Abstract
This article focuses on the development of indigenous entrepreneurship within the context of colonial economic development and Western-style commercial elitism. It explores the material development that accompanied the development of this class and its implications for social and economic change in Yorubaland of Western Nigeria. The socio-economic transformation that took place in Ibadan in the twentieth century resulted from the revolutionary zeal and potentials of a new generation of indigenous entrepreneurs, who ultimately affected the structure of their society in a very profound way. The essential contributions of Adebisi Giwa of Idikan in this regard remain central to the understanding of society, change and economic transformation in twentieth century Ibadan.

Introduction
Adebisi Sanusi Giwa of Idikan, a prominent Ibadan son, remains one of the most outstanding entrepreneurs thrown up by modern commercial practices in the early days of colonial rule in Western Nigeria. This was in the aftermath of the broad changes in the region's economy and society inaugurated by British colonialism. The transition from the pre-colonial or traditional to modern practices had major economic and social implications particularly for the development of indigenous entrepreneurship in Yorubaland. By the early twentieth century, the British frontier of trade had effectively shifted from the coast, where it had been for centuries, to the interior. This shift would later bring about changes in the organisation of trade, which was further amplified by the development of a money economy and the construction of roads and railways. The significant effect of this was the transformation and re-orientation of the economic sector to reflect new patterns and styles as far as commercial elitism was concerned. In the setting of an economy with a large proportion of its resources and energy invested in a set of old and well-established tradition of brilliant successes in military campaigns being the vector of both political and material successes, the development of a corpus of well-endowed Western-style businessmen signified a fundamental break with the past. The advent of these entrepreneurs in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was at the
core of the creation of a new and widespread belief in society that a strategy of enterprise investment is essential to future economic and social well-being. Ibadan had developed as a powerful state in the nineteenth century. As a major party in the political convulsions that wracked Yorubaland in the late nineteenth century, she became the major focus of not only the British consul officials, but that of several historical literatures. In the emblematic tradition widely published in history during the early twentieth century, Ibadan was the symbol of truculence, aggression and intrigues.

An even older and neglected theme but bearing a positive connotation for Ibadan was that concerning the people’s industry. Agriculture, trade and craft industries dominated the economy of Ibadan in the nineteenth century. The community was thus not only the political heart of Yorubaland, but also an emporium of note for a very extensive part of the Yoruba country. Prior to the crisis that engulfed Yorubaland in the nineteenth century, all the most important trade routes from the Yoruba hinterland converged on Ibadan. Of these, the most important were the routes through the Osun district to Ilorin, Igbomina and northern Ekiti, through Ife and Ijesaland to Ekiti, Akoko, Owo and Benin. It is remarkable to note that even during wars, Ibadan gave open encouragement and protection to traders who ventured into its territory. Unfortunately, the development, between 1872 and 1875, of a new route through Ondo to the coast diverted much of the trade of the eastern Yoruba country as well as Ilorin away from Ibadan. In the northeastern Yoruba country, the rise of the Ekiti-Parapo military alliance in 1878 destroyed Ibadan’s political and economic influence in the area. Apart from this, however, it was obvious that with more than half the Ibadan male population mobilised for war, commerce was bound to suffer a severe setback. The longer the war lasted, the worse the economy became. Due to the stalemate recorded by the war, Ibadan had no option but to endorse the treaty of 1886 granting independence to members of the Ekiti-Parapo. In 1893 Ibadan came under the influence of the British. After the establishment of peace, the forces of foreign domination became the most critical factors in the economy of Ibadan. A new pattern of entrepreneurship also developed on the heels of the incorporation of Ibadan into the British sphere of influence.

The Colonial Economy and the Indigenous Entrepreneur

Ibadan came into existence around 1829. Right from its inception, the settlement began to attract warriors, adventurers, wanderers and migrants from other Yoruba towns. This eventually resulted in Ibadan becoming a strong but militarised society whose economy and society revolved around a war economy. Although its military activities eventually contributed to its fame, its economy eventually made it one of the leading Yoruba towns of the period. Ibadan like every Yoruba town had a vibrant economic and
commercial class. In pre-colonial Yorubaland the economic sectors were affected by both the aristocratic class and a class of commoners. At the apex of the social spectrum were the members of the aristocracy and prosperous merchants who were favourably placed to appropriate vast resources. At the other end of the spectrum were the class of commoners who were vulnerable to the vagaries of the weather, finance and social obligations. Before the advent of the foreign entrepreneurs and the colonial state, the economy was largely indigenous and more or less self-sustaining. It was not dependent on, but was related to, the external market. Nevertheless, each indigenous interest group played important roles which made the evolution of a dynamic economy their ultimate goal. These pre-colonial modes of production and exchange were later to be affected by the penetrating capitalist mode. But in order to remain relevant in the new order, the indigenous commercial classes had to identify with and find accommodation within the new social formation.¹¹

The imposition of both the informal empire and colonial rule on Yorubaland by the British achieved the incorporation of the people into the world capitalist system. The British, however, recognised that both in theory and in practice, a perfect colonial economy could only be effectively secured through the use of indigenous personnel and institutions in some complementary or supportive function.¹² The indigenous people were then pushed into a subordinate position. In this peripheral position they participated as producers, agents and merchants and in that position contributed their own quota to the economic transformation of their region.

Ibadan and the Capitalist Economy

The convergence of the legendary spirit of industry and the advent of expatriate firms represent just the type of historical fusion that can help explain the depth of Ibadan's contributions to capitalist development in Nigeria. The expatriate firms, most of which had been situated on the coast ever since overseas trade with West Africa began, started moving inland in large numbers in the 1890s. Hitherto, the firms on the coast were serviced by the Yoruba merchants with regulated business and peculiar network of hinterland markets to which no European was admitted.¹³ Because of the increased economic opportunities that the move inland promised, there was the influx of these firms who established agencies and trading posts in the hinterland to the detriment of the middlemen position of the Lagos traditional elites.¹⁴ This necessitated a transformation in the structure of indigenous entrepreneurship.

Two groups of merchants developed as a result of the activities of the foreign firms. These were those who participated in the produce trade and those mainly in the urban centres who traded in merchandise. There were, however, exceptions where a merchant operated as a general merchant
to whom the firms advanced imported goods in return for future delivery of produce.\textsuperscript{15} The petty domestic distributive trade remained solely in the hands of the Yoruba traders. But whether in the urban areas or in the rural setting the requirements of the trading companies were carried out generally by indigenous agents. For example in Ilaro, the agents of the UAC, John Holt and Rowntree Fry Cadbury Limited respectively were Messrs M.O. Oduba of Ijebu, Joseph Dasaolu of Abeokuta and Alhaji A. Abiola of Ota.\textsuperscript{16} On the import side indigenous entrepreneurs established a number of prominent wholesale and retail concerns. One of the most prominent of these firms was the one established by J.H. Doherty (1866-1928) and continued by his son, T.A. Doherty.\textsuperscript{17} By 1904 Doherty had established branches in Lagos and in the interior, and by 1911 he was regarded as the ‘leading native trader in Lagos in imported textiles’.\textsuperscript{18} The indigenous merchants who concentrated on the export sector, especially cocoa, ultimately became cocoa brokers - large traders who bought from the sub-brokers and sold directly to the expatriate firms.

Some of the most prominent cocoa brokers in Yorubaland were indigenes of Ibadan. They included Adebisi Sanusi Giwa, Salami Agbaje and J. Akinpelu Obisesan. They symbolised the indigenous entrepreneurs - men and women whose operations though restricted in comparison with the expatriate firms, became a force to reckon with. They became a vital link in the chain that bound the indigenous people and the foreign entrepreneurs. In this position, they played a significant role in the economic and social development of their people and the nation. Of all the prominent Ibadan entrepreneurs, however, Adebisi Giwa has been singled out as the object of our focus because of the larger-than-life image he enjoyed not only within the Ibadan metropolis but surprisingly in the Yoruba hinterland. It is expected that this work would provide the necessary stimulus for an in-depth study of the life and times of this enterprising son of Ibadan.

\textbf{Adebisi Sanusi Giwa: The Making of a Legend}

Few studies have provided a detailed examination of Ibadan entrepreneurs from the perspective of the entrepreneur as creative capitalist and philanthropist. This is what this study is designed to achieve. Adebisi Giwa, the highly prosperous Ibadan businessman, provides an example of the hard driven entrepreneur that emerged in modern Ibadan. He also remains an epitome of the entrepreneur who promoted the welfare of citizens while securing his own rights and privileges as an individual. Although information about his childhood is very scanty, it was obvious he succeeded in translating his ancestry to advantage. Adebisi Giwa was born in Ibadan and as a youth became involved in his parent’s business enterprise which was basically the marketing of bales of traditional textiles – \textit{Adire} and \textit{Asooke} – which he hawked to places as far as Benin and Ile-Ife.\textsuperscript{19} This provided
an outlet for his spirit of enterprise. Adebisi Giwa apparently employed his earlier knowledge of business practices and extensive trading networks to launch his own commercial career. In the history of Ibadan, therefore, he rose to become what Obisesan referred to as “a man in certain respect that circumstance has made to become object of worship to we his peers…”

Adebisi Giwa’s journey to prosperity commenced with his initial association with the firm of Miller Brothers. He was the main agent for Miller Brothers’ textile stores. As a businessman, he freely chose to attain membership of several social, political and economic organizations.

Due to his prowess and astuteness, Adebisi would rise to become in 1919 the President of the Egbe Kila, a convivial group known for its overwhelming display of conspicuous consumption and lavish display of wealth. His journey to fame and renown would then start in earnest. Soon after becoming President, Adebisi would arrange a sumptuous party in recognition of his appointment as President. At that party tradition had it that ‘even paper currency… was used to make fire to roast fry (sic) yams’. In recognition of his position as the President of this group, he added the title of Giwa (Manager) to his name. He thereafter became known as Adebisi Sanusi Giwa. But by the mid-1920s he operated as a produce buyer, although on a scale a shade lower than his contemporary, Salami Agbaje, and had emerged as an entrepreneur of note and one of the central figures in Ibadan’s commercial enterprise. He would in this position display ostentation commensurate with his great wealth. Obisesan would refer to the burial of the merchant’s father in 1924 as ‘the greatest event I have seen in my life’. Prior to this period, he had begun his gradual social elevation in 1913 when he rose to the exalted position of Mogaji Lanipekun, a post that conferred on him the status of a community leader and a man of responsibility.

This Ibadan entrepreneur would, however, develop an influence on Yoruba thought and economy far disproportionate to that of his peers of the same epoch. He would not only become extremely wealthy but identify so much with Ibadan aspirations by encouraging and fraternising openly with social and cultural organizations such as the Egbe Agba O’tan and Egbe Kila. In fact, the life and legend of Adebisi have played significant roles in helping generations of Yoruba men and women to help re-define themselves and their aspirations in life. In this respect, the epics, legends, songs and poems that celebrated this man’s popularity, power, money and influence have no doubt played significant roles not only in immortalising the achievements of this Ibadan entrepreneur, but in making him a role model for coming generations. A vivid illustration of this point could be found in a popular poem in the highly ubiquitous Alawiye book by J.F. Odunjo. In this book used by several generations of primary school students in the Western part of Nigeria, the poem titled “Owo Apekanuko” celebrated Adebisi thus:
The legend that accompanied Adebisi Giwa’s name is rarely found elsewhere in Yorubaland except for notable warriors of the pre-colonial period. He was the quintessence of an indigenous pioneer entrepreneur.

**Adebisi Giwa and the Produce Industry**

The interactions between Adebisi Giwa, his associates and government planning were the strongest force in determining the quality of the region’s cocoa. Adebisi Giwa started his cocoa career as a salesman with Miller Brothers. In November 1924, he resigned from Miller Brothers and entered into agreement with the Trading Association of Nigeria (TAN) as produce buyer for Ibadan and the outstations. Earlier in the same year, he had in concert with his associates secured the permission of the District officer, Mr. Ward-Price, to establish the Ibadan Native Produce Buyers Association (INPBA). Several of the INPBA’s meetings were either held in his house or under his chairmanship. At these meetings, important issues pertaining to the cocoa industry were discussed and seriously ironed out.

Adebisi Giwa was obviously very concerned with the quality of the cocoa being produced in the Western Region. In 1923 he initiated a friendship between the Agricultural Society and the Produce Buyers in which he sought the cooperation of the former in the matters of produce inspection. It would be recalled that from 1905 onwards, production of cocoa by peasant farmers rose rapidly. By 1915, exports had increased nearly twenty-fold to 9,000 tons. There followed a period of steady and substantial growth. This expansion was achieved principally through the steady increase of acreage by traditional small-scale settled farmers. As the production of this crop expanded, however, the sector also witnessed the development of sharp practices designed to maximise profits. The problem of production became almost entirely that of quality.

The dominant feature of the industry between 1912 and 1922 was the great development of production, but mostly of inferior grades as compared with cocoa entering the world market from Ghana. Up to 1922, Nigerian cocoa was judged as the world’s worst cocoa on the market. The post-war prosperity had stampeded the farmers into realising that they could obtain high prices for unfermented or slightly fermented cocoa that they afterwards devoted less attention to its processing. The government

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*Osi nii je Ta ni- mo- o ri, (Poverty precipitates who- knows- you)*
*Se owo lo nje Mo- ba- o- tan (It is money that brings about “I’m- your kindred”)*
*Buroda Idi-kan (Brother at Idi-kan)*
*L’owo so Adebi (Is what money made Adebisi)*
*Gbogbo aye nii d’ebi (Everybody becomes a relation)*
*E ni owo ba mba je (Of whosoever swims is prosperity)*
thereafter envisioned an agricultural environment that was sane and civilized. The role of O.T. Faulkner, colonial Nigeria's Director of Agriculture appointed in 1921 was central to this move. In the very year he was appointed, Faulkner came out with a proposal designed to improve the quality of agricultural produce in the country. The key features of the scheme proposed by Faulkner included the grading of cocoa, palm oil, and palm kernels with appropriate price differentials, imposition of appropriate sanctions for the adulteration of export produce, the stationing of inspectors as close to the producers as possible, and the transfer of produce inspection from the Customs Department to the Department of Agriculture. As a foremost cocoa merchant, even before Faulkner's proposals became official policy, Adebisi Giwa made the adoption of these strategies an abiding philosophy. As a merchant and a community leader he could not condone the negative tendencies capable of destroying the produce trade.

In August 1923, Adebisi Giwa and his associates presented before the Ibadan Judicial Council a list of requests. The Judicial Council jointly chaired by the Bale of Ibadan and the District Officer, Mr. Ward-Price, considered and sanctioned the proposals of the cocoa merchants: that any salesmen or bush customer found buying or bringing wet cocoa for sale should be liable to prosecution and his cocoa confiscated. Also in 1924 Adebisi Giwa made assiduous efforts to sanitise the cocoa trade. He caused to be arrested and prosecuted some men at Ikire for bringing bad cocoa to market for sale. Thus, after openly disclosing his displeasure with the activities of charlatan cocoa traders, in February 1924, he held a meeting with the Police authorities in company of S.T. Omikunle and Akinpelu Obisesan, representing the Ibadan Produce Buyers Association, where important issues concerning the cocoa trade were discussed. The Buyers Association thereafter succeeded in winning the cooperation of the Police authorities.

In a move apparently designed to help sanitize the cocoa industry, the government thereafter classified cocoa into three grades corresponding with their degree of fermentation. As from the 1928-29 cocoa seasons, grading according to quality was commenced. The government inaugurated the regulations to ensure that cocoa beans were exported in a thoroughly dry condition. It was then made punishable by a fine of £25 for anybody to buy or sell or offer for sale any cocoa which has not been thoroughly dried. Also, price differentials were introduced for the different grades. There is no doubt that the impetus behind the immediate adoption of the regulations came from the initiatives of Adebisi Giwa and his associates.

The Businessman as Benefactor

As Adebisi Giwa became a force in business, he promoted an image of enterprise, philanthropy and patriotism. In his position as a cocoa
merchant of note, he not only helped Ibadan indigenes to start their own shops or build their own houses, he also gave funds to struggling produce buyers to purchase cocoa from farmers to supply the foreign firms. He also stood as guarantor or surety to enable them buy on credit from the foreign firms.\textsuperscript{45} Several others he helped secure high-paying jobs. In 1923, Adebisi Giwa through his connections at Millers Brothers was able to secure for J.Akinpelu Obisesan, a job at its provisions store at a salary of £5 a month and a commission of one shilling on a pound. He also stood as guarantor for him.\textsuperscript{46}

Apart from the foregoing, members of the ruling class also benefited from his generosity. For example, by 1937, ‘only very few of the elderly chiefs were not insolvent to Adebisi liabilities (sic) of which stand against them up till today and there are about two or at least one out of them which (sic) Adebisi actually bought motor car for without asking for return of the purchase price’.\textsuperscript{47} In fact, it was revealed that Shodimu, the Ashipa Balogun up to the time of his death on 10 June 1937 was “insolvent to Adebisi to the sum of not less than £30.”\textsuperscript{48}

Adebisi Giwa was also deeply imbued with feelings of devotion to his town’s causes. He at various times expressed his profound regrets that the Alaaafin usurped the rights of Ibadan and annexed Iwo and Ogbomoso to his territory.\textsuperscript{49} He was, however, pragmatic enough to realise that the power of the Alaaafin was unassailable.\textsuperscript{50} In addition, he was a man who abhorred bad blood between compatriots. On July 21, 1934, Adebisi Giwa participated actively in a unique reception held at the Mapo Hall in honour of the Resident, Mr. H.L. Ward-Price, by members of both the Ibadan and Ogbomoso town unions.\textsuperscript{51} As a further reflection of his open-mindedness, in August 1924, he invited Messrs Akinloye and Obisesan to Mr. Adelagun’s residence at Ogunpa where he requested the gathering to device a means to settle out of court the case between Mr. AkindeIe and Mr. Salami Agabaje. On the same day, he personally led a delegation to Ayeye where he impressed it on Mr. Agbaje the indignities attached to litigations.\textsuperscript{52} In several other instances, Adebisi Giwa was known to have intervened to prevent the escalation of misunderstandings between his compatriots.

This indigenous entrepreneur of note subsequently negated the capitalist ethos and philosophy that the rising expectations of kins, affines and compatriots decimate the returns in form of profits, which may in the end tamper with the operating capital. Adebisi Giwa not only acquired a personal family of twelve wives and seventeen children, he also continued to cater for his large extended family.\textsuperscript{53} He feasted or gave money to as many people as possible during his lifetime. His greatest display of philanthropy was usually during the Muslim month of Ramadan. On the Ileya day as many people as cared to partake in a feast were catered for in the breaking of the fast in the evenings. On his way to the praying ground to celebrate the
Ed-el-Fitri or the Ed-el-Maloud, he was usually resplendent in ‘gorgeous robes’ and accompanied by more than fifteen horses and hundreds of people. On his return from the praying ground at every festival time, all these people were treated to sumptuous meals at his residence.\(^\text{54}\) This no doubt gave rise to the praise song: “Adebisi ni mori si. N’ o je dodo ni ile Salami” (literally, I admire Adebisi; I did not taste plantain in the house of (Chief) Salami (Agabaje)).\(^\text{55}\) Chief Salami Agbaje, an equally extremely rich man was considered to be “covetous, avaricious and selfish”.\(^\text{56}\) But implicit in the foregoing is that Agbaje’s view about the re-distribution of wealth ran contrary to that of Adebisi Giwa in particular and the contemporary Ibadan society in general. Equally obvious was that Adebisi Giwa did not generate wealth in pursuit of individual security. Rather, his wealth was used in the traditional sense, to accumulate security through personal obligations. This definitely stood him in good stead as his business not only expanded but he came to enjoy so much goodwill from his people, which his peers did not enjoy. He would later reap the benefits of his open-handedness in that he ultimately did not find it difficult to buy out several families from the plots of land where he erected his mansion at Idikan. In the course of time, he acquired several other properties including landholdings and farms all over Ibadan.\(^\text{57}\)

Unfortunately, despite his gargantuan wealth and his identification with cultural and traditional aspects of life, and conspicuous consumption, he shied away considerably from putting a sizeable amount of energy and his wealth into intellectual and educational matters. Being accustomed to pecuniary and traditional matters, his interests in Western education was not as broad as that of his peers, notably that of Salami Agbaje. For instance, the attempt by Akinpelu Obisesan to interest him in the establishment of a newspaper- the Ibadan Weekly Review - floundered. Adebisi Giwa’s interest obviously lay elsewhere and so he ended up attending only one meeting in connection with the publishing venture.\(^\text{58}\) This ‘philosophy’ of non-engagement with Western education would inevitably find resonance in his home. Several people have stressed his obvious lack of interest in sending his children to school like Salami Agbaje did.\(^\text{59}\)

The Modern Entrepreneur as Traditionalist

Unlike Salami Agbaje, an extremely wealthy Ibadan entrepreneur who discountenanced societal values that were not compatible with his personal convictions or economic agenda, Adebisi Giwa used his wealth to nurture and nourish societal obligations. He was party to the establishment of and became an influential member of a community association, the Ilupeju Society (The Community Together). The Society, headed by Salami Agbaje, came into existence in 1922 as a quasi socio-political organisation. In this position, Agbaje in association with Adebisi Giwa would court
affiliations with the chieftaincy institution in Ibadan. The first outing of the Ilupeju Society was the courtesy visit to Bale Situ, who would use the occasion of the visit to recount his tribulations under the British Resident, Captain Ross. In August 1923, the patriotism of Adebisi Giwa as an Ibadan indigene would become clearer. His desire to transform into 'a political Chief' would seemingly derive from the desire to help fight the attempt to subordinate Ibadan to the interests of Oyo and that of the Alaafin. In spite of the attempt to stave off Oyo's rampaging influence, the Alaafin became the sole native authority for both Ibadan and Oyo Divisions in June 1924. But not all the Ibadan chiefs' tactical programme derived from the policy of resistance to the new form of Oyo imperialism. There appeared to have been the adoption of rapprochement too. Adebisi Giwa was right at the centre of this policy. In December 1924, he would visit Alaafin Ladigbolu, apparently on behalf of the Bale. But this Ibadan 'goodwill ambassador' would return only with news that the Oyo monarch vowed to 'kill' any Ibadan Chief who got 'too big for him to control'. And so a new era was born in Ibadan-Oyo relations.

Ibadan values and ideals would nevertheless continue to dictate the recognition of progress and commitment to social developments. As an outstanding Ibadan son and in recognition of his activities, the Ibadan had Adebisi Giwa appointed in November 1926 as the Asiwaju Bale of Ibadan. He not only became 'the first member of the intelligentsia to be made a chief in a Native Administration', but according to Obisesan, '...he rose from the rank of political servants to that of political masters. Surely money is the god of the world; in this way he fulfilled one of his life's greatest ambitions.' There was no doubt that Adebisi Giwa, a successful merchant so much coveted traditional titles. This was doubly significant when it became difficult for Salami Agbaje, the most influential commercial figure in the city, who in spite of his desires had not been made a traditional chief even as late as 1933 when Adebisi Giwa had become the Asipa Bale. Thus, because he lacked the chieftaincy titles, Agbaje was considered as lacking the kind of 'honour and dignity' that wealth and titles bestowed on Adebisi. Status competition therefore became one of the defining characteristics of the era. In an interview conducted by Ruth Watson in 1997, one Alhaji Akande would reveal the nature of this competition:

One time, Adebisi took his followers for a big feast at Oluokun compound...His family was weavers and some weavers lived in that compound. The people didn't know what Adebisi was going to do with them there- but what he did was to walk right through the city, past Abasi's house, past Solaja's house, Oja'ba, Mapo and down to Ayeye. They walked up and down
past Agbaje’s house many times singing songs that he might be a rich man but he was not a chief. 67

Salami Agbaje would finally gain a chieftaincy in February 1936 as the Ikolaba Balogun with the death of Balogun Aminu. Adebisi Giwa on the other hand had enjoyed such immense respect and support within the traditional institution that he was allowed to jump ten steps of traditional title hierarchy of becoming Olubadan. 68 He rose to become the Ashipa Olubadan, the post that entitled him to the presidency of the lands court in Ibadan. 69 The presidency of the lands court would, however, put him on collision course with his brother chiefs and the Olubadan, Okunola Abasi. This made the Bale to recommend that the Ashipa be suspended for six months on account of “disrespect he was said to have shown his seniors.” 70 The matter was later settled amicably and Adebisi Giwa would remain the Ashipa till his death on 23 January 1938.

Conclusion

Significantly, Adebisi Giwa manifested salient features of the indigenous entrepreneurs’ creative response to change. In the expanding world economy of the first four decades of the twentieth century, his activities symbolised how an indigenous entrepreneur might take the lead in helping private enterprise to operate efficiently and productively within the contexts of tradition and modernity. Thus, by the time he died in 1938, his greatest legacy to Ibadan in particular and the Yoruba race in general was not the massive mansion he constructed at Idikan, Ibadan in 1929 and bequeathed to his progeny, but that of his life and times as a person whose accommodating posture, leadership styles and business acumen were consistently inspiring. From the standpoint of Adebisi Giwa’s ability to direct and stimulate the indigenous social, political and economic sectors, he no doubt was a forerunner of the contemporary need for a long-term, institutionalised commitment to social, cultural, economic development and self-reliance. This legacy of course resonated, first and foremost, in his son Saka Adebisi, who would preside over the extensive business empire created by his father.

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24. Watson, 'Civil Disorder is the Disease of Ibadan', 87.

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54. Interview: Alhaji Arasi Adebisi. See also, Jejelaye Bukola, *op cit*, p.2

55. Interview: Alhaji Arasi Adebisi.


57. Interview: Alhaji Arasi Adebisi

58. KDL, *Obisesan Papers*, Box 55, 29 August 1921.

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60. KDL, *Obisesan Papers*, Box 53, Entry for 22 January 1922.

61. KDL, *Obisesan Papers*, Box 55, 6 August 1923.

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