

Re-thinking Traditions of Origin and State Formation in Ikorodu up to 1894

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Abstract

As is the case with most towns in Yorubaland, the tradition of origin and migration stories of the coastal community of Ikorodu is shrouded in controversy, making it difficult for historians to categorically state its origin. As a result, historians have not yet concretised their views about the possible place of origin of the Ikorodu people. While efforts have been made to make meaningful deductions from a large body of oral data, findings from such efforts have led to several versions of how the community and her people came into existence. Extant literature on the tradition of origin of Ikorodu focused on one version over the other. The state formation of the community has not received quality attention from scholars, a situation which has created a vacuum in the historiography of Ikorodu's history. This paper interrogates the various versions of the traditions of origin of Ikorodu. It draws inferences to settle certain fundamental historical issues. It examines the formation of the state up to 1894, when Ikorodu was ceded to the British, and highlights the features of state formation before the period. This paper adopts a simple historical narrative method, relying on information from in-depth interviews, archived materials and secondary sources. The paper concludes that Ikorodu community had long established structures of state and evolved its own mechanism of governance before the coming of the British.

Keywords: *Ikorodu, Lagos, Migration, State formation, Traditions of origin*

Introduction

The history and traditions of origin of most pre-literate African kingdoms and communities depend entirely on oral traditions shrouded in myths and legends. This is because of the absence of written documents. As a result, documenting and understanding the traditions of origins of African peoples has been a daunting task for historians, largely because of their mode of preservation, which is often through verbal testimonies and accounts handed down from one generation to another. Therefore, the historian's craft of interpretation and reconstruction is often affected by echoes and distortions of oral tradition in human repositories.¹ In an attempt to preserve past events, experiences, and particular phenomena, valuable information is stored in the memory for posterity. Interestingly, some of the details no matter how disjointed and vague, point to the deliberate effort by African peoples to understand and interpret the world around them – a task that sometimes blurs the line between myth and reality. This has led to the diverse nature of the traditions, which are as complex and as varied as the people they represent, emphasising powerful themes that have come to characterise the history of pre-literate African societies.² In Yoruba land, oral tradition has been the bedrock of historical reconstruction. From the ancient kingdoms of Yoruba west lands, through the eastern part and across the coastal part of Yoruba land, the history of the Yoruba people cannot be discussed without placing oral tradition at the centre of it. This explains why there are different versions of origins because different groups migrated at different times, forming peculiar identities, claiming lands and establishing authority over the people either through war of conquest, diplomacy or imposition. As a result, states are formed, kingdoms are established but the traditions of origin of these states and kingdoms continue to generate controversies from time to time.

The body of scholarly works on Ikorodu has not comprehensively examined the various versions of the history of the community. Most studies on the community have focused on sphere or the other in the community. For example, *An Administrative History of Ikorodu, 1894 – 1960* by Boge.³ The author traces the origin of Ikorodu to a Remo Prince who founded Ikorodu in the seventeenth century as an integral part of the Ijebu Kingdom. In her Master's dissertation, titled *A Political History of Ikorodu from the 17th Century to 1894, Saidat Olayinka Oladunjoye*⁴ makes a major contribution to

the body of literature on the early history of Ikorodu. The study argues that the history of Ikorodu in the pre-colonial era was essentially that of the integration of people from various Yoruba groups into an entity that developed into a town and that the three principal quarters in Ikorodu; Isele, Ijому and Aga, were peopled at various times from Orile Offin, Epe, Ijebu Ode, Imota, Abeokuta and even Benin. *The History and Evolution of the Ikorodu Ruling Houses of Lagos State (1630-1971)*⁵ by Ogbara, Omotola Alake, is another work that is directly related to the present study.

The work focuses on the ruling houses in Ikorodu and how they came about. It examined the origin of the ruling houses. “*Ikorodu is a Remoland*” is another literature that argues to justify the argument that Ikorodu was founded by an Oga, a Remo Prince.⁶ In this literature, Oguntade narrates the tradition of origin of Ikorodu and gives socio-cultural and linguistic arguments in support of the tradition that states that Ikorodu is part of Remoland. The central argument of the writer, which he did excellently well, is to place Ikorodu within the context of Remo’s kingdom. Another literature that is germane to this discourse is “*Why Ikorodu Oga?*”⁷ This study explained that Ikorodu was founded by Olusoga, a prince who left Remo for adventure and glory. He argued that Olusoga felt there was no future for him in Remo because of the large number of princes who were all vying to occupy the Remo stool. This informed his decision to migrate out and eventually stopped at the crossroad where he felt was best to settle down.

Also, in a similar study by Boge, *Ikorodu in the Nineteenth Century: A Historical Foundation of a Suburban Society the origin of the coastal town of Ikorodu*.⁸ Here, Boge states that the beginning of settlement in Ikorodu has been traced to the seventeenth century. It was first peopled by a Remo Prince, Olusoga (now popularly referred to as Oga) and his entourage. He, however, did not go beyond this as he concentrates on the trade and geography of Ikorodu as a suburban society. Tunde Oduwobi’s *British Annexation of Epe and Ikorodu, 1892 – 1894: A Historical Survey*, examines the nature and character of British colonial acquisition in Ijebuland at the end of the nineteenth century. The author states that the defeat of the Ijebu kingdom in 1892 by the British weakened the central authority of the state in the face of the development of fissiparous tendencies encouraged by the British for their political and economic interests.

In all, the review of available literature undertaken above clearly revealed that most of the works on Ikorodu have focused on one aspect or the other of Ikorodu's history, with none making a comparative interrogation of the various versions of the tradition of origin, and none discussed the state formation of Ikorodu. This gap, created by extant literature, is what this paper sets out to achieve. This paper re-thinks the various traditions of origin of Ikorodu and examines the state formation processes up 1894 when all inhabitants of Ikorodu became British subjects by the virtue of the Cession Deed of August 4, 1894.⁹

Interrogating the Traditions of Origin of Ikorodu

Ikorodu is essentially, today a predominantly coastal Yoruba town, with the Remo and Ijebu laying claims to its ancestrality.¹⁰ The Ijebu claimed that Ikorodu was founded by one "Ogborin", an "Agemo" priest from Idowa. Ogborin Sekuoye (son of Dagburewe of Idowa) was the first inhabitant of Oko Odu. He was the farmer who cultivated the Odu vegetables, and hence he was the first settler in the area. His descendants are settled today in Itunmaja, one of the quarters in Ikorodu.¹¹ It is important to state that, apart from Ogborin, there were other people who also migrated into Ikorodu at different times in history. These migrants clustered around the nucleus of settlement called 'Itun' in Ijebu dialects, otherwise known as quarters in the English language, located within the three administrative areas of Ikorodu (Aga, Ijому and Isele). For example, it was believed that *Itun-layeode* people in Ikorodu are migrants from Ode-Remo, a community in Remoland, whereas, *Itun-soku* quarter in Ikorodu is mainly occupied by migrants from Isokun in Sagamu, the capital town of Remo kingdom. Similarly, Ita-Gbodo people are settlers from *Oke-Gbodo* in Ogun State. In the case of Itun-Elepe, it was mainly occupied by migrants from *Elepe* stock in Ishagamu, while *Itun-waiye* was originally the quarter of people from Iwaye in Ogun State; Itun-soku was originally migrants whose roots could be traced to Isokun quarters in Ishagamu and *Itun-ojoru* was the quarter dominated by migrants of Egba origin from Abeokuta. The point being made is that the argument of the descendants of Ogborin Sekuoye, who claimed that Ikorodu was founded by migrants of the Ijebu stock does not hold water as evidence has gone to show that the Remo stock dominates the Ijebu stock in Ikorodu. This leads us to the

Remo version of the tradition of origin of Ikorodu. However, within this Remo version, there are three variations to it.

The first variation of the Remo version could be traced back to the migrations of some royal families from the Iremo district of Ile-Ife. One of these migrations, according to the body of oral traditions in Ikorodu, was led by one Koyelu from Iremo in Ile Ife to Ijebu Remo. The Migrations involved thirty-three groups which left Iremo in Ife Oyelagbo for Remo. Ikorodu and Igbogbo groups were among these thirty-three migratory groups. Initially, Koyelu, his family and his followers settled at Orile Offin which is a quarter in Sagamu today. He took the title of Akarigbo and became the head of the community which developed a well organised socio-political order. It was from Orile Offin that three of his sons migrated further south to found Ikorodu, Ipakodo and Owotu. According to this version, two of the sons of Koyelu, Lasunwon and Sekumade, who were hunters on various occasions, left Orile Offin for hunting as far as the location of present-day Ikorodu town. While hunting in this location, the need arose for them to survive since they usually spent weeks in this location. This led them to establish subsistence farming. Subsequently, they established “Igo Odu”, which literally means a farm of Odu. With time, these two princes and sons of Koyelu settled at different parts of their hunting forest. While, Lasunwon remained permanently in Ikorodu, his brother Sekumade left for Ipakodo.¹²

The second variation of the Remo version of Ikorodu’s tradition of origin disapproves of the direct migration from Ife Oyelagbo directly but agrees to the fact that Ikorodu originated from Orile Offin, a quarter in Sagamu, the capital city of Remo land. According to this version, Ikorodu was founded by Lasuwon, the first son of Koyelu and heir to the throne of the Akarigbo of Remo. The version states that Lasuwon was being prepared to take over the state affairs of Remo but he was not interested in the politics of the state. Rather, he focused on his hunting and on one of his hunting expeditions far away from home, he discovered Odu plant growing in a particular location. To cut off from the politicking at home and the pressures on him to take over state affairs, he decided to stay back at the new-found land with abundant Odu plants and make it his permanent home.

A third tradition of origin of the Remo version states that Ikorodu was not founded by Lasuwon but by Olusoga, the first son of Koyelu. According to this version, Olusoga was a warrior-hunter, prominent trader with

enormous wealth and followers. Olusoga, left Orile Offin with his brothers Lasuwon and Sekumade who were also hunters and his followers. While Lasuwon and Sekumade joined the journey as escorts, Olusoga never planned to return. His motive was to go far away from home. This was why he left with his followers, including diviners, healers and slaves. On getting to a particular land with Odu plants, Olusoga was said to have exclaimed, “Oko Odu re” meaning this is a land of Odu plants. As a result, he ordered his followers to settle in the place and this was how they came to establish their settlement in “Oko Odu”. Also, the colonial report on Ikorodu history, as reported by the Assistant District Officer, states that:

Apart from those living in the swampy fringe to the Lagoon, the people of the whole of this area undoubtedly belong to the Remo sub – tribe of the Ijebu people, whose titular head was the Akarigbo of Shagamu. The elders of Ikorodu connect their history with a tradition of a wandering progress by one Koyelu, the first Akarigbo from his inland home at Offin to Gberigbe and onto Ikorodu, where he found a settlement by people related to himself in existence, enlarged it, established contact with Lagos, produced a ruling house which has on occasion provided successors to his own title and before returning inland made provision for the regulation by the head Chief or Oloja of Ikorodu of a market which sprang up at the waterside.¹³

The above gives credence to Ikorodu as a community founded by a royalty from the Remo stock of Ijebu. It also confirms Koyelu, from Offin, as the first Akarigbo who founded and established his ruling house in Ikorodu. Although the report is silent on Olusoga and Lasuwon, sons of Koyelu but the fact that Koyelu established a ruling house before returning inland shows that he must have handed over to his sons.

Indeed, one dominant theme in the three variations of the Remo version of the tradition of Origin of Ikorodu, is the fact that Orile Offin is accepted as the ancestral home which overlords Ikorodu and this can be seen in the father-son relationship existing between Orile Offin as personified in Koyelu the Akarigbo of Remo and Ikorodu as personified in Lasuwon, Oga,

and Sekumade. Among the three sons, Oga seems to have enjoyed enormous mention in the body of traditions of Ikorodu and even the cognomen of Ikorodu, “Ikorodu Oga”, points to this. Thus, while Oga, the eldest son, became the Oloja, and head of the newly established “Oko Odu” community, his brother Lasunwon was made the Odofin of “Oko Odu”.¹⁴ From the above, the fact of the history seems to tilt in favour of Oga as the founder of Ikorodu. Nonetheless, a review of the two main ruling houses in Ikorodu does not reflect Oga as the founder, but Lasunwon is indeed credited as the founder of one of the ruling houses. One may, therefore, conclude that Lasunwon was perhaps the same person as Oga.¹⁵

To dissect the traditions of origin of Ikorodu, it is important to state that, while the debate over the original founder of Ikorodu lingers, certain fundamental historical issues appears settled: that the vast majority of the people of Ikorodu are from the “Remo” stock of Yoruba tribe; that Ikorodu was actually discovered by “Oga” also known as Lasuwon – a great hunter and a prince of Remo, who was said to have been accompanied on a hunting expedition that took then down to the Lagoon near the present “Ipakodo”, where “Sekumade”, his younger brother and also a prince settled; that at the time “Oga”, and his brother Sekumade were coming to Ikorodu, one “Ogborin”, an “Agemo” priest from Idowa led his Ijebu – stoke to this environment. His descendants remain the “Agemo” priests to date in Ikorodu.¹⁶ This establishes the fact that Ikorodu has an ancestral linkage with both Remo and Ijebu, and it explains why the dialect in the community a variation of the Ijebu and Remo dialects is.

State Formation: The Making of Ikorodu before 1865

The history of the Yoruba is replete with state formations. State formation in Yorubaland was on course in the pre-colonial era in the context of geography, biosocial relations and cultural contiguities before the development was impeded by the wars which characterised the region in the nineteenth century. However, state formation in Yorubaland can be grouped into the pre-Oduduwa phase and the Oduduwa phase, which is also regarded as the new states. The pre-Odùduwà ‘state’ emphasised the territorial factor,¹⁷ as land was the most important factor necessary for its preservation. It was ethnically cohesive, being, in most cases, a settlement or settlements inhabited by kinsmen. On the other hand, the territorial factor was only secondary in the

new conception of the state. The new ‘state’ was made up of ethnically diverse settlements; thus, the most important factor in its preservation was the ethnic cohesion of the whole area. This task of creating an ethnically homogeneous unit out of many ethnically heterogeneous settlements is what is described in the traditions of state-formation in each locality.¹⁸ The new state, as Adediran posits was conceived as a mode of social arrangement in which all inhabitants within a territorially defined region, *ile* (literally land, but more appropriately, kingdom) were integrated and possessed the political and cultural consciousness of a single unit, identifiable, and often identified, by a group name. This new conception of the state, which eventually became accepted all over Yorubaland, persisted till the beginning of the nineteenth century. Samuel Johnson, in his own explanation of state formation in Yorubaland states that

a cluster of huts around the farmstead of an enterprising farmer may be the starting point: perhaps a halting place for refreshments in a long line of march between two towns.¹⁹

Also, Ade Obayemi in his explanation of state formation in Yorubaland, succeeded in establishing a theory of the process of state formation among the Yoruba as well as the Edo Benin people and their neighbours.²⁰ Obayemi, through a detailed ethnographic observation, asserted that there was the co-existence of small and great states. He therefore called the states on the “small category” as “mini” states, while those which were a little more advanced than those earlier referred to as small, Obayemi called “mega” states.²¹ He went further to define the mini states as settlements or groups of settlements which were devoid of powerful royal dynasties or, to put it succinctly, those states without highly centralised governments, lacking urban capital, and much smaller both in population and geographical territory. These states could aptly be called a village, hamlet, town or clan, as the case may be.²² The Mega state category comprised those with advanced political structure, epitomised by large urban capital and centralised political systems.²³

Indeed, the state formation process of Ikorodu fits both into the “new state” as argued by Adediran and Samuel Johnson’s farmstead of an enterprising farmer. While, by Obayemi’s classification, Ikorodu could be considered a mini state. This is so because, soon after the settlement of Oga

and his brothers in “Oko Odu”, which was a cluster of huts around the farmstead, a large contingent of Benin migrants came by land through Iki in Ogun state to the area now known as Ikorodu, making it a ‘New State’. With their coming, Ikorodu became a mixture of different migrants, leading to state formation. Although most accounts are silent on the history of the Benin group after state formation but it has been established that Ikorodu began to have a commercial relationship with Benin after the arrival of Eregbouwa.²⁴ Eregbouwa was a wealthy and powerful man from the ancient royal family of Oliha of Benin City. In the Benin language, Ere means king, and Uwa means peace and prosperity; hence, Eregbouwa means king of peace and prosperity. The Benin people settled down amicably with the children of Akarigbo, and the farm started to grow into a large settlement. This was about 1630.²⁵ And after a while, Eregbouwa was corrupted to Rebugbawa in Ikorodu. The institution of Olojaship was conceded to the line of Akarigbo through his descendants while the institution of Olisaship was conceded to the Benin settlers. In effect, the Oloja became the reigning monarch while the Olisa became the prime minister of the city-state.

This high position of the Olisa as the next in rank to the Oba in the city state was borne out of his influence and followership which he commanded. This of course, is done subject to the authority of the Oba and it presupposes that the cordiality between the Oba and the Olisa should be impenetrable. Before the advent of the Benin people, Oga was the head of the community. He and Lasunwon, his brother, lived in a hamlet called Agbele at the present site of NITEL in Ikorodu community. Agbele was also called Egure and so Oga became the Elegure of Egure. Lasunwon was Odofin of Sagamu. But when the people of Benin came and Oga died. Lasunwon was installed the first Oloja of Ikorodu by Olisa Rebugbawa, the first Olisa of Ikorodu. Lasunwon and Eregbouwa (Rebugbawa) were therefore the first Oloja (Oba) and the first Olisa of Ikorodu, respectively.

As indicated and established earlier, Ikorodu originated from Orile Offin. Therefore, the relationship that existed between Offin and Ikorodu was that of “Father – Son”. Ikorodu was related to Offin politically, socio-culturally and genealogically.²⁶ This relationship with Offin influenced Ikorodu in its state formation processes, as the political and administrative institutions were linked to Offin. After the founding of Ikorodu, sons of Koyelu, the Akarigbo of Offin, such as Lasunwon at Ikorodu, Sekumade at

Ipakodo and Olaadepo at Owotu, a community close to Majidun, all took it as a duty and a sign of reference to visit their Offin, their source every ninth day to attend the Osugbo meetings. These princes looked upon their new territories as part of the larger territories which had accrued to the family. They saw it as their filial duty to protect their father and thereby extend his territory.²⁷ Thus, Ikorodu became a tributary state under Ofin and part of the Remo kingdom. Paying tribute called ‘Esen’ to the Akarigbo of Orile Ofin up to the reign of Akarigbo Ogbonyare in Ofin. The payment of this tribute was not imposed by force of arms, nor was the quantity of the tribute fixed.²⁸

The Modern Ikorodu: Ikorodu after 1865 to 1894.

Modern Ikorodu was born in the war camp of 1865, and the result was that an outstanding Balogun established a popular dictatorship.²⁹ This was during the Yoruba wars following the collapse of the Oyo Empire, which led to protracted wars, from which emerged the new warrior cities of Ijaye, Ibadan and Abeokuta (Egba). The Egba had supported Ijaye, and the Ijebu Remo had supported Ibadan. Remo lay on the most direct trade route from the coast to Ibadan. Egba attacked Remo and Ikorodu (Agbala War) and Ibadan became directly involved because of its trading interests. Ikorodu, one of the Remo towns besieged by the Egba, is just north of Lagos, and the British became actively involved in the Yoruba wars for the first time. Governor Glover, one of the more aggressive administrators of the colony in the 19th century, had formed a view of the situation which successive governors were to share: that the Egba and/or the Ijebu were blocking the road to the interior and that this was the main issue in Yoruba politics. The wider political issues of the period, the struggle between Ibadan and the other states for supremacy, largely escaped them.³⁰ In Lagos, the administration was short of funds. It relied on customs dues and trade, and needed to keep the roads open. The merchants supported it at this stage, but the missions were still pro-Egba. Townsend was opposed to Glover's attempts to station a British vice-consul in Abeokuta, but his own influence in the town was on the wane. After some peculiar double-dealing, Glover expelled the Egba forces from their positions around Ikorodu by force in 1865, but failed to achieve either his political or his economic objectives. He merely antagonised the Egba, who were already worried by the British annexation of Lagos. The Church Missionary Society (CMS) minister David Hinderer in the 1850s had noted the strength of the support for Ijebu

Ode in Ikorodu.³¹ This support reflected the fact that Ikorodu's loyalty to Ijebu Ode had enabled it to expand its local influence beyond the original settlement. To tax and control trade along the land route from the Lagoon market of Ejirin to Lagos, Ikorodu was allowed to station representatives in Itamaga and Ota Ona, two locations east of Ikorodu. The town had an outpost at Agbala, west of Ikorodu where its representatives would control trade from Lagos towards Ibadan.³² This contributed greatly to the making of modern Ikorodu, a centre of trade and power. However, having attained a status of power and prominence of its own, the support Ikorodu gave to the Awujale during the Yoruba wars was withdrawn. This was because of the refusal of the Awujale to end the hostility against Ibadan as advised by the Remos. As the Remo towns of Iperu, Makun and Ipara lifted the arms trade embargo on Ibadan, Ikorodu, another prominent Remo town, along the important trade route to the coast of Lagos, supported their stance.³³

As Suenu states, Ikorodu's role in these larger conflicts was determined by its favourable position at the crossroads of several trade routes and political centres of power.³⁴ Ikorodu's geographical proximity to Lagos meant that a growing segment of trade between Lagos and Ibadan – and especially the lucrative trade in guns and gunpowder that enabled Ibadan's rise to regional hegemony passed through Ikorodu. Ikorodu leveraged on its position to assert independence both from the Ijebu capital of Ijebu Ode and from Ofin, the leading town and capital of Remo Kingdom. Indeed, the implication of this was that, by the end of the war in 1865, Ikorodu had emerged as a power that could challenge the position of both Ijebu Ode on the one hand and Ijebu Remo on the other hand. This was so, because as E.J Gibbons states in the colonial report;

The modern Ikorodu was born in the war – camp of 1865 and the result was an outstanding Balogun established a popular dictatorship. The British at their first interference, regarded this Balogun as *de jure* ruler and, on discovering their mistake, were obliged to deal with him as at least the *de facto* one, the Oloja at the time being a puppet and the elders supporting the dictator.³⁵

Two inferences can be drawn from the above extract. Firstly, is that the colonial report reinforces the fact that modern Ikorodu was born in 1865. Secondly and most importantly, is the fact that the report acknowledges Balogun as “outstanding” and his dictatorship as “popular”. This invariably means he enjoyed popular support. The Balogun referred to in the colonial report was Balogun Jaiyesimi.³⁶ Jaiyesimi built on his popularity to increase his and his town’s wealth. By 1892, when Lagos defeated Ijebu Ode and finally annexed Ikorodu formally, Jaiyesimi was said to have four hundred slaves.³⁷ His popularity was so much greater than that of both the Oloja and the Osugbo, which was the traditional governing council of Ikorodu. As a matter of fact, he was often mistaken for the town’s king, as seen in the extract of the colonial report cited above. Indeed, with the emergence of Ikorodu as a state, it had to confront other powers within the same Yoruba geo-political zone. As a result, between 1865 and 1894, Ikorodu had conflict with its neighbours, which included Imota, Agbowa, Ikosi, Ijebu Remo, Ijebu Ode and the Egba. The conflicts with these neighbours enhanced Ikorodu’s development.³⁸

In all, three fundamental theses can be deduced from the making of modern Ikorodu from 1865 to 1894. Firstly, Ikorodu as a community had developed its own structures of governance based on separation of powers between the Balogun, the Oloja and other state and non-state actors. Although the dynamics of power tilted towards the Balogun, because he controls the military, the Oloja maintains political and spiritual headship over the community. Secondly, with constant pressures coming from its adversaries, Ikorodu had to develop a strong state mechanism to prevent the state both from internal and external forces. This led to the division of the community into various quarters and units with a centralised monarchical system with the Oloja as head and paramount ruler of the state. A well unified and strong army, under the leadership of the Balogun was built to aid in maintaining Ikorodu’s economic supremacy over her neighbours, ward off external pressures and also repress internal conflicts. Thirdly, it showcases Ikorodu as a stronghold in the socio-political and economic configuration of Lagos and the Ijebu Kingdom which the colonial authorities cannot ignore. As a result, by the dawn of 1894, the colonial administration took over Ikorodu through the Cession Deed of August 4, 1894, a treaty which officially handed over Ikorodu to the colonial administrators.

Conclusion

Traditions of origin and state formation processes of pre-literate Yoruba communities are some of the problematic discourses in historical scholarship given their variations, dynamics, and the inability of historians to concretise views about the possible place of origin of most Yoruba communities, a situation brought about mostly by the absence of written records on the history and formation of the states. However, through oral tradition, the reconstructions of Yoruba past have been made possible though not without pockets of controversies. Using the coastal community of Ikorodu as a case study, this paper has re-calibrated the various versions and variations of the traditions of origin, drawing inferences from the versions to settle some fundamental historical issues, and bringing into reckoning the state formation processes of Ikorodu up to 1894.

Endnotes

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