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HAUSA-YORUBA RELATIONS IN AKINYELE TOWN, IBADAN: CONSOLIDATIONS AND TRANSFORMATIONS OF AKINYELE TOWN, 1900-1960

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Abstract: The early nineteenth century saw the growth of rail lines and ports, which substantially aided many existing towns and cities, such as Lagos, Ibadan, Abeokuta, and Kano. These amenities were partly responsible for the emergence of new communities. Indeed, railway construction was a watershed moment in Nigeria's urban development. In the following decades, the population of emergent towns grew dramatically as developing metropolitan centers capitalized on this and other factors that aided their growth and development. Similarly, Yoruba towns and cities were more diverse in terms of ethnic and sub-ethnic composition, religious affiliation, and vocational specialization during this period. This research set out to historically examine Hausa-Yoruba relations in Akinyele between 1900 and 1960 and, in the course of interrogating the historical events that characterized the relations, the study traced the historical trajectory of Akinyele and its metamorphosis from village to town; identified the development of the Hausa settlers' community in Akinyele town; and analyzed the nature and patterns of migration of the Hausa people to Akinyele town. Relevant data were collected through a multidisciplinary approach, while information was collected from primary and secondary sources. Oral interviews were conducted to gather historical facts from the oral traditions and testimonies, while pertinent archival resources were also used as primary sources. In addition, government reports, unpublished theses and dissertations, textbooks, journal articles, newspapers, magazines, and online sources were used as secondary sources of information. Akinyele town was found to have witnessed an influx of Hausa migrants from northern Nigeria for business. Some of these Hausas became settlers in the host community after being allocated land. Also, the congestion of Sabo in Ibadan coupled with the recommendation from the then British Residential officer that the Hausa could seek accommodation elsewhere among their host communities in Ibadan equally gave impetus for the migration of some sets of Hausa people to Akinyele town in the mid-20th century.

Keywords: Hausa-Yoruba relations, consolidation, transformation, Akinyele village, Akinyele town, patterns of migration

1. Introduction

The colonial era began in most parts of Nigeria around 1900, but the Sokoto Caliphate was not completely conquered until 1903. However, even from the late 19th century, the colonial administration introduced some measures that fostered urbanization. The selective development of transport infrastructure resulted in the rise or expansion of towns and cities at seaports, river ports, and rail terminals. Among these infrastructures, railway development is arguably the most important. An extension of the railway line into the hinterlands began in 1896 at Iddo in Lagos and reached Abeokuta in 1898, Ibadan in 1901, Osogbo in 1907 and Jebba in Niger in 1909. The Baro-Kano line was completed in 1912, but no final connection with Lagos was achieved until a bridge was constructed across Niger in 1914.¹

The development of rail lines and ports greatly helped many existing towns and cities, including Lagos, Ibadan, Abeokuta, and Kano. On the other hand, these facilities spawned new towns. Indeed, railway development has been claimed to have been a turning point in Nigeria's urban development.² In subsequent decades, the population of these new towns increased significantly as the rising urban centers took advantage of other factors. ³In the same vein, during this period, Yoruba towns and cities became more heterogeneous in terms of ethnic and sub-ethnic compositions, religious allegiance, and occupational specialization. For instance, Islam became a new identification factor, particularly among the Northern Yoruba, where Muslim traders and scholars had long resided. Heterogeneity was reflected in occupational differences, which often translated into social stratification.⁴ The colonial policy of segregation, which culminated in the establishment of Sabo (a separate Hausa settlement) in Ibadan, impacted the patterns of inter-group relations between Hausa and Yoruba, their host communities. For instance, rather than the cordial relations that had persisted between the two ethnic groups before the advent of colonialism, these relations became strained in the early 1940s. During this period, Yoruba business and political groupings began to be suspicious of their relations with Hausa, who had hitherto been segregated through their residence in Sabo. The segregation was seen as a ploy to give the Hausa political autonomy in Yoruba towns and as an instrument for the development and expansion of Hausa business enterprises and monopoly at the expense of Yoruba traders. Meanwhile, reservation of a particular area in Ibadan for northern immigrants was not adhered to in the mid-20th century even though the Ibadan Native Administration had hitherto allocated, approximately 290 out of 466 plots of land to northern immigrants, while the remainder to another immigrant (mainly, from Ijebu province and natives of Ibadan).⁵

This foregoing and other issues that subsequently cropped up resulted in the writing of a letter (in 1941) in which the chiefs of the Ibadan council insisted that the district officer should make the Hausa realize that, however long they might remain in Ibadan, they would always be regarded as strangers and that on no account would they be allowed in the future to express self-determination of any land.⁶ The situation was not so in other settlements of Hausa migrants in Ibadan, a typical example of which is Akinyele town. Indeed, the trade in Kola as well as cattle

¹Olukoju, A. (2003). Nigerian cities in Historical Perspectives. *Nigerian Cities* T. Falola, and S. J. Salam, Eds. Eritrea: Africa World Press, Inc.25-26.

²Olukoju, A. (2003). Nigerian cities in Historical Perspectives. *Nigerian Cities*. 26-27.

³Olukoju, A. (2003). Nigerian cities in Historical Perspectives. *Nigerian Cities*. 27.

⁴Olukoju, A. (2003). Nigerian cities in Historical Perspectives. *Nigerian Cities*. 24.

⁵*NAI*, Oyo Prof. 592, vol.11 822/224 Nupe, Igbira, and Ilorin Settlements in Mokola, Ibadan. Divisional Office Land section, Western secretariat, Ibadan.to: The secretary Western provinces of Ibadan.12 December 1950.

⁶*NAI*, Ibadan Division, Ibadan. 2787/11 Minutes of the Ibadan Native Administration Inner Council Meeting held at the Chamber, Mapo Hall, on Monday, January 19, 1942.

attracted large numbers of Hausa to Ibadan and gave rise to the establishment of permanent quarters as Sabo, and subsequently other Hausa communities in other areas where they were administered by their leaders.⁷ Therefore, when the established settlement of the Hausa community in Sabo in both Ibadan and Oyo became congested, an inquiry was forwarded to the district officer, where the then Alafin (a paramount king in Oyo town) stated that it was a very good idea that the Hausa should move to the new settlements among the Yoruba communities, who had hitherto accommodated such communities before the establishment of Sabo by the colonial administration.⁸ Notably, in 1946, the situation in the established settlement, Sabo, seriously deteriorated. For instance, the Layout did not allow for any open space, and every plot was allocated, although not all were built on it. Besides, no plot was reserved for public utilities, and the roads had not been constructed and were seriously eroded. An aerial photograph taken 18 months before 1946 equally gave some idea of the buildings erected and of the state of roads. Since then, many more buildings have been erected; some of them being mud houses and thatched huts.⁹ In the same year, the Town Planning Committee, at its first meeting, did not address the question of the proposed Hausa settlements other than Sabo, which had become congested. It did, however, make a recommendation that the Hausa in the congested settlements could find accommodation in other settlements among the Yoruba communities and that the Regional House of Assembly should be located near Orita Mefa or the existing secretariat building. However, while giving further consideration to the future of the Tapa and Igbira settlements, the then Resident Officer concluded that a Town Planning Authority was unnecessary for a settlement of that size.¹⁰ Therefore, in the mid-20th century, some Hausa traders migrated to communities where their people had been accommodated and established among the Yoruba communities in Ibadan. Akinyele town also witnessed an influx of several Hausa community members.

2. Objectives of the Study

This research set out to examine the Hausa-Yoruba Relations in Akinyele between 1900 and 1960. Specifically, the study (i) traced the historical trajectory of Akinyele and its metamorphosis from village to town (ii) identified the development of the Hausa settlers' community in Akinyele, and (iii) historically analyzed the nature and patterns of migration of the Hausa people to Akinyele during these periods.

3. Methodology

Relevant data were collected using a multidisciplinary approach, and historical facts were collected from primary and secondary sources. Oral interviews (oral traditions and testimonies) and pertinent archival materials were used as primary sources of data. In addition, unpublished theses and dissertations, textbooks, journal articles, newspapers, magazines, and online sources were used as secondary sources of information.

4. Akinyele and its Metamorphosis from Village to Town

The name Akinyele came to be known in the 1930s. Before this period, it should be recalled that several names had hitherto been given to this town based on the historical circumstances that occurred and which necessitated

⁷Faluyi, K.2000. Trade in Ibadan since the 1930s. *IBADAN: A Historical, Cultural, and Socio-Economic Study of an African City* G.O. Ogunremi Ed. Lagos: Oluyole Club. Chapter 18. 278.

⁸*NAI*, Oyo Prof. 2/1 Removal of the Hausa to the new Sabongari. Extract from the minutes of the Oyo native Administration Council meeting on the 14th of August 1940.

⁹*NAI*, Oyo Prof. 592, vol.11 822/224 Nupe, Igbira, and Ilorin Settlements in Mokola, Ibadan. Divisional Office Land section, Western secretariat, Ibadan.to: The Secretary of the Western Provinces Ibadan.12 December 1950.

¹⁰*NAI*, Ibadan Division592\132 Senior Resident: Oyo Province No. 1294/198 (132) to the commissioner of Land, Lagos Tapa and Igbira Settlements on Crown land, 27th December, 1946. 101-102.

the names. These names are *Kogbohun*, *Orita Elefo*, and later *Olorunda*. However, when a particular chief whose name was Chief Akinyele came to the town in the early 20th century from another village where he was a chief, his nobility and royal influence went a long way in making him a personality to be reckoned with in the community. His purpose in coming was to engage in business transactions in the Akinyele market. In addition, because of his wealth, he was made chief of the Akinyele market and later elected as the chairman of any meeting held in the community. This made him well-known and celebrated in town.

Similarly, one of Chief Akinyele's sons (Chief Okunola Akinyele) was the first to build the first-story building near the Akinyele market on a plot of land that was given to him by the then *Baale* of Olosun compound (Osunsami) in Akinyele town. This made him popular, and his name was often used to describe the market. Akinyele market. From the first quarter of the 20th century, Akinyele town had become known by its name, such that by the 1970s, when a proposal was made for the creation of a Local Government Area as well as the establishment of a Local Government council in Ibadan, Akinyele was proposed for the sitting of the Local Government Area (LGA) remains Akinyele LGA up till today.¹¹

Akinyele town is located along the Old Oyo-Ibadan Road in the Akinyele Local Government Area of Ibadan. As it has been established in the foregoing, the name "Akinyele" had become popular even before the establishment of the Akinyele Local Government Area in 1976. Akinyele is also bounded and surrounded by various villages and communities in its northern, southern, eastern, and western parts. For instance, the northern part of Akinyele includes villages and communities such as *Kara* market, *Idioro, Pade, Ekeosinu, Oloya, Onidundu,* and *Iware*. However, in the Southern part of Akinyele, villages, and communities, such as *Aba Eebo, Jeje*, Trailer Park, *Oloje, Olope, Oniyere*, and *Idita* are located. The eastern part of Akinyele town includes the following villages and communities: *Onikeke, Ori-Oke Olorunkole* (A tourist center and prayer mountain), *Oyigun, Ajobo, Fagbe, and Babalawo*. In the Western hemisphere, Akinyele town is bounded by villages and communities such as *Aladie, Amosun, Agbirigidi, Oloje, Alagbaa, Akingbala, Akinjero, and Ashimo*.¹²

Apart from the Hausa migrants whose influx in large numbers started in the early part of the 20th century, other people from different parts and outside of Ibadan migrated to Akinyele town to permanently settle there. An influx of these people in conjunction with Hausa migrants went a long way in the transformation of Akinyele from a mere village to a town where thousands of people later resided, engaging in various forms of economic activities.¹³ Therefore, other migrants (most especially, the Yoruba migrants) that later became settlers in Akinyele town include the Ijesa, Ijebu, Ede, Ekiti, and some other migrants from the Eastern part of Nigeria, among others. It is significant to note that a few people in each group of these migrants were known by their occupation lines. For instance, the Ijebu people migrated in large numbers to Akinyele town right from the early 1950s and were mostly engaged in buying and selling cocoa and palm kernels in large quantities. These Ijebu migrants were very popular with this form of occupation up to the latter part of the 21st century when other Yoruba people, equally took part in this line of business.¹⁴

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¹¹Interview with Mr. Muraina Olojede, an 85-year-old farmer and trader, *Iyana Agbirigidi* in Akinyele town, 23-042016. ¹²Researcher's field work

¹³Interview with Mr. Peter Olabanji Osunrinade, 63 years, civil servant, Olosun Compound, Akinyele, on 03-04-2016. ¹⁴Interview with Mr. Peter Olabanji Osunrinade, 63 years, civil servant, Olosun Compound, Akinyele, on 03-04-2016.

Another example of a notable occupation in Akinyele town that had hitherto enhanced the growth and development of agricultural activities from the early 20th century up to the year 2001 was blacksmithing. The Ede migrants were very popular with this occupation. They were mostly engaged in the manufacture of different forms of agricultural or farm tools, traps for both small and big games, and the manufacture of local guns for hunters. The Ijesa, up to the latter part of the 20th century, were mostly engaged in the manufacturing of local gin, which was mainly demanded by people who were fond of consuming it not only in the Akinyele community but also in other villages near and far from Akinyele town. Also, the Ekiti were known for their engagement in diverse trading activities, examples of which were: buying and selling foodstuff in large quantities from both local Akinyele farmers and outside the town. The majority of other migrants from diverse ethnic groups are mostly engaged in agricultural activities such as crop farming and livestock raising.¹⁵

Yoruba men in Akinyele town engaged in various forms of occupation during this period, but the most common was farming. However, apart from farming, some of the men in the town equally combined craft-making with farming, while others engaged in occupations such as fashion design and hunting. In addition, there were a few families in different villages and communities in Akinyele town that were identified with one line of occupation or another during this period. For instance, the family of Osunrinade engaged in farming and fashion design. The family of Emmanuel Alagbe Olaomi equally combined hunting and farming, and the family was known for hunting until the early 21st century. Other families that combined hunting and farming were: Oladepo, Ola, and Sunday Adeyemi's family. Meanwhile, the latter family continues to hunt.¹⁶ Other people engaged in farming in conjunction with the business of selling cash crops such as Cocoa, Coffee, and kola, among others.

Up to the end of the 20th century, most of the Yoruba women in Akinyele town engaged in occupations such as buying and selling of fruits and local food items such as *ogi* or *eko*, *moinmoin*, *alapa*, etc. Another major occupation of the women and/or the female folks during this period was palm oil production in conjunction with other "ingredients" used as sources of fuel and as the main by-products of palm oil.¹⁷ Oil was produced in places designated for its manufacturing, i.e., *Ebu*. In the Yoruba community of the town, there were over 10 designated places where *Ebus* (places where pits were dug for the manufacturing or production of palm oil) were located. Therefore, other women engage in buying and selling of the by-products from palm oil. Examples of these by-products are *Lagidi*, *Iha*, *Oguso*, *and Eesan*.¹⁸

One of the most common festivals in Akinyele town from the early part of the 20th century to the latter part of the century was the *Osun* festival. The Yoruba and Hausa in Akinyele town, as well as people from other villages and communities that are closer to the town, usually took part in the yearly celebration of this festival as well as in the normal routine worship of the *Osun* deity. The designated place for worshiping *Osun* was located around the *Olosun* compound in Akinyele town. A few of the items that were often used to celebrate the *Osun* festival are hens, billy goats, *yanrin* (a type of vegetables), *ekuru*, *Ilako* (a particular breed of snail), fried beans, *and gbegiri soup*. A drummer at the Osun festival was an *Ojo* man from *Ositedo* village. However, Yewande, the wife of Olaomi (one of the *Baales* in the Olosun compound between 1936 and 1958), was the *Arugba Osun* (a girl saddled with the responsibility of carrying the calabash during the *Osun* festival). The festival was usually celebrated for 7 days a year. It is often celebrated during the harvest period.¹⁹ Therefore, from the latter part of

¹⁸Interview with Mrs. Mobolaji Osundiran, 79 years old, a trader in Akinyele Market, on 03-04-2016.

¹⁵Interview held with Gbadamosi Amope, 84 years, an older adult woman, on Onikeke Compound in Akinyele town, 24-03-2016.

¹⁶Interview held with Mr. Peter Olabanji Osunrinade, 63 years, civil servant, Olosun Compound, Akinyele, 03-04-2016.

¹⁷Interview with Mrs. Amuda Osunyemi, a 45-year-old businesswoman, at Akinyele Market in Akinyele town, 24-04-2016.

¹⁹Interview held with Alhaji Gani Aderibigbe, 76 years old, a farmer and trader, Akinyele town, 26-03-2016.

the 19th century to the mid-1990s, Akinyele was known for the *Osun* festival. Indeed, the *Olosun* compound in Akinyele was often populated with people from various villages and communities. The Hausa settlers during this period were not left behind among the people who took part in the *Osun* festival.²⁰

5. Establishment of the Hausa Community in Ibadan

It is significant to realize that the history of the established Hausa settlement - *Sabo* could be divided for this analysis into five periods: 1906 -1915, during which the Hausa cattle landlords, using the menace of the large number of Hausa larcenists who operated in the city, as a means of pressure on the city's authorities, struggled to achieve an independent Hausa political organization to stop Yoruba men from entering the Ibadan cattle market; 1916-1929, marking the formal institutionalization of Hausa autonomy in Ibadan with the establishment of a well-circumscribed Hausa quarter, under the authority of a Hausa chief of the Quarter, under the newly formed British policy of Indirect Rule, with its concepts and methods²¹; 1930-1942, which saw an internal struggle for power and authority within the Quarter, leading to the emergence of a united political authority for *Sabo*, and thus making for a greater degree of political integration within the Quarter and for a more effective political action *vis-a-vis* the Yoruba; 1943-1950, which was characterized by the development of Hausa monopoly over the trade in Kola, as well as by a string of political unrest in the Quarter as a result of Yoruba political and economic groups' attack on the Quarter's political autonomy and 1951-1963 which ushered in a new era in the social organization of *Sabo* due to the collapse of the British Indirect Rule system of government, and Nigeria's nationalist movement's growth and eventual achievement of independence.

The political processes resulting from these changes undermined the political autonomy and economics of the Hausa people in Ibadan. Concomitant with these changes was the rapid organization of other forms of settlements or Hausa communities in the villages among the Yoruba host communities, which also indirectly culminated in the articulation of power relations with their host communities.²² Significantly, the then City Council indirectly spurred the spread and the establishment of other Hausa communities among the Yoruba by eventually revoking the recognition of *Sabo* as a specifically Hausa area in 1952 since this was seen as encouraging ethnicity rather than national unity, and some recent Hausa migrants have had to seek accommodation with Yoruba landlords elsewhere in other parts of Ibadan.²³

6. The Development of the Hausa Community in Akinyele Town and the Patterns of the Migration of Hausa People

The nineteenth century introduced major catalysts: the fall of the old Oyo Empire, the subsequent Yoruba civil wars, and the Sokoto jihad. The wars that accompanied the jihad, Oyo's fall, and the rise of Ibadan led to the destruction and growth of new towns. The towns were larger in size and population, and the conditions of the times permitted experimentation in political organization and the spread of Islam and literacy. There was also a greater heterogeneity occasioned by the migration of people from different ethnic groups, resulting in diversity in the ethnic, social, and religious composition of these towns.²⁴

²⁰Interview held with Mr. Muraina Olojede, an 85-year-old farmer and trader, Iyana *Agbirigidi* in Akinyele town, 23-04-2016.

²¹ Cohen, A. (1969). *Custom and Politics in Urban Africa: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns*.101-102.

²²Cohen, A. (1969). Customs and Politics in Urban Africa: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns. 102.

²³Cohen, A. (1981). The Politics of Elite Culture: Explorations of the Dramaturgy of power in A Modern African Society. London, England: University of California Press.220.

²⁴Olukoju, A. (2003). Nigerian cities in Historical Perspectives. *Nigerian Cities* T. Falola and S. J. Salam, Eds. Eritrea: Africa World Press, Inc. 40.

Compared to the pre-colonial tasks faced by their forebears, the Hausa in the "Diasporas" encountered very different functions during the colonial era. In the pre-colonial era, migration led to integration with the host community, whereas in the colonial period, migration was overwhelmingly marked by segregation. For instance, the establishment of *Sabon-Gari* between 1916 and 1917 was a central thrust of the British divide-and-rule system, constructed to make colonial rule flourish over ethnic division and enforce segregation.²⁵ For the Yoruba and Hausa, colonial segregation was ineffective because of the historical relations that existed between the two groups for no less than 500 years before British rule. To some extent, the two ethnic groups opposed the concept of segregation. For instance, the British in Ibadan encountered significant difficulties in building the Sabon-Gari townships.²⁶

The migration of Hausa to different communities and towns in Ibadan was mostly predicated on the modes of business activities in these towns. For instance, the demand for cattle at a particular period steadily increased for several reasons. The first was the increase in Ibadan's population. Similarly, the railway between Ibadan and Lagos was opened in 1901, and it was later extended to Oshogbo in 1906 and then to Kano in 1912. Another significant development was the introduction of cocoa into Yorubaland, which soon became a vital source of income and wealth in the area. At the same time, the city was becoming an important place for commerce. Consequently, as the income levels of the city's residents rose, so did the demand for beef meat, which the Hausa promptly met.

Hausa cattle dealers bought herds of cattle and lodged them in Yoruba compounds. They sold the cattle to Hausa migrants' butchers and then returned to the North to bring more cattle. With time, a few of those dealers remained in Ibadan and had their associates or clients bring cattle for them to sell. Some of these settled men specialized in operating as brokers for other dealers coming from the North. ²⁷A closely-knit network of Hausa centers for the sale of cattle and the purchase, storage, padding, and transport of kola to the North sprang up in the course of the first half of the 20th century all over Yorubaland. Communities of Hausa people who were already well-established for selling livestock and other goods functioned as the foundation from which other men ran the kola trade. As a result, these communities grew larger and more intricately organized. New Hausa communities were established in locations where no such communities. From all these communities, smaller Hausa communities and trading stations were identified among the Yoruba.²⁸

The advent of Hausa migrants in Akinyele town began in the latter part of the 19th century and reached its culmination at the beginning of the 21st century when a big market that could be aptly regarded as a "replica" of *the Kara* market (a big market, mostly for the selling of foodstuff in Ibadan, Oyo state) at Bodija in Ibadan was established by the then governor of Oyo state, Alhaji Lam Adesina. Before this period, the first set of Hausa migrants who later became settlers in Akinyele town migrated from the Northern part of the country (i.e. from states such as Kano, Sokoto, etc.).

According to Adijatu Usman, oral tradition from her parents revealed that her grandfather with the members of his family to Akinyele village from Sokoto in the early part of the 20th century. The names of her father and

- ²⁶Olaniyi, R. (2006). Approaching the study of the Yoruba Diaspora in Northern Nigeria.236.
- ²⁷Cohen, A. (1969). Customs and Politics in Urban Africa: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns. 105.

²⁸Cohen, A. (1969). Customs and Politics in Urban Africa: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns. 21.

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²⁵Olaniyi, R. (2006). Approaching the study of the Yoruba Diaspora in Northern Nigeria. *Yoruba Identity and power politics* T. Falola and A. Genova, Eds. USA: University of Rochester Press. 236.

grandfather were Mallam Mohammed and Ammed, respectively. Part of the rationale adduced for their migration from the north to the western part of Nigeria was to adequately prepare for the wedding of her father and, more importantly, to buy materials that would be used for the wedding.²⁹ During that period, people from the Northern part of the country could use it up to a month before the Southwest. Meanwhile, upon reaching Akinyele Village, they decided to take a rest after meeting a few Hausa living with the Yoruba. They were hosted by Seriki Seidi, the leader of the Hausa community. Indeed, the hospitality they received from the Hausa community coupled with the accommodating gestures from their host community (the Yoruba) 'catalyzed' her father's decision to stay with the Hausa people and subsequently decided to reside in Akinyele village.

However, it was customary by then that whenever any Hausa visitor or guest arrived at the village, he should pay a courtesy visit to the then *Seriki*, who would later take every one of the new Hausa migrants to the *Baale* (the head of the Yoruba community). In addition, she stated: "My mother, who was one of Seriki Seidi's daughters, was given to my father for marriage, and am the first child and daughter of my parents." According to the oral testimony from her parents, the then *Baale* attended the wedding ceremony because he was invited as the special guest of honor."³⁰

Similarly, Alhaji Danlami Hassan (another Hausa man who was born and bred in Akinyele town) reiterated thus: "I was born here in Akinyele about 66 years ago. My mother (Hafsat) was born in this town too. Meanwhile, my father told me that he migrated from Sokoto to Akinyele town before he got married to my mother and later engaged in the buying and selling of Kola."³¹ A few Hausa people (about four) during this period also migrated from Bornu to settle in Akinyele. They married and had children in the village.³² In addition, another set of Hausa people migrated from Katsina, a state in northern Nigeria. According to oral traditions, the number of Hausa who migrated from Katsina was about five. They married, had children and grandchildren and, till today, live in the village as permanent residents.³³

Furthermore, another Hausa migrant from Kano arrived in Akinyele in the early 1950s. The name of this Hausa man was Mallam Muhammed. He came along with his wife and was given a piece of land freely at the back of the house of Osundiran (the then *Baale* of Akinyele) to build. Also, a Hausa man whose name was Saliu migrated to Akinyele, married, and had two sons: Lukman and Yakub.³⁴ Nevertheless, other members (a large number) of the Hausa community in Akinyele town migrated from Mokola *Sabon Geri*, especially in the late 1940s and early 1950s, as a result of the conspicuous congestion or overpopulation of the area.³⁵

It was customary that the house of the "*Lemamu*" would be used as a temporary residence for any of the Hausa who migrated from the *Sabon Geri* at Mokola. Meanwhile, the first set of Hausa men who migrated from *Sabo* were three brothers, Ibrahim, Musa, and Aliu.³⁶ The *Seriki* of Hausa then took them to the *Baale*, who instructed them to come back after three days to finalize the procedures for their stay (permanent residence) in Akinyele

²⁹Interview held with Adijatu Usman, 86 years, an older adult woman, Ago Awusa, in Akinyele, on 03-04-2016.

³⁰Interview held with Adijatu Usman, 86 years, an older adult woman, *Ago Awusa*, in Akinyele Town, 03-04-2016.

³¹Interview with Alhaji Danlami Hassan, 66 years old, a businessman from Aba Ebo Estate in Akinyele Town, 09-04-2016.

³²Interview held with Adijatu Usman, 86 years, an older adult woman, Ago Awusa, in Akinyele, on 03-04-2016.

³³Interview held with Adijatu Usman, 86 years, an older adult woman, Ago Awusa, in Akinyele, on 03-04-2016.

³⁴Interview with Mrs. Mobolaji Osundiran, 79 years old, a trader in Akinyele Market, 3-04-2016.

³⁵Interview held with Hussein Abdullah, 85 years, an older adult man, *Ago Awusa*, in Akinyele Town, 03-04-2016.

³⁶Interview held with Alhaja Wulematu Omolangbejo, 100 years +, an older adult woman (*Ago Awusa*) at 100 years old in Akinyele on 03-04-2016.

town. When they later asked what they would pay for the appreciation of the "residential permit" given to them by the *Baale*, they were just told to bring a token (one celling, nine pence) to buy palm wine for the celebration of the residential permit.³⁷

It is important to note that in 1941 when the Hausa settlement at *Sabon Gari* had been badly congested for some time, the senior Resident, Mr. H.F.M. White, approved a proposal to lay out an area bounded by Ibadan-Oyo road, and thereby approved for the Hausa migrants to seek accommodation in any of the Yoruba communities. This step subsequently led to the prohibition of further building in *Sabon Gari*.³⁸ This necessitated the movement of some of the Hausa to other settlements in Ibadan, and during this period, a few of these Hausa migrated to Akinyele town. Meanwhile, the Resident had earlier referred to his letter No.1294/144 of 11th January 1940, which further emphasized that the Hausa could not be forced to live in the *Sabon-Gari* or the Tapa settlement, as they could find accommodations elsewhere in any of the Yoruba communities that could offer to accommodate them.³⁹

Apart from the Hausa who migrated from *Sabo* (a Hausa settlement established by the British officials) to Akinyele town during this period, other Hausa migrants also came from places such as *Isale Osi*, and *Oje*, in Ibadan. Many of these migrants were youths. A few of these youth migrated to Moniya (a town near Akinyele), while others settled in Akinyele. Meanwhile, from the early part of the 21st century, some Hausa migrants who resided in Akinyele began to spread to the peripheries of the town. In other words, they sought accommodations in other nearby villages, like *Onikeke, Oyigun, Aba Eebo, Agbirigidi, Onidundun*, etc., and therefore built houses and became permanent residents in those villages.⁴⁰ One significant aspect of the nature of relations between the Hausa migrants and their Yoruba host communities is that pieces of land were allocated to the former based on the request and recommendation of the head of the Hausa community in Akinyele town. In the same vein, these pieces of land were often allocated *gratis*, both for Hausa business purposes and for erecting buildings.⁴¹

It is often routinely assumed by natives that the children or even grandchildren of a settler remain settlers even when their progenitor has lived and died on their adopted land. This is a general attitude not only of the Ibadan people but also of other places in Nigeria. When the family name is not associated with any sub-ethnic group, blending with natives is much easier. Yet, there are cases in which the children or grandchildren have many more contacts and friends in the new land and have invested there than in the place of origin of their forefathers.⁴² The latter scenario can be said to have been the experience of most of the Hausa settlers in Akinyele town during this period.

³⁷Interview held with Alhaja Wulematu Omolangbejo, 100 years +, an older adult woman (*Ago Awusa*) at 100 years old in Akinyele on 03-04-2016.

³⁸NAI, Oyo Prof.592/116 vol. 11 Provincial Office, Oyo, Nigeria to: The Secretary, Western Provinces, Ibadan: New Hausa Settlement: With reference Ibadan. 27th July, 1946.

³⁹NAI, Ibadan Division, 1605/07 Hausa, Nupe, Ibadan, Resident Abeokuta Province Honorable the Secretary, Western provinces, Ibadan. 13 March 1940.

⁴⁰Interview held with Adijatu Usman, 86 years, an older adult woman, Ago Awusa, in Akinyele, on 03-04-2016.

⁴¹Interview held with Alhaja Wulematu Omolangbejo, 100 years +, an older adult woman (*Ago Awusa*) at 100 years old in Akinyele on 03-04-2016.

 ⁴²Ogunshola, A. O. (2011). *Migrants and Settlers* Oluyole Club, Lagos, Annual Lecture on Ibadan Cosmopolitanism
View. Kakanfo Inn, Ibadan, on Saturday, January 8, 2011. 38.

The migration of a few of the Hausa women to Akinyele town was necessitated by intra-ethnic marriage between them and their male Hausa migrants who had hitherto become settlers in Akinyele town. One category of Hausa women is Alhaja Wulematu Omolangbejo. According to her, she came from *Fiditi* (a town near Oyo) about 80 years ago to Akinyele. When she was living in *Fiditi*, she met Mr. Muhammadu Jimoh, who was one of the Hausa settlers in Akinyele, and they subsequently. She initially migrated from Kano to *Fiditi* along with her mother after her father, who was a military officer, died. They settled in *Fiditi*, among a few Hausa migrants who had formed a trading community with their Yoruba counterparts.⁴³ Similarly, she repeated and affirmed that: "… the Hausa migrants in Akinyele town were allocated pieces of land free of charge not only for their business but also for erecting buildings. This kind gesture from the Yoruba has brought about an appreciable level of conviviality that made the relationship between the Hausa and Yoruba cordial and gave room for intermarriage and other cultural exchanges.⁴⁴

Apart from these groups of Hausa migrants, there were equally 'seasonal Hausa' migrants. This category of Hausa migrants came to Akinyele purposely to do business during the harvest season and other farming activities.⁴⁵ These groups of Hausa could be classified as 'seasonal migrants' because they were not permanent residents in Akinyele town; rather, they often peregrinated between the Northern and western parts of Nigeria because of the seasonal nature of their occupations. Therefore, they tended to return to their states or other places within the Southwest after the season of their occupation ended. These groups of Hausa migrants are called *Enchirani*. They stay in Akinyele town for three to four months before returning to their states or elsewhere in the Southwest. A few of these Hausa migrants usually come twice a year. Only a few of them are married and have children in Akinyele town. Statistically, these groups of Hausa migrants were at least 300 in number every year. Initially, many of these Hausa migrants often slept inside the Mosque, but as they were later instructed not to sleep in the Mosque again, they rented apartments from their contemporaries in the Hausa community.⁴⁶

7. Conclusion

In conclusion, one of the noticeable hallmarks in the growth and development of Akinyele town and the Hausa community during this historical epoch is that there was a phenomenal increase in the number of Hausa migrants in the town from different parts of the northern part of Nigeria and other places within the Yoruba communities, that had already accommodated Hausa migrants even before the establishment of *Sabo* in the early 20th century. However, the eventual overpopulation of *Sabo* and the determination of the Residential officer to decongest it brought about the influx of Hausa migrants from *Sabo* into other communities in Yoruba villages and towns and Akinyele town could not be an exception. The Hausa migrants during this period were readily accommodated into Akinyele town not only because of the settlement that had hitherto been maintained before colonialism but also the accommodating gestures displayed by their host community - the Yoruba in this town. Significantly, the dynamics of Hausa-Yoruba relations in the town changed after independence in 1960.⁴⁷

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(A) Primary sources

⁴⁷Interview held with Mrs. Osunyemi Amuda, a 45-year-old businesswoman, at Akinyele Market in Akinyele town, 24-04-2016.

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https://sadijournals.org/Journals/index.php/sijssh

⁴³Interview with Mr. Muhammed Isiaka, 73 years old, an *Alfa* \Imam of the Hausa Community, *Ago Awusa* in Akinyele town, 24-04-2016.

⁴⁴Interview with Mr. HarunaYakubu, an 82-year-old trader, *Ago Awusa* in Akinyele town 24-04-2016.

⁴⁵Interview with Mr. Kazim Ajibola Osundiran, 45 years, a businessman, *Olosun* Compound, in Akinyele, on 03-04-2016.

⁴⁶Interview with Mr. Kazim Ajibola Osundiran, 45 years, a businessman, *Olosun* Compound, in Akinyele, on 03-04-2016.

(I) Archival Sources\Materials

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(II) List of informants.

Names of Informants	Age	Occupation \Position	Interview Place	Date of interview
Abdulah, H (Mr)	85	Trading	<i>Ago Awusa</i> in Akinyele	
Aderibigbe, G. (Alhaji)	76	Farming and Trading	<i>Iyana Agbirigidi</i> , Akinyele town	05-12-2015 and 26- 03-2016.
Danlami, H. (Alhaji)	66	Cattle Selling∖ Seriki Hausawa, Akinyele Town	Aba Ebo and Ago Awusa in Akinyele	09-04-2016 and 24- 04-2016.
Gbadamosi, A. (Mrs.)	84	Trading	<i>Onikeke</i> Compound in Akinyele	24-03-2016.
Haruna, Y.(Mr.)	82	Trading(dealing in buying and selling of fruits)	<i>Ago Awusa</i> in Akinyele	
Muhammed, I. (Mr)	73	<i>Alfa</i> \Imam of the Hausa community	<i>Ago Awusa</i> in Akinyele	2016.
Olojede, M. (Mr.)	85	Farming and Trading (dealing in buying and selling of cocoa and groundnut)	<i>Iyana Agbirigidi</i> , Akinyele town	23-04-2016 and 8-05- 2016.
Osundiran, A. K.(Mr.)	45	Businessperson (dealing in buying and selling of fruits and land)	Fruit Market, Iyana Orioke, Olorunkolein, Akinyele Town	03-04-2016.
Osundiran, M.(Mrs.)	79	Trading	Akinyele Market, Akinyele Town	30-04-2016.
Osunrinade, O.P. (Mr.)	63	Civil servant	Olosun area in Akinyele	2015 and 03-04-2016.
Osunyemi, A.(Mrs.)	45	Businesswoman	Akinyele Market, Akinyele Town	
Usman, A. (Mrs.)	86	Trading	Ago Awusa in Akinyele	
Wulematu, O. (Alhaja)	100+		<i>Ago Awusa</i> in Akinyele	03-04-2016.

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