclaimed himself Aṛẹ Ọnakakanfọ with great ceremony

DATE	EVENT
Aug. 9th 1884	Hussey Charity Institution near Okokomaiko opened
Sept. 25th 1882	Comet visible (Ex) great consternation
Dec. 30th 1882	Administrator Moloney declared Meat Market at Ereko opened and formally opened the Public Slaughter House at Tolo (Qfin)
Aug. 31st 1884.	Two Native Mohammedans who left Lagos in 1877 overland for Mecca returned from their Holy Pilgrimage via the Niger amid the great joy of the Mohammedans
Sept. 27th 1884.	Chief Apena and others deported to Gold Coast by Governor Barrow
Aug. 15th 1885.	Yesufu Iti-Qşede convicted of piracy committed at Irq
Sept. 24th 1885.	Chief Apena and others returned to Lagos
April 12th 1886.	Great Tornado. Much damage to houses
June 4th 1886.	Meeting of Envoys and Messengers from Interior Kings at Lagos with Governor Moloney. Treaties of Peace were made
Sept. 2nd 1886.	Telegraphic Communication opened at Lagos
June 21st 1887.	Queen's Jubilee celebrated in Lagos and the Foundation Stone of Glover Memorial Hall laid
Jan. 1888.	Botanic Station established at Ebute Metta
Oct. 15th 1891	Pope of Rome constituted the Yoruba Country a Diocese of the Catholic Church, Rev. Father J. B. Chausse consecrated 1st Bishop 12th July, 1891, arrived in Lagos from France

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