

THE UNIVERSITY OF YAOUNDE I

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EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL  
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DOCTORAL RESEARCH UNIT FOR  
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DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

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UNIVERSITE DE YAOUNDE I

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CENTRE DE RECHERCHE ET DE  
FORMATION DOCTORALE EN SCIENCES  
HUMAINES, SOCIALES ET EDUCATIVES

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UNITE DE RECHERCHE ET DE  
FORMATION DOCTORALE EN SCIENCES  
HUMAINES ET SOCIALES

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DEPARTEMENT D'HISTOIRE

**FULANI PRESENCE AND INTER-COMMUNITY  
BOUNDARY MUTATIONS IN MENCHUM DIVISION,  
1947-2018**

**A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the  
Award of a *Doctorat/Ph.D* Degree in History**

**Specialization:** History of International Relations

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To my mother, Odelia Lenam-Ziah Mom and uncle,

Titus Kah Angah.

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## ABSTRACT

The study examines the activities of the early (Indigenes) and late (Fulani) settlers of Menchum Division. It establishes that the Fulani, who came in later, brought with them new systems of organization that resulted in the alteration of conventional and ideological (socio-economic and political) boundaries in the area. It outlines the determinants of Fulani infiltration into the area, boundary dynamics and its impact. The study resonates with the examination of boundaries between and within communities in Menchum Division and argues that the Fulani introduced these differences. The study relied on data from primary and secondary sources including interviews. Concerning primary data, we drew evidences after critically treating archival materials and oral information. With regards to secondary sources, we made extensive use of literature that offered some general and specific information concerning our topic of investigation. To ensure a logical presentation of the data, chronological-cum thematic approaches were used in analyzing information gathered by the use of qualitative and quantitative approaches. Results of our investigations revealed five main issues: Firstly, that the Fulani were encouraged by push and pull factors to infiltrate the Menchum Division; secondly, that the early organisations of both groups were widely different; thirdly, that Fulani presence created and altered boundaries; fourthly, that the early relation of both groups were cordial; and fifthly, that the ramifications of boundary mutations were both positive and negative. The work ends with recommendations to stakeholders for an appropriate development and pacific cohabitation for the settlers of Menchum Division.

## **RÉSUMÉ**

*"L'étude examine les activités des premiers (autochtones) et des derniers (Peuls) colons du département de la Menchum. Elle établit que les Peuls, arrivés plus tard, ont apporté avec eux de nouveaux systèmes d'organisation qui ont entraîné la modification des frontières conventionnelles et idéologiques (socio-économiques et politiques) au sein du département de la Menchum. Elle présente les déterminants de l'infiltration peule dans le département de la Menchum, la dynamique des frontières et son impact. L'étude s'inscrit dans l'examen des frontières entre et au sein des communautés du département de la Menchum et soutient que les Peuls ont introduit ces différences." L'étude s'est appuyée sur des données provenant de sources primaires et secondaires, autant que les entretiens. En ce qui concerne les données primaires, nous avons tiré des preuves après avoir traité de manière critique les documents d'archives et les informations orales. Pour ce qui est des sources secondaires, nous avons largement utilisé des ouvrages offrant des informations générales et spécifiques sur notre sujet d'investigation. Pour assurer une présentation logique des données, des approches chronologiques et thématiques ont été utilisées pour analyser les informations recueillies à l'aide d'approches qualitative et quantitative. Les résultats de nos enquêtes ont révélé quatre problèmes principaux : premièrement, l'organisation initiale des autochtones était différente de celle des peuls, deuxièmement, la présence des peuls a créé et modifié des frontières, troisièmement, que les premiers rapports des deux groupes étaient cordiaux et les frontières ont commencé à émerger avec le temps. Le travail se termine par les recommandations aux parties prenantes pour un développement durable et une cohabitation pacifique entre ces deux peuples dans ce département de la Menchum.*

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

|                |   |
|----------------|---|
| <b>AC</b>      | <i>Alkali Court</i>                                       |
| <b>ASO</b>     | Assistant Divisional Officer                              |
| <b>ATC</b>     | Agricultural Training Center                              |
| <b>BC</b>      | Before Christ   |
| <b>BEFP</b>    | Block Extension Farming Program                           |
| <b>BRC</b>     | Bamenda Race Club   |
| <b>BWAC</b>    | Berlin West African Conference                            |
| <b>CCR</b>     | Cattle Control Rules                                      |
| <b>CDC</b>     | Cameroon Development Corporation                          |
| <b>CFA</b>     | <i>Communauté Français Africaine</i>                      |
| <b>CPDM</b>    | Cameroon People's Democratic Movement                     |
| <b>CPNC</b>    | Cameroon People National Congress                         |
| <b>DAW</b>     | Divisional Archives Wum                                   |
| <b>DD</b>      | Divisional Delegate                                       |
| <b>DO</b>      | Divisional Officer  |
| <b>DRC</b>     | Democratic Republic of Congo                              |
| <b>FGC</b>     | Farmer-Grazier Conflict                                   |
| <b>FONADER</b> | <i>Fond National pour le Développement Rural</i>          |
| <b>FRC</b>     | Federal Republic of Cameroon                              |
| <b>FRG</b>     | Federal Republic of Germany                               |
| <b>FRN</b>     | Federal Republic of Nigeria                               |
| <b>GHS</b>     | Government High School                                    |
| <b>GS</b>      | Government School   |
| <b>GSS</b>     | Government Secondary School                               |
| <b>GTA</b>     | German Technical Assistance                               |
| <b>GTC</b>     | Government Technical College                              |
| <b>GTZ</b>     | German Technical Cooperation                              |
| <b>HRH</b>     | His Royal Highness  |
| <b>ID</b>      | Identity Card   |
| <b>IRIC</b>    | <i>Institute des Relation Internationales du Cameroun</i> |
| <b>KCUDA</b>   | Kuk Cultural and Development Association                  |

|                 |   |
|-----------------|---|
| <b>KG</b>       | Kilogram  |
| <b>KTC</b>      | Kuk Traditional Council   |
| <b>KNDP</b>     | Kamerun National Democratic Party                               |
| <b>KUSA</b>     | Kuk Students Association  |
| <b>MBOSCUDA</b> | Mbororo Social and Cultural Development Association             |
| <b>MCDA</b>     | Mmen Cultural and Development Association                       |
| <b>MIDENO</b>   | <i>Mission de Développement du Nord Ouest</i>                   |
| <b>Mm</b>       | Mili metres   |
| <b>MUST</b>     | Mmen Union of Students and Teachers                             |
| <b>NAB</b>      | National Archives Buea  |
| <b>NAs</b>      | Native Authorities  |
| <b>NC</b>       | Native Courts   |
| <b>NEC</b>      | National Executive Committee                                    |
| <b>NFS</b>      | National Financial Secretary                                    |
| <b>NNA</b>      | Native Authority Area   |
| <b>NWRC</b>     | North West Region of Cameroon                                   |
| <b>OTFP</b>     | Oxen Training and Farming Program                               |
| <b>RAB</b>      | Regional Archives Bamenda                                       |
| <b>RTCN</b>     | Rural Training Centre Nfonta                                    |
| <b>SDF</b>      | Social Democratic Front   |
| <b>SDO</b>      | Senior Divisional Officer                                       |
| <b>SODEPA</b>   | <i>Societe Nationale de Développement des Produits Animales</i> |
| <b>UK</b>       | United Kingdom  |
| <b>UNDP</b>     | <i>Union National pour le Democracy et le Progress</i>          |
| <b>WADA</b>     | Wum Area Development Authority                                  |
| <b>WG</b>       | West Germany  |
| <b>WMC</b>      | Wum Municipal Council   |
| <b>ZRC</b>      | Zhoa Rural Council  |
| <b>ZVC</b>      | Zoo Veterinary Center   |

## GLOSSARY

|                        |  |
|------------------------|--|
| <i>Aghem</i>           | Appellation given to the people of Wum   |
| <i>Amin al muminin</i> | Commander of the faithful followers of Uthman Dan Fodio  |
| <i>Alhaji</i>          | A courtesy title in Sub-Saharan Africa given to a Muslim who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca  |
| <i>Ardor</i>           | Leadership title of the Fulani Community   |
| <i>Alkali</i>          | Muslim Judge   |
| <i>Alkali Court</i>    | Islamic Court  |
| <i>Batum</i>           | A Courtesy title given to a traditional ruler in the Wum area  |
| <i>Buem ngonghba</i>   | The father of twins (in Kuk Language)  |
| <i>Galadima</i>        | Representative of the <i>Sarkin</i> or <i>Ardor</i> (notable, councilor or adviser or collaborator of the <i>Sarki</i> or <i>Ardor</i> ) |
| <i>Magaji</i>          | A notable in the Fulani community  |
| <i>Mkoogh</i>          | Traditional Liquor (in Kuk)  |
| <i>Deetuki</i>         | Member of a Clan   |
| <i>Fon</i>             | His Royal Highness   |
| <i>Fulfulde</i>        | Fulani Language  |
| <i>Gainakoh</i>        | Herder   |
| <i>Gogda anda</i>      | Fulani trade-practitioner  |
| <i>Harbe</i>           | Fulani word for slave  |
| <i>Ilagh</i>           | A trap made of carns (for Fishing), In Kuk language  |
| <i>Imam</i>            | Leader of the Mosque   |
| <i>Jamaah</i>          | Muslim faithfuls   |
| <i>Jangali</i>         | Tax paid per head of cattle  |
| <i>Keniih</i>          | A ritual performed to ensure good harvest in Kuk   |
| <i>Kezeeh</i>          | God  |
| <i>Koh</i>             | Agent of the <i>kwifoh</i> (terror masker)   |
| <i>Kwifon</i>          | Name of the village institution  |
| <i>Ladan</i>           | Preacher   |
| <i>Koogal</i>          | Cousins  |
| <i>Maidaki</i>         | Representative of the <i>Sarkin</i> or <i>Ardor</i>  |
| <i>Mallam</i>          | Fulani Courtesy title given to a learned man who masters the Koran and Arabic teachings or studies                                       |
| <i>Mndzeghe</i>        | A major river in Kuk that extends through Wum and forms part of Wum-Bu boundary  |
| <i>Nahtum</i>          | Queen mother   |
| <i>Naibi</i>           | Assistatnt to Imam   |
| <i>Njangi</i>          | Thrift and loan Trader's Association   |
| <i>Nnem Ngongba</i>    | The mother of twins (in Kuk Lnguage)   |
| <i>Pendi</i>           | Cow milk   |
| <i>Pulaaku</i>         | Fulani cultural code of conduct  |

|                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| <i>Sannu</i>          | Hausa style of saluting with the aim of expressing sympathy                                  |
| <i>Saraka</i>         | Special offering or feast (done by Muslims)  |
| <i>Sarkin</i>         | Head of the Hausa  |
| <i>Sehdeh foudou</i>  | An amount of money paid a Fulani to the bride's family to prepare her for marriage           |
| <i>Shehu (sheihk)</i> | Islamic learned people versed with the Koran, Hadith and Islamic studies                     |
| <i>Wakili</i>         | Councilor of the <i>Ardor</i>  |
| <i>Yehteroh</i>       | A formal Visit made by the bridegroom's family to that of the bride for marriage negotiation |

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The evolution of boundaries is not a new phenomenon in the history of Africa. Boundaries are often altered by human beings through their political, economic and socio-cultural activities. This is aimed at improving living conditions. This holds true in the Menchum division where we witnessed mutations on boundaries as a result of the influx of Fulani. The Fulani are a nomadic group of people which hardly constitute a dominant element of sedentary populations<sup>1</sup>. Though they are mostly a minority of the population in many of the countries they migrate from, they represent a majority of the population in Guinea. They are also found in considerable numbers in Nigeria, Niger, Mali, the Sudan, Chad, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Cameroon, and Senegambia. Their nomadic life style compelled them to live in small dispersed groups in areas they settled<sup>2</sup>. This encouraged people to attribute different appellations to them in diverse languages such as: *Fula, Ful, Fellatah, Peul and others*<sup>3</sup>.

The routine of migration therefore brought the Fulani from different countries to Cameroon. In this light, their movement from the Lake Chad area and Hausa lands of Northern Africa to Cameroon was as a result of the outbreak of a great epidemic that occurred in the vicinities of Daffur and spread to Sokoto between the years 1871 and 1891

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<sup>1</sup>V.G. Fanso, *Cameroon History for Secondary Schools and Colleges: From Pre-Historic Times to the Nineteenth Century*, Vol.1, London, Macmillan, 1989, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup>J. A. Muhamadou, "The Advent, Organization and Integration of the Fulani in Menchum Community from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century to 2003", DEA Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaounde 1, 2004, pp. 7-8; H. A. Nyoh, "Fulani-Indigenous Relations in Fungom Sub-Division, Menchum Division of the North West Region of Cameroon, 1923-2005", Maitrise Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaounde 1, 2006, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup>N. F. Awasom, "The Hausa and Fulani in the Bamenda Grasslands 1903-1960", Third Cycle Doctorate Thesis, Department of History, University of Yaounde, 1984, pp. 14-15.

*Fula*, a member of a pastoral nomadic people of West and Central Africa living chiefly in the Sub-Sahara region from Senegal to Cameroon. A racial mixture of light-skinned Berber of the North and darker skinned of West Africa. The word is derived from the manding languages and sometimes spelt *Fulal, Foula or Fulla*.

*Ful*, the language of the Fulani people, spoken as a first language and widely used in West Africa as a lingua franca. It belongs to the Bernue Congo language family. It also refers to a member of a people living in a region of West Africa from Senegal to Northern Nigeria and Cameroon.

*Fellatah*, a member of a pastoral and nomadic people of western Africa. They are traditionally cattle herders of Muslim faith. It is also spelled as; *fallatah or Fallata*. It originated from Kanu.

*Peuls*, a member of a widely scattered people of North Western Sub-Sahara Africa. It also denotes not much in number or they came in small numbers. The term was borrowed by the French from the Wolof word; *pel* which is variously spelled as *peulh* or *peuh*.

attacking cattle. As a result of this epidemic, the Fulani witnessed a great loss as they lost herds of cattle. This unprecedented situation compelled some Fulani who were highly affected to commit suicide while others roamed around the bushes calling cattle to emerge by means of miracle as it is told to have happened in the past to their fore fathers from a river.

This great epidemic was termed by the Hausa people as *sannu*, their style of saluting with the purpose of expressing sympathy. The Fulani presence in Cameroon is also influenced by their incessant desire to search for quality pasture and also to stay off from the cattle of the settled Fulani, which according to them were the cause of the spread of the epidemics. In this light, they were in frequent movement since the settled Fulani frequently visited their grazing grounds. So long as an area was not suitable for the multiplication of herds in a righteous order and with the disturbance from the sedentary population, a herdsman was bound to relocate.

The fear of another epidemic outbreak and a handful of other reasons are said to have forced them into Cameroon, and not only the Holy Wars<sup>4</sup> or Jihads of Uthman Dan Fodio, as many think<sup>5</sup>. Thus, the hunt for conducive climates and other necessities accounts for the migration and settlement of the Fulani in their significant numbers in some parts of the country. Infact, the significant rainfall of between 680mm-2500mm yearly means all the regions of the country receive sufficient rainfall<sup>6</sup>. In the savanna regions of the western highlands, Adamawa plateau, and Northern low lands of the country, rainfall is enough to maintain greencover vegetation which can sustain animal breeding throughout the year. The country is also afflicted with animal diseases that could easily disseminate to animal breeds under domestication. This accounts for the predominant cattle regions of Cameroon which are those areas that border the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The Far North, North, Adamawa

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<sup>4</sup>The word Jihad is an Arabic one that literally means effort. It means to use all one's strength, as well as moving toward an objective with all one's power and strength and resisting every difficulty. This latter definition of Jihad gained a special characteristic with the advent of Islam: struggling in the path of God. There exist basically two types of jihad: the internal and external. The internal struggle (greater Jihad) is the effort to attain one's essence while the external struggle (the lesser jihad) is the process of enabling someone else to attain his or her essence. The internal is based on overcoming obstacles between oneself and one's essence, and the soul's reaching knowledge, and eventually divine knowledge, divine love, and spiritual bliss. The external is based on removing obstacles between people and faith so that people can choose freely between belief and unbelief.

<sup>5</sup>Awasom, "The Hausa and Fulani in the Bamenda Grasslands 1903-1960", p. 80.

<sup>6</sup> H. Prechou, "L'Elevege et la Commercialization du betail dans le Nord Cameroun", dans *cahier ORSTOM, serie sciences Humaine*, Vol.3, 1996, pp. 24-31.



and North-West Region in which our study area is found constitute the four main cattle rearing regions of Cameroon<sup>7</sup>.

Before migrating into the North-West Region, the Fulani settled in Banyo. While there, they learnt of vast suitable lands for grazing from a Fulani adventurer in the South-Eastward direction. On his return, he told the rest, about the Bamenda plateau which he described as the “Promised Land”, void of the Tse-tse fly, with rich pasture and clear streams, suitable for grazing. All these attracted the Lamido of Sabga who became the first Fulani to arrive in the North-West Region in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>8</sup>. These were complemented by the vast nature of lands, favorable climatic conditions, sufficient water supply and friendly nature of the people among others, to attract them into Menchum Division. The settlement of Fulani herdsmen in Menchum Division therefore came as a result of the search for grazing lands. There is no doubt that most Fulani are today farmers like the early settlers of the division.

Oral tradition holds that the Fulani came into Menchum Division in the early 1920s<sup>9</sup>. Koizah intimates that they came in from Chad and Northern Nigeria<sup>10</sup>. The actual site of the Fulani in our area of study is also a focal point of concern. This is because it is difficult to clearly locate them in a community. For instance, the *Ardor* situated between Bafmeng and Kuk is on the actual boundary of these communities. However, some perspectives are examined below to see how problems resulting from Fulani presence in the area under review could be solved.

## Theoretical Framework

The analytical framework of the study is reflected on four theories. The reason for this is that factors influencing the establishment and closing of boundaries in Africa and Cameroon in particular were innate in the history of the interaction of communities. These factors were not

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<sup>7</sup> E. K. Karh, “Cattle Economy in Wum Area 1940-2010: A Historical Analysis”, Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaounde 1, 2012, pp. 4-5.

<sup>8</sup> C. T. Jumbam, “The Impact of the Fulani on the Fandom of Nso, 1920s-2004”, Maitrise Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaounde 1, 2004, p.6; R. C. Chu, “Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary Dynamics in Fungom Sub-Division, 1947-2016”, Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaounde 1, 2019, p. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Nyoh, “Politics of Fragmentation in the Aghem Federation of Chiefdoms 1800-2000”, PhD Thesis, Department of History, University of Yaounde 1, 2013, p. 212.

<sup>10</sup> Karh, “Cattle Economy in Wum Area 1940-2010”, p. 35; Nyoh, “The Evolution of Fulani-Indigenous Relations in Former Menchum Division, North West Province of Cameroon, 1923-2007”, DEA Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaounde 1, 2008, p. 8.

unique as seen in the arguments that characterize the contact hypothesis, territoriality, conflict and functionalism theories.

The contact theory states that increased contact between communities can lead to changes on their boundaries. Contact can result in cultural exchange or conflict resolution. This brings about inter-community boundary mutations. This theory came into the limelight of human sciences through the work of a sociologist, Gordon Allport in 1954<sup>11</sup>. The theory suggests that if certain considerations are made, inter personal contact between people from different communities can help minimize prejudice, discrimination and conflict. These considerations include equal status between individuals, common goals, inter-communities relations, institutional support and the support of authorities<sup>12</sup>.

The theory educates us that negative contacts have the potentials to exacerbate rather than improve inter-group relations. In this line, Allport insisted that the wrong kind of contact promotes adverse mental associations that we have (promoting an increase in negative emotions and stereotype)<sup>13</sup>. Pettigrew and Tropp posit that negative contact does not merely denote the absence of positive qualities such as intimacy, cooperation and equality. It also means modes of interacting with others that are associated with specific adversary experience. For instance, individuals may experience high level of both kinds of contact and such experience may be qualitative distinct and associated with varying effects over time<sup>14</sup>.

Allport intimated that both contact experiences have a similar degree but that negative contact was a stronger predictor of stereotype than positive contact<sup>15</sup>. Similarly, Techakesari et al added that positive contact is a less consistent predictor of inter-group attitude than negative contact<sup>16</sup>. This idea was opposed by Birtel and Scrisp who opined that imagining a negative encounter with an out-group member prior to imagining a positive inter-group encounter was more effective in reducing prejudice than only imagining positive

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<sup>11</sup> G. W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*, Cambridge, Perseus Books, 1954, p. 28.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> Allport, Flyod, "The Effects of Segregation and the Consequences of Desegregation: A Social Science Statement", *Journal of Negro Education*, 22 (1), Winter, United Kingdom, Howard University, 1953, pp. 76-88.

<sup>14</sup> T. F. Pettigrew and L. R. Tropp, "A Meta-Analytic Test of Intergroup Contact Theory", *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90(5), USA, 2006, pp. 751-78; <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.90.5.751>, Accessed, 26<sup>th</sup> March 2024.

<sup>15</sup> Allport, , "*The Nature of Prejudice*". p.32.

<sup>16</sup> P. Techakesari, W. Louis and F. K. Barlow, "The Role of Contacts Partners' Gender in moderating the Effects of Positive Contact on Intergroup Attitude: A Theoretical Framework", *A Journal of Mind, Brain and Culture*, Australia, Swinburne University of Technology, 2015, p. 17.

interactions.<sup>17</sup> Birtel and Crisp insisted that a small dose of negativity administered just prior to a positively focused intervention can be surprisingly effective in reducing prejudice towards stigmatized groups<sup>18</sup>.

Another theory linked to our study is that of territoriality initially proposed by Robert Ardrey in the 1960s in his book “the territorial imperative”. For a better comprehension of this theory, it is important we start with the definition of a territory which according to Ardrey, it is demarcated by natural landmarks, hunting grounds, areas of gathering resources among others<sup>19</sup>. Territoriality is therefore the desire by an individual or a community to defend, secure and control the land (protect it from other people)<sup>20</sup>. This often leads to conflict that could be brutal and protracting thereby laying the foundation for the emergence of more complex communities as it is the case in Menchum Division. As human activities evolve, so did the nature of territorial conflicts. This was because settlers struggled to secure land for their economic activities. The establishment of communities intensified territorial disputes and the development of more sophisticated methods of governance and social organization to manage and defend these territories.

The theory suggests that territorial behavior is not a cultural artifact but a biological imperative deeply embedded in the genetics that make up humans. That is, humans have an innate tendency to establish and defend territories as a means of ensuring access to resources, protecting offspring and accessing dominance<sup>21</sup>. The creation of laws and norms regarding land ownership and use in the Menchum division is a direct response to the need for managing territorial instincts within a community. This holds true with Ardrey’s thought. The division of land and the establishment of boundaries have led to the creation of distinct communities, each with its own identity and sense of belonging tied to its territory thereby promoting unity and cooperation within communities, while also fueling competition and conflict between them.

Johnston buttresses this view and goes further to point out that the connection between boundaries and sovereignty are continually challenged, with powerful communities

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<sup>17</sup> M. D. Birtel and R. J. Crisp, “Treating Prejudice: An Exposure Therapy Approach to Treating Negative Reactions to Stigmatized Groups”, *Psychological Science*, 23 (11), 2012, pp. 1379-1386. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797612443838>, Accessed, 26<sup>th</sup> March 2024.

<sup>18</sup> Birtel and Crisp, “Treating Prejudice”, p. 1381.

<sup>19</sup> R. Ardrey, *The Territorial Imperative*, New York, Dell, 1966, p. 6.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> Ardrey, *The Territorial Imperative*, p. 147.

often exercising territorial control beyond their formal borders<sup>22</sup>. Ardrey opines that territoriality exerts psychological impact on human beings. He holds that from a young age, individuals demonstrate an acute awareness of their personal space which is not merely of physical boundary but also a psychological one, influencing behavior and social interaction<sup>23</sup>. Johnston adds that human beings can simultaneously belong to many or different communities that exercise control over bounded space of sizes, territories to which they feel varying degree of attachment and which are governed by different jurisdiction and legislation<sup>24</sup>. This thought holds true in Menchum Division.

Ardrey also holds that territorial instincts shape human culture, art and religion. This is because cultural expression and creative output often reflect an inherent attachment to land and space. For instance, traditional songs, dances and stories frequently celebrate the beauty and significance of one's homeland, affirming a deep-seated connection to territories. Artistic works often depict themes of land, home and belonging<sup>25</sup>. This artistic work serves as cultural identity and as a means to reinforce territorial claims and sentiments within the society.

Territoriality also influences religious beliefs and practices as they are grounded in specific geographical locations considered sacred. Pilgrimages to holy sites, the veneration of land, the establishment of religious monuments among others often underscore the importance of territory in religious consciousness. These practices help bind communities to their land and foster a shared sense of belonging. Territorial instincts are intricately linked to the concept of property rights. Ownership confers a sense of security, stability and control which is primordial for psychological well-being. The defense of property right whether through legal systems or social norms, mirrors the territorial behavior. In the Menchum division, property disputes and the lengths to which individuals go to protect or reclaim what they perceive as rightfully theirs are all reflected in this theory.

Since behavior of all human communities is a function of choice and adaptation, this often brings about conflict. In this light, it becomes necessary for us to present Karl Max theory which is centered on conflict. There is frequent competition for control and ownership of land. Communities compete and often clash over ownership of authority. William

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<sup>22</sup> R. J. Johnston, "Out of the Moribund Backwater: Territory and Territoriality in Political Geography", *Political Geography*, 20 (6), Australia, 2001, pp. 677-693.

<sup>23</sup> Ardrey, *The Territorial Imperative*, p. 149.

<sup>24</sup> Johnston, "Out of the Moribund Backwater", p. 679.

<sup>25</sup> Ardrey, *The Territorial Imperative*, p. 195.

Zartman, an expert in conflicts considers it to be indispensable in all human societies. He holds that; conflicts help to measure cost, commitment and equally guides choices<sup>26</sup>. It is from these divergent forces that constant competition between individuals and communities that the theory of conflict takes its premise.

According to Karl Max, the conflict theory holds that, in all human communities, political, social and economic relations are based on mutual interest, understanding and trust<sup>27</sup>. He held economic considerations and competition to be the principal cause of conflict. He further advanced that disagreements and or situations of friction in approaches and decision making could be avoided if communities function on the bases of mutual understanding and trust<sup>28</sup>. He asserted that it is lack of common concord on a single or multi-dimensional stream of thought that conflicts are so frequent. This therefore educates one that the absence of mutual understanding and trust between human communities result in conflict.

One of the principles underlying the conflict theory is the contention that, all members of human communities don't have the same values, interest and expectations. This becomes complex when we consider other elements like social class, wealth among others. It is convincing to think that understanding turn to be the order of the day within communities with common interest and approaches meanwhile conflict characterizes communities with heterogeneous ideas. Conflicts in human societies have existed since time immemorial. There existed between conservatives who were adamant to changing demands and liberals who interpreted change as a progress. It was on this theory that rested the political relationship of the indigenes and Fulani in Menchum Division.

Another theory is that of functionalism. It considers the society as an assembly of different elements that interrelate with each other. It considers the society to be in a state of a dynamic equilibrium where, a change in one of the elements brings about a change in the whole society so as to establish a new balance<sup>29</sup>. This theory seeks to describe the different parts of the society and their relationships through the organic analogy. Its analysis and examines the significance of phenomena. According to Emile Durkheim, functionalism holds that individuals have physiological needs (reproduction, food, shelter) and those social institutions exist to meet up with these needs. In a simplified manner, functionalism affirms

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<sup>26</sup> I. W. Zartman, *Negotiation and Conflict Management: Essays on Theory and Practice*, Oxford, Routledge, 2009.

<sup>27</sup> K. Max, *1818-1883. Theories of Surplus Value; Selections*, New York, International Publishers, 1952.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> E. Durkheim, *Functionalism*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2022, p. 156.

that one community can only better exist because of the existence of another community<sup>30</sup>. This is to say that social phenomenon had to be constructed within the social level. Individuals are replaceable, transient occupants of the social rules. This theory is connected to our work as communities in Menchum Division play a vital role in each other's wellbeing.

This study is therefore an embodiment of a broad spectrum of psychological and sociological theories each contributing its own toll to the understanding of the specific ideas developed to sustain our work. The theories help us to better situate the focus of our study based on the origin, settlement of Fulani and inter-community boundary dynamics in Menchum Division. From our theoretical framework, we realized that Fulani presence created and altered boundaries in Menchum Division. This section drives us to the definition of some key terms and concepts, given that these will add more meaning to the theoretical pattern and ease understanding of what it analyses and examines in the study.

### **Conceptual Framework**

For an easy understanding of our study, we shall define some terms and concepts that shall run all through the thesis: Fulani, Inter-community, Boundary mutations and Conflict. These definitions shall enable us to comprehend our subject and what we intend to examine. This is because many authors, individuals and institutions give varied definitions to the same terms; to suit their contexts as could be seen subsequently.

### **Fulani**

The Fulani are a group of West African pastoralists scattered all over West and Central Africa almost exclusively within the savannah zone. They moved over vast areas and came across many cultures. Some scholars erroneously think that they are weak<sup>31</sup>. This is not cogent as the Fulani who were relatively small in number conquered a good number of people with the use of jihad. Again, during the mountain race of Mount Cameroon, a Fulani is most often among the first five athletes. Awasom adds that the Fulani are slender and sinewy, sometimes effeminate, their faces oval, lips thin, head dolichocephalic and forward rather receding towards the temple, the nose straight or even aquiline, and often slightly rounded at the hip. Their hair is ringletly, and often straight and never of the Negro

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<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> Awasom, "The Hausa and Fulani in the Bamenda Grasslands 1903-1960", p. 16.

peppercorn type. On their chin, a man wears a scraggy stuff of beard. The eyes are almond shaped and over hung by long black sicken lashes<sup>32</sup>. They are endogenous, marrying from across-and parallel cousins (*kooggal*), or from clan members (*Deetuki*). They are also polygamous, marrying at least two wives in a life time.

This implies that every normal Fulani or woman including those who have delayed their weddings, are expected to become married. Maidenhood and divorce are uncommon among them. As a result of early marriages and polygamy, the Fulani population is bound to increase. They are governed by a political structure consisting of the ethnic group, clan, lineage, family and the ruga. Leadership among them is less aristocratic. It is imperative to highlight that the term Fulani or Fulbe is a modification of the word in their language, *Fulbe*, which is in its singular *Pullo*. Fanzo opines that the name *Fulbe* was derived from the verbal root *Fullude* or to cover, with dust. It may however come from the word “Ful” which is found in the holy book of Christians. While the French call them, *peuls*, like the Wolof of Senegal, the British refer to them in Gambia by the Bambara term *Fula*, but in Ghana and Nigeria, the British attributed the Hausa word to them, Fulani, *Filani* or *Hilani*. In German documents, they are equally known as the fulbe while the Kanuri and Chadians call them *Felatah*<sup>33</sup>.

For the English Oxford Dictionary, Fula is a member of a people living in a region of West Africa from Senegal to Northern Nigeria and Cameroon. They are traditionally cattle herders of Muslim faith<sup>34</sup>. This view is also shared by Nyoh in his words: “Fulani are a nomadic group of people who hardly constitute a majority element of the population”<sup>35</sup>. With respect to our work, the Fulani are the late settlers of the Menchum division. Following the economic activities carried out by the Fulani, they are broadly classified into three: pastoral or nomadic, semi-settled and settled Fulani. Pastoral Fulani refer to those that are very mobile. They change settlements immediately the reason that brought them there ceases to exist. They roam with all their belongings. The semi-Fulani are those that have settled partly, but have their permanent sites in different areas that suit the different atmospheric conditions. Those that have distanced themselves from their traditional economic activity and have

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<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> Fanzo, *Cameroon History for Secondary Schools and Colleges: From Pre-Historic Times to the Nineteenth Century*, Revised and Updated Combined Edition, Kumbo, Team work Press Bamkika’ay, 2017, p. 35.

<sup>34</sup> A. H. Hornbey, *Oxford Advance Learners Dictionary of Current English*, Sixth Edition, London, Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 484.

<sup>35</sup> Nyoh, “Fulani-Indigenous Relations in Fungom Sub-Division”, p.7.

settled permanently in towns are known as settled Fulani. This category has embraced different businesses though some still rear cattle.

In the perspective of the different breeds of cattle reared, the Fulani can be divided into three major groups: Aku-en, Bodaabe and the Jafun-en. But with respect to our area of study, there are two Categories of Fulani: the “Aku-en” and “Mbororo”<sup>36</sup>. This brings out the fact that the Fulani have their traditional structures such as music, language, moral code, dressing style, herding, food, houses, among others. For Koizaih<sup>37</sup> and Nyoh<sup>38</sup> they are: light skinned with long hair, straight nose, thin lips and slight physique. All these characteristics go to prove their Asiatic origin. Nevertheless, they are increasingly having marital relationships with the indigenous population of our area of study.

A typical example of this situation is that of Ibrahim Ousmanou (a Fulani pastoralist) who got married to Beatrice Njang (an indigenous farmer) as a second wife living in his town house in Kuk at Kumfutu quarter<sup>39</sup>. She became a Muslim and adopted the name Amina. Their first son was named Aboubakar. This act was also associated with the conversion of indigenous Christians like mama Asiatou (formally called Ziah Bih) into the Islamic religion. Mary Sih equally got married to Oumarou in Kuk. As a result of these, boundaries were bridged because there existed no disparity between both communities in the domain of religion and marriage. This therefore led to the mutation of boundaries in the area under consideration. It should be noted that most Fulani in Menchum Division nowadays speak indigenous languages and vice versa. The dressing style has also changed as indigenes dress in Fulani style and vice versa. The Fulani way of constructing houses is gradually changing<sup>40</sup>.

### **Inter-community**

For us to have a better understanding of the term inter-community, it would be important to first understand the meaning of the word community which is derived from the old French word *communauté*, that in turn comes from a Latin word: *comunitas* meaning community or

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<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>37</sup> Karh, “Cattle Economy in Wum Area 1940-2010”, p. 3.

<sup>38</sup> Nyoh, “Fulani-Indigenous Relations in Fungom Sub-Division”, pp. 7-8.

<sup>39</sup> Interview with HRH Ntuh Mbeng Evaristus, 46 Years, *Fon*, Kuk, 26/08/2021.

<sup>40</sup> Chu, “Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary”, p. 4.



public spirit<sup>41</sup>. Community is a geographical term used to describe a collection of people living in a close proximity and having a complex network of social relationships. It denotes a group of people living in the same area and having common characteristics<sup>42</sup>. With more precision, it is a group of people who occupy a territorial identifiable location and share certain values and interest with each other in political and socio-economic activities<sup>43</sup>.

It also signifies a locality inhabited by a social group of any size whose members often have a common historical origin and socio-cultural heritage. There exist varied forms of communities such as: religious, educational, occupational among others. Thus, a community is referred to as any group sharing common characteristics or interests and distinct itself in some aspects from the larger society within which it exists as people involved in the system, have a sense and recognition of the relationships and areas of common interest with other members. Menchum Division is therefore a vast community with smaller ones<sup>44</sup>.

This means that an individual can belong to different communities in the same area. It also implies a social unit having something in common and shares a sense of place that is situated in a geographical area or in virtual space through communication platforms. When two or more communities bridge themselves, it becomes inter-community. Thus, Inter-community in our context will simply mean a reciprocal intercourse or inter connection that exists between two or more communities. It also refers to activities such as: education, religion, dressing, feeding among others existing or conducted between communities. An agreement or law that binds communities together brings about inter-community connections. Differences that exist between communities in our area of study bring about the notion of boundaries. Thus, it is imperative to have an insight of what the term boundaries mean.

## **Boundary Mutations**

For a better understanding of the term boundary mutations, it will be important for us to briefly treat the meaning of what a boundary is. According to Fanso, there is no fixed definition for a boundary. He contends that boundaries indicate the sharp edges of a

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<sup>41</sup>Community: The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology, Online Paper Retrieve, <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com>, on 27/04/ 2017.

<sup>42</sup>M.D. Lawson and A.S. Preker, *Social Reinsurance; Approach to Community Health Financing*, The World Bank, Washington DC, 2002, p.518.

<sup>43</sup>Community: The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology, Online Paper retrieved from <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com>, on 27/04/ 2017.

<sup>44</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", p.5.

territory's limit within which the state exercise distinct jurisdiction. Boundaries are also said to be lines that delimit surface areas for the purpose of facilitating coordination and deconfliction of operations between adjacent units, formations or areas<sup>45</sup>. It is a real or imaginary line that marks the limit of something and separates it from one thing or the other. It is also a symbol or line that divides an entity or political unit from another. A boundary also denotes the portion or describes the section of a country adjoining its border with another part. A boundary is a line that helps to define an individual by out-lining his or her likes and dislikes, and setting the distances one allows the other to approach. It has different appellations in different contexts: frontiers, border and others<sup>46</sup>.

It is for this reason that the Esu community in Menchum Division is considered as a frontier town by virtue. This is because it is Cameroon's closest town to Nigeria on the northern side. The Esu community is bordered by the Federal Republic of Nigeria and Furu Awa Sub-Division. With regards to her boundary with Nigeria, she merits the position of a frontier town. This accounts for the installation of the immigration Frontier Police Post in the town in 1957<sup>47</sup>. The boundary implanted by the Germans in 1901 was carved out by the German colonial administration.

It was established at the border line of Gayama II. This border line was marked by caims with arrows pointing either way, can be found a few kilometers away from the residence of the chief of the region. Between Esu and Gayama II are communities like Iwoh, Munkep, and Gayama I<sup>48</sup>. It has not been long that the people of Munkep started objecting the *fon* of Esu as their suzerain authority on the bases of divergent ancestry. They now hold that they constitute an independent community even though they are settled on Esu land. This resulted from the separation of their borderline. To a large extent, inter-village territorial limits were institutional vacuums where different inter-lacing forms of activities took place. This fines great similarity with the view of Kopytoff who opines that "African traditional

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<sup>45</sup>Fanso, "Trans Frontier Relations and Resistance to Cameroon-Nigeria Colonial Boundaries, 1916-1945", Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, University of Yaounde, 1982, p.13.

<sup>46</sup>E. Y. Sobseh, "The Demise of European Colonialism and the Emergence of Boundary Conflicts in the Bamenda Grasslands of Cameroon", *Boundaries and History in Africa. Issues in Conventional Boundaries and Ideological Frontiers*, Bamenda, Maryland Printer, 2011, p. 87.

<sup>47</sup>V.K. Ngwoh, *Esu and her Neighbours: A Geopolitical History of the Esu People*, Yaounde, Book House, 2006, p. 9.

<sup>48</sup>E. K.Chu, "The Menchum Community in the Cameroon Nigeria Trans-Border Trade: A Historical Study", Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, University of Yaounde I, 2019, p. 7.

borders are a force of cultural-historical continuity and conservatism". The border is an institutional vacuum for the unfolding of social process<sup>49</sup>.

In the context of our study, a boundary will simply not mean an edge of land where people live and have constructed homes, villages beyond the area and unknown to others. It is worthy of note that boundaries exist basically in two forms: natural and artificial. While the former can be identified with physical features like forest, lakes, deserts, seas, mountains, valleys among others, the latter results from man's philosophy or activities. These two types of boundaries can be sub-divided into: pre-colonial boundaries, colonial boundaries, postcolonial boundaries, religious boundaries, disciplinary boundaries among others. In fact, our work will limit itself on terrestrial and ideological boundaries. Since communities merged into each other inspite of official lines of demarcation, artificial boundaries therefore seen in this direction were more imaginary than rigid land marks that could serve as lines of demarcation separating the people. It is worthy to note that these boundaries evolved over time in our area of study. This therefore introduces us to the notion of boundary mutations.

Boundary mutations in our context simply refer to the changes witnessed in the Menchum division due to the Fulani presence. It should be noted that before the coming of Europeans, Africa and Cameroon had well established states and kingdoms. Authority or need for power caused changes on some of these boundaries. For instance, seizing Cameroon from Germany caused Britain and France, to establish a boundary to show the limit of influence between them<sup>50</sup>. The map of Nigeria was also changed because British Northern Cameroons became part of Nigeria. It should be mentioned that Britain through her policy of Indirect Rule gave the local chiefs power to rule their subjects based on their institutions. This also gave a green light to the *Ardor* in Menchum Division to govern based on Muslim beliefs<sup>51</sup>. These affected boundaries in the area because human, artificial, among other types of boundaries developed.

This can be explained by the fact that several inter-ethnic relations exist between Fulani and indigenous communities in the division. The issue here is, whether there are modalities put in place to establish boundaries. Prior to the colonial era, several ethnic groups or

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<sup>49</sup> I. Kopytoff, (eds), *The African Frontier: The Reproduction of Traditional African Societies*, Bloomington and Indianapolis, Indian University Press, 1987 in N. K. Nyoh, "Struggle for Traditional Leadership Amongst the Chieftdoms of the Menchum Area (North-West Region of Cameroon): Ca 1840-2007", Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaounde 1, 2012.,p.7.

<sup>50</sup> Fanso, *Cameroon History for Secondary Schools*, pp. 203-204.

<sup>51</sup> Awasom, "The Hausa and Fulani in the Bamenda Grasslands 1903-1916", p.160.

communities were separated following certain territorial demarcations by colonial masters. The case of Rwanda and Bakossi in Cameroon are typical examples of this situation. Benkas-Bu in Menchum Division equally witnessed the same situation following the Presidential Decree of 2<sup>nd</sup> October 1992. Again, the presence of Fulani in our area of study was associated with changes on community boundaries. This was because several exchanges in all domains took place between communities on one hand and the Fulani on the other. All these precipitated or triggered tensions or conflict. So, it would be important for us to define the concept of conflict as a leeway to understanding what it entails in this work.

## Conflict

The idea of conflict is basic to our understanding and reality of human actions. It exists with diverse meanings given by different scholars and dictionaries. It is a general phenomenon that occurs in everyday life or an issue that occurs within a person and between people on a daily basis. John Burton states that ‘‘conflict is like sex’’. It should be enjoyed and should occur with a reasonable degree of frequency and after conflict is over, the results should make people feel better<sup>52</sup>. The Webster Dictionary traces the meaning of the word from the Greek word *confligere*, which means to strike together, clash, contend and fight<sup>53</sup>. This is contained in two sections, the first of which is *con*, meaning together and the second, *fligere*, meaning to strike. A. S. Hornbey sees conflict as a situation in which people, communities or countries are involved in a serious disagreement<sup>54</sup>. Eshankeh sees conflict to be the process of sharp differences and collision of interest ideas which may or may not be accompanied by violence<sup>55</sup>.

The University of Peace in the United States of America sees it as a clash or an engagement in a fight. There is also Schmid who looks at conflict as the struggle between men for power, status, identity and even resources especially land, moving progressively from one person to another. It can be treated broadly as a philosophical category denoting the opposition of power against power in the striving of all things to become manifested, or

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<sup>52</sup>J. Burton, *Conflict Management and Problem Solving: Interpersonal to International Application*, New York, New York University Press, 1987, p.39; J. Awa, ‘‘Traditional Authorities in Land Conflicts in the Pinyin Clan 1966-2011: A Historical Investigation’’, Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaounde 1, 2017, p. 12.

<sup>53</sup>University of Peace, *A Glossary of Terms and Concepts in Peace and Conflict Studies, Second edition*, San Jose, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005, p. 22.

<sup>54</sup> Hornbey, *Oxford Advance Learners Dictionary of Current English*, 2000, p. 239.

<sup>55</sup> P. C. Eshankeh, ‘‘Conflict in Babungo Before and Since Colonialism: Origins, Evolution and Resolution, 1800-1962’’, Masters of Arts Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaounde 1, 2004, p.10.

conflict can be a distinct category of social behavior, as two parties trying to get something they cannot both have. For Nyoh, conflict is not limited to physical confrontation neither is it stagnant; rather, it is of different intensities and stages<sup>56</sup>. Thus, the concept of conflict is ambiguous; it envelops a family of forms. In Nigeria for example, conflict has become a very widespread occurrence: manifesting in all spheres of human endeavors.

The incessant prevalence of conflict in the universe is not a new thing as various types had been and are still manifesting in all the parts of the world. Conflicts result from opposition or disagreement. It also occurs when there is interdependence between people or one's thoughts and the goals that need to be achieved cannot all happen. Thus, the struggle over the control of economically viable lands provokes more tension and violent conflicts among communities. As pastoralists and cultivators who have co-existed for a long time, the complexity over land-use between them has drastically changed and become dependent variables.<sup>57</sup> However, conflict in our context shall be linked to resources, simply operationalized as the interaction between two or more interdependent resources users, in this case: farmers and Fulani graziers over common environmental resources such as land, pasture, crop residues, livestock passages and water points among others. Resource use conflicts arise from competition and interest and can either be violent or non-violent. In this research work, both are considered. Conflicts in Menchum Division were interconnected, although they tended to be within the community, due to strong cross-boundary dimensions and ethnic identities. These conflicts have often spread to destabilize the entire division<sup>58</sup>.

## Literature Review

The history of communities occupies a privileged position in Africa and Cameroon in particular. This has attracted many researchers from diverse disciplines such as: history, anthropology, psychology, linguistics, geography, philosophy among others. This section of the work shall make a synthetic analysis of exploited documents. Many researchers have written extensively on the subject, but have not exhausted all its ramifications. Therefore, much is still left unexploited on the subject especially in the area of study. Nevertheless, some works were very relevant to the study and have been exploited to complement our research as can be seen subsequently.

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<sup>56</sup> Nyoh, "Politics of Fragmentation in the Aghem Federation", p. 28.

<sup>57</sup> I. M. Abbas, *No Retreat, No Surrender: Conflict for Survival between Fulani Pastoralists and Farmers in Northern Nigeria*, Amadou Belo University, paper retrieve from, <http://eujournal.org>, 26/07/2018, p. 1.

<sup>58</sup> Interview with Ngeh Lambert Bang, 66 Years, Public Contractor, Fungom, 19/08/2020.

Fage with much enthusiasm in the Fulani migration narrates their extension from the Ethiopian highlands in East Africa to the Senegambian region in the Western Sudan<sup>59</sup>. He relates this movement to the holy wars of Uthman Dan Fodio<sup>60</sup>. The same reason accounts for the Fulani expansion from the Senegambian region to other areas of West Africa not leaving out the Adamawa area in Cameroon. Though he discusses the expansion of Fulani into other areas, he left out their movement into the Menchum Division. Our work is therefore intended to complement the study.

Adamou and Bah on their part investigate on the origins, migration and organization of the Fulani in the Lamidat of Kontcha. Given that much of their work is a translation from Arab manuscripts documented by scholars of the Muslims community on lamidat, their concern on Fulani movement into Cameroon acts as a foundation to Dognin<sup>61</sup>. Situating the origin of the Fulani as a race in northern Nigeria (precisely Melles), Dognin posits that some of them later moved into Cameroon. He holds that from the north, some spread southwards into Adamawa after they stopped over at Lompta. It was from here that information of the quality pasture in the grassfields reached them<sup>62</sup>. Dognin however focuses only on the history of Fulani movement into Cameroon and pays no attention to the Fulani's activities in Menchum Division.

Nkwi and Warnier examine Fulani migration into the Grassfields. They assert that: "the pastoral Fulani kept moving steadily eastwards and southwards in the area under consideration from the fourteen to eighteen centuries, in search of quality pasture and political conditions favorable to their way of life". For them, they intermingled peacefully with the local populations, most of the time occupying a dependent, tributary position to non-Fulani leaders<sup>63</sup>. Their work however does not mention the infiltration of the Fulani into the Menchum Division and the type of terrestrial and ideological relationship established with the indigenous population. The work is therefore intended to fill this gap. Njeuma on his part

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<sup>59</sup>J. D. Fage, *An Introduction to the History of West Africa*, Third Edition, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1962.

<sup>60</sup> Uthman also spelled Usman Dan Fodio, born December 1754, Maratta, Gobir in the Hausa land (now in Nigeria) died in 1817. He was a Fulani mystic, philosopher and a revolutionary reformer who in a holy war of between 1804-1808 created a new Muslim state, the Fulani empire, (Sokoto) in what is now northern Nigeria

<sup>61</sup> H. Adamou and T. M. Bah, *Un Manuscrit Arab sur L'Histoire du Royaume peul de Kontcha dans le Nord Cameroun*, Maroc, Rabat, 2001.

<sup>62</sup> R. Dognin, "L'installation des Djafun dan L'Adamaoua Camerounaise, Le Djakka Chez les Puel de L'Adamoua" no. 551.

<sup>63</sup> P. N. Nkwi and J. P. Warnier, *Elements for a History of the Western Grassfields*. Yaounde Publication of the Department of Sociology, 1982.

stresses the origin, migration, settlement and impact of Fulani presence in Yola (ancient Adamawa)<sup>64</sup>. While examining the Fulani in some parts of the North-West Region, little or nothing is mentioned about Menchum Division. This research work is therefore hoped, would complement his study.

In addition to their views, Fanzo traces when the Fulani infiltrated the Cameroonian territory. He argues that Fulani infiltration to Cameroon is dated from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when they arrived in significant numbers in search of pasture and agricultural land. They enthusiastically submitted themselves quietly and peacefully to local leaders, and did not hesitate to pay tribute when it was demanded<sup>65</sup>. He does not however extend his study to the North-West Region. The Fulani in the northern part of the country are his point of focus. He does not make mention of the Fulani in the area under consideration. Therefore, this research is hoped to fill the vacuum.

Fanzo further presents a synthesis of the characteristics of centralized and institutionalized political societies in Cameroon. He holds that centralized groups were divided into dialectical states or chiefdoms of different sizes and generally distinguished themselves by reference to particular rulers to whom its members paid allegiance<sup>66</sup>. This contribution gives us an insight into understanding and interpreting diplomacy among communities of Menchum Division. Extending into the colonial period, it brings out the relationship between natural leaders and British institutions and policies under the indirect rule. This system of rule as was the case in the Menchum area provoked friction between the natural leaders and their subjects.

Gulliver with the interest of substantiating nomadic movements says that the provision of pastoral resources only is intangible to justify pastoral nomadism. He argues that there is a basic need for grazing zones for longer or shorter periods because of harmful insects, such as tse-tse fly or biting flies and because of animal diseases. The work accounts for the migration of pastoralists into West Africa, Cameroon and the grassfields area in

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<sup>64</sup> M. Z. Njeuma, *Fulani Hegemony in Yola (Old Adamawa) 1809-1902*, Yaounde, Ceper, 1978.

<sup>65</sup> Fanzo, *Cameroon History for secondary Schools and Colleges*.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid*.

particular where our study area is located<sup>67</sup>. The impact of such movement in the Bamenda grassfields therefore constitutes part of our work.

Galaty in examining the Massai Group Ranch in Nairobi highlights that the evolution of the activities of this ranch resulted in political and socio-economic changes within the pastoral community. He further holds that the success resulted from the government's decision of providing grants and subsidies. The work however, contends that in spite of government assistance, the Massai ranch needs to be improved by applying the recent cattle rearing methods and modern breeds of cattle species<sup>68</sup>. The work is significant to ours because it accounts for the mutations witnessed on boundaries as a result of cattle activities.

Another interesting work is that of Virginia which reveals the practicing of ranching system in America that started around the eighteenth century. This was when the indigenous population captured wild cattle and developed a beef industry. The work contends that the progress of this industry flew in a speedy manner since many Hawaiians became entangled in the activity. The study further asserts that as time went by, the activity spread to other parts of the American continent such as California and Mexico. It was for this reason that experts were called upon to educate the Hawaiians on how to manage cattle in the ranches operating during this period<sup>69</sup>. This work is therefore relevant to ours because the researcher has been able to draw inspiration on how to manage cattle in Menchum Division.

Sandford examines pastoral management by revealing how Britain, through her colonial policy of Indirect Rule, concentrates on the economic transformation of her African colonies<sup>70</sup>. This was seen through her encouragement of the cattle rearing tax called the *njangali* tax<sup>71</sup> system. He continues to say that with the implementation of Indirect Rule, most of the British African colonies were economically transformed since pastoralism was seen as the backbone of development. From the experiences Standford gathered from other countries like Nigeria, Brazil, Kenya and Angola where pastoralism and cattle ranching

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<sup>67</sup> P. H., Guiliver, "Nomadic Movements: Causes and Implications" in Theodore Monod, ed., *Pastoralism in Tropical Africa*, London, Oxford University Press, 1975, p. 371

<sup>68</sup> J. Galaty, *The Massai Group Ranch: Politics and Development in an African Pastoral Society*, New York, Philip Salzman, 1980.

<sup>69</sup> P. Virginia, *This was Cattle Ranch: Yesterday and Today*, Washington, Superior Publishing Company, 1973.

<sup>70</sup> S. Sanford, *Management of Pastoral in Third World*, New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1982.

<sup>71</sup> The Jangali tax was also called the cattle head tax because it was paid by the cattle owner for each cattle he owned. This form of tax was introduced by the British colonial administration in British Southern Cameroons in 1921.



activities contribute significantly in introducing modern modalities and strategies in bringing growth and development, the work is regarded important because it reveals the role of Britain in causing boundary mutations through her colonial policy which encouraged cattle grazing.

Bernus points out that if not of the abandonment of the traditional method of breeding, industrial breeding will not have started in Sahelian Africa. He also holds that there is a competition between man and animals over the use of land and vegetation which results from the demographic expansion of both man and animal population, and changing climatic conditions. According to him, cross-breeding has greatly elevated the quality and quantity of animal production<sup>72</sup>. The relevance of the work lies on the fact that it exposes the dynamics that occur in breeding method with the aim of limiting the negative effects of conflict over land use and vegetation.

Audrey writes on boundary conflict where he pointed out that man's quest for territory and property undoubtedly raised greater storms in traditional societies. To him, man is a predator and from time to time, he goes out looting, raping and raising general havoc in the surrounding communities or neighboring chiefdoms. He mentions that some *fons* are always there to reap what they did not sow. The final outcome is an unavoidable reprisal from the offended. Audrey draws a number of conclusions; firstly, that the common causes for any form of conflict resonates around man's ignorance. Secondly, that groups of family loyalty to *fons* in local societies depend on joint attachment to private territory or land. When the land is tampered with, conflicts with greater magnitudes occur<sup>73</sup>. This work compels us to reflect on how farmer-Grazier dispute has become incessant in Menchum.

Chiabi posits that, before the coming of Europeans and more exclusively, before the introduction of the new system of administration, the chiefs managed the internal and external affairs of their communities. They controlled their circumscribed ethnic jurisdiction and received protection and tribute from them. The arrival of the whites and the introduction of the colonial system of native administration led to the alteration of boundaries that adversely affected these authorities<sup>74</sup>. In this capacity, the powers bestowed on traditional authorities witnessed a decline and consequently communities (in the case of Menchum

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<sup>72</sup>E. Bernus, *L'homme et L'animal Concurrents. Problemes d'ecole Pastoral. Developpement Rural en Questions*, Paris, Edition de L'ORSTOM, 1966.

<sup>73</sup> R. Audrey, *The Territorial Imperative; A Personal Inquiry into Animal Origins of Property and Nations*, New York, Maltony Rose INC, 1966.

<sup>74</sup> E. M. Chiabi, "Chieftaincy: Traditional Rulers in National Politics", *Annals of the Faculty of Arts, Letters and Social Sceinces*, University of Yaounde, 1990.

Division) were exposed to conflicts. This was greatly visible as some duties of the traditional rulers were transferred to the Ardors.

Aletum holds that Cameroon emerged as an independent nation in 1960 inheriting its modern socio-political system from the western world. In this light, the indigenous institutions in each Cameroonian society were pushed aside to give way for European ones. Leadership changed from African leaders into the hands of new elite and not in to the hands of traditional monarchs who had ruled before the arrival of Europeans. To him, the presence of the Europeans in the African land (Menchum Division inclusive) paved the way for the alteration of traditional institutions thereby instituting artificial boundaries. The socio-political scene was to be determined by proponents of the western thoughts. Aletum admits that boundaries changed as colonialists feature in Cameroon<sup>75</sup>.

Oyemakinde analyses the introduction of the chiefs' law in the Yoruba land regulating communities under the British Indirect Rule. He argues that through this, the colonial masters had the upper hand to nominate, approve, reproof and rebuke chiefs. He further asserts that European involvement in the organization of traditional communities paved the way for the mutation of boundaries as succession disputes sprang-up among other ills. This was because prior to the arrival of Europeans, power and authority in the Yoruba land resonate around the *Obas* who during colonial rule suffered humiliation as they could be dethroned, flogged and jailed. This led to the tearing of the Yoruba community as some school of thoughts argued that European involvement in the issues of traditional communities were not only exaggerated but detrimental to the Yoruba society<sup>76</sup>. This work is thus significant in our study because it reveals the role of colonial masters in altering the traditional institutions of the indigenes which resulted to conflict in our area of study.

Santiago of Sao Paulo studies the cattle species in India, Brazil and in other parts of the world. He holds that the zebu cattle are a catalyst of economic development in their respective areas. After touring many countries involved in the production of the zebu cattle species, he pointed out that Brazil produces the best quality of cattle when compared to other areas in the American continent. The progress and extension of this breed to other areas has been affirmed by environmentalists and animal specialists as a breed that easily adapts to

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<sup>75</sup> M.T. Aletum, *Bafut Institutions in Modern Politics Cameroon*, Yaounde, SOPECAM, 1990.

<sup>76</sup>W. Oyemakinde, "The Chiefs Law and the Regulation of Traditional Chieftaincy in Yuroba land", *Journal of the Historical Survey of Nigeria*, Vol. 9. N° 1, 1977.

tropical regions. The quality evolution of the zebu cattle production in Brazil makes it possible for it to be regarded as one of the life sustaining activities that contributes enormously to the growth and development of the economy of Brazil<sup>77</sup>. The work is important to our study because it points out the importance of cattle in the socio-economic development of a community.

Barker highlights that disagreement was on a steady increase since time immemorial which partly resulted from the repeated bush fire caused by pastoralists. He mentions that “on arrival on the wetter lands, the herders burnt the tall stands of *Hyparrhenia* or *Themadia* grass including a green flush, to kill ticks and manage bush growth. He goes ahead to say that in the last fifty years, the pattern of life in Karamoja adversely affected and development was hindered because of the failure to understand the nice but precarious balance between man and the physical environment in Karamoja. As a solution, he suggests that there should be a reduction of cattle populations by owners. His findings included the negative effects of bush fire on the natural environment<sup>78</sup>. His study is limited to northern Uganda.

John singles out that an increase in population numbers will result in an increase in the demand for land for other purposes besides agriculture. This leads to a decrease in the number of trees thereby adversely affecting the environment. He further opines that subsistence agriculture and livestock rearing activities constitute the major income generating activities. This holds true in our area of study<sup>79</sup>. The work eases our understanding of the relationship that exists between the components. The work equally states that land is the primary thing to consider as cattle activity requires a large expanse of land for it to be established. The work therefore furnishes the researcher with background knowledge to the understanding of how an increase in population affects activities on land and the demand for beef and other animal related products.

Delbert investigates on how the activities of cattle ranching in Argentina and Brazil became the bedrock for economic development and source of conflict. He elucidates that during the colonial period, the semi pampas region of South America was conducive for cattle activities. He further explains how the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Brazil was characterised by

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<sup>77</sup> A. A. Santiago, *Zebu Le Bouef de Demain*, Latin America, Varig Cargo, 1986.

<sup>78</sup>R. Barker, “Development and Pastoral People of Koromoja, North-Eastern Uganda: An Example of the Treatment of Symptoms” in Theodore Monod, ed., *Pastoralism in Tropical Africa*, London, Oxford University Press, 1975.

<sup>79</sup>M. T. John, “Land Resources Management in Machakos in Kenya, 1830-1900”, Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of Geography, University of Kenya, 1988.

increase in deforestation as lands were cleared through slash and burn methods, thereby permitting pasture grown for livestock to be depended on. Since deforestation caused the depletion of the land, many indigenous farmers protested this form of burning the forest to set up grazing activities<sup>80</sup>. The work educates the researcher on how to make a comparative analytical approach on how cattle grazing brings about the farmer-grazier conflict in Menchum Division.

Neba views cattle keeping as one of the principal economic activities in Cameroon. He concentrates on the elements that favoured and disfavoured cattle rearing activities in Cameroon. He highlights that different species of cattle get adapted to different climatic conditions. He equally holds that by 1987 Cameroon had ten million cattle with the North West Province having 38,500. He goes ahead to outline the efforts put in place by the government towards the promotion of livestock rearing activities<sup>81</sup>. The importance of the work lies on the fact that it accounts for the presence of the zebu cattle in our area of study.

Bunnet focuses on cattle population in the world during the period 400-2000BC. He examines the positive and the negative outcomes of cattle on the environment. The positive effects include the increase in animal population due to the introduction of modern rearing techniques, emergence of Fulani administrators, fabrication of traditional symbols, employment opportunities while negative effects are the trampling effect on farmlands thereby resulting in destruction of crops<sup>82</sup>. The effects of livestock rearing activity in other areas of the world helped the researcher to make a comparative analysis caused by cattle.

Leong and Morgan substantiate the history of the domestication of cattle and reveal how man highly depends on it for food (beef, Milk, Cheese), and other commodities such as leather, fertilizer among others. He also locates the different cattle breeds in the world with their characteristics and why they are found in these precise places.<sup>83</sup> Despite the fact that the work is not specific to our area of study, it gives us an in-depth understanding of the reasons for the mutilation of boundaries and why different Fulani rear different types of cattle in Menchum Division. It also makes us to be familiar with the history and importance of cattle to man.

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<sup>80</sup> W. Elbert, *Great Ranches of the United States*, San Antonio, Genada Press, Texas, 1993.

<sup>81</sup> A. S. Neba, *Modern Geography of the Republic of Cameroon*, Second Edition, Limbe, Neba Publisher, 1987.

<sup>82</sup> R. B. Bunnett, *Animal Domestication in the World 4000BC-2000BC*, London, Macmillian Publisher, 1967.

<sup>83</sup> G. C. Leong, and G. C. Morgan, *Human and Economic Geography*, Second Edition, London, Oxford University Press, 1986.

Brigg and Courtney examine the significant role of environment in subtending soils and vegetation in the expansion of livestock breeding. Soils are important because they enable and permit the growth of particular vegetation type like savannah, vegetation which is best for ruminants. They argue that an increase or decrease in the cattle population depends on the ability of the soil to sustain and produce enough pasture for the cattle.<sup>84</sup> Although this holds true in Menchum Division, the work does not show the negative effects of cattle on the environment. Our work is therefore intended to fill the vacuum.

In the same vein, Smith substantiates the significance of cattle. According to him, cattle are placed at the centre of agriculture because they provide dung for domestic use, supply milk and meat for human consumption, acts as a source of wealth and fulfill numerous special and religious functions in various parts of the world. Therefore, the output of meat from cattle and beef production should be greatly improved. But such aspirations could not be met because of some constraints which ranged from climate, sociology, economics, genetics as well as the prevalence of animal diseases. According to his findings, the importance of these various constraints of production vary from one region of the world to another<sup>85</sup>. The article underlines the necessity for researchers in different disciplines: History, Anthropology, Sociology, Geography among others to come to a common platform and propose ideas. The paper introduces the challenges encountered by graziers in enhancing their cattle keeping activities.

Anene in the Festschrift written in honor of Fanso, examines the preponderant role which boundary and frontier issues play and continues to play nowadays in the history of mankind, be it conventional or artificial boundaries in different domains of life. The different authors of the work in Festschrift have shown how the concept and practice of boundary making, boundary keeping, boundary disputes and settlement as well as the use of boundaries for various purposes, have pre-occupied and influenced the history of many people in Africa (Menchum Division inclusive). The work also examines the notions of boundary problems in settling boundary disputes in Africa<sup>86</sup>. The work clarifies many facts as far as boundary

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<sup>84</sup>D. Brigg and F. Courtney, *Scenery Components*, Third Edition, London, Green Wood Press, 1989.

<sup>85</sup>A. J. Smith, *Beef Cattle Production in the Development Countries, Proceedings of a Conference held in Edinburgh from the 1<sup>st</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> September 1974*, Organised by the Centre for Tropical Veterinary Medicine, Britain, University of Edinburgh, 1976.

<sup>86</sup>J.C. Anene, *The International Boundaries of Nigeria: Framework of an Emergent African Nation*, London, longman group ltd, 1970 Festschrift in honor of Fanso, pp. 1-2.

mutations are concerned. The work is also useful as it treats boundary disputes by bringing out some causes, manifestation, effects and resolutions.

Dze-Ngwa examines conflicts between the indigenous people and the Mbororo in the North West Region of Cameroon. He is of the opinion that initial settlement of the Mbororo amongst the autochthonous ethnic entities who already had well-defined territorial boundaries did not pose any major problem as the two groups of people lived amicably. However, geographical, economic, political and socio-cultural boundaries ignited problems and some instances of overt confrontations that can go a long way to hinder the peaceful co-existence between the two groups<sup>87</sup>. The work is very enriching because it furnishes elementary ideas to the researcher.

Tagah unveils the origins of the farmer-Grazier Conflicts in the world as far back as the Old Testament. He opines that there is a multiple and severe demand for the rural space and arable land, which is constantly on the decrease of the growing population of farmers and graziers. He blames some of the conflicts on premeditated poisoning of animals by farmers. The misinterpretation of the land Tenure Laws and Decree No. 78/263 July 3, 1978 setting up modalities for the regulation of farmer-grazier dispute region by region and concludes that at least five provinces were affected<sup>88</sup>. However, the study is limited to the origin of farmer-grazier conflict and does not make mention of the ramifications of such conflict on the communities.

Aniuska<sup>89</sup> and Nebasina<sup>90</sup> concentrate their works on the changes in both farming and grazing systems and land tenure which according to them are root causes of the farmer-grazier conflict. They argue that European bias against nomadism and the common property land tenure system stood at the root cause of farmers' encroachment into pastoral fields. To Nebasina, this was worsened by the unwillingness of the stake holders to implement the

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<sup>87</sup>W. Dze-Ngwa, "Boundary Dynamics and the Search for Geopolitical Space; The case of the Mbororo in the North West Region of Cameroon", pp. 15-31 in *Boundaries and History in Africa: Issues in Conventional Boundaries*.

<sup>88</sup> E.J. Tegah, "Pathogenesis, Diagnosis and Treatment of Farmer-Grazier Conflict in Cameroon", *Cameroon Tribune*, No. 893, February 1989.

<sup>89</sup> D. Mark and M. L. Aniuska, "From Complementarity to Conflict: A Historical Analysis of Farmer-Fulbe Relations in West Africa", *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, N° 1, Vol.8, 2008.

<sup>90</sup>E. N. Nebansina, "Settlement, Grazier or Agricultural land: A Confrontation of Interest in the North West Province of Cameroon" *Annals of the Faculty of Arts Letters and Social Sciences*, N° 10, 1981.

decisions of the technical staff. In support of this, Ngwoh<sup>91</sup> adds that these land reforms were made further complex by the process of land acquisition that encouraged trespassing by both farmers and herders.

Ngwoh in another work presents the meaning of natural and artificial frontiers, the demarcation of the boundary between Esu and Nigeria. He further examines the Eastern, Western, Southern and Northern borders between Esu and her neighbours and what separates them. He highlights that the boundaries between Esu and her neighbours were fixed by nature through the river Ye-Amwoh which is a tributary of the River Katsina Ala (Kimbi). The Katsina Ala sourced from the vicinity of the Kimbi Game reserve area and flows down to Kashimila in Nigeria. One of its importance to the Esu Community is that it serves as a natural boundary between Esu and her Northern and Eastern neighbours.<sup>92</sup>

Contanze presents borderlands as both melting pots and security hot spots which were often neglected in the development strategies of post-colonial states. These states developed an arena for cross-border crime and presented a dynamic place which historically fostered economic and socio-cultural exchanges at the same time. She illustrates the socio-economic shaping of the Nigerian- Benin border region and demonstrates the complicity of cross-border movements. She holds that civilian and commercially linked cross-border exchanges represented the majority of transnational activity between the two countries thereby relegating the sense of inter community activities<sup>93</sup>.

Tiyambe examines the organization and development of trade in West Africa. He focuses on market activities and how they were managed, their location and the different periods they held, in the region of West Africa. He posits that the population of West Africa is responsible for the growth of the market. He studies the daily markets and periodic markets. The work is an insightful one to ours because it reflects the continuous periodic market days in Menchum Division and how they have evolved<sup>94</sup>. The work however does not bring out the fact that the growth of the population may not necessarily influence market sites for the fact that, the people may decide to maintain a life that is conserved without regarding

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<sup>91</sup> Ngwoh. Farmer-Grazier Conflicts in Esu: A Historical Analysis of Causes, Manifestations and Impact, Retrieved from, <http://www.esuonline.org.uk/pdf/farmer-grazier.pdf>, on November 30, 2010.

<sup>92</sup> Ngwoh, *Esu and Her Neighbours: A Geopolitical History*, 2006.

<sup>93</sup> B. Constanze, *Cross-Border Flows Between Nigeria and Benin: What are the Challenges for (human) Security?*, Abuja, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2014

<sup>94</sup> P. Tiyambe, *A Modern Economic History of Africa in the 19<sup>th</sup> century*, Vol.I, Codesria, Dakar-Senegal, 2003.

population growth. The work is significant in our study because it falls within our area of study.

Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall took interest in conflicts and conflict resolution. In their work, they single out the possible causes of the outbreak of conflict and pointed out that conflicts result from racial differences, structural injustice and the spirit of revenge. They further examine how these conflicts manifest and the different resolution techniques that can be deployed for their resolution. They focused more on reconciliation techniques and emphasise the fact that those guilty should always admit their faults so as to ease the resolution and conciliation process. Basing more on reconciliation, they indicated that light and deep prevention method could be useful in conflict resolution. They outlined that light prevention method does not rely on the root causes of the conflict to remedy the situation but rather aims at preventing threshold conflict from transforming into severe violence. For them such strategies include mediation efforts, diplomatic missions and long term mediations<sup>95</sup>. The deep prevention method involves addressing the root causes of conflict and combating them through economic development, security, strengthening shared norms and institutions. Their work enables the researcher to critically analyse some key issues ignored by some authors on resolving boundary issues.

Brown focuses on aspects he deems spur conflicts to occur at local and international levels. He thus outlined that many communities fall into conflicts because of ancient hatred, criminal agendas, and economic development, the role of elites and leaders and demographic changes. The author considers conflict situation in countries like Mozambique, Namibia, Iraq, North Korea amongst others. The work examines the pivot of the conflict and efforts made by the international community to resolve them. He contends that the origin of particular tribes has to be known before such conflicts could be internationalised<sup>96</sup>. The work gives an idea of what is expected to uncover before handling inter-community conflicts.

Tutu examines the aftermath of conflict and by so doing, points out that conflict can never be avoided but whenever it occurs, communities in conflict should attempt to forgive one another and thus follow the reconciliation path. The work outlines the various ways of asking for forgiveness such as public ceremonial acts of repentance, apology and confession. It equally mentions the belief in divine justice that implies bearing in mind that there is divine

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<sup>95</sup>O. Ramsbotham, T. Woodhouse and H. Miall, *Contemporary Conflicts Resolution*, London, Polity Press, 2006.

<sup>96</sup>M.E Brown, *The International Dimensions or an Internal Conflict*, London, M.E.T Press, 1985.



punishment for all those that commit crimes against humanity<sup>97</sup>. Though his work is limited to what could be done to resolve conflict. It instigates a good writing in the resolution of boundary issues.

Zartman analyses the causes of conflict in the African continent. He is of the opinion that African conflicts emanate from defined territories, rivalries, new independence consolidations and decolonisation. According to him, the defined territorial concept which is principally the international boundary issue, as the brain child of the organisation of the African unity (OAU) doctrine of *utispossidetisjuris*, meaning that the colonial African boundaries inherited after independence should be maintained as internationally recognised boundaries. He contends that the boundaries which were inherited at independence were not recognised as the boundaries arbitrarily divided ethnic groups and polities. For him, this has been the main cause of modern conflict among African states which was not the case before<sup>98</sup>. Just like ours, the work reveals the contribution of colonialism to the alteration of boundaries.

Banbooyee in uncovering the history of the Nso community entangled himself in some conflicting aspects of the said community. He points out that there were two serious attacks on the Kovifem dynasty by horsemen known in the Nso tradition as “*Bara Nyam*”, white men but most likely Fulani raiders on horse backs with bows and arrows. He holds that Uthman Dan Fodio was responsible for the commencement of the Jihad in 1809 as he gave flags to Muslim Fulani Emirs to kick off their projects. He further highlights that the first attack on Kovifem was around the late 18<sup>th</sup> century and early 19<sup>th</sup> century which envisaged the Nso dynasty to relocate to Taaviser near Kikaykelaki under the reign of *fon* Sango. Bamun and Nkar forces defeated and pushed back the Nso to Kovifem. There they were attacked for the second time and they decided to move their capital to Kumbu around 1925<sup>99</sup>. This only goes to prove that the Fulani altered boundaries which is a similar case in our area of study.

Bolak analyses an article where he unveils the relations between Cameroon and Nigeria especially at the boundary zone. From the African perspective, he opines that a boundary is an area where two states converge. He further points out those African

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<sup>97</sup>D.M. Tutu, *Forgiveness and Reconciliation*, Philadelphia-Templeton, Foundation Press, 2007.

<sup>98</sup> Zartman, *Ripe for Resolution Conflicts and Intervention in Africa*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1985.

<sup>99</sup>W. Banbooyee, *Introduction to Nso History*, Kumbo, Nso History society, 2001.

boundaries which were deeply rooted in ethnic and social contact. Just like ours, the work presents the views of European states on the concept of boundaries as lines or causes of conflict. Bonchuk<sup>100</sup> presents a paper on boundary issues where he brings out the characteristics of boundaries and borders in Africa, North America and Europe. He presents the hindrances of the transnational paradigm dictated on the fact that multi-disciplinary perspective characterizes inter-boundary zones<sup>101</sup>. He admits that inter-community regionalism and integration should be premised in regions thereby bringing out the concern for boundary issues involving communities, which is part of our work.

Engelbert esteems those exchanges between Nigeria and Eyumojock contributed in the promotion of population growth and crime wave during the colonial period. He adds that many Cameroonians on daily bases emigrate to Nigeria for trade purposes, education among others thereby trespassing inter-community boundaries. Though the study differs in the differential zone of study, it reflects ours because the bridging of boundaries in Menchum Division by the Fulani resulted in population growth<sup>102</sup>. The closing of some of the gaps brought about the displacement of people as some Fulani left the outskirts and settled amicably in towns with the indigenes. This was influenced by a hand full of factors including trade, education, and religion.

Kaptue expresses bitterness with the post-colonial government for making traditional rulers administrative stooges thereby enhancing boundary dynamics. He literally presents the problems of the Cameroon traditional authority as people who have been placed between the hammer and the anvil. He criticizes the post-colonial administration for inheriting the crisis linked with classifying traditional authorities and declares that a chief is a chief regardless of his physical appearance, size of his village and population<sup>103</sup>. The relevance of the work lies on the fact that it updates us on the Ardors' reason for struggling to exercise similar functions with the traditional rulers

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<sup>100</sup>M. Bolak, "The Paradox of Cameroon-Nigeria Intercourse: Connecting between the Edges of Opportunity/Benefit and Quandary", *International Journal of Peace and Development Studies*, Vol. 6, USA, 2015, pp.20-15.

<sup>101</sup>M., Bonchuk, "Academic Research in Borderland Studies" The Challenges of the Transnational Paradigm", *American Journal of African issues and Humanities*, Department of History, University of Calabar, pp.294-3010. <http://www.ajsih.org>, retrieved on 04/06/2020.

<sup>102</sup>K. P., Engelbert, "The Cameroon-Nigeria Border: A Politico-Geographical Analysis of its Ramification in the South West Region of Cameroon", Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, University of Yaounde I, 1992.

<sup>103</sup>L. Kaptue, "Prise entre le marteau et enclume, le pouvoir traditionnel choisit-il de se prostituer au Cameroun: endoscopie de la situation de 1884 à 1992", Paper presented during the international Colloquim on «Roi » ; « Chef » dans les Etats Africains de la veille des indépendances à la fin du XXe siècle », Paris 8,9 and 10 Novembre 1999.

Che-Mfombong elucidates that the Bafut society, which was purely traditional, gradually mutilated into the colonial era where foreigners and external influence infiltrated the “traditional society”. British rule was established in Bafut after the expulsion of the Germans in Cameroon. Community issues were connected to the British local administration during colonial rule. The classification of colonial chiefs partly resulted in clashes and opposing views over titles among the traditional rulers of powerful states or *fondoms*. The British administrator in the Bamenda Division classified the chiefs into first, second, and third class grades. The word “paramount” was used to clearly distinguish the authority of the chiefs according to their grades. While the paramount chiefs were placed on a monthly salary and held in high esteem by the British colonial masters, the second-class and third class chiefs were less important<sup>104</sup>. The work is important to our study because it gives insight for the understanding of leadership ladder in our area of study.

Another relevant work is that of Awasom, which examines the entry and integration of the Fulani in the Bamenda Grass lands and Esu in particular, which forms part of our study. In his words: “Esu in Fungom Sub-Division was not occupied by the Fulani until 1950 when the D.O. of Wum J. W. Griffith authorized the Fulani to penetrate the area.” This was under *Ardor* Umaru<sup>105</sup>. Though he presents the influx of Fulani in our area of study, he does not establish the boundary dynamics which these communities underwent because of their co-existence. The relationship between the Fulani and indigenes in the area under review is equally left out in his work. This study is therefore intended to complement his work.

Fanso centres his work on frontier relation and resistance posed on colonial boundaries. He equally studies in greater details the nature of resistance to the Cameroon-Nigeria boundaries from 1916 to 1945. His findings brought forth the argument that the problem of severely restrictive boundaries to the colonial boundaries did not only divide the people of same political and ethnic entities among different colonial loyalties but also introduced boundary tensions and conflicts by their attempt to put an end between Kinsmen neighbouring communities. He equally highlighted the efforts of the affected communities who lived in isolation at the border. The author emphasises on the imposition of the colonial

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<sup>104</sup>W. Che-Mfombong, “Bamenda Division under British Administration 1916-1961: From Native Administration of Local Government”, Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaounde, 1980.

<sup>105</sup>Awasom, “The Hausa and Fulani in the Bamenda Grasslands 1903-1960”.

boundaries resistance and possible recommendation to the Cameroon-Nigerian authorities<sup>106</sup>. The analysis of the work is significant as the researcher is able to draw inspiration.

Kum examines the evolution of the Wum Area Development Authority (WADA) and its socio-economic transmutations of Menchum Division. He argues that WADA changed the mentality of the people in the area. The Fulani could do farming while the local population grazed cattle as a result of WADA. He also admits that the farmer-grazier conflicts in the area are caused by the necessity to occupy land for farming and grazing due to population and cattle growth, while land remains constant<sup>107</sup>. He pays little attention to boundary dynamics in Menchum Division as a result of Fulani presence.

Anguh examines the natural environment of Mezam-Ngoketunjia and enumerates the conducive conditions that attracted the Fulani into the area as well as the repercussions of their agropastoral activities on the physical environment and the people of Ngoketunjia. He however pays no attention to the outcome of other activities of the same pastoral community. Nfah<sup>108</sup> establishes the disparities that exist between the Aliens and Indigenes in the Bamenda grassfields. He holds that any group or community of people that recently migrated to the Bamenda grassfields cannot be considered as the real indigenes of the region. He contends that real indigenes are those that inhabited the area for long. He argues that Fulani are strangers because their movement into the area is very recent<sup>109</sup>. His work brings about some interrogation given that each community in the region has its history of migration into the grassfields. Although the work is limited to establishing the difference between the Aliens and Indigenes, it spurred our research on the situation of the Menchum Division.

Sobseh substantiates land tenure and land conflicts in the North West Region of Cameroon. He highlights that the Cameroon land laws, ordinances and decrees which were introduced to replace collective land ownership with private land ownership were though well intended, created land tenure problems and conflicts, especially in the North West Region. He opines that the introduction of the 1974 land ordinance which was a replicate of the French land laws was imposed on English speaking Cameroon not living out the Menchum Division

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<sup>106</sup> Fanzo, "Trans Frontier Relations and Resistance to Cameroon-Nigeria Colonial Boundaries".

<sup>107</sup> G. F. Kum, "Wum Area Development Authority (WADA) 1965-1994: Implantation, Economic and Social Conversions in Menchum Division", PhD Thesis, Department of History, University of Yaounde I, 2014.

<sup>108</sup> S. N. Nfah, "Aliens and Indigenes in the Bamenda Grassfields", Post Graduate Diploma Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaounde I, 2005.

<sup>109</sup> A. C. Anguh, "The Impact of Agro-Pastoral Activities on the Physical Environment of Mezam-Ngoketunjia Area", Third Cycle Doctorate Thesis, Department of History, University of Yaounde I, 1999.

which was already familiar with the British land laws. This change he asserts was a core cause in division that emanated from land problems. Such division fostered social inequalities with potentially destabilizing consequences<sup>110</sup>. This study greatly facilitated our understanding and interpretation of land laws towards establishing how the weaknesses of these laws provoked disharmony in the Menchum Division.

Chu substantiates the types and nature of boundaries. He posits that there exist basically two types of boundaries: natural or physical and artificial or ideological. According to him, hitherto the establishment of the colonial boundaries, the Menchum community did not regard boundaries as something different other than crossing a stream, forest, raffia, among others and going the other way. He goes further to say that where boundaries are drawn to converge natural features like rivers, lakes, mountains or existing ethno-cultural or political groupings are considered natural. He equally says that artificial boundaries are drawn to conform or follow lines of latitudes and longitudes with no regards to physical features. He adds that all man made boundaries are artificial whether they are traditional or colonial given that they all have a common characteristic of not being natural. Following the fact that these two types of boundaries can be sub-divided into other forms, he argues that some boundaries are double in nature. His justification for this is the fact that during the phase of European partition of Africa, lines demarcating spheres of interest were often haphazard, hasty and carefully orchestrated by the colonialists. The artificial nature of these boundaries conform to the European concept of boundaries, which are lines conspicuously shown on maps, delimited by treaties and demarcated on the ground by appointed officials. Pillars and posts, and cairns fixed on the ground to divide states and polities characterized the boundaries established by Europeans<sup>111</sup>. The work widens our scope in understanding features of fundamental boundaries.

Chu in his master's dissertation examines inter and intra boundary dynamics in Fungom Sub-Division. He argues that the Fulani infiltrated Menchum Division with their own system of organization and altered boundaries by influencing that of the indigenes. He justifies this by using political, economic and socio-cultural orientations. In the economic perspective, he proves that the Fulani came into Menchum and were only concerned with cattle grazing. They distanced themselves from farming cherished by the indigenes and vice

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<sup>110</sup> E. Y. Sobseh, "Land Tenure and Land Conflicts in the North West Region of Cameroon 1974-2008: A Historical Perspective", PhD Thesis, Department of History, University of Yaounde I, 2011.

<sup>111</sup> Chu, "The Menchum Community in the Cameroon-Nigeria".

versa. But as time went by, both groups engaged in economic activities they initially stayed off from. In the socio-cultural domain, he reveals how the indigenes who did not want to hear of anything that concerns Islam started practicing it. He adds that, inter-marriages between the Fulani and the indigenes became very common which was not the case before. With regards to the political scene, he outlines that the Fulani in their early years of stay in Menchum Division ignored anything associated with politics. But it was not long as they gained the sense of politics and perpetrated into the field. All these put together undoubtedly brought about boundary mutations in our area of study. The work also outlines the determinants of Fulani infiltration into the area of study<sup>112</sup>. Though the work does not cover the whole of Menchum division, it forms the foundation of the current one.

Aichetou analyses how the long stay of the Mbororos of the Bamun kingdom were presented as social isolates and how they strived as much as possible to maintain their cultural racial identity. The work argues that the racial enclosure of the Mbororo did not forestall their interactions with the communities in their host environment. The work goes further to interrogate how the mbororo after their settlement in the Noun Division started mingling with the Bamuns and the extent to which they co-existed with the communities in the Bamun Kindom<sup>113</sup>. The work educates us on how the mbororo bridge boundaries.

Anslim uses linguistic and cultural traits to trace the origin of the Fulani. He situates their origin from the Nilo-Egyptian region of the Middle East. According to him, by the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> century, they entered the Senegambia region, settled in different areas and enriched their language by interacting with the West African people. He further holds the opinion that the west African Jihads successively erupted among the different clans and created separate centralized societies. The work equally examines the socio-political and economic organization of the Fulani and also accounts for the Fulani co-existence with the Bamuns<sup>114</sup>. This offers us the opportunity to get the genesis of the alteration of boundaries as a result of the presence of the Fulani.

Sevidzem investigates the farmer-grazier conflict in Kumbo-Sub Division. He has the opinion that, administrative bottlenecks, corruption, population growth, encroachment and

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<sup>112</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary".

<sup>113</sup> G. M. Aichetou, "The Process of Implantation and Co-existence of the Mbororo in the Bamun Kingdom: 1905-2011, A Historical Analysis", Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaounde1, 2011.

<sup>114</sup> A. Anslim, *La Question Peul et Histoire d'Egypte Quest Africain*, Paris, Karthala, 1981.

the incessant search for land were responsible for the occurrence of farmer-grazier conflict. He also examines the role of the local authorities and civil administration in the prevention and the resolution of the conflict. He designs guide lines in resolving problems resulting from farmers and graziers, and recommends participatory development in modern pastoral code, execution of impact studies, continuous preaching of peaceful co-existence and mastering of the ethnic groups and their mentalities<sup>115</sup>. This is an important aspect in our study as farmer-grazier conflict constitutes a form of boundary dynamic. It is also one of those impasses to the smooth co-habitation of the Fulani and indigenes.

Nyoh focuses on the evolution of the relationship between the indigenes and Fulani from the arrival of the latter into the region with their cattle. He presents farmer-grazier conflicts, their evolution and mutations. He also examines the increase in socio-cultural, economic and political exchanges between both groups in the division<sup>116</sup>. The work does not however take into account the social, economic and political exchanges that took place between indigenous communities in this area as a result of Fulani presence in the Menchum division. So, it is hoped that this work would fill this vacuum.

Like Nyoh, Mohamadou reveals the myth of the origin of cattle according to the Fulani, considered to be of immense social, economic and religious importance to them. He tries to situate how and when the Fulani permanently settled in the Wum area at large<sup>117</sup>. Though his work gives us an insight of Fulani culture and tradition, it pays little attention to terrestrial boundary dynamics that took place caused by their presence in the area.

Ntui sees colonial development on land such as the transformation of traditional boundaries, inefficiency of the administration to handle boundary disputes, population growth, quest for land, minerals resources and the absence of dialogue among the communities on boundary issues. He brings out some confrontations such as the Otu-Ekoneman Awa conflict and Otu/ Ayaoke conflicts. <sup>118</sup>As attempted solution to these conflicts, the author talks of the role of the court, the administration, individuals and local organisations. The work thus brings out the role of everybody in the society in resolving the

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<sup>115</sup> E. S. Sevidzem, "Farmer-Grazier Conflict in Kumbo Sub-Division 1962-2010: A Historical Survey", DIPESS II Disertation, Department of History, University of Bamenda, 2012.

<sup>116</sup>Nyoh, "Fulani-Indigenous Relations in Fungom Sub-Division".

<sup>117</sup> Muhamadou, "The Advent, Organisation and Integration of the Fulani".

<sup>118</sup> V.A. Ntui, "Inter Village Boundary Dispute in Northern Ejagam Njemaya: Causes, Manifestations and Impact, 1952-1992 ", Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaounde, I 2005.

boundary problems which is a path that will guide the researcher in documenting the current work.

Ebolisse handles the nature of traditional authority before colonialism and how the traditional institutions have undergone transformation as a result of colonialism. This brings in the notion of changes on artificial boundaries. He holds that before colonialism, traditional rulers had powers over their territories. With the coming of colonialism, their powers were drastically reduced as they acted as auxiliaries of the administration. He argues that the suppression of chieftaincy in Cameroon at independence was a big blow to the chiefs. This is because they were deprived of their rights as custodians of the land. It was a clear indication of neglecting traditional rulers in land matters through a series of government policies. This holds that traditional rulers as auxiliaries did not have much to say in land matters because everything was under the control of colonial master, which was not the case before<sup>119</sup>. This holds true in Menchum where the *Ardors* started competing with the chiefs over land control. The *Ardors* attitude towards land was influenced by the British since they reaped a lot of profit accruing from cattle keeping.

Epie got interested on land conflict between the Bangem and Elung communities. He posits that the two communities share a common natural boundary and that their relationship was very normal before colonisation and that inter-tribal marriages were widely practiced, and land was given to Elung people for cultivation. He argues that the advent of colonisation from Britain and France offered a green light for the deterioration of the initial relationship that existed. He further holds that farmer and graziers from both communities later developed hatred for each other due to the destruction of crops by cattle leading to overt conflict especially as the Elung started claiming to own the land given them by the Bangem leaders<sup>120</sup>. Just like ours, the work reveals the extent to which some administrative auxiliaries fuelled land disputes.

Killian examines the impact of the introduction of cattle rearing activities in the Jakiri-Sub Division by showing how the earlier settler had enough land for farming which permitted them to practice both subsistence agriculture and livestock breeding. His discussion centres on the difficulties encountered by these farmers and cattle graziers of which he

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<sup>119</sup>M.M. Ebolisse, "la Place des Chefs Traditionnelles dans le System Politico-Administratif Camerounaise", Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaounde I, 1997.

<sup>120</sup> B.N. Epie, "Bangem-Elung land Conflict and Mechanisms and Resolutions 19-2003", Master of Arts Dissertation of History, University of Yaounde I, 2003.



suggested some solutions to surmount such challenges. In spite of these difficulties, the work argues that the introduction of cattle grazing in this area brought about changes, be it progressive or regressive and taking into consideration both physical and human aspects<sup>121</sup>. The work is important to our study because it serves as a pace setter in the understanding of how the Fulani caused boundary mutations in Menchum Division.

Kimah examines the advent and evolution of the Dumbo cattle ranch in the Misaje Sub-Division. The Dumbo cattle ranch is one of the ranches operated by SODEPA. The work holds that the introduction of the Dumbo ranch brought about the enhancement of the socio-economic development of the area. The work further lays emphasis on the significance of the introduction of the modern method of artificial insemination in cattle. She points out that the implementation of this method resulted in the improvement of cattle production in the ranch. She also contends that the presence of the ranch and the introduction of modern methods have helped cattle breeders of the traditional sector to benefit from the services of the ranch<sup>122</sup>. This equally educates us on the importance of cattle.

Mimba in examining the activities of cattle ranching in the North West Region of Cameroon, highlighted the impact of the Dumbo cattle ranch within the Misaje area in particular. His work focuses on the early years of the operation and functions of the Dumbo cattle ranch whereby he examines how the natural as well as the human aspects favored the establishment of the cattle ranch in the misaje area<sup>123</sup>. Mimba's work is relevant to this study because it educates us of the role of the main economic activity of Fulani in causing boundary mutations in Menchum Division.

Ebua examines the political, economic and socio-cultural organisation of pre-colonial Aghem clan. His study focuses on the mutilation undergone by the Aghem clan as a result of the advent of colonial rule. He goes on to say that the Aghem clan was disassociated from the power monger situation during the colonial rule and as such there were few cases of succession disputes. The colonial authorities thus met this system which they mastered and changed to serve the purpose of colonial ambition. He holds that in a larger extent, the colonial rule contributed to the destruction of the authority of traditional institution there by

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<sup>121</sup> D. M. Killian, "The Impact of the Introduction Of Cattle Rearing Activities in the Jakiri Sub-Division, 1970-1995", DIPES II Dissertation, Department of History, Higher Teacher Training College Yaounde I, 2005.

<sup>122</sup> C. S. Kimah, "The Dumbo Cattle Ranch, 1971-2008, A Historical Investigation", Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaounde I, 2010.

<sup>123</sup> J. A. Mimba, "Cattle Ranching Activities in North West Region of Cameroon: Example of the Dumbo Cattle Ranch", Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of Geography, University of Yaounde I, 1979.

leaving the government of the Aghem clan in the hands of the western system. He uses the *dengkeghem* and the *bahtum* who during the colonial era had to represent both colonial and traditional interest within the clan thereby creating tension<sup>124</sup>. This work complements ours because the Aghem clan is one of the communities of Menchum Division.

Ewi examines the problem pitting indigenous farmers against Fulani-graziers in the Aghem community. This research is limited to the farmer-grazier problem<sup>125</sup>. It does not take into consideration other areas of the division, which is our area of concern. Toh on his part presents the natural conditions favoring the expansion of cattle rearing in Boyu Division. He admits that inter-ethnic-marriages resulted from cattle rearing which is mostly practiced by the Fulani in Menchum Division<sup>126</sup>. The work however pays little attention to boundary dynamics provoked by Fulani presence through cattle rearing.

Afoni<sup>127</sup> examines the way land is managed in Mbiame in Bui-Division by its owners. He dwells on the way land can be acquired, the right of the people over the use of land inherited from their ancestors. He equally lists those who permitted to own land not forgetting the different crops cultivated in Mbiame community. He presents the problems faced in relation to land and his attention focuses on land and the rearing of cattle. He also exposes how individuals manage land in the Mbiame community and what land is used for. The work gives us an insight in understanding the problems that confront farmers and cattle graziers over land.

Suliy equally investigates the underlying causes of farmer grazier conflicts in Bui Division including a close examination of attempts made by both the British colonial administration and Cameroon government to solve the problem. Beside other causes, he attributes the influx of Fulani and their cattle to the causes of conflict<sup>128</sup>. But he does not extend his study to our study area. He equally left out the relationship these Fulani created

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<sup>124</sup>J. T. Ebua, "The Influence of Colonial Administration on Traditional Authority in Aghem Clan, 1905-1961", DIPES II Dissertation, Department of History, HTTC Yaounde, 1995.

<sup>125</sup> K. J. Ewi, "The Farmer-Grazier Dispute in Aghem, an Ethnic or Economic Problem", Post- Graduate Diploma, University of Yaounde, 1983.

<sup>126</sup> I. K. Toh, "Cattle Rearing and its Socio-Economic and Environmental impact. Case Study of Kom Fondom-Boyo Division", DIPESS II Dissertation, Department of Geography, HTTC Yaounde I, 1999.

<sup>127</sup> N.L. Afoni, "land Tenure, land Use and Legal Changes in Mbiame", Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaounde I, 1997.

<sup>128</sup>A. S. Suliy, "Farmer-Grazier Conflict in Bui Division, 1916-1989: A Historical Perspective", Maitrise Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaounde, 1990.

with the local population of the area under review and how they caused changes on the institutions of the area.

Jumbam examines the enormous impact noticed on the *fondom* of Nso as a result of the influx of Fulani. He explained that before the advent of the Fulani, the *fondom*, of Nso had a well-established political set-up, sound economic and rich socio-cultural systems. These traditional institutions were later affected due to the infiltration of the Fulani in the area. This was proven by the fact that both parties had assimilated each other's tradition and culture in oneway or the other<sup>129</sup>. However, he does not extend his research to the Menchum area; he only focused on the Fondom of Nso. Nothing is also looked at in relation to the interc-ommunity dynamics that was provoked by the Fulani in our area of study. This has encouraged the researcher to carry out research on the subject and area under study.

Kedze examines the nature and pattern of inter-chiefdom relations between the Aghem and the villages of Bu, Weh, Beba-Befang and Eshimbi in the Bamenda Grass-fields. He delved into the strategies put in place by the Aghem in the quest for political leadership in the area. This was attained through diplomatic as well as violent means depending on the stakes<sup>130</sup>. This work gives us an in-depth of the life style of communities in the Menchum division. Etta<sup>131</sup> analyses trade between Ejagham and Nigeria where he discusses the activities of inter-boundary sport, socio-economic imprints of border cooperation, smuggling and contraband trade, and the challenges of inter-boundary trade like arm robbery, crime wave among others. He admits that security in the inter-boundary was not the best as officers commissioned around the inter-boundaries could not effectively do what was expected of them. The work helps us to be familiar with the issues of inter-community boundary relations.

Atanga intimates that administrative authorities in Wum confront challenges posed by the livestock activities over the use of land. He asserts that livestock is on a steady increase due to the condusive climatic and natural conditions. He goes further to reveal the various methods used for the different animal species. He holds that the breeding method of cattle introduced by the Fulani is an agent of environmental degradation and greatly contributes to

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<sup>129</sup>Jumbam, "The Impact of the Fulani on the Fondom of Nso, 1920s – 2004".

<sup>130</sup>K. D. Chi, "The Economic Development of Wum Division 1916-1961", Maitrise Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaounde, 1988.

<sup>131</sup> R. A., Etta, "The Ejagham of Cameroon and Nigeria 1884-2003: A Historical Assessment of the Impact of European Partition", Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, University of Yaounde I, 2013.

farmer-grazier conflict<sup>132</sup>. Though the work rekindles us on how grazing activities provoke conflicts in Menchum Division, it fails to point out the fact that farmer-grazier conflict escalated in our area of study only with the advent of the Fulani.

Wami examines the different types, causes and resolution of conflicts that plague the Moghamo clan from the period of colonial rule to 2005. Such conflicts included chieftaincy disputes, farmer-grazier, religious, land, state-civilian and inter-tribal conflicts and each conflict evolved in its own way. The author goes further to reveal how the emergence of these conflicts resulted in hatred as each person regarded the other with suspicion. The work also underlines the different traditional and modern approaches that were applied in the resolution of these conflicts<sup>133</sup>. The work educates us on strategies to be implemented in our area of study for the indigenes and Fulani to co-exist peacefully.

Based on the systematic study of Cameroon and the development of border territories, Amatie examines the development carried out by the Cameroon government along its borders with Nigeria, specifically in the Anglophone area. He further describes and analyses the effect of political, economic and socio-cultural institutions on the border people from Nwa to Isangele. Emphasis on government efforts and mechanism towards security, economic activities and socio-cultural activities from 1961-2003 were of prime importance to the author. As per Amatie, the evaluation and behaviour of ethnic groups as well as their contribution towards development of peace and security within inter communities set the pace for cooperation. This reflects our area of study as the Fulani now cooperate with the indigenes in order to foster the development of their community<sup>134</sup>. The work shows the development of border territories, but does not specify the development that emerges as a result of the presence of Fulani.

Bunfang treats inter-communities conflicts in the North West Province of Cameroon from 1889-1999. He examines how most communities that existed prior colonialism were centralized and vastly placed under the authority of a *fon* or chief. For him, the advent of colonialism with the issue of demarcating lands carving out of communities into units for taxes and corvee was inevitable thereby nursing boundary alteration since neighboring

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<sup>132</sup> N. M. Atanga, "Land Conflict in Wum Central Sub-Division", Menchum Division, North West Province of Cameroon", Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of Geography, University of Yaounde I, 2007.

<sup>133</sup> G. Wami, "Conflicts and Conflicts Resolution in Moghamo Clan: From Colonial Times to 2005. A Historical Investigation", Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaounde I, 2010.

<sup>134</sup> A.S. Amatie, "Cameroon and the Development of Border Territories from Nwa to Isangele, 1961-2003", DEA Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaounde I, 2008.

communities encroached to other territories. He argues that the emergence of colonial boundaries and its implications was a new scene<sup>135</sup>.

### **Statement of Problem**

The alteration of boundaries in the ethnic entities of Menchum Division implanted a good many implications on the lives of the inhabitants of the area. This has compelled many researchers and scholars in diverse disciplines to investigate on its causes, manifestations and impact. The coming of the Fulani to Menchum Division led to the alteration of traditional institutions and customs of the people. This can be explained by the fact that before the advent of the Fulani, indigenous societies had well established political, economic and socio-cultural institutions that were to ensure effective management of their communities.

It should be noted that when the Fulani came into the area, they did not all settle on the same spot or clearly defined community. Some had to settle on inter-community boundaries due to the vast nature of unoccupied lands. Their activities on such spots affected terrestrial and ideological boundaries. This was as some indigenes that practiced Christianity changed to practice Islam. Marriages between the Fulani and indigenous populations also became very common. The Fulani started consuming the traditional liquor of the indigenes, *mkoogh* and the indigenes also started consuming *pendi* of the Fulani. So, there was a lot of interconnectedness between both groups in the area under review. More so, many conflicts are said were the result of Fulani presence in the area.

This can be explained by the fact that as time went by, the indigenous population continued to increase while land remained constant. This was further complicated when many graziers continued to occupy the area due to the information furnished them by earlier ones, that the area was vast, void of the tse-tse fly, and rich in pasture. As a result, there was a significant increase in cattle population which brought tension between both groups. Cattle increase multiplied the demand for more grazing over farm-lands. This only led to the sharp disagreement and most often disintegration of both communities. More so, the problem of locating these graziers to a community was another issue. This situation however, changed as Fulani who were known only for grazing soon started doing farming. Sally Fally (a Fulani) in Kuk became the highest corn cultivator in the late 1990s. Indigenes like Bobe Tom, Kum

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<sup>135</sup> P. Bunfang, "Inter-Chiefdom Conflicts in the North West Province of Cameroon, 1899-1999. Colonial and Post-Colonial Influences", Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaounde I, 2000, p. 42.

Godlove Kang, Augustine Beng among others also started keeping Cattle. This goes to prove boundary dynamics in our area of study due to the presence of Fulani. From the foregoing, the central question that arouses our curiosity is: what favoured Fulani presence in Menchum Division and how did this influence intra and inter-community activities in the area? This shall be guided by the following subsidiary questions.

- 1) Why did the Fulani migrate to Menchum Division and how did they implant themselves?
- 2) How did their presence cause boundary dynamics?
- 3) What were the consequences of their presence on community boundaries?

### **Objectives of Study**

Generally, the study intends to examine and analyze the motives, evolution and impact of Fulani presence on boundary mutations in Menchum Division, it intends to:

- 1) Trace the origin, influx and settlement of Fulani in the area;
- 2) Examine the conventional and ideological boundary changes;
- 3) Establish the ramifications of these changes.

It is our desire in this research work to provide answers to the aforementioned questions, which will subsequently help us assess whether territorial and ideological boundaries were altered in Menchum Division as a result of Fulani presence.

### **Significance of Study**

It is hoped that the study shall be significant to the Cameroon government in that it deals with the socio-political and economic history of the country, which forms an indispensable part of the development of the country. This enables that strategies be implemented such that endeavors in political and socio-economic fields, lead to an improvement over the situation likely to prevail in their absence. Again, it provides measures to the Cameroon government and peace seekers to resolve problems emanating from boundary mutations in Cameroon and Menchum Division in particular.

The study is an essential contribution to the history of inter-community relations in Cameroon in the sense that it enables the Menchum people to share the benefits of prosperity and achieve mutual understanding of the challenges of globalization, respect and tolerance. It

also helps to retain elements of history through which we could formulate reliable propositions susceptible to guiding policy makers towards inter community conflict management. It also serves as a source for further research in diverse disciplines. Moreover, it creates awareness to the people of the region and politicians in particular that liberalism or collectivity is very vital in community building than individualism.

The study gives a comprehension of boundary mutations between the Fulani and indigenous population of Menchum Division and how they have undergone changes in respect to their actual location. It is an embodiment of a peculiarity that has not been the center of focus of previous research works. This gives an attempt in rethinking the object of belonging to any community in Menchum Division. It also gives an account of how Fulani sites have been a source of conflict in the area. It is hoped that this study will give researchers or scholars an understanding of how boundaries expose the Fulani in the area. This is because one faces difficulties in locating them in the area under review. More so, the study is also an asset in the understanding of the history of colonization on African traditional institutions. This would obviously show the role of modern, traditional and political actors in establishing boundaries to ease the identification of Fulani in our area of study.

This work is also intended to show how boundaries have been reshaped in our area of study due to the presence of the Fulani. It also shows how Fulani presence has been the source of intertribal conflicts in the area. It will also be a pre-emptive measure to cancel the erroneous views of the past by initiating strategies that would go a long way to rekindling and dynamizing cooperation between both groups in the area at all levels.

### **Scope and Delimitation of Study**

The spatial delimitation of this research work is limited to Menchum Division created by presidential decree N° 92/186 of 1<sup>st</sup> September 1992<sup>136</sup>. Before this decree, it constituted only of former Wum Sub-Division. It is one of the seven administrative divisions in the North-West Region of Cameroon. It has a surface area of about 4,469 square kilometers and by 2005 had a total population of 168,998. The head quarter of the division is Wum. The division takes its name from river Menchum, which flows west ward into Nigeria to join the Benue River. The division is made up of four sub-divisions: Wum Central, Fungom,

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<sup>136</sup>See chapter IX of the United Nations Charter on International Economics and Social Cooperation UN Welcome to the United Nations. It's your world, 09/06/20 at 6:30 PM.

Menchum Valley and Furu-Awa. However, greater emphasizes have been laid on areas where there exist a substantial number of Fulani.

The study begins from 1947 and ends in 2018. The year 1947 marks the enactment of Cattle Control Rules (C.C.R.) governing the movement of Fulani cattle in the North West Region, where Menchum Division is located<sup>137</sup>. This was to compensate the Fulani for their contribution to the economy and ensure a smooth relationship between them and the indigenes. The proposal for this was examined during a meeting of the Bamenda Divisional Development Committee held under the chairmanship of the S.D.O., C.J. Mayne on December 27<sup>th</sup>, 1945. It was approved in 1947<sup>138</sup>.

As earlier mentioned, there exist two types of Fulani in Menchum Division: Akous and Mbororos. Their entry into the area was not unique. Each group infiltrated at its convenient time. While in the Sabga hill, Some Fulani of the mbororo type meandered their way through Kom and entered Bafmeng which is a community in Menchum Division<sup>139</sup>. According to Nyoh, the Akou type of Fulani left Banyo and entered Nigeria through Kano. From Kano, they used diverse tracks to enter Wum but were blocked by the inhabitants of Marshi, Koshin and Esu who resented trespassing of cattle. For fear of Wum (Aghem) resentment, Major Walters, Assistant Divisional Officer (ADO) of the Bamenda Division visited Wum in 1937 to make arrangements for the entry of the Fulani and their cattle into Wum. The passage of the Fulani through these settlements was however made possible by an administrative order signed by J.W. Griffith, Divisional Officer (DO) of Wum in 1949.<sup>140</sup> It was based on these arrangements that in 1949 the DO of Wum J.W. Griffith signed the administrative order that permitted the entry of cattle into Aghem.<sup>141</sup>

2018 was the year of the enthronement of the *batum* or *fon* of Kuk. It is important to understand that the ceremony took a number of days as different sectors of the community had to play different roles at different times<sup>142</sup>. After the completion of the initiation ceremony by the king makers, the *batum* had to go through an installation process. To perform this, the yet to be crowned *batum* was given public beating. However, this was

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<sup>137</sup> Awasom, "The Hausa and Fulani in the Bamenda Grasslands 1903-1916", p.174.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, p.176.

<sup>139</sup> DAW, DWM/72/1/138, Entry of Cattle, 1966, p. 78.

<sup>140</sup> Kebei, "Environmental Impact Assessment", p. 47.

<sup>141</sup> This was a second entry composed principally of *Aku'en* who had travelled from Banyo through Nigeria Passing through Marshi, Koshin and Esu to enter Wum.

<sup>142</sup> Interview with HRH Ntuh Mbeng Evaristus.



guided by village elders who offered protection to the *batum* against possible injuries. This was followed by the rubbing with camwood mixed with palm oil that was carried out by women under the guidance of the queen mother. With the installation ceremony completed, the *batum* who in principle was the head of the community was initiated in all the royal societies of the community, if he had not been earlier. This initiation was done without due payment of initiation fee. In accordance to these dates, we shall examine the activities of the Fulani in the area under consideration.

### **Sources of Data and Methodology**

In our research reflection, we uncovered the interesting history of the Fulani on one hand and that of indigenes on the other. We also tried to identify some of the root causes of the location of the Fulani on intercommunity boundaries in our study area. After consultation with intellectuals (researchers, lecturers and students), we were able to acquire some directives on some major documentation centers. Two methods were used to collect data: the cumulative bibliographical study and systematic research methods. While the first consisted of searching for most recent books and articles concerning our research question, the second consisted of visiting documentation centers, making fastidious details on books and files concerning our research question. In this connection, both secondary and primary sources were exploited.

In relation to secondary sources, we consulted both published and unpublished materials which handled aspects directly linked or associated to the study. Published sources included: books and articles in journals, while unpublished sources included: Thesis, Dissertations and Essays. These sources were consulted in documentation centers like the Central Library of the University of Yaounde I and the libraries of the Faculty of Arts, Letters and Social Science, History Department, University of Yaounde I, Advanced Teachers Training College, Yaounde, Ministry of Scientific Research, University of Buea, and that of History-Geography-Archaeology, of the University of Yaounde. The reading of abundant literature on the subject permitted us to have an appraisal of what has been done by other researchers, their different arguments and approaches used in analyzing topics related to the Fulani in the Fungom area.

For primary sources, use was made of the National Archives in Buea (NAB), Regional Archives Bamenda (RAB), the North-West Regional Delegation of Livestock, Divisional Archives Wum (DAW), Wum Divisional Delegation for Land Tenure and State

Property, Wum and the Archives of the Ministry of Scientific Research and Innovation were consulted to have first hand information. Special emphases were laid on the collection of oral data through interviews. This was carried out with people who had knowledge of the events by means of participation or learning. Question guides acted as road maps for our interviews. Some were handed to literate informants who were either on retirement or less occupied. Group discussions were indispensable in information acquisition, in that they provided consensus opinion on controversial issues. And to better ensure the authenticity of information got from oral information, to that acquired from published and unpublished sources, efforts were made to reconcile both sources of information at all levels.

The internet was an indispensable asset, exploited for the study. After having a conceptual knowledge of our topic from secondary sources, we went on to start with the collection of primary data including oral interviews. The methodology of this study followed the historical techniques of data collection from various complementary sources. Due to variance in sources, we were guided by objectivity and scrutiny to best ensure historical credibility.

### **Problems Encountered**

Compiling this work was a long and tedious task as it was associated with a good many obstacles. It is therefore important to highlight the problems and some of the solutions that were applied to overcome them for the realization of this work. One of the most difficulties faced was moving from one village to another within Menchum Division. We were not easily allowed access by restorationists, who took us for spies. We pleaded with them consistently, convincing them that our purpose was purely academic. Communication was a constraint as the road and telecommunication network systems were almost not functional. Some areas in this division were very inaccessible. This was noticed particularly in the rainy season where roads were cut off from and within the division. In this connection, the Fulani residing in the outskirts of villages could not be easily reached to acquire information. And even when we got to them, translating from their language to English was another issue. To this problem, motorbikes were used as means of transportation. We also trekked to those areas where roads were bad. Also, interpreters were taken along in certain cases, to solve the problem of language.

We also had a lot of difficulties, collecting personal testimonies through interviews and news reports. Some of the active participants during the period of study were either dead, unavailable or in most cases unwilling to discuss the issues in question. The reason for this was that field work was done at a time when the English-speaking regions of the country were facing some socio-political tensions. Some even distorted information for fear of being put to what they never knew. In situations where the informants were unwilling to speak, we dispatched question guides through contacts to those who could read and respond to them. The credibility of data was done with a lot of confrontation of sources. We equally remained very patient with them.

The poor conservation of archives and other documents in state institutions was also noticed, and this made their use at the needed time difficult. Many archival documents were not well preserved and some partially or completely destroyed. This posed problems because a lot of time was spent to search for relevant materials from alternative sources. To resolve this occurrence, we exercise patience. We also helped the care takers to rearrange the books in some cases. Another complex problem was the lengthy procedure used to obtain an authorization from administrative authorities. They nursed a lot of complicated issues: while some repeatedly asked reasons for the research and summary of the work, some went to the extent of considering the school research authorization as being useless. Diplomacy, patience and soliciting some personalities were employed to overcome these situations.

### **Organization of Work**

The work is divided into five chapters including the general introduction, general conclusion and sources consulted. The general introduction attempts an orientation of the interest of the study and presents the central argument and its corollaries. It presents a substantial literature and exposes the research problem. Each chapter starts with a brief introduction and ends with a brief conclusion aimed at maintaining internal logic between chapters. The general introduction contextualizes the study. It presents a substantial literature and exposes the research problem.

The first chapter deals with the geographical setting and historical background to the study. It presents the geography of the Menchum area and how this attracted the population. It examines the people of the area and their preoccupations in the economic and socio-political fields, the advent of Fulani in the division with more emphasis on the nature of the

pre-colonial activities of the Menchum Division. It also examines the history, economic, tradition and customs of the people before the arrival of the Fulani, and others. It equally analyses the infiltration of the late settlers and their nature of economic activity. The purpose here is to establish the relationship between the physical and human organisational factors with the activities of both the early and late settlers. The brief history, socio-economic and political character of the Fulani is outlined.

Chapter two connects chapter one and is devoted to the bases of boundary mutations in the area of study. It examines the natural (population growth, transhumance, search for water and pasture and community market) and human factors (British Administrative system, land laws, justice system and community development and formation of cultural Associations) as the root causes of boundary mutations in our study area. It should be taken into consideration that not all of these causes were perpetrated by the Fulani as colonialists either directly or indirectly orchestrated some boundaries. The chapter substantiates the main economic activity practiced by the Fulani, cattle grazing and its importance in Menchum Division.

Dynamics in conventional and ideological boundaries carry the caption of chapter three and four respectively. The chapters outline the geographical, political, socio-cultural and economic among other boundaries dynamics, classified under conventional and ideological boundaries that took place in our area of study due to the presence of the Fulani. It discusses the relationship between members of the two communities and their relations in all forms. In the social domain, it presents inter marriages between the indigenes and their Fulani counterparts and vice versa, changes in religious practice, alterations on educational system, medicine, eating habits and other cultural aspects. In the economic field, the chapter reveals dynamics on farming systems, the evolution of trade, emergence on the jangali tax system among others. As concerns the political scene, the chapter analyses the advent of new administrators and leaders. It introduces chapter five constituting the ramifications of boundary mutations.

Chapter five focuses on the ramifications of boundary mutations. These ramifications are classified into economic, socio-cultural and political domains. It argues that Inter community conflicts and cordial relation, differences in political ideologies, justice system, increase in food varieties, employment, the establishment of cattle markets, income revenue, road destruction, improved housing techniques, unkempt ordure and filth, increase

in diseases and witchcraft, development of a mixed breed are some of the outcome of Fulani presence in the Menchum division.

Given that some of the impact observed in this work are negative, the conclusion will concentrate on attempted efforts and proposed measures such as carving out well defined areas for grazing, inter marriages, respect of traditional land laws of early settlers, mutual understanding, promotion of education, among others to remedy the situation. These perspectives are also provided to help the government of Cameroon in resolving issues which are more likely to prevail in the absence of this study.

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **GEO-HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

#### **Introduction**

Given that the physical environment of Menchum Division, to a larger extent, influenced the way its inhabitants and communities were related to each other and the way they exploited one another. This chapter would be devoted to the geographical setting and human background of Menchum Division taking into consideration the trends of the people that inhabited the area before the arrival of the Fulani. This is because we cannot understand issues of boundary mutations without critically examining these factors: man and his environment. The chapter will present the geographical setting of our area of study, to ease our appreciation of the advent of the Fulani into the division. It shall also build on the socio-economic activities of the “early settlers”, their political organization as well as administrative set up. This shall end with the political, economic and socio-cultural systems of the “new settlers”.

#### **I. Geographical Setting: Location**

In this regard, a presentation of the geography of Menchum Division would be done. The location and physical elements such as climate, topography, hydrology and soils which influenced human settlement will be examined. Menchum Division is one of the seven divisions of the North-West Region of Cameroon located between latitudes 6°20'N and Longitudes 9°50'E to 10°30'E<sup>1</sup>. It is an extension of the Adamawa Plateau and it is approximately 3000 feet above sea level<sup>2</sup>. It has a total surface area of 6230 square kilometres<sup>3</sup>. In terms of terrestrial boundaries, it is bordered by the Federal Republic of Nigeria in the north and north-west, to the east by Donga-Mantung Division, to the south east by Bui

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<sup>1</sup> NAB, File: GC/h (1995), No. L. G., 1845, Ministry of Local Government. “Handing Over Notes Wum Division”, p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> C. F. Nchia, “The Origin and Evolution of Pastoral Agricultural Conflict in Wum-Menchum Community 1916-2005”, Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaounde 1, 2008, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> NAB, File No, 4107/1, Letter of the Resident of Bamenda Province to the Secretary of the Eastern Region on June 1952.

Division, to the south by Mezam Division and Manyu, and Momo Diviions in the south west<sup>4</sup> (see maps 1, 2 and 3).

The divisional headquarters, Wum, was found some 80 kilo metres from Bamenda. The road to Wum was part of the two major roads which crossed the region. That is, the main ring road which passed through all the divisions of the region and mini road which crossed the divisions: Mezam, Boyo and Menchum. It should be noted that when British Southern Cameroons was fragmented into two administrative zones in 1949, the Bamenda Division upgraded her status to a province and the North-West Federation of Wum District became Wum Division. This resulted from a presidential decree of No. 21663/217 of 15 November, 1950<sup>5</sup>. The Wum Division was later transformed into Grand Menchum Division and was comprised of two sub-divisions: Wum and Fundong. This equally resulted from the decree No. 68/DF/5090 of December, 1968.

It should be noted that another presidential decree no. 92/186 of first September, 1992 seperated Fundong sub-division from Menchum Division. This was to reorganize administrative units. While the Fundong sub-division became Boyo Division with headquarters in Fundong, the Wum-sub division remained as Menchum Division with headquarters in Wum<sup>6</sup>. The Menchum Division is made up of four sub-divisions: Wum Central, with headquarters at Wum, Fungom, with headquarters at Zhoa, Menchum Valley, with headquarters at Benekuma and Furu-Awa, with headquarters at Furu-Awa<sup>7</sup>.

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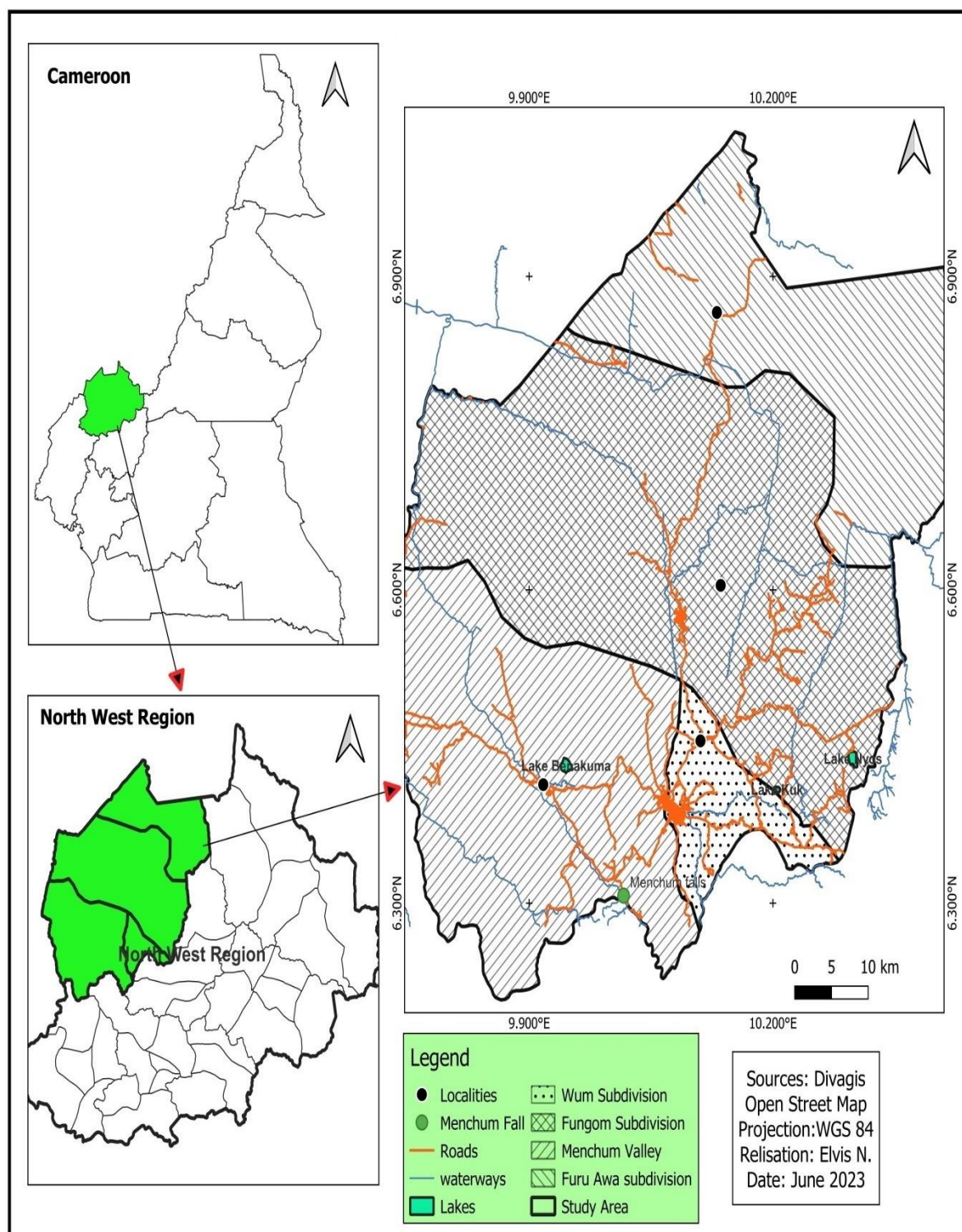
<sup>4</sup> Chu, "The Menchum Community in the Cameroon-Nigeria", p.35; Kum, "Wum Area Development Authority (WADA) 1965-1994", p.2.

<sup>5</sup> M. K. Lang, "The Advent, Evolution and Impact of Christian Missions in Menchum Division 1919-1999", Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaounde 1, 2007, p. 7; Nchia, "The Origin and Evolution of Pastoral Agricultural Conflict", p. 8.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p.9.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

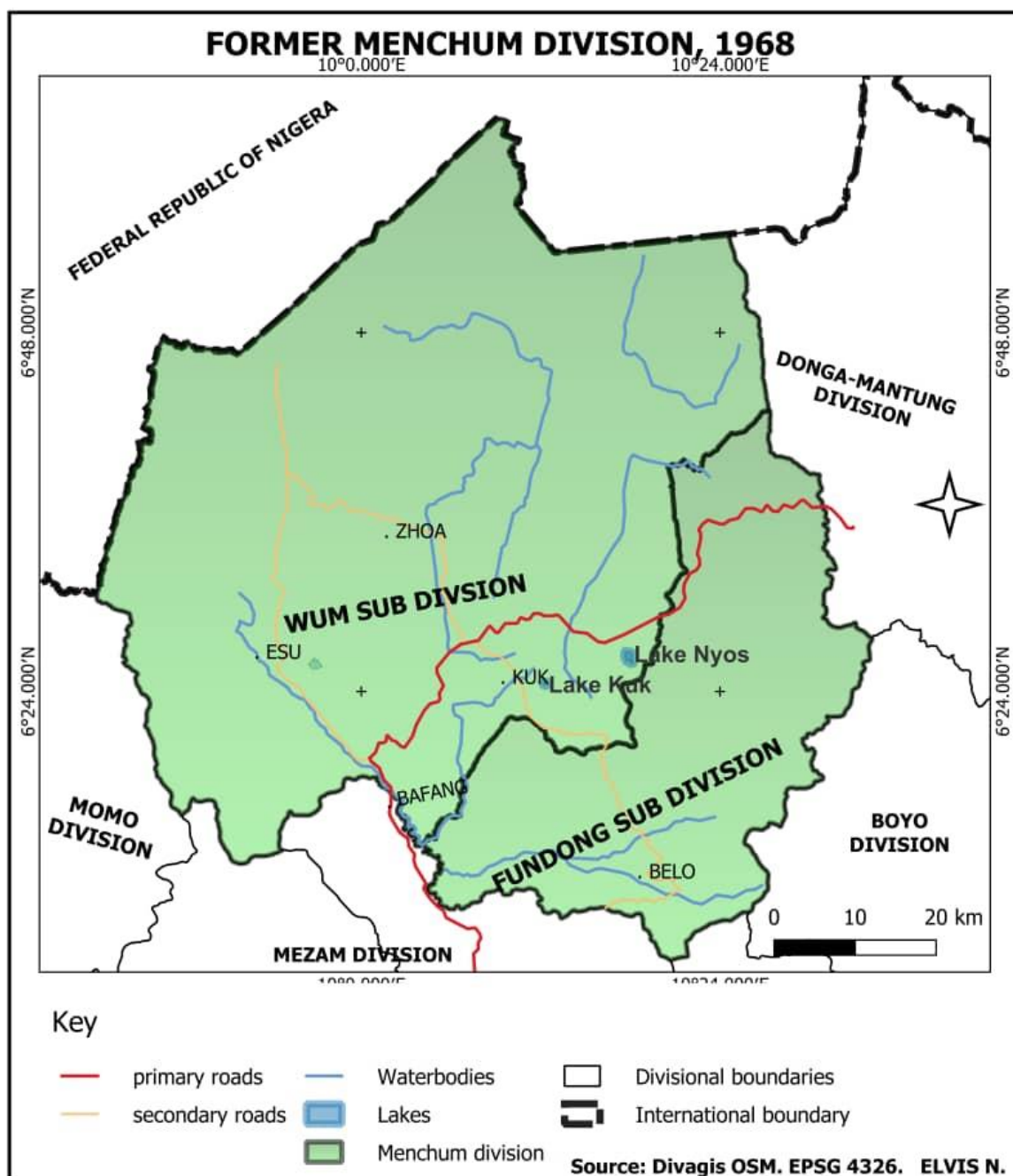
**Map 1: The Republic of Cameroon Presenting Menchum Division in the North West Region**



**Source: Divagis Open Street Map Projection: WGS 84, Realisation: Elvis N. date: June 2023**

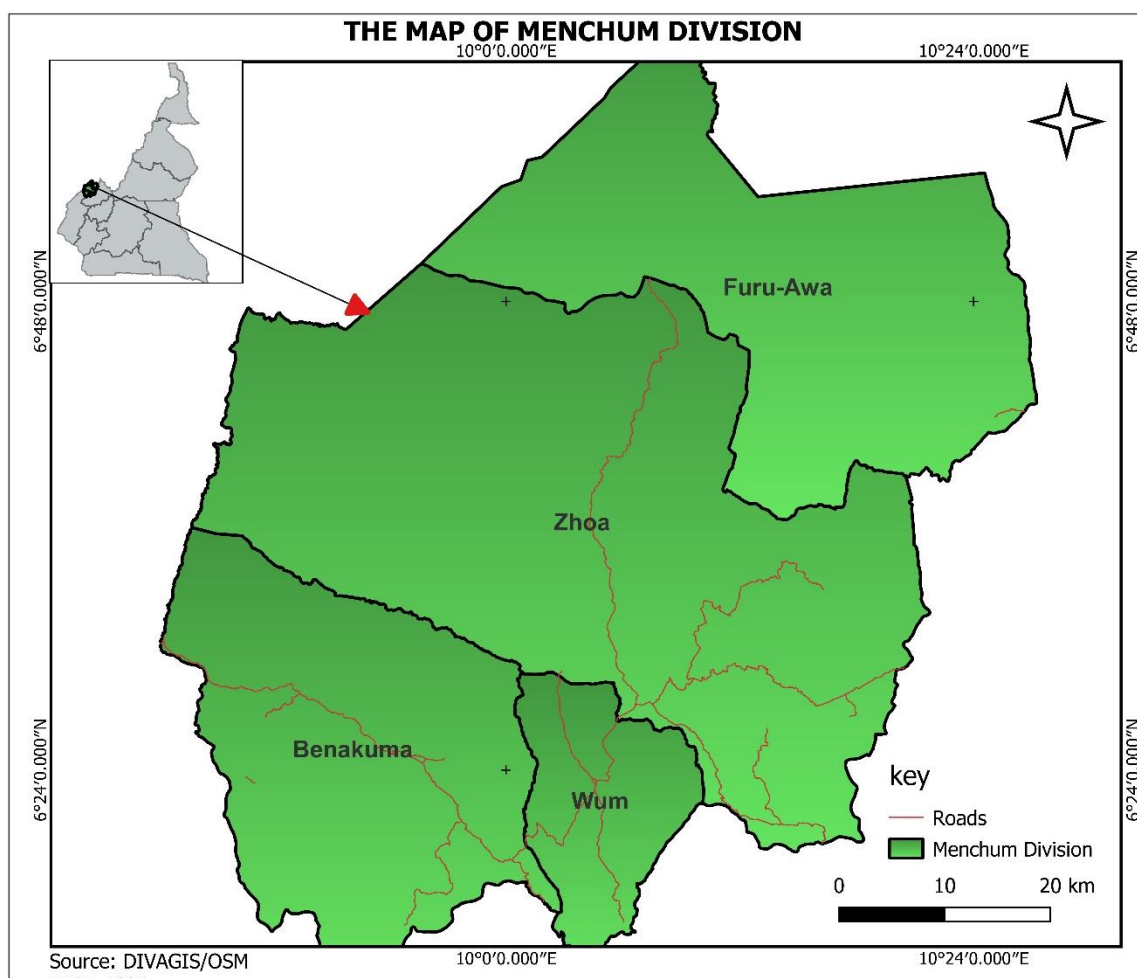


**Map 2: Former Menchum Division uptill 1968**



Source: Divagis OSM, EPSG 4326, ELVIS N.

**Map 3: Menchum Division indicating its Sub-Divisions**



Source: Divagis OSM, EPSG 4326. ELVIS N.

It should be noted that the establishment of human settlements in the area under review was as a result of conducive natural factors like climate, topography, hydrology and soils.

## **B. Climate**

Climate is often considered as the physical factor that determines the activities of people in a specific area. It enables the practice of activities that are beneficial to their welfare. Menchum Division is in the North West Region of Cameroon which is part of the savannah regional climate. Thus, the equatorial climate type with two major seasons characterizes this area: the dry season lasting from November to March and rainy season from April to October. During the dry season, the weather is chilly due to the influence of the cold dry wind originating

from the north east called harmatan from the Sahara Desert<sup>8</sup>. In fact, there is more insulation and evaporation. The mornings are usually tremendously cold while the evenings are hot and dry. Rainfall here can be associated with local thunder storms, which is sporadic and widely experienced both during the middle and end of the season.

Annual rainfall ranges from 224 to 276 cubic centimeters per year. The temperature is generally high with a mean annual temperature of 32°C recorded in April and low temperatures can be as low as 10°C experienced in December and January, but the mean minimum annual temperature is 22°C<sup>9</sup>. The rains were sometimes torrential caused by the moist-laden south east monsoon. It should be noted that during the rainy season, days of sunshine are reduced and there is the availability of green pasture even on hilly places. This encourages transhumance mostly carried out in the area of study by the Fulani. Again, the clouds cover at lower altitudes and reduced visibility. Rainfall favoured the expansion of a good vegetation cover that was at the origin of intense human activities. Thus, the climate of Menchum has a humid tropical one with abundant rainfall of about 2500mm and the availability of pasture on hilly and mountainous relief favour the development of agricultural activities. From the critical examination of the climate of Menchum Division, it is clear that rainfall varies as years go by.

### **C. Topography, Hydrology and Soils**

As far as relief is concerned, there exist different topographic features across the country: plains, plateaus and hills. The Bamenda Grassfields characterized by high lands and valleys in its north-west part, constitutes Menchum Division. This therefore means that the relief is unevenly distributed and the altitudes range from 1000-2000 metres above sea level<sup>10</sup>. Communities like Bafmeng (Mmen), Nyos, Kom, among others constitute areas of high plateau. The high plateau ranges in height from 1400-1500 metres around Mmen to about 2000 metres in the Kom and Bum areas as well as in the Furu-Awa, Gayama, Kpwep and Birama regions<sup>11</sup>. It is important to highlight that the Kom Community is tremendously partitioned by polling uplands to an average altitude of about 400 to 600 feet and intersected

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<sup>8</sup> T. Eyongetah and R. Brain, *History of Cameroon*, London, Longman, 1978, p.14; Chu, "The Menchum Community in the Cameroon-Nigeria", p.41.

<sup>9</sup> T. Tsala, R. Fomenky and M. Gwafoebe, *School Atlas for Cameroon*, London, Macmillan, 1985, p.9.

<sup>10</sup> M. Y. Wachong, "Local Government in Wum Area: (With Focus on the Benakuma Council). 1948-2007", Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaounde 1, 2010, p. 25.

<sup>11</sup> Karh, "Cattle Economy in Wum Area 1940-2012", p. 29.

with fertile valleys. The connection of plateaus and plains is powered by steep escarpments and steep river valleys in the area.

In broader terms, the area is hilly, converging on mount Oku in Bui with an altitude of 3011 metres square from the south east. This altitude gradually drops towards the North Western part where it reaches 200 metres on the northern section bordering Nigeria. The hills range between 500 metres square and 1000 above sea level. The surface is steepy with gradient and valleys that separate them<sup>12</sup>. This offers a green light for transhumance to occur since there is the presence of streams in the valleys. Topography equally plays a vital role in the determination of farmer's activities. The hills and slopes are less fertile due to prolonged erosion provoked by climatic changes (rainfall, wind and temperature) and the nature of the soils. This therefore encourages farmers to concentrate in the valleys due to its high fertility.

The low plains are found in the vicinities of major rivers in the lower portion of the division. This includes the Katsina plain in Munfung (lower Fungom) with an altitude of 200-250 metres and the Menchum low plain (to the west of Gayama). These plains owe their origin to the extinct volcanic flow of Mbelifang (Befang) region. Here can be seen linking plains such as the Menchum alluvial plain to the north of Bafut (altitude 250-600 Metres square). There also exists an escarpment between the plains and the Bamenda Plateau. The plateaus here are of two categories: the high and intermediary plateaus. The Wum-Esu plateau with an altitude of about 1000 metres exemplifies the intermediary one<sup>13</sup>.

The undulating topography of Menchum Division offers a green light for the presence of water courses. This brings about green cover vegetation suitable for the rearing of cattle. See plate 1

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<sup>12</sup> Kum, "Wum Area Development Authority (WADA) 1965-1994", p. 36; Chu, "The Menchum Community in the Cameroon-Nigeria", p.40.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

### Plate 1: Partial view of the Topography of Menchum



Source: Photo taken by Author, Menchum Valley, December 20, 2022.

Plate 1 is intended to show how the undulating topography of Menchum Division offers a green light for the presence of water bodies that encouraged the Fulani to move into the area. It is on this premise that we plead we should kindly ignore other feature on it and consider just the nature of the relief and river. From it, we can see that the valleys harbor a good number of streams that flow on the gentle areas. Rivers here take their sources from the hills and flow down as streams. They become stronger as smaller streams connect with them. Major rivers in the Menchum Community include river Menchum, which flows through many communities like Befang, Mukuru, Benakuma among others, river Kimbi whose head connects from the Kom, Oku and Babungo hills, and River Katsina Ala<sup>14</sup>.

The speed of these rivers cannot be over mentioned especially during the rainy season. According to Chu, at one section of the course, the river Katsina which flows from north eastward to the North West is called the river Kimbi<sup>15</sup>. Other smaller rivers include river *Mgigieur*, which has its source from Bafmeng and flows through Kuk joining river Menchum in Wum. We also have *Imieh* in Esu and *Mtef* in Bafmeng, which separate the Mmen community from Fundong. It was used in performing ritual sacrifices. Still in Mmen, there are rivers like *Ko'o*, *Ipa-Ngeh*, and *Messili*<sup>16</sup>. In the North, there is river Kenda, Moukara among others. These rivers act as major sources for drinking water to cattle and also

<sup>14</sup> Wachong, "Local Government in Wum Area", p. 2; Chi, "The Economic History of Wum", p. 3.

<sup>15</sup> Chu, "The Menchum Community in the Cameroon-Nigeria", p.58.

<sup>16</sup> A. C. Sah, "Bafmeng under Colonial Rule 1889-1961: Evolutionary Pattern and Impact", Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaounde 1, p. 24.

as a source of fishing in the area under review. Other economic activities are also carried out in some of these rivers. For instance, sand is extracted from river *Mgigheur*.

There also exist streams like *Koh*, *Mghem* among others. Some of these streams are clear demarcations of boundaries between communities in our area of study. For instance, the *Koh* stream separates Bafmeng from Kuk, the *Fubeih* stream also acts as a boundary between Kuk and Weh. It is also important to note that apart from the rivers mentioned above, there is also a lake located in Kuk. This is a volcanic lake known as Lake Kuk. This lake is found in *Ibolem* (a quarter in Kuk) and is the major resource for tourism in Kuk. There also exist crater Lakes like Lake Wum, lake Oshien, Lake Nyos. Its volcanic nature was noticed in August, 1986 following its explosion<sup>17</sup>. The connection of all these water courses give a hydrological network necessary for the regulation of cattle rearing and other activities in the area<sup>18</sup>. In simpler terms, green pastures for cattle were bound to be present all year round thanks to these rivers. Valleys also serve as resting points for cattle and herdsmen during pasturing.

Soils in the area under review are mostly volcanic. There was the black strong soil similar to that of Tombel and Mbanga, with volcanic sand, signs of recent eruptions<sup>19</sup>. In some parts of the area, soils are fertile due to the abundant rainfall and sunshine which enhance the breakdown of soils nutrients. The deposition of debris by runoffs also increases the fertility of the soil. It should be highlighted that the soil type and fertility differ in the area. The topography and other physical elements condition these. The soils are classified into four types: volcanic, feralitic, alluvial and hydromorphic soils<sup>20</sup>. The volcanic soil favours the cultivation of cereals, tubers and other perennial crops. The ferralitic type favours the cultivation of maize, beans, groundnuts, cocoa yams, cassava, sweet potatoes among others. In areas of poor soils, there exist a good vegetation cover which comprised of trees, shrubs and grass. This attracted the Fulani to graze their cattle. The alluvial soils are found along the flood plains and valleys. Hydromorphic soils which were poorly drained, suitable for the growth of palm trees and raffia<sup>21</sup>.

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<sup>17</sup> Karh, "Cattle Economy in Wum Area 1940-2012", p. 29.

<sup>18</sup> J. A. Ngwa, *Geography of Cameroon*, London, Longman, 1982, p. 140.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 133.

<sup>20</sup> Nyoh, "Politics of Fragmentation in the Aghem Federation", p. 7; Kum, "Wum Area Development (WADA) 1965-1994", p. 42.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.



## D. Vegetation

One of the most telling identities of the geographical distinctiveness of Menchum Division is vegetation cover. Owing largely to the heavy rainfall that lasts from April to October and partly, the long established impact on man, the north and north eastern fringes of the area is covered by a tropical Sudan Savannah true Mosaic where the forest and Savannah grass are less tall except along river valleys, with thick forests and swamps. Menchum Division like any other area in the western Cameroon highlands fall within the weed land savannah zone<sup>22</sup>. Thus, there are both varieties of forests and savannah vegetations in shrubs and grasses. The area presents some relics of Equatorial Forest especially in the Menchum Valley, Furu Awa areas.

Within this gallery forest, could be found punctuated trees of economic importance like Cypress, Eucleptor, Iroko and many others. Palm trees, Indian bamboo, elephant stock equally grow in the Menchum Community. This was mostly found in the Menchum Valley area. Another type of vegetation in the area was raffia especially in the low level areas. The grassy landscape served as habitats for wildlife like squirrels, monkeys, snakes, rats, and cluster of birds. The grassy vegetation was very conducive for Fulani main economic activities as seen in plate 2 below.

**Plate 2: A Partial View of the Vegetation type of Menchum**



**Source: Photo taken by Author, Befang, December 14, 2022.**

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<sup>22</sup> Tsala, Fomenky and Gwafoebe, *School Atlas for Cameroon*, p. 9.

From plate 2, we can see that the vegetation of Menchum Division was blessed with enough pasture badly needed by Fulani for their cattle. Mention should be made on the role man plays in modifying vegetation growth. As a cultivator and pastoralist, he has over a long period of time especially in the Fungom area, altered his environment as simple and cheaply as his ability and understanding has afforded him. He used some grasses for mats and baskets making. Trees became a source of timber and fuel. Wild animals could easily be caught and farmlands cleared by setting fire on surrounding bushes. The damage for instance which fire introduced did not however seem to bother him particularly.

## **II. Human Background**

The climatic conditions of Menchum Division were very conducive for human habitation. The establishment of settlements by migrating people was done gradually as time went by just as it did in other parts of the country and Africa at large. Migration and settlement in the division was characterized by two main periods: the settlement of a group of old migrants and a second group which only came in about the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The former were the indigenes of the area and the latter were the Fulani who came in with their cattle<sup>23</sup>.

### **A. A Migratory History of Early Settlers**

Tradition of origin and migration are twins' issues that present themselves more forcefully to the historian in Africa than anything else in historical times. To this end, Attanda graphically captures the importance of people's origin as he asserts that:

The origin of people in any given society is a problem which inevitably confronts the historian..... The confrontation is inevitable because questions about origins form parts, indeed constitute the first part of the natural series and sequence of questions which homo-sapiens must need to ask about himself. Questions like; who am i? Where am I? From where and how have I come to where I am? What am I doing here? Where I am going from here? Taken beyond the level of the individual to that of a group or groups of people, the questions became; who are we? Where are we? From where and how have we come to be where we are? What are we doing here? These and allied questions are functions of the reasoning faculty which distinguishes man as higher animal from the lower animals. Such questions constitute an index of man's historical consciousness<sup>24</sup>.

Since it is obvious that humanity cannot, but pose the questions in the foregoing quotation and others, the historian must necessarily commit his study of any society by reflecting and providing answers to these. The reason for this is that the historian needs to

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<sup>23</sup> Dze-Ngwa, "Boundary Dynamics and the Search for Geopolitical Space", p. 7.

<sup>24</sup>J. A. Attanda, "The Historian and the Problem of Origins of People in the Nigerian society", *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*. Vol. 10, No.3, 1980, p. 63.



know from where the society he finds himself is going. This is where we found justification for delving into the origins of the groups we are concerned with in our area of study. Thus, the origin and migration of the people of Menchum Division is not unique as different ethnic groups with varying History occupying the area.

Hitherto the coming of the Fulani, the Menchum community was made up of four main clans: Aghem, Fungom, Beba-Befang, and Esimbi, with each enveloping several ethnic groups. Ethnic groups like Esu, Aghem, Weh, Befang, Esimbi, Okoromanjang and Bubaji were the major communities in the area<sup>25</sup>. With regards to historical and anthropological sources, there still exist opposing views as concerns the historical origin of the Aghem community. This has divided researchers and scholars over Munchi and Tikar as the cradle land of the Aghem. According to Nkwi and Warnier, the origin of the Aghem is linked to the Tiv country of the Munchi land in northern Nigeria<sup>26</sup>. In fact, Kopytoff substantiates that their movement from the Munchi of the Benue country was partly caused by local wars which forced them to move out of the area to present day Menchum Division<sup>27</sup>.

Another version propagates that the Aghem were of the Tikari decent and members of the Benue group of the Sudanese Kingdom that existed between the north eastern region of Nigeria and the north western region of Cameroon around the Lake Chad area<sup>28</sup>. They share common political, socio-cultural tradition and institutional characteristics with their Tikar neighbours like Kuk, Bafmeng, Weh, Esu, Kom among others<sup>29</sup>. Nyoh further buttresses this view as he adds that the Aghem disintegrated from the Sudanese Kingdom in about the 17<sup>th</sup> century following the Fulani strong desire to forcefully spread Islam. They settled in Ndobo plain and later moved southwest towards North Eastern Nigeria thereby converging with the Tiv country of the Munchi land. It was from here that the shortage of land and population pressure compelled them to move to Takum and eventually to their present day site<sup>30</sup>, after passing through Esu. This therefore convinces many authors to settle on the fact that the Munchi land was just a stopover settlement for the Aghem people and not their place of origin.

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<sup>25</sup> Kum, "Wum Area Development Authority (WADA) 1965-1994", p. 43.

<sup>26</sup> Nkwi and Warnier, *Elements for a History*, p. 173.

<sup>27</sup> I. Kopytoff, "Aghem Ethnogenesis and Grassfields Ecumene", *La Contribution de la Recherche Ethnologique a l'Histoire de la Civilization du Cameroun* Vol. 2, Paris, Editions du CNRS, Imprimerie Louis Jean, 1973, p. 371 in Nyoh, "Politics of Fragmentation in the Aghem Federation", p. 40.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> Kum, "Wum Area Development Authority (WADA) 1965-1994", p. 43; Ebua, "The Influence of Colonial Administration on Traditional Authority", p.5.

<sup>30</sup> Nyoh, "Politics of Fragmentation in the Aghem Federation", p. 40.

The areas that constitute Fungom were peopled as far back as 1826<sup>31</sup>. The different occupants came into the area in five different waves. They were the Chap, Esu-furu-marshikentu, Wehjua (today Zhoa), Koshin and Kunabe groups<sup>32</sup>. The Chap group included the following villages: Bafmeng, Kuk, Nyos, Kung and Fang who identify themselves to have originated from *Ndiaetia* or *Ndeltege*<sup>33</sup>. From here, they are believed to have moved through Oku and Achian. Together with the Esu and Bafut, they moved and settled in a place called *Ndewum* (*ndiakewoum* in Kuk language, meaning “house of a hawk” south of Bum near Nyos<sup>34</sup>. In *Ndewum*, they engaged in farming activities and also domesticated animals. There, crops were however not doing well as the land was not fertile enough. As a result, the entire population decided to move to an area called Ibolem near Lake Kuk from where they separated into different groups and migrated to different locations and settled permanently, beginning with the leader of today, Fungom village<sup>35</sup>.

Kum rather holds a contrary view as he opines that the Fang, found in this clan area, originated from Widikum. He further buttresses that their history is connected to that of Befang in the Menchum Valley area<sup>36</sup>. The Kunabe group on their part was made up of Abar (Belo), Bijong (mission), Munken (bensa) and Memfa (nusa). They maintain that they came from the west of the Wimbun region of the Nkambe plateau. They crossed southern Bum through Achian in Kom to Nyos and later split into small groups such as Munken which went westward in search of palms<sup>37</sup>. Another was the Weh-jua-munkap group. Though with some controversy, they moved from the direction of Banyo and temporarily settled at Mendakwe from where they moved through Bafut and Wum to their current settlements occupying the areas of both upper and lower Fungom<sup>38</sup>.

The members of the foregoing group are linguistically and culturally related. There was equally the Esu-Furu-Marshi-Kentu group which migrated with the chap clan up to Ndewum where they separated and moved through Bafut to Esu. Supong, an Esu hunter later crossed the Katsina Ala River, to form the Muntang village<sup>39</sup>. Esu people just like the Bafut are believed to have adopted patrimonial succession after they left Ndewum. The Kung-

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<sup>31</sup>Nyoh, “Fulani-Indigenous Relations in Fungom Sub-Division”, p. 5.

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, p.6.

<sup>35</sup>Interview with Ebua Aloysius Akai, 76 Years, Herbalist, Kuk, 11/08/2021.

<sup>36</sup>Kum, “Wum Area Development Authority (WADA) 1965-1994”, p. 44.

<sup>37</sup>Nkwi and Warnier, *Elements for a History*, p. 192.

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup>Karh, “Cattle Economy in Wum Area 1940-2010”, p. 33.

Koshin group is said to have migrated with the Kunabe group more particularly the Muken. They settled at Ndewum near Bafmeng (Chah) and were abandoned by the Munken who moved further northward in search of palm stands. It was under pressure that Kung people abandoned their settlement at Ngwunekang and moved to their present site<sup>40</sup>.

The Beba-Befang and Esimbi groups are located in the Menchum Valley area. Given that these groups speak distinct languages, doubt is bound to preoccupy people's mind as concerns their migratory history. Their area clans consist of people of the Widikum group, in the grouping of ethnic communities in the Bamenda Grassfields<sup>41</sup>. The Esimbi claimed they migrated from Widikum and temporally settled in Mankon where they were later chased out by the Mankon people<sup>42</sup>. From here, they moved to their present settlement. Esimbi and Beba-Befang were grouped together with Ngie, Ngwo, Moghamo, Meta, because they held that their place of origin was the village of Widikum on the Manyu border<sup>43</sup>.

Research shows that these groups of people were from the central and western subgroup of the ring group of the grassfields Bantu. Linguistic evidence has shown that these groups of people speak related languages. One important question that this research has tended to ask is the question of continuous migration among these people. According to Emmanuel Yenshu Vubo<sup>44</sup>, relatively small-scale population movements covering short distances are reported as coming under the influence of natural disasters, internecine disputes and inter-community conflicts. The movement caused the segmentation and decomposition of certain identity groups as well as formation of new groups. By the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, there were the incipient development of some of the present ethnic configuration of the area.

This fact depicts the incident that took place among Menchum communities as shown above<sup>45</sup>. It should be mentioned that most of these groups which were mainly agricultural, also practised hunting and basketry. The Menkaf community was however specialized in pottery. From the critical look of things, it is clear that Menchum Division was an area with diversified cultural and linguistic backgrounds. It might be very surprising to learn that the villages of Zhaoa and Menkaf are separated from each another by a distance of three

<sup>40</sup>Interview with Akum Chrisantus Mtam, 56 Years, Teacher and Farmer, Kuk, 06/08/2020.

<sup>41</sup>Eyongetah and Brain, *A History of Cameroon*, p. 46

<sup>42</sup>Karh, "Cattle Economy in Wum Area 1940-2012", p. 33.

<sup>43</sup>NAB, Wum Assessment Report (and later Reports), p. 7.

<sup>44</sup>Vobu, "Matriliney and Patriliney between Cohabitation-Equilibrium", pp. 10-13.

<sup>45</sup>Interview with Muwanda Ndong, 91 Years, Notable, Kuk, 10/08/2018.

kilometers and belong to two different linguistic groups, which do not understand each other<sup>46</sup>. Other cultural differences in the Fungom Clan were the matrilineal system of inheritance practiced in Kuk, Fungom village, Wum, Bafmeng, Kung, while the patrilineal system was applied to the rest of the villages in the area<sup>47</sup>. As earlier mentioned, the various ethnic groups (Widikum, Tikar and Tiv) arrived Menchum Division at different times. Table 1 below shows the polities of these ethnic groups.

**Table 1: Ethnic Groups and Associated Clans in Menchum Division**

| <b>Ethnic Groups</b> | <b>Clans</b>                           |
|----------------------|--|
| Tiv                  | Aghem Federation                       |
| Widikum              | Essimbi and Beba-Befang <i>Fondoms</i> |
| Tikar                | Fungom and Furu-Awa <i>Fondoms</i>     |

**Source:** Nkwi, *Traditional Diplomacy*, p. 15.

From table 1 above, we can see the major ethnic groups of Menchum Division and their associated clans. These clans were made Sub-Divisions of Menchum Division in 1992<sup>48</sup>. The distance from each fondom to the Divisional Headquarter guided and determined their groupings<sup>49</sup>.

It is important to highlight that Menchum Division was one of those rare regions with a multiplicity of polities of various ethnic origins, which all had cultural affiliations. The physical conditions: topography, vegetation, soils among others influenced the spatial pattern and dynamics of each community's population. The adverse influence of the physical landscape on the enclaved nature of the division and some particular communities was predominant. The population of the division was found in isolated valleys or plains attainable only after climbing and descending a series of hills. The 1953 census revealed that Wum Division had a total population of 49, 970 people. Table 2 below shows the population of the various clans of the area.

<sup>46</sup>Interview with Ngeh Lambert Bang.

<sup>47</sup> Interview with Ndi Nji Cletus, 65 Years, Notable, Kuk, 10/08/2021.

<sup>48</sup> Njoh, "Struggle for Traditional Leadership", p. 42.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

**Table 2: The Social Demographic Indicators of Wum Division, 1953**

| <b>Clans</b> | <b>Population</b> |
|--------------|-------------------|
| Aghem        | 9,710             |
| Beba-Befang  | 9,888             |
| Esimbi       | 9,670             |
| Fungom       | 20,702            |
| <b>Total</b> | <b>49,970</b>     |

**Source:** NAB, File: AQ GC/h (1955). N<sup>o</sup>. L.G 1845, Ministry of Local Government, “Handing over Notes, Wum Division”, p. 68.

From table 2 above, we observed that the four clans of Menchum Division had varied populations, with Fungom being the largest clan that amounted to 20,702 people, while Esimbi had the lowest with 9, 670. The Beba-Befang was the second largest with 9, 888, while Aghem came third with a total population of 9,710 people. In all, the division had a diversified population amounting to 49, 970 people.

#### **a. Economic Organization: Land Tenure**

In the African context, the market for land was nonexistent until the days when the white man who cherished the main economic activity of the Fulani had reached Africa. This was also a peculiarity in the Menchum division as confirmed by oral sources<sup>50</sup>. Land which is a very important resource for suitable livelihood was not sold in the pre-colonial days. For Ntuh Jude Kpa<sup>51</sup> and Toh Henry Ngwa<sup>52</sup>, it was not scarce enough to have a market value. It was a critical factor underlying relations of production between people. When farmers lack secured rights over land, they are less likely to invest in sustainable soil management and farming practices. However, people struggle over land differently, depending upon the complex interactions of their arrival in the area and life practices.

It is worthy of note that before the entering of Fulani into our area of study, the indigenous land tenure was largely individual. It was characterized by a continuous control of land by specific individual male household heads and their wives<sup>53</sup>. These family heads or appointees were vested with administrative functions over it. Others have it that land holdings were vested on the *Fon* or chiefs who served as trustees for the people<sup>54</sup>. However, individual

<sup>50</sup>Interview with Toh Simon Che, 53 Years, Herbalist, Kuk, 16/08/2020.

<sup>51</sup> Chu, “Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary”, p. 30; Interview with Ntuh Jude Kpa, 57 Years, Business man and former President of Kuk Cultural Development and Association (KCUDA), Kuk, 15/08/2017.

<sup>52</sup> Interview with Toh Henry Ngwa, 72 Years, Notable, Kuk, 10/08/2018.

<sup>53</sup> Interview with Fine Glass Kom, 92 Years, Notable, Kuk, 9/08/2018.

<sup>54</sup> *Idem*

right of control, use of allocation lands were vested in the quarter, lineage, and or compound heads who made allotments to their dependents. In fact, land ownership in the Menchum division was either under an extended family, lineage, village, chiefdom or community of ancestrally related people<sup>55</sup>. Such acquisition was mainly by inheritance, since the sale of land was not common. Hence, most lands were owned by the old who were only willing to pass these on to their children, relatives and friends or preserve them for their heirs, especially nephews if they belonged to a matrilineal society<sup>56</sup>.

Che Joseph Mtembi<sup>57</sup> further asserts that the amount of such land held by each of these persons or their successors was initially based on the status and ability of the first ancestor to establish control over them upon his arrival or interaction in the milieu. According to the customs and tradition of the people of Menchum Division, women were not entitled to land. This was proven by the fact that traditionally, women were men's chattels, to be handed over to male inheritors along with other property at the time of husband's death<sup>58</sup>.

In Furu-Awa and Fungom areas, the chief figured out a particular area and located it for farming. He commissioned his retainers to announce to the entire community that the land was available for their farming activities. A day was fixed for the community to visit the site and let interested persons acquire the desired portions<sup>59</sup>. The surface areas of the acquired farms were usually determined by the force of the individuals and the time they reached the site. This was because people who arrived the site on time had the advantage of securing large parcels. This only kept late comers in a situation of acquiring small or cranky portions<sup>60</sup>. However, the palace retainers played a vital role in regulating the situation so much so that the variability of farm sizes should be insignificant except it was the wish of an individual to occupy just a little portion<sup>61</sup>.

When such lands were farmed and allowed to fallow, the respective parcels farmed by individuals did not belong to the same persons who farmed them before. They however had the prerogative to reform the land if they indicated their desire to do so. This was because the chief could later on allocate the land for another activity. This implies that shifting cultivation

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<sup>55</sup> Sobseh, "Land Tenure and Land Conflicts in the North West Region", p. 62.

<sup>56</sup> Interview with Fine Glass Kom.

<sup>57</sup> Interview with Che Joseph Mtembi, 73 Years, Teacher, Kuk, 21/6/2021.

<sup>58</sup> Interview with Kum Esther Sih, 62 Years, Farmer, Wum, 20/6/2021.

<sup>59</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", p. 30.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

which was the order of the day in our area of study made land ownership to be fluctuating, although in very rare cases, while land for building was permanent<sup>62</sup>. It is interesting to note that prior precolonial Menchum, land was available in abundance. The Fulani who were ready to toe the line as concerns the rules and regulations binding their land were welcomed and provided with land to settle<sup>63</sup>. In Esu where quarter heads had a big say, chiefs exercised the custodian right in retain for special tributes to the *fon*. Once the person joined the heavenly choir, the land was reverted to the *fon* or chief<sup>64</sup>. All unoccupied land was under the control of the *fon* or *mtie-mgh nkwifon*.

## ii. Farming

The primary basis of the economic development of humanity has been farming. This is a logical duty from several factors including the geographical location of their area. This principle does not exclude the Menchum community as it clearly exhibits the diverse natural resources. Farming was the mainstay of the economy of the Menchum area. Food crop production was mainly the responsibility of women with the use of crude tools such as hoes, which were attached to a knee-joint handle, lances, sticks, shovels, cutlasses, pick and dig-axes locally produced by blacksmith, all in a bid to meet consumption needs<sup>65</sup>. The tools although helpful, made farming very tedious and energy consuming as Beng puts it “Women in the Menchum communities use hoes of twenty to twenty-four inches making farming a back-breaking and daunting task for them”.

This leads to very limited hectares per farmer. Low output also resulted from the crude tools used, poor farming methods and because farming was mainly done by women who by nature have limited physical strength to resist hard work. Children from childhood had to accompany their parents to the farms. But then, let’s note that before the establishment of agricultural schools and vocational centres, farmers in our area of study had studied and mastered the climate of the place. This was through the trial and see method. This was aimed at allowing areas whose fertility have been exhausted to regain grounds and also stay away from areas that could make them run into the risk of low output.

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<sup>62</sup> Kum, “Wum Area Development Authority (WADA) 1965-1994”, p. 59

<sup>63</sup> Karh, “Cattle Economy in Wum Area 1940-2010”, p. 37.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>65</sup> Kum, “Wum Area Development Authority (WADA) 1965-1994”, p. 46.

Farming was a full time occupation to about 80 percent of the active population before the arrival of the Fulani<sup>66</sup>. It was and still is the major activity that employs the greatest part of the population in the area under review. This activity was done on seasonal bases: sites were cleared by the men during the dry season, while the rest of the work was done by women. In areas where farmers had to trek for over long distances from their homes to the farms, they constructed huts in the vicinities of the farms, where they stayed there for days and worked seriously in the farms, and returned home on market or country Sunday days to rest or perform other necessary functions at home.

The main fertilizer here was ashes of grass and weeds<sup>67</sup>. These were gathered and covered with soil and later burnt for the ashes to mix with the soil and crops planted after the first rainfall. Given that not all the lands were fertile, the shifting cultivation method, a system where a piece of land was farmed for three to four years and allowed to lie fallow was the order of the day<sup>68</sup>. In the course of working in the farm, women especially old ones hung little baskets on their wrists, encompassing a knife, match, kola nuts, tobacco pipes among others.

Once the seeds were planted, scarecrows were erected in the farms to frighten birds from causing havoc in the farms. As the seeds germinated and grew past the level of being damaged by birds and susceptible to monkeys, youths of about eight to fifteen years were assigned to guide the farms. They made sure that they were present in the farms before 7 AM and only leave when they were sure that the monkeys could not visit the farms.

Given that some wise animals had studied the working time table of those charged with the responsibility of guiding the farms, they stayed in their hiding places and only came out when the guiders had returned home. In this light, the guiders adopted a strategy of always arranging fire in such a way that smoke can flow throughout their absence in the farm. This was to convince the wise animals that they were still around. Some wild animals always minimize the presence of some guiders. This was because the guiders were not frightful and incompetent to combat the wild animals. In this case, they were always frightened by producing large sounds synonymous to those of Dane guns. These sounds were produced by planting poles of about four to five metres into the ground. Then, large pieces of hot charcoal

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<sup>66</sup> Interview Ngem Abanda Ndeuh, 111 Years, Notable, Kuk, 06/08/2018.

<sup>67</sup> Kum, "Wum Area Development Authority (WADA) 1965-1994", p. 45.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*



were placed on it and silver spat out from the mouth. A large stick was hit on it. This made animals to stay off from the farm thereby permitting the crops to grow healthily. Thus, quality output was seen.

The whole traditional agricultural exploitation was extensive, but mixed farming, constituted the most intensive form, practiced in this area. The mixed economy was diversified by farming and the rearing of birds, pigs, goats and other stock; exploitation of mineral resources, particularly iron; craft production and long distance trade. This was seen as the most rational way of using land, a diversification precaution against uncertainties like failure. The people of Menchum Division depended on maize, groundnuts, sweet potatoes, plantain, tobacco, calabash, beans and bananas for their basic feed and cassava was later introduced during the colonial period<sup>69</sup>. Administration of markets and regulations were usually done by the local administrators.

Farming in the area was not limited to the production of food crops, cash crops like coffee, pineapple and bananas were also introduced. Palm oil production was also practiced notably in the Kung, Abar and Kunshing areas. It should be made clear that the British retarded the cultivation of cash crops, especially coffee which was introduced in the Bamenda Division in 1934, because they believed it would not impact on cattle rearing and again because world market prices were unstable<sup>70</sup>. The enrolment of the indigenous population in cash crop production bridged the poverty gap between the Fulani, Hausa and indigenes. For the currency, the Menchum people used various medium such as cowries, and cloths of special weave and size. For units of larger value, cattle, goats, slaves and salt were used<sup>71</sup>. Since chiefs regulated markets to maintain stable prices for staples, commodities were often exchanged without resorting to currency.

### **iii. Local Industries**

Like any other aspect, expertise in craftsmanship was also experienced in our area of study. Embroidery, weaving, carving were some of the fields where the communities in the said area showcased their talents in art of craftsmanship and exerted their individual hemogenic positions. It is worth noting that natural conditions in the different micro environment of the area compelled communities to specialize in different aspects of craftsmanship. It was within

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<sup>69</sup>Interview with Ngem Abanda Ndeuh.

<sup>70</sup>Awason, "The Hausa and Fulani in the Bamenda Grasslands 1903-1960", p. 139.

<sup>71</sup> Interview with Fukah Daniel Che, 90 Years, Notable, Kuk, 08/08/2018.

this context that the people of Aghem solely depended on the production and sale of palm oil and agricultural products for livelihood. Oral sources equally reveal that the people of Fungom area especially in Abar and Kung produced palm oil. Many youths were involved in this activity thereby indirectly increasing their standards of living since they made a lot of profit from it<sup>72</sup>.

Communities situated beside river banks embraced the making of canoe as a special occupation for the catching of fish and extraction of sand<sup>73</sup>. Some youths attached themselves in fabricating chairs, mats, utensils among others for preserving palm oil and palm wine. Women associated themselves with the making of utensils out of calabashes. Some of these utensils were spoons made out of trees, dishes made out of calabashes<sup>74</sup>. Pottery was another craft industry that played a vital role in the economy of the Menchum division. Pots were made for decorating rooms and reserving water. They were also used for fetching water from streams.

This industry also made safe cooking pots. However, pots were found in the markets for sale. These were exchanged for food stuffs, iron tools and currency. Pots were sold in town markets like Wum, Benakuma, Furu-Awa, Weh, Esu, Bafmeng, Kung, among others. Fu-uh Pius of Kuk was noted for fabricating good pots<sup>75</sup>. We gathered that fabricated red clay works from Bamessing were very rich in quality, attractive and lasted longer than the local made dark and seemingly red clay works in Bu and Bafmeng respectively. This explains why only few traditional pot makers could be seen in Bu and Bafmeng<sup>76</sup>. Their goods could however survive in our area of study since there was loosed competition.

Special pots were fabricated and carried to Befang, Bawuru, Essimbi in the Menchum Valley area for the heating of palm oil. In the Furu-Awa area, clay pots were used in preserving cornflour, while polities in the upper Fungom area used them in pouring palm wine especially during traditional ceremonies and other important ones convened by the *Fon*. It is told that clay pots still occupy an important place in the Menchum area despite the advent of modern utensils. In the field of weaving, the people of Bafmeng and Kuk produced raffia bags, caps using material obtained from the raffia bushes. The presence of wood

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<sup>72</sup> Interview with Zuh Glory.

<sup>73</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>74</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", p. 32.

<sup>75</sup> Interview with Susana Chua Bih, Farmer, 86 Years, Bafmeng, 15/08/2021.

<sup>76</sup> Interview with Zuh Glory.

favourerd carving or art works in Weh. Articles like stool, mortars, bowls and cooking spoons were fabricated from wood<sup>77</sup>.

Brewery industry was also common in the area. Women brewed local corn beer. The maize was soaked into water for three to four days, then removed and spread out in mats or plantain leaves. It was then cover to allow germination and fermentation. After fermentation process, the maize was ground on stones. It was mixed with water, stirred and boiled for the first time. It was allowed to get cold for a day before boiling again. It was allowed to settle so as to get the lighter and the thicker one. Once it got cold, it was ready for consumption for people who loved the sweet one while people who cherished fermented one waited for a day. It is locally called *mkoogh*.<sup>78</sup>

#### **iv. Iron Works**

The Menchum people mined and smelted Iron Ore to produce farming, war, hunting, fishing and other implements. Blacksmithing was one of the major crafts practiced in the area. This was notably in the Fungom area especially in Kuk, Weh, Esu and Bafmeng. Blacksmithing played a significant role in the economy. This was a great source for the production of farming implements and other tools that were used for hunting and considered very instrumental in the above mentioned activities and others, of this area. People relied on blacksmithers to have weapons and farming tools which were necessary in their lives. According to Free boy Kwalla<sup>79</sup>, smelting industry was found in Weh and Iron Ore was available along the Esu and Ketum road.

Iron Ore materials were little stones that had to be heated to get slag. The Iron Ore was heated and chiseled to obtain hoes, cutlasses, spears, axes, knives, bangles for local use. These weapons and tools were of different qualities, depending on the request of buyers and or users. It is even told that the hoes had good quality and lasted for long than the imported ones. Since trade by barter was the medium of exchange, craft was bound to be a family occupation so as to be used to exchange what they produced for what they needed<sup>80</sup>.

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<sup>77</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", p. 32.

<sup>78</sup> Interview with Kum Patricia Mbong, 67 Years, Farmer, Kuk, 08/08/2020.

<sup>79</sup> Interview with Free boy Kwalla, 87 Years, Notable, Weh, 17/08/2018.

<sup>80</sup> *Idem*.

## v. Trade

Before the arrival and settlement of the Fulani in Menchum Division, indigenes depended much on agriculture and trade. Trade was a source of traditional unity which provided forums for social intercourse and development among the people of Menchum Division as it provided avenues for the exchange of positive ideas among the communities<sup>81</sup>. Though their economy was largely subsistence, most products were consumed beyond the household. During pre-colonial Menchum, there were no specific or official markets for the exchange of goods. Trade was carried out by means of exchange or barter. Exchange transactions were based on individual and private negotiations or between very familiar people, but gradually to local or distant markets. Each household had its own land in which enough agricultural produce was produced. Different communities could exchange their products for those from other communities through trade. Trade was therefore an integral, normal and indispensable economic activity which influenced production beyond the limited requirements of households or communities.

The basic aim of the community's involvement in local trade might have been the need to maintain their customary standards of living. In order to reach this target, each community or family tried to cultivate the amount of food crops they needed for survival. It should be noted that the climatic conditions of the area under consideration favoured the cultivation of different agricultural produce in different areas or communities. This was such that, people who had cocoyam could barter it with the hunters' or fishermen's catch. Some of the food items produced included coco yams, plantains, bananas, beans, soya beans, sweet potatoes, vegetable groundnuts among others<sup>82</sup>. In times of good harvest, excesses were stored for future use or exchanged, where the individual could not afford to produce<sup>83</sup>. In a situation where neighboring communities lacked adequate food stuff, local crops were bartered.

Young girls and married women who were business inclined cultivated vegetables both for local consumption and commercial purposes. These were sold or exchanged in community markets. It should be mentioned that each community had its own local market where members met once a week. It was rotatory. Market centers within the same community

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<sup>81</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", p. 32.

<sup>82</sup> Chu, "The Menchum Community in the Cameroon Nigeria", p. 67.

<sup>83</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", p. 32.

were located in places where traders could travel to and fro during the same day<sup>84</sup>. Commercial centers of other communities in the area required traders to cover long distances on foot for more than a day, with arrangements of overnight stops. Examples of such market centers included, Kung (specialized for palm oil sale), Essimbi (specialized in the exchange of dogs), Kuk (specialized for plantains, groundnut), Bafmeng (specialized in Bananas), Weh (specialized in tomatoes, yams, and cabbage), among others.

The Weh community was also good at producing palm wine from their raffia bushes. As earlier mentioned, the pre-colonial Menchum practiced a system of trade known as barter defined as the exchange of goods for goods without the use of money<sup>85</sup>. However, barter had its own difficulties as it was dependent on two people mutually being able to satisfy one another's wants. Also, the rate of exchange was to be determined before any transaction could take place. But as time went by, trade by barter started giving way for some form of monetary value<sup>86</sup>.

Women cultivated groundnuts for commercial purposes. After a grand harvest, bags of groundnut were transported to market centers. The measuring unit was a bucket. The cost of a bucket of fresh groundnuts in the early 2000s ranged from 2500-5000francs CFA. Bush meat and other items were marketed. As if this was not enough, women exchanged their traditional liquor "*mkoogh*" for pepper, okra among other items. Snuff was another item marketed in the area. This was done at most in the Kung. Traders bought bags of snuff from the Kung market and exchanged with fowls, duck among other items in other communities markets like Wum, Benakuma, Esu, Weh and Bafmeng<sup>87</sup>. Women equally manufactured products like calabashes, pottery products, mats, bags, baskets, traditional cloth and thatches. The people of the Menchum Central bartered palm oil in the Menchum Valley area, and marketed it in the Fungom and Kom areas. Again, palm kernels were bought from Kung and marketed in other places. The prices of commodities varied from one local market to the other.

Long distance trade was not an exception in Menchum Division. This was greatly felt when the Cameroon-Nigeria border was established, using River Katsina as the border line.

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<sup>84</sup> Interview with Fukah Daniel Che.

<sup>85</sup> *A Dictionary of Economics and Commerce*, London, Macdonald and Evans, 1977, p. 38.

<sup>86</sup> Interview with Zuh Glory.

<sup>87</sup> Interview with Tangha Federick Che, 76 Years, Trader, Bafmeng, 16/8/2021.

This transformed the local trade to an international one<sup>88</sup>. Actors in such a trade included: Venatius Tem of Kendongho, Martin Ettia of Wabvou, Bong Moses Ngong<sup>89</sup>. For Ibuh Moses Tangha and Kum Michael, this type of trade in the mid-1990s yielded much profit<sup>90</sup>. This was done in goods like diesel, Slippers, salt, dresses, shoes, dishes, kerosene, food items, and motor cycle among other items. Ibuh Moses Tangha further asserts that trade in motor cycle existed between Kuk, Esu, Weh and the Federal Republic of Nigeria. According to Kum Christopher Bua<sup>91</sup>, the indigenous population traded as far as Nigeria where; they purchased goods in Onitsha and transported through Esu to Menkaf, Aba, Kung, Weh, Kuk among others for sale.

This was transported by porters who spent days and nights trekking. Among the active participants of this activity were: Kesuh Lucas, Mtam Francis, Kefuh Gilbert Tang, Kum machael, Meh Denis Fuh, Andrew Kang, Beng Ngong, Beng Augustin, Pa Kefuh, Fine Boy Ngong among others<sup>92</sup>. They unanimously confirmed that they use to leave Cameroon and travel for three to four days to arrive Ogoja in the present day Cross River State in Nigeria where they bought a vehicle transport ticket for Onitsha. This was quite convincing because most of them roof their houses with zinc. Their source of income was from this trade<sup>93</sup>.

Another important trade item between the people of the area especially in the Menchum Valley area was dogs. History holds that the best meat for the Essimbi people was dog. So, Kuk people in particular were known to be good dog rearers. It is important to note that trade between these two communities equally adopted a barter form, characterized by the exchange of dogs for palm oil. Essimbi people were palm oil producers. So, people left different areas in the Fungom area to this community for the exchange of palm oil. This boosted their standards of living and cordial relationships. More so, the abundant palm trees grown in Kung were used to produce more oil which was sold to other villages especially in the upper Fungom area. Palm wine in the division was equally sold to consumers in the same area. It was badly needed in times of death celebrations and other traditional occasions.

Kola nuts, pots, Guns among other commodities were marketed in the Fungom area. It should be noted that Wum, Weh and Esu villages acted as middle men to other communities

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<sup>88</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", p. 32.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p 147.

<sup>90</sup> Interview with Tangha Moses Ibuh, 43 Years, Trader/Farmer, Kuk, 15/08/2021.

<sup>91</sup> Interview with Kum Christohper Bua, 68 Years, Trader/Notable, Kuk, 10/08/2016.

<sup>92</sup> Interview with Kesuh Lucas, 56 Years, Trader, Kuk, 03/08/2018.

<sup>93</sup> *Idem.*

in the division. Active youths from Wum bought palm oil from Befang and marketed it to Bafmeng people who wanted to avoid the dangers of travelling long distances. People still from Wum Central Sub-Division in order to trade with people of Esu, Zhoa, Abar, had to pass through Weh. In this case, at times they had to stop at Weh to sell or buy some items needed. As well, for Kom people to trade with Weh or Kung, they had to go through Kuk, where they stopped at Kumfutu to sell slippers, shoes and other provisions that were not sold in Kumfutu. This boosted the economy of Kuk people in that these traders paid taxes (market taxes to the traditional council of Kumfutu that enhanced the income generation of the locality for community development). It also boosted their standard of living. This is to say, money gotten from these trading activities was used to play Njangi daily, weekly or monthly contributions. From these contributions made, money generated was used in many ways: Purchasing of zinc for the roofing of their houses, buying of cooking utensils, cloths and payment of children school fees.

#### **vi. Hunting and Fishing**

Hunting in the Menchum Division was mostly attributed to men's activities. Women usually distanced themselves from it because it involved some danger<sup>94</sup>. It was done in different forms and periods. Recognized hunters in the Fungom area included Angah Daniel, Ngem-Mbong Ewo, Che-Nju among others<sup>95</sup>. During the dry season when women would have harvested all their crops, hunters organized hunting expeditions. Their materials used included; sharpened sticks, match, dogs, spears, guns, bow and arrows, clubs. Qualified hunters used all forms of traps.

When they got to a thick forest, dogs were sent in to search, once it was noted that animals were around, the hunters surrounded the forest, vigilantly. When an animal came out, any smart hunter aimed at it using his spear. In some cases, dogs also ran after the animals and the hunters followed. It should be noted that the use of guns came after and it was used only for big animals which could defeat dogs in times of battle. This led to the reduction of risks in hunting because the cartridges could shoot even a tiger and an Elephant to death. Some hunters in the process were harmed or wounded by wild animals but the introduction of guns reduced the risks.

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<sup>94</sup> Fanso, *Cameroon History for Secondary Schools*, p. 78.

<sup>95</sup> Interview with Angah Daniel, 72 Years, Hunter, Kuk, 15/08/2018.

Hunting was a good profession to many indigenes and its climax was during the dry season when there was no moisture on the surface thereby paving the way for the hunters to easily burn down the area earmarked for hunting. It was carried out individually and collectively. Just like in the Mankon country, people considered hunting as a means to prove their prowess. This explains why renounced hunters were equally great warriors of their time<sup>96</sup>. People hunted animals like porcupines, deer, panthers among others. Some animals hunted were consumed locally or sold in local markets fresh or smoked and dried. Catches such as buffalo and tiger were reserved for the royal household. Another strategy for hunting was the use of traps. Here, hunters set traps in inaccessible places<sup>97</sup>.

This was not only done in the dry season, but also during the rainy season. Animals trapped here were rat moles, sprites, and antelope among others. No permits were required for hunting. Hunters usually took Corn-fufu to their hunting sites and when a small beef was caught, it could be roasted to eat with corn-fufu. Birds were equally caught with the use of catapults. Special traps were also set for birds. This was mostly carried out by young boys who could not go out for heavy hunting. Hunters usually lit fire in dry hills so that animals could come out from their concealing places. In some cases, hunters dug animal holes. Hunters were expected to give part of their catch to the chief<sup>98</sup>. It was believed that it was due to the chief's generosity that hunters met their luck.

As concerns fishing, it was mostly done in the dry season and by young people, hooks were used to catch fishes. In some cases, boys used special mud and stones to block streams from flowing down. In this case, water got dry and fishes were left floating on space. In some cases, special traditional explosives were used in rivers. The preparatory process of this traditional explosive was accompanied by a song which they sang collectively. When this medicine was thrown in to the river, fishes were seen floating, because they had consumed the chemical. Another instrument used for fishing was what the indigenes called "*Ilagh*". This was a special trap that was made of cairns and holes through which water could penetrate, but fishes would not return once they entered. It is worthy of note that the presence of Europeans in our area of study provoked great improvements in the field of fishing. They

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<sup>96</sup> D. A. Teneng, "Traditional Authority in Mezam Division: A Study in Modern Governance, 1922-2015", Masters of Arts Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaounde 1, 2020, p.33.

<sup>97</sup> Interview with Angah Daniel.

<sup>98</sup> Interview with Che Johnsons Miah, 83 Years, Quarter Head, Kuk, 03/8/2018.



introduced fishing nets and modern hooks which greatly increased the catch. This was done in rivers like: Menchum, Mgieheur, Mghem, Katsina, Mtef among others<sup>99</sup>.

## **vii. Livestock**

The keeping of animals was another pre-occupation of the indigenes. Though it was not a dependable activity, it was very vital for them because they domesticated animals for cultural purposes. For instance, fowls were badly needed during funerals, to offer sacrifices to the death. It was equally used to initiate people into cultural associations<sup>100</sup>. Goats and sheep were allowed to graze around the bushes. Goats were fastened intact to prevent damages on farms around the yard. Goats were fed with salt. This was to make them get addicted from straying home<sup>101</sup>. Pigs were used to entertain important personalities in occasions and even the *Koh*. Despite the fact that women were the ones who reared fowls, they could not use them without the authorization of their husbands. This was because it was a man who stood at the head of everything in the family<sup>102</sup>.

## **b. Social Activities: Religion**

Religion in its broadest definition is the study of the relationship between God and man. This relationship differs from people to people, from community to community and from age to age. Thus, one will not be wrong to say that God created each community with its distinct belief systems. There is no doubt in relation to the Menchum Division that the people like any other in the grassfields had their own distinct traditional beliefs. There is no gainsaying that before the advent of Christianity, they were mostly traditional worshippers. Like most pre-colonial African societies, the people of Menchum practiced polytheism. They believed in the existence of many gods. Be it as it may, some people of the Menchum area also believed in the supreme God in the cosmos called “Kezeeh” who is invisible and created everything, and he is powerful and loving as Nkengasong puts it:

God beyond the life of the race. You, who reign in the dominion of the underworld and of the outer world. The earth you govern, from which all life springs and to which all life goes. You make rains fall and the waters flow. You make the seed bear and the plants grow. You fan the universe. Without you, we men are naught. Father of my ancestors, of the gods of...<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Chu, “Fulani presence and Inter-Community Boundary”, p.37.

<sup>100</sup> Interview with HRH Ntuh Evarestus Mbeng.

<sup>101</sup> Interview with Innocent Lang, 74 Years, Farmer, Weh, 17/08/2021.

<sup>102</sup> Interview with Susana Chua Bih.

<sup>103</sup> J. N. Nkengasong, *Across the Mongolo*, Buea, Anucam, 2014, p.34.

Each community in the area had its own sacred item (tree, stone, river among others), which were visited periodically by the entire community. As concerns traditional religion, traditional authorities were the supreme priests. As already mentioned, the Menchum community was a polytheistic one, with individuals having demi gods. Different shrines were attributed different kinds of libations for different spiritual manifestations. The *fon* who was the owner of the supreme shrines always announced the time for sacrifices to be offered to the gods of the land. The entire community usually gathered in the chief's compound, in Njangi houses, secret places and some times in the streets. The *fon* or the top ranking personality in the field of tradition was charged with the duty of pouring libation and please the gods to give them spiritual protection<sup>104</sup>.

This religion was mostly practised in times of poor harvest or difficult moments in the community. It was also performed during death celebrations. Such gatherings were usually characterized by offering of sacrifices to the ancestors in preparation for the cultivation of crops so that the crops should do well. The outbreak of epidemics or plagues, the loss of fecundity rate and the high rate of deaths also necessitated the practice of the traditional religion<sup>105</sup>. The ritual involved with offering and oath taking over a type of concoction containing meat, egussi and other foods was usually done, to appease the gods and ancestors<sup>106</sup>. Ndong opines that the sacrifice was further done by sprinkling water, little food and palm wine on the ground.

It should be made clear that the indigenes had several gods: gods of land, food, and rain among others. These gods were to provide for them their needs, whenever needed. For instance, when crops were not doing well, fruits among other bad happenings, the gods of food were consulted and appeased for good harvest. In fact, gods were called upon to free the community from any misfortune that had befallen it. The charges for this function were placed in the hands of the *fon* (*batum* Kumndze in the Kuk community) who was and is still in charge of agricultural activities in the community. Apart from him, the queen mother (*Natum*) was called upon to look in to the matter. The spirits of ancestors could also be invoked by an elderly person in the family. He in the early hours of the day carried water in a traditional cup and said whatever thing that hindered the advancement of his family and what

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<sup>104</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", p.38.

<sup>105</sup> Interview with Muwanda Ndong.

<sup>106</sup> E.S.D. Fomin and V.S. Ngitir, "Rituals in Traditional Settlements in the Cameroon Grassfields", *Boundaries and History in Africa*, p. 38.

the community needed. They drank part of the water and poured the rest outside. It is said that the part that was poured outside was for the ancestors to share with his off-spring.

The chief normally performed rituals for planting and harvesting during planting seasons. This ritual is called “*Keniih*”. This was to appease the gods of food and harvest to ensure that pest, animals, thunder or other diseases did not destroy crops. According to Susana Chua Bih, if this ritual is not performed the entire area will witness bad harvest that year<sup>107</sup>. Thus, the rituals were performed every year. For Fine Glass Kom, they prayed to gods of the sky when in need of general help for their children to succeed in any domain and before travelling over long distances<sup>108</sup>. When someone committed suicide, rituals were bound to be performed before and after burial<sup>109</sup>.

The people of Menchum Division also believed in life after death. They believed that when someone died, he/she has gone to meet the ancestors. In this case, for the ancestors to accept this person there must be a sacrifice. Thus, sacrifices were performed to appease the ancestors and wish the dead safe journey. When the cold hands of death snatched an important personality in the community surprisingly; all possible magics were made to know the source of his death. In most cases, a group of people was sent to visit a soothsayer. They usually went along with a property mostly the dress of the deceased, palm wine, Kola nut and some miracles were performed by the soothsayer. Libations were poured, calling the name of the deceased. This was to reassure the deceased that he had not been forgotten. They also offered sacrifices in the form of goat, pig and fowls slaughtering. This was mostly in death celebrations and other festivals. During these ceremonies, the family of the deceased was all present as they join hands together in doing the sacrifices, failure to do so, it was believed, there would be a curse on that family<sup>110</sup>.

As earlier mentioned, some indigenes practiced Christianity which was introduced by European missionaries. They believed in God as a Supreme Being, the creator of heaven and earth. This was through the influence of Europeans who used all possible means to convince them to follow Christianity. The Roman Catholic Church was set up in Bafmeng, Wum and other places in the division. The Weh people were known for fellowshipping more with the Presbyterian mission. Baptist and Presbyterian churches were also spotted in many

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<sup>107</sup>Interview with Susana Chua Bih.

<sup>108</sup>Interview with Fine Glass Kom.

<sup>109</sup>Interview with Che Jonson Miah.

<sup>110</sup> Interview with Fine Glass Kom.

communities in the division. From the beginning, the activities of Churches were hampered by the little attention paid to their teachings by the indigenes who strongly believed in their traditional institutions. They perceived Christianity with a lot of caution, because missionaries collaborated with the colonial administration, preached against their culture and disregarded their traditional institutions. They regarded some of their traditional practices as barbaric and satanic. With their strong influence, however some indigenes were converted to Christianity.

## ii. Birth and Death Customs

When a woman was pregnant and almost at the point of giving birth, special care was given her, usually from female members of the husband's family. In most cases, it was the mother-in-law that paid special attention to her. In case she was unmarried (out of wed-lock), her maternal family was charged with the duty of taking care of her, especially the mother. Both cases demanded the care givers to spend at least three months with the pregnant woman before her delivery. After birth, the husband organized a feast attended by all members of both families and friends<sup>111</sup>. The child's umbilical cord was cut and buried with a plantain sucker planted on the site. The mother remained at home for three months. This was because the indigenes believed her body was still fragile and so she needed not to do any work. After the umbilical cord of the child had fallen, usually a week later, the child was circumcised in case it was a male<sup>112</sup>.

Children were named after a deceased member of the paternal or maternal family. A child was also named by an outsider who usually accompanied his request with a gift of ripe plantains to the mother and other ladies. Twins were not very popular, but were considered to be a token of fertility and purported to bring good luck. It was customary on such occasions for all other families in the village to give a present to the mother, every gift being in duplicate such as fowls or even palm wine in a calabash. The twins were given suffix names "Ngonghba", while mothers adopted the name *nnem Ngonghba* and the father *beum Ngonghba* in Kuk<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>111</sup>Interview with Toh Simon Che.

<sup>112</sup> Interview with Fine Glass Kom.

<sup>113</sup> Interview with Toh Henry Ngwa.

With regards to death, when a person died, the deceased was washed with warm water and wrapped naked with a white cloth before burial. The deceased's clothes that he or she died with on his/her body were buried along with the mortal remains. The rest of the properties were distributed to family members and even friends. Deaths of children were announced immediately and the corpse was buried shortly after that. The death of a man who held an important position in the community such as the father of the royal, was concealed to the general public until all necessary preparations were made. A special grave was dug by men and the corpse was placed on a chair in the grave. Only the *fons* in the Menchum Division were placed on chairs in the grave. Their burials demanded that nobody goes to the farm at least for fourteen days. It should be noted that a traditional society called *kwifon* was charged with the duty of performing traditional rites before the burial. Women and children were not allowed to watch the display of traditional rites during this occasion<sup>114</sup>.

It should be mentioned that death was announced by a gun shot, this happened if burial was to take place immediately. However, such announcements were reserved for adults. Death was largely attributed to witchcraft since the people believed in life after death. When people died, they joined their various family ancestors. In case of the natural disappearance of the *fon*, the Bafmeng people went to the *fon*'s section (Atsaff royal family) of lake Nyos<sup>115</sup>. In Kuk, it was the same scenario if the *kumji* chief died. The people went to lake Kuk. In Bafmeng, the belief is known to have been strengthened by the reappearance of *fon* Kum Negih of Nyos who died and came back through the lake<sup>116</sup>. It is also believed that when a member was about to be a loss of the said family, there was serious feasting and drumming at the lake site. This was to welcome the said individual who was about to join the family ancestor<sup>117</sup>.

Weeping was forbidden until some traditional rites had been performed. It was the *Kwifon* that was charged with the duty of organizing the ceremony. The wife of the deceased was not allowed to shake hands with anybody till heads were shaved in the ceremony. The death of a woman in the *Tchung* group was accompanied by the notification of its members. In Bafmeng, a traditional egussi pudding was placed in her right palm to share with her ancestors in the land of death. The other members then united and dressed in their uniforms.

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<sup>114</sup> Interview with Fine Glass Kom.

<sup>115</sup> Nyoh, "Fulani-Indigenous Relations in Fungom Sub-Division", p.26.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>117</sup> Interview with Muwanda Ndong.

The deceased were usually buried in front of the compound, in cases where the deceased never had a child, she was buried behind the house. The deceased whose death resulted from suicide, the grave was dug at the same position and buried there. This was because they were considered to be bad people<sup>118</sup>.

However, in some communities, very serious and important traditional rites could be performed to bury them in the compound. Such rites could be killing of two goats and five cocks where every family was present to share the gifts, and the burial of a life hen to cleanse the family. People who had strong illnesses had special places that were reserved for their burial<sup>119</sup>. When guns were shut, youths of the community rallied themselves with digging instruments in the compound where the burial was to take place. Some nobles and elders were rubbed with cam-wood in the presence of the father of the compound before handing the corpse over for burial. Those who participated in digging the grave were given some traditional liquor, corn fufu, cocks and water to wash their hands feet after the burial so as to be cleaned as they came. The food given them was to replenish the lost energy. It equally served as a sign of generosity and encouragement.

### **iii. Marriage Rites**

The indigenes considered marriage as an important aspect of the life of a human being. Marriage arrangements were usually handled by elders. In the Furu-Awah and Fungom areas, it was done by a bride price system. People usually permed wives between the ages of four to twelve. They preferred families they had a good mastery of, in terms of behaviour, taking in to consideration their reputation. The man's relations looked for a girl who was known to be hard working, respectful, and pleasant in her relations with other people. She definitely had to be younger than the husband. The girl's family desired a wealthy gentle and honest man. In Menchum Division, marriage was not a complicated issue. A man simply visited the parents of the girl and on obtaining his consent offered gifts such as rubbing oil, soaps, among others. The parents of the girl then demanded time to think over the matter<sup>120</sup>.

The parents of the girl used this interval to investigate the man's family background. They verified if the two families were related and if the man's family was "witchcraft free". After ample verifications, the girl's parents and family members accepted and the man was

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<sup>118</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>119</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>120</sup> *Idem.*

required to present some kola nuts. Given that kola nuts always summon the thirst for traditional liquor, he was bound to present palm wine, signifying their consent for the marriage. During the marriage ceremony, often conducted by the bride's family head, the bride demonstrated her acceptance of her husband by pouring palm wine into his cup and vice versa. After this acceptance, drinking then commenced in the whole house. The man was set to work to accumulate the bride price which he paid in installments or in full depending on his means. The bride price was paid in the presence of the two families and witnesses who were close friends. In most cases, the dowry was not received by the biological father of the bride, but the eldest man in the family<sup>121</sup>.

Women were traditionally considered to be of value to the prospective spouse and his group, and to obtain such values, some compensation had to be paid to the family giving up the girl. Her value laid partly in fecundity as a child bearer and partly in her contribution to the work force of the group she joined through marriage. It was partly for this reason that bride prices were demanded. After the bride price was paid, the girl was led to her husband's house by her parents. An occasion was organized in which family members were involved. Friends and well-wishers were invited. The occasion was sponsored by the bridegroom.

However, if the girl refused to marry the man or left him after marriage, the bride price was refunded. If the wife misbehaved after marriage, the husband put pressure on her and stopped the donation of gifts to her parents. When a woman committed adultery or deserted the husband for another man, the bride price was refunded by the wife's new protector. In a case where a man was at fault, the parents of the bride hurriedly took their daughter back while waiting for the man to apologize within a year. Failure to apologize within a year, gave the woman the right to get married to another person. Polygamous marriages were very common and the number of wives depended on the wealth and one's status in the society<sup>122</sup>

#### **iv. Health**

The health of the indigenes before the arrival of the Fulani was an important mission of the state. Health Centers, clinics and dispensaries were sparsely located to look after the wellbeing of the population. But, before the introduction of western medicine the local

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<sup>121</sup>Jumbam, "The Impact of the Fulani on the Fondom of Nso", p. 67.

<sup>122</sup>*Ibid.*

population of the Menchum area relied on traditional native healers to solve their health problems. The traditional authorities and some elderly persons of Menchum Division were very concerned with the health situation of their subjects. They served as herbalists to their respective communities during epidemics in the pre-colonial period. Oral source holds that the father of the royal family upon fortification for enthronement inherited the spirit of healing and cures for all the diseases that troubled the community thereafter<sup>123</sup>. We also gathered that future epidemics were also revealed to traditional authorities by the gods who prescribed concoction to save the population from the infections during its attacks<sup>124</sup>.

There was the prevalence of illnesses such as yaws, ulcers, small pox, dysentery, leprosy, gonorrhea, and malaria. The moment communities were troubled by epidemics, the *fons* embarked on physical and spiritual consultation to ensure the safety of their people. Through consultations with the gods and other traditional doctors in all the corners of the communities, the *fons* never rested until they were convinced that the health of their subjects were not endangered or had discovered the cure for the illnesses. This responsibility of the *fons* placed them at the centre of medical activities in their respective communities. Thus, granted them enormous authority and power over their subjects. Traditional doctors equally treated fractures by putting on bamboo splints all-round the broken area. These were removed daily in order that the broken area is washed and medicine applied to it. They used herbs and tree barks to cure malaria<sup>125</sup>.

The introduction of western medicine in the area brought in certain changes as many started going for consultation and treatment in modern hospitals, although they had not completely stopped going to their native doctors. It was not until 1961 when the Wum District Hospital was opened to address some health problems<sup>126</sup>. So, people from other sections of our area of study usually travelled to Wum for health issues. Though most of them lacked money to meet up with the financial obligations in hospitals, these remained very essential for them. It should be noted that access to these hospitals was very difficult due to lack of good roads linking them to interior areas. The medical officer of Bamenda visited the area three times a year. But then, few sick people travelled to Bamenda hospital due to the fact that it was four days trek from most places in Fungom area. Thus, rather than go to

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<sup>123</sup> Interview with Muwanda Ndong.

<sup>124</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>125</sup> Kum, "Wum Area Development Authority (WADA) 1965-1994", p. 59.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid*.



Bamenda and be dependent on their friends to bring them food, these patients submitted their faith in native herb doctors. Despite the above care made by missions and the native authorities at ensuring better health conditions, Menchum people registered low standards of living.

## **v. Education**

This is one of the fields where the origin and background did not matter much. There were no formal educational institutions in pre-colonial Menchum Division. Moral education was the system used. The Menchum area's concept of education was just like that practiced in pre-literate societies whereby, there was a continuous process of socialization from child to adulthood<sup>127</sup>. Children in the Menchum area gained knowledge through living together with the elders, who were believed to be vested with knowledge and wisdom. Most necessary skills were acquired through watching elders as they grew up. They learnt much including respect for seniority and traditional institutions<sup>128</sup>.

Female children were mostly groomed by their mothers who furnished them with marital education, farming education and how to take proper care of the home. The girl children usually avoided a big distance from their mothers so as to vividly master the trends of honesty, respect and humility a woman needed to build a home. The male children on their part were mostly associated with their fathers. They were educated on how to farm, rear and hunt animals, and also how to embark on long distance trades. While some male children were moulded for palace errands, others were trained for military and other services. The princes were taught leadership and how to execute administrative duties for the palace and communities. Some princes were initiated into secret societies to execute some spiritual duties for the betterment of the community.

The arrival of European missionaries in the Menchum area led to a change in the educational system. Indigenes were exposed to education that laid emphasis on reading and writing. Their colonial masters needed competent personalities to work in the lower ranks of administration, thus, they encouraged education in the community. Children played among themselves in schools: mostly confessional (Catholic, Presbyterian, or Baptist). The Basel mission was the first Christian denomination in the area, which opened primary schools with

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<sup>127</sup>A. B. Ebai, "Bayang Clan: A History of Traditional Institutions and Culture, Pre-colonial times to 1961", Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaounde 1, 2016, p. 146.

<sup>128</sup> Interview with Fine Glass Kom.

average attendance of over ten pupils per annum. These were initially registered as vernacular schools and the language used was Bali (*Mungaka*), which was unknown to the great majority of the people in the villages<sup>129</sup>. Other religious denominations were the Roman Catholic Mill Hill mission, Presbyterians which succeeded the Basel mission in the 1950s and the Cameroon Baptist mission.

After primary education, progressive pupils applied for Native Administration scholarships to pursue secondary school education studies out of the division. By the time, there were no colleges except for a domestic science Training Center in Wum. The center started with an enrollment of nineteen students in 1954 and later increased to sixty-five by 1965. Although the standard of education in this school was not high, it did good work and was popular. They laid the foundation or basis for mature standard of education such as GHS Wum, GBHS Wum, Esu, GHS Bafmeng, GTC Kumfutu, Saint Gabriel among others<sup>130</sup>. Akwo Hilary explains that, there was a relatively low participation of girls in education. They were thought of as only good for farm-work and marriage. Also, elders saw education as an attempt by Europeans to lessen the powers of Secret societies and loss of family labour. In most cases, only stubborn people were sent to school<sup>131</sup>. The table below depicts the number of primary schools that were in the area by 1954 according to their different denominations.

**Table 3: Institutions of Primary Education and their Respective Number of Schools**

| Institution                  | Number of Schools |
|------------------------------|-------------------|
| The Catholic Mission         | 29                |
| The Presbyterian Mission     | 16                |
| The Cameroon Baptist Mission | 11                |
| The Councils                 | 03                |
| Total                        | 59                |

Source: Kum, "Wum Area Development Authority (WADA) 1965-1994" p. 24.

From table 3, we can see that the advent of formal education in the area was mostly placed in the hands of missions. From 1922, primary education was led by the Roman Catholic Mill

<sup>129</sup> Kum, "Wum Area Development Authority (WADA) 1965-1994", p. 57.

<sup>130</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", p.43.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

Hill Mission in Wum, Weh and Esu, followed by the Presbyterian Mission agency, the Baptists and lastly the Councils<sup>132</sup>.

## **vi. Housing**

Menchum Division in the pre-colonial times constructed houses with the use of bamboos, mud and grass roofs. It was later that zinc was introduced in the colonial era. The construction was done by men who also cut the grass for roofing, while the women did the mudding (local plastering and decoration), and helped in the transportation of grass. In these houses were usually lined bamboo beds and chairs. Stout ceilings were made of raffia on which people preserved maize, groundnuts among others. Ladder was used to connect people to the ceiling through a small hole to its floor<sup>133</sup>. Houses were single-roomed in which a family lived, cooked and stored its provisions. The number of such houses in a compound depicted how wealthy a man was. The houses equally and easily portrayed the number of wives a man had or the number of family dwelling therein. These were sparsely distributed, except in areas like Bafmeng, Wum, Benakuma Weh, Esu, with fair attractive population. Such houses could easily fall prey to predators like storms and bush fires. Brick houses with corrugated iron began featuring in the fungom area in the early 1970s<sup>134</sup>.

## **vii. Communication**

Communication is one of the aspects that characterize a community. Fungom Sub-Division in the pre-colonial times had a very poor road infrastructure, which for the most part of the year was not accessible, except by four-wheel drive vehicles. Roads in the sub-division remained in perpetual poor conditions. Such were the Weh-Esu, Fungom-kumfutu, kumfutu-Zhoa and Weh-Bafmeng roads. The Furu-Awah area was not linked to any area of the sub-division by road. The indigenes had their particular means of connecting with each other. This was done with the use of instruments like drums, gongs and others<sup>135</sup>.

The elderly trained the young on how to pass on information. For instance, when someone died, a drum was played in a particular way to produce a sound that signified his/her death. This was before the presence of Fulani. But as time went by, the indigenes and British

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<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>134</sup> Interview with Chu Simon Kah, 49 Years, Teacher/Farmer, Esu, 16/08/2021.

<sup>135</sup> Interview with Fine Glass Kom.

employed efforts to better the situation of road networks in the area. During the 1954/1955 financial year, a special grant was made by the British government for the construction of the Kuk-bridge, along the Weh-Bafmeng road. The Fungom Native Authority equally contributed 1,000 pounds sterling (approximately 807,800 francs CFA) towards the construction of bridges and culverts on this important road. In case of converging in the chiefs compound for adjudication or community labour, elders could stand at particular positions in the village and say out the information in a loud voice to the hearing of every one.

Despite these efforts made both by the British and indigenes, much was still needed to be done as concerns the construction and maintenance of roads. This was because it was reported in 1956 that due attention was needed on roads like: Kumfutu-Abar-Buh, Weh-Esu and Bafmeng-Esu. The difficulties faced by farmers and traders before the arrival of Fulani hindered their activities. Community labour was another activity performed by the indigenes in this domain. The *fon* was responsible for the supervision of the construction and maintenance of roads and bridges leading to farms, through the assistance of *chindas*<sup>136</sup>. Every mature person in the community was obliged to work. Recalcitrant people who eschewed to work were compelled to pay a penalty. Failure to comply, a fowl of the person was caught and sold, and the money reverted into the local development fund.

### **c. Political System: Law and Order**

The people of Menchum Division lived in centralized societies where law and order was maintained through traditional institutions. Given that the *Fon* and the palace was the most powerful institution in the Menchum community, all community laws were made by the chief and were respected and acknowledged by all members of the community<sup>137</sup>. The palace controlled the political, economic, spiritual and socio-cultural activities of the community. In fact, the palace was looked upon as the fountain of authority in the community. Lineage heads or members of the council acted as middle men between law makers and the community. This was seen as they transmitted laws to the community through lineage heads, apparently members of the council and then to family heads.

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<sup>136</sup>Nyoh, "Politics of Fragmentation in the Aghem Federation", pp. 56-60.

<sup>137</sup> Interview with Nji Mathias Nyoh, 86 Years, Farmer/Notable, Kuk, 13/08/2021.

The *Nkwifon* was also responsible for making laws in the village. This institution of traditional governance had diverse functions in their various communities; they executed banishment under the instruction of the *fon*, in case of any immoral incident which could lead to bloodshed, they cleansed the land. They equally defended the laws and traditions of the land and ensured that both the *fons* and their subjects respected these laws<sup>138</sup>. The *Nkwifon* institution in many communities in Menchum area halted any form of revolt. This was to ensure the respect for hierarchy. Just like other areas in the grassfields, it mobilized the population at all levels for communal duties as prescribed by the palace, performed burial rites at the loss of a *fon* or any of its members and also announced such a disappearance<sup>139</sup>.

In the Kuk community, the *Nkiwfon* society constituted of eight members; the chief and seven notables, one of whom was the chief of elder who assisted the *fon* in exercising some religious and ancestral rites<sup>140</sup>. There is no need to restate that the *Nkiwfon* was one of the most ranked societies since it embodied several powerful groups. Thus, everyone was bound to strictly respect its customary rights. Women were not part and parcel of this group. This was because they were considered as weaker creatures and incapable of keeping secrets.

Membership was restricted only to males who were initiated. Initiation required the payment of a fee and the taking of a vow to keep as secret, all information related to the nature of the authority of the juju group. The anonymous nature of the authority of the juju warranted it great powers, thereby making its actions to be uncontroversial<sup>141</sup>. The traditional council had the authority to maintain law and order through the imposition of sanctions in fines and punishment. Nobody in the community could claim superiority over the law or was above the law. Some recalcitrant people who decided to disrespect the sanctions were expelled from the community<sup>142</sup>.

In the Menchum Valley area, a council of Village heads was headed by the leader of the clan. This village council was made up of village heads and elders who discussed matters of common interest affecting the community. Decisions arrived at were implemented by public opinion and if any was not satisfactory to the people, the clan as well as the village heads, were powerless. Unlike the Aghem community, the village head of Mbelifang and his

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<sup>138</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>139</sup> Interview with Beng Simon.

<sup>140</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>141</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", p. 32.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid*.

cohort or company of chiefs from other villages neither had the *Nkwifon* society nor retainers who could execute judgement, enforce decisions and carry out arrests. But it should be mentioned that peace and order still prevailed since public opinion exerted so much pressure so that none could dare act against such decisions<sup>143</sup>. Sub-councils placed under councils equally existed in each of the communities and were made up of compound heads and men of integrity in the community. This was headed by the village head and decisions were also enforced by public opinion as no executive officials were found.

In the Befang community, the village was under the guidance of the village head of Mbelifang. He was cemented with spiritual and circular powers. This stemmed from the fact that he was the direct descendant of Bazunga, the leader of the clan at Abaton<sup>144</sup>. However, the disintegration of the clan offered a green light for the emergence of Modeli, Nkoromanjang, and batomo became separate units with its degree of independence. It should be highlighted that the village head of Mbelifang was generally accepted by all as *primus inter pares* and presided over issues that affected the whole community<sup>145</sup>.

The village head of Benakuma chaired the village group council of ten members. They discussed and approved issues that were put before the entire community for approval and public opinion triumphed. Just like the Fungom area where fowls were caught from people who refused to participate in community labour, the Benakuma community did same and even ceased articles like spears, or any valuable thing in case the recalcitrant figure did not own a fowl. The article could only be retrieved by the offender with the provision of Palm Wine that was consumed by all. This was also upheld in Befang. Such measures enabled the community to live in a peaceful environment as none dared to go against the rules and regulations of the community<sup>146</sup>. Mubadji appeared to be the only community in Menchum Valley that possessed the *Nkwifon* society. Oral sources hold that this was acquired from the Bafut when they were vassals to them<sup>147</sup>.

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<sup>143</sup> Karh, "Cattle Economy in Wum Area 1940-2010", p. 38.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>146</sup> Nyoh, "Politics of Fragmentation in the Aghem Federation", p. 56.

<sup>147</sup> Interview with Nji Mathias Nyoh.

## **ii. Territorial Administration**

As far as territorial administration was concerned, it was virtually absent in the political organization of the people of Menchum Division. Administration was not part of the governmental structure in the area due to the relative size of the political unit<sup>148</sup>. The Fungom people had their traditional or Native Court (N.C) which was based in Bum. Boundary issues, conflictual matters and other problems were resolved in this local court of Bum. Thus, their daily activities were controlled by the small or local court. It is important to state that the socio-cultural homogeneity of the political unit promoted the development of a strong centralized administrative organization.

According to Mtam Akum, the cultural ties that existed in the villages of our area of study nursed the seed of the local court. This view is supported by Briant Ebai who holds to a greater extent, that cultural diversity in society co-relates with the administrative system<sup>149</sup>. Thus, centralized authority and administrative organization seemed to be necessary to accommodate cultural diversified groups within a single political unit. The Fungom area evolved on large-scale political organizations with specialized, centralized and strong administrative institutions. This village head was also indirectly responsible for the administration of the community.

## **iii. Authority in the Community: the Village Council**

The villages in the Fungom Area were governed by a village council which was subordinate to the Zhoa Council (ZC). This village council held communal authority. It equally had autonomy over matters concerning exclusively the lineage unit. It settled disputes beyond the authority of the sub-lineage council and matters concerning parties from two or more sub-lineages. It tried minor civil cases and imposed low fines. It also had representatives on all segments. At the superior level was an “inner council”. This council was called *ndiakoh* in Kuk and made up of only indigenous notables within the community. The Fulani were excluded from this council because they were considered strangers. Their discussions were

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<sup>148</sup> Interview with Akum Chrisantus Mtam.

<sup>149</sup> Ako, “Bayang Clan: A History of Traditional Institutions and Culture”, p. 83.

secret and took place a day before the village council. Whatever thing was discussed in the *ndiakoh* was concealed from the community before their announcement<sup>150</sup>.

It should be made clear here that the highest person in the *kwifon* institution headed the *ndiakoh*. He was therefore answerable to the *fon* and presided over unit meetings. Ngwa explains that this inner court dealt only with village or family matters. This only goes to add weight to the idea of the exclusion of the Fulani in this group. All disputes which were unsatisfactorily settled in the inner council were appealed to the highest political unit, the village council. The village council was headed by a figure which was voted in to office by councilors. The chairman had as special duty to promulgate community laws and all decisions concerning the community were made therein. When a case was more than the village council, it was reported to the Zhoa council which had legitimate powers over the Fungom area.

#### iv. Judiciary System

In its judicial domain, the Menchum area was like that of many kingdoms in the grassfields. Both matrilineal and patrilineal systems were practiced in the area. Kingdoms were traditionally ruled by *Fons*. Village chiefs were concerned with agricultural activities of the community. They were the ones who allocated farming land to the women, performed spiritual rites or activities known as “Keniyee” (Kuk language for good harvest). On the other hand, the *fon*, was a powerful religious and secular leader, guided by council of advisors, aided by numerous regulatory societies. He was a divine ruler, ascribed sacred qualities and exercised control over the life and death of his subjects. In the words of the colonial administration, the *fon* was the “be-all and end-all of everything”<sup>151</sup>. As an intermediary between his subjects and spirits of the past, present and future, the *fon* was vested with unquestioned authority in all matters.

In the execution of his tasks, he was closely assisted by a secret society, the *kwifon* and various personal advisors. Conflict resolution was usually obtained through arbitration by quarter heads and councilors, notwithstanding the consultation of diviners. A distinctive institution was the *kwifon*, the executive arm of the *fon*’s government, endowed with

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<sup>150</sup> Interview with Fine Glass Kom.

<sup>151</sup> V. B. Amaazee, *Traditional Rulers (chiefs) and Politics in Cameroon History*, Yaounde, Press Universitaires, 2002, pp.9-13.



advisory, judicial and ritual functions. Orders and messages from the *fon* were communicated to the people through *kwifon* retainers. The *kwifon* was a highly secretive body, organized in a hierarchy of lodges. Membership of its inner lodges was sharply restricted. In the executive of state duties, *kwifon* officials appeared clothed in net gowns which masked the face and body. Its authority was impersonal and its agents could not be held to account by the populace. The *kwifon* not only executed orders of the *fon*, but also regulated economic affairs for example by inaugurating the harvest at a certain time and controlling the market. Duties of the *kwifon* also included the recruitment of palace retainers from among free born commoners. The *fon* stood very much apart from the rest of the populace, living in a large palace compound<sup>152</sup>.

He was regarded with infinite respect and surrounded with carefully guarded secrecy. His household consisted of numerous wives, pages, guards and advisors. The numerous wives and children at the palace served to enhance the *fon*'s prestige and demonstrate his wealth, in addition to consolidating alliances with other kingdoms by inter marriage. Royal *fon* functioned primarily among the free-born population at large. The *fon*'s extensive right to claim women in marriage or to dispose of them, became a source of considerable political struggle in the colonial era. An important role in the palace was fulfilled by a variety of pages, retainers and messengers. There were various positions within these ranks, but for the sake of simplicity, the whole of the *fon*'s male servants and assistants were referred to as *chindas*<sup>153</sup>.

Most *Chindas* became the *fon*'s between the ages of 7 and 14 years<sup>154</sup>. At the palace, *chindas* were trained to carry out a variety of duties ranging from manual labour to advising the *fon* (in the role of *Nkwifon* retainers), the more gifted ones were granted more responsibilities and privileges. *Chindas* were trained strict discipline, docility and sworn to secrecy. Service to the *fon* was compulsory and unpopular. Many resented being called to the *fon*'s aid and attempts to escape were frequent, though considerable prestige was usually conferred on them after retirement. When the time came for a retainer to leave the palace, his father assisted by his kin brought a considerable investment in goats, food and wine to the palace. Because of the heavy financial burden this implied, a family generally could not have more than one son at the service of the *fon*.

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<sup>152</sup> Chu. "The Menchum Community in the Cameroon-Nigeria", pp. 61-63.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>154</sup> Interview with Ngem Abanda Ndeuh.

Another important role in the *fon*'s household was reserved for the "queen mother", called *Nahtum*, usually the most senior woman of the *fon*'s matrilineage. The *nahtum* was the most influential woman in the kingdom. Though she did not have institutionalized political or judicial powers, she was in a position to advise the *fon* personally on a wide range of matters. She could sit in the *fon*'s court and usually her opinion was sought. She was highly respected throughout the kingdom. Apart from the *batums*, council of elders, *kwifon*, advisors and the *nahtum*, quarter heads were also important in the political setting of the people. Quarter heads were appointed by the *fon* to handle directives and control the subjects. Any information discussed at the center, the palace, was sent through the quarter heads to disseminate to his subjects. So, they acted as sub-chiefs in their various quarters in the fungom area.

## **v. Succession**

It is insignificant that, despite the enormous wealth, wisdom and loyalty of a particular person at the level of the village, ascending to the position of the chief in the area of study was and is still highly hereditary. This form of heredity varied from community to community. (Matrilineal succession co-existed with patrilineal succession)<sup>155</sup>. While villages like Bafmeng, Kuk, Kung among others practiced the matrilineal system of succession which was similar to that of the Kom Clan in Boyo Division and Wum in Wum Central Division, Esu and Weh embraced the patrilineal system of succession. As concerns the matrilineal system, the basic was *ndum* (literally female sex organ)<sup>156</sup>. Here, the oldest person from the matrilineal side inherits the precedence over the others<sup>157</sup>.

In cases where the eldest brother was not judged competent or responsible enough, powers were entrusted to another competent personality still from the same maternal family. With regards to the patrilineal succession, the basic unit was *keteh* (literally male sex organ). Here, the oldest son took precedence over others. After the death of the chief or *Fon*, the most elderly man in that family assumed position. Age remained an important determining factor. The kinship system equally existed in the Menchum community. This was a system where a deceased had secretly informed some personalities of his successor. In case of the chief, the name of the heir was never disclosed until the chief passed on<sup>158</sup>.

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<sup>155</sup> Vobu, "Matriliney and Patriliney between Cohabitation-Equilibrium", p. 159.

<sup>156</sup> Chu, "The Menchum Community in the Cameroon-Nigeria", p. 65.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>158</sup> Interview with Muwanda Ndong.

## B. A Migratory History of Late Settlers

The origin of Fulani is most mesmerizing and excavated in mystery with widely divergent opinions. Several scholars have shown interest in the identity of the Fulani. According to Delafosse, they are of the Judae-Syria origin<sup>159</sup>. He further explained that, the Fulani entered the African continent about 200 AD and that they are the descendants of hybrid between the Jews and some local tribes in Africa. Proponents of the aforementioned view ventilate that the hybrid and Arabs who eventually penetrated into North Africa about 650-750 AD, mixed with another group of people, Duragae<sup>160</sup>. Some scholars traced the genealogy of the Fulani people as Arab called Uqba bin Nafi. Walter Rodney holds that the Fulbe are originally from North Africa who conquered the Futa Djallon region<sup>161</sup>.

According to Sali Aliou, a legend holds that their ancestor was a water spirit who was born from a relationship between a woman and a water spirit. This child at a certain age demanded his father to give him his own wealth. After hesitations, the mother decided to reveal the truth at him to a lake side where she had to meet the water spirit. The boy was asked by his father after a brief exchange to obey and return home without turning to look so as not to see what was happening. The boy, however, turned to look after hearing terrifying sounds and saw black cows coming out of the water. Some cows fell back into the water and those that had already come out were given to him as his own fortune and around which he settled<sup>162</sup>.

Correlatively linked to the above view is that of St. Crox which stipulates that the Fulani are the descendants of a Berber who was abandoned in the bush by the mother due to a querrel between her and her husband. A spirit found the baby and promised him that he would roam continuously in the bush, but would be rewarded with a lot of wealth. The boy was advised to go to a river wherein a line of cattle would emerge. He was counseled by the spirit to lead the line of emerging cattle and not to glance behind. He did so and the emerging Cattle from the river stoped when the most beautiful beasts were emerging<sup>163</sup>.

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<sup>159</sup> Karh, "Cattle Economy in Wum Area 1940-2010", p. 38.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>162</sup> A. Sali, "A Socio-Economic Assessment of Traditional Grazing Among Pastoral Groups: Case Study of the Mbororo Fulani in the North West Province of Cameroon", Ingenieur Agronome Dissertation, University of Dschang, 2002, p. 10.

<sup>163</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", p. 50.

According to recent research, the Fulani originated from the Senegambia Basin. They were a mixture of Caucasian pastoral Fulani from the Berber tribe of the north who intermarried with the Negroid sedentary people of the Tukulor state in the Futa Toro savannah region of West Africa. These were Oukba – a Berber and Badjo Mango- a Sara Koule. The offspring of this union were four: Deita, Woya, Roreba and Nasi who later became the real ancestors of the Fulani<sup>164</sup>. It is important to understand that the majority of Fulani in the area under consideration are involved in cattle grazing though a few are involved in trade, and other activities. The indigenes on their part are mainly concerned with farming. It should be noted that differences between the two groups have partly kept the people apart.

### **a. Economic Activities**

The Fulani were traditionally nomadic, pastoralist trading people. They reared cattle, goats, horses and sheep across the vast dry hinterlands of their domain, keeping some separate from the local agricultural populations. Cattle were kept in herds. Main herds were sub-divided in to petty ones. A petty herd was comprised of between 50-90 cattle, which usually belonged to a family<sup>165</sup>. It was estimated that the Fulani owned about 70,650 heads of cows in Menchum Division in the early 1970s and the veterinary department was doing a marvelous job with the health of the cattle<sup>166</sup>. The reason for putting the cattle in herds was simply because of the fear of thunder and its effect on cattle, the cattle will not feed well if kept on the same ground<sup>167</sup>. Fali Saly further explains that if one did not have at least fifty cows, he was not regarded as a cattle owner. The Fulani women in the Fungom area were a force to reckon with. They concentrated in the fabrication of handicrafts including engraved gourds, weaving, knitting, beautifully made covers for calabashes known as *mbeedu* and baskets<sup>168</sup>. Weak cattle and those to be sold always remained in their vicinities to be tended by the women.

The Fulani men were less involved in the production of crafts such as pottery, iron works unlike those from the indigenous community. The rearing of cattle as earlier stated was a principal activity of the Fulani in four of Cameroon's ten administrative regions. Most of them in the countryside spent long times along on foot and could be seen frequently parading

<sup>164</sup>Nyoh, "Fulani-Indigenous Relations in the Fungom Sub-Division" p. 8.

<sup>165</sup>Interview with Muamadou Kujare, 65 Years and Haruna Musa, 60 Years, Fulani Elderly men, Weh, 17/8/2021.

<sup>166</sup> File No DWM, 754, Facts and Figures about Menchum Division, 31/1/69, DAW.

<sup>167</sup> Interview with Alhadji Umaru Djibri, 66 Years, *Ardor*, Weh, 17/08/2018.

<sup>168</sup> Muhamadou, "The Advent, Organisation and Integration of the Fulani", p. 42.

with their cattle throughout the Menchum community, moving their herds in search of water and better pasture. Their migratory nature in West Africa was of no difference to that of the area under review. As a result of this, they could be seen in every part of the Sub-Division though at a relatively higher rate in Fungom and Wum Sub-Division. Holding in mind that herding was the backbone of their economy, Djibril Amadou stated that: “Wealth was evaluated by how large the main herd of cattle was. Long ago, Fulani clans fought over cattle and grazing rights. Being the most treasured animal that the Fulani reared, the cattle were and are still very special. In the past, most people who spoke Fulfulde owned cattle”<sup>169</sup>.

The Fulani had a tradition of giving a *khaladi*, cow which was loaned to another person until she calved<sup>170</sup>. Once the calf was weaned, it was retained and the cow was returned to its owner. This *khaladi* was a special ceremony in honour of the gift. It was the highest priced cattle in the market. Upon receipt of this gift, the recipient bought special treats and invited his neighbours for the event in which the *khaladi* was given a name. It was never to be struck under any circumstance. It is equally important to say that from inception, nomadic Fulani lived in domed houses known as *suuduhudo* (literally grass)<sup>171</sup>. During the dry season, the characteristically hemispherical-shaped domed houses were supported by compact reed mats, held together and tied against wood poles in the wet season. These mobile houses were very easy to construct and dismantle. When it was time to change position, the houses were easily dismantled and loaded on to donkeys, horses or camels for displacements<sup>172</sup>.

## **b. Socio-cultural Organization: Eating Habits**

Following the fact that every community on earth has its own particular dish, the Fulani in the Menchum area has a variety of meals. *Pendi*, fresh milk *miradam* and yoghurt was one of their important meals. It was central to Fulbe identity and revered as a drink or in one of its processed forms, such as yoghurt. This *pendi* was mostly extracted by their women in the early hours of the day and it was both for local and commercial purposes<sup>173</sup>. The Fulani women usually hawked *pendi* in beautifully decorated calabashes balanced on their heads. This daily activity brought income to Fulani women. Other meals included *nyiri*, heavy

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<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>170</sup> Interview with Alhaji Alabi, 79 Years, Grazier, Kuk, 15/08/2020.

<sup>171</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>172</sup> Chu, “Fulani Presence and Inter-commuinty Boundary”, p.33.

<sup>173</sup> Interview with Fali Saly, 51 Years, Grazier, Kuk, 09/08/2021.

grease made of flour from tomatoes, onions, spices, pepper and vegetables. Another meal consumed by the Fulani community was *dakkere* made from fermented milk into yoghurt and eaten with corn either in the same bowl or separately. Also, a fluid or porridge called *garri* made of flour cereals such as millet was consumed<sup>174</sup>.

## ii. Dressing Habits

The traditional attire of the Fulani consisted of long colourful flowing robes, modestly embroidered or otherwise decorated. In the Futa-Jallon highlands of Central Guinea, it was common to see men wearing a distinctive hat with colourful embroidery. This was a similar case in Menchum community, where men put on a hat that tapered off at three angular tips, known as *noppiire*<sup>175</sup>. Both men and women wore a characteristic white or black cotton fabric gown, adorned with intricate blue, red and green thread embroidery work, with styles differing according to sex. Women hardly decorated their hair with bead hair accessories as well as cowries shells. They rather used henna for hand, arm and feet decorations. Their long hair is kept into five braids, either long or sometimes looped on sides.

For Abanda Ndeuh, early Fulani men in the area under review plaited their hair. Their women often attached coins to their braids. These coins were handed down from generation to generation. They equally put on many bracelets on their wrists. They also put on a colourful cloth (*modjaare*) around the waist, head or over one's shoulder. Men were dressed in solid coloured, *gaundoura gafaleji* (a voluminous gown usually worn with jumper inside by men. A long cloth wrapped around their faces and a conical hat made from straw and leather on their turbans. They walked with sticks across their shoulders with their arms resting on top of these. Women decorated themselves with necklace, earrings, nose and anklets.

## iii. Music

The Fulani had a rich musical culture and played a variety of traditional instruments including drums, *hodu* (a plucked skin-covered lute similar to a banjo) and *riiti* (a one-string bowed instrument similar to a violin). Fulani music equally varied in accordance to their sub-groups. Songs and dances reflected traditional life and were specifically designed for each

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<sup>174</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>175</sup> *Idem.*

individual occasion. Music was played at any occasion. Music usually accompanied their activities such as: during cattle herding, working in the fields, preparing food and so on. Young Fulani liked to whistle and sing softly as they wandered. Their instruments included: one-string viola (*niaoru*), the flute, the twoto five string lute, *hodduor molo* and the *bouba* and *bawdi* set of drums.

#### **iv. Marriage**

Unlike the indigenes who got married only to non-relatives, the Fulani largely clustered maternally. Fali Saly explains that the Fulani in the area under review mostly got married within themselves, but they were not restricted from getting married to unrelated family members. Abdou Amidou further buttressed that they can even get married to indigenes who practice Islam<sup>176</sup>. Since marriage entails lots of gifts to the bridegroom. For Issa Labi<sup>177</sup>, they simply inherited Endogamy from their ancestors. The indigenes on their part looked at it as a taboo. For them, bad spirits were associated with Endogamy, practiced by the Fulani. Anybody that defied it was hunted by bad spirits.

For one to get married, he needed to pass through a series of processes. Thus, when a boy reached the age of fifteen and above, he could get married if he wished. Information gathered from the field reveals that marriages within the Fulani community might be planned amongst families even before the birth of the children. Fulani men were polygamous marrying maximum four wives as stipulated by the Muslim tradition. Most Fulani men marry in their early twenties and their girls in their mid to late teens. It was difficult to see a Fulani man above the age of forty without a spouse. This was same with their women who had attained the age of 25.

This was done by presenting and directing the girl and her family to his father. If the father accepted, then he then went to the parents of the girl for discussion on the issue. If the parents of the girl accepted, an official visit was arranged to be made by the family of the groom to that of the bride. This visit was made up of four to five persons who acted as eye witnesses, (*shedee*). The main aim of this visit was to offer a gift to the bride's family (*yehtoreh*). The bride and groom were called to manifest their love for each other. If positive, the groom then paid the bride price. The amount for the bride price ranged from 100000 to

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<sup>176</sup> Interview with Abdou Amidou, Grazier, 40 Years, Kuk, 19/08/2021.

<sup>177</sup> Interview with Issa Alabi, Grazier, 41 Years, Kuk, 19/08/2021.

150,000francs CFA<sup>178</sup>. This money was obligatory and it was called *sehdee foudou*. A delegation was then sent to accompany the bride to her marital residence.

## **v. Birth**

In contrast to the indigenes who kept a special person (most often mother-in-law) to take care of a pregnant woman in the husband's residence, the Fulani rather took her back to her parents to look after her, when she was seven months pregnant. After giving birth she returned home. The bride family came with a female cow (optional) and the groom's family brought a male cow. The cows were slaughtered to feast with people who answered present at the occasion. The baby was named after eight days of delivery and it was coined from the Koran<sup>179</sup>. This was done by placing a Ram and cola on the ground and calling the name of the child. In cases of mixed breeds, no Ram and cola was presented because it was considered a sin as per the *Koran*. Divorce that resulted from the woman was associated with the reimbursement of the bride price. But if the man was the cause of the divorce, then nothing was reimbursed. The woman could take all the property bought for her only if she had delivered a child with her husband.

## **vi. Education**

As concerns education, the Fulani cooperated with Hausa to promote the Islamic system of learning. The objective of this was the memorization of the *Koran*. In the beginning, these schools were found only in homes of Mallams. Children were sent to Koranic schools at the age of seven. They were taught Arabic, Fulfulde and how to recite the Koran and Islamic culture. At the end of the course, they became teachers and often received invitations at birth places to give names to new born babies. They did not cherish confessional schools that existed in the area. Since discipline is a key to success, stubborn children were expelled from the community<sup>180</sup>.

Given that they regarded western education as a tool of assimilation, they were bound to give a big distance to it. This was further complicated as they believed that confessional schools were established with the main objective of converting the indigenes to Christian faith. They did not want this act to be extended to them. This explains why they restricted

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<sup>178</sup> Interview with Fali Saly.

<sup>179</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>180</sup> Jumbam, "The Impact of the Fulani on the Fondom of Nso", pp. 72-75.



their children from going to modern schools for knowledge acquisition. As if this was not enough, the Fulani held that their children were their main source of labour. Some equally held that western education was connected to mysticism. Their mobility nature also influenced them to give a distance to western education.

### **vii. Health**

The Fulani preferred traditional to modern medicine. The *gohdaanda*, Fulani traditional practitioners used herbs and organic elements to cure illnesses like: gastric, stomach ache, epilepsy, pile, tooth ache, chest pain, fractures, cough, malaria among others. They also used cowries to diagnose the illness<sup>181</sup>. Some of these herbalists included; Aladj iLabi, Umarou Musa among others. The Fulani also used their Koran to cure patients. This was performed by Mallams<sup>182</sup>. They simply read verses in the Koran and communicated with Allah to heal patients. The patient was healed instantly or after some time. Prominent mallams in our area of study included: Fali Sally, mallam Kiano among others. The Koran treated diseases such as; madness, and illnesses that resulted from evil spirit. This only goes to add to the significance of the Koran for the execution of justice in the Alkali court.

Their settlement sites encouraged them to develop a lukewarm attitude towards modern medical services. Although the Fulani were the most exposed to venereal and natural diseases, health care deliver to them was almost nonexistent. Their mobility exposed them to common cold and allergies associated to dust and animals. Their unprotected bodies were exposed to bites from bees, snakes, scorpions, mosquitoes, house flies, tse-tse flies among others. In the course of roaming the bushes, injuries occurred from falls, falling trees, bites from wild animals. This therefore made them to be more often than not plagued with diverse diseases: filarial, malaria, sleeping sickness among others. Aichetou declares that until these afflictions become debilitating, the Fulani relied only on their natural immunity, local herbs and time healing to chase the illness. The cost of modern medicine and the high rate of illiteracy scared the Fulani from getting the required attention or prescribed medical needs<sup>183</sup>.

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<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>183</sup> Aichetou, "The Process of Implantation and Co-Existence", p .34.

### c. Political Set-up

Unlike the Hausa who had a unique *sariki*, leader in a village district, the Fulani in our area of study could have more than one *Ardor* in some villages while some had an *Ardor*. During the early decades of our time frame, the political organization of the Fulani was not very elaborate, the probable reason being that the settlements were still at their infancy and their *Ardors* were selected by chiefs or *fons*. In other words, the *fon* indirectly influenced their administration. This impeded the emergence of a strong legitimate *Ardor*. In the course of time, the *Ardor* gained grounds and powers in the area. As a result of this, they began setting up their own independent communities under the political and administrative authority of the *Ardors*, their leaders. These early settlements started attracting more Fulani immigrants. As time evolved, their number increased. Thus, their dominance began to be felt in the areas they settled.

The authority of the *Ardor* was just limited to his immediate followers. Wealth and general acceptance by his followers accounted for the nomination of an *Ardor*. Due to the availability of grazing land and conducive climate, the Fulani population increased considerably. Thus, there was need to appoint leaders. *Ardor* Umarou of Wum had some *wakilis* as his administrative agents; he upgraded some of them to lead the new settlements. These *wakilis* henceforth became *Ardors*. They were responsible for both internal and external affairs of their communities. An *Ardor* also had a council formed from the four dignitaries he had. Their titles in order of precedence were: *Wakili*, *Maidaki*, *Galadima*, *Chioma* and *Magaji*<sup>184</sup>. Table 4 below shows *Ardors* and their areas of jurisdiction in Fungom area.

**Table 4: *Ardors* and their Areas of Jurisdiction in Fungom Area**

| Names of <i>Ardors</i> | Place of resident          | Area of jurisdiction                                     |
|------------------------|----------------------------|--|
| Gide                   | Esai (a quater in Bafmeng) | Nyos, New and Old town in Bafmeng                        |
| Haro                   | Kuk                        | From Imo (a quarter in Bafmeng) to river mgigheur in Kuk |
| Adamu                  | Kuk                        | From river mgigheur to Weh                               |
| Jaja                   | Esu                        | Esu-Gayama   |

**Source:** Author's conception based on field work.

<sup>184</sup>Awasom, "The Hausa and the Fulani in the Bamenda Grasslands 1903-1960", p. 214.

From table 4, we can see the area each ardor controlled in one part of our area of study. An *Ardor* equally had a judge called “Alkali” meant for judging matters that hindered the smooth functioning of their community. But this alkali court was not present in our area of study. It was found in Ndop. It should be made clear here that the Fulani were reluctant to table their matters in indigenous courts because they regarded them as aliens. In fact, they complained that it was forbidden to have cases involving debt, divorce, marriage or inheritance heard in a court composed of unbelievers or pagans. It is pertinent to note that the demand for a Muslim court was partly triggered by the desire of the Muslim to avoid the animist Native court in favour of a court based on the teachings of Mohammad

## **Conclusion**

The chapter has examined the organizations of both the early and late settlers in the Fungom Area. This was done in the economic, political and social domains. Concerning the early settlers, agriculture, trade and hunting were some of their economic activities. As concerns socials, the chapter laid emphasis on religion, marriage, birth and death among others. Administration, national politics, law and justice were some of the indigenous political activities. With regards to the late settlers, the chapter outlined cattle grazing as their principal activity. It also examined their social institutions such as; education, religion and music. But then, the settlement of both groups were favoured by geographical factors such as; conducive climate, soils, water and topography

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **FULANI IMPLANTATION AND BASES OF BOUNDARY DYNAMICS**

#### **Introduction**

Chapter two focuses on the factors that triggered the implantation of Fulani and boundary mutations in the Menchum Division. As earlier noted in chapter one, the indigenous population had their ways of life, but as time evolved and especially with the advent of Fulani in the area, some of these witnessed changes. These conversions were caused by a handful of factors some of which included: population growth, search for pasture to feed cattle and pastoral land, transhumance, modern governance system, land laws, justice system, community development, Wum Area Development Authority (WADA), formation of cultural associations among others.

#### **I. Implantation Factors**

The migration and implantation of Fulani in Menchum Division was orchestrated by a handful of factors. These factors were both push (influencing their displacement from their take off areas) and pull (which attracted them into Menchum Division).

##### **A. The Ventilation of Islam and Post Independent Problems in Africa**

Prior to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Toronkawa were one of the groups who inhabited Gobir and were rich in Muslim laws. This placed them at a high ranking position as other Fulani looked up to them as intelligent leaders. This group of people was led by Uthman who was a Muslim preacher and scholar. After acquiring a certain degree of knowledge from his roaming around, he returned home and settled at Degel where he began to preach. He established a cordial relationship with Nafata of Gobir. Given the passing on of Nafata to glory, his son, Yunfa succeeded him and proved to be harsher to Uthman than his predecessor<sup>1</sup>. Relations between Yunfa and Uthman deteriorated when Uthman defied his monarchy by releasing

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<sup>1</sup> J. F Ajayi and M. Crowder, *History of West Africa*, Volume 2, London, Longman, 1974, p. 23.

some slaves whom Yunfa had condemned<sup>2</sup>. It should be understood that some of these slaves were Muslims. This act contradicted the *Koran* which was strictly respected by Uthman and his followers<sup>3</sup>.

This was something unpleasant to Yunfa who then planned a reprisal on Uthman and his followers, but being fore warned, the Shehu and his proponents performed a Hijira by emigrating from Degel to Gudu<sup>4</sup>. At Gudu, Uthman's supporters rallied behind him. He was then proclaimed *Amin al Muminin*, meaning commander of the faithful followers. Sooner than later, Shehu declared a holy war against the unbelievers in all the Hausa states. Yunfa who was determined to chase Uthman and his team out of his territory also engaged Uthman's followers in a serious battle at Tabkin Kwatto<sup>5</sup>. Despite the fact that the Gobir army was superior in group, the moral superiority and determination of the jihadists who were fighting for their survival as a community and for their faith, won the day and Yunfa's army was routed<sup>6</sup>.

The registration of this victory over the king of Gobir encouraged the Fulani all over Northern Nigeria to pay Uthman a visit with the aim of acquiring blessings for their own revolution against the unbelievers. He advised them to reform or else face consequences. He then gave flags to his most trusted followers and to the leaders of the various Fulani communities commanding them to raise armies and launch the jihads in their respective areas. This led to the expansion of Islam and Fulani to different areas like Adamawa, Nupe, Bauchi, Ilorin among others<sup>7</sup>. Their southward movement brought them to Menchum Division, through Esu.

The eastward expansion of the Fulani jihads through the Hausa land to Bornu, Adamawa and Baghirmi and also the westward movement to Messina area paved their way into Menchum Division. This was because from Adamawa, news about the conducive environment was revealed to them by the Hausa traders who visited the area during their trading expeditions of the fertile Menchum plains, hills, and valleys with enough greener pasture and grazing lands<sup>8</sup>. They later penetrated to our area of study since there was

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<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Njeuma, *Fulani Hegemony in Yola*, pp. 21-22.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Fung, "The Origin and Evolution of Pastoral Agricultural Conflict", p.52.

unoccupied land. Fung further educates us that some Fulani nomads under the leadership of Ibrahim Kano with their cattle began to move into the area especially in Bafmeng, Nyos, Esu and Wum<sup>9</sup>.

As earlier mentioned, the Fulani did not all settle in our area of study at the same time. This was seen as another group of Fulani left the Adamawa area under the leadership of Ardor Juli, a cousin to Lamido Sabga Bi Hobba and landed in the Bamenda Grasslands. This group was once more told of the welcoming atmospheric conditions of the Wum Central Sub-Division by the Hausa traders who had earlier settled in the area. This group of Fulani did not hesitate to implant themselves in the aforementioned area. As the number of pastoralists kept on increasing, the number of Fulani settlements extended to other areas of our area of study like Esu, Kuk, Weh among others<sup>10</sup>. From this presentation, one would not be wrong to establish the fact that the extension of the holy wars by the Fulani theocrats and fanatics acted as a leeway for the Fulani pastoralists who moved behind them and settled in subdued areas. It should be recalled that they didn't only limit themselves to the subdued areas but founded other areas that favoured their settlement<sup>11</sup>.

One of the problems faced by some African countries after the achievements of independence was civil wars. Civil wars in Africa mostly took place in the 1960s and contributed greatly to political instability and why not to a standstill development if not a regressive one in the affected countries<sup>12</sup>. Some of such countries that have connection with our area of study include Nigeria, Chad and Ethiopia. Unlike these countries, the Federal Republic of Cameroon enjoyed relative peace given that there was no major political instability in the country. This acted as a pull factor to migrants who were seeking for peace. It is needless mentioning that the Fulani have an incessant quest for a peaceful environment.

The Biafran secession war of the late 1960s precipitated the displacement of Fulani and their cattle into the West and North West Regions of Cameroon. This civil war in Nigeria with the duration of three years (January 1967-1970) led to the death of some two million lives<sup>13</sup>. The war led to the assassination of Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, the Federal Prime

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<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> United Nations, *Basic Facts About the United Nations*, New York, United Nations, 1995, p.37.

<sup>13</sup> O. Roland, and A. Anthony, *Africa Since 1800*, Cambridge University Press, 1977, p. 269.

Minister and other leading northern ministers in his government<sup>14</sup>. The war masterminded by the Igbos brought General Johnson Aguyi-Ironsi, an Igbo, to power. This was followed by mass killing of Igbo people in the North and South<sup>15</sup>.

The situation became aggravated and the assassination of Aguyi-Ironsi took place<sup>16</sup>. This gave Colonel Yakubu Gowon, a Fulani from Plateau state (the village of Angas) the opportunity to ascend to the presidency. This kept the Igbo people at the extreme opposite side of the Northerners. In October 1966 many Igbo people were massacred in the North. About 2000 people were killed<sup>17</sup>. This compelled many people including the Fulani to flee Nigeria where some settled in the Menchum division. It is learnt that during this war, human beings were left with no choice than to feed on rats, lizards and even on human flesh given the high degree of hunger and starvation that resulted from the aftermaths of the civil war<sup>18</sup>.

Just as the Biafran war, the Chadian civil war that occurred in 1980 led to a massive displacement of over 500,000 Chadians to other African countries including Cameroon<sup>19</sup>. Fulani who were part of the displacement population infiltrated Cameroon. Between 1980 and 1981, Kousseri, a Cameroonian town adjacent to the capital of Chad, Ndjamena witnessed an increase in its population from 10,000 to over 15,000 in less than one month at the peak of the Chadian civil war<sup>20</sup>. This civil war was provoked by Muslims in the northern part of the country. This was because they were dissatisfied with the Bantu-dominated one-party government. It escalated in 1969 when Muslim guerrillas started operating in the north. This situation created panic and fear. The Fulani badly in need of a peaceful environment to graze their cattle migrated to Cameroon.

It is therefore convincing for one to think that political instability experienced by these aforementioned African countries partially orchestrated the influx of Fulani and their cattle into Cameroon. As earlier mentioned, just like any other human being where they will implant themselves where the environment is peaceful and suitable for habitation, the Fulani are not different. As the Fulani settled in different parts in Cameroon, they encountered some

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<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

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

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 270.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> N. N. Mbile, *The Other Side of SCNC Story*, Limbe, Printing Press, 2001, p. 45.

<sup>19</sup> Aichetou, "The Process of Implantation and Co-Existence", p.59.

<sup>20</sup> Ngole, "Integration and Co-existence of Immigrants in Meme Division", p. 44.

problems and therefore decided to search for peace. Conflict between the Fulani and early settlers of different areas, made them not to experience peace in their lives.

This situation forced them to move since peace was a far-fetched idea to those who could not withstand the situation. This was the case of Bali and Moghamo<sup>21</sup>. This situation took them to Menchum Division where there was peace. The absence of peace and security within some Fulani homes and families or areas where disorder was the order of the day and bitterness clouded the atmosphere made it uncomfortable for some Fulani to reside there. They resorted to search for better places where they would be far from those who made it difficult for them to enjoy peace.

Again, following the defeat and ousting of Germany from Kamerun, the territory was partitioned in 1916<sup>22</sup>. Two segments were obtained: British Cameroon and French Cameroon. On July 20<sup>th</sup> 1922 when the territories were officially placed under the League of Nation's mandate, the names changed to British mandated and French mandated territories respectively. On January 1<sup>st</sup> 1960, French Cameroon got her independence<sup>23</sup>. Following the independence of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, temperature started rising within the politicians of British Cameroon on how the future of their territory will look like. It should be mentioned that Britain had further partitioned her portion into two spheres: British Northern Cameroons and British Southern Cameroons. The significant geographical distance that existed between these two spheres accounted for its fragmentation<sup>24</sup>.

Decision makers and politicians started clamoring for their independence. It was a big slap to some personalities to see British Northern Cameroon declare her intention of gaining independence by associating with the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The authenticity of this resulted from the 1959 plebiscite<sup>25</sup>. British Southern Cameroons was now the only territory with an undefined future. British colonial agents offered the leaders of political parties, J. N. Foncha of KNDP and E.M.L Endeley of CPNC the opportunity to converse and reach a compromise as concerns the attainment of independence by their territory. Failure to produce a convergence agenda on this point triggered the British to expose the matter to the UN for a concrete solution to be reached.

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<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56.

<sup>22</sup> Fanson, *Cameroon History for Secondary Schools*, p.204.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 286.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 294-296.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*



In this light, a plebiscite was to be organized to determine the angle the territory will gain independence. At the eve of the plebiscite, authentic news blew into the ears of the Fulani that British Southern Cameroons had settled on the point of reunifying with French Cameroon where terrorism was the order of the day<sup>26</sup>. Things went to the extreme when the results of the plebiscite embraced the opinion of Foncha, who stood for reunification with French Cameroon unlike Endeley who wanted association with the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Fulani were convinced that their cattle will fall prey to the terrorists who had an inelastic appetite<sup>27</sup>. This information coupled with other issues that kept Fulani in a divergent state with the early settlers precipitated the abrupt emigration of some of them with thousands of cattle from Menchum to Nigeria. In a telegram to the chief commissioner in Buea, the D.O of Bamenda stipulated that about 2000 cattle left Wum<sup>28</sup>.

After the peaceful settlement between West (Former British Southern Cameroons) and East (Former French Cameroon) Cameroons in 1961 at Foumban, Ardo Umaru took an initiative of going to Nigeria with the aim of persuading Fulani cattle rearers to return to the Menchum Community. His mission was successful as he returned with a good number of Fulani and their cattle. Among them were Alhadji Kosha, Kano, Alhadji Aminu, and Ali Buba Usmanu<sup>29</sup>. This paved the way for the frequent influx of Fulani into Menchum from Nigeria. These groups made their way through Lafiah, Gboko through Mamfe-Akwaya where they found themselves at Essimbi, Beba-Befang and other areas in Menchum division. As if this was not enough, more Fulani penetrated the Menchum Division in the early 1980s and settled in Kuk, Bafmeng, Weh, Bum, Nyos, Zhoa among others<sup>30</sup>. One can therefore confidently argue that the calmness that characterized the Menchum community attracted Fulani to settle and implant themselves there.

## **B. Hospitality of the Early Settlers and Accessibility of Menchum Division**

This is one of the anthropogenic factors that accounts for Fulani presence in our area of study and boundary alteration. A good number of our informants in the field held that the permanent settlement of Fulani in Menchum Division resulted from the hospitable nature of

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<sup>26</sup> Fung, "The Origin and Evolution of Pastoral Agricultural Conflict", p.55.

<sup>27</sup> Awasom, "The Hausa and Fulani in the Bamenda Grasslands 1903-1960", p.195.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> Fung, "The Origin and Evolution of Pastoral Agricultural Conflict", p.55.

<sup>30</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", p. 87.

the indigenes<sup>31</sup>. Some informants of the new settler's category testified that since their implantation in Menchum division, they have never gone into an overt confrontation with the early settlers. This is because they have understood that the old settlers are not trouble makers but those who don't want things to be viewed in an abnormal perspective<sup>32</sup>.

Hamidou Sanni in Furu-Awa further adds that the indigenes were able to offer them lands with little or no compensation to settle. This proves that togetherness navigates in the contours of their thoughts<sup>33</sup>. Hassan Bouba in Bu though declared that the early settlers offered only lands they considered not useful to them (lands not conducive for farming activities), however appreciated the indigenes by saying that "it is not every person that offers one something even when it is not useful to him"<sup>34</sup>. It was due to this friendly nature of the indigenes that encouraged the Fulani to settle freely in the outskirts given their nature of economic activity. They frequently visited the indigenes after performing their daily task. This same view is shared by Ngole as he puts it:

... a pull factor of migration to Cameroon and Meme Division in particular is the hospitable and peaceful nature of the Meme people. Immigrants felt free. The local population of Meme did not discriminate against the new comers. Everybody was treated equal and this accounted for the presence of many foreigners and dominated in some sectors cattle grazing<sup>35</sup>.

The friendly attitude of the indigenes could also be explained by the fact that the Fulani got some basic needs from the indigenes on credit. In some cases, they paid the money in instalments. This positive attitude of the early settlers encouraged the Fulani who were present in the area to invite relatives elsewhere to come and reside in a "just like you want" land<sup>36</sup>.

Since time immemorial, when the Germans established their administrative head quarter at the Bamenda up station, pioneer roads were constructed linking Nkwen, Bambui, Bambili, and Bafut. These roads were the Bamenda-Bafut and the Bamenda-Bambui. When the British took over from the Germans following the German defeat in the First World War, they constructed the Bamenda ring road linking Bamenda with other far off communities like Ndop Bansa, Nkambe among others<sup>37</sup>. The Menchum area was not an exception as concerns

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<sup>31</sup> Interview with Tem Deborah and Anna Kah.

<sup>32</sup> Interview with Fali Saly.

<sup>33</sup> Interview with, Hamidou Sanni, 57 Years, Teacher and Farmer, Furu-Awa, 06/08/2021.

<sup>34</sup> Interview with Hassan Bouba.

<sup>35</sup> Ngole, "Integration and Co-Existence of Immigrants in Meme Division", p. 63.

<sup>36</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", p.87.

<sup>37</sup> Fanson, *Cameroon History for Secondary Schools*, p. 87.

this ring road linkage of communities. During the post-colonial period, these principal roads linking communities were tarred. The connection of Menchum to Mezam favoured the displacement of Fulani in the Bamenda town and their settlement in Menchum area.

The accessibility of the Menchum community acted as a pull factor for the influx of Fulani into the area. The international trade that existed between the Menchum community and the Federal Republic of Nigeria favoured the development of path roads which later encouraged the Fulani to leave Nigeria for Cameroon where they easily penetrated and settled in Menchum Division. The Esu-Furu-Awa communities are just closer to Nigeria. People who live in these border towns found it easy to easily relocate in either side depending on the season for commercial activities. Distance is not a problem to them. It was due to this accessibility of the area under examination that encouraged the Fulani migrants to freely establish themselves in the area.

At the infancy stage of trading activities in the area, the traders in Furu-Awa transported their goods on heads since roads did not permit the use of other means. Human portage was the common mode of transport used by bush traders. The unmotorable nature of the area accounted for this and also to an extent by the nature of the trade which was not opened. Goods were transported on heads or backs of humans depending on the fragility or bulkiness of the goods<sup>38</sup>. Following the fact that the connection of Furu-Awa to Nigeria was marked by a river without a bridge, the businessmen had to rely on the use of footpaths which were of high importance at the time. It should also be noted that the state of these foot paths were not well secured since they were mostly located in the middle of thick forest. In this line, traders sort to be moving in groups of five to ten persons<sup>39</sup>.

The common items of trade were kola nuts and oil which were exported in exchange of cloth and other items like salt and beads from Takum<sup>40</sup>. Following the increase in the demand of kola nut in Northern markets, the Furu-Awa area experienced an increase in the influx of Hausa traders from Nigeria. This led to the development of more trading routes. It was thanks to these routes that some Fulani made their way into Menchum Division. Some who had embraced trade simply followed the Hausa traders. This was because the Hausa

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<sup>38</sup> N. A Nji, "Relations between Cameroon and Nigeria along the Bordering Locality of Furu-Awa-Taraba State From 1961-2010: A Historical Assessment", Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaounde 1, 2016, p.56.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> Interview with Awa Dorothy, 64 Years, Farmer, Furu-Awa, 06/08/2021.

traders acted as translators to them. A typical example is Adamu Bouba who narrated his life and that of his father who depended on Kola nut and cattle business for survival in Nigeria since 1961.

Unlike in Menchum Division where trade in kola nut was carried out by the indigenes, the Fulani were the ones who did in Nigeria. It is needless to restate that their sole economic activity in Menchum Division was cattle grazing which was really lucrative. The booming nature of the cattle business spread to other areas including Nigeria. This encouraged Adamu Bouba and his father to relocate to Menchum. This could not have been made possible if the Menchum area was not accessible to Nigeria as was the case before as learned from Chu's work:

Adamu Bouba affirms that his father really found it difficult with him transporting kola nuts from Nigeria to Menchum looking at the nature of roads, distance and weight of the kola nut. Besides, people who acted as porters from Nigeria to Esu were very few and the population of the Esu people too was very small. Also, the money to pay porters was insufficient<sup>41</sup>.

Following the amelioration of the road connecting the Menchum division to Nigeria, Adamu and his father finally made their way into Menchum division. Their presence in our area of study paved the way for boundaries mutations as they did business in kola nut. This was a strange thing in the area as was initially done only by the indigenes and some Hausa traders. The importance of kola nut was not only known by the indigenes as it greatly improved the lives of the Fulani in Menchum as Chu narrates how it was to *Sarki* Bouba:

The trade in kola nut permitted Sarki Bouba to raise 500,000 CFA francs to begin the trade in cattle. When he started trading in Cattle, he did not stop the trade in Kola nut but instead had to be transporting the cattle down to sell in Nigeria. After selling them in Abakeleke, Omafia, and Enugu markets, he purchased kola nuts from there and transported to Menchum<sup>42</sup>.

Kola nut was used by indigenes in ceremonies and other occasions. Three routes were used for trading activities: from Bali to Kom, Kom to Bum, Bum to Takum and finally to wukari, Ibi and to Bauchi. There was also the route from Kumbo to Banyo, Banyo to Kontcha, Kontcha to Yola. Another trade route came from Bali to Kom and to Wum, Katsina and finally to Lafia and Zaria<sup>43</sup>.

Furu-Awa acted as one of the transit points for traders from Wum. Commercial activities were not really booming in the Wum direction due to accessibility problem. Awa

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<sup>41</sup> Chu, "The Menchum Community in the Cameroon-Nigeria", pp. 171-172.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

added that goods left Nigeria and were transit to Wum than vice-versa and that traders took approximately four hours to trek to from Furu-Awa to Mobi, a border found in Nigeria. They now took three days to trek to Takum<sup>44</sup>. The people after selling their products bought certain items cherished by the Fulani like mat as they used it during prayers. Other items included spices and drinks. Some common drinks that were bought from Nigeria included herculus, canon and star. A brand in Furu-Awa was equally exported to Nigeria. This was 33 export which cost 250 francs in Wum but when transported to Fru-Awa stood at 500 francs. The drinks bought in Nigeria cost 10 kobo around the late 1980s<sup>45</sup>.

Thanks to trading activities in the Furu-awa area towards Nigeria, movements became frequent as commodities were moving from Nigeria to Cameroon and vice-versa. This offered a green light to the Fulani to infiltrate into Menchum Division. Cooperative ties among the indigenes and Fulani at border towns were strengthened by trading relations thereby by offering favourable ground for Fulani implantation in the area of study.

Again, the Menchum Valley area equally had a connecting path with Nigeria. This was mostly the case of Baworo and Beba. Though these communities were mostly connected to Nigeria in trading activities, Fulani also used the track to find themselves in Menchum. Given that the population of Fulani in the Bafut community was becoming over populated, some easily moved down to Befang and other areas in the Menchum Community where there was little or no obstacle in transportation<sup>46</sup>. Again, the Upper Fungom area was much closer to Fundong and Kom in the Boyo Division. The cordiality of the people and insignificant distance from Fundong to Bafmeng facilitated the infiltration of Fulani into Menchum Division.

### **C. Population Explosions, the Hunt for Water and Availability of Building Materials**

The population pressure in other communities in the grass fields during the post-colonial period favoured the gradual movement of Fulani from these areas to the Menchum community. In the early 1990s, majority of Fulani who left different areas or countries settled in the Bamenda town and its vicinities. They settled in these areas because their first leader, Sagba did not go further than these areas to negotiate for settlements. This insinuates that the early settlements of Fulani in Bamenda town and its environs were negotiated by their leader.

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<sup>44</sup> Nji, "Relations between Cameroon and Nigeria", p. 56.

<sup>45</sup> Chu, "The Menchum Community in the Cameroon-Nigeria", p. 72.

<sup>46</sup> Karh, "Cattle Economy in Wum Area 1940-2010", p. 31.

As time went by, these areas became overcrowded and pasture was seemingly reducing. Some traditional authorities took this as an opportunity to invite the Fulani to come occupy the unoccupied lands in their territory not good for farming. This was the case of the Bafut community<sup>47</sup>.

As the Fulani respected the invitation of these traditional authorities, they were encouraged to roam further in search of pasture and other good conditions associated with cattle grazing. The Menchum community was known for its immeasurable conducive nature. This therefore attracted the Fulani to infiltrate the area and implant themselves. The population cluster of some African countries like Nigeria, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) without the exception of Niger provoked the movement of Fulani into Menchum Division. This was because these countries offered the natural flow of people from overpopulated areas to sparsely populated ones endowed with favourable conditions especially for their economic activity.

The Menchum Community was blessed with features that corresponded with the heart desires of Fulani. The problem emanating from densely populated areas could also be linked to the nature of agriculture practiced by the inhabitants. This is confirmed by Ngole as he opines that populated African countries have embraced an agricultural system that promotes migration<sup>48</sup>. This was so because several people in these populated countries could not have access to adequate lands for their own economic activities. This therefore reveals that the Fulani who left Nigeria did not have enough land to content their cattle. They were therefore attracted by the availability of space in Menchum.

This situation was not different from that of Mali where those who practiced pastoral nomadism could not freely graze their cattle due to unlimited space. They had to move to other areas crossing the borders to go for a more suitable and less densely populated country. Cameroon was endowed with such conducive conditions<sup>49</sup>. This encouraged the Fulani to immigrate into Cameroon for the benefit of space and good vegetation for their cattle. Niger constitutes another exemplary source of migratory Fulani in Menchum Division. Livestock activities especially grazing were not prospering in the country given its desertification

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<sup>47</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", p. 87.

<sup>48</sup> Nyoh, "Politics of Fragmentation in the Aghem Federation", p.213.

<sup>49</sup> Ngole, "Integration and Co-Existence of Immigrants in Meme Division", p. 50.

nature. This influenced Fulani to immigrate to other countries where they found themselves in Cameroon and subsequently in the area under examination<sup>50</sup>.

There is no doubt that water constitutes one of the basic necessities of human life. Water comes next after grazing land as far as Fulani and their main economic activity in Menchum Division is concerned. The Fulani see the provision of water as an antidote against the predicaments of marginal environments. The demand for water by Fulani seems to be higher than that of the early settlers. This is because water is not just used by the Fulani in the house but highly consumed by their cattle. Plate three tells us more.

**Plate 3: Cattle Consuming Water in a Stream**



**Source: Photo taken by Author, Befang, December 19, 2022.**

From plate 3, we can see that water is a basic necessity to cattle. This has therefore made areas void of water to be uncondusive for Fulani habitation since their main economic activity is cattle grazing. The availability of building materials was also an added advantage. Both the indigenes and Fulani made use of building materials like the fern poles. These of course were spotted nearly in all the communities of Menchum. With this in mind, there will be no need to restate that a combination of factors necessitated the penetration and implantation of Fulani in Menchum Division. A migrant Fulani with cattle grazing as his main economic activity obviously searched for an environment with a plethora of these factors and nothing else.

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<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

The physical environment of Menchum Division offered a green light for the implantation of Fulani in the area. As read from the geographical setting of our area of study, climate, vegetation, soils and hydrology each in its capacity or in synergy with another pulled the Fulani into Menchum. On the slopes and top of the hills are found free grass for cattle to feed on. Visibility is another pertinent factor that influenced the implantation of Fulani in Menchum Division. On the rolling landscape, it is possible to throw eyes from one hill top to another since there is no high vegetation in the intervals to impede visibility.

This is unlike the forest zone where the visibility was hindered by tall trees<sup>51</sup>. It is of utmost importance to note that the success of pastoralists depends on natural forage, quantity and quality. The rhythm of mobility and latitudinal oscillation of pastoral Fulani corresponds to the vacillation in moisture and forage conditions<sup>52</sup>. The Menchum community provided just this much needed moisture and luxuriant vegetation to reduce the rate of mobility. This has made the Fulani to believe that if they move out, they will be uncomfortable in their new sites.

#### **D. Ancient Method of Cultivation, Inadequate Education and Communication Skills**

The traditional system of farming in Menchum Division is shifting cultivation<sup>53</sup>. Following this system, vegetation and soil burning were very common and partially contributed to soil exhaustion. From the onset, this system did not pose a problem in the Menchum Community but with the increase of population over time, the system became anachronistic, untenable and impracticable<sup>54</sup>. This became more complicated as the indigenes proved to be having a sentimental attachment with their traditional system of farming. Efforts made for them to embrace modern system of farming at that time remained futile. The indigenous cementation on shifting cultivation accidentally took them into lands reserved for grazing thereby bringing about an atmosphere of animosity which was not the case before.

An informant revealed that their being stuck to traditional system of cultivation was due to the lack of capital to embark on modern farming or intensive crop cultivation<sup>55</sup>. The agricultural system of the Fulani on the other hand equally orchestrated boundary dynamics

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<sup>51</sup> T. S. Ngome, "The Fulani of Mount Muanenguba, Bangem Sub-Division, Kupe-Muanenguba Division, 1920-2000", Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaounde 1, 2008, p.56.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p.57.

<sup>53</sup> Karh, "Cattle Economy in Wum Area 1940-2010", p.19.

<sup>54</sup> Sikod, "Farmer-Grazier Conflict in Bali", p.38.

<sup>55</sup> Interview with Akum Chrisantus Mtam.



in our area of study. The Fulani practised pastoral nomadism which is a system of stock rearing based on extensive herding and involves the frequent or sporadic displacement of cattle by breeders in search of better conditions for their cattle. This system of livestock has put the Fulani and the indigenes in conflictual situations.

This is mostly noticed during transhumance where cattle occasionally inadvertently or consciously enter into farmlands, destroying crops cultivated by the indigenes. This brings about conflict which was not the case before. Sikod stated that “if the Fulani herds were sedentary, their conflict with the indigenes will be minor and greatly minimized if not avoided but this was not the case”<sup>56</sup>. In fact, the Fulani are conservative and adamant to change or innovation and stick to pastoral nomadism thereby making conflict unavoidable with the indigenes. This was the case of *Ardor Haro* in Bafmeng.

One of the factors that promoted the implantation of Fulani and boundary dynamics in Menchum Division was communication. Discussion between the Fulani and the indigenes was often hindered during the early years of Fulani presence in the area of study. Most *gainakohs* employed by Fulani breeders lack basic morals and could not express themselves even in Pidgin English. This often resulted in tension, especially in situation of conflict resolution. Information gathered from the field shows that misunderstanding was always the result of poor communication between the Fulani and indigenes. This therefore encouraged the Fulani to use language of hate to abuse the indigenes<sup>57</sup>.

This poor communication stemmed from the inadequate education of both parties. The employment of unskilled and illiterate *gainakohs*, with the aim of minimizing cost contributed to the alteration of boundaries in Menchum Division. This was because the *gainakohs* were young and usually ignorant of proper cattle control and management rules. This therefore accounts for their deliberate act of letting the cattle into the indigenous population's farms as reported by one of our informants<sup>58</sup>. This pushed the farmers to retaliate as they considered the *gainakohs* to be drunk and dormant<sup>59</sup>. This situation was witnessed in *Chuh*, a farm site in Kuk. Oral sources educated us that these *gainakohs* vehemently allowed cattle to destroy the farms of the early settlers because they were jealous of their good living conditions.

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<sup>56</sup> Sikod, “Farmer-Grazier Conflict in Bali”, p.38.

<sup>57</sup> Kum, “Wum Area Development Authority (WADA) 1965-1994”, p. 59

<sup>58</sup> Jumbam, “The Impact of Fulani on the Fandom of Nso”, pp. 73-75.

<sup>59</sup> Interview with Akum Chrisantus Ntam.

Thus, their resentment of such difference in living standards encouraged them to allow their cattle to feed on crops cultivated by the indigenes. This was something new in the community. It should also be highlighted that the indigenes as a result of limited education also envied the Fulani. They were jealous of the Fulani for having so many cattle which was quality wealth. They resorted to refuse the Fulani to graze in areas uncondusive for farming activities with the claim that the Fulani came and met them and don't own land<sup>60</sup>. This uncompromising situation often provoked boundary mutations.

### **E. The Absence of Diseases and Cattle Control Rules**

The duration of Fulani in a place was equally piloted by the outbreak of diseases. They believed that cementing themselves in a place for long could render cattle susceptible to cattle diseases. As a result, they were constantly on a move to preserve their cattle from poor health conditions. The ventilation of cattle diseases from Darfu to Chad in 1886 and Nigeria led to the decimation of cattle. Fulani had to lose some of their wealth. This took them to the Adamawa Region of Cameroon<sup>61</sup>. At Adamawa, conditions soon indicated that they had to emigrate. This was seen as there was a reinderpest outbreak in 1913<sup>62</sup>. This reinder pest was referred to as *Gamari*, an Hausa word which denotes its wide ventilation nature.

They then moved to the Bamenda Grassland and their ever moving culture took them to our area of study. This goes to confirm what Fung holds as he declared that some Fulani with their animals left the Sabga settlement and headed to join those in Wum, Bafmeng, Esu and Kuk. This was probably because the areas were void of cattle diseases such as reinderpest, trypanocide among others. The areas were also endowed with competent veterinary officers such as J. C. Kangkolo<sup>63</sup>. It should also be highlighted that the absence of stealing equally brought the Fulani to Menchum. While at Munchi, the indigenes there did not only prove to be hostile to the Fulani, given that their cattle often destroyed their crops, but also stole the cattle of Fulani. This encouraged them to leave the area.

Again, oral sources hold that salt is a basic commodity desperately needed by cattle. Before the outbreak of the First World War, Fulani highly depended on the supplies of potash from Northern Nigeria to feed their cattle with. This was no longer the case as these supplies

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<sup>60</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", p. 86.

<sup>61</sup>Awasom, "The Hausa and Fulani in the Bamenda Grasslands, 1903-1960", p.66.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71.

<sup>63</sup> Fung, "The Origin and Evolution of Pastoral Agricultural Conflict", p. 48.

were interrupted, given the negative effects of the First World War<sup>64</sup>. The Fulani were now left with no choice than to look for a more convenient environment that contains springs. They also searched for areas blessed with sodium chloride. Information gotten from field reveals that when cattle consume salt in the appropriate quantity, they are able to maintain their appetite and body weight gained in heifers and stockers thereby promoting faster growth. A substitute of sodium chloride in Menchum was elephant stock which was dotted here and there. The consumption of the stems of these elephant stocks equally furnished cattle sodium chloride that is vital for muscle, nerve and immune system functions, healthy coat and sound reproductive health. With these rich resources at hand, the Fulani could not procrastinate their movement into the Menchum community.

The year 1947 is regarded as a landmark as far as the history of Fulani implantation in the Menchum area is concerned. This is because basic rules to control the movement of cattle in the Bamenda Grassland were enacted by Native Authorities. This was aimed at regulating the movement of cattle and limiting them to specific zones. There is no need to narrate that the random displacement of cattle had a negative effect on pasture, precipitated erosion and made things difficult for the British administration to collect taxes, administer the Fulani or fully involve them in any development project.

Following the CCRs, grazing lands were equally issued which depicted their limits. These permits were only issued to the Ardors who umbrella a number of graziers. The digestion and application of these CCRs insinuated that the Fulani had to practice transhumance. It was equally learnt that the idea of CCRs resulted from the compromise reached by Kelly Kwala, Keba'a Mbong and Bah Mbi (traditional rulers of the Aghem Federation) with Major walters, to settle cattle Fulani nomads<sup>65</sup>. In effect, more Fulani arrived in Menchum from Adamawa of Cameroon and Nigeria where they settled in Bafmeng , Nyos, Abar, Fungom, Esu among others. Other New areas shortlisted to harbor the new comers included Tai-muambo and Samgwa<sup>66</sup>.

It should be made clear that these grazing permits offered a green light for the Fulani to have certain rights over the grazing lands indicated on their permits. This inadvertently encouraged the Fulani to go closer to the indigenes as they felt overwhelmed. This motivated

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<sup>64</sup> Tem, "Local Government in Wum Division 1946-1972: Evolution and Socio-Economic Developments", Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, University of Yaounde 1, 2011, pp.230-231.

<sup>65</sup> Fung, "The Origin and Evolution of Pastoral Agricultural Conflict", p. 53.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

the Fulani who had already implanted themselves in the area to invite their relatives elsewhere. In this connection, a new group of Fulani rearers under the control of Ardor Umaru left Northern Nigeria and made their way in the Wum Community in the early 1950s<sup>67</sup>. They arrived Menchum through Akwaya and passed through Essimbi where they first settled at Waindo. They later spread to Kesu and other areas thereby gradually invading a significant portion and implanting themselves<sup>68</sup>.

## **II. Bases of Boundary Dynamics**

This section of the work accounts for boundary dynamics in our area of discussion taking into consideration the physical and or natural factors: population growth, search for grazing land, Transhumance and the search for pasture. The examination of these factors will be seen in the subsequent paragraphs.

### **A. Natural Factors: Population Growth**

Population in the Menchum Community was a source of hegemony. Villages in the area projected the growth in population and prepared for the challenges that came with such an increase. The search for land and its acquisition characterized relations among villages in the Menchum area and also served as a source of leadership<sup>69</sup>. Demographic changes have over the years played a great role in promoting boundary dynamics in Cameroon and the North-West Region in particular where our area of study is found. These changes were caused by a high birth rate, low death rate and net migration in Menchum Division<sup>70</sup>.

It should be recalled that the presence of Fulani and their attitude of not educating their children formally; promoting early marriages, getting married to more than a wife among others in the Menchum area resulted in an increase in Fulani population. Again, due to proceeds from the sale of their cattle, the Fulani got married to many wives, an aspect of their culture. The result of this was an increase in the number of births. As far as the death rate was concerned among the Fulani, this decreased, especially due to the establishment of Wum Area Development Authority (WADA). Before WADA, the Fulani in the Menchum area suffered from low standards of living due to inadequate resources and deplorable conditions.

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<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> Njoh, "Struggle for Traditional Leadership amongst the Chieftdoms", p. 33.

<sup>70</sup> Interview with John Tang, 80 Years, Notable, Nyos, 04/06/2018.

So, the coming of WADA with its health services greatly reduced the mortality rate, especially among the youths<sup>71</sup>. This also resulted to an increase in population which was not accompanied by an increase in land. The Fulani were now compelled to settle alongside the indigenous population there by crossing boundaries.

Also, the area was characterized by an increase in the number of immigrants, many of whom were returned indigenes from the South West Region. This is because most African migrants do not completely cut off from their homes. They maintain ties with their roots. Most of them have it in mind that they will one day return home if what pushed them out is regularized especially in the domain of jobs<sup>72</sup>. This was seen especially with contending job seekers. It should be noted that many people who left the area as a result of unemployment returned immediately after the creation of WADA. They preferred to work in their area of origin than outside on a comparatively lower wage because the ancestral village remains “home” For instance, John Toh, Miah Kong among others left their jobs in the Cameroon Development Corporation (C.D.C.) in the South West Region to return home and work in WADA<sup>73</sup>.

As earlier mentioned, not only did the indigenous population increase, but also that of the Fulani. This was because WADA recruited many of them to handle special programs such as ploughing the farm using cattle. This enabled them to sell their cattle and milk to the cheese industry opened and operated by WADA. As a result of this, some embraced a sedentary live and invited others elsewhere to come and settle in the area rather than wonder from place to place in search of pastoral land<sup>74</sup>. Population pressure on the available land became acute and caused diminishing returns to agricultural production. This increase in the number of people posed a threat to available resources in the study area, thereby pushing people to cross boundaries. This view holds true with the words of Njoh Norbert as he states that:

The consequence of increase in population in the Menchum Area abound. Competition between the different human activities like farming, grazing and settlement was very evident. This was because there

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<sup>71</sup> Kum, “The Cameroon-German Technical Cooperation for Menchum Division, 1965-1994”, DEA Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaounde 1, 2007, p. 10.

<sup>72</sup> J. T. Teke, “Role of North-West Region out Migrants to the Cameroon Development Cooperation (C.D.C) and Palmol Plantations of the South West Region of Cameroon in the Development of their Areas of Origin”, PhD Thesis, Department of Geography, University of Yaounde 1, 2010, p. 110.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

was a corresponding increase in the depletion of natural resources at a rate superior to that of its replacement. This trend influence and determines the spatial distribution of the Menchum population<sup>75</sup>.

This made the population of Menchum communities to witness fluctuations as shown on the table below.

**Table 5: Spatial Population Distribution in the Menchum Community in1994**

| <b>Villages</b> | <b>Total population</b> | <b>Percent</b> | <b>Male</b>  | <b>Percent</b> | <b>Female</b> | <b>Percent</b> |
|-----------------|-------------------------|----------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|
| Aghem           | 25,961                  | 19.7           | 973          | 37.5           | 16218         | 62.4           |
| Bu              | 7,926                   | 6.0            | 2336         | 29.4           | 5590          | 70.5           |
| Benakuma        | 9920                    | 7.7            | 3947         | 39.7           | 5973          | 60.2           |
| Essimbi         | 10887                   | 8.2            | 4532         | 41.6           | 6355          | 58.3           |
| Beba-Befang     | 11933                   | 9.04           | 5833         | 48.8           | 6100          | 51.1           |
| Modelle         | 8441                    | 6.4            | 3831         | 45.3           | 4610          | 54.6           |
| Mukuru          | 3181                    | 2.4            | 1321         | 41.5           | 1860          | 58.4           |
| Weh             | 15983                   | 8.3            | 7766         | 48.5           | 8217          | 51.9           |
| Esu             | 15827                   | 10.5           | 5124         | 32.3           | 10126         | 63.9           |
| Bafmeng         | 15679                   | 8.1            | 6064         | 38.6           | 8215          | 52.3           |
| Fru-Awa         | 1231                    | 0.9            | 657          | 53.3           | 574           | 46.6           |
| Fulani          | 7005                    | 5.3            | 4456         | 63.3           | 2549          | 36.6           |
| <b>Total</b>    | <b>131,987</b>          |                | <b>55610</b> |                | <b>76377</b>  |                |

Source: Njoh, “Struggle for Traditional Leadership”, p. 37.

Reading from table 5, we can observe that the population of the female outnumbered that of the male. This offered a favourable ground for the persistent increase of population in the area. The data on the table equally depicts that majority of the inhabitants Menchum Division reside in rural areas where the main economic activity is farming with high demands for land.

<sup>75</sup> Njoh, “Struggle for Traditional Leadership”, p. 34.

**Table 6: Population Growth Rate of Menchum Communities, 1976-2015**

| <b>Year</b> | <b>Population</b> | <b>Increase</b> | <b>Percentage Increase</b> |
|-------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|
| 1976        | 113.000           |                 |                            |
| 1977        | 114.848           | 1848            | 1.6                        |
| 1978        | 116.258           | 1410            | 1.6                        |
| 1979        | 117.666           | 1408            | 1.1                        |
| 1980        | 118.069           | 1403            | 1.1                        |
| 1981        | 119.917           | 1848            | 1.5                        |
| 1982        | 120.809           | 1892            | 1.5                        |
| 1983        | 122.707           | 1898            | 1.5                        |
| 1984        | 123.630           | 1923            | 1.5                        |
| 1985        | 124.616           | 1986            | 1.5                        |
| 1986        | 124957            | 2341            | 1.8                        |
| 1987        | 131987            | 7030            | 5.3                        |
| 1995        | 132214            | 9237            | 6.9                        |
| 2000        | 143435            | 11221           | 7.8                        |
| 2005        | 154.255           | 10820           | 7.0                        |
| 2010        | 170.186           | 15931           | 9.2                        |
| 2015        | 191.437           | 21251           | 11.9                       |

**Source:** Njoh, “Struggle for Traditional Leadership”, p. 39.

Table 6 above illustrates that the population of Menchum Division was constantly changing. This was due to the constant influx of the Fulani. Again, given that the majority of the population was the womenfolk, the population was bound to be on a steady increase.

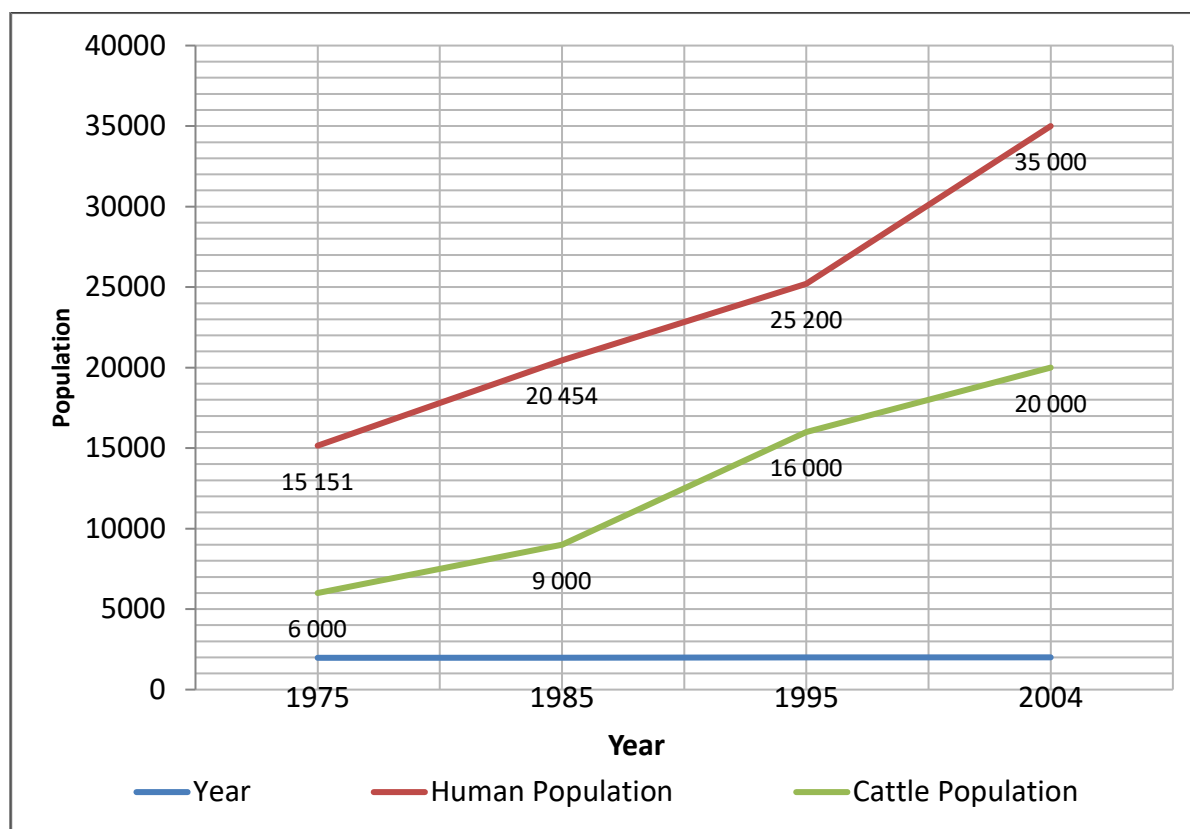
There is no doubt that over time, a pattern of symbolic relationships developed between the indigenous population and Fulani, such as the bartering of goods and services, as well as sharing space, to ensure better living conditions in the fairly capricious, sub-humid and semi-arid climate in the Menchum area. This in one way or the other led to an increase in population over land triggering them to look for better and convenient locations on which to settle thereby moving beyond community lands. According to Mohamadou, there has been an increasing population of Menchum Division with land remaining constant. Many Fulani continued to occupy the area following the information furnished them that the area is rich in pasture and had vast lands. He asserted that:

when the Fulani arrived in the Menchum Division, they initially settled in confined zones. After some time, the number of graziers and cattle increased as those who arrived earlier found favourable conditions and invited others. At the same time, the sedentary population grew and the demographic

pressure and exploitation of new soils necessitated the occupation of other space in order to compensate the demographic pressure<sup>76</sup>.

This means that when the Fulani started entering Menchum Division, land was sufficient for both communities since their total population was minimal. But as time went by, the indigenous population and that of the Fulani increased including that of cattle, while land remained constant. This therefore compelled the Fulani especially to cross boundaries in search of lucrative patches out of their community land. They moved away from locations that lacked sufficient pasture as a result of over grazing stemming from demographic changes to more conducive sites. This transformed nuclei which became agro-pastoral and miniature sites that could not adequately satisfy the galloping natural resources exigencies of the population.<sup>77</sup> The fact that population growth promoted boundary dynamics in Menchum Division cannot be over emphasized.

**Figure 1: Cattle and Human Population Changes in Aghem, 1975-2005**



Source: Fung, “The Farmer-Grazier Conflict in the Aghem Federation”, p. 43.

From diagram 1, we can learn that both the number of cattle and human population was on a steady increase while land remained constant, and only traditional methods were

<sup>76</sup> Muhamadou, “The Advent, Organisation and Integration of the Fulani”, p. 56.

<sup>77</sup> Q. S. Tankie, “Dynamics of Grazing land and the Adaptation of Pastoralists in the Sabga-Bamunka Area”, Masters of Arts Dissertation, Department of Geography, University of Yaounde 1, 2016, p. 66.



used for both cattle rearing and the cultivation of crops thereby inadvertently fanning encroachment of cattle into farmland. This was as a consequence of increasing scarcity of land for settlement, farming and grazing.

## **J. Cattle Control Rules**

Examining land issues in a typical traditional African setting like Menchum Division, where its indigenes are regarded as “landlords” that is, those who claim ownership over land and exert economic and political control over it. On the other hand the Fulani or herders, considered as the “landless” group, those who do not own the land they use. In many countries in Africa, pastoralism is not legally recognized as being productive in the use of land (*mise en valeur*) and as a result, land has been expropriated by the state and marginalized in favour of agricultural use<sup>78</sup>.

As Patience Munge observes, land ownership is often the primary cause of boundary dynamics given that the survival of most Cameroonians depends on it, struggles for its control engage people at all rungs of society<sup>79</sup>. She further buttresses that, land is a very strategic socio-economic asset, which implies that competition over its acquisition is often vigorous almost everywhere in Cameroon and the North West Region in which our study area is found. This is so because wealth and survival are measured in terms of ownership of land. Since land is a resource of limited quantity and one of the most basic needs in life, the Fulani in our area of study were in a permanent search of it to contend their cattle. In most cases, they trespassed the boundaries allocated them by traditional authorities. It is thus maintained that land was a root cause of boundary dynamic in Menchum Division.

The desperate need of land to graze cattle by the Fulani offered a green light for boundary dynamics in the area under review. Information gathered from the field has it that, pastoralists or Fulani used force or wealth to chase out farmers from their fertile farmlands<sup>80</sup>. As a result of this, farmers were bound to abandon their farmlands and search for other fertile soils. In most cases, farmers went beyond their communities. This was just in order to avoid

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<sup>78</sup> Muhamadou, “The Advent, Organisation and Integration of the Fulani”, p. 56.

<sup>79</sup> P. M. Sone, “Conflict Over landownership: The Case of Farmers and Cattle Graziers in the North-West Region of Cameroon”, Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of Law, University of Buea, 2009, p. 83.

<sup>80</sup> Interview with Ntuhsen John Toh.

an atmosphere of animosity<sup>81</sup>. This case has been very prevalent in Kuk where some farmers from Bafmeng depend solely on its soil.

This situation compelled the victims (the indigenous migrant farmers) to play an active role in the development of both communities. (That is, their home community and that which they did farming) by making annual financial contributions through development associations. This money was provided by their earnings in the various cultivated crops such as maize, plantains, beans among others. This was a pecuniary burden to some of them. Thus, bearing in mind the socio-economic significance of land, it was not surprising that intercommunity boundary dynamics were occasioned by inequitable control over land in Menchum Division.

Again, the struggle over land as an economic stratagem in Menchum Division is quite evident in nursing boundary dynamics. It should be noted that the scarcity of farmlands resulted in the blockage of drinking water sources to cattle. In the dry season, cattle were led to any available water point, which were often the low-land areas. Indigenes did also at the same time engage in nursing their crops along the same water points because of dryness of upland areas. As a result, cattle destroyed crops thereby provoking farmers to search for better sites even out of their community land<sup>82</sup>. The struggle by the farmers to appropriate land in order to guarantee self-group survival engendered boundary dynamics, resulting from Fulani presence.

Furthermore, the presence of Fulani in our area of study in the early decades of our time frame did not provoke great changes on boundaries. This was because land ownership or clemency by the Fulani was uncommon. Graziers grazed their cattle in their surroundings, often federal land. They usually grazed an area sufficiently before searching for another (not at the farmers 'inconveniences')<sup>83</sup>. It was partly on this basis that they never had permanent settlements. Following the vast nature of land coupled with the fact that local administrators welcomed them in grand style, they invited their brothers elsewhere to come and occupy idle lands. Soon after, the land became overcrowded and the pasture rapidly depleted. Land now became limited to satisfy both the indigenes and Fulani. In order to resolve this problem, graziers were bound to pasture out of their confined zones.

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<sup>81</sup> Interview with Che Peter Ngem, Teacher/Farmer, 76 Years, Bafmeng, 04/06/2021.

<sup>82</sup> Interview with Tela Tena, 95 Years, Notable, Bafmeng, 04/06/2018.

<sup>83</sup> *Idem*.

Again, at infancy stage when the indigenes started noticing a rise in their population which brought about a decrease in farmland, they started establishing farms in footpaths of cows. This did not however pose a problem because they constructed powerful stock pens. This situation changed later on when they started constructing weak fences with the use of materials like sticks and bamboos. Given that hunger is something uncontrollable by cattle, the fences had to be broken by cows and fed on the crops cultivated by the indigenes<sup>84</sup>. This was something strange in the land. In some cases, these fences fell off themselves owing to pressure from harmatan wind. In this light, the crops became prey to cattle. In some cases, resulting from weak fences, cattle broke through them and cause havoc in the farms. This resulted in confrontations between the indigenes and the Fulani which was something uncommon in the area<sup>85</sup>.

### **c. The Search for Pasture**

When cattle graze on a piece of land for a long time, the area becomes barren, since nearly every pasture is consumed. This offers a green light to the Fulani to search for other areas rich in pasture to feed their cattle. It is worthy of note that the increase in cattle population (45560 cattle in 1970 and 127420 cattle 1995), greatly reduced the availability of pasture on hill tops in Fungom, Esu, Bafmeng, Kung<sup>86</sup>. This was coupled with the fact that graziers never wanted to graze in low land areas, where the indigenes did their farming. In respect to this, they were bound to encroach into lands not belonging to them to graze their cattle. For instance, the *Ardor* in Bafmeng (Haro Harmajam) grazed on both Bafmeng and Kuk land. This was due to the limited pasture available in Bafmeng to contend his cattle<sup>87</sup>.

Moreover, overgrazing which leads to erosion often renders low output for farmers. The destruction of crops often cause farmers to search for means to compensate the losses by expanding their farms and creating new ones indiscriminately, without taking into account the need for community boundaries. This is more serious when one considers the fact that crop cultivation is the principal means of subsistence and source of employment in the study area. The destruction of staple food crops like maize, coco yams, beans as well as cash crops

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<sup>84</sup> Interview with Alhaji Alabi.

<sup>85</sup> Interview with Akum Chrisantus Mtam.

<sup>86</sup> R. A. Mbih, "Effects of Degraded Grazing Reserves in Mezam Ngoketunja Division, North West Region, Cameroon", Masters of Arts Dissertation, Department of Geography, University of Yaounde 1, 2009, p. 65.

<sup>87</sup> Interview with Akum Chrisantus Mtam.

such as tomatoes, huckleberry among others result in low output. This situation was very prevalent in our area of study and the Fulani were held responsible for them<sup>88</sup>.

Again, over grazing rendered the soil susceptible to erosion. Field observations reveal that almost all the Fulani in our study area directly or indirectly exploited the soils in different ways for cattle grazing. These cattle were in turn, sold for cash incomes, poverty alleviation and improvement in social welfare. In efforts to attain these goals, Fulani had to seriously degrade the soils by grazing cattle in a land than its carrying capacity<sup>89</sup>. In order to avoid this situation, the Fulani were left with no choice than to trespass boundaries in search for pasture elsewhere to feed their cattle. Aladji Labi settled in Kuk was noted for having cattle in Nyos for the sake of pasture<sup>90</sup>.

Ojuku adds that, torrential rainfall in the dry season results in water erosion. He further observed that, along the furrows of ridges for eight days, 9998.4g of material on surface of 39.01m<sup>2</sup> is lost. This is evident of soil erosion resulting from over grazing. There were similar cases in our area of study caused by the Fulani. One of our informants, Nji Evelyne Njang lamented that:

Many soils in the area that were formerly rich in fertility no longer possess these resources in abundance. Crops grown in the soils no longer generate high yields except the application of soil additives (gamaline, Dieldrine, Engrais) or the burning of cleared vegetation which are detrimental to soil organisms that build up the soil. This can only help to increase the yield at a short run but at a long run, the soil becomes unproductive<sup>91</sup>.

Teke in the same connection confirms that the burning of cleared vegetation only provides a temporal increase in food production<sup>92</sup>. The greater fragmentation of agricultural land becomes common as the population continue to increase while land remains constant. This therefore endangers the soils for future use. Thus, in order to attend to this problem, the Fulani are bound to encroach into neighbouring village land thereby bridging their boundaries<sup>93</sup>.

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<sup>88</sup> T. Ojuku, "Dynamics and Impact of Vegetable Cash Income Population Movements in the Bamboutos Highlands of Cameroon, 1960s-2005", PhD Thesis, Department of Geography, University of Yaounde1, 2005, p. 334.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>90</sup> Interview with Alhaji Alabi.

<sup>91</sup> Interview with Nji Evelyne Njang, Farmer, 66 Years, Kung, 06/06/2021.

<sup>92</sup> Teke, "Role of North West Region out Migrants", p. 118.

<sup>93</sup> Interview with AKum Chrisantus Mtam.

#### d. Transhumance

Transhumance is the cyclical seasonal movement of herds in synchrony with rainfall regime, in order to exploit the forage and temporal water resources in an agrarian area whose stock men have the technical mastery by certain custom rights<sup>94</sup>. This shows very clearly that the role of water in provoking boundary dynamics remains indispensable. It is simply the seasonal migration of livestock farmers (some members of the family) and their herds. They leave the territory in which the majority of the family is permanently settled to join different territories (of transit, host or destination) in order to access better resources such as water, pasture, vast lands and trade. This is done taking into consideration the possible means of minimizing the socio-economic risks. Based on information gathered from the field, it is obvious that there exist several types and factors that account for transhumance in our area of study. But we are going to focus on the factors (water, trade, pasture and vast lands) revealed by a majority of our informants<sup>95</sup>.

As earlier noted in previous paragraphs, the search for pasture to feed cattle by the Fulani accounts for transhumance in our area of study. Abdoulayi Lawan<sup>96</sup> explained that transhumance is characterized by short movements and a total length of stay not exceeding four months. He further buttressed that, it is on one hand aimed at accessing better pasture in the dry season and on the other hand to liberate saturated farming areas during the wet season. This is also intended to reduce farmer/grazier conflicts. This was confirmed by the fact that Amadou Njango<sup>97</sup> always displaced Bonkooso (a quarter in Bafmeng) to Kuk in the month of November and stayed up to October in order to allow indigenous farmers in Bafmeng who faced the problem of soil fertility and scarcity to have enough space to cultivate their vegetables. Plate four below shows cattle taken from Bafmeng to kuk orchestrated by the search for pasture.

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<sup>94</sup> J. Boutrais, *Etude d'une Zone de Transhumance-la Plaine de Ndop*. Yaounde, ORSTOM, 1974, p. 231.

<sup>95</sup> Interview with Ngong Peter Kam, 68 Years, Farmer/Trader, Fungom, 07/06/2018.

<sup>96</sup> Interview with Abdoulayi Lawan, 37 Years, Grazier, Bafmeng, 15/08/2021.

<sup>97</sup> Interview with Amadou Njango, 57 Years, *Ngainakoh*, Kuk, 15/08/2020.

**Plate 4: A Conducive Vegetation for Cattle**



**Source: Photo taken by Author, Kuk, December 17, 2022.**

Plate 4 above shows that the kuk community was evergreen and therefore conducive for cattle grazing all year round. This explains why the number of cattle usually increase in the place during dry season. These cattle were brought in from areas where there was shortage of pasture during the dry season.

Amadou Dibo<sup>98</sup> equally revealed that he used to leave Fungom to Abar in the dry season. This was because Abar harboured more than enough pasture comparatively to that of Fungom during the dry season. AmidouYaya in Ibolem on his part opines that, during dry seasons, Ibolem was overcrowded with graziers, so he took some of his father's cattle to Nyos. Thus, from a critical look of things, it will not be wrong to say that transhumance in our study area was carried out for varied reasons. When this happened, herders and some of their family members who travelled to tend the cattle associated with indigenes in host communities. In cases where transits were done, friendly or cordial relationships were created. Logically, it will be of no use to restate that the search for pasture provoked boundary dynamics in our study area.

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<sup>98</sup> Interview with Amadou Dibo, 39 Years, Grazier, Fungom, 07/06/2021.

Correlatively linked to the foregoing view is the fact that the hunt for water by Fulani graziers is a tangible reason for boundary dynamics in our area of study. Transhumance from its definition is the seasonal migration of livestock farmers (some members of the family) and their herds. This is confirmed by the fact that during dry seasons, the vegetation of hilly locations got heavily consumed by cattle thereby leaving the area bare and void of green vegetation. Again, the tremendous sun shine witnessed during the dry period limited the availability of water for cattle. This posed a serious problem to the Fulani graziers because cattle cannot do well without drinking water to ease digestion.

The repercussions of this situation were loss of weight by cattle. This implied that, the price of the cattle would drop if taken to the market for sale. This also affected the income of graziers. In order to avoid this situation, Fulani graziers were compelled to search for means to compensate the losses by migrating to low land areas where water was relatively available. This was usually done without taking into consideration the need for community boundaries. It was partly for this reason that Njango practiced transhumance in Menchum Division. Thus, transhumance from all indications triggered boundary dynamics in the Menchum area.

Transhumance as earlier mentioned also resulted from the scarcity of land during particular periods of the year. This is to say that the population of cattle at times exerted pressure on land. It should be made clear that the population of Fulani graziers have tremendously been on a steady increase over the past years in the Menchum Division. This situation is usually associated to numerous setbacks such as overcrowding which brings about limited pasture, outbreak of diseases such as the foot-and-mouth which took their toll on the cattle population<sup>99</sup>.

This is a similar case in the Menchum community especially in the Fungom area where the Fungom village is overcrowded, facing the problem of shortage of water and limited space to graze cattle. It is for this reason that most Fulani in the Kunshing community established cordial relationships with the indigenous population of Abar community. This was because the Abar village was comparatively conducive for grazing during the dry season than Kunshing. It should be noted that the Fungom area witnessed an increase in population with the entry of Fulani into the area. This was due to the favorable conditions they noticed in

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<sup>99</sup> H. W. Mairom, "Human Encroachment into Grazing and Rangelands: A Case study of Rangeland Improvement in Jakiri Sub-Division", Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of Geograhpy, University of Yaounde 1, 2011, p. 66.

the environment. The result of this was the over population of Fulani graziers in the stand still land. In other words, as time passed, the available surface on hilly and rugged areas started shrinking in the division.

This encouraged them to develop a strategy to combat the negative effects they might incur from overcrowding. Thus, transhumance was bound to also be practiced as a means to resolve the problem of over population. Once the Fulani graziers noticed that the surface had become over crowded or the livestock population exerted pressure on the carrying capacity, their next reflection was to search for other convenient land. This was intended to give a better feeding and health for their cattle which was their principal source of income. In most cases, in the area under review, this was done without taking into consideration community boundaries. It was partly for this reason that Tryself Ntam<sup>100</sup> refused a Fulani to settle on his land without his authorization.

## **B. Human Factors**

Apart from the geographical factors that provoked changes on boundaries, there existed human factors which equally triggered boundary dynamics in Menchum Division. Some of these were: Modern governance, Land Laws, Justice System, Community development and Cultural associations. This was greatly due to the presence of the Fulani in our area of discussion as show cased below.

### **a. Modern Governance System**

The degeneration of European diplomacy in the Balkans in 1914 resulted in a massive war known as the First World War. This war spread from Europe to other parts of the world and Africa in particular (especially in German territories overseas including Kamerun). After the counter offensive of the allied powers on the German forces in Kamerun ending with the victory of the latter, the Germans were chased out of the territory in 1916<sup>101</sup>. The victorious powers, notably Britain and France were immediately faced with the problem of the welfare and future of the territory. A transitional period of joint administration known as the condominium was proposed by France and accepted by Britain in January 1915 in the course of which both powers worked out details for a permanent administration. This culminated in

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<sup>100</sup> Interview with HRH Tryself Ntam, 95 Years, *Fon*, Kuk, 14/06/2017.

<sup>101</sup> Fanso, *Cameroon History for Secondary Schools*, p. 200.



the march 4, 1916 partition of the territory into French and British spheres, to allow each occupying power administer in its best suitable way in line with instructions from the League of Nations<sup>102</sup>.

Britain got a portion of disjointed land adjacent to its Nigerian colony. With a provisional administration under General Charles Dubell who led the war operations in Kamerun, Britain proceeded to split its sphere into Northern and Southern Cameroons and attached to both Northern and Eastern Nigeria respectively<sup>103</sup>. This was in line with article nine of the 1922 mandate agreement which gave Britain the latitude to decide on how to administer the territory. Southern Cameroons under which Menchum Division fell remained with no definite administration until 1922 when Lord Frederick Lugard<sup>104</sup> introduced the policy of Indirect Rule, the British system of administration. The Indirect Rule was aimed at administering the people through their traditional political institutions. In order to implement this policy, the British carried out studies aimed at identifying the indigenous political institutions of the people.

Law and order was maintained by village heads. In Menchum Division, there were paramount chiefs, whose assistants were designated by the Native Authorities (N.As) and Native courts (N.Cs) for their respective areas. Native Authorities were responsible for collecting taxes, the amount of which was determined by the British colonial administration. In fact, the native authorities acted as legislative bodies<sup>105</sup>. It should be reiterated that before the advent of Fulani, agriculture was the principal economic activity in our study area. As time went by, the Fulani penetrated with cattle into this predominantly agricultural area due to its conducive climate and vegetation. However, their massive entry did not cause any change on the boundaries of the area. This was probably because the Fulani leaders humbly submitted themselves to the indigenes. The indigenes treated them as aliens and there was no objection from them<sup>106</sup>. Again, boundaries did not change at that time because the village heads and *Ardors* met at appropriate periods to resolve differences between the indigenes and the Fulani.

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<sup>102</sup> V. J. Ngoh, *Constitutional Development in Southern Cameroons 1945-1916*, Yaounde, Ceper, 1990, p. 12.

<sup>103</sup> Ngoh, *History of Cameroon since 1800*, Limbe, Pressbook limited, 1996, p. 168.

<sup>104</sup> Frederick Lord Lugard, was a British imperialist and colonial administrator in Africa. He made significant contributions to the theory and practice of Indirect Rule.

<sup>105</sup> T. Eyongetah and R. Brain, *A History of the Cameroon*, p. 93.

<sup>106</sup> Interview with Che Julius Kah, 53 Years, Farmer, Fungom, 07/06/2021.

However, British administrators failed to inculcate the idea of co-existence into the indigenes or make them understand the benefits of mixed farming by putting cow dung into use. This only contributed to maintaining initial boundaries that existed in our area of study. Following the enormous contribution of the Fulani to the revenue of British administration, they decided to sympathize with them thereby gradually paving the way to boundary dynamics. British administrators were inclined to considering the Fulani as an integral part of the indigenous population, entitled to fair treatment, which was not the case before. In the same capacity, Awasom highlights the attitude of the British administration towards the Fulani in the Bamenda Grassfields, where our study area is found. He states that: “God has given you people unlimited land. The Fulani, some of whom are born here, are entitled to grazing lands and must not be viewed as aliens. The administration would, however, ensure a fair distribution of land and bring farmers/grazier conflict under control”.<sup>107</sup>

From the foregoing phrase, it was clear that boundaries were bound to be dynamised as a result of the British administrative system. Their decision of sharing the land between indigenous and the Fulani depicted their degree of attachment to the Fulani and their wealth. What accounted for this attitude could therefore be the income they received from the Fulani cattle industry as thus contributed enormously to the economy.

The British system of administration was also regarded as a collective factor for inter community boundary dynamics in our study area. This was confirmed by the fact that, it was reluctant to fully implement the N.A grazing order. It should be noted that before the British, the indigenes had their ways of distributing or obtaining land. Based on our investigations from the field, an indigene was a person born of a parent who originated from the area in which he lived. In this capacity, the Fulani were not supposed to be treated equally as indigenes because they came from Nigeria (they are indigenes of Nigeria). According to Amang Pius Zefang, only an indigene was qualified to own land in our area of study<sup>108</sup>.

The Fulani were aliens and so, they had no right over land. For Ngong Moses Achia<sup>109</sup> and Nji Fidelis Ngoh<sup>110</sup>, all lands in our study area, whether occupied or not, belonged to the indigenes with the exception of some government owned lands. Susana Chou Bih equally added that for a non-indigene to obtain land in our area of study, he or she had to

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<sup>107</sup> Awasom, “The Hausa and Fulani in the Bamenda Grasslands 1903-1960”, p.161.

<sup>108</sup> Interview with Amang Pius, 88 Years, Notable, Bafmeng, 14/06/2021.

<sup>109</sup> Interview with Ngong Moses Achia, 40 Years, Teacher, Kuk, 10/07/2021.

<sup>110</sup> Interview with Nji Fidelis Ngoh, 41 Years, Councilor, Kuk, 10/08/2021.

fulfill all the land laws as demanded by the customs of the land. But British administrators were reluctant to fully embrace the C.C.R. proposed by the indigenes. They believed it was tantamount to recognizing and hindering land rights to the Fulani, and that was beyond their competence<sup>111</sup>.

According to Awasom, British administrators were reluctant to implement the C.C.Rs because they were only going to render the area void of its wealth. This was because the Fulani could massively move out of the area. The British later implemented the C.C.Rs, committing the rules of entry and stay under the Divisional Officer (D.O.) and N.As, it had some limitations which favoured boundary dynamics in the area. This was confirmed by the fact that *Ardors* were charged with the duty of notifying the British administration about the movement of cattle in and out of the sub-division. Indigenes began to wonder and clamour for the right to play this role of the *Ardor* because it was their land. When one critically looks at our study area, especially, Kuk considered as the “round about” of our study area, it will be confusing to see an *Ardor* in Weh controlling Fulani in Kuk. This is the same scenario with *Ardor* Hamajam in Bafmeng who is in charge of Fulani affairs in Kuk. These have only led to inter community boundary dynamics in our study area.

The British administration further encouraged boundary dynamics in our study area in that they shifted the duty of tax collection from local chiefs to *Ardors*, who were hitherto subjected to the control of the landlords. Though local chiefs did not intervene in the internal affairs of the Fulani, they were charged with the duty of collecting jangali tax. The jangali tax is one of the many taxes that was used by the administration to generate revenue. Due to the persisting increase of cattle population, the British colonial administration introduced the tax in British and southern Cameroons where Menchum Division is found<sup>112</sup>. This tax was also called the cattle head tax, since it was paid by the cattle owner for each cattle owned.

The strategy used by the chiefs to collect this tax was by head count of cattle. Chiefs were compensated with ten percentage of the total amount collected. British administrators were charged with the duty of supervising the chiefs. This was to ensure efficiency in tax collection. As time went by, the Fulani expressed unwillingness to give the acute number of cattle. This was because they wanted to be in position of tax collection. The British administration addressed the problem by sharing the ten percentage bonus between the *Ardor*

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<sup>111</sup> Awasom, “The Hausa and Fulani in the Bamenda Grasslands 1903-1960”, p. 177.

<sup>112</sup> Karh, “Cattle Economy in Wum Area 1940-2010”, p. 44.

and the chiefs. This was to encourage both the Fulani and indigenes to put in all their efforts in collecting the tax. It was under this umbrella that the chief was encouraged with the Fulani under their jurisdiction to persuade their brothers elsewhere to come and occupy idle lands. This was due to the profit they made from the collection of taxes<sup>113</sup>. The result of this was an increase in cattle population which automatically resulted to an increase in the revenue as illustrated on table 7

**Table 7: The Evolution of Jangali Tax in Menchum Division between 1995 and 2011**

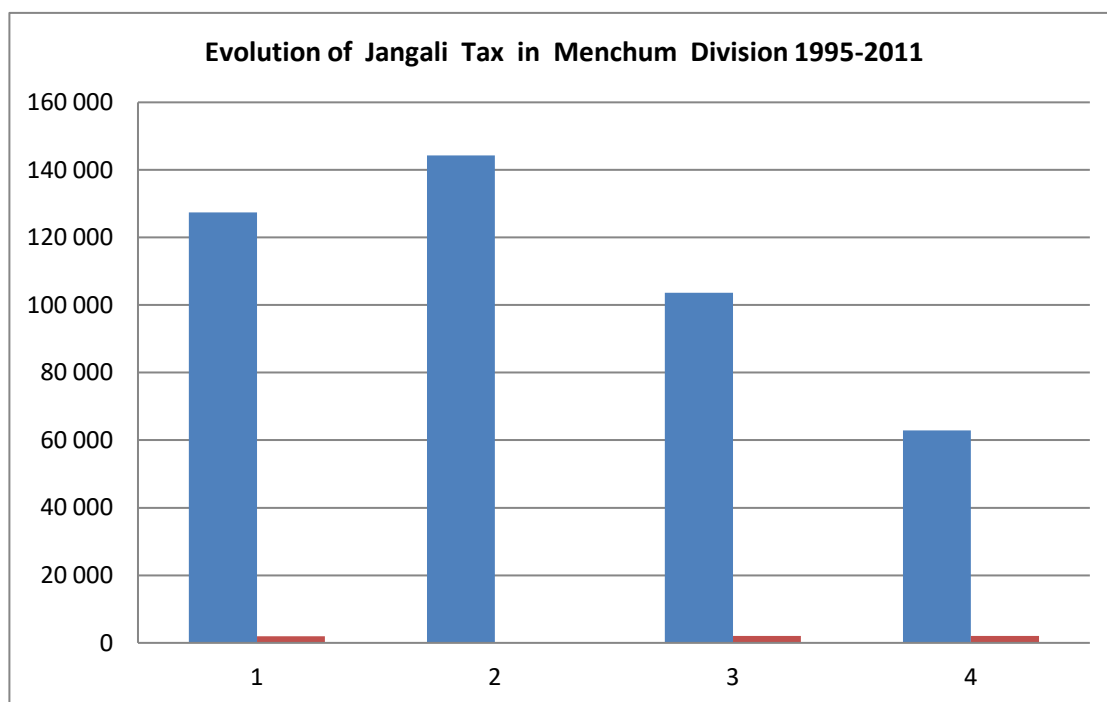
| <b>Year</b> | <b>Official cattle population</b> | <b>Estimated amount/ Francs CFA</b> |
|-------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1995        | 127420                            | 25484000                            |
| 2000        | 144330                            | 28866000                            |
| 2005        | 103610                            | 20722000                            |
| 2011        | 62920                             | 18876600                            |

**Source: Author's conception based on DAW.**

From table 7 and figure (diagram) 2 below, we can observe that there was an increase in the number of cattle from 1995 to 2011. The table also illustrates the amount collected based on the cattle population, with 25 484 000 on 1274420 in 1995, 28866000 on 144330 in 2000, 20722000 on 103610 in 2005 and 18876600 in 2011. In most cases, the acute amount collected was hardly revealed since some Fulani as well as taxation officers were unwilling to be sincere. Part of the money which was to reach the treasury remained in private pockets.

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<sup>113</sup> Awasom, "The Hausa and Fulani in the Bamenda Grasslands 1903-1960", p.131.

**Figure 2: Evolution of Jangari Tax in Menchum Division, 1995-2011**

Source: Author's conception based on table five

An increase in the jangali tax resulted from the increase in cattle population since indigenes invited Fulani to come and occupy the idle lands.

In the Bamenda grassfields, it was noticed that some *Ardors* collaborated with some of their followers to conceal the exact number of cattle in the area<sup>114</sup>. This was because only they knew their transactions or movement of cattle in and out of the area. This therefore prompted the British administration to shift the duty of tax collection to them. This was not different in the Menchum area as one of our informants: Madaki Shiroma in Kuk stated that: “When we arrived here, the chiefs were in charge of collection of cattle tax. As time went by, the British administration realised that the chiefs were incompetent to effectively do the work” This was confirmed by the fact that most chiefs never counted the cattle, some of our people gave them any number they wished and the chiefs took since they were only interested in their compensation<sup>115</sup>.

He continued by saying that it is their full right to collect the tax. After collecting the tax, they waited for the *Ardor* in Weh, under whose jurisdiction they were placed to arrange a day for them to hand him the money. Once this day was made known to them, all the Fulani

<sup>114</sup> Karh, “Cattle Economy in Wum Area 1940-2010”, p. 44.

<sup>115</sup> Interview with Madaki Shiroma, 78 Years, Ederly Fulani, Kuk, 14/08/2018.

under his control in different villages in the Fungom area converged at his residence to hand the money. He then paid in the money to the treasury. The amount handed to him depicted the number of cattle each person had since 300 francs CFA was the tax per cattle in the year 2010<sup>116</sup>. This therefore provoked boundary dynamics since the *Ardor* had to cross inter-village boundaries in bid to collect more money. The *Ardor* of Bafmeng, Haro Hamajam equally collected taxes both in Bafmeng and Kuk. This only contributed to the alteration of boundaries in the area of study.

## **b. Land Laws**

The most comprehensive legal frame work governing land in Cameroon can be found in the 1974 land tenure ordinances and its subsequent amendments. These were a series of ordinances that represented the first endeavour by the newly re-unified post-colonial state to define an institutional system to manage land use. The 1974 land ordinances declared first and foremost that, all land belonged to the state. This implied that private individuals or communities could only claim ownership over land if they complied with the obligations demanded of them by the law. This required a negotiation between the state and the private actor over the terms of state actor taking into consideration the priorities of the state. This therefore meant that the right of land ownership by the *Fon* and his indigenes was carefully limited because anyone who complied with the obligations, be it an indigene or Fulani had right over land.

Following the information gathered in the field, it was made clear by a Fulani that a chief with all his authorities cannot control him over land that he has bought with his money<sup>117</sup>. So, it is clear that the land laws instituted in 1974 precipitated inter-community boundary dynamics in our area of study. The 1974 land tenure ordinance was associated with grazing permits. Some indigenes believe that it was because the graziers were landless that they took the advantage of this gesture to secure grazing lands in Menchum Division. It should be recalled that before this document came into existence in 1974, the local population and the Fulani could easily agree on the transfer of cattle from one place to the other in a way to create land for farming and vice-versa.

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<sup>116</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>117</sup> Interview with Amadou Njango.

But when the Cameroon administration introduced the use of grazing permits which were interpreted by the Fulani as land certificate, the cordial relationship that existed between the Fulani and indigenous populations over land started tearing them apart. This was when the Fulani began rejecting proposals to quit land for farming and settle in new areas that were allowed to fallow<sup>118</sup>. This provoked boundary dynamics in our study area because most indigenes who were not brave left their farming sites (disputed areas) to the wealthy Fulani and searched for other secured areas out of their community land.

Again, decree No 76/165 of April 27, 1976 encouraged boundary dynamics in our study area. This was confirmed by the fact as it made it clear that anyone seeking to register land occupied during 1974 could apply directly for a land certificate. This was a polite way to limit the powers of indigenes over land. This could be noticed in the comments of the chief of Kuk in a petition in 2001 to the D.O. of Zhoa stating that:

The Fulani in my village claim they have nothing to do with me because the sub D.O. is all. It is for this reason that they massively destroyed the crops of my wives. Since you don't recognize me anymore as an auxiliary of the administration, just wait, I will show them that we founded the land and not you, nor them<sup>119</sup>.

This lamentation stemmed from the negative attitude of a Fulani leader, Haro Hamajam who failed to caution or reprimand his *gainakoh* not to graze on the farms of the indigenes. This incident took place in 2002 when maize was left with two and a half month to be harvested. This was at Choh, a farm site in Kuk, authorized by the Quarter head of Kumndze that year. Almost everybody in the community farmed only in the area during the year. The result of this was a tremendous famine since farming was the back bone or sole activity of the people. This was more painful when Haro persistently mocked at Kuk people as follows: “how for hungry for Kuk”, “some man never die for hungry”?, people them for Kuk ko choup stones”.

The 1974 law also implied that any Fulani living in the country and Menchum area in particular could apply for a land certificate. It was even worse when the decree made to the understanding of everyone that anyone seeking access to land not previously occupied could submit indirectly for a certificate. This required a supplementary document, a complete application including a sworn professional surveyors report, a professional valuation surveyors report and an attestation of non-indebtedness from the local department of lands all

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<sup>118</sup> Nyoh, “Fulani-Indigenous Relations in Fungom Sub-Division”, p. 69.

<sup>119</sup> File No E28/04/5Vol.3. Farmer/Grazier, Kuk/Kumfutu, 2001.

of which were expensive to acquire. It is clear that once someone was in possession of a land certificate, nobody could tamper to encroach it.

This therefore implied that any Fulani who desired to own land could simply abide with the terms of the above mentioned decrees and once this was done as was the case in our study area, the chief had nothing to do with it since it was no longer his community land<sup>120</sup>. In this capacity, many new settlers altered boundaries in the Menchum community because they purchased land across different communities and from chiefs. As already mentioned in the previous chapter, the *Fon* exercised a vital role in land management. He was the custodian of community land; responsible for its distribution and outside deals. This offered him the potential to mediate between his inhabitants' land and the state<sup>121</sup>.

But as time went by, his role became jeopardized, with the putting in place of the 1974 land laws where a new normative order detecting the use and meaning of land as one living in an area frustrated the heartfelt duty of the *Fon* over the area. Many indigenes are bitter, as to why the Fulani should own grazing land in their communities without taking authority from them all in the name of complying with the Cameroon land law of 1974. One of our informants made it clear that any land occupied by a Fulani is considered free to indigenes. His reason for this view was that most Fulani are not entitled to grazing permits talk less of land certificates<sup>122</sup>.

Most informants unanimously expressed the view that all graziers in Kuk used one grazing permit, carrying the name of *Ardor Hamajam*<sup>123</sup>. It was under this pretext that they caused havoc on their farm. According to Mange, if the government did not introduce the land laws which brought about grazing permit, the Fulani would have not even had the idea of claiming land ownership. This led to the alteration of our boundaries because fertile lands that sustained indigenous farmers were seized and occupied by wealthy Fulani. This therefore compelled them to encroach into other community land to earn a living.

The provision of the 1974 law and its subsequent amendments in the constitution founded land as it was on customary system of regulation (in law or administration) and statutory formal system, were embedded in unequal and discriminatory power structure and

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<sup>120</sup> Interview with Haruna Musa and Muamadou Kujare.

<sup>121</sup> Interview with HRH Nyeah Damian Choua, 70 Years, *Fon* of Fungom, Fungom, 07/06/2018.

<sup>122</sup> Interview with Ngong Moses Achia.

<sup>123</sup> Interview with Haro Hamajam, 86 Years, *Ardor*, Bafmeng, 14/08/2014.



procedures. This land tenure system tended to allocate land unequally on the basis of class, gender and other forms of social hierarchy. This unequal land allocation provoked boundary dynamics in the Menchum division. For instance, the *Fon* traditionally controlled land in the community on behalf of indigenes, but with the advent of the Cameroon land law which reduced the right of the *Fon* over land, state officials such as the D.O. applied the land law at the expense of the indigenes by monopolizing communal lands<sup>124</sup>. This was the case of Simon Toh with Muhamadu Madaki in Kuk. This situation forced Simon Toh to abandon his land in Kuk settling across the surrounding in Wum<sup>125</sup>.

### c. Justice System

From inception, maintenance of peace in the area of study was in the hands of the *kwifon*, headed by the *Fon*<sup>126</sup>. The *Fon* was the supreme judge. He was assisted by notables of the community. Sanctions or punishments varied according to offenses committed<sup>127</sup>. Matters judged in native court were classified under major and minor cases. Examples of major cases included, adultery with the *Fon*'s wife, murder, insults on the *Fon*, notorious witch hunting. Dispute over land, fighting, quarrels, damage on property were some of the examples of minor cases<sup>128</sup>. While criminals whose offenses fell under major cases were exiled from the community, those with minor cases were fined or requested to seat on a piece of wood with spears in public. This was during the process of adjudication<sup>129</sup>. In some cases, meetings were convened such as that which lasted from 12<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> July, 1993 in Fungom. The meeting had a representative from Fungom, Fon Buh II of Esu, *Fon* Aneng of Bafmeng, *Ardor* Gide and Ardo Adamou Umarou among others. This meeting deliberated on a number of issues and gave the following resolutions to Fungom Farmer/grazier problems as illustrated on table 8.

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<sup>124</sup> Interview with Tem Deborah Che, 58 Years, Farmer, Esu, 24/08/2018.

<sup>125</sup> Interview with Toh Simon Che.

<sup>126</sup> Interview with HRH Ntang Nembong, 85 Years, *Fon* of Nyos, Nyos, 22/08/2018.

<sup>127</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>128</sup> Joubam, "The Impact of Fulani on the Fondom of Nso", p.27.

<sup>129</sup> Interview With HRH Nyea Damian Choua

**Table 8: Farmer-Grazier Crises Court Cases in 1993**

| Case Number<br>Page | Grazier                       | Farmer                         | Compensation<br>Francs CFA  |
|---------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 09                  | MoohIsah of Esu               | Mom Theressia                  | Nil                         |
| 14                  | Ngale and Nadayi of Zhoa      | Mbong Susana                   | Nil                         |
| 21                  | AmadouBuba of Esu             | Esther Jam                     | 8000                        |
| 33                  | AlhadjiDanji of Esu           | Theresia Muam                  | 7000                        |
| 38                  | Ndungkwere of Esu             | Muam Lucas                     | 10 000                      |
| 49                  | Ardo HaroHamajam of<br>Mmen   | Theodore Lenam                 | 50 000                      |
| 64                  | Alhadji Kiano of Kuk          | Chia Andreas                   | 12 000                      |
| 66                  | Mallam Bola of Nyos           | Chief Tang Nembong of<br>Nyos  | Area to be<br>visited       |
| 70                  | Alhadji Koashi Guni of<br>Esu | Enochia Beatrice and<br>others | Area to be re-<br>inspected |
| 72                  | Alhadji Koashi Guni of<br>Esu | Zangchu Ignatius               |                             |
| 99                  | Madou Boba of Esu             | Emmanuel Beng                  | 10 000                      |

Source: DAW, file N° E28/09/ Vol. I , Farmer Grazier, 1996.

Reading from table 8, we can see that the Fulani and indigenes in our area of study had their alternative ways of resolving issues. Another example was noticed in Nyos in 2004 when Lebeih-Izaih was brought to the palace for adjudication. This was because she was accused of practicing witchcraft in the night (disturbing people not to sleep). She was not judged only by indigenes but, by Fulani as members of the community as shown in Plate five below.

**Plate 5: Fulani and Indigenes during Adjudication in Nyos**

Source: Photo taken by Author, Nyos, April 06, 2018.

Plate 5 depicts indigenes and Fulani present in the palace of Nyos to adjudicate lebeih-Izaih for practicing witchcraft. The two people seated in front to the right are Fulani elderly persons (Hassan Bobey and Karimo Juli) while the rest are indigenes. The Fulani answered present in the event because they believed that they constitute part of the community and that it will look poor if there is problem that concerns peace making and there are not present and without a tangible reason.

The British however with their desire to show more love to Fulani gradually promoted boundary dynamics in the domain of justice. This was confirmed by their system of governance, (the Indirect Rule). The British introduced the system of indirect rule in all their colonies in Africa including British Cameroon from 1922. By this policy, the British administered or ruled the colonial peoples or British Cameroon through their traditional rulers (chiefs) with British officials acting as supervisors and advisers. Following this policy, the British created the native authority. The native authorities were chiefs that were appointed or those recognized by the British. These chiefs were given the powers to maintain law and order, collect taxes, recruit labour for community development or work like the digging of roads, creation of health centers, schools amongst others. There was also the creation of native authority courts which could be traced to 1917 when a mixed court of different tribal backgrounds was created in the Bamenda station. The British instructed this assembly of village heads on how to run a Native court<sup>130</sup>.

But then, it should be noted that these courts were classified into four categories: grade A, B, C and D<sup>131</sup>. Grade “A” court had powers over civil and criminal matters but could not pass a death sentence. Grade “B” court handled cases which did not require a fine of not more than 50 pounds and criminal cases not more than two years of imprisonment and 24 lashes. The grade “C” court had powers in civil cases below 10 pounds and criminal matters below 6 months of imprisonment 12 lashes for a fine of ten pounds while the last grade, the “D” court had powers over civil cases below three months of imprisonment, 12 lashes or five pounds. The chiefs presided over these courts but were supervised by British officials in Africa. It should be highlighted here that the only qualification required by the court judge was a mastery of their laws and customs and not necessarily formal education. This Native Court had the prerogative to try everyone except the whites that resided within their areas of jurisdiction.

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<sup>130</sup> Tem, “Local Administration in the Fungom”, p. 24.

<sup>131</sup> Fanso, *Cameroon History for Secondary Schools*, p. 82.

A British administration officer, Podevin, convened the first Bamenda mixed Native Court on the 30<sup>th</sup> July 1917<sup>132</sup>. Over 384 cases had been tried by this court by the end of 1917. It was from this Bamenda mixed court that other courts developed in the various N.A areas including that of the area of our study. A panel of Fungom based in Zhoa was set up on August 19<sup>th</sup> 1966, known as the Abar Customary Court. The result of this administrative arrangement was the crowning of O.O. Mendi as the first clerk and each community of the Fungom area had a representative.

The Fulani community was represented by Umarou Dogo of Abar. He became the court messenger in January 1967 based on the fact that he understood some local languages of the Menchum division and coupled with the fact that he had a horse which facilitated his movements. Some 87 cases were handled in the Abar customary court of 1966 and 1968. Of these, 21 were forwarded to the magistrate court, 6 were inter-village boundary disputes that were successfully resolved in the customary court, 42 were divorce cases and other family disputes were handled in an accepted manner and 8 Fulani payment of compensation by six and four were exonerated from the fines imposed on them. Local languages and Pidgin English were used in these courts depending on the person that was to be tried. This was to enable the Fulani participate in court sessions as indigenes did<sup>133</sup>.

Since the judges were all indigenes, the Fulani manifested a non-chalant attitude towards the N.C. They believed that the chiefs who presided over the courts often paid little or no attention to their matters and charged them higher than the crime accused of. They also had in mind that the chiefs gave deaf ears to issues concerning them and the indigenes in the courts. All this was because the indigenes knew they had much money. It was from here that they started writing petitions to the British administration for the establishment of a separate court that will look into their affairs. They proposed that the court be inclusively for indigenes and Fulani because all Mohammedans were not necessarily Fulani and putting it an exclusively Fulani court would be merely imposing an unnecessary restriction on the court's jurisdiction. In fact, Islamic laws take no cognizance of race but creed<sup>134</sup>.

After several debates and deliberations over the establishment of a separate court, the British administration contemplated and finally authorized the establishment of an Alkali

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<sup>132</sup> Tem, "Local Administration in the Fungom" p. 25.

<sup>133</sup> Nyoh, "Fulani-Indigenous Relations in Fungom Sub-Division", p. 30.

<sup>134</sup> Jumbam, "The Impact of the Fulani on the Fondom of Nso", p. 28.

court on the 2<sup>nd</sup> April 1945<sup>135</sup>. This was based on the fact that it was strengthened by Kaduna authorities. This explains why the first alkali came from bauchi in northern Nigeria (mallam Mohammadou Dahiru). This led to the creation of the Fundong *alkali* court where issues of Menchum Division were treated. This was followed by the creation of Muslim courts (*kirtah*) in the Fungom area such as Esu, Weh, Bafmeng, Abar and Marshy. The supreme judges in these courts were *Ardors*. Cases like adultery, quarrels, theft, murder, fighting, damages and family matters were also resolved in these courts. This gradually nursed the seed of boundary dynamics in our area of study because indigenes started presenting their matters in the *kirtah* court which was not the case before. Cases were only reported to the *Alkali* when they were more than the judging capacity of an *Ardor* in the *kirtah*. The indigenes had their native court as seen in table seen below.

**Table 9: Internal Organization of the Fungom Native Authority**

| <b>Fungom group Court</b> | <b>Esu group Court</b> | <b>Weh group Court</b> | <b>Kung</b> | <b>Munkep</b> |
|---------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------|---------------|
| Fungom                    | Esu                    | Weh                    | Kung        | Munken        |
| Bafmeng                   | Furu                   | Zhoa                   | ---         | Abar          |
| Kuk                       | Marshy                 | ---                    | ---         | Missong       |
| Nyos                      |                        | Mekaf                  | ---         | Mufu          |
| ----                      |                        |                        | Kunshin     | Mudabi        |
| Fang                      |                        |                        |             | ---           |
|                           |                        |                        |             | Marshi        |

**Source:** Smith, “Fungom District Assessment Report”

The Muslim holy book, Koran, was the sole weapon used by the Akali and *Ardor* to execute justice. Recalcitrant people who committed offenses were compelled to hold the Koran while swearing that they were ignorant of the crime accused of. Conscious of the devastating impact of holding the Koran and swearing that the people were innocent of an act, some of the criminals rapidly submitted themselves to the punishment or accorded sanction. With this system of judgment, criminals were easily detected<sup>136</sup>. Although the *kirtah* from the onset was for both Fulani and indigenes, the latter were reluctant to take their matters there. But as time went by, the indigenes embraced the system thereby changing their initial plan. Thus, altering boundaries. The indigenes believed that some of their native doctors or Sooth Sayers did not actually neutralize their stand points. Some of them took sides with one of the parties of the case. Some even went to the extent of conniving with

<sup>135</sup> DAW, File No. DWM/702/Vol.I, Abar Customary Court, 1967.

<sup>136</sup> Jumbam, “The Impact of the Fulani on the Fondom of Nso”, p. 28.

wayward people to cause misfortune; causing illnesses on righteous people in the community at the detriment of others.

So, the Fulani, who were believed to be holy and new in the area were preferable. Cases were also adjourned in the alkali court. The Registrar of this court was Mobei Alkali. Indigenes were made to understand that the Quran was not an asset to joke with. That no one could tamper with it. It was believed that the Koram could cause madness talk less of collapsing. In this light, the Fulani paid more loyalty to their *Ardor* than the *Fon* of the community and were sometimes opposed to the *Fon* who was the owner of all the lands as was the case of the Nso Fondom<sup>137</sup>. This situation was not very different from that of other areas in the Bamenda grassfields especially in the Menchum community. Logically, one will not be wrong to establish the fact that an ordinary Fulani looked up to the *Ardor* for guidance than the *Fon*. Though the powers and routine functions varied from one community to another, changes in boundaries were witnessed as the *Fon*'s rights were diplomatically reduced and entrusted on the Akali or *Ardors*.

It was even worse when the British became diehearted with the judicial system of the emirate that it was seriously mooted in the 1920s that Europeans and Lebanese should be subjected to Alkali rather than British courts. This only uplifted the status of the Akali. In certain instances, it was considered the final court of appeal. In a bid to sustain the Alkali, the British put in place many strategies. In the same capacity, Awasom observes that the British successfully devised a ridiculous system whereby a native court made up of illiterate village heads, had to sit and listen to the resume of the ruling of a legal expert in Islamic law about which they knew nothing<sup>138</sup>.

This was a clear indication that the Fulani were not only entitled to fair judgment, but had some judicial powers over the indigenes. Simply because the Fulani had professional alkalis while the indigenes had local chiefs (illiterates) who presided over the N.C. The undesirable issue here was that, the Fulani came in with their own judgment system, also controlled land and at times chased away indigenes who invaded their areas of influence with any economic especially farming. The result of this was not only the tearing apart of the two communities, but also altering boundaries in the area of study.

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<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>138</sup> Awasom, "The Hausa and Fulani in the Bamenda Grasslands 1903-1960", p. 273.

#### **d. Community Development**

The initiative of self-reliance which pre-occupied the minds of Menchum inhabitants gave way to the formation of cultural and development associations, with aim to develop their communities and support the government in a bid to provide social amenities like schools, potable water, farm to market road maintenance and educative talks of community development. This eventually led to community development, a holistic effort of the local population and external partners to improve on the socio-economic and political lives of communities. This spirit of community development in Menchum Division was done with no exception to anyone who considered the area as his home of origin. Even late settlers who came in the 1940s embraced the spirit<sup>139</sup>. Their activities or bi-product (cow dung) promoted community development in the area in one way or the other. This was because the cow dung was used by indigenes to increase soil fertility. The result of this was high yields. These outputs were later sold to obtain money for community development.

Many of the indigenes whose main source of income was vegetable cultivation depended on cow dung produced by the Fulani cattle. By applying this to the soil, vegetable were bound to do well. This was in turn sold to neighboring sub-divisions or areas in need. This was an evidence of change as indigenes shifted from the burning of cleared grasses to obtain ash as manure to the application of cow dung. If not all, most communities in the North-West Region organized development meetings to plan on how to assemble resources in order to develop their communities in connection with other localities<sup>140</sup>.

During these meetings, branches of such associations out of the community and home branches converged to examine how to develop their communities. In the course of these meetings, participants also discussed the various financial levies that each member branch of the association had to contribute during the year towards the development of their communities<sup>141</sup>. Membership in these associations did not differentiate as to who was to be or not considered as member. Once an individual considered the Menchum area as his first home, he was compelled to comply with the obligations of the association. This made the Fulani to actively participate in the community development of their various homes<sup>142</sup>. The Fulani were even delegated in some branches to represent their branch in executive meetings.

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<sup>139</sup> Interview with Haro Baby, 38 Years, Second Deputy Mayor of Zhoa Municipal Council, Bafmeng, 14/08/2018.

<sup>140</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", p.72.

<sup>141</sup> Interview with HRH Nyeah Damian Choua.

<sup>142</sup> Interview with Nji Christopher Kang, 59 Years, Teacher, Kuk, 14/08/2021.

For instance, Musa Boake in Kuk headed the branch of his quarter and Delegeh Lawan was the delegate of the KCUDA executive meeting in 2016 at Mtom, Kuk quarter.

Delegates went to such meetings with financial contributions made by their branches toward specific development projects. During such meetings, they advanced more innovative ideas towards the development of their home places. As earlier mentioned, some of these delegates were Fulani who gave in pertinent ideas to the development of their areas more than their counterparts (indigenes). This was noted in Nyos where a Fulani's intervention in a long quarrel brought peace in the meetings in 2015<sup>143</sup>. Some of these Fulani who were out migrants often shared their ideas or looked for means to better the living standards of their brothers back home. This was with no distinction to race and or culture. They often advised their Fulani brothers on inter marriage with the indigenes, propagate new ideas in the domain of the fight against HIV/AIDS, educate their sisters on family planning and advised them to attend health centers in the Menchum area so as to better their health conditions<sup>144</sup>.

It is not surprising to hear that most indigenes worked under the Fulani in the Menchum Area, which was not the case before. This is just enough to demonstrate that Community development promoted boundary dynamics in our area of study. It is important to understand that these associations were being run by special committees or executive members. There was no special clause that stipulated the qualification of someone who could be an executive member. The sole characteristic that qualified someone was his capabilities or competences to assemble and govern people. Since some Fulani in Menchum Division had acquired new organizational skills, they were bound to be nominated or elected as flag bearers of some branches of these associations.

Sunday Alabi was the treasurer of the Kuk Traditional Council (KTC) in the 1980s. Again, Fali Saly was the treasurer of Young Tigers of Lake Kuk (a football team) in the 1990s. Ah-eh Amidou equally occupied an important post in KUSA, which is a son of KCUDA. Alabi Djibril also occupied the post of vice president in the KUSA due to his capabilities to rally young Fulani<sup>145</sup>. This was not the case before the 1960s where they were expelled from developmental associations because they were considered as wonderers. Since the Fulani in our area of study had their own special association with the aim of preaching moral lessons of common goals, resolve their problems peacefully among others, they were

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<sup>143</sup> Interview with Ntang Nembong.

<sup>144</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>145</sup> Interview with Ndi Nji Cletus, Fali Saly, Ebua Aloysius Akai.



bound to chip in the same ideas learnt from their brothers in different villages. This was because Fulani in our area of study were separated to belong to different communities of Islamic jurisdiction. The result of this was the bringing of new development ideas from their meetings.

These executive Fulani acted as the link between development associations and Fulani associated groups. They collected funds from members of these groups and took to development associations. These funds were usually meant for the realization of development projects in the village. This is just an indication of the degree of the boundary dynamics in our area of study. Such associations also awarded prizes to bright students and pupils. This was usually done during the cultural week. This was confirmed as the Buea branch with Djibri Alabi as V.P. donated prizes to nine pupils in Kuk. These prizes helped to encourage them to work harder to acquire the knowledge that was needed for the development of the area. This greatly promoted the community.

Another factor that encouraged boundary dynamics in the area of study was the desire for the Fulani to join the indigenes maintain roads for the transportation of persons, goods and services. This was because many portions within the Menchum community were inaccessible or accessible with lots of difficulties. The local council took the responsibility to appeal to all the inhabitants of the area including Fulani, to work on the road. This was very effective in the Bafmeng, Weh, Marshy, Munken, Zhoa among other villages. They also assisted in constructing bridges or maintain portions of roads that could become bad during the rainy season. This was seen along the Kuk-Wum road through Mbeugh where the Fulani massively contributed in giving a helping hand for the realization of the project<sup>146</sup>.

As if that was not enough, the Fulani equally actively participated in keeping surrounding palaces in the Menchum area clean. This was because they believed the palace was not only meant for indigenes, but for everybody in the community. It was partly for this reason that they supported the chief in times of death celebrations. They also came out in their numbers during the coronation of the chiefs. As one informant mentioned, keeping the palace neat was a special assignment for everyone who held the village at heart. It was also important for every inhabitant to participate in the cleaning because all cases were judged in the palace. It needed to be clean and proper. All these put together, one will not doubt how Fulani presence in Menchum Division provoked boundary dynamics.

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<sup>146</sup> Interview with Ibrahim Ousmanou, 55 Years, Grazier, Weh, 17/08/2021.

### **e. The Wum Area Development Authority (WADA)**

WADA, created by Presidential Decree No. 73/2 of 3<sup>rd</sup> January 1973 and incorporated into the Third-Five-Years Development Plan was aimed at accelerating development in Menchum Division (See Appendix 7)<sup>147</sup>. Before we venture into how it used the Fulani to alter boundaries in our area of study, it is important we know how this came about. WADA can be traced to the Protocol Agreement concluded by the government of the F.R.C and Germany on technical cooperation, ATC Wum, on October 20th, 1965<sup>148</sup>. This Agreement was in the framework of the Economic and Technical cooperation Agreement of June 29<sup>th</sup>, 1962<sup>149</sup>.

Both governments decided to carry out an intensive evaluation on the project at the end of 1971. This was under the command of Von Leo<sup>150</sup>. The results of the evolution proved that the project had not achieved any of its goals. This was attributed to its decision of limiting activities in the Central farm which had no demonstrative effects on farmers or Fulani of the areas. Again, it was a difficult task to develop a cultivation program with crops suitable for the physical and natural conditions of the area during the initial years of the project<sup>151</sup>.

It was also noticed that the original aim of training and settling young farmers was very costly and difficult to run. The heavy equipment such as graders, caterpillars, lorries and others introduced into the area when the farm was opened, had no major effect because the project and the technical knowledge was far above the capacity of the people to imitate<sup>152</sup>. As if this was not enough, the project faced a far higher production cost than the local farmers employing family labour. Given the forgone let down and considering the protocol agreement which was initially for a period of Five years, both governments concluded to extend the agreement for two years and again for two years. This was termed the consolidation phase until October 31<sup>st</sup>, 1974<sup>153</sup>.

The initiation of the consolidation phase was aimed at meeting up with the main aim of the project, which was to address the massive emigration of youths of the area to more developed areas in search of jobs. This huge emigration of juvenile people to urban areas encouraged the government of the FRC to develop a lukewarm attitude towards the policy of

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<sup>147</sup> WRCA, File No. 620, "Welcome Addresses General", No. date, p. 46.

<sup>148</sup> NAB, "Wum Farm Settlement", p.251.

<sup>149</sup> Kum, "Wum Area Development Authority (WADA) 1965-1994" p. 122.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>151</sup> Interview Ntuhse John Toh, 63 Years, Accountant Ex-WADA, Wum, December 16<sup>th</sup> 2022.

<sup>152</sup> Interview with Njoya Christopher, 67 Years, Ex-worker WADA, Wum, December 16<sup>th</sup> 2022.

<sup>153</sup> Kum, "The Cameroon-German Technical cooperation", p.10.

balanced development of all the regions of the country. The government equally had in mind to promote agriculture, regarded as a rapid means of fostering nation building (Green Revolution). It was at this juncture that the project was reoriented towards its original aim, rural development<sup>154</sup>.

This resulted in the introduction of developmental activities, based on agriculture and technical extension programs, to include both men and women in permanent farming system. This was done by fragmenting the central farm into an experimental and service center to run necessary experiments and produce seeds required for the extension program. This included studying possibilities of including the Fulani population in economic development by utilizing their milk for dairy products<sup>155</sup>. It was further to establish organizational structure, being a developmental authority oriented just like the one in the Upper Nun Valley, and to also have the project audited every year. This fragmentation led to the birth of WADA<sup>156</sup>.

One of the heart desires of WADA was to ameliorate the activities of livestock production. This obliged her to place the program under the control of the farm production unit, whose main activity was the promotion of livestock activities such as animal prophylaxis and cure, fattening, training of cattle brought by Fulani for Oxen farming, pasture improvement (Guatemala nurseries, padlocking, of pasture land) and ranching activities such as construction of dips, slabs and crutches<sup>157</sup>. It is needless mentioning that the cattle trained for Oxen farming were brought by the Fulani. This gradually modified the indigenous traditional farming system. It was learned in the field that the population of Fulani and their cattle in Menchum division increased when WADA incorporated cattle into its activities.

The Authority itself reared cows and owned a cattle ranch with a capacity of 10,000 all in a bid to encourage the growth of cattle<sup>158</sup>. Its efforts were greatly seen in 1981 where a three-hectare piece of land located at WADA project premises was developed with special grass for cattle grazing. More still, a cattle dip was inaugurated in its ranch on August 24<sup>th</sup>, 1983, where cleansing liquid for dipping cattle was often poured. This was to ensure the maintenance of good health of cattle by controlling tick bone diseases, such as Streptothricoisis (*kirchi*), hard water, Spiro plasmosis and other ectoparasites<sup>159</sup>.

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<sup>154</sup> Kum, "Wum Area Development Authority (WADA) 1965-1994", p. 123.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>158</sup> Interview with Ntuhseen John Toh.

<sup>159</sup> WCA, File No. 200, "WADA" pp. 784-785.

Everybody keeping cattle in the division was encouraged to make use of the dip. The Fulani greatly benefited from this given that their principal economic activity was cattle grazing. Cattle and horses were the main species to use the dip and the fee charged for each animal was 750 francs CFA per month<sup>160</sup>. Animals were most often dipped during the difficult period of the dry season, extending from November to February.

The digestion of the above paragraphs proves that WADA played a significant role in influencing boundary mutations in Menchum Division. Its decision of promoting the growth of cattle grazing influenced a great number of Fulani in other areas to immigrate into Menchum Division especially as there was an easy access to ranching facilities. It should be noted that the increase of Fulani was accompanied by an increase in the number of cattle in the division from 58,000 herds in 1970 to 123,400 herds in 1983. The number further increased from 125,585 herds in 1984 to 144,765 cows in 1985, and to 170,000 cattle in 1986<sup>161</sup>. This resulted in the growth rate of 9.2 percent. Mutation of boundaries at this level was also seen in the settlement pattern. The Fulani who had hatred for sedentary style of living later moved closer to it, thanks to WADA.

Following the fact that the initial program of WADA failed to boost up development in the rural areas of Menchum, efforts were employed to redirect its programs in a way that the rural areas will be engulfed. This led to the emergence of Block Extension Farming Program (BEFP) which made use of cattle (Oxen farming)<sup>162</sup>. This program started in 1973 with the prime objective of discouraging impermanent farming system in Menchum. This was also intended to prevent the youths from emigrating out of the Division for greener pasture<sup>163</sup>. In this light, campaigns were made to educate the people to embrace BEFP. An example was that which was held by the deputy director of WADA, Mbakwa, and head of the farm unit Stega, visited Esu in 1973 where chief Buh and his collaborators promised to engage in it thereby paving the way for its extension<sup>164</sup>.

The propagation of BEEF led to the introduction of OTF which was a system of farming based on the use of cattle. This farming system was introduced in Wum in 1973

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<sup>160</sup> Interview with Nji Christopher Kang.

<sup>161</sup> Kum, "Wum Area Development Authority (WADA) 1965-1994", p. 135.

<sup>162</sup> BEFP is a method of farming by which individual farm plots are laid out in blocks to ensure easy access to Oxen and enable quick supervision.

<sup>163</sup> Kum, "Wum Area Development Authority (WADA) 1965-1994", p. 154.

<sup>164</sup> G. F. Mbakwa, "The WADA Extension Staff", *The Green Revolution Monthly News Letter*, Vol II, October 1973, p. 1.

thanks to the existence of cattle brought in by the Fulani. This view is shared by Kum as he puts it:

Drought animals were completely unknown in the area before the creation of WADA. This farming method was to act as an intermediate stage between traditional and mechanical agriculture. It was to increase the labour output of farmers from say 0.5 hectares using the hoe and cutlass to 3 or more hectares employing drought animals<sup>165</sup>.

This shows that if the Fulani did not infiltrate into Menchum division with their cattle, WADA will have faced difficulties in establishing the Oxen farming. This encouraged the Menchum inhabitants to move closer to a permanent system of farming especially as the cow dung was used as manure. The practical work on oxen farming started in 1974 in collaboration with the Rural Training Centre Nfonta (RTCN) at the oxen village, situated at the WADA project premises<sup>166</sup>.

Kum further educated us that the first training course began in February 1976 with 15 trainees. He expatiated that the OTFP trained both farmers and drought animals (oxen and Bullocks) for crop cultivation. Training was given on general oxen keeping, such as feeding and maintenance and on farming such as ploughing, harrowing and transportation. Long term courses lasted for a year at the oxen village while short term courses lasted for three months. Upon completing the training, the OTFP selected trainees and stockage and maintenance of oxen supply to oxen farmers<sup>167</sup>. See plate six.

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<sup>165</sup> Kum, "Wum Area Development Authority (WADA) 1965-1994", p. 162.

<sup>166</sup> DAW, Management, "WADA Operational Plan, November 1977-October 1980", p.6.

<sup>167</sup> Kum, "Wum Area Development Authority (WADA) 1965-1994", p. 163.

**Plate 6: Trained Oxen and Farmers at the WADA Oxen Village, 1978**



**Source: Divisional Archives Wum.**

From the above photo (plate 6), it can be seen that WADA trained both cattle, brought in by Fulani and farmers on oxen farming. The suitable cattle were bullocks and the recommended age ranged from thirty to thirty-six months. This was because cattle older than thirty-six months were recalcitrant, aggressive and challenging in the course of training. Training cattle entails that they do serious farm work, enable farmers to be able to train cattle on farming, and to be enable farmers be able to manipulate with draught cattle during farming operations. Cattle younger than thirty months were considered fragile and weak for the tedious work.

Following the fact that oxen farmers were to start farming on new lands different from those used by the BEFP and coupled with the shortage of land near the oxen, WADA had to construct access roads and bridges to areas where new farms could be opened. A draught cattle and its equipment were given to farmers at a total cost of 206,000 francs CFA<sup>168</sup>. Between 1978 and 1983, WADA trained and distributed 466 Oxen to farmers<sup>169</sup>. It was from this program that the Cameroon government made progressive strides from 1982 to 1984 in improving on the people's standards of living. It laid emphasis on agriculture, permitting the

<sup>168</sup> Ngoh, *Cameroon 1884-1985: A Hundred Years of History*, Yaounde, Navi Group Publication, 1987, p.277.

<sup>169</sup> Kum, "Wum Area Development Authority (WADA) 1965-1994", p. 164; Tala, "Wum Area Development Authority", p. 348.

national Fund for Rural Development (FONADER) to provide loans to farmers and eventually enable them to be self-sufficient<sup>170</sup>.

As time went by, efforts were invested to keep the project growing by extending to new lands. Intensive advisory work and cattle health service were rendered by the Authority's extension staff. It is important to mention that during the 1982/1983 farming season, some 215 farmers participated in the extension program using 4334 oxen<sup>171</sup>. This new system of farming led to the cultivation of 278 hectares of land during the 1985/86 farming season<sup>172</sup>. WADA further created a sub-project to train oxen farmers and cattle for the draught program. The first phase of the project, the pilot phase progressively developed into the main phase of the project known as the Promotion of Adapted Farming System, based on Animal Traction (PAFSAT)<sup>173</sup>. Table 10 illustrates the evolution of training and output of the oxen program.

**Table 10: The Evolution of Trained Farmers and Oxen, and Crop output in the OTFP**

| Year    | Trained Farmers<br>(N0.) | Trained Oxen (No.) | Crop Production<br>(Tons) |
|---------|--------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|
| 1980/81 | 79                       | 103                | 221.43                    |
| 1981/82 | 94                       | 188                | 226                       |
| 1982/83 | 90                       | 180                | 230.09                    |
| 1983/84 | 126                      | 252                | 184.12                    |
| 1984/85 | 98                       | 175                | 257.33                    |
| 1985/86 | 109                      | 175                | 265.17                    |
| 1986/87 | 109                      | 174                | 326.94                    |
| Total   | 705                      | 1247               | 1711.08                   |

Source: Kum, "Wum Area Development Authority" p. 165.

Reading from table 10, we can see that WADA trained 705 farmers and 1247 Oxen between 1980 and 1987 farming seasons. This was accompanied by a steady increase in the number of farmers (79-705) and oxen (103-1247) during the same period. This was thanks to the influx of Fulani with their cattle which provided cows of the required age to be trained for this new method of farming. An increase was also seen at the level of crop output, from 221.43 tons in the 1980/81 season to 326.94 tons in the 1986/87 season.

<sup>170</sup> Ngoh, *Cameroon 1884-1985: A Hundred Years of History*, 277.

<sup>171</sup> Kum, "Wum Area Development Authority (WADA) 1965-1994", p. 164

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*

**Conclusion**

The chapter examined the various causes that precipitated Inter-community boundary dynamics in Menchum Division. This was due to the presence of the Fulani. These factors were independently indispensable in provoking the changes on boundaries. These changes had ambiguous results. In some cases, they led to positive outcomes such as the development of the community in all domains of life. Conflicts were the outcome of some changes on boundaries. There is no need to over emphasize that many farmer/grazier conflicts in the area under review resulted from boundary issues. It is for this reason that we took the pains to examine the mutations of boundary dynamics in the next chapter.



## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **MUTATIONS IN CONVENTIONAL BOUNDARIES**

#### **Introduction**

The displacement and settlement of the indigenous population of Menchum Division was marked by specific locations of various communities. This stemmed from their cultural ties where geographical boundaries were carved out through the use of physical features like hills, streams, valleys among others. This facilitated the identification of each community. As time went by, the Fulani infiltrated the area and bridged some boundaries as they settled amicably with the indigenes. This was more visible through the settlement of some prominent Fulani in the area. The alteration of boundaries is further explained by the nomenclature of leadership titles of these prominent Fulani. It is imperative to state that *Ardor* Haro Harmajam who resides in Kuk soil rather bears the leadership title of *Ardor* of Bafmeng. This is not different with *Ardor* Adamou of Weh who resides in Kumfutu, a quarter in Kuk. All these put together have undoubtedly affected boundaries in Menchum Division. The analysis of this view will be examined in our subsequent paragraphs.

#### **Perception of Land Boundaries**

Land is one of the most striking factors in the history of communities. Due to the importance attributed to its ownership, it has most often resulted in conflict in many areas. This holds true in Menchum Division<sup>1</sup>. However, it is important to understand that the notion of boundary during pre-colonial Africa is different from that introduced by colonialism. According to Ngwa<sup>2</sup>, a boundary in pre-colonial Africa was regarded as an interwoven space of multiple communities. This was an area, considered to be a convergent point for many communities to share their ideas, strengthen cordial relationships and promote trade among them. Though the concept of boundaries did not hinder interaction and cooperation among states, boundaries were considered inviolable in many parts of Africa.

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<sup>1</sup> Sone, "Conflict over Land Ownership", p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> Interview with Toh Henry Ngwa.

To guarantee the inviolability of boundaries, many forms of rituals were performed<sup>3</sup>. This explains why rituals are performed in some areas when disputes occur over land control. This was the case over the Kuk-Weh boundary in 2016. Land acquisition in Menchum Division was influenced by a number of factors: political, economic and social. Land was used by Menchum communities to measure their strength with others. The strength of a community could be measured in relation to its land size. Some war-like fondoms in the Bamenda Grasslands like Bali Nyonga, Kom had sizeable lands conquered from weaker ones through aggressions and wars for the same reasons<sup>4</sup>. Land did not only determine the political but also the economic potentials of pre-colonial communities. It was important for agriculture, hunting, fishing, settlement, and craft among others<sup>5</sup>.

The social quest for land was multidimensional. The increasing population of the community necessitated more farm and settlement land. The advent of colonization led to modifications in the notion of boundaries in Africa. This was because Europeans came in with their own notion, characterized by the signing of accords or treaties to clearly show limits of sovereignty over land<sup>6</sup>. This led to the putting in place of customs in boundaries to regulate the movement of people across them. This was not the case before. Colonial masters equally introduced land certificates as the only document to prove ownership of land. This gave a green light to the Fulani to acquire vast lands in Menchum Division so long as they could meet up with state obligations. This resulted in conflicts as the growing populations of both the Fulani and indigenes demanded more land for their many activities, thereby compelling them to expand their territorial limits.

### **Conventional Boundaries: Inter and Intra Boundaries**

This refers to the physical changes that occur on boundaries. They can be inter or intra. As concerns intra, we shall examine the case of Kuk, Esu and Wum while Kuk-Bafmeng, Kuk-Wum and Kuk-Weh shall be treated under inter.

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<sup>3</sup> Fomin and Ngitir, "Rituals in Traditional Settlements in the Cameroon Grassfields", p. 38.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>5</sup> S. Y. Nforba, "Fondoms Relations among the Mbum of Nkambe Plateau From c.1780 to 2002", PhD Thesis, Department of History, University of Yaounde I, 2016, p. 245.

<sup>6</sup> H. K. Kah and W. G. Nkwi, "Colonial Boundaries and Disintegration: A Study of the Boki "Nation" of the Cross River of Cameroon and Nigeria", *Boundaries and History in Africa*, p. 151.

## I. Inter Boundaries

Inter boundaries refer to boundaries between two communities. In relation to our area of study, many inter boundaries were a source of conflict due to the presence of Fulani. Some of these boundaries were those between the Wum-Weh, Kuk-Bafmeng, Kuk-Weh and Kuk-Wum.

### A. The Kuk-Bafmeng Boundary

Unlike in pre-colonial Menchum where the Fulani were not present, issues of boundary conflicts were very few. The later infiltration of Fulani in the Menchum area, witnessed many boundary conflicts<sup>7</sup>. Kuk and Bafmeng are two neighbouring villages in the Menchum division known for land disputes, partly caused by a Fulani. This was the case of *Ardor* Haro Harmajam who is settled in Kuk but the Islamic or leadership title conferred on him bears the nomenclature of *Ardor* of Bafmeng. This is to say that *Ardor* Haro who was situated along the actual boundary between Kuk and Bafmeng, did not clearly define his settlement. He was therefore considered by the indigenes of Kuk as a settler in Kuk since his compound was found there. This was illustrated by a stream, called *Tchua Koh* which acted as a boundary between both communities as seen on plate seven<sup>8</sup>.

**Plate 7: The Stream Illustrating the Boundary between Kuk and Bafmeng**



**Source: Photo taken by Author, Kuk, December, 10, 2022.**

<sup>7</sup> Interview with Manje Gilbert, 58 Years, Teacher/Faremer, Bafmeng, 18/08/2018.

<sup>8</sup> Interview with HRH Tryself Ntam.

Plate 7 is a stream that shows the original boundary between Kuk and Bafmeng. Anything viewed on it should be ignored as it's not what we intend to illustrate in our work. It surrounding hitherto the coming of Fulani in Menchum Division witnessed little dispute if not none. Conflict over it became increasingly high when a Fulani, *Ardor* Haro Harmajam settled on it. He grazed his cattle both in the land of Kuk and that of Bafmeng thereby indirectly calling for dispute given that the Bafmeng community wanted to benefit from the jangali tax. The settlement of Fulani on the actual boundary stemmed from the fact that when the Fulani arrived the Menchum area, it was the sole responsibility of the *fon* to show them areas where they were to settle. These areas were idle lands, mostly found at the outskirts of the community.

The position of this land was to enable the Fulani have sufficient land for their economic activities (grazing)<sup>9</sup>. During an interview conducted with *Ardor* Haro Harmajam, he made it clear that he is a Kuk man. He further buttressed that his usual annual gifts to KUSA during cultural weeks was because he belongs to Kuk. This explains why some Fulani in Kuk land were placed under his jurisdiction coupled with the fact that he owned cattle there. This was confirmed by Toh Lazarous Ful<sup>10</sup> in his words “*Ardor* Haro is a full Kuk man because he lives in Kuk soil and contributes enormously to its development through KUSA”.

Ful further revealed that he usually went for help from *Ardor* Haro during cultural weeks and Haro's reactions have always been positive. He had often offered the association cattle, which helped to complement the varieties of meals and also reduced its financial expenditure. The dilemma in this situation was that the leadership title of *Ardor* was conferred on Haro Harmajam as *Ardor* of Bafmeng. This therefore made the Kuk community not to have an *Ardor*. This was probably because the powers and responsibility was removed from the indigenous leaders (*fons*) and entrusted on the Fulani to crown *Ardors* in the area<sup>11</sup>. The selection of the candidate to be made an *Ardor* was based on competences and degree of his mastery of the Islamic laws<sup>12</sup>.

The installation of the *Ardor* was done by the divisional officer of Fungom. It is believed that if powers did not shift from the indigenes to Fulani, Haro Harmajam would have been an *Ardor* in Kuk. So, the conferring of Islamic titles on Fulani in the Menchum

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<sup>9</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>10</sup> Interview with Toh Lazarous Ful, 31 Years, President of KUSA, Kuk, 18/08/2016.

<sup>11</sup> Interview with Alhaji Alabi.

<sup>12</sup> Jumbam, “The Impact of the Fulani on the Fondom of Nso”, p. 16.

area partly encouraged boundary mutations since it brought about artificial boundaries. The Bafmeng community partly depends on this situation to debate the boundary. They now claim the initial boundary is fake, meaning it lies in the Bafmeng territory. They claim that the real boundary is at one hill (*mngbaa Itchem*) where an antenna has been planted as seen on plate eight. Questions have frequently been asked by the people of Bafmeng like, why is the *Ardor* who resides in Kuk called *Ardor* of Bafmeng? This has worried Kuk inhabitants who strongly believe that Haro is their inhabitant. This is an evidence of boundary dynamics in the Menchum division as a result of the presence of Fulani.

**Plate 8: The Fake Boundary (Antenna) Considered by some Indigenes of Bafmeng**



**Source: Photo taken by Author, Kuk, December 10, 2022.**

The situation was more complicated when *Ardor* Haro decided to identify himself as a Bafmeng man. His reason for this was based on the appellation of this Islamic title. Administratively, the title stated the name Bafmeng and not any other community. Another reason was that his closest neighbours were inhabitants of Bafmeng. Again, most of his activities were performed in Bafmeng. For instance, his children attended school there, all his shopping was done in Bafmeng, prayers and the mosque that harbors both Bafmeng and Kuk

Fulani was located in Bafmeng. His daughter who is the second deputy mayor of ZRC, Haro Baby owned a tailoring workshop in the Bafmeng market<sup>13</sup>.

Evidence for Haro's choice of Bafmeng was his ability to comply with most of the financial contributions that were geared towards the development of Bafmeng. He attended all the developmental meetings of Bafmeng while he frequently absented those of Kuk. His gifts to the Mmen Union of Students and Teachers (MUST) could not be over emphasized. His children equally participated in community labour in Bafmeng<sup>14</sup>. This alerts us that the children preferred Bafmeng to Kuk. Their reasons for this were that Bafmeng was more developed than Kuk. His children were members of many associations in Bafmeng including: the Okada Union and MUST. The repercussions of *Ardor* Haro and his family's choice to identify more with Bafmeng indigenes was over-whelming to the Bafmeng people let alone the Fulani in that same community. In connection to the Bafmeng community, *Ardor* Haro also paid his cattle tax to its traditional council instead of Kuk where he lived.

He rendered his religious services to Bafmeng inhabitants who were Islamized. Haro Baby through her tailoring workshop has created job opportunities in Bafmeng<sup>15</sup>. The annual development fee paid into the coffers of Mmen Cultural Development Association (MCDA) by the family of Haro harmajam was of great significance. On the other hand, his mediocre consideration of his Kuk root was a provocation to Kuk indigenes. This was because he was exploiting the resources of Kuk land. The havoc the cattle caused kept a great part of the population in famine in 2002. Again, no benefit was received from the domain of taxes as Haro preferred paying his cattle tax to Bafmeng traditional council. None of his children participated in any developmental projects in Kuk. Other informants revealed that Kuk served Haro Harmajam as a bush, where he did his farming activities while residing in town (Bafmeng)<sup>16</sup>.

## **B. Kuk-Weh Boundary**

Kuk and Weh communities are known for their land disputes in Menchum Division. These disputes began in the early 1950s through the years, 2003 when a *Koranic* School was

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<sup>13</sup> Interview with Haro Baby

<sup>14</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>15</sup> Interview with Akum Chrisantus Mtam.

<sup>16</sup> Interview with Nji Fidelis Ngoh.

established in a certain land believed by the indigenes of Kuk to be theirs<sup>17</sup>. These communities witnessed a series of sporadic conflict over the disputed land<sup>18</sup>. These were however not continuous as there were periods when relative calm was witnessed among the communities. Its manifestations were only observed in series of attempts to use the land by one community or the other. Its prolongation stemmed from the procrastination in implementing concrete measures by the government. The conflictual boundary was provoked by the limited land to satisfy the rapid growing population in Weh. The rapid growth as earlier mentioned in our previous chapter was partially caused by high birth rates of Fulani settlers in the Weh community. As a result there was need to encroach into Kuk land.

The conflict came to its climax when the Fulani residing in Weh constructed their *Koranic* school on a piece of land which the Kuk people believed was their property. The disputed land was also considered by the Weh inhabitants as their farming site or belonging. Since both communities claimed ownership over it, the various *fons* therefore had a special assignment to provide evidences for the ownership of the land. It was in this connection that the *fon* of Kuk, Tryself Ntam in 2015 strongly stood on the grounds that the land was Kuk property, raising reasons like, his predecessor showed him all his territorial boundary or area of jurisdiction. More to this was that his subjects were farming there. This was objected by the Weh community who strongly believed the land was theirs. This objection made both communities to witness sporadic disputes over the land.

It was from here that government officials decided to step in, to seek concrete solutions to the issue. Under the auspices of the divisional officer for Fungom Sub-Division, Edward Forsab Egbe, it was agreed that both communities' *fons* and their witnesses should converge at the disputed land and perform libation and incantation since they all claimed the land was attributed by their predecessors following the tradition and customs of the lands<sup>19</sup>. It should be recalled that the claim of this land was to content the Fulani who inhabited the area and reaped benefits as land-lords. This arrangement took place in 2016<sup>20</sup>. Both chiefs appeared with their entourage in the disputed land. Advisory talks were held to the hearing of

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<sup>17</sup> Interview with Ebua Aloysius Akai.

<sup>18</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>19</sup> Interview with HRH Tryself Ntam.

<sup>20</sup> *Idem*.

everybody present, to discontinue claim over the land if conscious of the fact that the land was not theirs<sup>21</sup>.

Tryself Ntam of Kuk took palm wine and performed some incantations, by calling on his ancestors to help him preserve the property for his subjects. He also made it clear that if the land does not belong to him, then the counterpart ancestors should retaliate. Room was also given the *fon* of Weh to provide evidences for the ownership of the land. He equally called on his ancestors to preserve the land for his community while the opponent ancestors could react appropriately if the land was not the property of the Weh community. It was rather unfortunate that the *fon* of Weh did not live long after this event for one to learn from him if the ancestors of Kuk proved to him that the land wasn't Weh's property.<sup>22</sup>

The Weh community was still very reluctant to stay off the land. It is interesting to understand that the Kuk community is not fighting to own just the land, but to own all what is in the land including the Islamic school<sup>23</sup>. This was rather very provocative to some Weh indigenes who believed that the land was theirs. Due to the persistent arguments mounted by Weh indigenes, Fulani inhabitants of the area who identified themselves as Weh people took the opportunity to inflict illnesses on Kuk people who resided on the disputed area. This was aimed at making them quit the area so that they could own it in the name of Weh as explained below by Che Sanji:

I suffered numerous illnesses let alone several warnings and threats from Fulani. I want to lament that "my fruits that I planted are suffering from ownership. The Fulani, some who are not even of the Kuk community claim I am an alien in this land, they have the temerity to harvest anything they see in this yard. When I manage to cultivate crops, they will deliberately send in their cattle to feed on it. When I attempted to question them, their response is always such that I can commit suicide. This was worst when they posed me a provocative question in my compound; do you want to keep on living in pains and starvation? This question insinuated that they knew the source of my unhealthy situation. The situation became precarious when they planned to terminate my life. They set a trap for me on my way when they noticed I was returning home late. As caring as the Almighty God is, I was set free as I slept in Kuk quarter. Returning to my residence in the early hours of the morning, I met a large trap and escaped it. A week after, I was carried by something beyond my imagination, but in the form of tornado and thrown into the valley where an invisible trap was set there for me. I was seriously injured, my eyes were harmed. I had no energy to find myself home. Surprisingly, my son, Tangha Rapheal immediately appeared and evacuated me home for first aid before taking me to the hospital the next day. In order for me to save my life, I have abandoned my compound to them. That is the reason I now live in the family compound<sup>24</sup>.

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<sup>21</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>22</sup> Interview with Kebueh Eric, Toh Simon Che, Akum Chirsantus Ntam.

<sup>23</sup> Interview with Ndi Nji Cletus.

<sup>24</sup> Interview with Che Sanji, 84 Years, Herbalist, Kuk, 17/08/2018.



From this lamentation, it is clear that boundaries in Menchum Division were altered by the Fulani who from the onset were known as transparent people but later embraced a negative lifestyle by practising activities that were detrimental to other beings. Furthermore, boundaries have been changed in the area of study due to the Islamic leadership title conferred on Adamou as *Ardor* of Weh. It is worthy to understand that the Fulani of Esu community were placed under the control of the *Ardor* of Weh before Jaja was made *Ardor* of Esu. This is just an indication of boundary mutations because Esu Fulani had to take order from the *Ardor* of Weh there by crossing a community line<sup>25</sup>.

In addition to this, *Ardor* Adamou of Weh did not even reside in Weh, but Kumfutu, a neighbourhood in Kuk. This is to say a cross section of Fulani in Kuk were placed under the jurisdiction of *Ardor* of Weh. According to our informants, the title could have carried the name Kuk not Weh since he lived in Kuk. This situation rendered the Kuk community to be void of an *Ardor* and as a result, the Fulani inhabitants of Kuk have been geographically divided into two spheres. Fulani created such boundaries just to honour the wealthy Fulani they noticed in the area. The moment they noticed a Fulani was economical viable, they waited for an opportunity to make him an *Ardor* without taking into consideration the physical boundaries in the area.

That is, from the southern part of the village where it shares boundaries with Bafmeng right down to river *mndzeghe*. The Fulani are placed under the hegemony of *Ardor* Haro Harmajam while from the river right down to the northern section of the community; they are placed under *Ardor* Adamou of Weh. It is for this reason that Kuk has been termed the “round about” of our area of study. It is the only community in the Menchum area where the Akus and the Mbororos are clearly distinguished in terms of their geographical settlements. It was from their settlement that they were placed under two different leaders. Whatever, they usually met to discuss matters that concerned them as inhabitants of the Kuk community. All these have influenced boundaries in Menchum Division.

### **C. Kuk-Wum Boundary**

It is important to note that Kuk and Wum relationship is characterized by sporadic conflicts most often in a latent form. For us to have a better comprehension of the source of their divergent views, we are going to study the boundary they share. This is because there exist a

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<sup>25</sup> Interview with Alhaji Alabi.

Fulani in this boundary that has caused boundary issues in the area. Kuk and Wum are two neighbouring communities located in Menchum Division. The notion of boundaries within these communities seems to be controversial with regards to that of pre-colonial times. This is because their boundary was well known and defined by the existence of a hill, *mngbaa-sekagh*<sup>26</sup>. This was certain as both parties agreed on the boundary. According to oral sources, rituals were performed to give boundaries a sacrosanct character<sup>27</sup>.

However, as time went by, the inhabitants of both communities became aware of the importance of land. As such, they started strengthening their rights over the access and use of land. Violation of initial boundaries became the order of the day. This was to contend the Fulani who had settled on this boundary. This was the case of Alhaji Deleh. Though the boundary did not witness an overt conflict, there was a calm dispute over its control. This was because the Wum community claimed control over the land. This was justified by the fact that the Fulani who inhabited the boundary paid all their allegiance to the Wum authorities. They paid taxes to the Wum Municipal Council (WMC). The pre-colonial cordial code of living stated that when a stranger came into the area, then he/she had to be made known by the *fons* to know exactly where they were to pay their allegiance<sup>28</sup>.

This was not the case with the *fon* of Wum who collected land dues paid by Alhaji Deleh although he resided in Kuk. This proves that the Wum community exercised control over land that did not belong to it. This was done just to reap benefits from the Fulani who inhabited the area, thereby altering boundaries. This was more complicated as the Fulani in question decided to identify himself with the Wum community whereas the greater part of his compound laid on Kuk land. It is worth noting that he grazed his cattle in Kuk, but was reluctant in participating in the development of the Kuk community<sup>29</sup>. This was more painful when some indigenes of Kuk considered that the Wum Community enjoyed their property.

In an interview conducted with Alhaji Deleh, he made us understand that his choice of alliance with Wum was due to his proximity to the town characterized by infrastructural development and other tertiary services. He also revealed that all his children who ride motorcycles for commercial purposes worked with the Wum council and not Kuk traditional council. In fact, he said Wum was more developed, accessible and offered high ranking

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<sup>26</sup> Interview with Akum Chrisantus Mtam.

<sup>27</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>28</sup> Interview with Muwanda Ndong.

<sup>29</sup> *Idem*.

services than Kuk<sup>30</sup>. This boundary witnessed one of its highest conflicts when the Fulani who resided in Wum came out in their numbers due to a call made by Deleh to support one of theirs to fight against an indigene in Mbeurgh, a neighbourhood in Kuk.

This indigene was Henry Wong who had his farm beside the Fulani's compound. It is said that one Sunday morning, Wong went to harvest plantains in his farm, to his greatest surprise somebody had harvested the pepper he had planned to harvest and sell at the Wum market. In the course of investigating, he realised the person who had harvested his produce, was one Fulani by name Idi. This was very surprising to see that a Fulani stole as this had never been the case before. Idi being guilty, consciously decided to refuse and secretly called on his Fulani brothers in Wum to come and support him counteract Wong. Before the proponents of Idi came, he had already started provoking Wong to get into a fight with him as he was sure of emerging victorious, because of the secret support he had requested from his brothers<sup>31</sup>.

This incident took place in 2006 along the road side between Wum and Kuk communities since the Fulani who spearheaded the fight were from Wum. An alarm was made to all the Kuk people that the Wum Fulani had attacked their brother. Kuk youths rushed there but before they could reach, the gendarmes were already present to handle the matter<sup>32</sup>. It is important to state that Wong had been seriously injured on his head, which kept him in the hospital for close to half a year. The matter was taken to the state council of Wum and the outcome was only forgiveness on the part of the Fulani for his poor act. This decision was not satisfactory to the people of Kuk who believed that the state council did not judge the case well.

This conflict stemmed from the fact that Idi wanted to own the land where Wong farmed<sup>33</sup>. This provoked Kuk indigenes who accused *Aghems* to be the remote cause of the incident. This was because Wum authorities took advantage of the non-existence of a modern boundary to encroach in Kuk land. The non-existence of a modern boundary was according to both communities, a way of manifesting brotherly love and kingship ties<sup>34</sup>. More so, there was no need to establish a boundary prior to the advent of colonial rule. This conflict was

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<sup>30</sup> Interview with Alhaji Deleh, Grazier, 77 Years, Wum, 21/08/2021.

<sup>31</sup> Interview with Henry Wong, Farmer, 46 Years, Kuk, 19/08/2020.

<sup>32</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>33</sup> Interview with Adamu Musa, Gainakoh, 36 Years, Wum, 21/08/2021.

<sup>34</sup> Interview Fine Glass Kom.

also connected to the issue of taxes, given that this did not only have economic benefits, but political interests as well. The boundary equally illustrated the ruler to whom the Fulani were to pay taxes. Obviously, this was supposed to be the *fon* of Kuk, but this was not the case.

## **II. Intra Community Boundaries**

This refers to boundaries within a community. In connection to our area of study, many intra boundaries were marked by discord that led to conflict and violence. This resulted from the presence of Fulani who came in later and wanted to acquire land by unorthodox means in some cases. This section of the work will focus on precise cases like those of Wum, Kuk and Esu.

### **A. The Case of Kuk**

The physical layout and the attitude of Kuk indigenes towards the Fulani accounted for boundary dynamics in the area. It is imperative to mention that the Fungom area was characterized by undulating and gentle lands. Although these provided natural security, the indigenes preferred occupying the lowlands or gentle areas due to their farming vocation. This is because low land areas were endowed with fertile lands and rivers that were highly needed for cultivation. Due to the existence of excess land, the mountainous areas were often regarded as resourceless, infertile and hostile for farming. These were left under the control of indigenes with little compensation<sup>35</sup>.

The Fulani on their arrival occupied these vast unoccupied and attractive lands and settled there with their cattle in peace with host indigenes. These areas were made up of slopes and high lands rich in pasture for cattle grazing. This permitted the Fulani to successfully inhabit the area while indigenes settled on the gentle areas considered to be conducive for crop cultivation and human habitation<sup>36</sup>. The settlement of Fulani in the highlands initially considered by the indigenes as poor and unproductive lands gave them the green light to secure grazing lands through agreement with the *fons*. As time went by, the indigenes' notion of highlands as resource less and marginal areas died down.

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<sup>35</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", p.92.

<sup>36</sup> V. A. Mah, "The Mbororo as an Agent of Community Development of Fundong Sub-Division", Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of Geography, University of Yaounde 1, 2010, p. 78.

This permitted the Fulani to cement their grip on the lands by changing it to fertile land through the use of cattle waste (cow dung). Poor methods of cultivation such as over cultivation, use of bush fires and planting of eucalyptus in and around farming sites exhausted the nutrients of low lands, occupied by indigenes. This made them to start requesting the Fulani to quit the lands they initially considered as infertile, the Fulani reactions were the mounting of resistances to quit the land<sup>37</sup>. This was strange in the area as the Fulani initially respected the decisions of the indigenes. In some cases, death was the outcome like that of Simon Toh who battled for land with a Fulani in Kuk<sup>38</sup>.

It was revealed that when the Fulani arrived the Menchum division, they were honest and humbly submitted themselves to their host indigenes<sup>39</sup>. They hardly contradicted or rejected the ideas proposed by the latter. Indigenes regarded them as new clients for their local produce and reliable sources of tribute for the *fon* and landlords. In the course of time, the Fulani started demonstrating ownership over these lands or deliberately rejected to quit them as demanded by the indigenes<sup>40</sup>.

Efforts put in place by indigenes to develop Kuk infrastructure were viewed by some Fulani as a means to limit their economic activity or reduce their wealth standards. It was for this reason that constant threats to implant socio-economic immunities on land occupied by the Fulani resulted in conflict. It was very strange to see a Fulani obstruct the decision of an indigene. This was noticed when Kuk indigenes struggled to put a structure for G.S Kuk in early 2000s. It was observed that each time indigenes went for work, they noticed damages on the blocks they laid the previous day (sundry blocks). In the course of investigation, they realized that a Fulani, Alhaji Alabi was the one destroying them<sup>41</sup>.

This was because he never wanted the school to be implanted in the area because he claimed ownership over the land. Despite his desire to disturb the construction of the school in the area, the indigenes under their courageous *fon* and determined head master, Mua Augustine did not relent their efforts. Their determination culminated in the construction of three classrooms<sup>42</sup>. As bold as Alhaji Alabi was, he did not give up as, he continued

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<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 79.

<sup>38</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", p. 93.

<sup>39</sup> Interview with Muwanda Ndong.

<sup>40</sup> Interview with Atem Oscar Kum, Trader, 34 Years, Kuk, 19/08/2018.

<sup>41</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", p. 93.

<sup>42</sup> Interview Akum Chrisantus Ntam.

mounting pressure to contain pupils from the area. Classroom doors were usually seen blocked in the morning with bamboos. At times, information was written on the black board indicating that no school will hold in the area. Indigenes were surprised to see a Fulani act as such<sup>43</sup>.

The constructed classrooms were used by Alhaji Alabi as cattle sleeping ground. Pupils were forced to carry cow dung every morning from classrooms before lessons could commence. This compelled the indigenes to frequently visit Zhoa, the Sub-Divisional head quarter of Fungom to seek for solutions from administrative authorities. The response of the D.O. of Zhoa, Etta Mbokaya Ashu was positive for the Kuk indigenes, but the Fulani did not want to give up. It should be noted that just as the indigenes visited the D.O on this matter, Alhaji Alabi equally paid visits to him even more than how indigenes did. Their point of discussion was not known, but some informants believe that it was nothing else than to influence the D.O to be on his side<sup>44</sup>.

With all these contradictions, the smooth functioning of the school was hindered. Parents became afraid to send their children to study. The situation became better when the SDO for Menchum, Enow Abrahams Egbe, passed through Kuk from Bafmeng to Weh and saw pupils loitering around the school premises<sup>45</sup>. This was during hours when there were to be studying in class. In the course of inquiring the reason for rampant loitering, he was told that Alhaji Alabi was against the construction of classrooms in the school area<sup>46</sup>. Boundaries are said to have changed because Fulani started using orthodox means to claim indigenous lands. It should be noted that the head master of the school (Mua Augustine), died when this dispute was still ongoing. Given that Mua Augustine was the one who coordinated the indigenes, his absence in the physical world posed no threat to Alabi to regain the land<sup>47</sup>. Thanks to the SDO braving on Alhaji Alabi, the school witnessed a smooth functioning.

As if this was not enough, in the course of another developmental project in 2001: the construction of a health center so that people from all angles of the village could easily attain it, a site was chosen beside Alabi<sup>48</sup>. He vehemently refused that the construction of an

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<sup>43</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", p. 93.

<sup>44</sup> Interview with Kum Ivo Lah, 50 Years, Farmer, Kuk, 22/08/2018.

<sup>45</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>46</sup> Interview Akum Chrisantus Ntam.

<sup>47</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>48</sup> *Idem*.

integrated health center beside his residence will not take place. He did everything to disturb the establishment of the health center, but ended up giving off as the integrated health center finally went functional. It should be noted that he came to the area with the Sub-D.O. and security forces to offload the foundation of the health center. The Sub-D.O. called the *fon* on the matter and the *fon* did not hesitate to reject the Sub-D.Os call<sup>49</sup>.

Tryself Ntam said “the Sub-D.O. could collaborate with the Fulani to do whatever thing they wished, but his contribution would not be there”<sup>50</sup>. The Sub-D.O., conscious of the words of the *fon* decided to leave the area without causing any harm on the foundation. But on his way back to Zhoa, a tree fell and blocked the road. This tree was believed by some Kuk indigenes as sacred, sent by their ancestors to educate the Sub-D.O. not to attempt conniving with the Fulani to deconstruct the health center<sup>51</sup>. Another area where conflict was witnessed in the Kuk community which produced a change on the boundary was in a piece of land allocated by Kuk indigenes to construct Government Secondary School (GSS) Kuk which went operational in 2008. Here, Malam Kiano and his family overtly demonstrated their strong desire to oppose the construction of this school on that piece of land.

His reason was simply that the land was his private property. According to him, constructing a school on that land was a means by the indigenes to limit his wealth<sup>52</sup>. His poor conduct on the school property could not to be over emphasized. Just as Alabi destroyed blocks in GS Kuk, he too did same in GSS Kuk. Malam Kiano’s was even worst as he overtly demonstrated in the presence of a crowd. The classrooms constructed by indigenes were not only turned into cattle sleeping ground, but the whole land was a permanent stay ground for his cattle. After several deliberations and consultative talks, for him to quit the land, he decided to give deaf ears. It was for these reasons that the school garden often suffered damages from him and his cattle<sup>53</sup>.

He ordered his *gainakoh* to send in cattle on the school yard and destroy the crops cultivated by teachers. The school campus and sleeping ground of cattle had no difference. This was very unfair when conspicuously considered, the sacrifices made by old men and women to develop their community and a particular person as Kiano believed to be one of

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<sup>49</sup> Interview with HRH Tryself Ntam.

<sup>50</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>51</sup> Interview with Nji Fidelis Ngoh.

<sup>52</sup> Interview Muwanda Ndong.

<sup>53</sup> Interview with HRH Tryself Ntam.

theirs went ahead to obstruct it<sup>54</sup>. This was hardly the case before. The case of Johnas Chu Kecha and Kiano is another area of intra village conflict in the Kuk community. This was a hardworking man who owned a raffia bush beside the Kuk market. Malam Kiano and Alabi decided to take his raffia bush as their private property. Cattle were often seen in the raffia bush and when he complained to them, their reaction was, threats to beat him up.

It is said that the *gainakoh* of the above mentioned Fulani often consumed the palm wine of Johnas Chu Kecha without his permission<sup>55</sup>. They also minimized him by harvesting bamboos in his raffia bush without his consent<sup>56</sup>. Johnas reported this to the Kuk traditional council and Kiano was warned to stop such behaviour but he decided to ignore the owner of the bush. This situation came to its climax when Kiano ordered his *gainakoh* to beat up Chu Kecha. This was because a cow was seen injured on its tail. Kiano did not hesitate to conclude that Chu Kecha was the one who had injured it. This was because the cattle were grazing in his raffia bush and the injured one was seen just beside the raffia. Arrangements were made on the strategies to get the owner of the raffia and torture him. The Fulani around that area hid in bushes waiting for the owner as he was to come and tap his raffia palms.

The time came for Chu Kecha to go and tap his raffia palms. Reaching the bush, the Fulani appeared before him with sophisticated weapons. They started beating him and there was no way for him to even produce a sound. He was seriously injured on the waist. An indigene passing his way saw the act and stopped the Fulani<sup>57</sup>. Johnas was evacuated to his residence and taken to the Wum District Hospital (WDH) the next day for medical attention. It was from the pains of these beatings that he suffered till death. It should be understood that this act was just to distance him from the land so as to own it. This was a strange act from the Fulani who were believed to be holy.

## **B. The Case of Esu**

Intra boundary conflict also occurred in Esu and provoked changes on boundaries around the Elba cattle ranch implanted in 1986 by Alhaji Baba Amadou Danpullo<sup>58</sup>. Danpollo is a

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<sup>54</sup> Interview with Kum Ivo Lah.

<sup>55</sup> Interview with Akum Chrisantus Mtam.

<sup>56</sup> Interview with Nyoh Margrette, Farmer, 64 Years, Kuk, 15/08/2021.

<sup>57</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>58</sup> Kum and N. T. Kahjum, "The Esu –Elba Ranch Imbroglio, 1987-2008: Contending perspectives of Land Control in the Cameroon Grasslands", *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Invention*, Vol. 7, July, 2018, p. 20.



wealthy figure and an influential member of the central community of the national governing party, CPDM. He was given a grazing permit by the government of Cameroon to operate a ranch in Ndawara, Boyo Division of the North West Region. Following the enormous benefits he reaped from the ranch, he was encouraged to extend the ranch to other areas. The Esu community with her vast lands was his choice. Joseph Meh Buh II and other chiefs offered him grazing rights on a specific portion of land at Ibi Wundele in Weneghi.<sup>59</sup> It should be mentioned that the population of Esu during the time had no problem in relation to geographical space.

Problems began when the ranch management went beyond the land allocated to it to occupy other expanses of land. This act was new in the area as the Fulani did not formally refuse to quit land for farming. There exist varied versions as concerns the origin of the conflict between Danpulo and the indigenes of Esu. According to Kum Christus<sup>60</sup>, the conflict began from its roots when Danpullo addressed an application for agricultural land to the traditional ruler of Esu, *fon* Joseph Meh Buh II. The letter specified the land was from big bridge to Ewo. The land was occupied by one Ngwa of Bafut origin who was growing soya beans on a parcel of the land. In response to the application addressed by Danpullo, the Esu traditional council on July 7<sup>th</sup>, 1987 addressed a rejoinder letter to the SDO of Wum<sup>61</sup>.

It was signed by the *fon* and three other notables. He further explained that although the land given to him was to do farming, he began within no time, to bring in cattle. Other informants are of the opinion that the conflict erupted in 2001 due to political reasons. Proponents of this view expressed that power struggle to emerge victorious in the election in Esu provoked the conflict. The SDF campaigned in June 2013 that Danpullo was going to plant pillars in the area and if they vote for CPDM, they vote for Danpullo to plant the pillars on the land. This resulted to political instability in Esu. The CPDM militants of Esu were angry, the mayor of Fungom Sub-Division who lived there was removed as well as the development that was going on in Esu initiated by CPDM militant became stagnant<sup>62</sup>.

It should be highlighted that the conflict existed for years in a latent form. It only manifested itself overtly in the 2000s when the *fon* refused Danpullo from planting pillars on the land. Between 1993 and 1995, Danpullo decided to evict everyone who lived around the

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<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> Interview with Kum Chrisantus, 66 Years, Former SDF Chairman, Esu, 12/08/2020.

<sup>61</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>62</sup> Interview with Annah Kah, 53 Years, Farmer, Esu, 16/08/ 2017.

area (Ibi Wundele Melana, Toukishop), destroyed their houses cut down crops. Such an act was new in the area where a Fulani destroyed houses of indigenes. He carried them in a tractor and dumped them at the late *fon*'s palace and asked them to go to their family compounds. This situation can be better understood from Anna Kah's lamentation:

I was a victim of this incident and lost three of my people, my two children and my husband. It was forces of law that came with a tractor, the driver was a white man who came and removed us from our houses. At the time, my daughter was in labour, when she saw the people; she went back into the kitchen and gave birth there. The others were surrendered with guns. Here, they carried my child who just gave birth into the village, and she bled until we arrived. I struggled to take her to the hospital, but she died on the way. I had forgotten my three years old child in the bush whom we looked for and saw him later in the raffia bush so tired and weak. He could not talk again. We took him to the hospital too but he also died after recovering a little bit. My husband after burying two children could not eat for two weeks and later died too. I lost almost my whole family out of the incident within one year<sup>63</sup>.

This depicts how the incident escalated with the excess quest for land by the ranch entrepreneur, which was not the case before. In fact, it was unseen, for a Fulani to claim authority over land to the extent of destroying homes of indigenes. The indigenes lost most of their livestock, foodstuffs and some of their belongings to ranch workers. Faced with this situation, they reacted in different proportions. In 1998, some youths constituted themselves into fortified groups and used hit-and-run methods to scare off employees of the ranch from the area<sup>64</sup>. This brought tension in the community leading to the stationing of law enforcement officers at the ranch. In response, the ranch management orchestrated the arrest and detention of some Esu indigenes: Charlie Meh Kum, Charles Ndong, Charles Fuh Chu, Victor Bin Akang, Venantius Kah and Venabtius Tem, that same year for raising an alarm for the expropriation of their ancestral lands<sup>65</sup>. This was new to see a Fulani tormenting indigenes.

The situation became worst when *fon* Kum Achou II Albert Chi Kawzu was enthroned in 2008. Danpullo visited him and told him of his plan-to-plant pillars on the land. The *fon* asked him to come for dialogue, but he did not. An Esu population of some 2000 inhabitants in number decided to go and farm the land in 2015. During the planting season, they went to plant their seeds and were sent back by gendarmes who used teargas on them and some over 100 men were injured while others went blind. One of our informants witnessed the incident and stated as follows "I was right there when the incidence took place. Gendarmes aimed teargas at us and everyone was running. It touched some people but since I knew something about teargas, I got some water from the river and poured on everyone that

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<sup>63</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>64</sup> Kum and Kahjum, "The Esu-Elba Ranch Imbroglio, 1987-2008", p. 22.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid*.

was affected in order to avoid lasting effects”. Palm oil was also brought for affected people to consume<sup>66</sup>.

The conflict went further when approximately 2500 women came out for a peaceful march to the SDO of Wum, although they were stopped by their *fon*. This was on March 19<sup>th</sup>, 1993<sup>67</sup>. The march had as main purpose to complain to the SDO to provide lasting solutions to the Elba cattle ranch issue in Esu. Despite the efforts employed by indigenes to resolve the conflict amicably, the ranch management remained repressive, sending in forces of law and order to arrest all those who were found or suspected of encroaching into the ranch. Many youths and farmers were arraigned for tress pass.

This attitude was highly repudiated by the youths who denounced the stigma bestowed on them by ranch workers and security force. It was from this reason that some people said, prison was a place meant for correction, but they did not know where their people were kept because they were arrested with no concrete crimes charged on them. Some of our informants have ignored the role of the government in the conflict. They have turned to depend on their *fon* and ancestors to look upon them. It was strange to see security forces supporting a Fulani to own farming land. This shall be examined in the economic and socio-political spheres as seen subsequently.

### **C. The Case of Wum (Aghem)**

The decade 1960s is remembered in the history of Menchum given the deteriorating nature of the relationship of the Fulani and indigenes of the area. The burning of hills by the Fulani to get fresh pasture created an atmosphere of animosity. This was further worsened when the Fulani cattle ate up the crops cultivated by the indigenous women. This situation provoked the indigenous farmers, mostly women to carry out a peaceful revolution<sup>68</sup>. This was done by camping in the paramount *fon*'s palace (Zongokwoh). Given that no welcoming idea was told them, they decided to draw the attention of the S. D. O. A courageous indigenous lady, Mbei Mbong Echou therefore led a peaceful march to the S.D. O's office<sup>69</sup>. There, the leader revealed their worry and in an attempt to address the worry or minimize the boundary that

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<sup>66</sup> Interview with Ewi Rita, 36 Years, Farmer, Esu, 16/08/2020.

<sup>67</sup> Kum and Kahjum “The Esu–Elba Ranch Imbroglio 1987-2008”, p. 22.

<sup>68</sup> Interview with Toh Regina, 62 Years, Farmer, Wum, 14/08/2018.

<sup>69</sup> Fung, “The Origin and Evolution of Pastoral Agricultural Conflict”, p.47.

existed between the Fulani and indigenes, the S. D. O established a Cattle Committee Guide (CCG) in 1969<sup>70</sup>.

Following the procrastination over the implementation of the CCG, the Fulani committed another offense as they massively destroyed the indigenous farms in 1970<sup>71</sup>. Indigenous women once more drew the attention of traditional rulers and administrative authorities. Oral sources hold that close to fifty cases of farm destruction were registered in *Naikom*, village<sup>72</sup>. The muteness of administrative authorities on this matter encouraged the women to summon a meeting. The outcome of this meeting was the organization of a protest which was to run for seven days. Women sat on the floor in the presence of administrative officers. This lasted for four days due to the intervention of some traditional authorities and administrators who persuaded the women to make the protest halted<sup>73</sup>. This had never existed in the area hitherto the coming of the Fulani.

The intervention of the traditional rulers yielded fruits because it prevented the clash from escalating to an overt confrontation. Oral sources also educated us that the Fulani gave deaf ears to whatever strategy that was put in place to minimize their deteriorating relation with the indigenes<sup>74</sup>. They invited their relatives in other communities. This led to an increase in the number of cattle in Wum. The defect of this was the increase in the destruction of indigenous farms. Between 1972 and 1973, the regressive boundaries that existed between the indigenes and Fulani further widened. Complaints that came from *Wainado* this time outnumbered those of any chieftdom in Wum. Crops like beans, yams, plantains among others, owned by Kebbei were destroyed<sup>75</sup>.

The results of the investigation carried out to know the person responsible for such an act and how it could be mediated did not hold anyone specific, but speculated that Danpollu was better place to provide a panacea to it, given his acumen power. Negotiations were made for him and other cattle owners (who destroyed the farms) to compensate the farm owners, but they put up a lukewarm attitude towards this<sup>76</sup>. This attitude was contrary to their *pulaku* cultural code which used to prevail in their early years in Menchum. This motivated the

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<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> Njoh, "Struggle for Traditional Leadership", p. 71.

<sup>72</sup> Interview with Fuh Jucentha Ekei, 72 Years, Farmer, Wum, Ebua Esther Mnam, 65 Years, Wum, 14/08/2018.

<sup>73</sup> Njoh, "Struggle for Traditional Leadership", p. 74.

<sup>74</sup> Interview with Fuh Jucentha Ekei, Ebua Esther Mnam.

<sup>75</sup> Fung, "The Origin and Evolution of Pastoral Agricultural Conflict", p.48; Nyoh, "Politics of Fragmentation in the Aghem Federation", p.229.

<sup>76</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", p. 90.

indigenes to invite the attention of administrative officers and *fons*. The indigenes were further provoked in a CNU meeting when one of them, Patrick Mua declared that the dresses they put on were offered to them by the Fulani<sup>77</sup>. This according to the indigenes insinuated that the decision makers were reluctant to put in place a concrete solution to check the problem because it was going to make them lose the benefits they reaped from the Fulani<sup>78</sup>.

It should be noted that women's reaction to Mua's statement was one that cemented itself (implanted a melancholic heart) in the indigenous minds of the area. Women paraded the streets while naked<sup>79</sup>. As if this was not enough, women approached Mua and told him to quit with his Fulani clothes and permit them to stay in peace and even with no dresses as they were given birth. This act exposed the degree of frustration the indigenes were suffering from. It equally attracted the administrative officers. An impromptu meeting was therefore summoned to discuss the matter<sup>80</sup>. This was provoked by the persistent demonstration of the indigenous women.

In the meeting, the indigenes were told to be less worried as their grievances were going to be addressed. This promise failed to yield fruit as they were continuous burning of hills and destruction of farms<sup>81</sup>. In the preceding years, cattle continued feeding in crops cultivated by the indigenes. Unlike Tem Protus who holds that the indigenes reported the case to administrative officers and chiefs before taking their decision<sup>82</sup>, other informants made us to understand that the indigenes reacted at times without signaling the administrators as the effects were so visible and proved that hunger was supposed to be the order of the day<sup>83</sup>. While anticipating for the reaction of the chiefs, they held a secret meeting and arrived at several decisions.

One was to reduce their respect for the chiefs for being relaxed in managing the problem<sup>84</sup>. Before the presence of the Fulani in Menchum, no indigene could think of reducing his/her respect for the chief. The highly pronounced decision was the fact of not taking food stuff to the markets for sale. This was to educate the Fulani on the negative impact of destroying crops. The effects of this act did not only limit itself to the Fulani who

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<sup>77</sup> Fung, "The Origin and Evolution of Pastoral Agricultural Conflict", p. 49.

<sup>78</sup> Interview with Ntuhse John Toh.

<sup>79</sup> Nyoh, "Politics of Fragmentation in the Aghem Federation", p. 230.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>81</sup> Njoh, "Struggle for Traditional Leadership", p. 74.

<sup>82</sup> Tem, "Local Government Wum Division", p.229.

<sup>83</sup> Interview with Fuh Jucentha Ekei, Ebua Esther Mnam.

<sup>84</sup> Njoh, "Struggle for Traditional Leadership", p. 74; Fung, "The Origin and Evolution of Pastoral Agricultural Conflict", p.49.

were the targeted population but inadvertently affected other non-Fulani who highly depended on food bought from the Wum market<sup>85</sup>.

The affected people developed the attitude of purchasing food from neighboring communities like Bafmeng, Weh, Esu, Befang, Benakuma among others. The Aghem indigenous population communicated with these neighbouring communities not to sell food to Fulani coming from Wum. This created a situation where any Fulani not well known in a community could not be sold anything without being thoroughly interrogated. The situation became worst when the Fulani residing in Wum could no longer have something to feed on. They had depleted their reservoirs and the indigenes refused selling food stuff to them<sup>86</sup>.

This was because cattle from other communities also destroyed crops in Wum. The indigenes of these communities could not allow their relatives residing in Wum to suffer from this misconduct. Sanctions which were tremendously inhuman awaited any defaulter (the indigenes who will secretly sell food to the Fulani). This compelled all of them to toe the line and no food stuff was seen in trading centers<sup>87</sup>. The S. D. O of Wum, Fred Ndong took initiatives to handle the matter by summoning an emergency meeting. The S. D. O invited the *fons* and educated them on the regressive evolution of the Menchum community stemming from the indigenous decision of not selling food stuff<sup>88</sup>. He insisted that the decision was economically handicapping the area<sup>89</sup>. The S. D. O commissioned the *fon* to persuade the women to start selling food. The women ignored whatever effort the *fons* invested to influence their decision<sup>90</sup>.

In line with this thought, Fung Nchia added that the indigenous women became more violent as the politicians tried intervening in the matter<sup>91</sup>. This caused them to openly reply the *fon* in a contemptuous manner as stated by Fung Nchia: “Aghem women told the authorities that they have failed to handle the situation and that it was above the administration of Wum”<sup>92</sup>. This made them to believe that only the regional governor could look into their problems. Efforts were made to notify the governor on what they were going through. Fung again substantiated this fact as he wrote:

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<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> Interview with Ntuhse John Toh.

<sup>87</sup> Interview with Njoya Christopher.

<sup>88</sup> Fung, “The Origin and Evolution of Pastoral Agricultural Conflict”, p.50.

<sup>89</sup> Minutes of meetings held with the chiefs of Aghem, Wum and the Akus on 5<sup>th</sup> January, 1973 to find Solutions to the Farmer/Grazier Problems in Aghem, p. 1.

<sup>90</sup> Fung, “The Origin and Evolution of Pastoral Agricultural Conflict”, p. 50.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

A group of more than one thousand women from Wum staged a peaceful march on foot. That is, covering about 84 Kilo meters to the governor's office in Bamenda. Their intention was to draw or attract public attention and to make the Governor aware of their grievances and the situation in Wum<sup>93</sup>.

The governor listened to them and appreciated their decision of extending it to him. He sympathized with them and set up a commission named after him, Guillaume Nseke commission<sup>94</sup>. His effort to see into the women's problem appeased them. He made arrangements on how they could return to Wum. The Nseke commission stipulated that the Aghem land was to be demarcated so as to clearly differentiate farming land from grazing land. This was to be coordinated by the chief of zone-North West for Farmer-Grazier problem, A. T. Ngalla<sup>95</sup>. The team was to ensure the movement of cattle to the originally allocated grazing areas at Mbulom and Mbu'uh in the chieftdom of Kesu, Kenyere in the chieftdom of Zonghofuh and Sangwa in the chieftdom of Waindugho. These areas were to be demarcated with fences and the farmers were to be responsible for the provision of sticks for the fences which they effectively did this time around<sup>96</sup>.

In the course of doing his work in 1974, Ngalla got the indigenes angrier as he initiated artificial boundaries in favour of the Fulani. This view is narrated by Nyoh in his words:

The originally designated grazing areas cited above were not taken into consideration as requested by Governor Guillaume Nseke. Governor Guillaume Nseke left the North West Province the same year and no efforts were made by his successors to redress the situation. The alteration made on the recommendations of Governor Guillaume Nseke had as consequence persistence in the farmer-grazier conflict<sup>97</sup>.

This encouraged the Fulani to cause more harm on the indigenous farms. It was from here that the Aghem women came out in their numbers and implanted themselves in the palace for a considerable number of days. They outrightly demonstrated their dislike for the Fulani presence in Wum<sup>98</sup>. It is needless to restate that the indigenes did not respect their chiefs any more. This was because they believed their *fons* were not willing to neutralize their problems because the Fulani compensated them<sup>99</sup>.

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<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, p.51.

<sup>94</sup> Wum Rural council, "Welcome Addresses General", p. 215.

<sup>95</sup> Fung, "The Origin and Evolution of Pastoral Agricultural Conflict", pp.50-51.

<sup>96</sup> Nyoh, "Politics of Fragmentation in the Aghem Federation", p. 232.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>98</sup> Njoh, "Struggle for Traditional Leadership", p. 74.

<sup>99</sup> Fung, "The Origin and Evolution of Pastoral Agricultural Conflict", p. 50.

The *fons* were left with no choice than to seek for refuge somewhere<sup>100</sup>. Things only became better in 1978 when the government enacted a law establishing the terms and conditions for resolving farmer-grazier dispute. It was from here that the indigenes benefited from some compensation. A year after, demonstrations flourished again orchestrated by the destruction of crops by Fulani cattle. Four chiefdoms in the *Aghem* community welcomed a tour organized by the Farmer-grazier commission. This was to help remedy some issues. The chiefdoms visited were Wainangwen, Naikom, Kesu and Waindou and the problems stemmed from farm destruction<sup>101</sup>.

The decision of the Fulani to disregard the rules established by the Nseke's commission to mitigate the vicissitude that roamed the Menchum area resulted in a clash that pitted them and the indigenes. This clash manifested itself in the early 1980s and in a non-latent form<sup>102</sup>. It was one of the most disliked clashes in the Wum central community that compelled the indigenes to register it as a melancholy. This was because it was believed that some traditional authorities were conniving with the Fulani to cause harm on the farms of the indigenes<sup>103</sup>. As a proponent to this view, Fung has this to say "some nomads who had no intention of violating the Nseke's commission were asked by some chiefs and administrative officials such as A.T. Ngalla to come settle on some areas allocated to farmers"<sup>104</sup>. The complicity of chiefs, government officials and recalcitrant graziers prepared the ground for turmoil in the *Aghem* community.

This was new in the society to see traditional rulers support people inflicting pains on others. It was even worse when the Fulani made it known that they were not only invading the areas for temporal base but for permanent. This was seen as they did not only infiltrate in areas confined to farmers but established settlements there<sup>105</sup>. This was strange to see the Fulani resist quitting lands as they usually adhere to the decisions of the indigenes. Towards the end of the last month of the year 1980, the indigenes were surprise to discover that their farms were highly disnature. Our informants unanimously made us to understand that this was too much for the indigenes to bear especially as they were beaten by the Fulani as they

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<sup>100</sup> Interview with Fuh Jucentha Ekei.

<sup>101</sup> Interview with Achou Miranda Sih, 64 Years, Wum, 14/08/2021.

<sup>102</sup> Kum, "Wum Area Development Authority (WADA) 1965-1994", p. 205.

<sup>103</sup> Fung, "The Origin and Evolution of Pastoral Agricultural Conflict", p. 53.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>105</sup> Interview with Achou Miranda Sih.



tried battling with them<sup>106</sup>. This further made the *Aghem* women to confirm that the local administrators in Wum could not help them.

Just as it happened in Kuk where SDO Abraham accidentally met pupils loitering in the school premise during hours expected to be in class and interrogated them, Governor Aboum A. Tcheye paid a surprise visit to the *Aghem* community for a developmental meeting<sup>107</sup>. They already told themselves that the situation would be resolved as it was the case in Kuk. They were surprise to be prevented by the SDO of Wum at the time to have a physical conversation with the governor. Despite the fact that the women were aware of exactly what the SDO was doing, they still decided to go down on their knees and pleaded to him to follow them to the farms and see for himself the degree of damage caused by the Fulani. His response was an unfulfilled agenda<sup>108</sup>.

The *Aghem* women were disappointed and reluctantly left the SDO's residence and concluded that they should evoke their ancestors to mediate the unpleasant situation. With a deep consternation and furry state of mind, the indigenes resorted to uplifting the huts of Fulani, rendering them homeless<sup>109</sup>. This kept both groups at extreme angles there by nursing overt conflict to be the order of the day. The belligerency left its people seriously wounded among which were Afred Fung Sih, Boy Wanel Kebel, Awoh Magdaline, Kouko Chou, Achuo Ngea-Ewei, Cellina Nsih Ekum, Gladys Nsen Ekei, Emillia Njuh and Alhaji Korsha who were admitted in the hospital. The perpetrators were arrested and detained briefly<sup>110</sup>.

Given that the detained perpetrator was released when the indigenous women were still warming their beds in the hospital, they interpreted that the government officials did not value their lives and treated the matter partially. They decided again to mobilize themselves and engage in the destruction of Fulani homes<sup>111</sup>. The confrontation this time around increased the number of wounded indigenous women to twenty-three and was more violent<sup>112</sup>. This was because the juvenile category and spouses joined the fight. The indigenes adopted the scorched earth policy<sup>113</sup>. Alhadji Kosha tried mounting a powerful resistance but failed to emerge victorious. Hostilities at this time had changed hands. The Fulani suffered

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<sup>106</sup> Nyoh, "Politics of Fragmentation in the *Aghem* Federation", p. 233.

<sup>107</sup> Fung, "The Origin and Evolution of Pastoral Agricultural Conflict", p. 54.

<sup>108</sup> Interview with Fuh Jucentha Ekei.

<sup>109</sup> Kum, "Wum Area Development Authority (WADA) 1965-1994", p. 205.

<sup>110</sup> Fung, "The Origin and Evolution of Pastoral Agricultural Conflict", p. 54.

<sup>111</sup> Kum, "Wum Area Development Authority (WADA) 1965-1994", p. 205.

<sup>112</sup> Nyoh, "Politics of Fragmentation in the *Aghem* Federation", p. 233.

severely and felt that they could not physically withstand the indigenes. They decided to take refuge to neighboring communities like Bu, Weh, Befang among others<sup>114</sup>.

In order to make peace reign, a confidential administrative meeting was summoned. The key participants to this meeting were the *fons* and prominent politicians in the area such as Patrick Mua, Joseph Mua among others<sup>115</sup>. Oral sources educate us that this meeting failed to attain its goals and only had to commission the *fons* to call their subjects to order. In the course of transmitting the administrative official's message to their subjects, the indigenes termed them and some politicians as power mongers and puppets<sup>116</sup>. The *fons* adopted a more violent method of handling the matter. This was seen as they intensified the setting of Fulani houses around their farm ablaze. Fulani houses at Naikom and Kesu suffered severe loot. The indigenes planned to proceed to *Ardor* Umarou's compound which served as a concealing environment to the Fulani, but the information was leaked<sup>117</sup>. Security forces therefore took it as a duty to implant themselves round the compound of *Alhadji* Umarou so as to prevent it from falling prey into the hands of indigenes<sup>118</sup>.

Chief Jeremiah Kangsen of Kesu employed efforts to soften the minds of the indigenes but his effort remained futile. The indigenes said their complacency all along the time warrants them to ignore them. The administrative officers sorted to intimidate the indigenes but the indigenes muted them. The officers therefore decided to eliminate the most courageous indigenes who took the lead to dismantle Fulani homes. This can be understood in the words of Fung:

As the crowd continued on their way to their homes they were halted below the sub-prefecture of Wum by armed police men. The SDO, Joseph Mbase Ngoh, sub-prefect and some chiefs, politicians, the company commander of gendarmerie, Nkambe/Wum (Mohammadou Boubakari), the commissioner of public security and special branch Wum namely Isaac Konghso and Bouba Sabo were all present at the roundabout below the sub-prefecture Wum. Before the SDO could finish his instructions, the company commander of the forces of law and order started firing on the crowd...<sup>119</sup>

This caused the death of nine indigenes among which were Buh Clement Kum, Fung Tesih Nou, Peter Enah, Joseph Kedze Sangha, Wah Kelly Kwalla, Wahfuh Chung, Weh Buh, Kedze Sin and Simon Achuo. Many people were left wounded<sup>120</sup>.

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<sup>114</sup> Interview with Achou Miranda Sih.

<sup>115</sup> Nyoh, "Politics of Fragmentation in the Aghem Federation", p. 233.

<sup>116</sup> Interview with Njoya Christopher.

<sup>117</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>118</sup> Nyoh, "Politics of Fragmentation in the Aghem Federation", p. 233.

<sup>119</sup> Fung, "The Origin and Evolution of Pastoral Agricultural Conflict", p. 56.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid*.

This firing caused an open brouhaha state in many people's mind. Some moved out of Wum. Those that remained called for "operation mourning" and refused selling food stuff to the Fulani. This manner of expressing their disheartening state went on for close to a week but the administrative officers worked in synergy with *fons* to make peace reign. The indigenes felt highly dehumanized but remained steadfast in their point of retaliating the killing of their people<sup>121</sup>. It is imperative to highlight that during the mid-1950s, there was relative calm in the *Aghem* community. This was as a result of the manner the then governor, Mutanga Ngomba Alexander handled issues. He never took sides with an interest. His judgment on issues was therefore guided by the principle of fairness, transparency and consciousness.<sup>122</sup> This made the indigenous women to believe that their matters would be judged appropriately as Mutanga highly embraced the Nseke commission.

A sense of understanding that led to calmness was exhibited in the years 1985 and 1986 when the indigenous women visited the administrative officials and the language of the officials was consolidating<sup>123</sup>. Another understanding moment was witnessed in 1988 when a conflict pitted both groups and the leaders of the communities (*Ardor* Umaru and *Fon* Bah Mbi II of *Aghem*) resolved the issue by dialoguing. They further resorted to holding meetings with the prime objectives of eliminating activities or thoughts that kept them at extremes<sup>124</sup>. It was told in the field that if not of this degree of exchange that occurred between the two leaders, the result of the skirmish would have been drastic given that the havoc caused on the indigenous farms by the Fulani graziers were severe<sup>125</sup>. This attitude did not reflect what prevailed when the Fulani just entered the Menchum area.

It was a surprise to see the Fulani deviate from their welcoming attitude to a distasteful one when *Ardor* Umarou joined the heavenly choir. This was seen as they vehemently refused to quit lands allocated for farming claiming that it was theirs, that the *fons* and administration gave them the lands. As it is always said, every problem has a particular solution; the indigenes reasoned that this negative attitude could better be addressed by retaliation. They confiscated Fulani cattle and some of their articles. The administrators stepped in and quenched the revolt. Here, the Fulani were given less time to

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<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>122</sup> DAW, file N° E28/09/Vol. 1, Farmer Grazier, 1996.

<sup>123</sup> Interview with Achou Miranda Sih.

<sup>124</sup> Nyoh, "Politics of Fragmentation in the Aghem Federation", p. 236.

<sup>125</sup> Interview with Fuh Jucentha Ekei.

distance themselves from the indigenous farm lands. The indigenes who equally acted immorally were compelled to compensate the losses they implanted on the Fulani<sup>126</sup>.

This was a good sign of judgment in the area though problems still filtered in the future. Conflict broke out again in 1998 when the harvesting season was approaching. Crops were seriously damaged and what was left in the farms was nothing to ride home. Houses of the Fulani were destroyed again by the indigenes. This misunderstanding later transformed into a serious tearing apart issue. The Waindou community suffered the most in this conflict<sup>127</sup>. People from both camps sustained wounds and were admitted in the hospital. This was something difficult to see at the infancy stage of Fulani presence in the Menchum community. Another dispute that pitted both groups came up in the early 2000s. Here, the indigenes demonstrated anger by decimating the Fulani cattle and camped in the administrative offices. But they were told that a solution will be sought<sup>128</sup>. Given that the solution was not forth coming, the clash escalated.

In the course of compensating the indigenous farmers, some did not benefit. This was a problem to them especially when they considered that their crops were ravaged to the level they could not even have something to feed themselves with. This fuelled another clash between the two groups. The Fulani armed themselves with weapons like swords, knives, sticks among others and battled with the indigenes. The effect of this particular clash was drastic as there was enormous loss of lives. Husan Dawara Goma and his wife, Goma Fadima Hawaa and their son Shedei Ali Hussan and an aged person Mohmoud Musa lost their lives<sup>129</sup>. More bloodshed was witnessed when the security forces got involved in the skirmish following its persistence. Some perpetrators like Men Ndum and Jacob Enah Zong-Sih were arrested by security forces and detained.

Their families were charged to pay an indemnity to the Fulani who suffered some losses<sup>130</sup>. It became worst when some Fulani cattle got missing and were later found in Waindou neighbourhood. As the owner tried regaining them, he was murdered by an indigene, Mua Zou<sup>131</sup>. This incident annoyed the Fulani community which rallied itself and

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<sup>126</sup> Interview with Buba Amadou 52 Years, Wum, 14/08/2020.

<sup>127</sup> Fung, "The Farmer-Grazier Conflict in the Aghem Federation", p. 58; Muhamadou, "The Advent, Organisation and Integration", p.64.

<sup>128</sup> Njoh, "Struggle for Traditional Leadership", p. 74.

<sup>129</sup> Muhamadou, "The Advent, Organisation and Integration of Fulani", p.64.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*

launched another repressive attack against the indigenes. It was in this confrontation that another Fulani, Yakubu lost his life and many other people were wounded<sup>132</sup>. Security forces stepped in again and arrested the perpetrators, and jailed them. They were charged to pay for the damages they inflicted on the society. A reconciliation council was summoned by *fons* and administrative officers with the aim of making peace reign. But it should be noted that this council failed to attain its goal as the conflict persisted<sup>133</sup>. It is needless to restate that a lasting solution to Fulani-indigenous mishap had never existed in the *Aghem* land as measures taken during meetings were often poorly applied or ignored<sup>134</sup>.

In 2003, another serious dispute pitted the Fulani and indigenes of the *Aghem* community. The Fulani invaded the indigenous farms again and destroyed crops. The indigenes requested the perpetrators to compensate for the damage inflicted on the farms and quite the area in less than no time. Following the reluctance of the Fulani to pay for the damages, the indigenous women assembled themselves in Zonghokwo neighbourhood (palace). In the palace, the paramount *fon*, Bah Mbi III and other *fons* were kept hostage for two months<sup>135</sup>. Fung further educated us that, while at the site, the *Aghem* women took an oath to stay in the palace till justice was declared, immorality eliminated and transparency made the order of the day<sup>136</sup>.

The indigenes of the juvenile category organized militant groups and attacked the Fulani. As disorder was gradually becoming too high, Kum Pa Isa (the Governor of North-West Region) and Simon Achidi Achu visited the area and pleaded on the women to leave the palace<sup>137</sup>. The discussion of the governor and the women proved to be positive as the women accepted to leave the palace. It was from here that a commission was established to address issues pitting both groups<sup>138</sup>. Thus, one will not be wrong to say that the gesture of the statesmen yielded fruits. Plate nine illustrates how cattle were forcefully taken to the SDO office by the indigenes.

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<sup>132</sup> Fung, "The Origin and Evolution of Pastoral Agricultural Conflict", p. 60.

<sup>133</sup> Nyoh, "Politics of Fragmentation in the Aghem Federation", p. 238.

<sup>134</sup> Interview with Ntuhseen John Toh.

<sup>135</sup> Fung, "The Origin and Evolution of Pastoral Agricultural Conflict", p. 61.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>137</sup> Nyoh, "Politics of Fragmentation in the Aghem Federation", pp. 238-239.

<sup>138</sup> Interview with Ntuhseen John Toh.

**Plate 9: Waindugho Youths in *Aghem* Forcefully Taking Cattle to the SDO's Office in 2003**



Source : P. F. Yonghachea et al, *Agropastoral Conflicts in the North West Province of Cameroon*, Hohenheim University, TROZCentre for Agriculture in the Tropics and Subtropics, 2005, p. 2.; Nyoh, "Politics of Fragmentation in the Aghem Federation", p. 239.

Tapping knowledge from plate 9, we can learn that the youths of *Aghem* were bitter with the destruction of their mothers' farms by Fulani cattle. They then decided to drive cattle to the SDO's office who according to them embraced levity in resolving the issue. In 2004, serious destruction of indigenous farms still occurred. This provoked the indigenous women to launch another uprising in the *Aghem* community. They marched to the *Aghem* palace and administrative offices. Participants of this protest included nurses, old and pregnant women who marched to the palace to seek for a concrete solution. At the palace of Zonghokwo, *fon* Bah Mbi was held hostage for three months<sup>139</sup>.

The women stayed in the palace for some time. This was because they believed that it was the place of the *fon* to provide concrete solutions to the Fulani-indigenous problem emanating from the search of geographical space. Recognizing the fact that their mothers were traumatized and kept under a difficult situation, the youths joined the struggle and took the lead to form militant groups with the main aim of making peace reign<sup>140</sup>. Given that peace was not forth coming, the women abandoned their marital responsibilities. This adversely

<sup>139</sup> Fung, "The Origin and Evolution of Pastoral Agricultural Conflict", pp. 61-62.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*

affected their husbands as they lived in starvation. The entry of youths in this affair transformed the matter to something no one expected<sup>141</sup>.

This was highly felt in 2005 as both communities faced the repercussions of the uprising. The degree and duration of the protracted conflict originating from the search of the geographical space by the late incomers revealed the incapability of the *fons* and administrative officers or their unwillingness to handle the issue<sup>142</sup>. The indigenous youths intimidated the Fulani and were left with the last option of dismantling their homes. They equally made a plan of dethroning *fons* who were unjustly taking sides with the Fulani. This plan leaked and *fon* Bah Mbi III guilty and not residing in the *Aghem* land, started taking precautions and arm himself. According to oral source, he was supposed to be one of the *fons* in *Aghem* land to be deposed because of his dubious attitude<sup>143</sup>.

It was also learned from the field that he ordered security officers to take life out of some youths who according to him were the ones causing friction in the land<sup>144</sup>. In line with this, Fung stated that "... *Fon* Bah Mbi III earmarked some youths to be arrested and shut when his position was endangered...since he was enthroned as *fon* he has never stayed up to a month in the palace. It was because of his dubious nature and absence that this conflict had been persisting"<sup>145</sup>.

This made some indigenes in *Aghem* to believe that his dethronement was to be a panacea to implant peace in the *Aghem* land. On Monday 26 July, 2005, at about 3:00 AM; security forces deployed from Bamenda invaded Wum, arrested and tortured many indigenous youths. Some *fons* like Bernard Afuhnkou and Chou Chrisantus who sympathized with the women were arrested alongside their subjects and taken to Bamenda<sup>146</sup>. It should be noted that some of those subjects that were taken to Bamenda were jailed in the judicial police while others were brought back and locked up in Wum. It should also be recalled that the forty five youths believed to be the pillars protesting for their mothers were arrested and some by security forces following the information furnished them by *fon* Bah Mbi. However, some of them escaped to other areas<sup>147</sup>.

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<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>142</sup> SCET-Cameroon, *Projet de Développement Rural Integre du Developpement de la Menchum*, Vol. 2, p.52.

<sup>143</sup> Interview with Fuh Jucentha Ekei, Ebua Esther Mnam.

<sup>144</sup> Interview with Mua Angelina Nsen, Farmer, 63Years, Wum, 16/08/2018.

<sup>145</sup> Fung, "The Origin and Evolution of Pastoral Agricultural Conflict", p. 64.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>147</sup> Interview with Mua Angelina Nsen.

In the course of this arrest, gendarmes broke into indigenous homes and got youths well beaten and even trampled on elderly people including women. This resulted in the sustaining of wounds by many people who were evacuated to hospitals. There was no exact information as concerns the number of people that were arrested and wounded. But it was however told that they were arrested for promoting terrorism in the *Aghem* community<sup>148</sup>. Given this protracted conflict, researchers have attributed the blame to the British who persistently laid emphasizes on the importance of revenue derived from jangali tax and sporadically adopted an aphoristic culture towards the Fulani by arguing that the Fulani had perspective rights to grazing lands. They equally assumed that the land was in excess and the indigenes could never occupy it all. They only became serious and started looking for solutions as it persisted<sup>149</sup>.

In this way, they inadvertently fuel the conflict as they supported the Fulani at the expense of the indigenes in certain cases. This was because the type of agricultural activity chiefly practised by the indigenes demanded the British to spend fabulous sums on it before reaping any profit while the cattle sector developed on its own and the British were able to reap more profit from it. In order to reduce the degree of the conflict, the British thought it necessary of granting temporal grazing permits to the Fulani graziers. They agreed with NA that a Fulani could not settle in his area of jurisdiction without their consent but they later violated the principle themselves.

The attitude of some administrators in Menchum Division especially the SDOs towards the FGC was just like that of some British colonial administrators. Instead of employing efforts to discontinue the crisis, they rather exploited it to enrich themselves. For instance, Patrick Kangsen, the SDO for Menchum between 2005 and 2008 who was accused of collecting bribes and fueling FGC in order to enrich himself<sup>150</sup>. The Champion Newspaper compliments this view “Kamsu like most of his predecessors before him was more occupied with allegedly lining his pockets with bank notes from graziers than resolving the problem. The result of it was frequent agitation from the wum population and clashes with the security forces”<sup>151</sup>.

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<sup>148</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>149</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>150</sup> Fung, “The Origin and Evolution of Pastoral Agricultural Conflict”, p. 64.

<sup>151</sup> Champion N0. 002, 8 August 2008, p.5. The comment of the champion Newspapers educates us that Kamsu embraced corruption to enrich himself which was not strange to the Menchum populace.



Kangsen further demonstrated his desire to make the indigenes angrier by going against the law instituted by the Koumpa Issa's Commission<sup>152</sup>. This commission was set up to verify and propose solutions to it; one of its recommendations was that the Naikom village in Wum should be reserved for farming activities and not grazing. This was highly cherished by the farmers in Wum. This made them to believe that the governor was ready to put an end to the protracted conflict. It was not long that Kangsen went against the law in 2007 as we gathered from the field that Kamsu Patrick issued two prefectural orders, one redefining grazing land in Naikom village and the other allocating grazing land in the area to Thomas Ndong and Godfred Eta (both graziers evicted long from there by Koumpa Issa's recommendations)<sup>153</sup>. Knowing that his village had been declared a non-grazing land, *fon* Ben Afu of Naikom sent the SDO of Menchum to the court for violating the Koumpa Issa's commission recommendations delimiting farm land<sup>154</sup>. From the information above, one will not be wrong to conclude that administrators in the Menchum fanned the flames of FGC.

The effect of this intra conflict was that it made the environment unconducive for some people especially the Fulani who believed that they were regarded as foreigners without any right to own land. This resulted in the emigration of some of them to other places in the 1960s where they could graze their cattle peacefully. According to Cook and Turner, there were 74,170 cattle in Wum Division in 1960. But in the years 1961, 1962, 1963 and 1964, the population reduced to 54,699; 47,023; 49,767; and 46,389 respectively<sup>155</sup>. This shows that from 1960 to 1964, 27,781 cattle left Wum Division as a result of a protracted conflict between the settlers.

The conflict also exposed the negative attitude of some traditional rulers. This made them to lose dignity and respect from their subjects. This was the case of *Aghem* where women camped in the palace while sitting on the floor for close to two weeks. Youths who could not bear the pains of their mothers decided to intervene in the matter. The constituted themselves in petty groups and attacked Fulani settlements, wounded cattle and later overtly

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<sup>152</sup> Governor Koumpa Issa's Commission Report recommendations were drafted and made public on 9 February 2004. As per the recommendations, Ndong Thomas and eta Godfrey, graziers who were constantly at conflicts with farmers were to vacate Naikom village to graze in specified areas. The two respected the recommendations and evacuated Naikom village and calm was witnessed in the village for over two years until Kamsu's prefectural orders in 2007 contradicted it.

<sup>153</sup> WDSCA, Prefectural Order No. 136/2007, Redefining Grazing Land in Naikom Village.

<sup>154</sup> Jumbam, "The Fulani Impact on the Bamenda Grassfield 1916-2008", p. 247.

<sup>155</sup> H. Cook and L.F. Turner, *The Economics of West Cameroon-Priorities for Development*, Stanford Research Institute, Menlo Park, California, 1965, pp. 150-151.

disrespected their *fons* by not taking their order into consideration<sup>156</sup>. Women equally marched to Bamenda to report the matter to the governor since their *fon* was unwilling.

The youths again demanded traditional rulers who were proving to be aphoristic with the Fulani to desist from the act. It was not long as they began invading the palaces of the accused *fons* of the *Aghem* federation. Six *fons* including Bah Mbi III were arrested and held hostage in Magha Palace<sup>157</sup>. The *fons* arrested included Michael Akwo of Magha, Chrisantus Cho of Waindo, Bah Mbi III of *Aghem* and Ben Afu of Naikom who was not molested because he showed concern to the farmers. Apart from Ben Afu, the others were coerced to confess for their sins<sup>158</sup>. When they were released and warned, Bah Mbi III drew the attention of the Governor to the conflict and gave forty-five names of youths to the security forces to be shot which did not happen. Elizabeth Kang and a host of others were taken to Bamenda and locked up<sup>159</sup>.

Other *fons* considered to have sided with their people unjustly were given degraded treatment. This was the case of the Fungom village where the indigenes were shocked to watch their *fon* arrested being helplessly, detained and brutally jailed in 1997 because he sided with his subjects in their confrontation with a Fulani who had allowed cattle to graze on their farms<sup>160</sup>. This action of the security forces was in flagrant violation of article 29 (2) of the Cameroon constitution which stated that a *fon* must be given a pre-notice and hearing before sanctions were applied on him<sup>161</sup>. This was tantamount to disrespect and humiliation of an institution endowed with sacrosanct, yet he was arrested, intimidated and jailed together with some of his subjects. This was an evidence that the presence of Fulani in the Menchum community led to the deterioration of traditional institutions.

The conflict introduced petition writing on cattle. Before the advent of Fulani in Menchum, documents carrying grievances on FGC were unknown. The moment the population of cattle brought by Fulani started multiplying tremendously, complaints on cattle flooded the sub-divisional offices of Menchum. The petitions were written by both settlers expressing their grievances; farmers tabled complaints as their farms or crops were destroyed

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<sup>156</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", p.136.

<sup>157</sup> Nyoh, "Politics of Fragmentation in the Aghem Federation", p. 233.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>159</sup> Njoh, "Struggle for Traditional Leadership", p. 74.

<sup>160</sup> Jumbam, "The Fulani Impact on the Bamenda Grassfield 1916-2008", p. 256.

<sup>161</sup> J. Fokwang, "Chieftaincy in the Era of Democratic Transition in Africa: A Comparative Study in the Chiefdoms of Tshivhase and Bali", Masters of Art Dissertation, History Department, University of Pretoria, 2002, p.34.

by cattle while the worries of the Fulani were that the indigenes wounded their cattle or invaded their homes. These complaints inadvertently compelled the administrators to spend time touring their areas of command and addressed the issue.

It is worth mentioning that governors like Guillaume Nseke, Koumpa Issa, Enow Abraham Egbe and Abakar Ahamat painstakingly toured the North West Region where our area of study is found on several occasions to bring the problem to an end. Their visit to the *Aghem* village was countless given that the situation was the order of the day<sup>162</sup>. Petitions submitted on FGC between 2000 and 2008 could be summarized on the table below.

**Table 11: Farmer-Grazier Petitions in Wum Central Sub-Division, 2000-2008**

| Year | Number of petitions |
|------|---------------------|
| 2000 | 36                  |
| 2001 | 85                  |
| 2002 | 81                  |
| 2003 | 30                  |
| 2004 | 22                  |
| 2005 | 08                  |
| 2006 | 40                  |
| 2007 | 55                  |
| 2008 | 22                  |

Source: Constructed by Author from WCSDA, Farmer-Grazier Complaints: File N0. E28.0/6 Vol. 28.

Basing on table 11, we can observe that the number of complaints from 2000 to 2003 were relatively high. The number dropped as time evolved given the mass emigration of Fulani to other areas.

#### **D: The Case of Fulani Community**

The presence of Fulani in Menchum Division also introduced intra-Fulani conflicts in the area. Hitherto the pre-Fulani days in Menchum, there existed conflict of almost all types but that of grazier-grazier (Fulani-Fulani) was unknown. This type became common in the area as the Fulani moved in with their cattle and meted blending outcomes. It mainly emanated from differences stemming from trespassing grazing lands. As earlier mentioned in the general introduction, the degree of disagreement between the Fulani and indigenes was very low if not absent in the early time of our study. That among the Fulani was also unknown.

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<sup>162</sup> Interview with Mua Angelina Nsen.

This was because there was enough land to contain the scanty population of the settlers and that of cattle of the area.

As time went by, cattle unavoidably brought the Fulani at loggerheads within themselves. This was because cattle of one Fulani tended to feed on land under the control of another Fulani. News about this new type of conflict seemed to be a marginal thing to the British administration at that time because the Fulani community was living in harmony. It is important to note that from the time the Fulani penetrated into the Menchum division there existed just an *Ardorate* led by *Ardor Umaru*<sup>163</sup>. He was the sole person in charge of the entire Fulani community in the Menchum division and the worries of the Fulani in the area could only be heard through him. He worked in synergy with traditional rulers and administrators. Things later changed in the 1990s when he passed on to glory and was succeeded by *Ardor Mama*<sup>164</sup>.

It was not long that *Ardor Mama* ran into conflict with the very rich and influential Ahmadou Danpullo who wanted to place himself at the apotheosis state of the Fulani community not only in Boyo (his base), but also in the Menchum area<sup>165</sup>. He constantly organized meetings in his Ndawara residence, assembled Fulani *Ardors* and elites to discuss Fulani issues. He often clashed with those who failed to answer present in the meeting. This incessant clashing eventually dragged him into conflict with *Ardor Mama*<sup>166</sup>.

It became more serious when Danpullo engaged in reducing the powers of Mama by creating more *Ardo-en* in Menchum. He created *Ardo-en* in 2008 like *Ardor Sule* and Muhamadou Dicko in *Aghem*, *Ardor Jaja* in Esu and *Ardor Adamu* in *Zhoa*<sup>167</sup>. Besides these *Ardo-en*, several others including the self proclaimed and those made by traditional rulers existed. This tussle for leadership titles and power among the Fulani was a new thing in the Menchum community. This type of conflict was more visible in Kuk when we saw two Fulani (Ngamsah and Waowa) conflicting over a piece of land<sup>168</sup>. Both claimed the land to be their area of grazing. Fighting broke out when cattle of both parties coincidentally converge there and the two graziers failed to reach a compromise. Although no major injury was

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<sup>163</sup> Interview with Nji Mathias Nyoh

<sup>164</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>165</sup> Jumbam, "The Fulani Impact on the Bamenda Grassfield 1916-2008", p.279

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>168</sup> Chu, *Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary*, p. 86.

sustained by the two clashers, but they all felt pains as they used sticks as their fighting weapons<sup>169</sup>.

### **Conclusion**

The chapter has unveiled some case studies of land boundaries which have witnessed changes on its initial boundaries. This was done by classifying it into inter-community and intra-community boundaries. In both cases, the chapter admits that conflict between the two settlers of Menchum Division was very marginal in the early time of our study. It began to escalate when resources started running short as the population of both groups including that of cattle kept increasing. These boundary issues greatly orchestrated by the late settlers consciously and unconsciously resulted in the stigmatization, fratricidal conflict within communities, hatred, insecurity and disunity in our area of study.

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<sup>169</sup> Interview with Akum Chrisantus Mtam.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **MUTATIONS IN IDEOLOGICAL BOUNDARIES**

#### **Introduction**

Human groups that find themselves in a given community are bound to create relations with each other and reap the benefits of closing boundaries. This is because they are not blessed with all the natural resources that they need for their livelihood. It is for this reason that communities in Menchum Division closed boundaries by establishing relations with each other. This section of the work will focus on economic boundaries such as land tenure, agriculture and trade. It will also examine socio-cultural boundaries like religion, education, health, marriage customs, housing and other cultural manifestation. This will also go in line with political boundaries some of which include local administration, national politics, justice and peace among others. This chapter is equally a gateway to our penultimate chapter.

#### **I. Economic Boundaries: Land Tenure**

The accession of most African states to independence prior to the 1960s witnessed a transition in settlement. This was because security which was the main factor people considered before settling on a piece of land no longer held as other factors came into play. As a result of this, people started moving away from the ancient nucleated arrangements. The Menchum Division with its natural endowments favoured the infiltration of many people including late settlers. But then, it should be highlighted that the indigenes of Menchum Division already had their customary and legal rights to land and the resulting social integration. The customs and traditional institutions of the indigenes before the arrival of the Fulani had the *fon* at the head of land. The *fon* controlled the land with regard to the customs of the people.

In the Grassfields, ownership and control of all lands was entrusted to the *fons* who were landlords and have all the rights to claim all the land in their area of jurisdiction. There was no selling of lands; it was the common property of ancestral rites. This is also to say that

the *fons* were the commanders in chief as concern land tenure in pre-colonial Menchum<sup>1</sup>. But in the course of time especially with the coming of the Fulani, changes were witnessed in the land tenure system of the indigenes. This was because the *fons* started deviating from the rules and regulations that governed their land tenure system. They started viewing land as an asset to gain wealth by selling to the new comers who were badly in need of it for their economic activities. Most lands acquired from them were through purchase which was not the case before. The normal procedure of acquiring land according to the customs and traditions of the people, fast disappeared.

It should be mentioned that the acquisition of land before the coming of the Fulani was peaceful. When they came in in their numbers, they introduced conflict as another means of acquiring land. This stemmed from the fact that the British administrators and some traditional rulers in the Bamenda Grassfields where our area of study is found sympathized with them. This was because they reaped huge benefits from their cattle. In order to appease them, they had to treat them like non aliens in the area. Provisions were made to treat them equally as indigenes<sup>2</sup>. This was not in line with the traditional land tenure system of the indigenes which made them to view the British administrators from a negative perspective.

This British entente with the Fulani further widened the distance that existed between the Fulani and the indigenes as the former took upon them to invade farm lands. Conflict gradually became a method of acquiring land in some cases which was not the case before the presence of Fulani in the area. The British administrators in order to mitigate this situation, decided to demarcate the land into farming and grazing land. It should be mentioned that the British decision of demarcating the land was empowered by ambivalent thoughts: the Fulani significant contribution to the economy of Menchum Division and the havoc they caused. It was in tandem to this that the fragmentation of land into grazing and farming came into action<sup>3</sup>.

This was a nervous act to the indigenes who believed that the Fulani were not supposed to be entitled to land without their consent, given that they were strangers in the area as stated by Awasom “the proposal was not received with enthusiasm by the native population because they feared that a section of their ancestral land would be given to the

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<sup>1</sup> Amaazee, *Traditional Rulers (Chiefs) and Politics*, 2002, pp. 9-13.

<sup>2</sup> Awasom, “The Hausa and Fulani in the Bamenda Grasslands 1903-1960”, pp. 161-162.

<sup>3</sup> Chu, “Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary”, p.100.

Fulani who clung to it externally”<sup>4</sup>. As a figure charged with the responsibility of maintaining peace, Senior Divisional Officer M. D. W Jeffrey explained to the indigenes that the demarcation of the land was to remedy the farmer-grazier conflict since it was going to offer room for farmers not to converge with graziers in the course of carrying out their main economic activities<sup>5</sup>.

It was from there that he acted under the Boundary Settlement Ordinance (B. S. O) and succeeded in demarcating the land into farming and grazing lands. Although the demarcation checked the animus relation that pitted the indigenes and the Fulani, it was just momentary as the population of cattle was ever increasing thereby compelling the Fulani to encroach into lands reserved for farming<sup>6</sup>. This encroachment was not what prevailed in the years hitherto the coming of Fulani in Menchum Division and was considered unorthodox as concerns the traditional land tenure system of the indigenes. In this light, the indigenes were left with no choice than to retaliate thereby engaging into conflict to preserve land.

In 1943, N. Clark, Senior Veterinary Officer (S.V.O) established a Fulani Development and Welfare Scheme (F. D. W. S), which was more ambitious than Jeffrey’s demarcation scheme. Clarke’s Fulani scheme had the preoccupation of preserving pasture for cattle and enhance the cordial relationship between the indigenes and Fulani. He also contributed in the alteration of boundaries. This was because his scheme affected the land tenure system as it proposed that grazing areas in the Bamenda Grassfields should be leased to the Fulani *Ardor* of a given area which would be charged with the duty of using the grazing land properly<sup>7</sup>. A certificate of occupancy was to be given the Fulani. This made the indigenes to be angrier as they saw it as a way of disrespecting their method of land acquisition.

The change in the land tenure system in Menchum Division was closely related to the Cameroon land law. As earlier mentioned, the method of acquiring land in the Menchum area hitherto the land laws of 1974 rested on the tradition and customs of the people. *Fons* were the custodians of land in their territories and had prerogatives to exercise proprietary rights. They had to follow the principles put in place by their ancestors to govern land. Any contrary means of acquiring land was accompanied with a sanction, sometimes spiritually performed

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<sup>4</sup> Awasom, “The Hausa and Fulani in the Bamenda Grasslands 1903-1960”, p.169.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p.170.

<sup>6</sup> Jumbam, “The Fulani Impact on the Bamenda Grassfield 1916-2008”, p. 228.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p.229.



by their ancestors<sup>8</sup>. Conscious of these drastic effects, most *fons* remained humble and followed the norms of their land. But some *fons* in the grassfields decided to kick against the norms and started selling land to new comers with the advent of the 1974 land laws.

The 1974 land law stated that anyone could claim ownership of land once entitled to a land certificate. This encouraged the Fulani to buy land from some individuals in the area which was not the case before. In some cases, conflict was the outcome. The case of big Babanki where HRH Vugha was assassinated constitutes a good example. This was because he deprived the indigenes from gaining access to land. Again, the pressure on land as a result of population growth provoked a change in the land tenure system of the indigenous population of Menchum. The increase in population probably resulted from the *fons*' attitude of inviting the Fulani to come and occupy land in their various territories. This was because the Fulani paid fiefs or compensated the *fons* for residing on their land. The terms for compensation varied from one community to another<sup>9</sup>.

As the Fulani acquired land and settled, coupled with their tradition of early marriages, illiteracy and Endogamy, the population of the area was bound to increase. This increase in their population was accompanied by the need for land by the indigenes for farming. Thus, the increasing competitive use of land regarded as common property for ancestral rites. This was equally applied to the allocation of land by chiefs and part of family lands. The late settler's occupation of land did not in many cases, respect the normal norms of the land occupancy of the area as seen in the previous action. So, one will not be wrong to intimate that the presence of Fulani in the area of discussion promoted boundary dynamics.

## **B. Agriculture**

Agriculture was the main stay of the indigenous population of Menchum Division before the coming of Fulani. Though it was done with the use of crude tools, it was both for commercial and local consumption. Although communities in the area were involved in nearly all the local farm productions, most of them specialized in a particular product and this depended on the nature of the soil<sup>10</sup>. However, maize was cultivated in all the villages since it was used to prepare their traditional meal. The farming activity involved every member of the family. While the husband and other matured boys did the clearing of the farm, the rest of the work was completed by the women and children who were up to the task. Transportation of the

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<sup>8</sup> Interview with Toh Simon Che.

<sup>9</sup> Awasom, "The Hausa and Fulani in the Bamenda Grasslands 1903-1960", p. 223.

<sup>10</sup> Karh, "Cattle Economy in Wum 1940-2010", p. 37.

produce, especially maize, was done by every member of the family. The indigenes equally domesticated animals such as dogs, pigs, fowls, among others. Little was known on cattle grazing<sup>11</sup>.

In the course of time, the new comers infiltrated the area with their own major economic activity: cattle grazing and they did not want to engage in farming as the indigenes. This therefore kept a boundary for a long time. The late settlers used horses for transportation. Cattle grazing was the sole economic activity which they occupied themselves with. This was because cattle were used in nearly everything as far as their daily life was concern. It was used to establish a family. This is because it was used for bride price payment and after which the boy who had just gotten married was given a certain number of cattle as his own wealth to start his life with his family<sup>12</sup>. The artificial boundary that existed at this juncture can be explained by the fact that Fulani did not want to get involved in farming activities done by the indigenes. This was because they lacked physical man power to till the soil.

According to Abdou<sup>13</sup>, their little strength was just enough to graze their cattle. In the same connection, the indigenes hesitated to graze cattle because it had a lot of negative effects on their farming activities. According to Ndong, cattle was not their common animal, they were not familiar with such an activity<sup>14</sup>. This only helped to sustain a boundary with the community. With the perception in mind that their ponderous progress resulted from the non-cooperation among themselves in the area, indigenes decided to bridge the boundary by interchanging their economic activities. They started owning herds of cattle in the early 1950s<sup>15</sup>. The engagement in cattle grazing by the indigenes can partly be explained by the fact that no major enterprise existed in the area to occupy the youths at the time.

Again, the Fulani with their cattle had driven all the bush animals; cattle exposed the hiding places of these bush animals in the course of pasturing. People who depended on hunting found it difficult to sustain a living. They had no choice than to embrace the pastoral economic activity. According to Ndi Alexander<sup>16</sup>, the drop of the price of coffee which was a source of income to some indigenes encouraged them to get involved in livestock production.

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<sup>11</sup> Interview with Kang Richard, 67 Years, Farmer, Weh, 17/08/2021.

<sup>12</sup> Interview with Fali Saly.

<sup>13</sup> Interview with Abdou Amidou.

<sup>14</sup> Interview with Muwanda Ndong.

<sup>15</sup> Nyoh, "Fulani-Indigenous Relations in Fungom Sub-Division", p. 41.

<sup>16</sup> Interview with Ndi Alexander, 78 Years, Kuk, Farmer, 19/08/2018.

The intensification of the bridging of the boundary was also connected to the British attitude of associating with the Fulani due to the benefits they enjoyed from the high payment of taxes. It is imperative to mention that the means of owning cattle by indigenes equally varied. The strategies they employed followed a time pattern. But then, it was a taboo to see an indigene moving behind cattle in the name of *gainakoh*<sup>17</sup>. But as time went by, many indigenes adopted the *gainakoh* occupation as a strategy to own cattle.

In the 1950s, Augustin Beng worked as a *gainakoh* and ended up owning cattle. According to Ami Nyoh, many indigenes got cattle through this means<sup>18</sup>. This was done by getting into contracts with the Fulani where they served for a year old cow every five months or bought the cattle out of their 15,000 francs CFA monthly salary. Once the cattle were up to the number they wished, they left their Fulani mentor and searched for their own space to graze<sup>19</sup>. The rapid increase of the standards of living of these early indigenes who embraced the livestock industry encouraged many more indigenes to fall in love with this economic activity<sup>20</sup>.

This new wave developed another strategy to own cattle which was creating cordial relations with the Fulani in their various communities. Paying visits to Fulani in times of feasting and other come together ceremonies constituted another method. From this frequent visits and cordial relations, the Fulani fell in love with some aspects of the indigenes. The indigenes did not hesitate to give them banana which they badly hunted. In order to strengthen these relations, the Fulani offered cattle to indigenes as gifts. Others equally owned cattle by selling their properties to have money to buy. This was the case of Joseph Tembong and Tong boy of Bafmeng, Alponse Fuh and Bernard Meh of Esu. The later means of getting cattle by the indigenes was by buying cows bit by bit and keeping with their friends of Fulani origin<sup>21</sup>.

This method was used by many, like Ntuh Jude, Godlove Kang, Bin Alang, Kompany Chua, Nji Fidelis Muh, Peter Fukah among others in the late 1990s to own cattle. The money they used came from their savings in their daily activity mostly out of the region<sup>22</sup>. The Fulani on their part equally saw the need to fully integrate themselves in the community by

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<sup>17</sup> Interview with Muwanda Ndong.

<sup>18</sup> Karh, "Cattle Economy in Wum 1940-2010", p. 44.

<sup>19</sup> DAW, File N0. E28/666/VOL. 1, Movement of Cattle, 1996.

<sup>20</sup> Interview with Ntuh Jude Kwa.

<sup>21</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", 122.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

cultivating what they never did before. They started doing farming and produced crops like, coco yams, plantains, maize, among others. Their reasons for this involvement in crop farming were connected to the fact that their number of cattle was decreasing. This decrease resulted from thunder strikes which killed many cattle. Theft was also a reason for this decrease. Faced with this situation, the Fulani started employing the indigenes to work in their rugas.

It should be underlined that before then the indigenes cultivated their crops in the rugas of the Fulani since it was very fertile due to abundant cow dung. When the Fulani saw the need to do farming, they paid the indigenes to cultivate farms for them<sup>23</sup>. The payment of indigenes equally varied within communities and it also depended on the degree of their relationship with the Fulani. In lower Fungom for instance, a ridge farm of about twelve meters long in the late 1970s cost 100 Francs CFA and by mid 1990s, the ridge stood at 200 francs CFA, in the early 2000s, it stood at 3000 francs CFA on Fulani farms<sup>24</sup>. In upper Fungom that same year, the difference was witnessed as the price and the dimension was not very different. There was an additional 25 francs as to that of lower Fungom. This was because the indigenes in this part of the area claimed modernity.

Another system of payment was the “two party system”<sup>25</sup>. So the Fulani relied on the indigenes to work on their farms. Thus, there was the need to put strategies in place to co-exist at peace. However, in the course of time, the Fulani gained experience and started doing farming themselves. It was very common to see Fulani doing the same farm work as indigenes. Some Fulani even cleared farms more than indigenes. This was not the case before, where they never even knew how to hold a cutlass. The indigenes therefore treated the Fulani with some degree of care since the Fulani offered them employment. In 2002, a young girl recounted her story about the importance of the Fulani in the area<sup>26</sup>. She was impregnated by a boy who later ran away from his responsibilities. The girl had no means to sustain a living since she was jobless. She therefore decided to concentrate on petty jobs with the Fulani. She cultivated crops for Fulani to raise money. She did so for five months and raised a reasonable sum of money which helped her buy baby needs and food<sup>27</sup>.

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<sup>23</sup> Interview with Amidou Sulley, 51 Years, Grazier, Abar, 18/08/2021.

<sup>24</sup> Interview with Adem Rose Ngea, 51 Years, Farmer, Kung, 18/08/2020.

<sup>25</sup> It is a situation where an owner of a farm gives out his farm to another farmer to farm it. The farmer then cultivates the crops he/she wants. Once the crops are harvested and sold, the person who supplied input deducts his money first. The rest is then shared equally between the farm owner and the farmer who cultivated the crops.

<sup>26</sup> Interview with Ngang Nora Bih, 33 Years, Farmer, Munken, 19/08/2021.

<sup>27</sup> *Idem*.

This is to say that the indigenes, just as the Fulani, were important to each other. They broke boundaries in economic activities to enhance their peaceful co-existence. The role of WADA in encouraging the Fulani to bridge this artificial boundary cannot be minimized. The oxen farming project it launched in the early 1980s was aimed at providing solutions to the differences encountered in the transportation system. This was because the roads were inaccessible; the tractors could not easily move thereby hindering the work. The oxen farming project therefore molded the indigene not living out the Fulani on how to use cattle to till the soil. Many Fulani such as Fali Saly benefited from this project and took the knowledge to his personal farm. It was from here that the agro-pastoral industry was practiced in the area both by the indigenes and Fulani.

### **C. Trade**

The enlargement of the road linking the Menchum community and Nigeria by the Fulani resulted in the transformation of the indigenous trade that existed in Menchum before the arrival of the Fulani. Trade in Menchum Division before the coming of the Fulani was limited to the agricultural output of the indigenes. This was because the communities of Menchum Division chiefly cultivated what the household needed at the time. Excesses of these produce were transported to markets. The payment of porters depended on arrangement<sup>28</sup>. Exchange was made through the barter system. The indigenes especially women battered small quantities of food stuffs and other items in their various communities and other nearby villages as the need arose.

Ningkum substantiates this point as he puts it “... If a woman had a surplus of maize or other crops, she exhibited everything on a stand in front of her house. Possibly, someone passed by, who was interested and exchanged some... Surplus in this sense was seen more in relation to prestige and less in relation to the modern concept of trade”<sup>29</sup>. Men especially from the Fungom area battered goods such as dogs, spears, goats, pigs, fowls among others with those from the Menchum valley such as palm oil, kernels and rice though not often. At times, the indigenes residing in Menchum valley carried their palm oil to the Fungom area and exchanged with the item they badly needed.

Products common in trade were those chiefly needed for immediate consumption. They included beans, maize, mangoes, groundnuts, yams, coco yams, okra, palm wine, palm

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<sup>28</sup> Fanso, *Cameroon History for Secondary Schools and Colleges*, p. 81.

<sup>29</sup> Ningkum, “The Impact of Wum Area Development Authority”, p.13; Chu, “The Menchum Community in the Cameroon-Nigeria”, p.75.

kernels, palm oil, eggs, pepper, salt and bush meat. The sale of farming tools like spears, knives, hoes, cutlasses, and a variety of vegetables, and local drinks remained one of the most important sources of income among the majority of the indigenous population. This can be explained by the fact that part of the output was consumed and the excess put into trade<sup>30</sup>. With the presence of money, these products were sold and the traders in turn bought commodities brought to the market by members of other communities.

But with the coming of the Fulani, new goods were introduced. An example of such new goods was cattle drugs introduced by *Sarki* Bouba who brought them from the Federal Republic of Nigeria. This was welcomed by Fulani and some indigenes who reared cattle like Alphonse Fauben of Wabvuo, Bernard Chuo of Wichuowo and David Kelly among others<sup>31</sup>. The presence of the Fulani in the area also led to the introduction of zebu cattle as a trading item. These cattle were of two categories, the white cattle reared and marketed by the Akus and the red brown cattle put into trade by the Mbororos. Another change that occurred at the level of trade was bartering of indigenous goods with those introduced by the Fulani<sup>32</sup>.

In most communities of our area of study, the indigenes bartered plantains for cow milk. Although there was no defined unit for bartering the milk with indigenous goods, the quantity was determined by the natural seasons of the area. The quantity of milk exchanged for a bunch of plantain during the rainy season was greater than that of the dry season. This was because the availability of pasture for cattle was greater than that of the dry season, given the presence of rainfall. It should be mentioned that once cattle don't feed well, the quantity of milk to be extracted is adversely affected.

The Fulani for a long time did not involve themselves in marketing agricultural items like the indigenes. They limited themselves in cattle trade. This led to the foundation of a cattle market in Weh and Esu which were fixed on Fridays and Thursdays respectively. This was another mutation on boundaries as market days never respected the western days of the week before the presence of Fulani in Menchum. Market days strictly respected the traditional customary eight days of the week. A day in a week was reserved for the market in a community of the area where the people often met on a chosen spot to buy and sell their products. Traders within and out of the community answered present there.

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<sup>30</sup> Karh, "Cattle Economy in Wum 1940-2010", p. 39.

<sup>31</sup> Chu, "The Menchum Community in the Cameroon-Nigeria", p. 78.

<sup>32</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", p. 122.

A number of locally and externally produced goods were marketed there. Given that the climate and topography of Menchum was not unique, communities specialized in the cultivation of different crops favoured by the physical conditions of the site. It was based on this premise that traders sold what they had in excess and bought what they lacked. This therefore offered room for people to always attend particular trading centres because of the need of particular goods. It is important to mention that the market days in Menchum Division were rotatory as illustrated on table 12 below.

**Table 12: Traditional and Market Days of some Communities in Menchum Division**

| <b>Names of communities</b>               | <b>Mmen</b>  | <b>Kuk</b>            | <b>Weh</b>     | <b>Wum</b>     | <b>Esu</b> | <b>Furu-Awa</b> | <b>Beba</b> | <b>Fulani</b> |
|---|--------------|-----------------------|----------------|----------------|------------|-----------------|-------------|---------------|
| <b>Traditional eight days of the week</b> | Ituindah     | Tu-uhnah              | Tsu'inah       | Tsu'ukpà       | Tsuu-unah  | Aletiny         | Ndzemboba   | Altineh       |
|   | Ituammen     | Tsemmeet u-uhnah      | Dzeme-tsu'inah | Tsu'ughōe      | Tsuu-ujam  | Alami           | Ndoko       | Talata        |
|   | Ituilim      | Mmeghetu -uhnah       | Tsuu-siaso     | Tsu'utòmlò     | Tsuu-sai   | Alariba         | Nshiela     | Allalba       |
|   | Nyose-itudad | Mmeghetu - uhbeikewei | Tsuu-umagbo    | Tsu'umê        | Tsuumentse | Talata          | Weblo       | Alhamisa      |
|   | Nyosu-samne  | Ghemghet u-uhfekew    | Kherleku-utsu' | Tsu'ughâm      | Tsuu-mbang | Juma            | Bemindzeto  | Jumbareh      |
|   | Ituakuk      | Ghemghet u-uhnah      | Numuutsu       | Tsu'ndzēko'ò   | Tsuu-ukpeh | Asabari         | Bamiko      | Asaweh        |
|   | Ituakoh      | Tuh-uhmindzam         | Tsuu-boh       | Tsu'ntsō       | Tsuu-weh   | Lad             | Mkpezar     | Alal          |
|   | Ituiven      | Tu-uhkuh              | Tsuu-upughe    | Tsu'ndzēndz am | Tsuu-unem  |                 | Ntobar      |               |

**Source: Author's collection base on fieldwork, 20/08/22.**

From table 12 above, we can see that each community in Menchum Division had its particular market day as indicated by the Days bolded. These market days were not static. They were rotatory and respected the traditions and customs of the people. Each community was versed with a particular good, given the variation of physical factors in the area. This accounted for the specialization of communities in some crops or goods. The prices of the goods were equally influenced by the climatic seasons of the area. See table 13 below.

**Table 13: The Price Situation of Some Trading Commodities in Menchum Division**

| Main Area of Cultivation       | Commodity         | Measure | Prices in CFA Francs |           |           |
|--------------------------------|-------------------|---------|----------------------|-----------|-----------|
|                                |                   |         | April                | May       | June      |
| Menchum Valley                 | Garri             | CC      | 16 for 35            | 14 for 35 | 14 for 35 |
| Menchum Valley                 | Rice White        | 1CC     | 10                   | 12        | 12        |
| Fungom Area                    | Dried Maize       | 1 tin   | 200                  | 250       | 250       |
| Fungom Area                    | Dried Pepper      | 1 CC    | 10                   | 10        | 10        |
| Fungom and Aghem               | Fowl              | 1       | 250                  | 300       | 300       |
| Fungom and Aghem               | Local fowl Eggs   | 1 dozen | 120                  | 120       | 120       |
| Fungom Area and Menchum Valley | Palm Oil          | BB      | 50                   | 50        | 50        |
| Furu-Awa and Fungom Area       | Groundnut Shelled | 1 CC    | 10                   | 10        | 10        |
| Furu-Awa                       | Oranges           | 1 dozen | 30                   | 30        | 30        |
| Fungom Area                    | Bananas           | 1 dozen | 10                   | 10        | 10        |
| Furu-Awa                       | Salt              | 1 CC    | 10                   | 10        | 10        |
| Fungom and Aghem               | Palm Wine         | BB      | 10                   | 10        | 10        |
| Furu-Awa                       | Kola nuts         | Each    | 5                    | 5         | 5         |
| Furu-Awa                       | Pawpaw            | One     | 20                   | 20        | 20        |
| Fungom and Menchum valley      | Pear              | 1 dozen | 30                   | 30        | 30        |
| Fungom and Menchum valley      | Kernels           | 1 CC    | 5                    | 5         | 5         |
| Fungom Area                    | Beans             | 1CC     | 10                   | 10        | 10        |

CC-cigarette cup, BB-large beer bottle

**Source:** Kum, “Wum Area Development Authority (WADA) 1965-1994”, p.35; Chu, “The Menchum Community in the Cameroon-Nigerian”, p.76.

From table 13 above, we can see that cultivation and production of some goods was low and high in some communities of Menchum in the early time of our time frame. This was because the climate of the area varied and goods were only produced by the indigenes. The Fulani had not embraced the cultivation of such goods yet. This made income from these products to be low. The situation changed when cattle introduced by Fulani were put into use by WADA<sup>33</sup>

Given the mighty distance that existed between Menchum valley and Furu-Awa, and the Fungom Area, trade between the two ends was very tedious. This offered a green light to the indigenes of the Wum Sub-Division to play the role of middle men especially as money

<sup>33</sup> Chu, “Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary”, p. 87.



had replaced the barter system. In this light, they made profit as they bought goods from Menchum Valley and marketed in other areas of the division

The cattle markets influenced the coming together of Fulani and indigenes in the various communities of the Menchum area. The idea of a cattle market was necessitated by the fact that both groups were indispensable for the sustainability of each other. Just like with the indigenous population where part of their produce was consumed and part commercialized, the Fulani population also consumed part of their produce and sold the excesses. This was mainly witnessed in the milk sector. While cattle trade was solely reserved for Fulani men, trade in milk and butter extracted from cattle was mostly done by their women. The indigenous population also resisted in embracing cattle trade. This only helped in calving out a boundary between the indigenous and Fulani community. But as time went by, the trading boundary was narrowed as both communities trespassed trading items.

This was intended to produce self-sufficiency among them<sup>34</sup>. Indigenes embraced the zebu cattle livestock system of the Fulani. As earlier noted, the people like Augustine Beng, Temmbong owned cattle to satisfy their wants and needs. This was to diversify their sources of income since it was realized that cattle trade provided more profit than their initial agricultural produce trade. The findings of our research revealed that every Friday where the market held in Weh, people of both communities answered present in the name of “buyam and sellam”. This was seen as some indigenes took their cattle to the market and bought by Fulani to sell elsewhere so as to make profit and vice versa. Some indigenes also actively involved themselves in trading items initially reserved for Fulani<sup>35</sup>.

This was the case of *Kossam* which became the main business of some indigenes in Menchum Division. Again, the transport system (Horse) initially practiced mainly by the Fulani in the Menchum area was also admired by some indigenes. Kifu and Temmbong owned horses. While Temmbong reserved his own for his cattle business, Kifu used his own for daily life activities. Apart from those indigenes mentioned above who owned cattle we can add, Simon Ngem, Ndong Ngia, Jonathan Mpheur among others. The importance of cattle trade in boundary dynamics lay on the fact that there was the convergence of people from different villages in the cattle market and even in other local markets once a week<sup>36</sup>. This brought the Fulani and indigenes together as they interacted with one another. This only

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<sup>34</sup> Interview with Ndi Alexander.

<sup>35</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>36</sup> Aichetou, “The Process of Implantation and Co-existence”, p. 105.

helped in forging Menchum communities into an economic unit. The market rallied people regardless of community from all angles in the area. This therefore helped in reducing the gap that existed in the trading sector.

It is important to mention that boundaries were not only narrowed by the indigenes, the Fulani equally did. This was seen as farming which was initially carried out mainly by the indigenes witnessed the perpetration of Fulani in to the sector. Fali Saly in Kuk was noted as a prominent corn producer. Apart from cultivating maize, he also grew coffee, pepper, plantains among others. Some indigenes such as Song Honorine lembong, Ngong Celine Mbong, Tah Alice Lemei often bought plantain from Fali Saly to retail in the Wum market. This was to make profit in order to resolve their financial problems. Some Fulani also engaged themselves in some petty businesses to make more profit. Most café restaurants in the area were owned by Fulani. They prepared varieties of meals some of which included, rice and beans, fried eggs and plantain, light food for breakfast among others. This was not the case before. Both indigenes and Fulani fed themselves in these Fulani restaurants. Fulani also ate in indigenes restaurants.

Some Fulani engaged in other bigger trading activities like bike riding for commercial purposes. They made their highest profit on cattle market days. This is testified by Adamu Idrissu of Weh<sup>37</sup>. This was because there were relatively improved movements as cattle traders were very mobile. Plate 10 below shows a Fulani (Jafaro Yaya) who adopted bike riding for a commercial purpose as a means of living.

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<sup>37</sup> Karl, "Cattle Economy in the Wum Area, 1940-2010", p. 60,

**Plate 10: A Fulani Riding a Motor-Cycle for Commercial Purpose**



**Source: Photo taken by Author, Wum-Weh Road, December 12, 2022.**

Viewing plate 10 above, we would confirm that boundaries were also altered at the level of transport by Fulani who previously used only horses. Discovering that there was the need to diversify their source of income, they decided to venture into the field of bike riding for commercial purpose. Some even owned large stores in the area and did whole sale. Some were seamstresses. Such as Haro Baby who owns a work shop in the Bafmeng market. A Fulani that started tailoring work in Furu-Awa gained more experience and enthusiasm in the field. Following the huge profit he reaped from the trade, he decided to relocate. His life in Yaounde now solely depended on the trade. This was not the case before as Fulani did not wear indigenous traditional regalia, let alone of sewing them.

The presence of the Fulani in Menchum was associated with the introduction of other trading items like hides and skin, cow meat, cow skin shoes, increased in demand of the above mentioned trading items. Thus, the presence of the Fulani in the Menchum Division led to the emergence of a bourgeois' that is, capitalist elite that stood out from the group through its participation in the modern sectors of the economy<sup>38</sup>. These gradual establishments of private propensity stroke the socio-economic dynamics of our area of focus.

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<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 115.

## II. Socio-Cultural Boundaries: Religion

Just like any other community in Cameroon, there existed religious tolerance in Menchum Division. But then, let's note that before the Fulani came into the area, the indigenous population had their own way of worshipping God. This was initially through their traditional beliefs. They worshipped a series of idols or gods like god of the rain, sun, fertility, moon among others. They sought for solutions to their problems from their ancestors and performed sacrifices to these ancestors, especially when they were angry<sup>39</sup>.

Christianity in its varied forms was later introduced by missionaries. The ventilation of Christianity softened the minds of these indigenes. The first converts in Esu were five ex-soldiers from Fernando-Po after the First World War. They now worshipped in Churches<sup>40</sup>. However, most of the people remained steadfast to their traditional religion. This was because they believed that their leaders were chosen by their ancestors and nobody else<sup>41</sup>. This division of early settlers into western and traditional regions reflected that of Muslims as they were the *Sunni* and *Shia* sects<sup>42</sup>.

In the course of time, the Fulani moved into the area with a new system of religion, Islam. The indigenes from the onset distanced themselves from the new religion brought in by the new settlers. The Fulani on their part did not even want to hear of Christianity talk less of the indigenous traditional way of worship. This was because they believed Islam was a superior religion and was more purified than any form of religion<sup>43</sup>. In this connection, both communities stayed apart from opposing religions thereby establishing an artificial boundary.

As time evolved, the religious boundary was bridged. This was seen as some indigenes abandoned Christianity in favour of Islam which was initially reserved for Fulani. This was either motivated by the Islamic faith or because the indigenous converts appreciated Muslims ways of life. This therefore meant that many indigenes were Islamized some of which include Njuh Eric Zai, Che Oliver Ndze, Ziah Bih, Ndong Mbandeh, Alidou Daoda among others. It is for this reason that Muslim values are spread all over the area of study. According to some of our informants, an indigene who embraced the Islamic religion named

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<sup>39</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", p.106.

<sup>40</sup> A. Mohamadou, "The Mbororo Fulani of Fungom Sub-Division and their Cultural Boundaries, 1950-2007", Long Essay, Department of History, University of Buea, 2012, p. 31

<sup>41</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", p.106.

<sup>42</sup> Mohamadou, "The Mbororo Fulani of Fungom Sub-Division", p.31

<sup>43</sup> Jumbam, "The Impact of Fulani on the Fondom of Nso", pp. 86-87.

Alidou Daoda was supposed to be the present *fon* of Kuk but his choice of Islam encouraged the notables of the community to appoint the present *fon* Ntuh Mbeng Evarestus<sup>44</sup>.

The reasons for this religious boundary alteration varied with those involved in it. While some embraced the Islamic faith because of its faithfulness, others embraced it for marital issues. It should also be made clear here that though the Fulani lived and cooperated with indigenes for long, they remained steadfast to their own religion. According to some informants, their Islamic laws do not permit them to change from Islam to any other religion. Some even reported that if they do, their family will disown them. In the same line, some refused to get married to indigenes that rejected Islam<sup>45</sup>. However, the religious boundary changed since some indigenes became Islamized like Che Oliver Ndze, Ziah Bih among others. It is imperative to note that Muslims prayers in a mosque were led by an Imam who was assisted by a Ladan charged with the responsibility of announcing prayer time. The table below reveals Muslims leaders in a Mosque and their varied functions.

**Table 14: Muslim Leaders and their Functions**

| <b>Muslim Leaders in Mosque</b>    | <b>Functions</b>   |
|------------------------------------|--|
| <i>Imam</i> (Leader of the Mosque) | He leads prayers   |
| <i>Naibi</i> (Assistant to Imam)   | He leads prayers in the absence of an Imam   |
| <i>Ladan</i> (Preacher)            | He announces prayer time. No fixed person, usually a Mallam  |
| <i>Mallam</i>                      | Fulani Courtesy title given to a learned man who masters the Quran and Arabic teachings or studies |
| <i>Jamaah</i> (Muslim faithfuls)   | Congregation   |

Source: Mohamadou “The Mbororo Fulani of Fungom Sub-Division and their Cultural Boundaries”, p.37.

Reading from table 14, we understand the functions of each Fulani leader in a mosque. Note should also be taken that women did not go to the Mosque. They did so only on Friday. Men could not mix with women for fear of seduction. Five categories of obligatory prayers were conducted at different intervals as illustrated on the table below.

<sup>44</sup> Interview with Aloysius Akai.

<sup>45</sup> Interview with Fali Saly.

**Table 15: Prayers made by Fulani at Specific Time**

| <b>Time</b>                      | <b>Prayers</b> |
|----------------------------------|----------------|
| 5:30-6 AM                        | <i>Subhi</i>   |
| 1:30-2 PM                        | <i>Zuri</i>    |
| 3:30-4 PM                        | <i>Asri</i>    |
| 6:30- 7 PM                       | <i>Magrib</i>  |
| 7:30- sleeping time or mid night | <i>Insha</i>   |

Source: Author's Conception based on Field work

## **B. Education**

Education was the highest field through which people acquired knowledge and this was not without ideological boundaries in Menchum Division. This is explained by the fact that the indigenes who initially practiced indigenous education later on engaged in that introduced to them by Europeans. As already noted in chapter one, the indigenes embraced western education and encouraged their children regardless of sex to attend the schools. The Fulani on their part had the conception that the *Koranic* education was the best and did not find any reason to embrace the western education like the indigenes. The Fulani did everything to reject western education. They preferred their *koranic* education. This only led to the creation of an ideological boundary in the educational sector<sup>46</sup>.

It is important to mention that although the socialization of the inhabitants of Menchum Division which resulted from the activities of the western style of education paved the way for boundary mutations in the area, the pace was slow as it confronted resistances from the Fulani. Efforts invested by the British colonial administration to educate the Fulani and the indigenes met with a lot of challenges and resistances from the Fulani. They requested the British administrators to reveal the importance and reasons of introducing western education to them. The District Officer for Bamenda commented that:

...it has been usual to mention the education of Mbororo children at every meeting but it is evident that the Mbororo are not the least interested. Meanwhile, the tendency is for young men to leave their herds in charge of a herd boy and to spend their time in the nearest Hausa quarter in the company of prostitutes and thieves...<sup>47</sup>

From the above comment one can understand that the Fulani were reluctant in embracing formal education despite all efforts made by the British administrators. Awasom insinuates that their reason for being reluctant to fall in love with formal education is that they did not want to mingle with the indigenes which they considered *harbes* (slaves) in

<sup>46</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", p. 108.

<sup>47</sup> NWRAB., File Qg/a.1955/1. Ref. No.CC78/4, Annual Report for the Year Ending on the Bororo,17 December 1953, p. 6; Jumbam,"The Fulani Impact on the Bamenda Grassfield 1916-2008", p.81.

schools. He puts it thus “the Fulani did not marry, have concubines from or indulge in illicit intercourse with the indigenes agriculturalists whom they disparagingly designated as *Harbe* (Slaves)”<sup>48</sup>. The Fulani preferred roaming the streets of Hausa quarters with ladies who marketed themselves for commercial purpose.

However, the British education officers and administrators doubled efforts to encourage the Fulani to fall in love with formal education though they limited it to the cattle sector; involving them in up-to-date methods in the handling of cattle and products derived from the cattle industry<sup>49</sup>. This was because the British administration had raised jangali tax from 1/6 to two per beast in 1941 thereby placing the Fulani at the position of paying more than half of the direct tax<sup>50</sup>. This therefore implies that educating them formally was a means of compensation given them. Fulani in the 1980s especially the young ones and those with heavy herds of cattle understood the importance of acquiring western education. One of the factors was to acquire knowledge and be able to count their cattle very well. Again, it was going to help them stay clear from the cheating and exploitation they usually suffered from the hands of the indigenes<sup>51</sup>. Some Fulani who acquired western education included: Yaya Saly, Alabi Djibril in Kuk, Adamu Amarou, Habbib Yaro in Wum.

Given that boundaries had already been mutated at the level of trade, the indigenes gained the green card of selling their cattle at good prices. This was done with little or no difficulty because they were able to communicate with high ranking personalities from within and around the Menchum division. This was due to the rich knowledge they acquired from the western system of education. The Fulani who were reluctant to embrace the western system of education find it difficult to market their cattle directly to high personalities. In order to mitigate the problem, they employed people and motivated them to act as intermediaries, but still ended up being cheated by these middlemen. In order to do away with this exploitation from the intermediaries, the young ones decided to embrace formal education thereby altering boundaries. This can be better understood from this quotation:

We have come to understand that education is a vital point for development. Our parents are still ignorant of this and we believe they need counseling. We need vocational education for girls and

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<sup>48</sup> Awasom, “The Hausa and Fulani in the Bamenda Grasslands 1903-1960”, p.163.

<sup>49</sup> They limited it to cattle education because education in the sense of the word was not necessary to the Fulani since they did not rely on them to supply school teachers (except instructors), clerks, doctors (except a few dispensers), Craftsmen except those connected to cattle works. Their education on cattle was going to involve the diagnosis and treatment of cattle disease, the differentiation between dairy and beef cattle, the preparation of milk products, and the conservation and improvement of pasture.

<sup>50</sup> Awasom, “The Hausa and Fulani in the Bamenda Grasslands 1903-1960”, p.162.

<sup>51</sup> Interview with Fali Saly and Jumbam, “The Fulani Impact on the Bamenda Grassfield 1916-2008”, p.81.

technical training centers for boys, so that those of us who may not like to go to standard schools may at least be able to carry out a trade<sup>52</sup>.

They encouraged their parents to sponsor them climb the academic ladder and gain the skills of communication badly needed for the selling of cattle<sup>53</sup>. Just like in the Bamun *fondom* where the Fulani admitted the western system of education and hardly went beyond form four because cattle work needed much attention, so too was the case in Menchum Division<sup>54</sup>. As if this was not enough, it was mostly their girl children that went to schools. Their boys were steadfast to their Islamic education. They were taught by Hausa Mallams who were compensated based on the generosity of the learner's parents. These mallams educated them on Arabic, Mohammedan laws, custom and the *Koran*<sup>55</sup>.

This boundary was later bridged as the Fulani later engaged themselves in the practicing of the western education right up to the level of higher institutions<sup>56</sup>. Just like the indigenes who practiced the informal and western education, so too the Fulani practiced their Islamic and western education. The alteration of this boundary can be explained by the fact that, at first, *koranic* schools were located in mallams' residents, but as time passed, they were carried out in formal education environments under the direction of English and Arabic teachers. This was the same scenario in the Nso Fondom where Jumbam opines that the schools were not only attended by the Fulani, but by the indigenes especially those from Islamized families<sup>57</sup>.

Jumbam further adds that the Fulani in the Bamenda grassfields where our area of study is found decided to embrace western education because they wanted to establish well trained legal minds to fight for and defend their rights. This was provoked by the ceaseless farmer-grazier problem that characterized the area and the need of a Fulani to protect the late incomers at level of justice. He puts the point thus:

The bulk of Mbororo victims are usually unrepresented by lawyers and even the few who are represented hardly succeed because of language barrier. The end result is that Mbororos (Mbororoen) are losers in most litigations simply because they cannot adequately brief their lawyers. It is at the backdrop of this urgent need that the mbororoen are clamouring for their youths to aspire to the liberal profession of law, and effectively protect their interest in legal matters. A mbororo lawyer will not only understand the background of the matter, but can also brief in the local... it is now common to see a uniform officer handling a purely farmer-grazier conflict, thus contravening the 1975 land reforms that classified farmer-grazier conflict as an administrative matter. Human rights abuse happens to mbororos and none mbororo alike on a daily basis. But while the non mbororoen can easily brief their lawyers,

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<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 82.

<sup>53</sup> Aichatou, "The Process of Implantation and Co-existence of the Mbororo", p. 92

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence Inter-Community Boundary", p.108.

<sup>56</sup> Jumbam, "The Impact of the Fulani on the Fondom of Nso", pp. 73-75.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*



the mbororo cannot. There is at present no mbororo lawyer for the entire tribe (mbororo community) in the North West Province<sup>58</sup>.

The above quotation reveals that the Fulani in Menchum Division were desperately in need of lawyers to defend them in case they had a case with the indigenes. This was only going to be possible if they studied in the western style. This encouraged them to engage into a stiff competition with the indigenes at the level of acquiring knowledge in the formal educational sector. This accounts for the launching of a campaign by MBOSCUDA with the main purpose of encouraging the Fulani to fall in love with the western system of education. The result of this campaign was the sponsoring of brilliant but poor Fulani children and the encouragement of others to attend western schools in their vicinities. This influenced the enrollment of Fulani in schools to greatly increase<sup>59</sup>.

It is needless to restate that both the indigenes and Fulani later gave more attention to western education than theirs, as a field of acquiring knowledge for administration. The principles of the western system of education were applied to each and every one that founds themselves in the school. This therefore means that both the indigenes and Fulani were evaluated following the same terms or conditions of the educational system. This was not the case before as the Fulani resented western education. Again, the Fulani were taught not to steal by their *koranic* values, but this became contrary in the area after they abandoned their educational value<sup>60</sup>.

### C. Health

The health situation of the inhabitants of Menchum Division was spearheaded mostly by the colonial administration, (later state) and missionaries. Health centers, clinics and dispensaries were sparsely located to look after the inhabitants<sup>61</sup>. What is imperative to note here is that an ideological boundary existed in this sector. This was because the indigenes who relied so much on their indigenous herbs hesitated to go for treatment to Fulani traditional doctors and vice versa. The indigenes did not want to receive medical care from the Fulani because they feared for the unknown. They doubted the kind of people the Fulani were. This was because it was their first time to see men plait hair as Fulani men did<sup>62</sup>. The Fulani on their part

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<sup>58</sup> Jumbam, "The Fulani Impact on the Bamenda Grassfield 1916-2008", p.91.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> Interview with Fali Saly.

<sup>61</sup> Kum, "Wum Area Development Authority (WADA) 1965-1994", p. 59.

<sup>62</sup> Interview with Ngem Abanda Ndeuh.

refused to go for treatment from indigenes because they considered the indigenes as unholy people.

It is important to restate that Fulani traditional doctors existed in two categories: The *mallams* who healed patients from the religious perspective. Their main instrument was the *Koran* (*Akkurani*) and the herbalists (*Gohda anda*) who just like the indigenous traditional practitioners, used herbs, animals, stones, irons and other items to diagnose and treat illnesses<sup>63</sup>. As already seen in the previous chapter, *Mallams* treated illnesses by communicating with *Allah* (God) after reading a verse or verses in the *Koran*<sup>64</sup>. The verse chosen to read was the sole responsibility of the *mallam*. It is believed that after taking a close look at the patient and cross examined the illness, the Holy Spirit invaded his mind and directed him to the most appropriate verse to be read<sup>65</sup>.

This therefore signifies that there existed no permanent verse for a particular day, sex, age or illness. However, verses were chosen based on the circumstances that the patient got infected and the proximity the illness had with the message of the verse<sup>66</sup>. A good number of our informants expressed the view that *mallams* mostly healed illnesses that had to do with spirituality and evil, such as madness, unconscious stealing, and people cursed by their enemies because of jealousy to be unable to manage the available resources among others. They also detected thieves from among groups of suspects using the *Koran*<sup>67</sup>.

The *gohda anda* on their part used almost the same method like the indigenous traditional doctors to treat illnesses. Some of them were mobile and others immobile. Those who were mobile were mostly unmarried people and solely depended on their waling activities for a living. They walk around sensitizing people on their medicines and in the course, got clients. Such people treated illnesses like tooth-ache, malaria, gastritis, menstrual pains among others. Amidou Boula in Essimbi revealed that he moved around to treat his patients because not everyone could afford to reside out of their residence for days. He added that his residence was not also up to the standard of accommodating patients<sup>68</sup>.

The few who were immobile were mostly old persons and married people. They had no energy to be displacing themselves frequently. Since their residence could not

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<sup>63</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", p.109.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>65</sup> Interview with Kujari.

<sup>66</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>67</sup> Jumbam, "The Fulani Impact on the Bamenda Grassfield 1916-2008", p. 93.

<sup>68</sup> Interview with Amidou Boula.

accommodate patients, they pleaded with their closed neighbouring indigenes to host the patients. They visited the patient to administer drugs duly. They mostly treated diseases like pile, epilepsy, pneumonia, fractures among others<sup>69</sup>.

The indigenous practitioners on their part mostly confined themselves to their compounds though few were also mobile. Most of them treated cases where the herbs needed to prepare the concoction for the illness were not far from their residence. Some even grew herbs in their shrine they frequently used in treating particular illnesses. The indigenous healers sometimes quarantined themselves for days and even did fasting when they wanted to treat a particular case. This was to invoke healing spirits and keep sanity before engaging into work<sup>70</sup>. At the end of the treatment, feasts were organized to express happiness as the patient regained his/her normal state of health. Most of the food stuffs (Fowl, Corn flour, Palm wine) were provided by the family of the patient. It wasn't compulsory that the complete payment should be done instantly but a token was at least given to boost the morale of the spiritual forces involved<sup>71</sup>.

It should be highlighted that for long in the Menchum division, the Fulani did not only ignore indigenous traditional doctors, but also western medicine introduced by the missionaries. They believed their treatment was superior. According to Chrisantus<sup>72</sup>, they objected the western health care out of ignorance. They were uneducated on the western medical service. This is evidence of an artificial boundary implanted by the inhabitants of the area of study. As time passed, the boundary disappeared. This is explained by the fact that both communities abandoned their initial health beliefs to embrace the community way. Aladji Alabi is noted for the treatment of fractures in the entire Fungom area. Indigenes from different villages in the area go for treatment at his residence. He explained that the treatment he gives to indigenes is the same he gives to Fulani. He has treated many indigenes who suffered from fractures: Ful Paul Ngoh, Mtam Alain, all in Kuk, as well as Lang Eric Kum and Tem Julius from Weh<sup>73</sup>.

This therefore means that the indigenes who did not want to receive medical attention from the Fulani now did<sup>74</sup>. The Fulani on their part equally saw the need to go for treatment

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<sup>69</sup> Interview with Alhaji Alabi.

<sup>70</sup> Interview with Akai Aloysius.

<sup>71</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>72</sup> Interview with Akum Chrisantus Mtam.

<sup>73</sup> Interview with Alhaji Alabi.

<sup>74</sup> *Idem*.

under the care of indigenes. According to Aloysius Akai, the boundary that existed in the health sector was eliminated. This is because he had cured many Fulani patients who at first did not want to be cured by indigenes. Some of these Fulani cured by him included: Dadou Amidou in Kuk for chronic stomach ache, Amidou Amina from Bafmeng also came for treatment. Che Sanji on his part equally offered medical services to many Fulani who faced difficulties in putting to birth. Musa Maimunatou in Weh and Ibrahim Isatou are today able to put to birth thanks to him<sup>75</sup>. This shows that the boundary that existed due to the presence of the Fulani in the Menchum area bridged.

Another fact that reveals the mutation of boundaries in the health sector was that, despite the fact that the indigenes had embraced the Fulani way of treating illnesses and vice versa, payment in most cases was difficult on the side of the indigenes. This was because the indigenes were used to paying their bills in kind and the Fulani traditional doctors had not fallen in love yet with the food stuffs of the indigenes. This made it difficult for some indigenes to go for Fulani treatment. But as time went by, the boundary was eliminated because the Fulani started giving room for the indigenes to pay in kind. It was learned from the field that many indigenes in Mukoro gave Fulani traditional doctors fowls as payment for their treatment. This was not the case before<sup>76</sup>.

#### **D. Marriage Customs**

Marriage was one of the areas where the artificial boundary that existed, disappeared. The existence of a boundary in this field stemmed from the fact that the indigenous population did everything to avoid making love with the Fulani, talk less of getting married and vice versa<sup>77</sup>. It was considered a taboo for a Fulani to be seen embracing an indigene in the name of love. It was not proper in establishing a relationship of that nature. But it must be retained that marriages within the Fulani community were done as prescribed by the *Koran*<sup>78</sup>. Unlike the indigenous, people where the maximum number of wives was limited by the man's desire, Fulani who solely practiced Islam could not get married to more than four<sup>79</sup>.

Once the boy and girl arrived a compromise, the Akali and Imam were charged with the responsibility of setting aside a day to officially make them husband and wife. The parties who were getting married were not supposed to be present in the occasion. They were

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<sup>75</sup> Interview with Che Sanji.

<sup>76</sup> Interview with Kudi Elizaberth 45 Years, Farmer, Mukuru, 18/12/22

<sup>77</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", p.110.

<sup>78</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>79</sup> Interview with Fali Saly.

represented by their close friends or relatives. Their absence was connected to the Fulani cultural aspect of *Semtende* (shame)<sup>80</sup>. During the ceremony of bride price payment, Kolanuts and other items were shared to those present. Food was shared and milk boiled to entertain guests and visitors. Though gifts were expected from friends and well-wishers, the parents of the boy spent more because they provided all the needs of the girl. It is important to note that Saturday was and has remained the official day of taking the girl to her husband's residence<sup>81</sup>.

With regards to the indigenous population, marriages were seen as signs of responsibility. An old man was hardly considered a responsible person if he was unmarried. It is needless to restate that marriages were unconnected to romance. They were rebooted by character and health of the parties concerned. One of the things that made people to be happy with marriages especially those of young people was when the female did not waste time to get pregnant<sup>82</sup>. This was not the case with the Fulani who considered it as a taboo for a recently married woman to give birth to her first child in her husband's house. As per their traditional institutions and customs, she was supposed to return to her father's house to give birth. After giving birth, she was supposed to remain there for a period of one year six months. Once this period elapsed, the husband had to donate money for the purchase of kitchen utensils and other equipment including bush lamp and blankets<sup>83</sup>.

The indigenous people on their side took it as a routine for a lady to give birth to her first child in her husband's house. It was the mutual understanding of the man and woman to let the woman go give birth in any of their relative's residence. With these points, it is clear that boundaries existed between the early and the late settlers especially as both communities distanced themselves from each other as far as marriages were concerned. However, it was not long that both communities started admiring one another and saw the need for inter marriage. There is no need to emphasize that a good number of mixed breed exist in Menchum Division. It should be stated that *Koranic* laws permitted the Fulani to get married only to indigenes who practiced Islam as religion. Any marital relationship established by a Fulani and an indigene was considered illegal<sup>84</sup>.

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<sup>80</sup> Mohamadou "The Mbororo Fulani of Fungom Sub-Division", p. 40.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>82</sup> Interview with Adem Rose Ngea.

<sup>83</sup> Interview with Aalima Adama, 43 Years, Fulani elderly person, Kung, 16/10/22.

<sup>84</sup> *Idem.*

This is why the Muslims compelled indigenous men to get Islamized before getting married to their girl children<sup>85</sup>. According to Fali Saly, having children with an indigene of Christian faith is against *Koranic* laws. It is for this reason that Aladji Juro in Nyos did everything to convert an indigene to Islam before getting married to her<sup>86</sup>. More inter-marriages in this sense existed in the Menchum area. Some of them included: Amidou Ja-eh and Mbong in Bafmeng, who had three children. Yaya Ajara also got married to an indigene, Eric Ngong in Bafmeng. Issa Maimuna to Mbong Maluis in Fungom, Amidou Mokao to Nnem Tem Njang, Ibrahim Ausmano to Mbong Ndan. Beatrice Bia Lesih to Gorry all in Kumkutu. Among those who have given birth without getting married include: Abdou Amidou with Fung Alice Lemei, Njah whise with Deleh, Musa Hassan with Nsah Pamela<sup>87</sup>.

The above examples show clearly that the boundary that existed in terms of inter-marriages between groups, was eliminated in the Menchum area. But it should be made clear that the indigenes do not practice endogamy like the Fulani. These marriages offered opportunities for relatives of those concerned to visit each other. It permitted the indigenes and Fulani to exchange visits from Wum to Weh, Befang to Benakum, Gayama to Furu-Awa, Kuk to Weh, Nyos to Bafmeng, Kung to Fungom, Weh to Esu among others. Diplomatically, marriage unites communities. It is also important to highlight that the Fulani after resisting to sign a marriage in a modern court now do so. This was seen in Zhoa as Amidou Musa and his wife signed in a court. See plate eleven below.

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<sup>85</sup> Interview with Amidou Ah-eh.

<sup>86</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>87</sup> Interview with HRH Ntuh Mbeng Evaristus.

**Plate 11: Musa Signing his Marriage Certificate in the Zhoa Rural Council.**



**Source: Toh Lazarous Ful's Personal Archive.**

Plate 11 depicts a Fulani signing his marriage certificate in the Zhoa council. This proves that boundaries had been bridged since it was a new act in the area of study.

### **E. Housing and Cultural Manifestation**

Change of boundaries in this perspective stemmed from the fact that the Fulani moved into the Menchum area with their own distinguished style of constructing houses. This therefore means that the indigenous style of constructing houses as earlier seen in the first chapter of this work was different from the Fulani style. The houses the Fulani built were in circle-like form or beehive shape of about three meters in diameter called *mbuterru* with walls and roofs all thatched with grass. Sticks, mud and grass were their main building materials<sup>88</sup>. Twigs and poles were stocked into the ground and bent inward to converge at the top. See plate twelve below.

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<sup>88</sup> Aichetou, "The Process of Implantation and Co-existence", p. 96.

**Plate 12: The Fulani Traditional House, *mbuterru***



**Source: Photo taken by Author, Befang, December 17, 2022.**

Labour for construction was the responsibility of the herdsmen. The shape of the roof was round pointed towards the sky. Mats were used as beds. Given that the indigenes were more powerful than the Fulani, they constituted the main source of labour in the 1970s. Prior to the 1980s, the charge for constructing a hut fluctuated between 7000 francs and 10000 francs<sup>89</sup>. The climatic conditions of the area under examination made the Fulani to start constructing special houses called *Bonguro*<sup>90</sup>. Boutrais indicated that the frequent heavy down pours rendered the *mbuteru* susceptible to wind and other agents facilitated its collapse. As rain persisted, the Mbuteru rotted faster and its poles started falling off<sup>91</sup>.

This meant that the owner of the house was to do everything at his capacity to replace the house in order not to keep his family stranded. They were similar to the *mbuteru* because all were circular. The difference that existed between them was the wider structure of the *Bonguru* in diameter. Given this difficult task of replacing the house, the Fulani sought to alter boundaries by constructing more or less permanent houses. They constructed houses with more solid walls with the use of sundry blocks<sup>92</sup>.

These solid houses demanded hard labour which could be supplied by the indigenes. This accounts for the employment of the indigenes to work for the Fulani in the domain of

<sup>89</sup> Mohamadou, "The Mbororo Fulani of Fungom Sub-Division", p.26.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>92</sup> Interview with Fali Saly.



construction. The pay packet for the construction ranged from about 35000 francs depending on the required size<sup>93</sup>. The construction of houses played an important role in forging boundaries in the Menchum area as the Fulani later embraced the construction system of indigenes and vice versa. Investigations from our field revealed that Fulani now build solid houses for themselves though with the assistance of indigenes.

These improved constructed houses were not only to those who live in towns, but also to those who lived far away from the village settlements. The Fulani built houses with mud bricks and roofed with either grass or corrugated iron zins which was not the case before. Some Fulani who acquired skills from formal education left their initial upland settlements and moved down nearer the accessible main village communities enjoying education, health, road and market facilities. This was the case of Alhaji Alabi in Kuk, *Ardor* Haro in Bafmeng among others. It was also observed in the field that the indigenes had altered boundaries in this domain due to the presence of the Fulani. This is because the indigenes also constructed houses in the Fulani style<sup>94</sup>.

These types of houses served them in several ways: hiding from the sun or rain in order to guard their farms from monkeys, store their farm produce which can't be easily transported home. Most young boys who wanted to demonstrate independence or deviate from their parents usually started by constructing such houses. Some build in the same family compound while attaching to any wall of the house in the compound of their choice. This was to enable them enjoy some rights they were restricted from because they lived in the same house with family members. The choice for this type of houses is because they are easy to construct<sup>95</sup>.

Birth and death celebrations, dancing, dressing, eating, drinking habits, language, sporting activities among others constituted what either brought or separated both groups. As concerns death treatment, the Fulani attitude was very strange in the land. They had the culture of abandoning corpses of relatives. It was surprising to learn that when the Fulani buried their deceased, they abandoned the site. They believed that the moment someone passed on to glory, nothing could be reaped from him/her. In a discussion we had with a

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<sup>93</sup> Interview with Aalima Adama.

<sup>94</sup> Interview with Akum Chrisantus Mtam.

<sup>95</sup> Interview with Nji Fidelis Ngoh.

number of our informants, we were educated that Fulani deceased were buried following strict muslim laws. The indigenous population however helped them in <sup>96</sup>.

Some indigenes in the Menchum area took it as a source of income as they were motivated highly to bury the corpses of the Fulani. Ibuh Moses in Kuk, Watchong Eric in Essimbi among others are some popular examples of those who did such jobs. After the burial, the site was then deserted by the relatives of the deceased and roamed for a new one. This was very strange to the indigenes. The Fulani also set places on fire that proved to have lost the fortune they initially rendered to the community<sup>97</sup>.

The indigenes on their part rather stayed connected to the sites where burials took place. They believed that the deceased that was buried there influenced their activities positively. Some even used it as a means to guarantee their ownership of the land. Even if the deceased was buried in a far off place, relatives frequently visited the site and kept it clean. Aliens could not gain access to such areas without the permission of family heads. Once someone joined the heavenly choir, his property was inherited by a family member. This was to ensure the continuity of the deceased's activities. Even if the deceased was buried in the Church's yard, family heads did not hesitate to visit the site and communicate with him in a traditional style. This boundary was later mutated as Fulani started staying close to the site they buried the corpse. This is seen in Kuk as the relatives of Anana, a Fulani of blessed memory, still inhabit the site<sup>98</sup>.

Birth which is regarded as the highest gift from God was another area where the initial boundary that existed between both groups in Menchum area was bridged. This was linked to the system of naming new born babies. At first, the indigenes had distinguished names like Che, Ngwa, Kum, Achua, Abeng, Ngong among others for boys, Mbong, Sih, Sah, Ziah, Lenam, Ndum, Fey among others for girls. The Fulani equally did same. They had names like Sally, Amadou, Faruck, Amidou, Musa, Abdou, Saidou among others for boys and names like Maimuna, Rugge, Zenai, Zenabu, Shamim, Aishatou, Mimche were given women<sup>99</sup>.

None of them accepted that a name from the other community be given to their children. But due to their long stay together, this difference was eliminated. This can be

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<sup>96</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>97</sup> Interview with Aalima Adama.

<sup>98</sup> Interview with Nji Fidelis Ngoh.

<sup>99</sup> Interview with Akum Chrisantus Mtam.

explained by the fact that Fulani in the area now give indigenous names to their children due to the cordial relations both communities enjoy. For instance, an indigene in Kuk now bears the name Maimona named by a Fulani. In Menchum Division, indigenes bear the name Muamadou, Ali, Adamou, Musa, Aishatou among others named by Fulani. A well known butcher in the Weh community now officially carries the Kum Amadou as seen in appendix eighteen. The indigenes on their part also name Fulani children. For instance, Tangha Moses Ibuh named a Fulani baby in Kuk, Bongo. The name Ngamsah was also named to a Fulani in Kuk by an indigene<sup>100</sup>. This therefore shows that frontiers that existed in the domain of naming children have disappeared in the Menchum area.

With regards to death celebrations, gifts were commonly exchanged among the communities. The Fulani now watch traditional dances during death celebrations. This was not the case before<sup>101</sup>. Some even went to the extent of attending death ceremonies. This means that they offered fowls, cows to bereaved families to entertain the people who sympathized with them. Anana Amidou in Kuk offered a fowl to Kebueh Eric during the death celebration of Che Mbameuh<sup>102</sup>. Haro and Alabi had offered cows to the royal families in uncountable times during death celebrations in Bafmeng and Kuk respectively<sup>103</sup>.

It is not surprising to hear that Fulani who were initially against the jujus of indigenes have even tended to display them. Fulani who displayed indigenous traditional juju included: Daho Mokao in Kumfutu, Gorry in Bafmeng, Yaya Muhamed in Esu, Yakubu Idrisou in Fungom. Gorry in Bafmeng is said to have complied with the norms that qualified him to the rank of a notable. He was a member of the *Koh*, a society in this community<sup>104</sup>. The indigenes who resented Fulani feasting programs started attending them thereby causing mutations of boundaries. This has made both groups to always share experience of such moments. See plate thirteen below.

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<sup>100</sup> Interview with Tangha Moses Ibuh.

<sup>101</sup> Ngole, "Integration and Co-existence of Immigrants", p. 130.

<sup>102</sup> Interview with Nji Evaristus.

<sup>103</sup> Interview with Haro Harmajam and Alhaji Alabi.

<sup>104</sup> *Idem*.

**Plate 13: Sharing Experiences after Attending an Indigenous Death Celebration**



**Source: Photo taken by Author, Kuk, December 10, 2022.**

From plate 13 above, we can see three indigenes and a Fulani (at the extreme right) comfortably sited and conveniently discussing with indigenes. The names of the people on the picture from left to right are: Kpa Michael (blessed memory), Gang David, Kum Ivo Lah and Fali Saly. The central point of their discussion was the experiences they gathered in the death celebration of an indigene.

Furthermore, dressing and dancing equally witnessed a change in the way they were practiced. This was because both the indigenes and Fulani resented the dressing code of each other, but as time went by, both communities started dressing in the counterpart's community style. The traditional attire of the early settlers was jumpers with large half open arms with *fuudam* and *Ndinga* caps made of fiber. The youths were addicted to western dresses like shirts, jeans, T-shirts among others<sup>105</sup>. The women dressed in wrappers and blouses. The noble women and those in secret societies like *tsong* put on decorative beads of different colours round their wrist and neck. See plate fourteen below.

<sup>105</sup> Interview with HRH Ntuh Evarestus Mbeng.

**Plate 14: Women of the Tsong Group**



**Source: Photo taken by Author, Kuk, December 22, 20/22.**

The Fulani infiltrated the Menchum area with a different style of dressing. It included *Sahro* (loin cloth), the *Gaoundoura* (a big gown worn with a jumper inside by men). Caps equally constituted part of their dressing. They put on caps with different colours which corresponded to their dressing<sup>106</sup>. This new attire brought in by the late settlers had an impact on the indigenous people of the Menchum community. It acted as an index of opulence. A handful of indigenes started dressing in the Fulani traditional style. Most of them bought it to reveal their wealthy situation and prestige. Some informants reported that this situation gained grounds in the Cameroonian society as time passed by<sup>107</sup>. Plate fifteen below captures this scenario.

<sup>106</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", p. 52.

<sup>107</sup> Interview with Toh Henry Ngwa.

**Plate 15: An Indigene dressed in the Fulani Traditional Attire, Sarah**



**Source: Photo taken by Author, Kuk, December 10, 2022.**

The late settlers proved to be steadfast to their traditional attire. The young ones even preferred Western system of dressing to that of the Menchum area. As time went by, they equally embraced the indigenous dressing style. This is mostly seen in annual manifestation festivals. Jaja Namsamu, a Fulani in Esu was dressed in the Menchum traditional regalia in 2001. This was to confirm him as traditional ruler in the area<sup>108</sup>. The KUSA annual celebration which embodies every student of the community has encouraged Fulani students to dress in the indigenous traditional attire<sup>109</sup>. Some Fulani are delegated to exercise vital functions during the occasional day due to their appropriate attire. It is common to see some Fulani dressed in the indigenes traditional regalia even with no major event. This can be seen in plate sixteen below.

<sup>108</sup> DAW, File No. E28/C.138.S2, *Ardorates*, 1997.

<sup>109</sup> Interview with HRH Ntuh Mbeng Evaristus.



**Plate 16: A Fulani (Musa Oumarou) dressed in the Indigenous Traditional Attire, Toghu**



**Source: Photo taken by Author, Bafmeng, August 3, 2018.**

Plate 16 above shows a Fulani dressed in the indigenes traditional attire in Bafmeng. The house and farm on the plate should be ignored because we only want to show the attire.

The carrying of knives also constituted part of the dressing code of Fulani. Before the Fulani penetrated into the Menchum area, hunters, women going to farms and tappers were the only groups of people who moved with knives. Their motive for it was generally positive as depicted by our informants in Benakuma<sup>110</sup>. The only people who move with knives as a habit were thieves. They used them to harass men, intimidate people to surrender what they have, to them. If one could make a comparative analysis here, one could be tempted to say that the Fulani were thieves which is not the case. This is because they moved with knives to avoid seeing a cow giving up a ghost. Any Fulani who ignored a cow that was almost dying was said to have sinned. They also used the knives for self-defense<sup>111</sup>.

The fluctuation of boundaries in this domain was seen as aggression and stabbing increased which was not the case hitherto to the coming of Fulani. Little clashes which could easily be brought to order escalated to overt conflict as the Fulani were hesitant to dialogue

<sup>110</sup> Interview with Bulge Karimou, 41 Years, Greazier, Benakum, 14/12/2021.

<sup>111</sup> Interview with Fali Saly.

and saw stabbing as a means of settling the problem. In 1948, the colonial administrators recorded stabbings and other assaults of about 451 cases perpetrated by the Fulani. Menchum valley registered 39 out of the aforementioned figure above<sup>112</sup>.

Correlatively linked to the above view is the fact that the dancing system of both communities has witnessed much change. The Fulani who at first could not be seen dancing in night clubs are today seen nearly everywhere dancing together with indigenes. The indigenes are equally seen dancing the *barahlla* dance together with the Fulani. During this dance, men and women could be seen dancing together following the rhythm of the drums and songs. On important occasions, men stood on a straight line waiting for women to choose them. Some indigenes were even chosen before the Fulani<sup>113</sup>. So the presence of Fulani in the area under discussion have altered such boundary dynamics as in their dressing and dancing styles. The outcomes of the Fulani system of dancing were positive in the Menchum area. This stand is also postulated by Jumbam as he puts it:

The Fulani dances helped to promote unity and solidarity between them and the people of the Bamenda Grassfields. Besides assembling particularly the Fulani Kin and Kith, the Fulani dances also tightened the bonds uniting them with the natives. The indigenous people were often invited to share with them in commemoration of the event that led to the dance.... Even when the indigenes did not dance, they shared food and drinks with Fulani....It helped to reduce the tension between farmers and graziers of Menchum<sup>114</sup>.

The above citation reveals that the new system of dances brought in by the Fulani was welcomed by the indigenes thereby causing boundaries to witness a change. Jumbam further educates us that they also left behind regressive thought as he states:

... During the dance, prostitution was rampant. Many Fulani youths even clashed with indigenous men over girls. For example, many indigenous free girls who lived in and around host towns prepared to receive the young men who came for the events. These men were believed to be very rich. Thus during the manifestation, these girls abandoned their old boy friends and ran to Fulani men for money. This situation often led to clashes between their boyfriends and the Fulani men. They were equally cases of adultery as some Fulani men used the dance period as an opportunity to have sex with wives of men who had failed to attend... A lot of thievery usually occurred during the *barahlla* dance period. Those who lavishly spent their money and became bankrupt resorted to stealing from others who still had reserves....<sup>115</sup>

The above citation indicates that some Fulani did not answer present in mighty *barahlla* dance because they wanted to avoid the negative repercussions that awaited them. More so, eating and drinking habits of the indigenes and Fulani have also played a great role

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<sup>112</sup> NWRAB, File No.Ba/a. 1948/1. Principal offences and deaths with by native courts in cameroons Province, Under United nation trusteeship during the year 1948, December 1948, p. 64; Jumbam, "The Fulani Impact on the Bamenda Grassfield 1916-2008", 165.

<sup>113</sup> Jumbam "The Impact of the Fulani on the Fondom of Nso", p. 95.

<sup>114</sup> Jumbam, "The Fulani Impact on the Bamenda Grassfields 1916-2008", p.145.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 146



in reducing the gap that existed between both groups. The boundary that existed in this sector can be explained by the fact that the Fulani who came in later resisted consuming indigenous meals. They were addicted to their own types of meals as earlier mentioned. But as time passed, this boundary was narrowed. This was seen as Fulani started consuming indigenous meals they initially objected. Fulani in the Menchum areas made no distinction in variety with the indigenes. They have tended to consume all what is considered as food by the indigenes. Some even eat food prepared at death celebration. The indigenes too have reacted by consuming all what the Fulani eat. This is highly noted during feasting periods such as feast of the Ramadan, New Year celebration, Christmas, marriages and naming occasions.

Food was prepared in any form, by the community and people, regardless of who ate what. Most often, the Fulani chose *kati kati* of the indigenes. With regard to drinking, some Fulani are seen in snack bars drinking all forms of alcohol which was not the case before. They drank the traditional liquor of the indigene called *mkoogh*, beer, whisky, palm wine among others. We even see them drunk in bars. This was not the case before. The cow milk (*pendi*) that the Fulani transform into butter was very rich both for the indigenes and Fulani. Some Fulani carried it in large bowls and moved around from door-to-door marketing to the indigenes. This encouraged the indigenes to embrace the *pendi*. Thus, it will not be an over statement to say that eating and drinking habits of the Fulani and indigenes have altered boundaries in the Menchum area due to the presence of the late settlers.

Another cultural aspect where an ideological boundary has been narrowed was in the sporting and language domain. The Fulani came in with a new language, Fulfulde and were determined to prevent it from being affected adversely by the indigenous words. This view is shared by Jean Boutrais as he puts it: *les peuls preservent leur langue mais emploient la langue locale pour communiquer avec les villageois, des Bariba, qui exercent une domination politique sur les eleveurs*<sup>116</sup>. This phrase depicts that the Fulani took an engagement to study, understand and speak the local languages while preserving the alteration of theirs. The advantage of learning the indigenous local languages was to take the Fulani closer to the indigenes which eventually made them to gain grazing lands. A few of Fulani made efforts in communicating with the indigenes in Pidgin English though with difficulties especially at the level of accent. Those who could not speak both the local

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<sup>116</sup> Boutrais, *Hautes Terres d'Eleaveges*, Vol. 1, p. 18.

language and Pidgin English spoke their Fulfulde to whoever they met on the way. This was highly noticeable in trading centers<sup>117</sup>.

In the course of transmitting their message, the Fulani took it as a special assignment to avoid getting angry even when it was poorly transmitted. They only felt bad when some indigenes threw negative slangs on or mocked at them. But, they never retaliated<sup>118</sup>. They only took upon themselves to seek solutions to minimize the situation. This led to the employment of some indigenes that showed interest in learning the Fulfulde to work as translators. Given that language is the key to a smooth cohesion; both groups started learning each other's language thereby bridging the boundaries. This was to enable them reap more advantages in many domains. As Fulfulde gained grounds, it imposed itself on the indigenous people. This was seen as those who were able to speak it exerted some powers over those who could not speak it. This further encouraged a wide range of indigenes to employ effort to learn and speak Fulfulde and vice versa<sup>119</sup>.

We also gathered from the field that the study of the Fulani language became important not only to the early settlers of the Menchum area. In the early 1940s, it has become a *Lingua Franca* in the area. Colonial administrators later developed interest in it and made it part of their policy to promote its speaking in the entire Bamenda Grassfields<sup>120</sup>. This was seen as a letter was addressed to the Chief Inspector of education for Enugu in July 1941 by Hunt-Coke, Education Officer for the Cameroon Province revealing the significance of Fulfulde to the Menchum community<sup>121</sup>. The British colonial administration therefore took upon itself to impose the study of Fulfulde in the administration of the Bamenda Grassfields where our area of study constitutes part. Veterinary officers and tax collectors developed interest in it so as to ease their chatting with the Fulani.

The ventilation and embracing of Fulfulde by the indigenes further accelerated as the Akali Court was established in Bamenda. One of the criteria to become a judge in the court was the mastery of the Arabic, Fulfulde and Hausa. Indigenes in our area of study who aspired to become judges in the court therefore employed efforts to learn and speak the Fulfulde. It was from here that the introduction of the Fulfulde dictionary into Grassfields of Cameroon was noticed in the mid-1940s. This view is confirmed by Jumbam who reveals that "Copies

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<sup>117</sup> Jumbam, "The Fulani Impact on the Bamenda Grassfield 1916-2008", p. 130.

<sup>118</sup> Interview with Bulge Karimou.

<sup>119</sup> Interview with Yusufou Alidou, 47 years, Grazier, Nyos, 14/08/2018.

<sup>120</sup> Jumbam "The Fulani Impact on the Bamenda Grassfield 1916-2008", p. 133.

<sup>121</sup> NAB, File, N0 Ab17/3. 19124, Education of Nomadic Bororo, 25 July, 1941, p. 4.

of the dictionary were bought in Yaounde. Applications for more copies were made to *Les Directeur de Finances* in Yaounde. A copy cost 15 francs (1/6)". The speaking of the Fulani language in the Menchum area became a routine by 2010<sup>122</sup>. The Fulani on their part double their effort to speak the indigenous local languages. Some even spoke more than indigenes. This uplifted the artificial boundary implanted by their differences.

Again, the penetration of the new settlers in Menchum area led to the increase of sporting activities. The initial sport activity of the Fulani was playing with sticks. This was manifested in the form of fighting and the number of times a partner could hit another indicated his strength over the other. They equally relied on horse races as their own sporting activity<sup>123</sup>. As time went by, the number of horses increased. They started offering and selling some to the indigenes who showed interest in having one. During Fulani feasting periods: Ramadan and *Tabaski*, they displayed on the horse back. It should be mentioned that when the Fulani just entered Menchum, the indigenes did not go to their feasting places, but as time went by, they started going. This was motivated by the display of Fulani on horses.

The indigenes who had acquired some horses for transportation motives worked harder to learn how to also display on them. This also attracted the attention of colonial administrators who started inviting the Fulani to come and display during official ceremonies. When an official ceremony was about to occur, meetings were held to prepare and practice how they would display. The holding of such preparatory meetings led to the creation of the Bamenda race club (BRC) on Friday 24<sup>th</sup> April, 1953<sup>124</sup>. As time evolved, the BRC extended its activities as the prizes offered in the subsequent years attracted many more competitors. The indigenes indicated their desire to participate in the event. Competitors now were comprised of the Fulani and the indigenous horse riders. Awards for the winners relied on the money raised from the sale of tickets and registration fees levied on participating horses. The maximum prizes however, offered ranged from 10 pounds for the third position, 20 pounds for the second position and 30 pounds for the first position. The rest of the horses received encouragement prizes of 1 pound each<sup>125</sup>.

The BRC progressively shaped the relationship of the indigenes and Fulani. This view was also preached by Jumbam as he narrated:

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<sup>122</sup> Jumbam "The Fulani Impact on the Bamenda Grassfield", pp. 131-132.

<sup>123</sup> Interview with Yusufou Alidou.

<sup>124</sup> Jumbam "The Fulani Impact on the Bamenda Grassfield", p. 94.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*

It promoted the touristic potentials of the area as well as solidarity and unity between the Fulani and indigenes... the race meetings provided a forum for the Fulani of Menchum area to discuss problems arising from grazing, during the dry season. The Bamenda graze meetings were used to establish trade links between Bamenda horse owners and business firms producing saddles and tickets in the United Kingdom<sup>126</sup>.

The above observation depicts that sport introduced by the Fulani acted as a convergent point for the early and late settlers of Menchum. The indigenes on their part from the onset practiced wrestling. They later developed the skills of football which the Fulani hesitated to join them. However, they later joined the indigenes in playing football. Some even won best players in tournaments. This was the case of Issa Umarou in Bafmeng. Another football match that was played in Buea by the inhabitants of Menchum Division in June 20, 2018 had one of the teams composed of Indigenes and Fulani. See plate seventeen below.

**Plate 17: A Football Team Composed of both Fulani and Indigenes**



**Source: Photo taken by Author, Buea, June 20, 2018.**

Plate 17 above depicts a situation where boundaries were altered in the domain of sport. Fulani could collaborate with the indigenes to constitute a football team. This scenario became a tradition in almost everywhere in Menchum. In Kuk, the team that officially set the ball rolling for the Kuk Unity's tournament in 2009 was made up of both Fulani and indigenes as seen on the plate below<sup>127</sup>.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96.

<sup>127</sup> Interview with Ful Lazarous Toh.

**Plate 18: The Team that officiated a football tournament in Kuk in 2009**



**Source: Personal Archives of Toh Lazarus Ful.**

The above plate 18 depicts a delegation in the course of setting the ball roll. The football match was played by Young Tigers (home based team) and Fako Strikers (from Muea). The plate equally shows the cordial relationship that existed between the indigenes and Fulani. One can also see an indigene dressed in the Fulani traditional attire proving the alteration of boundaries as a result of the presence of Fulani. It is also important to mention that the home based team which changed its name to “Carrefour Boys” won the trophy of the Kuk Unity tournament in 2021. The relevance of this event is that the team was composed of both Fulani and indigenes. See plate nineteen.



**Plate 19: One of the Finalists of the 2021 Football Tournament in Kuk**



**Source: Photo taken by Author, Kuk, August 15, 2021.**

The moral code of Fulani (*Pulaaku*) constituted another field where boundaries were minimized between the old and the new settlers. The *Pulaaku* was a moral code that defined the behavior and comportment of Fulani in a society. It demanded the Fulani to be in order, pure and transparent. They were also expected to have a focus on identity and avoid being carried away by emotions. From the principles of *Pulaaku*, one could say that it also possessed a negative aspect. This was seen as it inadvertently encouraged the Fulani to lack trust within themselves. This resulted from its rigid individualistic expression. *Pulaaku* is a code of conduct that obliges the Fulani not to outcry in public and compels the young ones to respect the elders<sup>128</sup>.

*Pulaaku* holds that Fulani should always stay off from a lukewarm attitude and exhibit a positive one in public. This means that even if they were not satisfied with a point or their demand was not taking into consideration, they were supposed to conceal their anger in public. This was to prevent the occurrence of conflict in a latent form, talk less, of an overt way. He further adds that *Pulaaku* are “the morals and virtues of the Fulani which differentiates them from other human creatures”<sup>129</sup>. They opine that *hakkiilo* (intelligence),

<sup>128</sup> Mohamadou, “The Mbororo Fulani of Fungom Sub-Division”, p. 27.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*

*semteendel* (restraint), *tedeegal* (respect) and *munyal* (modesty) are all part and parcel of *Pulaaku*<sup>130</sup>.

In a discussion with our informants in Befang, we uncovered that when a Fulani visited a place and food was served for him or her to eat, he or she was not supposed to eat all the food for if the person did so and left, it was considered that he/she has violated the moral code of the Fulani (*Pulaaku*)<sup>131</sup>. By this code Fulani were also supposed to mind their way of discussing in public. In most cases, they ignored negative slangs thrown on them. This was a far-fetch philosophy with the old settlers of Menchum area. They lacked most of the elements of *Pulaaku*. They took it as a prerogative to express their dissatisfaction in public. Once one was bitter over an issue, one could see from his countenance and not hesitate to conclude that there is a negative situation<sup>132</sup>.

It was a difficult task for the early settlers of the Menchum area to display a positive image outside in hard times. A majority of them said their stomachs are meant for storing swallowed food and not things that are displeasing to them<sup>133</sup>. This eventually made them not to hesitate retaliating or protesting depending on the case. It was also seen within the indigenous communities as a wayward attitude if they never finished the food they served them in a place. They were expected to eat everything and even ask for more if they were not full<sup>134</sup>. The boundaries that existed in this field were later eliminated as the Fulani embraced formal education and gained knowledge. They started expressing themselves with rebuking tones on issues that were displeasing to them. They competed and even manifested conflict in an overt stage within themselves. This was unlike when they just infiltrated the Menchum area<sup>135</sup>.

Fulani also went against the principle of *Pulaaku* as they started stealing, which was not something they did when they just entered the Menchum area. This was highly noticed when feasting moments were approaching. They stole the indigenous domestic animals and other belongings to sell and have enough money to squander during the occasions. It was surprising to learn that the *Barrahlla* dance promoted cattle theft among the Fulani. Fulani stole cattle from their family to sell to obtain money for clothing, house rent and

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<sup>130</sup> *Ibid*, p. 28.

<sup>131</sup> Interview with Shefu Saidou, 34 Years, Yaya Amadou, 41 Years, Befang, 14/08/22.

<sup>132</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>133</sup> Interview with Ibuh Moses.

<sup>134</sup> Interview with Ngeh Bang Lambert.

<sup>135</sup> *Idem*.

transportation fee. This was because grant *barahlla* dance events were organized out of Menchum<sup>136</sup>. The Fulani in Menchum needed money to travel to the hosting place.

Since time immemorial, *njangi* has been a socio-economic activity carried out by the indigenes. It was used to promote mutual and or social activities and trade within the community. A *njangi* was an informal joint stock organized periodically by members of the same community, village or family to aid partners rotationally in their social commitments<sup>137</sup>. *Njangi* houses were held weekly, bi-weekly and monthly. Money contributed by members was given to one person who hosted the *njangi* to enable him/her do whatsoever they deemed necessary especially in executing personal projects. Each member had his/her particular day well programmed to host and benefit the *njangi*<sup>138</sup>. These *njangis* also assisted members in times of difficulties and of important events like marriages, birth, and promotion at work among others.

This therefore made it a social activity. Examples of *njangis* that existed in the area includes: Chuapam in Bafmeng, neighbour, solidarity among others in Kuk<sup>139</sup>. The Fulani, who did not want to hear of this before, later changed their minds and associated with the indigenes in the aspect. For instance, Abdou Amidou in Kuk is a member of the *njangi*. Fali Saly is also a member of a *njangi* in Mtom, a quarter in Kuk. Many Fulani in lower Fungom and Menchum valley have joined *njangis* in order to better their understanding of the indigenes<sup>140</sup>. This only led to the bridging of boundaries. In the course of time, economic aspects were introduced in *njangis*. This was when fixed contributions were made in money and borrowed to members to establish businesses that would empower them. *Njangis* therefore played the role of banks at local levels.

This was a good initiative to enable people to have capital to open up a business<sup>141</sup>. It is even said that the Bamileke Society give more thanks to this *njangi* houses for their community progress. This also holds true in the Menchum Division. *Njangis* also possessed an added advantage in that they gave out money for credit for little or no interest. So, Fulani and indigenes preferred money from these *njangi* houses than some of their wealthy

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<sup>136</sup> At the end of the Ramadan feast, the Fulani continued to feast for seven more days. A place in the Bamenda Grassfield was chosen to be the venue of the event. Five main towns: Ndop, Kumbuo, Bali-kumbat, Nkambe and the Sabga Lamidat were short-listed to host the event. The venue for the next event was usually decided on the last day of the show.

<sup>137</sup> Falso, *Cameroon History for Secondary Schools*, p. 82.

<sup>138</sup> Ngole, "Integration and Co-existence of Immigrants", p.133.

<sup>139</sup> Interview with Nji Christopher Kang.

<sup>140</sup> Interview with Yaya Djibri, 38 Years, Grazier, Abar, 17/08/2017.

<sup>141</sup> Falso, *Cameroon History for Secondary School*, p. 82.



neighbours and friends who gave money on credit with high rates of interest and the money was supposed to be refunded in bulk<sup>142</sup>. Thus, it is proper to think that the Fulani through *njangis* altered boundaries in the Menchum Division.

### III. Political Boundaries: Local Administration

The Fulani were sparsely located everywhere in the Menchum Division but each settlement in a community was headed by an *Ardor*. He was charged with the duty of administering his subjects and settling disputes. Given that an individual cannot efficiently administer a whole community alone without problems, he was assisted by four dignitaries as already seen in the first chapter. The *Ardor* was the one who selected the dignitaries based on their wealth and propriety. They in turn compensated him. In case there was a dispute among the Fulani in Menchum which was proving to be more than the handling powers of the *Ardor* of that constituency, *Ardor* Sabga was invited to come and resolve the issue<sup>143</sup>. This means that in the early times of the Fulani in Menchum, they took care of everything of theirs. The indigenes did not interfere in their matters. Awasum posits thus:

Before the Bamenda grassland was divided into N.A areas, *Ardo'en* enjoyed total independence from their landlord Village Heads in the administration of their subjects and in fiscal matters. A village head did not intervene in Fulani affairs although he was supposed to collect taxes from all the inhabitants of his territory with the exception of government employees<sup>144</sup>.

As time went by, the British administrators authorized the indigenes to collect the jangali tax which was formally the duty of *Ardors*. This indirectly gave the indigenes the right to intervene in the Fulani issues. Matters on disputes between two groups started invading the area. This was because the *Ardors* after collecting the taxes gave the money to the chiefs to deposit in the treasury who then benefitted a ten percent discount<sup>145</sup>. In this case, the indigenes appointed *Ardors* without respecting the Islamic laws. They did so in order to have only people who were loyal to them. This only helped to accelerate the conditions of animosity between the two groups. This made the Fulani to develop hatred for their land lord Village Heads, who made up the N.A and acted as Fulani spokesmen to the colonial government.

The hatred was provoked by the indigenes that were agriculturalists but collected jangali taxes. The Fulani also resented the interferences of Village Heads in their internal

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<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>143</sup> Interview with Ndi Nji Cletus.

<sup>144</sup> Awasom, "The Hausa and Fulani in the Bamenda Grasslands 1903-1960", p. 219.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 221.

affairs. In this light, the Fulani saw no need gaining admission into N.As but to establish an exclusive Fulani N.A which could channel their problems directly to the British administration directly. The Fulani also based their argument on the British policy of Indirect Rule which was to rule people based on their customs and traditions. They lamented that their tradition was different from that of the indigenes. Thus, governing them through the indigenes was an indication that they were deviating from their colonial policy.

It is imperative to highlight though the Fulani came in with their own local administrative system which they established since their earliest settlement in Futa Faro, and observing that the British were reluctant to grant them permission to run their own Fulani N.A, they later mounted pressure on the indigenes to include them in the native courts. This was not the case before as they did not need the indigenes or hardly cooperated with the indigenes for administrative reasons. The indigenes resisted to admit the Fulani in their native councils thereby paving the way for them to open their own native courts, though it was not gazetted as the indigenes' own. This caught the attention of M.D. W. Jaffreys who argued in their favour as exposed by Awasom "...the principles of Indirect Rule should be applied to the Jafuns, as the Fulani called themselves, though they were not natives of the Cameroons..."<sup>146</sup>.

This cemented ambivalent thoughts on the British minds. They reasoned that the Fulani were not original settlers of the land and so could not create a Native Authority. In the other way they reasoned that the Fulani charges against Village Heads were valid to an extent. As time went by, the British reflected on the issue of granting the Fulani the right to establish a N.A. The British administration later saw the need to include them in the native court by arguing that they were inhabitants just like the indigenes. This happened in the late 1950s and it was due to the fact that the village heads opposed the democratization of the NAs for fear that it would jeopardize their positions in the N.A<sup>147</sup>.

It was from here that the British on April 1, 1949 regrouped the 23 NAs that existed in Bamenda into five NAs: South-Eastern Federation, South-Western Federation, North-eastern Federation, North-Western Federation and the Bali Chamber. It should be noted that the South-West, South-East and the Bali chamber became the Bamenda Division with head quarter at Bamenda while the North-West Federation became the Wum Division with

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<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 229

<sup>147</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", p.118.

headquarters at Wum which is our area of study<sup>148</sup>. Fulani gained membership in other areas in the 1940s, but only did so in our area of study in the 1950s because Village Heads opposed the democratization of the NAs for fear that it would jeopardize their positions in the NA councils. The reason for this change of mind was that they were assured of their positions in the NAs. It was from here that we saw Fulani embracing the indigenous traditional local system.

The first administrator to recognize the Fulani in Fungom area in connection to this view was *Ardor* Adamou Umaru, designated 3<sup>rd</sup> class *Ardor* in 1992 by prefectural order No 61/92. This brought about the presence of many Fulani in their various traditional councils. But then *Ardor* Umaru of Esu and *Ardor* Gide of Ise, Bafmeng had become members of executive committee in 1967 meanwhile Sally Faly in Kuk became a member of the council in 2007<sup>149</sup>. Adamu Abdou, Moumoni Adamu, Abdou Goma are all council members in Kuk. Aladji Alabi was also a member in the Kuk council and occupied the position of a treasurer. With these Fulani as auxiliaries of the local administration, the villages of Fungom became more democratic in character. This was more especially as each personality respected its hierarchy with the *fon* at the helm. From the above view, it is clear that the Fulani promoted boundary dynamics in Menchum Division. They later embraced the local administration and forced themselves in to the native authority which was not the case before<sup>150</sup>.

## B. National Politics

The advent of Fulani into Menchum Division led to the introduction of a new political system (the theocratic system). They remained firm on their political system and resisted to embrace the indigenous political system. They hardly discussed politics, hardly possessed travel documents, they used documents of their cattle, issued by veterinary departments, and they hardly came in contact with the people. Their contact with the administration was for long limited to paying tax on livestock. The indigenes did not need the Fulani because they considered them as aliens whose parents were born in Nigeria and elsewhere. Thus, they could not be included in the N.As. In turn, the Fulani did not also need them. But as time passed, they started participating in the political affairs of the state. This was noticed in the 1968 elections into the West Cameroon House of Assembly<sup>151</sup>.

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<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 262-263.

<sup>149</sup> Nyoh, "Fulani-Indigenous Relations in Fungom Sub-Division", p. 26.

<sup>150</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", p. 119.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*

Though no Fulani during this time presented his candidature for any post, they however assisted in the elections by hosting polling stations. For instance, *Ardor* Umaru's residence in Wum was used as a polling station and 803 votes were registered where 176 were Fulani. In Esu 105 Fulani voted to make the total number of 2760 votes<sup>152</sup>. The Fulani further strengthened their position in party politics in 1975. This was when the campaign team in Menchum Division was placed under the control of *Ardor* Umaru. The Fungom Sub-Division also fell under his jurisdiction. His compound was again used as polling station. *Ardor* Mama of Wum also played a great role. In 1884, a committee was formed to count Fungom inhabitants involved in the election. This committee was a blend of the indigenes like Chu Richard, Meh Thomas and Fulani like Aboki Jama, Abdou Ali, Mallam Abdoulahi, Musa Yenge among others<sup>153</sup>.

More so, the return of multi-party politics in 1990 envisaged the masquerade of electoral votes made the Fulani to change their attitude of hardly voting during the one party period. According to Awasom, the Fulani started infiltrating into the political scene of Cameroon especially with the population of Fungom partly because they wanted their problems to be discussed directly with British administrators through political maneuvers and also to gain government protection. The Fulani actively took part in politics so as to fight against the discriminatory attitude of the indigenes towards them, which stemmed from their being a minority group<sup>154</sup>. Following the fact that politics is the game of interest, the inhabitants of Fungom had to associate with political parties that offered security opportunities for them.

This made the indigenes to ally with SDF while the Fulani colluded with the ruling party. This was because the UNDP of Bouba Belo Maigari amalgamated with CPDM. But as time went by, both communities found themselves in the same political party. Indigenes had to compete with Fulani in top ranking positions in the party. This was the case of Mathias Nji who emerged victorious over Abdoulahi in the struggle for the ward chairmanship of SDF in Kuk<sup>155</sup>. Another case was that of Joseph Timbong who challenged Ahmadou Belo in Bafmeng. The same scenario happened in Esu where Idirisou defeated Buh Dinga and

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<sup>152</sup> DAW, File, No E28/667/ Vol.3, Presidential Elections, 1983.

<sup>153</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", p. 119.

<sup>154</sup> Awasom, "The Hausa and Fulani in the Bamenda Grasslands 1903-1960", p. 266.

<sup>155</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", p. 132.

became the branch president. The Fulani were empowered with national feelings of developing their area politically by cooperating with the indigenes<sup>156</sup>.

### C. Justice and Peace

There is no gainsaying that before the Fulani came into Menchum Division, the indigenes had their own way of resolving matters. This was probably under the responsibility of *Kwifon*. The Fulani came in later with their own system, the *Kirtah* for the *ardorate* and Alkali for the Muslims in general. While the Fulani chased away the indigenous system of judging, the indigenes in turn rejected the *Kirtah* as a court to table their matters<sup>157</sup>. The role played by Fulani to alter ideological boundaries in this domain is the fact that the indigenes who initially were not fans of the *Kirtah* later preferred it. The reason for this was simply because they made them to understand that the *Koran* used by Dolgari to judge criminals was not an asset to joke with. It was capable of inflicting madness on people who did not want to speak the truth. Both the Fulani and indigenes were judged in the Fulani court which was not the case before<sup>158</sup>. In the same line, the Fulani also crossed a boundary by attending the modern courts which they opposed from the onset.

It is worth noting that one of the most desired projects of Fulani in the Bamenda grassland was the establishment of the Alkali court which was realized in the Nso land in the 1950s<sup>159</sup>. Though an Alkali court was not set up in the Menchum division until the 1960s, the one established in Nso had an indirect impact on boundaries in Menchum Division. This was because the Fulani in our area of study started channeling their matters to the Alkali court there, which was not the case before<sup>160</sup>. It should be understood that this project could not be realized before the 1950s because the British colonialists rejected the idea in the 1940s on the grounds that they were not aborigines of the land. Fulani incessant demand for it influenced them to change their minds<sup>161</sup>.

But then we must highlight that hitherto to the birth of the Alkali in the Bamenda grassland, all matters concerning the Fulani were judged in NCs where native laws and customs prevailed, not those of the Fulani<sup>162</sup>. We learned from the field that the idea of

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<sup>156</sup> Nyoh, "Fulani-Indigenous Relations in Fungom Sub-Division", p. 20.

<sup>157</sup> Jumbam, "The Fulani Impact on the Bamenda Grassfield", p.286.

<sup>158</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", p.133.

<sup>159</sup> Jumbam, "The Fulani Impact on the Bamenda Grassfield", p.286.

<sup>160</sup> Interview with Ntuhseen John Toh.

<sup>161</sup> Awasom "The Hausa and Fulani in the Bamenda Grasslands 1903-1960", p.275.

<sup>162</sup> Jumbam, "The Fulani Impact on the Bamenda Grassfield", p.286.

creating an Alkali court in the Bamenda division invaded the Fulani minds when the indigenes vehemently handled cases against them in the NCs. This is uncovered by Jumbam as he documents the lamentation of a Fulani “Councilors and judges imposed disproportionate fines when it came to cases involving the Fulani. Each time a Fulani appeared before a NC against an indigene, the verdict was a forgone conclusion since the courts were only interested in imposing heavy fines on those they knew had much money”<sup>163</sup>.

This encouraged them to continuously demand for the Alkali court where there will be judged according to the Islamic laws. They equally held that the NCs were pagan theaters and that there was no connection between Muslims and pagans as far as justice was concerned. Again, the Fulani rejected the NCs because of language barrier. Most judges communicated in their vernacular or Pidgin English and Fulani faced difficulties in understanding either. This compelled them to embrace an additional financial burden by employing the services of a Hausa who understood Pidgin English. It became worse when the availability of the intermediary was a problem to them. They therefore decided to retreat from it and continued to mount pressure on the British to authorize the creation of their court<sup>164</sup>.

Given that the British were reluctant to accept its establishment, they decided not to collaborate with the indigenes in NCs. They finally decided to disrespect the British and created the court without their permission. The British warned and ordered them to desist from such an act. It was from here that they restated their point that it is not appropriate for them to be judged, following the indigenes’ laws instead of Islamic laws. This presentation captured the mind of the secretary of Eastern Provinces at Enugu, who validated the creation of the Alkali on 19th December, 1944. He communicated to the secretary of Northern provinces, Kaduna mentioning that:

I am directed to inform you that it has been suggested that an Alkali’s court might be established in Bamenda Division, Cameroon Province for the benefit of the considerable number of Fulani herdsmen who reside there. At present the Fulani complain that they cannot obtain justice in the native courts, where the judges, most of whom are pagans, do not understand their customs or speak their language<sup>165</sup>.

The above comment reveals that the Fulani desire was becoming achieved. It finally became successful when the secretary of Northern Provinces, Kaduna responded positively to them on 6<sup>th</sup> January, 1945. He encouraged its establishment and stated that there was no

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<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, p.288.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>165</sup> NAB, File Ab17/2. No. 19547, Vol. II. Correspondence from the Secretary, Eastern Provinces, Enugu to the Secretary, Northern Provinces, Kaduna, 19 December 1944, p.117; Jumbam, “The Fulani Impact on the Bamenda Grassfield 1916-2008”, p. 288.

problem for it to exist alongside with the NCs given that such a situation prevailed in Nigeria in (Jos Division in the plateau)<sup>166</sup>. The decision of creating the court for the Bamenda division was validated on April 1945. After reflecting and deliberating, it was agreed that it should be established temporarily in Ndop. It should be understood that the court went operational in march 1947 following the forwarding of its creation decision by R.F.A Grey on 14 January 1946 and the availability of a suitable (English speaking and literate) Alkali and a judge<sup>167</sup>.

The impact of this Alkali court in Ndop in boundary dynamics in Menchum Division lies on the fact that Fulani in the Menchum area who usually judged their cases in the NCs started directing them to it. The indigenes were not comfortable with such a decision because it made them to lose a source of revenue. It was even worse in 1966 when an Alkali court, subordinate to that in Bamenda was created in Wum, under the leadership of Alkali Abubakar<sup>168</sup>. From then up till 1970s, Alkali Abubakar tried Fulani cases in Menchum Division. Those which were more than him were referred to the major Alkali court in Bamenda<sup>169</sup>.

Findings from our field work reveal that both the indigenes and Fulani have turned to pay less attention to their traditional system of judging criminals. They now give more credit to the modern system. It was for this reason that cases which could not be resolved amicably among the parties concerned were forwarded to Zhoa, Benkuma, Wum among others where there exist state security forces like gendarmes and police. It was for this reason that a Farmer/Grazier commission was set up in the area under consideration on 3<sup>rd</sup> March, 2006. The members of this commission included the D.O, local chiefs and the *Ardor* of the area. A number of cases as earlier mentioned in our previous chapter were resolved by this commission<sup>170</sup>.

This encouraged Isa Jaja of Esu and *Ardor* Adamo Umarou of Weh to present their candidatures for CPDM while Abdou Ali of Marshi presented his own for SDF and his party won, thereby rendering him the opportunity to become the first Fulani to enter the Fungom municipal council. He was placed under the department of education and recreational

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<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>168</sup> Alkali Abubakar was a learned Muslim who mastered the Koran, Hadith (Hadith being the sayings and actions of prophet Muhammed). He also mastered the jurisprudence and could speak Arab.

<sup>169</sup> NAB, cb/1941/1, Bamenda division Annual Report, 1947.

<sup>170</sup> DAW, File, No E28/09/Vol.1, Farmer/Grazier, 1996.

committee. It is even argued that the success of Che Phillipe of Weh as the SDF parliamentarian was thanks to the support of the Fulani. Though *Ardor* Haro argued that the chiefs of Fungom should grant them authority into the *kwifon* society, he hosted a polling station in his compound in 2004. His daughter, Haro Baby was made the second deputy mayor of Zhoa rural council. This stemmed from the defeat of CPDM candidate, Nji Fidelis Moh Ziah by the SDF candidate, Ndong Larry Hills who became the parliamentarian for Menchum North in 2013<sup>171</sup>.

#### **D. *Fonship* Institution**

The institution of *fonship* is a complex one which encompasses political, socio-economic, legislative and spiritual obligations. The moment the living ancestor departed the physical world to converge with those in the spiritual world, he was replaced. It is however important to note that in the grassfields area as a whole, there is the belief in continuity and immortalization as far as *fonship* is concerned. It is therefore held that the *fon* is not just the person but the embodiment of traditional paraphernalia associated with his supreme office<sup>172</sup>. This high office of the land is epitomized by the ancestral stool, ancestral cap, the royal cup and other traditional regalia which go along with the office. These items inherited from his ancestor strengthen the *fon* and make him legal and legitimate as the custodian and controller of land of his *fondom*<sup>173</sup>.

It should be underlined that before a *fon* was crowned, the departed one was dethroned first. This was done by removing the traditional objects on his body and preserving them for his successor since they were to add him spirits of leadership<sup>174</sup>. But then, the selection of a *fon* in our area of study is a shared responsibility and as such, no one has the absolute right over this decision<sup>175</sup>. The first phase starts with the family which selects their successor. He is then submitted to the council of elders (both men and women) for fastidious examination and confirmation. This is done under the watchful eyes of the father of the concerned who has veto power over his son<sup>176</sup>. Though it was difficult to see a youth being

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<sup>171</sup> Interview with Akum Chrisantus Mtam.

<sup>172</sup> Alectum et als, *Socio-Political Integration and Nso Institutions*, Yaounde, ISH, 1989, p.34 and D. N. Ngwa, "Paramouncy and the Control of Land in the Bafut Fondom, 1901-1974", Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaounde 1, 2013, p.50.

<sup>173</sup> Sah, "Bafmeng under Colonial Rule 1889-1961", p. 28.

<sup>174</sup> N. S. Kaze, "The Dethronement of Traditional Chiefs in the Bamenda Grassfields: A Historical Study of the Chieftaincy Crisis in Kedjom Keku, 1982-2006", Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaounde, 2010, p. 50.

<sup>175</sup> Interview with HRH Ntuh Evaristus Mbeng.

<sup>176</sup> *Idem*.



crowned a *fon*, there was no rule pertaining to it. The simple reason was that old men were considered to be endowed with wisdom and were more competent for talisman activities, and were also ready to stay permanently where their powers were to be felt<sup>177</sup>.

Emphasis was not therefore laid on age and maturity of the person to be selected as heir to the throne. The candidate for chieftaincy simply had to exhibit signs of complete honesty, sincerity and trustworthiness in all his activities. He was also expected to be impartial in order to avoid nursing a rift within the community<sup>178</sup>. Ziah Bih added that he was to be slow to anger in order to avoid dispute with his people. He was guiltless of murder or witchcraft<sup>179</sup>. Having made a fastidious selection, the candidate was presented to the kingmakers who had the prerogative of enthroning the selected candidate. In the course of exercising their role, the king makers initiated the new *fon* into the exercise of performing libation and rituals by pouring libation and giving the elect. The presence of the king makers was to ratify the selection of the heir so as to ensure the effective administration of the community<sup>180</sup>.

### **The Ascension of Ntuh Mbeng to the Throne**

Like many communities around the globe, the ascension to thrones in the Menchum community is hereditary. While some communities do it through patrilineal inheritance like Esu, Weh among others, some do it through matrilineal inheritance such as Aghem, Bafmeng, Kung Fungom, Kuk among others. In areas where patrilineal prevails, only sons are qualified to ascend to thrones. Note should however be taken that some princes may not be eligible or forfeit their chances of ascending to the throne. The simple reason is that their state of propriety in the society or their insane nature in the community is high<sup>181</sup>. In the entire community of Menchum, the character traits of the would-be *fon* is top on the list of criteria. This is highly considered especially in cases where there exist many qualified candidates<sup>182</sup>.

A glaring example can be what we witnessed in the Kuk community in 2018. The vacuum created by the joining of the heavenly choir by Tyrself Ntam necessitated its filling. More than three candidates were eligible and others were not willing to occupy the position

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<sup>177</sup> Interview with Henry Ngwa.

<sup>178</sup> Interview with Mathias Nyoh

<sup>179</sup> Interview with Ziah Bih.

<sup>180</sup> Nyoh, "Politics of Fragmentation in the Aghem Federation", p. 86.

<sup>181</sup> Interview with *Fon* Kawzu II.

<sup>182</sup> *Idem*.

though qualified such as Ntuh Mbeng<sup>183</sup>. It should be mentioned that before *fon* Tryself Ntam passed on to glory, Ntuh Mbeng could not believe the degree of love his community had for him. Many people were of the opinion that he had no rival over the throne given his level of education and holiness. Immediately the house of *kwifon* made known to the public that Tryself Ntam travelled to return no more to the physical world, it became a topical point of discussion in all major points of the village including liquor venues that Ntuh Mbeng is ripe to be the genuine *fon* of Kuk. Even children rumored it on the streets<sup>184</sup>.

Given that it was not his desire to be lord of the throne, his attitude towards public gatherings changed. He avoided places and ceremonies he suspected he could be arrested as the *fon*<sup>185</sup>. In line with this, Beng Simon has this to say “One could suspect the escape of *Bahtum* Ntuh Mbeng during the official burial of late *fon* Tryself Ntam which was whispered that he could be called up to take part in the burial which according to tradition would have clearly meant that he is the one to be the next king”<sup>186</sup>. This shows that before he was finally arrested, notables suffered to get him. Attempts were made on several occasions to get him, but he always escaped before time. It was more complicated as he put the notables in a confused state by not taking part in the late *fon*’s burial’s ceremony.

Following the fact that it is the matrilineal family charged with the responsibility of summoning a meeting to concert and propose a *fon* to the Kuk community, controversy became the order of the day within the period he escaped to Yaoundé where he was resident. It was learned in the field that the entire community was ready to object any person other than Ntuh Mbeng proposed by the family<sup>187</sup>. Within this length of time, friction characterized the minds of the Kuk elites and notables. Competent candidates included Aloysius Akai, Emmanuel Mnjuh (the present quarter head of Kumfutu quarter and direct maternal uncle to *Fon* Ntuh Mbeng), and Ndzee-ndia Mbali. Though a little fraction especially those with a virgin brain as concerns formal education preferred other candidates to Ntuh Mbeng, the majority stood for him especially the educated class. His competence was braced by his fastidious and censorious nature<sup>188</sup>. But the final decision was confined to the nucleus of the maternal family. Positive news came when the nucleus of the family met and decided to present Ntuh Mbeng to the public as the candidate.

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<sup>183</sup> Interview with HRH Ntuh Evarestus Mbeng.

<sup>184</sup> Interview with Mary Sih.

<sup>185</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>186</sup> Interview with Beng Simon.

<sup>187</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>188</sup> *Idem*.

This did not take time to reach all the angles of the Kuk land. Satisfaction and joy was overtly manifested in the community. Following the hesitant state of the would-be, some people resort to calling him *fon*. This was just to instill some courage in him. It is important to restate that only the father of the would-be had veto rights to validate the maternal family's decision. Notables had to employ efforts at the maximum level to convince him see with them for his son to be the lord of the throne<sup>189</sup>. In relation to this, Beng Simon stated that:

A major obstacle now was the father of the Would-be *bahtum* Ntuh Mbeng who was not ready to sacrifice his son due to the previous upheavals during the reign of the last *bahtum*. ...the mysterious passing away of *bahtum* Kuma Thomas was still fresh in his mind and needed to be redressed. Nothing could be done rather than face this challenge by the *ketsaap* family<sup>190</sup>.

The maternal family of the would-be *fon* with some designated notables of the community were then committed to have a chat with the father of the would-be *fon*. Oral sources hold that it was not easy to make the father see with them. In the first attempt, their request was turned down on condition that they must provide evidences beyond doubts as to the security of his son<sup>191</sup>. Efforts were accelerated to address the situation together with a lot of plea from the elites to the father and warnings to the *ketsaap* family to take proper investigations pertaining to his security and wellbeing<sup>192</sup>.

### **The Capture of *Fon* Ntuh Mbeng**

As often said that something good takes time to anchor so too it was a nightmare for *fon* Ntuh Mbeng to resist. Oral tradition educates us that no one can be educated on time when final negotiations were made and the approval of *fon* Ntuh Mbeng's father for his son to be the intermediary between the living and the ancestors. Since Ntuh had evaded during the burial of his uncle, other means were devised to lay hands on him. It was told in the field that once selected by the family and confirmed by the father, one could not elude because the ancestors will still arrest him for the community<sup>193</sup>.

It is imperative to mention that the capturing of Ntuh can be better understood by taking a view on the concept of community development of self-reliance which is a situation where people assemble with the main purpose of bettering the state of their wellbeing. In this light, efforts are put together to examine their environment and adopt techniques and strategies, and overcome the challenges plaguing the community. Given that some people are

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<sup>189</sup> Interview with Muwada Ndong.

<sup>190</sup> Interview with Beng Simon.

<sup>191</sup> Interview with Muwada Ndong and Kum Ivo Lah.

<sup>192</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>193</sup> *Idem*.

always disturbed when the living conditions of others are deplorable, strategies are always put in place to help remedy the situation. This often brings about the formation of developmental associations as was the case in Kuk. This ties with what Sabum Emmanuel holds as he puts it:

The utilization under one program of approaches and techniques which rely upon local communities and units of action, and which attempts to combine outside assistance with organized local self-determination and efforts, and which correspondently seek to stimulate local initiatives and leadership as a primary instrument of change<sup>194</sup>.

This shows that people who held their communities at heart always employed efforts to develop the area. This idea gained grounds in the national territory during the reign of President Amadou Ahidjo. He reasoned that the form of development instituted by the whites was slow and not commensurate to the aspirations of the indigenes. He therefore encouraged the indigenes to undertake measures that will speed up socio-economic development<sup>195</sup>. This does not however mean that the concept of self-reliance was a new one in the Menchum community. It is an old issue that had lingered in the minds of the indigenes of the area since inception. This was noticed in their traditional setup like land tenure, farming, hunting, construction of houses among others<sup>196</sup>.

Given that there was the need to speed up the socio-economic development, some Kuk elites assembled and sought to establish a developmental meeting. At this time, Ntuh Mbeng was still a student at the secondary level. He finally grew up with passion for human prosperity and community development. He attended all the meetings geared towards development in his land, gained more experience and leadership skills. This encouraged the elites of the community to vote him into the position of National Financial Secretary (N.F.S). It was during a normal session of KCUDA NEC meeting in the capital town of the western region of Cameroon that he was finally arrested<sup>197</sup>.

This was witnessed on April 14, 2018 in the presence of the entire Kuk people who answered present in the meeting. At that time, he occupied the position of N.F.S of KCUDA and this was the premier come together of the year where he was to give an annual financial report of 2017<sup>198</sup>. Therefore, it was mandatory for him to answer present in the meeting. The ancestors had advised Kuk notables to also answer present in the meeting and get him red

<sup>194</sup> E. S. Sabum, "Bali Nyonga Cultural Development Association (BANDECA) 1970-2004" Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaounde I, 2005, p. 29.

<sup>195</sup> A. Ahidjo, *Contribution a la Construction Nationale*, Paris, Presence Africaine, 1964, p. 49.

<sup>196</sup> Interview with Beng Simon Keluh.

<sup>197</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>198</sup> Interview with Asimbong Canisius, 42 Years, Teacher and S.G of KCUDA, Kuk, 18/08/2018.

handed. Thus, it was a well calculated affair by the notables and king makers of the community to lay hands on their *fon* which took everyone in the hall by surprise as narrated by Beng Simon:

On this day, Kuk sons and daughters were in Bafoussam at PMUC Chateau hall where deliberations were going on and Ntuh Mbeng who was present and delivered his financial report, little could one even suspect that those representing the home branches had a hidden agenda as those who came were very familiar faces to the NEC meeting and had always represented their branches in previous meetings. It all happened before me and the entire Kuk population when the meeting was abruptly interrupted with a huge groom from one Pa Michael Kah Beng, one of the members of the house of *Kpwifor* demanding for silence in the hall. At his hands was a calabash filled with some concoctions. He asked everyone to stand and immediately without any waste of time he poured the contents of the calabash on to Ntuh Mbeng's body. The whole house was silent watching this ritual which was first of its kind to the new generation. After the pouring, he now explained that he was sent by the hierarchy to notify everybody that Ntuh MBeng is the new *fon* of Kuk. He stood in front of *Fon* Ntuh Mbeng and gave a royal salute. It was like different gods entered the meeting hall and instilled a calm atmosphere and fear in everyone's mind. When he was through, he requested everybody to greet the new *fon* same. All bowed clapping their hands three times and said *mbeeh*. The deal was completed as *fon* Ntuh Mbeng could not develop wings to fly from his seat. The *nahtum* of the KCUDA Bafoussam branch immediately wore *toiwe boewe* round his neck as illustrated on the photo below<sup>199</sup>.

**Plate 20: The Capture of *Fon* Ntuh Mbeng**



**Source: Photo taken by Author, Bafussam, April 14, 2018.**

In order to prove to everyone, present in the hall that he has succumbed to the decision of their ancestors, he immediately performed some traditional rites. This was seen as traditional liquor, *Mkoogh*, was filled in his cup to consume half and pour the rest into the main pot for everyone present there to have a taste of it. He poured it in three waves which corresponded to the request of more bush meat, high agricultural yields and more births (*Nyahngoun*,

<sup>199</sup> Interview with Beng Simon.

*Fuakezekhe, Kanghe-waah*) to his people<sup>200</sup>. The photo below illustrates the above description.

**Plate 21: Ntuh Mbeng's Acceptance of being the *Fon* of Kuk**



Source: Photo taken by Author, Baffussam, April 14, 2018.

### **The Coronation of *Fon* Ntuh Mbeng**

The process of installation of *the Fon* was another area where the alteration of boundaries in the Menchum division was noticed. A good example is that of *Fon* Ntuh Mbeng of the Kuk community where the Fulani heavily attended the event. It is important to note that this ceremony took a number of days as different sectors of the community had to play different roles at different times. The enthronement ran from the third to the sixth of August, 2018. It was massively attended by neighbouring communities especially the *Fon* Mbuh Gabriel of Mbulom from Bafmeng who came to Kuk three days before the event to better drill Ntuh Mbeng on the various traditions and cultural behavioral pattern pertaining to the house of highest authority<sup>201</sup>.

After the completion of the initiation ceremony by the kingmakers, the *Fon* 'elect' had to go through an installation process. To perform this, the yet to be crowned *Fon* was given public beating. However, this was guided by village elders who offered protection to the *Fon* against possible injuries. This was followed by the robbing with camwood mixed with palm

<sup>200</sup> Interview with HRH Ntuh Evarestus Mbeng.

<sup>201</sup> Interview with Mbuh Gabriel, 43 Years, *Fon*, Kuk, 18/08/2018.



oil by women under the guidance of the queen mother and his upper section of the body was exposed. This situation can be viewed on plate twenty-two.

**Plate 22: The Coronation Process of Ntuh Mbeng**



**Source: Photo taken by Author, Kuk, August 17, 2018.**

With the installation ceremony completed, the *Fon* who was in principle the head of the clan was initiated in all the secret societies of the clan if this had not been done so earlier. This initiation was done without due payment of initiation fee<sup>202</sup>. The relevance of this event lies on the fact that the Fulani who initially distanced themselves to such occasions were substantially present here. They equally played varied roles as members of the community. This can be viewed on plate twenty-three.

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<sup>202</sup> Nyoh, "Politics of Fragmentation in the Aghem Federation", p.86.

**Plate 23: Enthronement of *Fon* Ntuh Mbeng**



**Source: Photo taken by Author, Kuk, August 17, 2018.**

The above picture illustrates attendants of *Fon* Ntuh Mbeng's coronation. From it, we can see that both the indigenes and Fulani answered present there. This was the case before as the latter did not consider it as part of their business. This therefore proves that boundaries were altered in Menchum Division as a result of their arrival.

### **Conclusion**

This chapter has examined some situations of land boundaries which have witnessed changes on its initial boundaries. This was done by fragmenting it into economic, social and political boundaries. The chapter intimates that the Fulani came and met the indigenes with their already established way of life. Either community initially resisted to embrace the system of others thereby creating boundaries (economic, socio-cultural and political). They later decided to bridge the boundaries by embracing what they initially rejected.



## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **RAMIFICATIONS OF BOUNDARY MUTATIONS**

#### **Introduction**

This chapter is devoted to examining the ramifications of boundary mutations in Menchum Division as a result of Fulani presence. These ramifications stemmed from the fact that both indigenous and Fulani life style in the area of study got affected in all domains of life due to the bridging of boundaries in the area. This chapter is divided into three sub-headings: the economic (employment opportunities, cattle market, trade, water pollution among others), socio-cultural which include religion, education, health and dressing habits, and political ramifications (national politics, justice, emergence of Fulani administrators). The presentation of these facts will be examined in the subsequent paragraphs.

#### **I. Economic Ramifications: Employment Opportunities**

As already noted in previous chapters, the indigenes of Menchum Division just like others in the Bamenda Grasslands had confined occupations: hunting, fishing, transportation of goods, tapping, agriculture among others. It should be highlighted that some indigenes did not find pleasure in the above-mentioned jobs. They occupied themselves with them just to earn a living since they had no choice<sup>1</sup>. But with the bridging of boundaries, new jobs were created, such as *gainakoh*, butchers, cattle transporters, soya roasting among others<sup>2</sup>. According to Ndi<sup>3</sup>, many indigenes got involved in the occupation of *gainakoh* to earn a living. They saw the job as an easy way to meet their wants and needs. Fulani employed indigenes in this sector regardless of their ages, but women were not allowed to do such a job. Women rather milked cattle to produce dairy products like cheese and butter. They were paid monthly in

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<sup>1</sup> Interview with Fine Glass Kom.

<sup>2</sup> Jumbam, "The Impact of the Fulani on the Fondom of Nso", pp. 33-35.

<sup>3</sup> Interview with Alexander Ndi.

cash or kind<sup>4</sup>. The average income earned by a *gainakoh* could range from ten to fifteen thousand francs CFA.

It should also be mentioned that most of the indigenes who were employed as herdsmen later diversified their source of income by becoming graziers due to the wealth they accumulated from the Fulani. Some indigenes used their wealth accumulated from other businesses and ventured into cattle grazing. This was the case of Augustine Beng, Thomas Ndong, Thomas Mua among others. Information from field work reveals that, some indigenes turned to own more cattle than the Fulani in the area. This was the case with Nji Fidelis Muh in Kuk and Joseph Tembong in Bafmeng, Christopher Buh, Behha, Anjoh and Asobo in Wum<sup>5</sup>. In the Fungom area, the indigenous population by 1975 already owned more than 10 percent of the total cattle population in the area<sup>6</sup>. Some indigenes started employing *gynakohs* who were either Fulani or indigenes. This means that the Fulani who brought cattle to the Menchum division were later employed in the sector by indigenes. Who now own five heads of cattle<sup>7</sup>.

Other informants equally reported that some Fulani became *gainakohs* to indigenes and some grazing indigenous cattle alongside theirs. This was the case of Madaki Ibrahim in Kuk who grazed his cattle alongside those of Kum Godlove<sup>8</sup>. Again, Fali Sally grazed his cattle with those of Ntuh Jude<sup>9</sup>. Some Fulani in the area were known to be entitled to none of the cattle they grazed. That is, the cattle they graze belong to other people (both Fulani and indigenes). A glaring example is Delegeh Lawan in Kuk who took this as a specialty<sup>10</sup>.

He did this just to have a name that he owns cattle, since the number of cattle in one's compound depicts his degree of wealth. These job opportunities which resulted from boundary mutations enabled indigenes to improve on their standards of living and contributed enormously to the development of their various communities. It is told that Augustine Beng in Kuk was the first indigene to construct a modern house roofed with corrugated Iron sheets. The money he used in constructing came from cattle businesses<sup>11</sup>. The transportation of cattle from one area to another in our area of study and even out of the region was another job

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<sup>4</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>5</sup> Jumbam, "The Fulani Impact on the Bamenda Grassfield", p.177.

<sup>6</sup> Nyoh, "Fulani-Idigenous Relations", p. 43.

<sup>7</sup> Karh, "Cattle Economy in Wum Area 1940-2010", p. 77.

<sup>8</sup> Interview with Ntuh Jude Kpa, Toh Simon Che, Alhaji Alabi.

<sup>9</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and inter-Community Boundary", p. 137.

<sup>10</sup> Interview with Nji Fidelis Ngoh.

<sup>11</sup> Interview with Alexander Ndi.

embraced by indigenes as a result of boundary mutations. The name given to those who did this form of work was known as *gainako*. People who occupied themselves in this job were charged with the duty of transporting cattle from their sleeping grounds to markets or slaughter houses. They also transported cattle to vaccination points<sup>12</sup>. See plate twenty four below

**Plate 24: *Gainakos* Transporting Cattle from Weh to Bamendain 2010**



**Source: Karh Eric Koizaih Personal Achieve.**

Plate 24 above illustrates *gainakos* transporting cattle to Bamenda from Weh. Their basic needs (extra dresses, shoes, torch) are put in the bags.

Their payment varied according to the number of cattle transported and distance covered. Miah Denis,<sup>13</sup> a *gainako* reported that he got his highest money from this job during transhumance periods. This was because many cattle were transported to far off distances as compared to those taken to slaughter or market places. Examples of indigenes who were *gainako* in the area included: Adem Elvis in Kung, Muh Dieudonne in Abar, Akunjang Michael and Kudi Eric in Befang. Some indigenes equally embraced the butchering profession in the Fungom Area due to the bridging of boundaries. People involved in this profession were so popular in the area. They were very friendly with nearly everyone. Their

<sup>12</sup> Interview with Fali Saly.

<sup>13</sup> Interview with Denis Miah, 39 Years, *Gainakoh*, Kung, 06/08/2021.

services were needed all year round. Those who owned restaurants cooperated with them so as to have quality and good quantity of meat at affordable prices<sup>14</sup>.

This was not different with those who roasted meat. Some even reported that they had their particular butchers who supplied them meat and if they were not present in the market, they found difficulties buying from other butchers. This was because their cooperation was strengthened by trust. They usually called butchers to preserve them beef even with no money at hand. Butchers equally called their customers to come for meat when the market was not booming<sup>15</sup>. This therefore helped them maintain their profit by giving out goods on credit rather than keeping them for long in fridges. Butchers were known as the highest people in the area who consumed meat, a source of protein while other poor indigenes ate meat on occasional bases. Thus, wealthy personalities in the area were bound to interact with the butchers so as to easily have meat when the need arose<sup>16</sup>. Money got from this source was used to pay children's school fees, contribute for village development, sustain the family among others<sup>17</sup>.

In the Noun division Fulani did not slaughter or butcher cows. They rather sold live cows to individuals or groups who undertook the slaughtering and sold by wholesale or retail. This indirectly created jobs to the indigenes who took slaughtering of cows as an occupation. This scenario was different in our area of study as many indigenes became butchers. Example of butchers included: Kum Amadou Deghe in Weh, Tangha Sylvanous in Kung, Kikung Tanhyi in Bafmeng<sup>18</sup>.

Another source of employment was roasting of meat (soya). Many youths got involved in this profession to earn a living. This type of job was associated with other related petty jobs such as supplying fire wood, sharpening of soya sticks, and fitting of the meat into sharpened sticks<sup>19</sup>. All these services were rendered by workers to the proprietor of the business for compensation. Little girls in the area bought blood of cattle from butchers and prepared it for sale. They made fabulous sums of money from this. A girl reported that she was able to raise her school fees from this source<sup>20</sup>. Many of the girls gained experience and

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<sup>14</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>15</sup> Interview with Tanghi Kikung, 59 Years, Butcher, Bafmeng, 15/08/2019.

<sup>16</sup> Karh, "Cattle Economy in Wum Area 1940-2010", p. 12.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>18</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", p. 137.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 180.

<sup>20</sup> Interview with Justine Kang, 28 Years, Trader, Weh, 17/08/2019.

moved out of the area to sell beef. They could be seen in many towns around the country, selling cow meat in pots. Glaring examples here were: Tah solange, Ngong Violate, Che Mispa, Chutang Glory, Fien Doris who sold in bars and streets of Yaounde, Doula, Bamenda, Buea.

Another source of employment that resulted from the bridging of boundaries was the intermediaries. These were people who could navigate between the indigenous and Fulani languages. In the early time of our study, the role was mostly played by the Hausa who could speak Pidgin English with the indigenes and translate to the Fulani in Fulfulde. As time evolved, some indigenes who gained the skills of communicating via Fulfulde took it as an occupation. Their role was of high importance to Fulani in cattle markets especially those that did not have a mastery of the market. This market brought in many people who were not only involved in the buying and selling of cattle but other functions linked to this activity such as storage. Those involved were the Fulani who were the producers and the intermediaries who were often indigenes that served as transporters, consumers among others. They negotiated the prices with cattle owners and communicated it to the buyers. At the end of the transaction, they were compensated by both parties<sup>21</sup>.

These activities created a good base for inter-ethnic interactions as there were constant buyers and sellers from both groups who met often to discuss business transactions thereby also giving rise to social co-existence. The marketing of cattle also occurred when there was urgent need of cattle by any group of buyers or individuals. Here, those in need were taken to the grazing ground where cattle were kept by the intermediaries. They were allowed to choose the ones they needed. In most cases, the herders presented the cattle they wanted to sell and asked the buyers to make their choices. The prices reflected the size of a cow and the bargaining power for both parties since there were no weight units that could be used to determine the price. This transaction was piloted by the middle men. Thus, it is right for one to think that many people gained employment in the Menchum division as a result of boundary mutations, given the presence of Fulani<sup>22</sup>.

Indigenes who owned cattle witnessed an increase in their standard of living. Money generated from it was used to take care of their families, sponsor their children in school. Some of the cows posed a threat to hold them handy. Hitherto the advent of Fulani in the

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<sup>21</sup> Interview with Fali Saly.

<sup>22</sup> Interview Nji Fidelis Ngoh.

Menchum community, some important events like death celebrations, marriages among others where animal slaughtering was done was limited to goats, fowls, pigs among others. Cows were unknown. As soon as the indigenes uncovered the relevance of cattle, they started slaughtering them thereby adding the impetus of the occasion. It was believed that an occasion where a cow was slaughtered was the wealthiest one. People could hardly discuss without mentioning the occasion and reiterating that a cow was slaughtered there. In fact, the importance and recognition of an event came to be measured by the number of cows slaughtered.

As time went by, some Fulani embraced Agro-Pastoral activities. It was difficult to distinguish the Fulani from the indigenes based on the activities they both carried out as was the case in the early phase of our time frame. Jumbam substantiate this fact as he puts it “There was no distinction between the Fulani and the indigenes who were “apprentice” cattle breeders. Some indigenous cattle owners got good prizes from the said competition”<sup>23</sup>.

As the number of cattle increased, it became obvious that there was need for more *gainakohs*. This was to split the large herds so as to ease the control of cattle. This fact is contained in article six and eight of the Native Ordinance N0. 17 of 1943:

There shall be employed such proportion of herdsmen to cattle as may, from time to time, be decided by the Native Authority and Communicated in writing by the clerk of the *Ardor*... The Native Authority may appoint such number of cattle control assistants for the purposes of rules as it may think fit either generally or in respect of any particular part of the area...<sup>24</sup>.

The above information reveals that the indigenous population was exposed to many employment opportunities that resulted from cattle rearing such as clerks, cattle control assistants among others. As time went by, the counting of cattle in the Menchum division became a difficult task as cattle tremendously increased thereby offering room for people to be employed to undertake the counting.

## **B. Cattle Market and Income, and Revenue**

The existence of local markets in Menchum Division was not something new. The idea was nursed in the minds of the indigenes since time immemorial. Almost all the villages in the area had a community market which held once a week following the traditional days of the community. On this market day, traders came in from different communities with assorted

<sup>23</sup> Nyoh, “Evolution of Fulani-Indigenous Relations”, p.160.

<sup>24</sup> NAM, File Ab 17/5. N0. 2329 Native Authority Ordinance, N0. 17 of 1943, p. 107.

household items, clothing, and farm tools among others. Temporary shades were also set up for alcoholic and nonalcoholic drinks<sup>25</sup>. The bridging of boundaries owing to the coming of the Fulani led to the introduction of a new type of market, cattle market, mainly for their main economic activity though other related items were later sold in the market. The idea of a cattle market was necessitated by the fact that no community was indispensable for other's sustainability. This was due to the co-habitation of the Fulani and indigenes in a community to feel the spirit of oneness. Cattle markets were located in Esu, Weh and Wum. While that of Esu held every Thursdays, that of Weh held on Fridays<sup>26</sup>. See plate twenty-five below.

**Plate 25: The Weh Cattle Market holding on Fridays, 2010**



**Source: Karh Eric Koizaih Personal Achieve.**

The above plate 25 shows a crowd during the Weh cattle market where both buyers and sellers are bargaining on cattle.

The impact of cattle markets was felt by nearly all the communities in the area. This was because income generated from the sales of cattle in the said cattle market was used to contribute development dues in the various communities. The Fulani were the main suppliers of cattle in the market. Buyers from different areas came to buy cattle for different purposes. Some bought for soya roasting, leather need, beef, others bought to resell out of the area all

<sup>25</sup> Interview with Muwanda Ndong.

<sup>26</sup> Karh, "Cattle Economy in Wum Area 1940-2010", p. 57.

with the aim of making profit. This profit making was not only made by the Fulani since some indigenes also sold or bought cattle in the cattle market<sup>27</sup>. This was due to the fact that boundaries were narrowed as a result of the presence of the Fulani in the area. It should be noted that other related goods were sold in the cattle market by both the indigenes and Fulani: cola nuts, walking sticks mainly for Fulani and bananas since Fulani loved them among others. All these resulted from the alteration of boundaries owing to the presence of the Fulani in the area.

The government of Cameroon has several means of generating income for the development of the country. One of these strategies is the collection of taxes<sup>28</sup>. Before the closing of gaps, the types of taxes that existed in the area included the poll, and liquor business among others. The alteration of boundaries resulted in the introduction of a new kind of tax, the jangali tax. It was also called the cattle head tax because an amount of two hundred francs CFA was charged per cow as tax<sup>29</sup>. It is important to understand that out of the four rural councils in Menchum Division, two chiefly relied on the jangali tax as its source of income. These were the ZRC and Wum Rural Council (WRC). This is because of the large number of cattle in these areas<sup>30</sup>. Income generated from this type of tax is not to be over emphasized came from different aspects of cattle businesses.

The position of the area offered it the opportunity to enjoy profits' accruing from the transit tax. This was because cattle usually left other areas like Kom, Bafut and even Nigeria to come and graze in Menchum areas like Chah, Nyos all in the name of transhumance. Two hundred francs CFA was the tax levied on each cow on transit.<sup>31</sup> Following the availability of pasture in large quantities, many Fulani came in with cattle to graze there. There was therefore the need to grant grazing permits to graziers. This was to know exactly who was grazing which area. The grazing permit was also called seasonal movement tax. Cattle involved in this aspect were levied 200 francs CFA each. The money paid as taxes to the local council helped in the functioning and management of its affairs; developed the Menchum Area infrastructurally, road and water points construction, and payment of staff among others.

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<sup>27</sup> Interview with Justus Nji, 33 Years, Market Master, Zhoa, 16/08/2017.

<sup>28</sup> C. S. Kimah, "The Dumbo Cattle Ranch, 1974-2008", p. 144.

<sup>29</sup> Muhammadou, "The Advent, Organisation, Intergration of the Fulani", pp. 48-49.

<sup>30</sup> Interview with Justus Nji.

<sup>31</sup> *Idem*.



This was a very positive aspect especially when one looks at the present structure of the Bafmeng market. It was understood from the field that half of the money originated from cattle tax. As a result of boundary dynamics in the area, cattle market was reported to be the most important to ZRC. This was because it yielded much profit than any other market in the area. People left different areas to come and buy or sell in the market. The importance of the market can be explained by the fact that everybody present in the market, either for the buying or selling of cattle had to chip in a certain amount into the council coffers. This money was collected instantly by a tax collector. The amount differed between that paid by the buyer and seller depending on the amount cattle was sold<sup>32</sup>.

This meant that cattle sold at higher prices were expected to chip in money more than those sold at lower rates<sup>33</sup>. These cattle were then taken to a particular fence for inspection by veterinarians. The transaction was supervised by a council agent. An amount of 600 francs CFA was paid for each cattle sold of which 200 francs CFA went to the sanitary department and the rest to the veterinary department. It should be noted that the sanitary fee was only increased from 150 francs CFA to 200 francs CFA in 1996<sup>34</sup>. These were direct taxes as compared to the jangali tax paid by traditional stock breeders to the local council. The movement of the buyer with the cattle he bought was only possible with the issuing of a ticket. Each cattle cost 400 francs CFA for loading and 300 francs CFA for its inspection by a veterinarian in 2006<sup>35</sup>.

### **C. Trade**

The increase in the population of Fulani in the Menchum division brought about a positive history in the area. This was so because an increase in the population of Fulani in the area meant an increase in the aggregate demand for foodstuff like maize, cassava, groundnut among others. Therefore, a fall in the demand for local products had a negative multiplier effect on the economy which was tied to the Fulani. In line with this, Awasom says “British sources point to the fact that native people were unable to pay school fees for their children. School authorities with the consent of the administration were forced to abolish school fees<sup>36</sup>”.

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<sup>32</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>33</sup> Interview with Tanghi Kikung.

<sup>34</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>35</sup> Interview with Justus Nji.

<sup>36</sup> Awasom, “The Hausa and Fulani in the Bamenda Grasslands 1903-1960”, p. 112.

Fulani presence equally created employment opportunities for the Hausa people in Menchum Division. This was so because the Hausa became increasingly involved in the cattle trade. The mutation of boundaries equally made the Fulani to embrace trading activities. The cattle industry was a complimentary or alternative source of revenue to the Hausa. This was because when the Fulani just entered the Menchum division, the British colonial administration charged them one shilling per cow as tax. The Fulani were unable to meet up with this task. The only way they could have money was by marketing their cattle which was something they did not really like<sup>37</sup>.

They hated marketing cattle and wanted them to be multiplying in a truly biblical manner. This was to ensure continuity as they were unable to detect when a calamity could befall them<sup>38</sup>. But given that room was not given them to ignore the British decision (tax payment), they reluctantly sorted to market some cattle. This could not be well done without the intervention of a middle man. This was because they could scarcely express themselves in Pidgin English and lacked the acumen of the Hausa.

It was based on this premise that the Hausa embraced the position of middle men which had similar functions like the *gainako* since they all transported cattle. Cattle therefore became an additional trading item for the Hausa in the Menchum division and this took them to distant places such as Victoria, Tiko, Douala, Yaoundé, Kribi among others<sup>39</sup>. This trading opportunity was of great importance to them as they were able to raise their standards of living. The role played by the Hausa was welcome by the entire Menchum people especially consumers of cows. This was because their distributing role enabled the cattle to reach them. The Fulani therefore played the role of producers, the Hausa played the role of distributors and the indigenes played the role of consumers.

Given that some Hausa were not wealthy enough to engage in this business, the Fulani sorted to be granting them credit and this was done in two ways: short term and long term. Both credit systems operated on the bases of piecemeal payments made over different durations<sup>40</sup>. It should be mentioned that the Hausa were expected to be in a position of a certain amount as capital before qualifying for credit. This was because the Fulani needed it as a collateral security. Short term credit was usually offered to butchers who paid in two installments within 24 hours. The Hausa needed to drop one quarter of the money first before

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<sup>37</sup> Karh, "Cattle Economy in Wum Area 1940-2010", p.61.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> Awasom, "The Hausa and Fulani in the Bamenda Grasslands 1903-1960", p.117.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

taking the beef. The rest of the money was paid at the end of the market. Failure to complete the payment at the end of the market day rendered the Hausa to be disqualified for a subsequent credit<sup>41</sup>.

Long term credit was given to Hausa who did long distance trade by marketing cattle out of Menchum Division. They took cattle to Victoria, Yaounde, Douala among others. Here, not just a cow was transported, a number of cattle say at least ten. This was because, transporting less than the aforementioned number meant one was not making any profit since the cost of transportation was high. Given that most Hausa traders were unable to meet the cost price of such a large number of beasts, they were permitted to deposit an agreed amount of money and complete the rest immediately they return from the distant market. The duration of this transaction was about a month to three<sup>42</sup>.

Some wealthy Hausa traders preferred paying for a cow in an extended period of time of about two years or even more. They visited a herd of cattle of a Fulani and chose a particular cow or cows for which payments were made in petty installments. They were still given the right to keep the cattle with the Fulani until such a time that prices had skyrocketed in the market. This was a strategy to maximize much profit as the cows were collected at a favorable moment and sold to a butcher or retailer by the Hausa trader himself.

The issue of obtaining cattle on credit from Fulani in the Menchum community was guided by trust. Some conditions considered before offering credit to an Hausa trader was integrity and status of a borrower. His moral and religious worth also had to be evaluated and confirmed by the Sarki<sup>43</sup>. Hausa traders who were married had an upper hand over unmarried ones as they were considered to be responsible and could not afford to disrespect the terms of the business, given the disgrace that awaited them<sup>44</sup>. Hausa traders who had resided in the community for long and had a compound and other forms of wealth were much considered than those who had not lived there for a year and had no wealth<sup>45</sup>.

This new trade was not only important to the Hausa middle men, but to the entire community, especially the Fulani as it made them become extremely rich. This was because cattle were consumed within and without the Menchum community. Many Hausa traders accumulated much wealth from this new business and were able to purchase a good number

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<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> Interview with Che Julius Kah.

<sup>44</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>45</sup> *Idem.*

of cattle in an installment. This further increased their profits because payment in an installment was relatively cheap. This resulted in the creation of cattle markets in the Menchum area where cattle were now easily sold<sup>46</sup>.

This form of trade was mostly carried out by the Hausa because they had mastered the behavior of Fulani in tandem with cattle. The indigenes were reluctant to embrace it because it was still very strange to them and they did not master the behavior of Fulani in relation to cattle. Myths were told about Fulani and their cattle as Awasom puts it:

It was widely rumored that the Fulani transformed themselves into cows and allowed themselves to be sold by their relatives as cattle. On driving such a herd of cattle, they would at an unexpected point of the journey; suddenly transform into humans each holding long leather whips in hand and mercilessly beat the drovers to death. Only the Hausa who had special talismans could detect real cows from human-transformed ones<sup>47</sup>.

The above information discouraged the indigenes to engage in the sector. This therefore gave the Hausa the opportunity to monopolize the sector. It should be highlighted that as time went by, the indigenes and Fulani got involved in the trade. This was because the demand for meat in the Post World War II (PWW II) era increased and the Hausa recruited and trained the indigenes who had to accompany them with hundreds of cows to far distant places. As the Fulani gained the knowledge on the profitable cattle trade, they also joined it and started travelling to the distant markets.

#### **D. Poor Agricultural Output, Deterioration of Flora and Fauna**

The co-existence between the Fulani and indigenes in our area of study was not welcome by everybody. This was because women who cultivated crops often demonstrated their hatred for Fulani. This was so because the Fulani reduced their farm sizes by grazing around farms and seizing some patches. In some cases, their cattle damaged farms by grazing on maize, cultivated by indigenes. All these resulted in low yields. This therefore often made hunger, order of the day. The destruction of staple food crops like maize, cocoyam, Irish potatoes and beans often caused the indigenes to suffer from starvation<sup>48</sup>. This resulted from the bridging of boundaries. Plate twenty-six below depicts cattle in a farmer's farm in Kuk when parts of the maize were still to be harvested.

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<sup>46</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", p. 125.

<sup>47</sup> Awasom, "The Hausa and Fulani in the Bamenda Grasslands 1903-1960", p.117.

<sup>48</sup> Kimah, "The Dumbo Cattle Ranch, 1974-2008", p. 65.

**Plate 26: The Destruction of Maize in a Farm by Cattle in Kuk in 2010**



**Source: Karh Eric Koizaih Personal Achieve.**

Plate 26 above shows the destruction of maize in an indigenous farm sent in by a Fulani. The outcome of this situation is a decrease in agricultural product. This result in hunger and creates the atmosphere of animosity between both settlers.

The destruction of vegetation in the Menchum area was another result of cattle activities. Before the Fulani came with their cattle, the indigenes constructed and roofed their houses with special grasses locally call *ke-wegh*. These grass mostly grew on hills and high gradient slopes<sup>49</sup>. The activities of cattle on hills rendered the grasses susceptible to agents of water erosion. This was because cattle consumed the fresh part of the grass while its roots were uprooted by their hooves. As for the grass that were not uprooted, their seeds were exposed to erosion. This resulted in limited grass species for, thatching and this practice gradually reduced in some parts of the area under discussion and even disappeared in some<sup>50</sup>.

This explains why some indigenes were unable to construct a house in their communities as roofing a house with zinc is more expensive than thatching. Some indigenes who managed to transport the grass from purchasing sites and other related services all demanded heavy payments. This caused the collapse of many houses in many communities in the area of study. A glaring example was that of Chrisantus Mtam in Kuk. The bridging of

<sup>49</sup> Interview with Akum Chrisantus Mtam.

<sup>50</sup> R. Babila, "Farmer Grazier Conflict in Bali Sub-Division. A Historical Analysis", Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of History, 2010, pp. 107-109.

boundaries in Menchum Division also resulted in biodiversity loss. This resulted from bush fires and deforestation of flora and fauna. Bush fires were mostly caused by the Fulani who saw it as a means to get rejuvenated pasture for their cattle.

This was because the reduction of boundaries resulted in limited pasture for cattle and even land for farming and grazing since the population was ever increasing. The Fulani therefore decided to use the method of burning bushes so as to have fresh pasture for their cattle. This was a big problem to flora owing to the fact that it adversely affected the community since a variety of plants such as eucalyptus, shrubs, elephant grass and raffia palms were ravaged thereby paving the way for the scarcity of wood, a source of household energy. Heavy fires inflicted much negative impact in the area such as the destruction of important fruit species like sugar cane, pineapples and others<sup>51</sup>.

Though the maintenance of roads in the Menchum area was a priority to the indigenes, the Fulani with their cattle rendered the task very difficult. This was due to the reduction of gaps that existed between both groups. The Fulani with their cattle trampled on almost all the land in the community. The indigenous people saw it as an affront. The effect of this frequent parading of cattle on roads caused its destruction<sup>52</sup>. This was owing to the fact that these were mainly earth roads. Roads were not used all year round as some difficulties compelled users to temporally stop using them. This was highly noticed in the rainy season, compelling indigenes some times, to come out in their numbers for community labour. This was only to better the state of roads for trekking since it was practically impossible for bikes and cars to use them<sup>53</sup>. The poor state of roads was attributed to Fulani cattle that provoked erosion.

This was also seen on roads around towns which connected some major quarters to other communities with pot holes caused by cattle hooves. Cattle hooves easily dug and degraded the soil. This was common in Esu, Nyos, Weh, Kuk, Bafmeng, Wum, Bu, Benakuma, Essimbi, Befang, Furu-Awa among others. Cattle for instance had to leave Nyos and pass through Kumfutu before reaching the Weh cattle market<sup>54</sup>. With regards to farm roads, some were abandoned because initial ones had been badly condemned by cattle. This was because cattle mounted a lot of pressure on the ground causing depression on some sections and paving the way for erosion since the soil could not be bound. Findings from the

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<sup>51</sup> Interview with Toh Simon Che.

<sup>52</sup> Interview with Albert Chi Kawzu.

<sup>53</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>54</sup> Interview with Akum Chrisantus Mtam.

field reveal that cattle action to render roads impracticable cannot be over emphasized. The Kumfutu-Nyos and Weh-Esu roads could not be used by cars and motor bikes in 2006 due to trampling by cattle after torrential rains<sup>55</sup>.

The wanton cutting of trees and bush burning which all resulted from boundary dynamics adversely affected the soil as they were exposed to agents of erosion. The most serious of such removals: deforestation, resulted from population growth and the extra need for farm land and fuel wood. The population growth stemmed from inter-marriages between the Fulani and indigenes, considered an incident of boundary dynamics. As such, vegetation was bound to be removed without the replacement of humus. This also limited the intersection of raindrops and reacted to bind the soil together. This made the soil surface to be exposed to rain and wind erosion thereby hindering its fertility and leading to low output and famine in the area<sup>56</sup>.

Over grazing and cultivation in our area of study all resulted from boundary dynamics. Over grazing is the keeping of many cattle (which is mainly done by Fulani in our area of study) on a grazing land beyond its carrying capacity<sup>57</sup>. This makes the available pasture insufficient for the cattle thereby compelling them to consume much of the grass cover leaving the soil bare and exposed to wind and water (agents of erosion). Cattle trampling further broke up the soil surface and increased surface run offs. This was highly noticed in the area especially as wealth was measured in terms of the number of cattle each Fulani had. This therefore encouraged the Fulani to keep many cattle in a small grazing land since there was limited land there by paving the way for soil erosion<sup>58</sup>.

Over cultivation on its part refers to continues cropping on the same piece of land year after year without allowing it for some time to regain its natural fertility. This resulted from the increase in indigenous population and cattle brought in by the Fulani and the extra food needed to feed the many mouths. In this case, soil nutrients were exhausted; the soil became loosened and impoverished. Micro organisms and bacteria were also affected not living out the nitrogen fixing bacteria which enriches the soil and increase its fertility. Continuous break downs of soil structures led to its dry off and made it an easy prey to wind

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<sup>55</sup> Interview with HRH Albert Chi Kawzu.

<sup>56</sup> G. Wami, "Conflicts and Conflicts Resolution in Moghamo Clan: from Colonial time -2005", Master of Arts Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaounde 1, 2010, p. 35.

<sup>57</sup> J. Hanwell and M. Newson, *Techniques in Physical Geography*, London, Macmillan Education limited, 1983, p. 98.

<sup>58</sup> Wami, "Conflicts and Conflicts Resolution", p. 35.

and water erosion<sup>59</sup>. Again, the damage of the nitrogen fixing bacteria resulted in soil infertility and consequently the application of chemical fertilizers that became dangerous to human health and general environment.

### **E. Water Pollution and Disrespect of Indigenous Land Laws**

The alteration of boundaries in Menchum Division also resulted in the pollution of water in the area. This was as a result of the presence of Fulani as already mentioned, one of the purposes of the money collected as development fee from the inhabitants of Menchum Area was to provide potable water for them. This was confirmed as equipment was bought to protect catchments. Public taps were also constructed nearly in all village corners. Quarters which were far away from these taps fetched water from nearby streams. It was the duty of the neighbourhood to give a helping hand to keep these streams clean. This was just to ensure the good health of the people. Water was always clean and those who used these streams as drinking source were satisfied. But the narrowing of boundaries by the Fulani led to infesting these streams. This was because cattle often moved across the streams to drink and then even defecated and also urinated therein<sup>60</sup>. This situation is captured by plate twenty-seven below.

**Plate 27: Indigenous Source of Drinking water in Kuk Polluted by Cattle**



**Source: Photo taken by Author, Kuk, December 12, 2022.**

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> Interview with Nji Fidelis Ngoh.



From plate 27 above, we can see that Cattle did not only drink and dirty the streams, they had them polluted by dropping their waste in them. This was a serious problem to many indigenes in Fungom, Nyos, Chah among others<sup>61</sup>. In Kuk, Lenam<sup>62</sup> was unable to prepare her *mkoogh* on time because cattle polluted the stream she used. She had to always clean the stream and wait until it was proper. Again, drinking taps in the towns were often nasty because Fulani came and bathed there. This angered the indigenes more when they saw the Fulani washing certain things around public taps which they are not supposed to do so. This was not the case when boundaries were not bridged. They also washed their Corn-Fufu in the stream/taps thereby leaving particles of corn everywhere around the tap. These were nasty attitudes that did not go well with the indigenes<sup>63</sup>.

The destruction of roads by cattle was another effect of boundary mutations in Menchum Division. Cattle freely walk on some streets and damaged them by inscribing potholes on some sections. This made movements to be inconvenient to some people. Another effect of this was that the transport fare of roads damaged by cattle increased. Those riding motor cycles for commercial purpose complained that the roads were tiring and consumed more than the required quantity of fuel. An example of a road damaged by cattle can be seen on plate twenty-eight below.

**Plate 28: A Road damaged by Cattle**



**Source: Photo taken by Author, Wum, December 12, 2022.**

<sup>61</sup> Interview with HRH Ntuh Evarestus Mbeng.

<sup>62</sup> Interview with Toh Odelia Lenam, 50 Years, Farmer, Kuk, 20//07/2017.

<sup>63</sup> *Idem*.

The bridging of boundaries in our area of study also paved the way for the disrespect of the indigenous land tenure system. This was because the Menchum Division as any other part of Africa did not market land during the pre-colonial period. The rules that guided the land tenure system were respected by everyone in the community. The implementation of the law was placed under family heads. Land was simply given out to children, friends, and relatives for better strengthening of relationships<sup>64</sup>. The changes witnessed on boundaries as a result of the presence of Fulani disregarded the initial land tenure system of indigenes. This was confirmed by the fact that some indigenes especially those who were at decision-making positions, started selling land to late settlers.

This was because they saw the late settlers as wealthy people and thus saw the need to get rich by selling the land to them. Other indigenes who were not bold enough to sell the land rented for annual or monthly compensations<sup>65</sup>. This had a negative impact on the tenure system, because it provoked conflicts among family members in the area. This in many cases resulted in separation of families. Thus, the alteration of boundaries in the area of study had a negative ramification on the indigenous tenure system.

#### **F. Farmer/Grazier Conflict**

Farmer/grazier conflict in Menchum Division resulted from boundary dynamics and has become an incessant issue in the area. For a smooth understanding of the state of the conflict, it will be of great importance to know who exactly are the farmers and the graziers. In this connection, farmers refer to indigenes who consider farming as their main economic activity though few of them do grazing. Cases recorded for the destruction of crops by cattle owned by indigenes are very few, minor and hardly reached administrative officials. This is because the indigenes who own cattle are ready to resolve the problem amicably with the farm owners whose crops are damaged. This owes to the fact that they know what it takes to cultivate crops<sup>66</sup>.

Graziers on their part refer to Fulani who moved into the area with cattle as their major occupation. The choice of embracing farming by some Fulani was not an exception. But their cattle were still a major problem to indigenous farmers since they cared little about the efforts put in by the indigenes to cultivate crops. This was partly because the few crops they cultivated were not considered as important as the cattle. Findings in the field hold that

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<sup>64</sup> Interview with HRH Ntuh Evarestus Mbeng.

<sup>65</sup> Interview with Fine Glass Kom.

<sup>66</sup> Interview with Nji Fidelis Ngoh.

Fulani deliberately allowed their cattle to feed on growing maize so as to increase their fecundity rate<sup>67</sup>. Thus, the most renounce problem of boundary mutation in Menchum Division as a result of the presence of Fulani was farmer/grazier conflict. Despite the efforts put in by local and administrative authorities to bring the conflict to an end, it persisted. Thus, for a better comprehension of this farmer/grazier conflict in Menchum Area, it is proper to examine in the first place, its causes, manifestation, before looking at its effects on the community.

#### **a. Causes of Farmer-Grazier Conflicts: The Closure of WADA**

The death of WADA was one of the factors responsible for the acceleration of FGC in the Menchum division. The post independent relations between the Federal Republic of Cameroon (FRC) and West Germany (WG) brought about the signing of Economic and Technical Cooperation, backed by Cameroon Presidential Decree of N0. 62/DF/323 of September 6<sup>th</sup>, 1962<sup>68</sup>. In order to further strengthen the relations that existed between both countries, an agreement was signed confirming the creation of ATC in Wum as revealed by the Presidential Decree of No. 65/DF/522 of November 24<sup>th</sup>, 1965<sup>69</sup>. This was endorsed by Danial Masuke, Cameroon's minister of Economic Affairs and Planning at the time, and Herr Doring, the WG Ambassador in Yaoundé<sup>70</sup>.

The government of the FRC provided an ultimate period of occupation and use of an estate of 8,500 hectares situated between the Wum and Weh villages and crossed by the Ring Road. The choice of the location was due to the fact that the area showed some suitable climate and soil conditions for the project and that its rationale for development was not going to raise any estate problem<sup>71</sup>. Given that the project failed to achieve its objectives, and the need to accelerate development, it was revamped by Presidential Decree No. 73/2 of January 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1973, with a new name WADA<sup>72</sup>.

Among its objectives, WADA had the special assignment to assist and accelerate the socio-economic development of Menchum Division and improve the social integration and participation of the rural population in the mobilization of rural resources. This was to meet the agricultural development, particularly in the domain of agricultural extension via its

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<sup>67</sup> Interview with Manje Gilbert.

<sup>68</sup> Kum, "Wum Area Development Authority (WADA) 1965-1994", p. 85.

<sup>69</sup> NAB, File N<sup>o</sup>.p.1442 (Qb/a1966), "Long Term Development Program: German Technical Assistance (Agric School Wum)", p. 871.

<sup>70</sup> Kum, "Wum Area Development Authority (WADA) 1965-1994", p. 91.

<sup>71</sup> Interview with Ntuhsen John Toh.

<sup>72</sup> WRCA, File, N0 620, "Welcome Addresses General", No Date, p.46.

components: agricultural production, livestock promotion, rural infrastructural development, handicraft promotion, staff and farmer training, and the development of social infrastructure. All these were engulfed in its permanent and developmental structures albeit agriculture was top on the list, to uphold government policy at the time and ensure food sufficiency in the country. The creation of WADA marked a turning point in the socio-economic history of the NWRC in that, intercommunity integration was enhanced<sup>73</sup>.

### **The Activities of WADA**

The permanent services were located at the central sector of the Authority while developmental activities were operating beyond WADA's central services. The permanent activities were manifested in various ways: farm production unit, livestock promotion and the Young Farmers' Settlement Scheme (YFSS). As concerns the farm production unit, 250 hectares of arable land was placed under the sectorial head of a German agronomist, Stegar Kluss, from creation till 1977<sup>74</sup>. This unit was responsible for production, multiplication and distribution of seeds and seedlings to farmers of commercial fruits and vegetables like cabbage, tomato, carrot, leeks, papaya, herbs, guava, and food crop like maize, upland rice, yams, coffee among others. Seeds and crops were sold to farmers and consumers<sup>75</sup>.

WADA reared cows and owned a cattle ranch with a capacity of 10,000 all in a bid to promote production<sup>76</sup>. In 1981, a three hectare piece of land located at the WADA project premises was developed with special grass for cattle grazing. A cattle dip was inaugurated in its ranch on August 24<sup>th</sup>, 1993, where cleansing liquid for dipping cattle was often poured. This attracted a good number of Fulani to move into Menchum Division for easy access to ranching facilities. This led to an increase in cattle from 58,000 herds in 1970 to 170, 000 cows in 1986<sup>77</sup>. The idea was to train youths out of school in modern agricultural techniques by forming agricultural clubs within which food crops, vegetable gardens and poultry keeping were considered suitable avenues for agricultural youth club members. These young club members were taught to gain skills through "learning to do by doing", in order to enable them keep busy, against idleness<sup>78</sup>.

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<sup>73</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", p. 104.

<sup>74</sup> WCA, File N0. E28/662, Wum Area Development Authority (WADA), 1975, p. 719.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> Interview with Njoya Christopher.

<sup>77</sup> Kum, "Wum Area Development Authority (WADA) 1965-1994", p. 91.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

In the 1981/82 farming season, 52 young farmers were provided with loans and installed in various parts of the division. In 1985/86 season, 229 farmers received loans and subsidies with which to do cash crop production<sup>79</sup>. The technical section secured FONADER loans, which together with its resources established two modern carpentry and mechanical workshop respectively in Wum and Weh. People from different areas were recruited to work in this carpentry workshop. Some top ranking officials of the Authority included Fidelis Tafor Niba (Chief of planning, evaluation and training), Mbakwa (Deputy Director of WADA) and Christopher Nkem (Chief of section of agricultural production). The mechanical started in 1974 with the responsibility of repairing WADA's equipment<sup>80</sup>.

The developmental service was made up of the (Block Extension Farming Program (BEFP), Oxen Training and Farming Program (OTFP) and Group Farming Program (GFPs). The program was introduced in 1973 with the main aim of encouraging permanent farming in Menchum Division<sup>81</sup>. Sensitization campaigns were done to encourage the people to embark on the BEFP like that of MBakwa and head of farm unit Stegar visited Esu in 1973 on a sensitization meeting and chief Buh and his councilors validated their wish and consequently BEFP activities were extended to Esu<sup>82</sup>. The OTFP was introduced in Wum in 1973, with the aim of integrating cattle into the activities of agricultural extension service of WADA. Its first training course started in February 1976 with 15 trainees<sup>83</sup>. It trained farmers and draught animals for crop cultivation. This integrated the Fulani into the Menchum Division. Between 1978 and 1983, WADA trained and distributed 466 Oxen farmers<sup>84</sup>.

### **The Liquidation and its Impact**

The liquidation of WADA was made official by Presidential Decree No. 89/037 of January 13<sup>th</sup>, 1989. This was caused by a number of factors including the economic crisis that hit Cameroon in the late 1980s<sup>85</sup>. The crisis resulted from the drop in the prices of Cameroon's main agricultural exports in the world market especially cocoa and coffee. WADA was seriously affected because coffee was one of its produce and also because of the drop in the

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<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p137.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 141.

<sup>81</sup> Kum, "The Socio-Economic Impact of Liquidation of the Wum Area Development Authority WADA, on Wum Central Sub-Division 1989-2004", Maitrise Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yaounde I, 2004, 24.

<sup>82</sup> G. F. Mbakwa, "The WADA Extension Staff", *The Green Revolution Monthly News Letter*, Vol II, October 1973, p.1.

<sup>83</sup> DAW, Management, "WADA Operational Plan, November 1977-October 1970", p. 6.

<sup>84</sup> Kum, "Wum Area Development Authority (WADA) 1965-1994", p. 164.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

annual state subventions to the Authority. Misinformation also contributed to the liquidation of WADA. Some disgruntled individuals took advantage of their inability to get what they wanted from WADA to misinform the state about the Authority<sup>86</sup>.

They wanted to unseat directors who did not grant them their exaggerated desires. J. N. Gabuin, the last director of WADA is a glaring example of this situation<sup>87</sup>. The government failed to properly investigate the issue and acted hastily by liquidating WADA. Disaccord among Menchum politicians also played down on the running of the Authority<sup>88</sup>. Apart from forgoing external problems, some internal factors such as poor follow-up of agricultural programs, inappropriate technology used, overdependence on West German Funding, poor loan policies, inaccessibility in the division, natural hazards, misappropriation and above all, farmer-grazier conflicts. This inadvertently cemented inglorious effects on intercommunity relations in the area.

Our findings reveal farmer-grazier problems during the period immediately after WADA were caused not only by its absence, but also by dishonest administrators who secretly collected money from graziers, giving them right to unlawfully graze on farmlands (Teneken, 2004:100). They did this without any consideration on the destruction caused by cattle on crops. Such practices resulted in fruitless efforts towards lasting remedies to farmer-grazier skirmishes in Menchum Division. The closure of WADA did indeed create a gap in government efforts on the management of farmer-grazier conflicts in the division.

The liquidation of WADA added to the constant damage on food crops throughout the years following its demise by cattle to the delay of letting MIRUDEP its purported replacement go operational. This fact was responsible for the famine that hit the urban centres of the division, during the three months (May to July) out of the twelve months of the year from 1989 to 1993.<sup>89</sup> Famine was inevitable because cattle grazed right to the periphery of certain towns that the cultivation of certain support foodstuffs like beans, peas, melon, greens, huckleberry, cabbages, lettuces and late maize were completely given up.<sup>90</sup> This was the situation that partly led to the severe indigenous-Fulani confrontation that occurred at Mmen in 1991, barely two years after WADA liquidation, ending up with five indigenes shot

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<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> WCA, File, N0 DMC. Wum Farm Institute Settlement, 1966, p.464.

<sup>88</sup> Kum, "Wum Area Development Authority (WADA) 1965-1994", p. 255.

<sup>89</sup> Interview with Fidelis Ghong Fuo, 61 Years, Former Secretary with Defunct WADA, Wum, 2015.

<sup>90</sup> WCA, Wum Rural Council, "Welcome Addresses General", p.215.

dead.<sup>91</sup> Similar uprisings did occur in Esu in 1993, as more than five thousand women from this locality marched to the Wum Prefecture, to complain against the damage of their crops by cattle.<sup>92</sup>

The availability of pasture which also accounts for the presence of Fulani in our area of study provoked farmer/grazier conflict in the area of study. This was because when the Fulani moved in, pasture was abundant since cattle were not many at the time. As the Fulani realized that there was abundance of pasture, they invited their relatives elsewhere to come and occupy the idle lands. The result of this situation was the exhaustion of pasture due to the rapid increase of cattle. Pasture now became limited to the growing number of the cattle. The Fulani started hunting for other areas endowed with pastures still in our area of study. The search for this did not respect the farm sites as demarcated by indigenes. They occupied these to feed their cattle<sup>93</sup>.

In cases where the Fulani did not occupy farm lands, cattle encroached to feed on maize cultivated by indigenous farmers. Failure to reach a compromise between the parties, farmers reported the destruction of crops to the local council and when the Fulani grazier refused to pay the estimated amount on bases that it was high or if the indigenous farmer refused the estimated amount on bases that it is not commensurate, the acceleration of the conflict was bound to be an order of the day. This was noted in Kumfutu in 2002 when Aladji Zagi destroyed the farm of Nyah Primus which contained plantains and other food crops. This annoyed Nyah, he then reported the case to the security forces in Zhoa but the judgement was not satisfactory to him since no major punishment was given to Zagi<sup>94</sup>.

In addition, the inadequate *gainakohs* made farmer/grazier conflict inevitable. The early years of the Fulani presence in Menchum Area recorded little conflict. This was because *gainakohs* were up to the task since cattle were not many. The increase in the number of cattle was not accompanied by a proportionate increase in the number of *gainakohs*. This therefore made the few *gainakohs* to have much work as they had to care for many cows. When they became exhausted, the next thing was to allow cattle graze or roam freely and only confined when absolutely necessary. When indigenous farmers made efforts to fence their farm land, cattle easily broke through since *gainakohs* were not there to prevent

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<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>92</sup> Interview with J. K. Kawzu, 75 Years, Ex-Carpenter WADA, and Nji Kawzu, 70 Years, Farmer, Esu, 20/11/2018.

<sup>93</sup> Babila, "Farmer Grazier Conflict in Bali", p. 52.

<sup>94</sup> Interview with Nyah Pimus, 39 Years, Farmer, Kumfutu, 20/08/2018.

such acts.<sup>95</sup> It was even common to see stray cattle move along roads and even in compounds of indigenes. Cattle were always loitering in Ful Gabriel and Aloysius Akai's compounds without their authority.

Aloysius Akai reported that "cattle have taken my compound and farm land as their grazing grounds. All the pineapples and sugar cane that I planted, which was one of my sources of income have been destroyed by cattle"<sup>96</sup>. This is said because the *gainakoh* was not able to control the large number of cattle assigned to him. This was not different from the case of Kejang Evarestus where Delegeh Lawan's cattle destroyed his crops in his compound. He retaliated by torturing the *gainakoh*, Wuawa Amidou for not moving behind his cattle<sup>97</sup>. Furthermore, demographic pressure was also responsible for farmer/grazier conflict in Menchum Division. This was because significant population changes were witnessed with the advent of Fulani in the area<sup>98</sup>. This was partly because of the alteration of boundaries since it was only after the co-existence and understanding of both groups that the Fulani population significantly increased in the area.

This increase in human population was not accompanied by an increase in land. The effect of this was competition over the use of land and its resources between farmers and graziers. This situation which was common in most areas in the grasslands was also identified in our area of study. In Esu, the situation became rampant with a remarkable case in 2002 when Alhaji Baba Danpullo used lands believed by indigenes to be theirs to graze his cattle. This was because his cattle and Esu population had increased, and land was needed to contain these. Aladji Danpollu was not ready to comply with the initial terms that granted the land to him<sup>99</sup>. The outcome of this uncompromised situation was the outbreak of dispute between them.

Another cause of farmer/grazier conflicts was hatred from racism. The indigenes who believed to be more educated and civilized than the Fulani claimed superiority over them. This therefore triggered both camps to develop xenophobic feelings against each other. This made misunderstanding to be the order of the day<sup>100</sup>. The indigenes had in mind that the Fulani were aliens and often mocked them by referring to them as *kasua* (sheep). This often

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<sup>95</sup> Interview with Fali Saly.

<sup>96</sup> Interview with Aloysius Akai.

<sup>97</sup> Interview with Toh Evarestus Kenjang, 68, Years, Farmer, Kuk, 07/07/2017.

<sup>98</sup> Kum, "Wum Area Development Authority (WADA) 1965-1994", p. 204.

<sup>99</sup> Interview with HRH Albert Chi Kawzu.

<sup>100</sup> Babila. "Farmer Grazier Conflict in Bali", p. 53.



provoked Fulani graziers to retaliate by willfully letting their cattle into farms of indigenes to express their stupidity as claimed by indigenes even though they considered the mockery against them as jealousy. The notion of both groups therefore contributed to the outbreak of farmer/grazier conflict in Menchum Division.

More so, corruption among public officers was also responsible for farmer/grazier conflict in our area of study. This was confirmed by its persistence despite the efforts put in by the government officials in the conflict. According to Lambert Bang<sup>101</sup>, administrative authorities charged with the duty of managing farmer/grazier conflicts are accused of corruption because they use these as means of enriching themselves thereby constituting part of the problem rather than a solution. He further added that if anyone wants to contradict his view, he/she should provide an answer to the question, as to why having a lasting solution to the conflict has not been possible for over half a century. Other informants<sup>102</sup> are of the opinion that the administration is unwilling to clearly demarcate farming and grazing lands because they want to be collecting money from people interested in particular sections.

It was for this reason that Moses Ibuh said, even when the administration tries to demarcate land, it does so in favour of Fulani graziers for reasons best known to it. This was noted in Kuk when a farming group, (fast group farming) was restricted from farming in the Kiy bush<sup>103</sup>. The investigations on this act proved that the administrative officials were bribed. Tryself Ntam reacted by authorizing this group to farm at the bush but to no avail as the matter was taken to the sub-divisional officer who suspended the land and later declared it to belong to the Fulani grazier<sup>104</sup>. The favoritism offered to graziers at the expense of the farmers who are the original land settlers provoked farmer/grazier conflict in the area.

Another factor that triggered the FGC stemmed from the dry season bush fire. It is needless stating that during dry seasons, pasture became insufficient for cattle. In order to address the problem, the Fulani burnt down bushes to generate fresh grass when the rains returned. In some instances, the bush fire caused havoc by damaging houses and other properties like hectares of natural resources (forest, fuel, plantation, raffia palm plantation), natural soil, food and cash crops like kola nut tree, coffee, banana among others. The rapid

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<sup>101</sup> Interview with Ngeh Lambert Bang.

<sup>102</sup> Interview with Kebeuh Eric and Kum Ivo Lah.

<sup>103</sup> SAZ, File No. E28/I.12/vol.III, Farmer Grazier, 1986.

<sup>104</sup> Interview with HRH Tryself Ntam.

increase of cattle in the years between 1970 and 1990 registered significant numbers of complaints and damages related to bush fire<sup>105</sup>.

Given that the wealth of a Fulani was depicted by the number of cattle he owned and that it was one of the conditions in selecting an *Ardor*, mostly Fulani with great herds of cattle settled in Menchum Division. The effect of this was the increase in the number of complaints for bush fire. This situation only helped in placing the Fulani and the indigenes in extreme angles. This was the same situation that prevailed in other areas like Sokoto as unveiled by the correspondence of Senior District Officer to the resident of Sokoto and Adamawa in 1937:

Their (Fulani) numbers and the number of their cattle are increasing every year, with the result that despite the thinly populated nature of the country, there is growing friction between the Bororos and the indigenous peasants and actions for cattle trespass and cattle theft are being constantly brought in the Native Courts<sup>106</sup>.

Conflict emanating from this act accelerated as cattle moved into indigenous farm to feed given the insufficient pasture. A situation farmers could not tolerate. This was highly noticed in Wum Central Sub-division and Fungom Sub-division.

The flames of the FGC were not only fanned by the Fulani graziers, the indigenous farmers also did it. Their traditional system of cultivating crops was dominated by bush fallowing and shifting cultivation which entailed usage of land. This system of farming clashed with the grazing activities of the Fulani. This situation was also common in Central Niger as Jumbam states:

Despite some rewarding relationship, sharp competition has resulted from the extension of areas of cultivation and reduction of those available to the transhuman herds... Within the settled zone problems arising from extensions of farm land and increase of herds are far from being solved. Uncontrolled extensions of farming have disorganized annual movements of herds...<sup>107</sup>.

The above indentation educates us that the indigenous farmers invaded the Fulani grazing lands because the latter were claiming much land given their ever increasing cattle. The competition over the usage of land between the farmers and the pastoralists often resulted in the conflict. Indigenous farmers invaded grazing lands with farms and expected much compensation when such farms and crops were damaged by cattle. It was learned from the field that farmers deliberately did this because they believed that the Fulani were very rich

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<sup>105</sup> Interview with Akum Chrisantus Mtam.

<sup>106</sup> NAB., File Ab 17/7. N0 3062. Ref. N0. B. 1326/12. Senior District Officer, Bamenda to the Residents, Sokoto and Adamawa Provinces, 20 November, 1937.

<sup>107</sup> Jumbam, "The Fulani Impact on the Bamenda Grassfield", p. 253.

and that they should pay even more than the damage caused to the farms<sup>108</sup>. This was common in Wum in the 1950s where the District Officer was summoned with increasing complaints, which he submitted to the governor in 1956 as learned from his words:

... This is exploitation on the part of the Wum population. The Fulani of course provide a ready means for the simple process of soaking. The indigenous population goes as far as they dare pressing for doubtful compensation for farms alleged to be damaged; but in the main, the Fulani who are certainly better organized than the communities of women farmers get their own back by causing willful and wanton damage by their cattle<sup>109</sup>.

This tells us that the invasion of grazing lands by farmers was a willful act aimed at punishing the graziers for demanding excess land. In fact, from the foregoing paragraphs we can establish the fact that many people shared responsibility of injecting the FGC in Menchum Division.

### **b. Manifestations of Farmer/Grazier Conflict in Menchum Division**

Several methods were employed by parties involved in farmer/grazier conflict in the area. But we are going to briefly examine most common ones in the Area. These include, intimidation and arrests, open warfare between Fulani and graziers and witchcraft.

One of the strategies of manifestation of farmer/grazier conflict in our area of study was intimidation and arrests. This usually resulted from complains and petitions written by one of the parties involved in the conflict to the administrative officers. A remarkable case was noticed in the neighbourhood of Bafmeng in August 2002<sup>110</sup>. But then, let's note that this intimidation was always done by security forces in the interest of the party which fulfilled their demands. David Ful was intimidated by two gendarmes answerable to the brigade of Zhoa on Saturday 27 of August 2002. The cause of this intimidation emanated from farmer/grazier conflict which occurred in Bafmeng in June 2002. David who was a Zoo technical and veterinary officer judged the case in favour of the grazier on the basis that it was grazing land as per the 1995 court decision which sent off a farmer from the area.

He also added that the farmer constructed a weak fence<sup>111</sup>. Though not with certainty, it was told in the field that farmers must have bribed the gendarmes to do such an act. The treatment given David Ful was cruel as he puts it:

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<sup>108</sup> Interview with Alhaji Alabi

<sup>109</sup> NWRAB., File, N0 Fa. 1949/1. Comments by the Acting Resident, Bamenda Province, on a Welcome address Presented by the South-Eastern Native Administration on the Occasion of the Governor's visit: Wum Division, Information Notes, p.126. Also see Jumbam, "The Fulani Impact on the Bamenda Grassfield", p.253.

<sup>110</sup> Karh, "Cattle Economy in Wum Area 1940-2010", p.179.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*

I was tortured, cruelly handled and degrading treatment was given me in public. This was in the market square where many people were present since it was the eve of Bafmeng market day and a country Sunday. When I asked them why I was intimidated and arrested, and where was the warrant of arrest ordering them to do so, the boss of the gendarme officers pushed me, while the others kicked me and that is how they continued through the population from the market square to Motor Park into the house. The intimidation lasted for over two hours 30 minutes<sup>112</sup>.

This is more painful when one looks at the degree of intimidation given to him by the security forces. Questions like, “Is this the role of gendarmes in farmer/grazier conflict”, why this public torture when complains have not reached the commission charged with the duty of regularizing the matter. Another open fight older than the previous one witnessed in Bafmeng came on 25 October 1991<sup>113</sup>. This was when the Fulani reported the indigenes to the SDO of Wum. Their reason for the report was that the indigenes threatened their security following the misinterpretation of the slogan of SDF. The SDO sent security forces to arrest youths accused of the act. Since the plan was leaked, the youths got prepared to counteract the forces. They mounted a stiff revolt and wounded six gendarmes who were evacuated to Fundong District hospital for treatment<sup>114</sup>.

Their weapons were sticks and stones. The forces retaliated by opening fire on rioters, killing three and wounded many. Ngoncho Chuo (traditional doctor), Ngong Italy and Emmanuel Ngongieh were those killed. The *fon* was tortured and terribly wounded<sup>115</sup>. The palace was also attacked and totems, sacred objects were destroyed. Some youths were arrested and taken to Wum. Following the stiff revolt put on by Bafmeng youths and their promise to treat the Fulani inhumanly, arm forces from Kutaba headed by captain Ngang were restored in Bafmeng for maintenance of peace. There was a similar situation in Kuk which occurred in 2005. Here, Ndoh Tah was arrested and intimidated in public by two gendarmes from Zhoa. Inhuman treatment was also given him. It should be reiterated that the arrests and intimidation always stemmed from complains forwarded to the administrative officers by the person affected.

Open war fare was another means of exhibiting farmer/grazier conflict. This was noticed when one party involved in the conflict was pushed to the wall by the counterpart. Once they were unable to control their anger, the next thing was an overt confrontation. The already mentioned case of Simon Toh against Yakubu Madaki in Kuk is a glaring example<sup>116</sup>. This originated from sporadic misunderstanding which much often than not occurred in the

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<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>113</sup> DAW, File No. E28/C.256, Mmen matters and *Ardorate*, 1993.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>115</sup> DAW, File No. E28/IL.12/Vol. III, Farmer Grazier, 1986.

<sup>116</sup> Nyoh, “Fulani-Indigenous Relations in Fungom Sub-Division”, p. 90.

area. When it became notorious, Simon Toh reported to the Sub-DO of Zhoa. He reacted by sending an injunction without verifying the rightful owner of the land. Oral sources hold that the Sub-DO was later manipulated by Aladji Madaki to change his mind and declare the land the property of Madaki which he did too, but authorized Simon Toh to continue living on it<sup>117</sup>. This later changed hands as there was a serious clash on the 21 April 2001 between, Simon Toh and Yakubu Madaki. This clash culminated in the termination of Yakubu's life as he was shot dead by Simon Toh. This was because Yakubu was the one who hunted for the farmer in his residence<sup>118</sup>.

Again, witchcraft became one of the best means of, manifesting farmer/grazier conflict by Fulani graziers in our area of study. This was confirmed by the fact that many indigenes that once conflicted with any Fulani grazer passed on. Many cases of such were recorded in lower Fungom where the competition over land was tensed. This method was mostly used when a case reported to the Sub-D.O. was judged in favour of indigenes. The Fulani considered at fault then decided to eliminate competitors or rivals over land by silently killing them. This situation was also prevalent in Bafmeng and Kuk where the last two decades of our study recorded significant deaths of notables whose relatives did not want to disclose their source of death, but held that it obviously resulted from the clashes they had had with their Fulani counterparts<sup>119</sup>.

### **c. Repercussions of the Farmer/Grazier Conflict: Economic Ramifications**

Farmer/grazier conflict had a negative effect on the agricultural productivity in this area. Information obtained from field work holds that, unless something is done about farmer/grazier conflict, farmers will one day be forced to abandon farming. This sense of hopelessness and frustration seem to resonate with entire villages in our area of study. Owing to the outcome of this conflict, and for fear of insecurity, farmers have already been forced to abandon cultivating some crops. For example, in Nyos, farmers indicated their unwillingness to cultivate soya beans which was one of their major produce that generated them income<sup>120</sup>. This is because competition for land by both farmers and graziers always culminated in favour of graziers thereby giving them the green light to destroy their soya beans.

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<sup>117</sup> Interview with Toh Simon Che.

<sup>118</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>119</sup> Interview with Muwanda Ndong.

<sup>120</sup> Interview with John Tang.

In Menkaf and Kung, farmers were forced to limit the cultivation of crops like maize, groundnuts, and plantains. Sugar cane also witnessed a decrease in cultivation in Bafmeng and Kuk because the conflict warranted graziers the opportunity to graze on farms containing this produce<sup>121</sup>. In Menchum Valley, distant farming which yields most is discouraged. This stemmed from corruption because when cases arousing from such matters were reported to the commission charged with the duty of resolving it, deaf ears were always given. This only helped to reduce the rate of food security. It even appeared to be a routine in Nyos and Bafmeng that every family in the month of April to June experienced a period of famine as a result of shortages of food. Most informants attributed this to the issue of graziers occupying farm lands and also the destruction of some farms by cattle<sup>122</sup>.

This was not the case before the coming of the Fulani, where an individual could farm on many farms depending on his force. This made it possible for excess supplies of food throughout the years. It is important to note that farmer/grazier conflict in our area of study have undermined the stability and development of the country's economy. The socio-economic and political tensions created as a result of numerous escalations of violent conflicts have raised fundamental national questions for the survival of the area. The failure of government to manage and resolve such conflicts has put a question mark on the stability and survival of Cameroon's future as a whole.

## **ii. Political Consequences**

The political consequence of this conflict lies precisely in the ability of local authorities and government officials to handle and manage conflicts in Cameroon. Thus, the persistence of this conflict in Menchum Division exposes the weaknesses of both traditional authorities and government officials in their efforts towards resolving it. Information gathered from the field has shown the corrupt nature of commissions set up to handle farmer/grazier conflict in our area of study. Instead of them resolving the conflict, they fuel it. This scenario clearly depicts the degree of bad governance in the country<sup>123</sup>. The blockage of sources of income stemming from the conflict has influenced the level of political participation of Marshy people.

It is best known that participation in politics requires a lot of money that is, to use for campaigns, rallies and motivations. This has been a challenge to the Marshy and Fungom people since their basic source of income, which is their farm produce, has been undermined

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<sup>121</sup> Interview with Tela Tena.

<sup>122</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>123</sup> Interview with Ngeh Lambert Bang.

by the persistent destruction of their crops by cattle graziers. When this is not resolved amicably, it results in conflict which is always judged in favour of graziers by government officials due to the profit accrued from cattle tax. These stakes are due to policy implementation by both the regional authorities and central governments which have formulated policies designed ostensibly to reduce and manage the conflict, but ironically turn to escalate them the more<sup>124</sup>.

### iii. Socio-Cultural Consequences

Farmer/grazier conflict in the Area resulted in the displacement of people. There were reports of displaced farmers and herds men alike. In the host community, nomadic herdsmen relocated as a result of farmer/grazier conflict. Host farmers especially women who remained behind stopped going to distant farms for fear of attack by herdsmen. Such displaced farmers became a liability to other farmers whom they had to beg for food for themselves and their families<sup>125</sup>. This created a vicious cycle of poverty in our area of study.

Simon Toh stated that, it was his desire to stay in the village (Kuk) and do farming, but the dispute that plagued the area compelled him to move to Yaounde for petty hawking activities for survival. It should be noted that he is not the only one, many youths in the entire sub-division have been displaced for the same reason. As concerns herdsmen, it led to the displacement of their houses and families. A glaring example was in 2001 where a *gainakoh* carelessly left cattle in Kiy bush to destroy the farms of Tangha Moses Ibuh. He reacted by burning down the hut of the *gainakoh* thereby compelling him to relocate<sup>126</sup>.

More so, there was loss of lives with social outcomes during farmer/grazier conflict. This could be confirmed as stated by Ofeuku and Isife that there were a lot of killings by the nomads and their reprisal killings by host communities during such conflicts in Delta state<sup>127</sup>. Herds of cattle belonging to nomads were also killed. Also, some of the victims, mostly young boys were highly injured or maimed. This reduced some female farmers to widows. In Fungom Area, this kind of conflict also followed suit and it was characterized by silent killings with a few physical combat killings. It is needless to emphasize that this is one of the features that characterize conflicts of this nature. Although there have not been a wide range

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<sup>124</sup> Interview with Ngong Moses Achia.

<sup>125</sup> Interview with Nji Evelyne Njang.

<sup>126</sup> Interview with Ngong Moses Achia.

<sup>127</sup> A. U. Ofuoku and B. I. Isife, "Causes, Effects and Resolution of Farmer Nomadic Cattle Herders Conflict in Delta state", Department of Agricultural Economics, Delta State University, Asaba Campus, Nigeria, 2009, p. 5. Retrieved from [www.googlesearch.com](http://www.googlesearch.com).

of deaths associated with this conflict in our area of study, there have been silent killing and few number of physical combat killings<sup>128</sup>.

Quite a good number of people that were not disclosed by informants have been killed as a result of contesting over farming and grazing lands. In essence, the persistent dispute in Menchum Division led to serious insecurity as conflicting parties took the responsibility of their security to defend themselves. This resulted in the acquisition of dangerous weapons by both parties, leading to threat of sustainability in the area<sup>129</sup>. Again, to a lesser extent, farmer/grazier conflict widened the gap of inter-group relations between indigenous farmers and Fulani graziers. As earlier noted, Fulani presence in our area of study fostered inter-group marriages. But the frequent outbreak of farmer/grazier conflict influenced enmity between these two groups, that their rate of relationship reduced, brought fear and insecurity among them<sup>130</sup>.

It should be learnt that the presence of Fulani in the area increased the market for some indigenous goods like Bambos produce. Fulani became a steady market for these products. They initially used only mats as chairs and beds. The fabricating sector of chairs and beds using bamboo witnessed an increase in the number of people in the business. This was because the Fulani started buying the products. Even the mats the Fulani used were fabricated from the bi-product of indigenous bamboo. These analyses reveal that the alteration of boundaries as a result of the presence of Fulani created job opportunities to many inhabitants of Menchum Division especially the indigenes<sup>131</sup>.

## **II. Social Ramifications**

Fulani presence in Menchum Division led to far-reaching consequences on its socio-cultural development. This could be noticed through the increase in traditional doctors, fabrication of traditional symbol, increase in diseases, mixed breed, improved housing method, communication, witchcraft as well as increase in inter-marriages between the Fulani and the indigenes.

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<sup>128</sup> Interview with Ngong Moses Achia.

<sup>129</sup> Interview with Muwanda Ndong.

<sup>130</sup> Interview with Ngong Moses Achia.

<sup>131</sup> Interview with Fali Saly



### A. Increase in the number of Herbalists and Mixed Breeds

The bridging of boundaries in Menchum Division between the Fulani and indigenes resulted from the coming of the former. This later had a positive impact on the inhabitants of the area. It led to an increase in the number of herbalists. Before their coming, only very few indigenous traditional practitioners were available for the treatment of patients who suffered from particular issues such as difficulties to conceive children. The gap between both communities made each other to stay off from the other in any activity. But as the gap was reduced, the situation was brought to order as the Fulani who were experts in such fields started receiving indigenous patients and vice versa.

The choice of going to a particular native doctor was based on the fact that not all hands could correspond to a particular patient. This means that a Fulani native doctor could cure a Fulani patient and an indigenous patient if only their blood and hands corresponded and vice versa<sup>132</sup>. However, most indigenes preferred going to Fulani traditional practitioners (Alhaji ALabi, Amidu Bouley among others) because they were relatively cheap compared to indigenous healers. They also took less time to diagnose and bring the illness under control. The Fulani were specialists in fractures even compound ones, dismantling abnormal menopause, putting an end to difficulties in conceiving a child<sup>133</sup>.

Alhaji Alabi in Kuk was known as a specialist in curing fractures in the entire Fungom area. This was the same thing with Harman Abbas in Furu-Awa. This encouraged both indigenes and Fulani to go receive treatment from him<sup>134</sup>. Among the patients he cured were Nyoh Margrette, Ful Paul Ngoh and Ntam Alain. This depicts how doctors in such cases were insufficient before the coming of Fulani in our area of study. Djibo Oumarou<sup>135</sup> in Nyos is said to have treated a woman in the community who had never given birth or conceived to do so. An aged *gainakoh* made it clear that he was capable of stopping the abnormal menopause and making women give birth in the appropriate way. The healing procedure followed well-defined principles.

In the case of difficulty in conceiving, the woman was made to seat on a chair beside a fire side, maize peelings used to wrap three cubes of sugar and water sprinkled on it while communicating with the gods. It was later thrown into the fire and it disappeared, producing a

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<sup>132</sup> Interview with Aloysius Akai.

<sup>133</sup> Interview with Fali Saly

<sup>134</sup> Interview with Alhaji Alabi.

<sup>135</sup> Interview with Djibo Oumarou, 79 Years, *Gainakoh*, Nyos, 04/06/2018.

light sound. The sound depicted that everything was okay. In case the sound was not produced, it was reprogrammed for another day. This case was also noticed in Menkaf in 2007 where an aged woman of approximately 56 years gave birth to twins. This was an important aspect in the Menchum division, thanks to Fulani presence. The Fulani equally gave talisman for protection to people from accidents, evil spirits, aggression and emerging victorious in football matches<sup>136</sup>.

Some indigenes who did not disclose their identities always went for amulets from the Fulani. These amulates were worn hiddenly by the indigenes. Some young boys who were not courageous enough to stand in front of girls and tell them their minds used charms given by Fulani. Some equally went for amulets to acquire authority to monopolise the floor when talking in the midst of people. It was believed that when one was in possession of amulets anything he/she said could not be easily contradicted by any other. Nothing bad could also happen to him/her. Some men put them inside their socks before putting on shoes. Women mostly hide theirs in the breast because it is very difficult for someone to easily touch that part of the body<sup>137</sup>.

One informant revealed that he almost died if not for a Fulani who foresaw what was to happen to him and gave him a simple bark of tree to chew, a part in the morning and keep the rest with him while drinking *mkoogh* in the *njangi* house. The person who had the plan to eliminate him on earth could not succeed as the cup he gave him containing poison in *mkoogh* got broken in front of everyone. This was an indication that if he had drunk the *mkoogh*, he would have died. The person who gave him the poison later felt ashamed and confessed to him though not publicly<sup>138</sup>. This therefore made some indigenes to give more praises to the Fulani presence in the area.

It was gathered in the field that anyone with the plan to attack somebody possessing an amulet from a Fulani could not succeed. This was because the magical force of the amulet was capable of making the person's senses go off when he met the person he wanted to harm. This was confirmed by an indigene in Abar who reported that thieves planned to kill him, but one of the members of the gang secretly leaked the plan. He then put on the amulet and walked directly to the thieves, but nothing happened to him. It was only after two days that another member of the gang came and told him the same story that they had planned to

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<sup>136</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", p. 142.

<sup>137</sup> Jumbam, "The Impact of the Fulani on the Fondom of Nso", p. 84.

<sup>138</sup> Interview with Ngeh Lambert Bang.

assassinate him and take money, but they did not know what came to their midst that disagreement and disorder perpetrated within them.

A similar story was learned from an indigene in Menchum Valley where thieves went to attack a person possessing an amulet given to him by a Fulani and could not identify the road to the man's house. They suddenly found themselves in darkness. Again, a football team in Kuk, Black stars of Mtom is said to have worn the KUSA trophy thanks to the Fulani medicine which was gotten only through the narrowing of boundaries<sup>139</sup>.

Even in the early decade of Fulani arrival, it was still rare to see mixed breeds. This was because it was a taboo for an indigene to be in a love relationship with a Fulani talk less of giving birth for him. But the mutation of boundaries led to the creation of cordial relationships between both groups. The result of this was a new type of union, "inter-marriage" between both communities. This later resulted in the production of a mixed breed in the area. It is needless to restate that mixed breed was a common phenomenon in the entire Menchum Division. However, it should be noted that very few of these mixed breed resulted from Fulani women.

This is because the Fulani were not ready to allow their daughters legally get married to indigenes that are not Islamized. Most mixed breeds in the Area have as fathers, Fulani, and Mother, indigenes. This is because Christianity does not restrict the indigenes to legally get married to people of different faith. This is not the case with Islam which restricts. Though some Fulani fathers of this mixed breed took proper care of them, their relatives did not recognize them as members of their family because it is out of bound to have a child with an indigene who was not Islamized.<sup>140</sup>

## **B. Fabrication of Traditional Symbols and Creation of Veterinary Centers**

The impact of Fulani presence in Menchum Division was also felt in the domain of traditional symbols. This was because a reduction of the gap between the Fulani and indigenes encouraged the former to put the zebu cattle and horses into use brought by the late settlers. This was seen as indigenes fabricated significant vessels which symbolized authority. This was the case of the cattle horn and horses tail. The tail of a horse was used in the entire Menchum area by traditional dances in funerals, festivals and even ceremonies. They used it to display, showing some sign of happiness. It was also used during the enthronement of

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<sup>139</sup> Interview with Yaya Sali. His facts are considered valid because he was the captain of the team.

<sup>140</sup> Interview with Fali Saly.

*fons*.<sup>141</sup> This was to display due attention to the palace. In some places in the area, the *fon* used the horse tail to send off flies around him. Notables and titled men used it for decoration. But it is important to say that it was mostly used by women and men to display during ceremonies. This made the object to be expensive in the market<sup>142</sup>.

Just like the tail of the horse cattle horns equally held important places in all communities of Menchum Division. Due to boundary alteration in the area, cattle horns replaced those of Buffaloes initially used by the indigenes, and very difficult to find due to the disappearance of those animals into the thick forest. Most thrones in our area of study are placed between cattle horns. It should be noted that only high personalities or titled men are allowed to use it publicly for drinking. Some also use it for decorating their homes. The relevance of cattle horns was only noticed with the coming of the Fulani. Indigenes only saw the need to give more credit to a cup made of horns when the gap between both groups reduced. The choice of the cup made of cattle horns was also because it could not easily get broken as calabash cups. This encouraged some indigenes to embrace the occupation of marketing drinking cups made out of horns. In the late 1990s, one piece stood at 300 francs CFA, but difficult to afford in the early 2000s at 500 francs CFA<sup>143</sup>.

As earlier mentioned, hitherto the advent of Fulani, the indigenes limited their art works to local works like craftsmanship especially on wood carving, bamboo beds and chairs among others. As the Fulani moved in with their cattle, works of art were multiplied. This was seen as the indigenes embraced the fabrication of trading articles using horns of cattle. The articles they fabricated included stool, cups and traditional trumpets. The articles fabricated with horns of cattle were mostly bought and used by traditional rulers and titled men or dignitaries. Examples of such articles are illustrated on plate twenty-nine below.

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<sup>141</sup> Interview with Che Joseph Mtembi.

<sup>142</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>143</sup> Karh, "Cattle Economy in Wum area 1940-2010", p. 86.

**Plate 29: A Stool made of Cattle Horns**



**Source: Photo taken by Author, Befang December 17, 2022.**

It should be learnt that the presence of Fulani in the area increased the market for some indigenous goods like Bamboo produce. Fulani became a steady market for these products. They initially used only mats as chairs and beds. The fabricating sector of chairs and beds using bamboo witnessed an increase in the number of people in the business. This was because the Fulani started buying the products. Even the mats the Fulani used were fabricated from the bi-product of indigenous bamboo. These analyses reveal that the alteration of boundaries as a result of the presence of Fulani created job opportunities to many inhabitants of Menchum Division especially the indigenes.

**Plate 30: Cups made of Cattle Horns**



**Source: Photo taken by Author, Wum, December 12, 2022**

The above plate shows cups made of cattle horn. They were mostly used during traditional gatherings where palm wine was consumed. These articles became very important and symbolic in the Menchum division to an extent where people from other areas hunted them. They bought and decorated their homes with it. Some indigenes fabricated them and transported to big towns of Cameroon like Yaounde, Douala, Tiko, Kribi among others.

In addition, trading in sheep hides which were highly reared by the Fulani became the order of the day. The Hausas used these for producing amulets for protection. This was usually exposed to sunlight to get dry well, then cut and sewed in varied sizes depending on the quantity of medicine to be filled in it. This was done both by the Fulani and indigenes. Some indigenes put on their parlors for protection and some hung on their fowls for thieves not to steal. The rate of using amulets of sheep skin owes its rapid increase to the coming of the Fulani. This is because at first, the indigenes mostly used fibers to construct amulets for protection. But with the bridging of boundaries, they saw the need to use sheep skin<sup>144</sup>.

In order to provide good health to cattle in Menchum Division, veterinary centers were created. Personnel were trained in these centers on how to cater for cattle. Necessary information was also given to breeders on how to keep cattle healthy. Such centers were found in Bafmeng, Esu, Weh, Wum among others<sup>145</sup>. This only came as a result of boundary dynamics because indigenes saw the importance of cattle industry in the area. Veterinarians from these centers treated cattle diseases like Rinder pest, Black quarter, Foot and mouth among others. With the qualified equipment capable of rendering breeders and animal with no stress, the management of these centers set up an alert group with the aim of notifying the appropriate officials in case of an epidemic or influx of cattle from another area.

This was seen in 1986 when cattle from Nigeria entered our area of study without permission from the necessary authority. The cattle were blocked in Munkep, some 40 Kilometers from Esu by the vigilante group. This was because the veterinary personnel had to know their health situation before allowing them to intermingle with the ones already present in the area. Services rendered by veterinary centers were encouraging and satisfactory. For instance, in 1990, 780 cattle were exposed to rinder pest and out of the 620 cattle that were affected, none died as all recovered thanks to treatment. In the same year, 730 cattle were exposed to foot and mouth disease, but of the 540 that were affected, only 7 deaths were

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<sup>144</sup> Interview with Muwanda Ndong.; Fukah Danial Che.

<sup>145</sup> DAW, File, E8/1.141 Veterinary department, 2006.

recorded as the rest recovered. No cattle was affected by rinder pest in 2011. Meanwhile just 5 out of the 427 that were affected by foot and mouth disease died<sup>146</sup>.

### **C. Increase in Diseases and Witchcraft**

Before the coming of Fulani to the Menchum division, indigenes were familiar with very limited diseases like chicken pox, fever, headache, stomach bite among others. Epilepsy was rare in the area. In most cases, people suffering from this had in mind that it was inflicted on them by people who did not want their progress. They saw it as the easiest means to bring their down fall. The low rate of illnesses before the closing of gaps that existed between the Fulani and indigenes was explained by the fact that indigenes were very hygienic, kept their surroundings clean to avoid some illnesses which could be got through flies. They also practiced abstinence and educated their younger ones to frequently visit health centers to know their health situation<sup>147</sup>. The narrowing of boundaries brought the Fulani closer to the indigenes. This resulted to an increase in the spread of diseases, animals and human like, typhoid, trypanosomiasis and other related diseases.

This became a serious problem to the inhabitants of Menchum Division. The spread of these diseases by the Fulani stemmed from the fact that they were infected with such diseases while grazing cattle. According to Manje Gilbert, gonorrhea became rampant and more common in the area of discussion only after the bridging of boundaries. This was because this made the Fulani to come closer to indigenes who later fell in love with some indigenes. The result was the transmission of venereal diseases by Fulani men to the indigenous girls who made love with the Fulani without taking precautions for materialistic reasons. The Fulani were also accused of being responsible for the spread of the diseases because of their unwillingness to protect themselves before going in for love and rarely checked themselves in the hospitals<sup>148</sup>. This made the area to suffer from illnesses in a high rate which was not the case before the coming of Fulani. Cattle diseases also became known in Menchum Division as a result of the presence of Fulani. See plate thirty-one below.

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<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>147</sup> Kimah, "The Dumbo Cattle Ranch 1774-2008", p. 150.

<sup>148</sup> Interview with Manje Gilbert.

**Plate 31: A Cow Affected by a Disease**



**Source: Photo taken Author, Benakuma, December 21, 2022.**

Plate 31 above exposes a cow isolated from others because it is suffering from a disease not disclosed by the informant. This was something new in our area of study, introduced by the Fulani.

In Menchum Division, witchcraft is an evident issue. It is a form of spiritual activity, considered devilish by the inhabitants. It is believed to bring misery, pain and evil as a whole to the people. It is manifested by feeding on others either by sucking their blood or affecting them mysteriously. This situation became worst in the area when boundaries were reduced. The late settlers after co-habiting and understanding exactly who the early settlers were, started competing over land with them. This was because land became limited owing to the growing human and cattle population. The Fulani therefore decided to use force in some cases to own land. This method which resulted from boundary dynamics had serious negative effects as it led to the death of many titled holders in the area<sup>149</sup>.

As earlier noted, some of our informants opted to conceal the deaths of indigenes whose deaths resulted from Fulani witchcraft. Fulani practiced it by extracting soil from indigenes' foot prints (considered to be an obstacle to their land ownership) and caused big

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<sup>149</sup> Interview with Toh Simon Che.



snakes and other animals to kill them. This affected the social life of indigenes thereby causing some to migrate from their settlements. This was the case of Mathias Kum in Kuk who strongly held that he was displaced by Fulani through their magical powers. Many indigenes even moved out of the area because they wanted to escape the negative effects inflicted on them by the Fulani through witchcraft. This was not the case before boundary dynamics.

#### **D. Odour and Filth**

Odour and filth were other ramifications of boundary dynamics as a result of Fulani presence in Menchum Division. This was because the zebu cattle brought in by them urinated and defaecated everywhere they found themselves including roads, market sites, streams, farm sites among others. The dropping of protogenic elements around living places caused germs, bacteria, micro and Cow dung also made the area very dirty and gave bad ordure which caused people to suffer from nausea. This was highly noticed in the rainy season because it took long for cow dung to dry off. This attracted flies around the cow dung, which infected inhabitants of the area with illnesses<sup>150</sup>.

The urine though easily washed away during the rainy season still gave bad odour in the area because the degree of cattle urine was more than rain water. The most infected communities were those connected to the cattle market such as Esu, Weh, Nyos, Bafmeng, Kuk, Befang, Wum among others. This was because in the course of transporting cattle to the market, they dunged and urinated on the road thereby paving the way for bad odour. The bad odour from this waste caused some indigenes to lose appetite to eat like Zuh Glory<sup>151</sup> who stayed for two days without eating because of it. This happened when she was pregnant thereby leading to complicated matter of pregnancy like feeling abnormal pains<sup>152</sup>.

#### **E. Improved Housing Techniques and Communication**

The life style of *gainakohs* in Menchum Area was uplifted as a result of boundary mutations. This was confirmed by the fact that before the bridging of boundaries, they lived in small huts constructed with mud and grass dotted around the area. Immediately the boundaries were bridged, indigenes dismantled most of the huts and modern houses were constructed for *gainakohs*. This was aimed at easing the smooth rearing of cattle as they resided in the houses

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<sup>150</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", p. 146.

<sup>151</sup> Interview with Zuh Glory, 42 Years, Farmer, Kung, 11/08/2020.

<sup>152</sup> *Idem*.

for free. This infrastructure was accompanied with improved standards of living for *gainakohs*. The houses were constructed with stones, sundry blocks and roofed with corrugated zinc as illustrated in plate thirty-two below.

**Plate 32: Juli Buba's Compound**



Source: Photo taken by Author, Wum, December 12, 2022.

This modern treatment offered to the *gainakohs* by indigenes was worth emulating as it inculcated to the entire Fulani community a sense of treating their *gainakohs* in more human ways<sup>153</sup>. With this accommodation given to the *gainakohs*, they were bound to put in their maximum effort in everything they were commissioned to do. This only happened thanks to the bridging of boundaries.

With regards to communication, the Fulani moved in with Fulfulde and wanted to maintain its originality. The indigenes on their part did not bother to learn the Fulfude language. It was not long that both communities realized the advantages of integration and co-habitation. This could not be effectively done without the understanding of each other's language. The indigenes who wanted to gain employment from Fulani therefore undertook the first step to learn Fulfulde. This was aimed at facilitating communication with their employers. After understanding Fulfulde, the indigenes taught the Fulani some words in their local languages<sup>154</sup>. This was to limit stigmatization that plagued their smooth functioning.

<sup>153</sup> Kimah, "The Dumbo cattle Ranch 1974-2008", p.133.

<sup>154</sup> Interview with HRH Albert Chi Kawzu.

This made the Fulani to take their indigenous employees closer to their families and vice-versa. This inter mingling was powered by the force of multilingualism as both languages were spread<sup>155</sup>.

Multilingualism facilitated communication and trading activities in public and market places. The Fulani could now easily negotiate for grazing lands. Both communities were able to buy medicine from each other without a major problem. Even the British administrators encouraged the spread of Fulfulde partly because they collected fabulous sums of money from the Fulani through tax<sup>156</sup>. It was partly because of the understanding of Fulfulde that some indigenes decamped from Christianity to Islam. This made them to adopt Fulani names like Amadu, Daoda among others. However, the Fulani were bent on maintaining the originality of *fulbe* languages without polluting it with words from local languages. This was not the case with indigenes as they unconsciously used Fulani expressions when speaking local languages.<sup>157</sup>

This is to say that boundary dynamics had a negative impact on the indigenous local languages. This is confirmed as indigenous people use words “Allah”, a Fulani expression to swear sincerity, honesty, innocence, instead of their traditional expressions like *keze* in Kuk language. In fact, most indigenes that carried out business transactions with the Fulani were forced to learn certain words in Fulfulde. This was with no disparity in sex and age. Indigenous children who sold milk often called it *Kossam* or *Pendi*. Fulfulde was considered by some people as an attractive factor for cattle business. This was confirmed by Tanghi Kikung who advised his children to learn Fulfulde<sup>158</sup>.

## **F. Source of Cordial Relationships**

The bridging of boundaries in Menchum Division led to the promotion of co-existence. Owing to the fact that both communities were able to blend their styles of living, co-habitation was bound to be the order of the day. Though their early relations were limited to trade, with Hausa Muslims acting as intermediaries, it later extended to other activities especially the cattle industry which offered employment in varied forms. The intermediary role of Hausa Muslims was accounted for their capability to speak Pidgin English with the

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<sup>155</sup> Chu, “Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary”, p. 147.

<sup>156</sup> Awasom, “Hausa and Fulani in the Bamenda Grasslands 1903-1960”, p. 272.

<sup>157</sup> Jumbam, “The Impact of the Fulani on the Bamenda Grassfields”, p. 132.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*

indigenes and translate to Fulani in Fulfulde<sup>159</sup>. The indigenes who got involved in cattle business employed people out of the area. The Fulani equally brought in people from different backgrounds to serve as *gainakohs*. This was not the case before when they just arrived. The results of space filling were harmony and peaceful living. This therefore indicated that boundary dynamics in Menchum Division resulted in peaceful co-habitation<sup>160</sup>.

In most cases in the area, friendly relationship resulted from conflicts. This was because when boundaries were narrowed and owing to the incompatibility of human beings, to come together, people were bound to have opposing ideas. In some cases disputes were meant to bring positive change in a community. Whenever there was a clash or counteracting situations, the end results were often more than what had prevailed before such a misunderstanding. Though the indigenes and Fulani had been in conflicting relations for long as a result of boundary dynamics, this afterward remained recommendable. The attempts for dialogue between the indigenes and Fulani especially through *fons* and *Ardors* has fostered cordial relationships in many domains of life: traditional, sporting, annual festival activities among others in the area<sup>161</sup>.

Friendly visits and exchange of gifts became the order of the day in our area of study. Fulani in the area paid frequent visits to indigenes and vice versa. This was not the case before the bridging of boundaries. This offered both communities the opportunity to understand each other. This attitude did not only limit itself to our area of study. Fulani and indigenes of Menchum Division who found themselves out of Menchum still manifested this good culture. This was noticed in Yaounde When a Fulani heard of an indigenous' progress (who later became a *fon*) and visited him with a gift (twelve bottles of beer)<sup>162</sup>.

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<sup>159</sup> Awasom, "The Hausa and Fulani in the Bamenda Grasslands 1903-1960", p. 270.

<sup>160</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", p. 149.

<sup>161</sup> Interview with Fali Saly.

<sup>162</sup> Interview with HRH Ntuh Mbeng Evaristus.

**Plate 33: Exchange Visit of an Indigene by a Fulani**



**Source: Photo taken by Author, Yaounde, April 17, 2019.**

Although this photo (plate 33) was taken out of our area of study, its relevance to this work lies on the fact that all the participants of the event are from Menchum Division. They are temporally based in Yaounde for greener pasture reasons.

Some Fulani went as far as representing the same communities as presidents of sub-branch meetings. The exchange of gifts was not only limited to royal families. Many local indigenes often offered gifts to local Fulani. This was because each inhabitant remained indispensable in maintaining peace in the area. Cordial relationships also sparked up as the *fons* and *Ardors* acted as third parties in cases of conflict. They judged and sanctioned the party found guilty. In some cases, the principle of “give and take” was exercised. This was when the parties involved in the conflict exchanged gifts and promised not to provoke any conflict in the community. This helped to strengthen good neighbourliness and peaceful co-existence<sup>163</sup>.

### **III. Political Ramifications: National Politics**

The political impact of boundary mutations became much felt in national politics in the early 1960s. This was because the Fulani before the 1960s still distanced themselves from the indigenes in the political field. They opted to concentrate only on nomadic life. Some even

<sup>163</sup> Wami, “Conflicts and Conflicts Resolutions”, pp. 137-138.

believed that their mingling with indigenes in politics will negatively affect their pastoral activities. The relevance of politics was also absent in their memories as they were not educated on it. This therefore made them to feel inferior in the area<sup>164</sup>. It was not long that they gained knowledge on it. In order to assert their position within national politics, they decided to look for protection which they believed could only come from someone with Muslim feelings.

With the reintroduction of political pluralism, many political parties were created. The most prominent ones in Menchum Division were CPDM, SDF and UNDP. The Fulani decided to cast their votes to the UNDP of Belo Bouba Maigari because of his Muslim faith. They started claiming strength with the indigenes. This claim only resulted from boundary dynamics because before boundaries were bridged, the Fulani stayed calm. With the aim to cement their feet on the ground and coupled with the belief that their protection could largely come only from the ruling party, the Fulani decamped from the UNDP and joined the CPDM. This was also to better protect themselves to frustrate indigenous aims at under rating them.<sup>165</sup>

They started cooperating with the indigenes to enhance the politics of the Menchum division. From this cooperation, the Fulani contributed enormously in political events in the area. This was highly noticed during official visits of state personalities, gatherings of general interests, installation of D.O.s among others. They answered present on such occasions based on invitation and even when not invited. This was to animate the occasion<sup>166</sup>. Again, the bridging of boundaries also led to a massive registration of the Fulani in elections. This was heavily noticed in the 2000s when computerized Identity Cards (I.D) were issued to them. The idea of registering them as people born in Northern Cameroon or Nigeria was wiped out. This motivated them to be proactive in political affairs in Menchum Division. While some started hosting polling stations for elections, some presented their candidatures to participate in council activities. Some became second deputy mayor in rural councils like Haro Baby who was the second deputy mayor of ZRC in 2018<sup>167</sup>. Their presence in these councils facilitated electoral processes as they easily communicated with their way ward Fulani brothers.

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<sup>164</sup> Nchia, "The origin and Evolution of Pastoral Agricultural Conflict", p. 64.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>166</sup> Jumbam, "The Impact of the Fulani on the Bamenda Grassfields", pp. 304.

<sup>167</sup> Nyoh, "Fulani-Indegenous Relations in Fungom Sub-Division", p. 23.

## B. Differences in Political Interpretations

The Fulani philosophy of owing respect and being humble largely only to the ruling party or government increased partly because boundaries were not narrowed. Protection, which the Fulani believed could only come from the ruling party accounted for their respect and humility to it. They later became confused when rumors broke out that CPDM must go and the SDF slogan for campaign “power to the people” characterized the period. They relented their efforts to support the CPDM but rejected to pay allegiance to the SDF because of its slogan. The SDF slogan was misinterpreted in the division. The Fulani understood it as a means to empower the indigenes who did not want their progress to chase them out of their settlements considered conducive for farming.<sup>168</sup>

This misinterpretation made the Fulani to be scared of the party. But then, it is imperative to state that the SDF slogan was “power to the people and equal opportunities”. This simply meant that equal opportunities were to be given to all citizens by the party. But the Fulani decided to detest the SDF since they were unable to digest the slogan well. It was for this reason that their support went to UNDP against SDF. This was because Ni John Fru Ndi, chairman of the SDF was not their kin brother and of a Muslim community. The indigenes on their part also gave a wrong interpretation as to the meaning of the slogan campaign. A glaring example was seen in the Bafmeng community<sup>169</sup>.

The indigenous misinterpreted it as power given to them to use force to chase out the Fulani. This misinterpretation paved the way for the demonstration of their hatred for the Fulani. The active youths with support from some elders commanded Fulani out of the land they considered good for farming. The Fulani who resisted them suffered most as they had to be punished for not responding promptly<sup>170</sup>. Aladji Tino who attempted to resist the youths lost his compound as it was set on fire. He was also compelled to pay 130,000 francs CFA. Tashi Isa was also forced to give money, he gave the only ten thousand francs he had and his five Fowls were caught<sup>171</sup>. All these resulted from boundary dynamics because when gaps were closed, Fulani started competing for land with the indigenes. They secured themselves by satisfying administrative officials financially. With the outbreak of the campaign slogan: “power to the people” which both groups could not fully interpret the indigenes took the

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<sup>168</sup> Jumbam, “The Impact of the Fulani on the Bamenda Grassfields”, p. 304.

<sup>169</sup> Chu, “Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary”, p. 136.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>171</sup> DAW, File, No. E28/I.III, Farmer Grazier, 1986.

opportunity to gain land for farming. Fulani reaction to this indigenous act was staying apart from the party there by creating differences in politics in the area.

### **C. Justice**

Before boundaries were bridged in our area of study, all matters were handled in the NCs including those of the Fulani. It was native laws and customs that prevailed in courts, not Muslim laws. As the Fulani fully integrated into indigenous activities, they started demanding for a separate court with Muslim laws to handle their matters. The granting of rights for them to establish their court owes its bases from their incessant demand for it.<sup>172</sup> The impact of the newly created Alkali court resulted from boundary dynamics which was noticed in diverse perspectives. It created employment, promoted education, generated revenue for the ZRC and WRC, and reduced conflict between the indigenes and Fulani<sup>173</sup>.

All these only came to happen when boundaries were narrowed. It was then that the indigenes saw the need and importance of the court. They started presenting their matters to it which was not the case before boundaries were bridged. In the grassfields, many indigenes gained employment as scribes (*Mufti*), messengers (*dongari*). But this position was given only to people who had a sound knowledge of Islamic laws and spoke *Fulfulde*, Hausa and English<sup>174</sup>. But in respect to our area of study, most indigenes were employed as messengers. This therefore indicates that the closing of gaps in the area resulted in employment for indigenes.

### **D. Perversion of Fulani Traditional Institutions**

The bridging of boundaries in Menchum Division made the Fulani to frequently cry that their culture was denigrated. This was inadvertently encouraged by the British colonial administration which offered the indigenous traditional rulers a green light to intervene in Fulani activities. The financial implication of empowering the indigenous traditional rulers to collect jangali tax within their areas of jurisdiction gave them an upper hand over the Fulani. This was because it nursed in them the spirit of lining their wallets with bank notes. In order to do this, they started abusing their powers by conferring Islamic titles on Fulani so long as the beneficiaries gave them cattle in return. This act was not pleasant to the Fulani who saw it

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<sup>172</sup> Jumbam, "The Impact of the Fulani on the Bamenda Grassfields", p. 305.

<sup>173</sup> Chu, "Fulani Presence and Inter-Community Boundary", p. 137.

<sup>174</sup> Awasom, "The Hausa and Fulani in the Bamenda Grasslands 1903-1960", p. 312.



as a strategy put in place by the indigenes to deteriorate their traditional institution. This was highly felt in the Nso land<sup>175</sup>.

Once the Fulani of Menchum became aware of this, they developed fear, given that such a disliked situation could be embraced by their host indigenes. This encouraged them to start thinking of how their problems could be channeled to the British directly without passing through the indigenous chief. This led to the formation of a council in 1942<sup>176</sup>. This was something new in Menchum Division. This council incessantly persuaded the British colonial administration to see with them how the traditional rulers were deteriorating their culture which was a source of conflict between them. In response to this situation, the British devised a strategy where a decision affecting the Fulani had to be taken only after consultations with Fulani, N.A and D.O, and not a single village head<sup>177</sup>. This implies that the issue of choosing an *Ardor* was entrusted in the hands of D.O, N.A and Fulani. Given that the Fulani acquiesced it the issue was greatly resolved.

In a bid to further strengthen the relationship of the indigenes and Fulani, the N.As in the Bamenda division was reorganized in April 1949. The twenty-three NAs were regrouped into five<sup>178</sup>. Unlike in other areas where the Fulani gained admission into the NA councils, they only did so in the Menchum area in the early 1960s. This was partially motivated by the January and February elections of the year<sup>179</sup>. The Fulani were dispersed among the various NAs in the Bamenda division. Their matters were to be judged in the NCs where indigenous laws prevailed rather than their own *Koranic* laws<sup>180</sup>.

It should be mentioned that the Fulani did not embrace the NCs whole heartedly. This was because the judges were non-Muslims. It did not take long that they started clamoring for their own separate court. The reason they advanced for this was that they were victimized in the NCs. Awasom corroborates this by stating that “The Fulani complained that each time they appeared in a native court because of a problem with a native, the court verdict was a forgone conclusion since the courts were only interested in imposing heavy fine on them because the courts knew they had much money”<sup>181</sup>.

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<sup>175</sup> Jumbam, “The Impact of the Fulani on the Bamenda Grassfields”, p. 305.

<sup>176</sup> Awasom, “The Hausa and Fulani in the Bamenda Grasslands 1903-1960”, p. 231.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, 262.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, 268.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, 272.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*, 275.

Another problem the Fulani faced in the NCs was that of language. The court members communicated in Pidgin English or indigenous dialect and the Fulani were novices in all. This therefore made the Fulani to visit the NCs only when they had a matter. In the Nso area, this problem was checked by admitting a Fulani into the executive bench of NC. This was to empower him to be versed with the evolution of things in the community and his Fulani brothers. It was hoped that this will encourage the Fulani to be frequent in the NCs and give room for fair judgment to the Fulani. But this was not the case as the *fon* had the prerogative to influence the decisions of the courts thereby making the Fulani represented to be impotent. Awasom equally shares this view as he puts it “Thus the *fon*’s influence in court rendered the presence of *Ardor* Juli almost useless as a Fulani representative, the situation of the Fulani in the Nsaw Native Court was not very different from that in other Native courts in the Bamenda division”.

Given that the Fulani lacked a paramount law enforcement authority like that of the Hausa, and did not like to be judged in non-Muslims courts, where decisions taken were not based on fairness, they persisted in demanding for the establishment of a separate court. They equally complained that it was unhealthy to judge cases of debt, divorce, marriage or inheritance in the presence of unbelievers in the courts. This persistent demand of creating an Alkali court gained more grounds in 1943 when definite proposals were submitted in the Bamenda Moot as part of the Fulani welfare plan. The Fulani were made to understand that even if the Alkali Court was created, some of their issues (destruction of farms by cattle) will still be handled in the NCs.

The establishment of the Muslim court was to check the tendency of some *Ardo'en* (Fulani clan) from becoming feudal barons by balancing against their power of wealth a detached judiciary power. The creation of the Alkali was backed by the idea that it could influence the Fulani to settle permanently. It should be noted that it was on the strength of the Kaduna authorities that the possibility of an Alkali Court was created.

The acting chief commissioner, Major James approved an Alkali court for Bamenda on April 2, 1945. The Alkali did not immediately start functioning after its approval, given that the Bamenda division was void of a qualified Alkali. It was until a certain M. Amadou was approved to be the Alkali for Bamenda in 1946 that it started functioning in March 1947<sup>182</sup>. The advent of the Alkali court marked the Bamenda division and Menchum division

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<sup>182</sup> Jumbam, “The Impact of the Fulani on the Bamenda Grassfields”, p. 305.

in particular. But then, it should be highlighted that the creation of the Alkali did not discontinue the Fulani from presenting their problems in the NCs. It was even astonished to see Fulani oppose the Alkali.

The Fulani pressurized the administration to create an Alkali Court but once created, they started showing reluctance to refer their problems to it. Those who even attended the Alkali Court hardly accepted the ruling of Akali M. Amadou and often appealed his decisions. M. Amadou meted these affairs on his messenger, Abubakar, who claimed to master the Muslim laws more than him, and incited people to oppose him and influence the DO<sup>183</sup>. This implies that in the course of exercising his duties, Alkali Amadou had differences with the Muslim community and with his immediate subordinate. This compelled him to table his resignation letter. He was replaced by Abba Namtam<sup>184</sup>.

It was learnt in the field that the poor attendance of the Ndop Akali court was also linked to distance. Fulani from other areas of the Bamenda division found it difficult to travel long distances to tender their issues. They preferred settling them amicably with their host indigenes in the NCs. The administration tried resolving the matter, taking into account the financial constraints of the territory, in arranging periodic visits by the Alkali to the various Muslim communities in Bamenda land. But the visits were irregular and some Muslim communities never received it. It was from here that the Fulani in the Wum area tabled their plea through the DO to establish an Alkali court in Wum. Apart from the issue of distance, they argued that the indigenes often took advantage of their absence to steal their cows. They added that the Alkali often punished defaulters harshly and imposed high summon fees on them.

It is true that the advent of Fulani in the Menchum area brought about joy as people were massively employed in sectors connected to cattle. But if one has to give a genuine balance account, one will obviously say that it did not go without negative effects. This was seen as it brought about high crime waves. Crimes that became common in the Menchum area as a result of boundary alteration given the presence of Fulani were robbery, stealing, burglary, assaults, obstruction of public peace among others. Cattle theft soon became a new thing in the area as revealed by the British colonial administration in 1948<sup>185</sup>. However, the N.Cs were authorized to sanction anyone guilty of any crime committed linked to cattle theft.

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<sup>183</sup> Awasom, "The Hausa and Fulani in the Bamenda Grasslands 1903-1960", p. 304.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>185</sup> Interview with Adem Rose Ngea.

A report in 1948 on Cameroon under the United Kingdom (UK) Trusteeship associated cattle theft to be one of the criminal offences to renounce in the Menchum. See table 16 below.

**Table 16: Number of People and Crimes Judged by Native Courts in Menchum Division in 1948**

| Native Court | Crime                        |                 |                      |                         |          |            |  |                                   |              | Number of Individuals Concerned in Cases Handled |
|--------------|------------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|-------------------------|----------|------------|--|-----------------------------------|--------------|--|
|              | Rubber stealing and Burglary | Theft of Cattle | Wounding and Assault | Disturbing Public Peace | Adultery | Witchcraft | Offences against N. A Rules and Orders | Offences against Native Ordinance | Other Crimes |  |
| Beba-Befang  | 18                           | 8               | 39                   | -                       | 18       | -          | -                                      | -                                 | 9            | 92   |
| Esimbi       | 2                            | 5               | 14                   | -                       | 8        | -          | 5                                      | -                                 | 19           | 53   |
| Aghem        | 2                            | 2               | 13                   | -                       | 14       | -          | -                                      | -                                 | 22           | 53   |
| Fungom       | 8                            | 12              | 10                   | -                       | 2        | 12         | 4                                      | 18                                | 86           | 152  |

Source: Jumbam, “The Impact of the Fulani on the Bamenda Grassfields”, p.185.

Table 16 reveals cases of cattle theft reported in all the Native Authority Areas within the Menchum community. From the information, Fungom recorded the highest cases followed by Beba-Befang and others in a declining order, giving a total of 30 registered cases. Comparing the statistics with other crimes, it could be ranked 7th in order of gravity thereby giving the area a negative image.

The rate of cattle theft kept rising as years went by. Cattle were stolen by indigenes to sell and meet up with their basic needs. It was not long that the Fulani joined the indigenes in committing such a crime. They connived with the indigenes. Information gotten from the field reveals that the Fulani who did this were mostly those who had problems with cattle owners and wanted them to lose part of their wealth as punishment. It was also learned that Fulani who were *gainakohs* connived with indigenes to steal cattle when their boss procrastinated their payment. In this case, cattle were stolen alive and slaughtered in a confined environment. It was butchered and sneaked to the house in a nocturnal moment. After smoking, it was marketed in pieces and the *gainakohs* had a percentage<sup>186</sup>.

Given that the Fulani (cattle owners) proved to be powerful in identifying where the stolen cattle were taken to and slaughtered by following feet prints of the cattle, the indigenes

<sup>186</sup> Interview with Nji Fidelis Ngoh.

developed an advanced method of disappearing cattle in a way the direction of the cows will not be known except revealed by a participant of the criminal act. This was done by wearing shoes of human beings on the hooves of stolen cows before taking them away. This was the same scenario in the Nso land as revealed by Jumbam “The shoes were well fastened on the hooves of a cow and made to face the opposite direction. This was intended to misdirect the owner in his search for the cow. It prevented the owner from tracing the direction towards which the cow was taken to”. With this advanced method, cattle theft became a common thing in the Menchum community. A Fulani well noted for such a crime was Buhla Amadou. He was known for disappearing cattle in a way the owner’s search for it will remain futile<sup>187</sup>.

As concerns education, new spirit of learning emerged within the indigenes in the Menchum area. This was highly noticed with indigenes that were Islamized in order to get knowledge on Islamic education so as to be employed in the Alkali Court. The AC with its principles and strong effects on wayward people made the inhabitants including indigenes to be law abiding. The court did not only render justice, but also made peace to reign in the Menchum division. Though from the beginning, the AC handled only few particular cases like theft, adultery, fighting, damage and so on, it did not take long that the administration discovered it was capable of handling pertinent cases<sup>188</sup>. The AC encouraged people from different areas to come and live in Menchum Division since they were employed to serve in the court. This therefore made our area of study cosmopolitan. This was only possible when boundaries were bridged as the indigenous administration granted authority for its establishment<sup>189</sup>.

### **E. Emergence of Fulani Administrators**

Before the closing of gaps in our area of study, the *fon* was the nucleus of the area and issued directives for many activities. All lands were placed under his control. The Fulani on their part had an *Ardor* as their highest authority. *Ardors* did not own land. They paid allegiance to the *fons*, their land lords, this is to say the *Ardors* acted as middle-men between the *fons* or administration and their subjects. Fulani never involved themselves in administrative affairs of their various communities. *Fons* did not also intervene in the internal affairs of the Fulani although they were to collect taxes from all the inhabitants under their area of jurisdiction. But as boundaries were bridged, *fons* became involved in Fulani matters. This was to ensure

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<sup>187</sup> Interview with Angah Daniel.

<sup>188</sup> Jumbam, “The Impact of the Fulani on the Bamenda Grassfields”, p. 289.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*

that each person settled in their area of jurisdiction, had to toe the line. The limitation of the authority of *fons* over *Ardors* in matters of tax collection was because they were farmers and not in position to evaluate cattle for taxation.<sup>190</sup>

Again, the bridging of boundaries led to the recognition of some prominent Fulani (*Ardors*) as administrative auxiliaries. This gave them the green light to control land, that at times they did not even want indigenes to invade their areas of influence for farming. This encouraged the local Fulani to pay more respect and loyalty to the *Ardors* than *fons*. This was not the case before the narrowing of boundaries<sup>191</sup>. Since peaceful living is admired and cherished by every human being, the *fons* and *Ardors* established committees to resolve their differences. The executive members of these committees were both indigenes and Fulani. To better their joint administration, rural councils were set up to resolve matters affecting the community. This resulted in the birth of new administrators which were the Fulani who found themselves involved in the administrative affairs of their various communities.

Matters beyond their judging capacity were reported to the WRC. For instance, R. S. Boma, D.O of Wum received a letter from Bafmeng traditional Council (BTC) in 1967, with the caption of establishing a second *Ardorate*. In this connection, many Fulani became members of the rural council. Alhaji Alabi was made treasurer in the Kuk Traditional Council. *Fon* Buh II of Esu, *Fon* Bame II of Weh and so on installed Adamu Umaru as the third class *Ardor* in 1992<sup>192</sup>. This encouraged Fulani who at first were not interested in administrative affairs to change their minds. *Ardors* were also made to understand that their authority was limited to Fulani under their jurisdiction while the *fons* were to administer everybody including the Fulani in their lands.

## Conclusion

The ramifications of boundary dynamics in Menchum Division came in economic, social and political forms. In this regards, employment, income and revenue from the cattle market, increase in food varieties, disobeying of indigenous people's land tenure, farmer/grazier conflict among others were examined. Concerning the social sphere, increase in traditional doctors, fabrication of traditional symbols, integration and peaceful cohabitation, modern housing and so on were our point of focus. In the political domain, justice, differences in

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<sup>190</sup> Interview with HRH Ntuh Evarestus Mbeng.

<sup>191</sup> Interview with Muwanda Ndong.

<sup>192</sup> Nyoh, "Fulani-Idigenous Relations in Fungom Sub-Division", p. 27.

political learning and emergence of new administrators were discussed. These ramifications were not all satisfactory to the inhabitants as some negatively affected them.

## GENERAL CONCLUSION

The indigenes of Menchum Division before the advent of Fulani had their distinctive economic, socio-cultural and political organization. Their major economic activities were: farming, land tenure, trade, pottery, craft work, local industries, and others. Concerning socials, they focused on education, health, religion, marriage, birth and death, and many others. Administration, national politics, peace and justice were the political aspects discussed. But then, the said organization was favoured by the geography of the area. The physical factors which determined the activities of indigenes were conducive. The climate with its two seasons: dry and rainy seasons offered ideal conditions for indigenes. Soils and topography were not unique in the area. This accounted for the different crops cultivated in the Area. Human factors were equally vital as they influenced the productivity of their activities.

The advent of the Fulani led to the introduction of a new organization in the area. The administrative system of the Fulani in each community was headed by a leader depending on their origin and period of arrival. The Fulani settlements in the area were headed by *Ardors*. In principle, the *Ardor* had many dignitaries with whom he formed the council of administration. Their titles in order of precedence were: Wakili, Maidaki, Galadima, Tchiroma, Sariki and Magaji. Grazing was their principal activity. Their social life was an interesting subject to study as men plait hair like women and constructed houses that could be dismantled in a twinkling of an hour.

Education, marriage, religion, health, sport and other cultural practices were our point of focus. But then, we asked ourselves what brought the Fulani into the Menchum division? The response is the hunt for pasture, vast grazing lands, conducive climate, availability of water, the desire to spread Islam, accessibility of Menchum Division, population explosions, availability of building materials, the friendly nature of indigenous people among others. However, the living together of both groups in the early decades of our time frame depicts that each group wanted to avoid its socio-cultural, economic and political organization from being polluted by the other. Thus, creating boundaries. As time passed by, both groups saw



the need to bridge the boundaries. This was favoured by a number of factors which included population growth, search for land, justice system, Wum area Deveopment Authority, modern governance, land laws, community development and so on. The bridging of boundaries was done in two folds: ideological (economic, socio-cultural and political) and conventional.

When the Fulani infiltrated the Menchum division, land was sufficient since the population at that time had not grown. As time went by, both cattle and human populaton increased. This resulted in insufficient grazing and farming lands. The need to address the problem emanating from population growth brought about boundary mutations. It was observed that the British administration and other factors favoured the Fulani to own and control land which was not the case before. This mutation of boundaries came in inter and intra order.

The indigenes who at first valued farming and did not want to embrace cattle grazing done by Fulani later wiped out the thought. This was because its economic importance was not known yet in the division. The indigenes saw it as a source of wealth, but stressful since it demanded roaming after the cattle. As the significance became known, the indigenes heavily invested in the industry. This was evident when many indigenes embraced cattle grazing in the 1950s. The Fulani on their part who also stayed away from farming because of their ignorance of its relevance later changed their minds when they became aware. They came to understand that farming was the main stay of the people in the division. It is the highest sector that employs youths in the area. With this knowledge, Fulani were bound to bridge the boundaries by doing farming. Some even became wealthier farmers than some indigenes.

It is needless reiterating that the Fulani main economic activity (cattle grazing) brought about a multiplier effect on the economy of the Menchum division. It provided job opportunities to the inhabitants of the area, constituted a significant source of income to the state, pulled community developers, diversitified trade and fanned the flames of transport and communication. The attempt of owning land by the Fulani umconsciously brought them into conflict with the indigenes.

The indigenes who did not want to establish a marital relationship with the Fulani because they did not know their origin later did so. This was to strengthen co-habitation and friendly relations. This was also not different with the Fulani who did not want to get into a relationship with indigenes who were not Islamized. But, they later changed their minds. This

was confirmed by the fact that there were many mixed breeds in the area, made with indigenes that had been Islamized. Note should however be taken that in most cases, the indigenes were the ones who abandoned their traditional religion as a prerequisite to get married to a Fulani. Though Fulani families did not recognize them as members of their families, it did not cancel the fact that there were mixed breeds.

The Fulani cooperated with indigenous converts to promote education in the division. This brought about the increase number of pupils in primary schools in the division. Sport was another field where the gap between the two settlers was closed. Football competitions were organized in almost every where in the division especially in the months of July and August. The Fulani even used their horses to transport football players. The Menchum division became a multicultural environment. The Fulani who initially resented roaming in the vicinities of indigenous death celebration places started answering present there. They even displayed traditional dances.

Politically, the introduction of the Alkali Court made the indigenes to be law-abiding. But then, the indigenes initially resisted its establishment. They only came to know its importance when they experienced its effects, as it could cause madness on people unwilling to apologize for their crimes. This therefore helped to reduce crime in the area. Their role in national politics could not be neglected. Some became interested in politics and even hosted polling stations during elections. Some also competed with indigenes in occupying positions in political parties. Official visits to administrative officials were also noticed with them. Some became members of traditional councils. These councils were set up to resolve problems affecting their living together. Many of them actively participated.

The mutations of these boundaries resulted in many ramifications. It brought about employment opportunities to indigenes. They were either employed as *gainakohs*, messengers, butchers among others. This encouraged some indigenes to change their faith in favour of Islam. New systems of learning were bound to take place. Income from the jangali, vaccination, market, slaughter, sanitary inspection taxes were all advantages to the ZMC. All these resulted from mutation of boundaries. This was a strategy implemented by the state to generate income. Negative effects were not left out in this domain: the farmer/grazier conflict, contamination of water bodies, over grazing, biodiversity loss, destruction of vegetation cover, loss of soil resources, disrespect of indigenous land tenure systems, perversion of Fulani traditional institutions.

With regards to social developments, the coming together of the two groups resulted in an increase in traditional doctors. The Fulani experts in some illnesses started receiving indigenous patients and vice versa. There was also the fabrication of traditional symbols as cups and stools from cattle horns and special brooms from horse tail. The Fulani equally improved on their housing techniques and communication. The indigenes were adversely affected in this sector as there was an increase in diseases, bad odour, filth, witchcraft and others. Political ramifications were not equally isolated. These came in the domain of national politics, differences in political interpretations, emergence of new administrators, justice and peace. The bridging of boundaries signaled a new look in the judicial history of Menchum Division. The Alkali Court added to the list of Native Courts in the division. It equally brought about some negative things such as the clash that cropped up between the Alkali Court and Native Courts.

Our findings reveal that the infiltration of Fulani into Menchum Division was orchestrated by both pull factors in our area of study like the friendly nature of the early settlers, the absence of cattle diseases, the presence of pasture and water, accessibility of Menchum Division among others, and push factors in their initial sites like the outbreak of cattle diseases in Chad and Nigeria, inadequate pasture, presence of tse-tse fly, theft among others. Again, that the Fulani were warmly received by the indigenes and they settled in particular areas with their organization wildly different from that of the early settlers until when they started going out of the defined areas.

Our results equally hold that the alteration of boundaries became the order of the day as both groups ventured into things they initially detested. Again, that the repercussions of boundary dynamics were both a blessing (employment opportunities, source of income, creation of veterinary centers, improved communication, emergence of Fulani administrators) and a curse to both groups (farmer-grazier conflict, unkempt ordure and filth, pollution of both groups' original organization). However, some solutions could be implemented in order to check the ill-effects of boundary dynamics in our area of study. These proposed solutions are examined in the subsequent paragraphs.

### **Recommendations**

There should not be xenophobia and racist thoughts among the indigenes and Fulani. The old settler should not claim superiority, avoid provocative language or throwing slangs against new settlers. Any act perpetrated by the indigenes to place the Fulani as an inferior class

should be addressed with contempt. Therefore, the thoughts of victimization and minimization should be uplifted. Equality should therefore be the doctrine preached among both groups. The Fulani who has settled permanently should be recognized as non-strangers and as indigenes that came in late. In this connection, the Fulani should owe much respect and humility to the indigenes for discovering the area. This is in line with the principle of giving respect to those who saw the sun before you. This respect should not be limited to elders or national authorities, local indigenes should be respected too. This will go a long way to implant peaceful co-existence.

The Fulani should always respond with humility and avoid being rude to indigenes. This attitude of respect and humility could encourage the indigenes to love them more thereby offering a green light for them to interact peacefully with one another. The Fulani should accept the fact that they have limited control over land and stop competing, with indigenes. Taking into consideration that farms do not move like cattle, Fulani graziers should occupy outskirts of their chosen communities and avoid encroaching into neighbouring village lands without permission. This will help prevent stray cattle from causing damages on indigenes' farms and compounds. The *gainakohs* should not distance themselves from cattle when pasturing. Attention and vigilance should be at the back of their minds.

Both groups should embrace tolerance. Tolerance is a word which is sometimes used in the place of respect, mercy, generosity, or forbearance. It is one of the most essential elements of moral systems; an important source of spiritual discipline and a celestial virtue of perfected people. Under the lens of tolerance people can attain new depths and extend to infinity where mistakes and faults will become insignificant and wither away until they are so small that they can be placed into a thimble. Inhabitants of Menchum Division especially those with powers at hand should note that areas rift with corruption, intolerance and mercilessness are not conducive for things like freedom of thought, polite criticism, and the exchange of ideas according to norms of equity thereby making fair-minded debate to be absent. This therefore makes it meaningless to talk of understanding and solidarity.

Again, note should be taken that it is difficult to talk about common ideas or a collective consciousness in communities where individuals do not look upon one another with tolerance or in societies where the spirit of forbearance has not become fully entrenched. In such communities, ideas will devour one another in the web of conflict. The work of peace crusaders will become difficult and their effort may remain futile, and it will not be possible

to establish a sound thought or freedom of belief. In this light, it will be difficult to think that the community was based on a true system of justice; even if this appears to be the case, it will be nothing more than a sham. In fact, in a community where there is no tolerance, it is far-fetched to talk about a healthy media, scholarly thought or pertinent cultural activities either.

The chances of expecting something fresh, beneficial and promising for the future from communities void of tolerance are slim. This is why we strongly advise those with powers at hand to be fair-minded and balance in their judgment, for many people do not enjoy these blessings. They should fend off evil with goodness and ignore rudeness. They should also favour tolerance and be magnanimous toward those who do not know better. It is important to mention that tolerance is one of the safest refuge and our fortress against the handicaps that arise from schism, faction and the difficulties inherent in reaching mutual agreement; troubles that lie waiting at every corner. Both the indigenes and Fulani should have such tolerance that they are ready to close eyes to the faults of others, to have respect for different ideas, and to forgive everything that is forgivable.

If fact, even when faced with violations of their rights, they should remain respectful to human values and try to establish justice. Even before the coarsest thoughts and the crudest ideas, the inhabitants of our area of study who find it impossible to share without losing their temper, should respond with mildness. This mildness or gentle words will touch the hearts of others. It is important to point out that this mildness is a result of a tender heart, a gentle approach, and mild behavior. The inhabitants of Menchum Division should have much tolerance that can benefit from opposing ideas.

Both internally and externally certain people have a desire for conflict and have been brought up in an environment of conflict, and therefore they do not desire dialogue or the improvement of human relationships. It is for this reason that we must act very cautiously. In every task undertaken, there should be a certain meaning, sincerity should be sought, and reason and good judgment should be the priority. In addition, every profession should be given its due and it should act accordingly. An Imam uses his voice in the mosque, but a film star, an actor, or an author does not act in the same way. The actor gives precedence to body language or acting ability and the author to writing style and the writing of ideas in a literally way. This is how it should be; otherwise, the impact of the message and its effect will be diminished and the message will be of no benefit.

The same thing should be applied on boundary issues. Experts should demonstrate their abilities through success, good behavior and exemplary lifestyle. Conferences should be summoned at the level of the division and sub-divisions. Meetings and other means of assembling people should be organized frequently. Active participants of these gatherings should come from both settlers. This will enable them gain knowledge on the danger of living in a tensed atmosphere like insecurity, fear and panic, among others. Experts of conflict management and coexistence should therefore be invited to these conferences to preach against antagonism. In this light, both groups will embrace and assimilate the positive message preached and sanity will become the order of the day.

Occupying the outer section of the community will carve out territorial boundaries with the indigenes. This will also ease identification within the community they are found. The Fulani should collaborate with indigenes in the same community and avoid aligning with Fulani in other regions. This will cement their co-habitation with the indigenes as a community. They should learn how to own lands through proper means; family heads, *fons*, administrative officials should not be manipulated. The customs and tradition of both groups should be respected. No room should be offered one to alter the tradition of another without the genuine concern of the decision makers. Inhabitants should practice any religion of their choice, although complicated with the Fulani who warn their own, not to embrace Christianity.

Both groups should embrace other forms of commercial or economic activities like trade, fishing, among others. They should be educated on the advantages of diversifying their source of income. The indigenes should not only be too linked to farming they should not consider grazing as a strenuous or an activity reserved for the Fulani. They should understand that it is an economic activity opened to everyone. The Fulani on their part should not feel complacency over grazing. They should fully get into other activities like farming, trade, among others. This should be impartially done as it is the case now in some parts of the world. In this way, no one will have to tell another the effect in destroying the belonging of another.

Based on the different livelihoods' strategies, both groups should be inclined to invest time and effort into learning a new technology and to actually adopt it as part of their farm management. What is needed is a portfolio of farm-level interventions for small holders that are mindful of the differences between settlers. They need to be inclusive, responsive to demand and embedded in the realities of the macro economic context. Farmers that are

struggling to make ends meet need to make use of farm interventions that ensure the long-term productivity and fertility of their land without overburdening their limited resources. Interventions need to be aimed at raising their potentials and decreasing their risks without drawing on already scarce resources.

These interventions do not need to be game changers that substantially increase people's income and have a significant impact on rural poverty alleviation but need to ensure sustainable increase of food supply for the producing households. These households should make use of affordable agricultural inputs, such as seeds, high-performing varieties and fertilizer though it's not an easy task to possess all these. But if the foregoing constrain is deleted from their minds, co-habitation and harmony will be an interesting and lively discussion. Again, both communities should frequently exchange visits. When a member is bereaved, they should visit the member to sympathize with him. This will prove good intention and love for each other.

More so, the committee set up by the government to look after the farmer/grazier conflicts should have a close follow up of these relations. This will help to sort out those who judge cases in favour of particular parties for secondary aims. Such identified elements should be immediately sacked from the group. The group should be a blend of indigenes and Fulani. Some chiefs sell hectares of land to graziers without consulting the villagers. Worse of it is that they do so without definding the land to the graziers. They send their pages to allocate the land to the grazier. The page on his part negotiates with the grazier and increases the surface area without the knowledge of the chief. The grazier in turn increases the land against the agreed terms without the chief or his page. Sometimes, negotiations for these lands take place when people's farms and crops are still there. This then results to conflict as both farmers and graziers claim ownership over the same piece of land. Chiefs that fall victim of such situations should be treated with contempt.

Research works on this aspect are almost absent in some areas of the country. It is important that scholars should venture into the field especially where the Fulani are found in a considerable number. This will also help create awareness on the danger of living in an environment where commotion is the order of the day. Some people will be educated on how it is wrong to create problems in a place because you have another place to escape to. Good conduct or morals should be taught in school, to filter both the Fulani and indigenes on the values of peace and togetherness. The Fulani degree of participation in national politics will be bound to increase. In fact, it is important a course on this subject should be revamped and

taught practically in our area of study starting from primary schools. This will facilitate the attainment of the goals of national integration and boundary issues will be minimized if not completely eliminated.

The government should equally carve out well-defined areas for grazing and farming. The movement of cattle in the area should be documented and people should be sensitized to master the calendar. Lands not conducive for farming should be allocated for grazing and vice versa taking into consideration the position. This will redress the incessant farmer/grazier conflict. The Fulani should be encouraged to massively do farming themselves. This will enable them know what it takes to cultivate crops. Sanitary inspections should be set up to check the beef butchers sell for consumption. Promotion of formal education is another way forward.

The Fulani should be encouraged to massively send their children to school. They will acquire knowledge which will widen their scope of reasoning. With this knowledge, they will be able to positively influence decisions, keep their surroundings clean, frequently visit hospitals, avoid contaminating water bodies by not taking their cattle to drinking sources to drop their waste, protect themselves from diseases, let alone spreading. All these will improve their standards of living and reduce mortality rate. Destruction of roads, odour, and filth will not be witnessed in the area if the Fulani are formally educated massively. Interacting with indigenes in schools will help eliminate stigmatization since friendships will be established and common words learnt from both languages during their leisure time.

Royal marriages should be extended to new settlers. Marriage has as one of its role to maintain peace. For peace to reign in the Menchum area, the *fons* should not only intermarry among royal families. It should be extended to *Ardors* since *fons* in our area of study have as traditional diplomacy; promoting royal marriages, that is, princes getting married to princesses, it should be extended to the royal families of the Fulani community. It should be recalled that the second wife of *fons* is always chosen by the community not the *fon* and it is believed that when a girl is proposed to marry a *fon*, she has no choice to object. This should be extended to Fulani girls. The *Ardors'* children should get married to the *fons'* own. This will foster peaceful co-habitation in the area.

In this regard, the daughters of *Ardors* will act as resident ambassadors or representatives in other communities. They will persuade their husbands to favour their Fulani community. This also goes same with *fons'* daughters married to *Ardors*. They will



frequently remind the *Ardors* to take care of indigenous farms because it is the sole dependent activity of women in the area. In this case, peace will be the order of the day. Again, if a prince or princess must not get married to Ardos' children, they should get married to common Fulani and vice versa. The idea should be preached by both Communities' leaders. Therefore, the Fulani should uplift the law of accepting their daughters to get married only to Islamized indigenes.

Fulani in neighboring communities should also attend and actively participate in enthronement ceremonies in the area. It is common to see a chief from Weh, Bafmeng, Wum, Esu and others assist or play a vital role in the Enthronement of a chief in Kuk and vice versa. But it is difficult to see an Ardo from Weh or Bafmeng come and assist in Kung. This is because they believe there exists a wide boundary between them. This shows that their living together in the division is not effective. If Bafmeng people think that they are related to Kung people and are supposed to pay a visit or assist in any activity in Kung, the *Ardors* or Fulani in Bafmeng should follow suit and vice versa.

Again, within a community, Fulani should occupy important positions during the enthronement of a chief just as those other indigenes whose absence in the enthronement, handicaps the ceremony. This was the case with Abanda Ndueh Ngem in Kuk. These would also foster peaceful co-existence. Information from field work shows that mixed breeds in the area were always undermined. This should be discouraged in both indigenes and Fulani minds. These mixed breeds should be given equal rights like other indigenes. Witchcraft should be abolished. Recalcitrant Fulani practicing witchcraft should be expelled from the Community. Another important source of power and means of communication that can influence a community to live in harmony is sport.

All manners of sport programs, indeed, anything that pertains to sports, are instantly transmitted from one side of the globe to the other. Of course, there are other, more conventional ways to spread ideas, but by employing this means we can help the ideas of dialogue and tolerance spread; ideas that we believe to be so essential that they must be made known to everyone can be publicized by this means for the sake of the well-being of both our own people and all of humanity. For example, the 90 minutes spent on the field during a football match could be utilized. The game itself will give pleasure to the spectators in the stands and, at the same time, without any objection, a number of human virtues could be easily displayed. It is important to utilize this 90 minutes in this way.

For example, as was formerly done in sports matches, the victors and the defeated would come together, embrace themselves, shake hands and radiate sportsmanship to all the people who occasionally feel inclined to burn their seats, curse one another, or even attack one another with weapons; for them it would be highly beneficial to see and show the sports profession in a light that radiates good feelings and thoughts. Even if the spectators do not respect the fact that the players are shaking hands before leaving the stadium, in time the behavior of the players will break the cycle of hate and vengefulness, or at least, neutralize it. At this time, this is what the Menchum community equally needs.

In cases where erosion results from the removal of vegetation cover by cattle, the best means to protect will be to plant additional vegetation. This involves the planting of vegetation in areas that have never been vegetated before (aforestation) or in areas where the vegetation covers was removed by cattle (reafforestation). This will provide a long term solution once the trees are grown, it will help protect the soil as the roots will bind the soil and reduce surface runoff. The force of heavy rain will be checked by leaves and stems before it reaches the surface, certain plants and crops especially leguminous species such as beans will fix atmospheric Nitrogen in the soil and thus increase its quality. Cattle kept on grazing land should be within the carrying capacity of its pasture.

In order to revamp and speed up cooperation among the two settlers, we strongly recommend the reestablishment of WADA. Before WADA, very few aliens were attracted to Menchum Division, except for government services and Christianity. But the activities of WADA created a situation where the Wum Area increasingly became a crossroad of different peoples. The villages around the immediate vicinity of WADA central services moved in to the town, others came from other divisions of the North West Region of Cameroon (NWRC). The influx of aliens led to a blend of cultures and offered room for people to integrate in the Menchum area thereby positively altering boundaries. The oxen program for instance, did attract a good many trainees to the area from all over the NWRC

With the presence of WADA, Fulani will integrate themselves more in the Menchum division as they will start mingling with the indigenes in a high degree. Most of them will accelerate the attitude of dressing, drinking and dancing in bars like other people of the town. It is hoped that WADA will further promote the integration of intercommunity in the Menchum division by curbing the farmers-grazier conflict. It will continue mediating between both parties to see that conflicts are settled peacefully as it did during its reign. This could be seen under reference N0. MABI/FGM/M/18/84 of July 28<sup>th</sup>, 1975 when WADA

offered 25,000 francs CFA to a farmer given the destruction of his crop by Fulani cattle. WADA introduced the oxen system, which incorporated cattle in ploughing, harrowing, weeding and planting. If it resurfaces, it could help speed up cooperation between the farmers and graziers thereby enhancing intercommunity solidarity.

## APPENDIXES

### Appendix I: Questions Guide

1. Who are the Indigenes and Fulani?
2. What is a community and a boundary?
3. What is an Inter-community?
4. What is an Intra-community?
5. What are boundary mutations?
6. Where is Menchum Division located?
7. Where did the Fulani originate from?
8. When did the Fulani infiltrate the Menchum division?
9. What prompted the Fulani to migrate to Menchum Division?
10. How did the Fulani implant themselves in Menchum Division?
11. How were the Fulani organized in their early presence in Menchum Division?
12. What is the main economic activity of the Fulani and indigenes?
13. How did cattle grazing stimulate the local Menchum economy?
14. Were the Fulani warmly received by the indigenes?
15. Did the Fulani settled in well-defined indigenous territories?
16. Why were the Fulani initially very mobile?
17. What is *jangali* tax?
18. How was the attitude of Fulani towards the indigenes during their early contacts in Menchum Division and vice versa?
19. Did the Fulani mingle with the indigenes in indigenous traditional places?
20. Did the Fulani worship God like the indigenes and vice versa?
21. Where the Fulani initially interested in embracing formal education?
22. Who heads a Fulani community?
23. How did the Fulani construct their houses?
24. How did the indigenes influence the housing situation of the Fulani?
25. What is *pulaaku*?
26. Did the Fulani initially inter married with the indigenes?
27. How did the Fulani treat mixed breeds?

28. Did the Fulani initially consume indigenous meal and liquor and vice versa?
29. Were the Fulani involved in national politics?
30. Who are the indigenous leaders?
31. Did the indigenes initially admit the Fulani into their secret societies?
32. Were there any changes on both groups' initial organization?
33. What were the changes noticed in Menchum Division as a result of the presence of Fulani?
34. Were the changes orchestrated by the indigenes or Fulani?
35. What were some of the changes on the land occupancy system of Menchum Division?
36. How did WADA provoked boundary dynamics in Menchum Division?
37. How was trade and the British role a basis of boundary mutations in Menchum Division?
38. Were the changes fruitful or fruitless (positive or negative)?
39. In your opinion, is the presence of Fulani in Menchum division a blessing or a curse?
40. What were the outcomes of the changes witnessed on boundaries?
41. Were the outcomes beneficial to the Fulani or indigenes?
42. What role did traditional rulers, ardors and modern administrators play in curbing the negative effects of boundary dynamics in Menchum division?
43. Do you have any valuable document which could help improve this study?
44. Where can you direct this researcher to go harvest more information for the study?

## Appendix II: Research Permit

THE UNIVERSITY OF YAOUNDE I  
\*\*\*\*\*

POST GRADUATE SCHOOL FOR  
EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL  
SCIENCES  
\*\*\*\*\*

DOCTORAL RESEARCH UNIT FOR  
SOCIAL SCIENCES  
\*\*\*\*\*



UNIVERSITE DE YAOUNDE I  
\*\*\*\*\*

CENTRE DE RECHERCHE ET DE  
FORMATION DOCTORALE EN SCIENCES  
HUMAINES, SOCIALES ET EDUCATIVES  
\*\*\*\*\*

UNITE DE RECHERCHE ET DE  
FORMATION DOCTORALE EN SCIENCES  
HUMAINES ET SOCIALES  
\*\*\*\*\*

### RESEARCH PERMIT

I the undersigned, **Prof BOKAGNE BETOLO** Edouard, Head of the Department of History certify that **CHU ROGER CHE** (with registration number 13Q917), is a doctorate student in the aforementioned Department and is working on the topic **"FULANI PRESENCE AND INTER-COMMUNITY BOUNDARY MUTATIONS IN MENCHUM DIVISION, 1940s-2018"** under the supervision of Prof SOULEY MANE and Prof KUM GEORGE FUH

We recommend the administrations, documentation centers and the research institutions, national and international, to facilitate him in this research.

In testimony where of the present certificate is issued for the purpose it deserves.



Done in Yaounde, the 14 JUL 2021

The Head of Department

*Bokagne Betobo Edouard*  
Maitre de Conférences

## Appendix III: Alkali Court, Bamenda Division

No. N.A.1973/112

Divisional Office,  
Bamenda, 3<sup>rd</sup> May, 1945.The Resident,  
Cameroons Province,  
B u e a.Alkali's Court, Bamenda Division.REF: Your endorsement No.3597/56 of 25/4/45.

I have already corresponded with the Residents Adamawa and Bauchi Provinces asking if they could recommend any suitable men for the post of Alkalin Bamenda. The most suitable candidate appears to be Mallam Mohammadu Dahiru, at present Registrar of the Alkali's Court at Bauchi. He is a man of about 40 years of age, educated at Bauchi Primary School, he had 18 years experience as Village and District Scribe in various parts of Bauchi Emirate prior to being appointed to his present post in 1941. The Resident Bauchi considers he has the necessary qualification (as detailed in my letter to him), including personality and character, necessary for appointment as Alkalin Bamenda. I have now written to the Resident Bauchi asking whether he could be given leave to visit Kano in order that his legal knowledge may be tested by the Sheikhs of the Kano Law School.

2. It is not proposed, at first, to erect a permanent Court House. The Court will start in a temporary structure near Bamunka, Ndop Area, on a site recommended by the Fulani Council. The Alkali will also travel, and hold sessions at Abakpa (Bamenda), Jakiri, and perhaps other towns, until it has been proved by experience which would be the most suitable venue for a permanent Court. Application will then be made for funds to erect a permanent Court House, on an approved plan already obtained from the Provincial Engineer, Yola.

3. It is proposed to offer a flat-rate salary of £72 per annum and a free house. This is in accordance with practice in the Northern Provinces where Alkalies are never on incremental scales. Admittedly this rate is higher than that usually paid to "B" or "C" Grade Alkalies in the Northern Provinces, but we will not get a first-class man unless we offer an expatriation inducement. Bamenda has a poor reputation among Northern natives as being "foreign" country, miles from home, and with an unspeakable climate. There is also the principle, recognised in every country, that the more you pay your Judges, the less likely it is that they will be bribed. The Alkali will have the usual Native Administration privileges of leave and transport.

4. It will be necessary also for the Alkali to have a Scribe who can also double as Mufti, the duties of which post are rather vague but include looking up legal references, etc. The Scribe-Mufti will have to be able to speak Fulani, read Arabic and keep his Court Records in English, a combination of talents it would be difficult if not impossible to find in this Division. I have accordingly suggested to the Resident Bauchi that the Alkali should select his own Scribe-Mufti and, if the Resident Bauchi is satisfied that he is suitable, bring him to Bamenda with him. He will be paid the usual local rate for Court Scribes (Grade V; £24 - 3 - 30; 36 - 4 - 48).

5. In short the initial additional expenditure will be :-  
1 Alkali £72 per annum  
1 Scribe-Mufti £24 " "

There will also be a small expenditure for travelling and for

-2-

Source: NAB, cb/194/1, Bamenda Divisional Annual Report, 1947.

# Appendix IV: A Propitious letter Addressed by Aghem Chiefs to the Prime Minister

Chief Walang's Palace,  
Zongeku-Aghem,  
Wum Division,  
5th November, 1966.

Through The District Officer,  
Wum,  
To,  
The Honourable Prime Minister,  
Euea, West Cameroon.

Sir,

## Agricultural Farm Project Aghem-Wum

On the resolution taken today by all the Chiefs and the people of Aghem, concerning the area allocated for the Agricultural Farm settlement Scheme in Aghem:-

- (a) We now revoke that any previous letters or document in protest of the allocated Agricultural Farm area should be treated as null and void;
- (b) that the project should be commenced forth with as the Chiefs of Aghem and the people are prepared to help in the project;
- (c) that, any rumour that the Chiefs and the people of Aghem are still against the allocated area for this project is a false;
- (d) that we the undersigned Chiefs, on behalf of the Chiefs and people of Aghem pray that the Authorities concerned should use their good office to see that this project comes to immediate operation as it has long been over due.

Chief Wallang of Zongeku H.R.I. *Wallang*

Chief Ngong of Su R.T.P. ....

Chief Ngha of Magha: R.T.P. *Ngok*

Chief BusNjia of Waindo: R.T.P. .... *S B U A N J I P*

Chief Mei Wio  
Wajung R.T.P. ....

Chief Tiansen of Chelogha: R.T.P. ....

Chief M.K. Nchia of  
Zongeku ....

Chief Tia Nlun of Naikom: R.T.P. ....

Secretary: D.M. Tensen

Source: WCA, File No. DCM. 66, Wum Farm Institute Settlement, 1966.



## Appendix V: Vacancy for an Alkali in Wum Central

15  
14

PUBLIC NOTICE  
One Vacancy for an Alkali Scale III  
for Wum Central and Kom/Bum Councils

Applications are invited from suitably qualified persons to fill the vacant post of ALKALI to serve the Wum Central and Kom/Bum Councils of Wum Division.

2. Qualifications: Applicants should


- a) profess the Moslem faith;
- b) have a sound knowledge of the Koran and the Mohammedan or Islamic law;
- c) have a knowledge of the Arabic literature and, as an asset, also literate in English education;
- d) possess certificates in support of claims mentioned in (b) and (c) above.

3. Salary: The post attracts a salary in the Scale III of service the Local Authority / in West Cameroon.

4. Method of Application: Applicants should address their applications to the Divisional Officer, Wum Division, to reach him not later than 22nd May, 1966, which is the closing date. All applications should accompany copies and not originals of certificates, testimonials, etc., and indicate qualification, age and nationality of applicant.

5. Applicants now serving should pass their applications through their Heads of Departments.

A

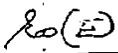
  
J.N. Ntui,  
Divisional Officer,  
Wum Division.

Ref. No. WCC. 96/508.

Wum Central Council Office,  
Wum Division.

Wum, 24th March, 1966.

JNN/KANGSON:





Source: WCA, File: No WCC. 96/508, judicial department, 1996.

# Appendix VI: Appointment of Indigenes as Tax Collectors

PROVINCE ADMINISTRATIVE DU  
NORD OUEST  
DEPARTMENT DE MENCHUM  
ARRONDISSEMENT DE WUM  
SOUS PREFECTURE DE WUM

ADMINISTRATIVE PROVINCE OF  
THE NORTH WEST  
MENCHUM DIVISION  
WUM SUB DIVISION  
WUM SUB PREFECTURE

2



decision No. AWM. 10/74 appointing  
1974/75 Poll/Cattle Tax collectors  
for Wum Sub-division.

THE DIVISIONAL OFFICER, WUM.

Mindful of the Constitution of 2nd June, 1972;

Mindful of the Decree No. 72/DF/349 of 24th July, 1972 organising  
the territorial Administration of the United Republic  
of Cameroon;

Mindful of the Decree No. 72/DF/422 of 26th August, 1972 defining  
the powers of the Heads of the Administrative Units;

Mindful of the Decree No. 72/DF/483 of 6th April, 1972 appointing  
Mr. Ebot Ntui Ogork, sub-Prefect for Wum sub-Division;

Mindful of the New Tax Code which came into force on 1st July,  
1973;

considering the necessity of service;

## DECIDES

ARTICLE 1: The persons whose names come hereunder are appointed  
Poll/Cattle Tax Collectors for 1974/75 for the villages/quarters  
indicated against their names.

## A G H E M C L A N

| <u>Village</u> | <u>Quarter</u>  | <u>Tax collector</u>   |
|----------------|---|--|
| 1. SU          | Cherombong<br>su Strangers<br>su Town<br>Kemerewo<br>Koah/Kechomlo<br>Elum<br>Ngwan<br>Bangwo<br>Guri<br>Guri<br>Kicheh<br>Nohangie<br>su Hausa | Joseph K. Kebai<br>Ben Mua<br>Batali Achuombong<br>Philip Anye<br>Kam Mbong Eke<br>Ewi Mbongmbe<br>Mola Ideng<br>Mendi Kam<br>Bota Ale<br>Echu Ndah<br>Simon N. Ngong<br>Joseph Kom Mbe<br>Mallam Karami |
| 2. NAIKOM      | Naikom Town<br>Naikom Overside<br>Naikom Bush   | Chief Ben Afu  |
| 3. MAGHA       | Magha Town<br>Magha Bush  | Chief Ngha   |
| 4. ZONGEKWO    | Zongekwo  | Chief Wallang  |
| 5. ZONGEFU     | Zongefu<br>Zongefeh<br>Ngoagha-fu<br>Wazon  | Chief P.K. Nchia   |

Appointment  
of indigenes as  
tax collectors.

- 2 -

| <u>Village</u>     | <u>Quarter</u>   | <u>Tax Collector</u>  |
|--------------------|--|---|
| 6. WANAGWEN        | Wajung<br>Watwe<br>zongetigha  | Ntam Mbong<br>puh Nnam<br>Kebuo Mbijem  |
| 7. WAINDO          | Waindo Down<br>Waindo Up<br>Itiaku<br>Atwom<br>Atwe                                  | Chief Simon Buanja<br>Buen Ejeh<br>Ichu Nchia Ikei<br>Dze Ghu Garbe<br>Mvo Ndum |
| 8. CH-EREGHA       | Cheregha   | Chief Tegha Nson  |
| 9. BU              | Wawa/Bu Town<br>Nyajua/Tingo<br>Menjang<br>Fuli/Ngotebue/<br>Wesu                    | Ngong Itung<br>Ben Achong<br>Ambe cheo  |
| <u>ESIMBI CLAN</u> |  |   |
| 1. BENAKUMA        | Benaber<br>Benakorena/Benahu<br>Benamugwalem<br>Benakuma/Muteng<br>Resettlement Area | Karena Bache Otah<br>Court Clerk, Esimbi  |
| 2. BENAGE          | Benage<br>Benge<br>Bumeng<br>Benakpo   | Chief Kudi Uzu  |
| 3. BENAKUHO        | Benakuho<br>Benafumo   | Chief wajuku Ane  |
| 4. BENABINGE       | Benabinge<br>Mbeti<br>Mbengwache<br>Benatenge  | Chief Ihimbru Ambgwe  |
| 5. BENAGUDI        | Benakumo<br>Benajiko<br>Benajifi   | Chief Ihimbru Otah Umbu   |
| 6. BUFI            | Bufi I & II  | Elias Wonomu Wajuku<br>Ihimbru  |
| 7. BENADE          | Benade<br>Benabite<br>Benatengema<br>Benache<br>Benayimache                          | Mr. Ihimbru Nji Abeg  |
| 8. BENAHUNDU       | Gash u<br>Benatumduruk<br>Benatumsu  | Mr. Etie wachong  |
| 9. BENATEDI        | Benatidi<br>Benadugu<br>Benatengum<br>Benagute                                       | Chief Ekibi Ofu   |

BABA/BEFANG CLAN

| <u>village</u> | <u>quarter</u>   | <u>Tax Collector</u>   |
|----------------|--|--|
| 1. MUKURU      | Buontong I & II<br>Buofon I<br>Buofon II<br>Buegeh<br>Buoboh                                       | Joseph Njinda<br>Simon Intang<br>vincent Oron<br>Daniel Kidi<br>Jacob Oron   |
| 2. MODELLE     | Oghumekwo I<br>Oghumekwo II<br>Buofobeng<br>Ifuaka<br>Buondong<br>Buahjang<br>Buezeh<br>Buozendi   | Chief Ayo<br>Nyo Akol.<br>Otia Mbwoa<br>Newman Igang<br>Mathias Otia<br>Jacob Ideng<br>Anosabi Igang<br>Mendi Oron     |
| 3. BEFANG      | Bokachombong I<br>" II<br>Okoaghong<br>Buokwo<br>Okomanjang<br>Befang 3 Corners I<br>" II<br>" III | Chief Ujang<br>Kache Ayang<br>Kache Afua<br>Beng Potuh<br>Kache Amah<br>Solomon Minter<br>" "<br>A.K. Ngea             |
| 4. OKOMINJANG  | Benabalam<br>Benakia (Banaba)<br>Banamankio<br>Banakir<br>Banabalum<br>Banasah<br>Bujab            | Asah Gbanawi<br>Thaddieus Chin<br>Fombwang Nduag<br>Adolf Munkong<br>Longboy Anyie<br>Tryself Kebi Ikrom<br>Agia Inchu |
| 5. BATOMO      | Agbala<br>Ketundu<br>Yakaniam<br>Walakikom<br>Njinitom<br>Bechenge                                 | Njumbe Awah<br>Jacob Akungu<br>Njosah<br>Ongum Umba  |
| 6. BEBA        | Muala<br>Mbebatomo I & II<br>Mbekunyam<br>Nsawka<br>Shisong<br>Mbencha<br>Mbamba<br>Fombe          | Chief John Tabasa<br><br>Achuoma Asanni<br>Thomas Mbeh   |

FUNGOM CLAN

|         |  |   |
|---------|--|---|
| 1. MMEN | Achaff<br>Ake<br>Azang I<br>Fongoh (Azang II)<br>Akulakang<br>Meku<br>Mbulom<br>Ipa Imu<br>Imu Ghain<br>Cha/Ipke<br>Mm en Hausa<br>Ise | Nya Nge<br>Felix Ndongnde<br>Agu Forku<br>Chah Natia<br>Che Mehfon<br>Ndong Ameh<br>Songha Nain<br>Akain Ndu<br>Teh Beng<br>Ambain Fongha<br>Saviki Taken<br>Ghanga Bue Nekong<br>.../4.. |
|---------|--|---|

| <u>Village</u> | <u>Quarter</u>   | <u>Tax Collector</u>   |
|----------------|--|--|
| 2. NYOS        | Nyos Achaff Town   | Pie Ndu  |
| 3. KUK         | Kumfutu<br>Achaff/Akomiji  | Kum K...<br>Muwanda Idong  |
| 4. ZHOA        | zhoa   | Joseph Z...  |
| 5. MENKAF      | Big Menkaf<br>small Menkaf   | Bamerda Golor<br>Stephen Kgesi   |
| 6. FUNGOM      | Achaff<br>Ake<br>Mbullom<br>Moku<br>Cha fungom   | Muh Kongor<br>Patil Bang   |
| 7. WEH         | Owet<br>Kefum<br>Keghe<br>Azoa<br>Su I & II<br>Weh Hausa suh   | Jacob Teh Sam<br>fuh Ndum<br>Mou Nnlen<br>Doh Nnlen<br>Jeremiah Kw<br>Sale Mallum  |
| 8. ISU         | Wime<br>Utoh<br>Kendongha<br>Kighe<br>Kejema I<br>Kejema II<br>tenaghe<br>Upwe<br>Kumuya<br>wavu<br>Winoghe<br>Munkep<br>gayama<br>Munka | Mathias G...<br>Small G...<br>Simon G...<br>pota Dun<br>Leb Kum<br>Godfrey ...<br>gih Ndum<br>Ndum M...<br>Joseph ...<br>gias Kum<br>Senschoy ...<br>Iki Ndum<br>Geh Zang<br>Kumba Uku Andah |
| 9. ABAR        | Biangtuka  | Kala Ghobi V/H   |
| 10. MISONG     | Misong   | Tryself Akpa   |
| 11. MASHI      | Bukpang I & II   | Nji Metang   |
| 12. MEMFU      | MEMFU  | Solomon Nchebo   |
| 13. MUNDABILI  | Mundabili  | John Nyumfor tem   |
| 14. KOSHIN     | pedau & buobu  | Solomon Yah B...   |
| 15. FANG       | Fang   | Thomas Joh   |
| 16. MUNKEN     | Munken   | stephen Nji Moh  |
| 17. KUNG       | Kung<br>Zah<br>Ngun<br>Mbuh  | Thomas Ngong<br>Jacob Ngah<br>Awang Nchumu<br>Sah Bi   |
| 18. BU-U       | Bu-u   | Mamfe Din  |
| 19. AKUM       | Akum   | Chief Achap...   |

.../5...

| <u>Village</u> | <u>quarter</u>             | <u>tax Collector</u>                             |
|----------------|----------------------------|--|
| 20. FRUBANA    | Frubana                    | Alfred Kumumb gyah                               |
| 21. BADJI      | Badji                      | Amadu Kwang                                      |
| 22. NSER       | Nser                       | Njinka Gangum                                    |
| 23. FRU-AWA    | Fr-u-awa<br>Nangwa<br>Lubo | Djam Keya Game<br>Asang Garadima<br>Tensiki sama |
| 24. YOKOBE     | Biando I<br>Biando II      | Sariki Senshi<br>Nwunuyi Quarter Head            |
| 25. KPEP       | Kpep                       | Danbeki Yerima                                   |

1974/75 POLL TAX AND JINGALI COLLECTORS FOR  
GRAZERS IN WUM SUB DIVISION MENCHUM

1. Ardo Alhadji Umaru of Wum      All Akus in Wum sub-Division.
2. Ardo Amadu Giwa of Mmen      All Bororow and Mmen  
indigenous graziers in  
Mmen Area.

ARTICLE 2:- The work of these tax collectors shall be to collect tax in their areas of jurisdiction, issue tickets to those who have paid their tax and pay the money so collected within ten days of collection to the Sub-Treasury, Wum where they will be given an official receipt for every payment made.

ARTICLE 3:- The tax collectors shall be paid rebates as prescribed in the new tax code. Their appointments terminate on the 30th June, 1975 and they are subject to re-appointment on condition that the collector's work for the previous year has been satisfactory. All money so collected up to 30th June, 1975 must be paid to the Sub-Treasurer and unclaimed tax tickets should be handed to the Divisional Officer Wum on 30th June, 1975. Tax defaulters will be prosecuted in court.

ARTICLE 4:- All Poll Tax and Cattle Tax collectors must submit quarterly list of defaulting or recalcitrant tax payers for their arrest and detention in accordance with Article 137 of the tax code.

ARTICLE 5:- That this decision shall be registered and published wherever it is necessary.

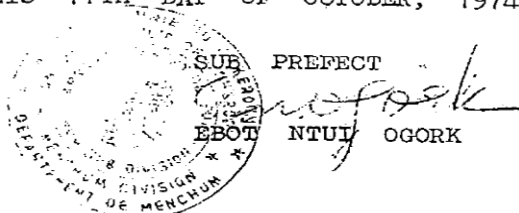
DATED AT WUM THIS 11TH DAY OF OCTOBER, 1974.

No. LWM. 49/251

Divisional Office,  
Wum sub-Division,  
Menchum Division..

11th October, 1974.

MNL/Kumcho



## Appendix VII: Presidential Decree Creating the Wum Area Development Authority (WADA)

UNITED REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON

PEACE-WORK-FATHERLAND

Decree No.73/2 of 3 January 1973  
to establish the Wum Perimeter  
Development Authority.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC

MINISTRE of the Constitution of 2 June 1972;

MINISTRE of Law No.71/LF/7 of 6 September 1971 to approve  
the Third Five Year Economic, Social and Cultural  
Development Plan;

MINISTRE of decree No.72/281 of 8 June 1972 to organize  
the Government of the United Republic of Cameroon;

MINISTRE of decree No.72/304 of 3 July 1972 to appoint  
members of the Government of the United Republic  
of Cameroon.

HEREBY DECREES AS FOLLOWS:

### PART I Appointment of the Authority

1. A public establishment of an industrial and  
commercial character, governed by the provisions of the  
present Decree, and having a legal personality and financial  
autonomy shall be appointed under the name of "Wum Perimeter  
Development Authority", hereinafter referred to as 'the  
Authority'.

### PART II Head Office, Functions and Duties of the

2. The Head Office of the Authority shall be established  
at Wum in Menchum Division.

3. The Authority shall be responsible for carrying out the development of the Wum Perimeter included in the Third Five Year Economic, Social and Cultural Development Plan. To that effect it shall:

- carry out the experiments necessary for the definition of a development programme of family holdings;
- provide guidance for farmers participating in the programme;
- place the necessary means of production and services at their disposal;
- finance agricultural credit for the farmers participating in the programme;
- process and market the produce resulting from the implementation of this programme;
- lend its assistance to the co-operatives of the farmers participating in the programme, and may, if necessary, delegate some of the tasks enumerated above to these co-operatives.

In carrying out its tasks, the Authority shall work in close collaboration with the administrative services and public bodies responsible for rural development and the promotion of the co-operative movement.

4. The Authority shall act as Project Director on behalf of the United Republic of Cameroon. In this capacity it shall administer all funds allotted for the purpose of financing studies and works entrusted to it.

5. The real estate property of the Wum Farm Settlement and Wum Training and Settlement Centre shall become the property of the Authority. Furthermore, the area of approximately 400 hectares situated between Wum and Veh on which the Wum Farm Settlement has been built shall be placed at the disposal of the Authority.



PART III - Operation of the Authority

Chapter 1 - Administration

6. The Authority shall be placed under the supervision of the Minister of Agriculture.

7. The Authority shall be administered by a Board of Directors and shall comprise the following members:

- the representative of the Minister in charge of Agriculture
- the representative of the Minister in charge of Planning.
- the representative of the Minister in charge of Commerce.
- the representative of the Minister in charge of Territorial Administration.
- the representative of the Minister in charge of Finance.
- the Prefect of Mentem.

The Chairman of the Board of Directors shall be appointed by Decree. Ministers shall designate their representatives by order.

Members of the Board shall work on an honorary basis. Expenses incurred by their transport and subsistence, in the discharge of their duties, shall be borne by the Authority.

The operation of the Authority shall be ensured by means of contributions from the State Budget, subsidies, possible endowments or by the remuneration of services rendered and by the sale of its produce.

8. The Board shall be convened by its chairman whenever the necessity arises and at least once every six months to draw up the budget and programme of forthcoming activities of the Authority and to approve the statement of accounts, balance sheet and general report of the Authority.

The deliberations of the Board shall not be valid unless four members at least are in attendance or duly represented. Decisions shall be taken by a majority vote and, in the event of a tie, the Chairman shall have the casting vote. The discussion of the Board shall be recorded in minutes entered in a register and duly signed by the Chairman.

9. The Board of Directors shall be fully empowered to deal with the administration of the Authority and the practical details of its working. It shall have authority in particular to:

- decide what sums shall be spent in the general administration and working of the Authority;
- accept and approve any agreements relating to the operation of the Authority;
- appoint and dismiss any members of the Authority staff and decide upon their remuneration on the proposal of the Director of the Authority;
- open at any public or private banking or credit establishments all advance accounts, cheque deposits and current postal accounts;
- encash all sums due to the Authority, pay moneys owing, draw up the necessary accounts for this purpose and issue or withdraw all receipts or acknowledgements;
- accept or consent to all gifts or acts of liberality;
- sign, accept, negotiate, endorse or pay off all negotiable instruments;
- agree to or cancel all leases and rents;
- act as plaintiff or defendant in the event of legal proceedings instituted by or against the Authority;
- close all accounts submitted for approval;

- empower any authorized agents to act on its behalf for specific purposes and within a certain time limit; it is not necessary that the said agents should belong to the Authority;

- contract loans and advances subjects to the guarantee of the Government.

The Board of Directors shall accept no commitments over and above the Authority's resources.

10. The Chairman of the Board shall represent the Authority in outside relations and in dealings with third parties.

11. The Authority shall be under the management of a Director, chosen for his competence in the field of rural development, under the authority of the Chairman of the Board. The Director shall be appointed on the proposal of the Minister of Agriculture and may be removed from office under the same conditions. He shall be assisted by a Deputy Director, to be appointed by decree of the President of the Republic on the proposal of the Minister of Agriculture.

The Director shall be responsible for giving effect to the decisions of the Board and for dealing with current affairs within the compass of the authority conferred on him by the Board. He shall represent the Board in dealings with third parties for carrying out the Decisions of the Board and of the Authority entrusted to him.

The Director and the Deputy Director shall attend the meetings of the Board in a consultative capacity.

Chapter 2 - Annual Accounts, Balance Sheet, Budget

12. The budget of the Authority shall be drawn up for a financial year extending from 1 July to 30 June of the following year; the budget estimates shall be submitted to the Board of Directors for approval prior to 15 April every year.

The Board of Directors shall appoint a specialized body to verify the accounts of the Authority drawn up on 30 June and to submit a report on the Administration of the budget of the Authority for the previous financial year.

PART IV - Liquidation

13. In the event of liquidation, the transmission of the property of the Authority shall be settled by decree.

PART V - Publication

14. The Minister of Agriculture shall be responsible for giving effect to the present Decree which shall be registered and published in French and English in the Official Gazette of the United Republic of Cameroon.

Yaounde, 3 January 1973

EL HADJ AHMADOU ABIBJO

# Appendix VIII: The 1978 Farmer-Grazier Law

## APPENDIX 44 THE 1978 FARMER-GRAZIER LAW.\*

REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON

PEACE - WORK - FATHERLAND

DECREE No. 78/263 OF 3/7/78  
Organizing the method of regulating  
Farmer/Grazier Disputes.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC

387

- organizing the usage of land in rural areas for agriculture and grazing in accordance with the needs of the population and other developments;
- defining the methods of using land for mixed farming. In this aspect, the Commission, considering the seasons of the year or the climatic conditions or the cycle of cultivation will organize the alternate use of the same piece of land by the farmer and the grazier. Such areas should not be privately owned by either group. Whoever uses such land does so only seasonally and not permanently;
- the exercise of permanent control over the land in order to ensure that the farmers and graziers respect the law given disputes; and
- the settlement of farmer/grazier disputes.

ARTICLE 3: Credits for the functioning of the Commission shall be inserted annually in the Budget of the Department of Lands.

ARTICLE 4: The partitioning of the Rural Area (into farming and grazing zones) and subsequent modification (of boundaries) will be done by an order of the Governor. Such Order will be publicized.

ARTICLE 5: Boundaries, as far as possible, should take cognizance of natural boundaries. Where this is not possible, the boundaries should be fixed by Surveyors using beacons supplied by the farmer and grazier concerned and planted at a distance of 100 meters from each other.

ARTICLE 6: In grazing areas, the movement of cattle from one pasture to the other or to drinking points must follow corridors of 25 meters on either side of the routes reserved for that purpose.

ARTICLE 7: (I) In grazing areas, every herd must be accompanied by a cowboy. (II) In forest areas where agriculture is  
all animals must have them confined.

The movement of animals shall be along public roads.

ARTICLE 8: In case of a dispute, the President of the Commission shall be notified by the most diligent party, notwithstanding any eventual legal penalties that may be inflicted on them in case of a contravention;

(II) The President having received a request, appoints immediately a Sub-Commission to investigate the complaint. This Sub-Commission will be made up of at least four members chosen from among members of the Farmer/Grazier Commission;

(III) The Sub-Commission must proceed to the area in dispute within three days (of having been appointed), study the damage, estimate the damage in accordance with the official evaluation tables in the presence of the farmer and the grazier and listen to the disputing parties. The report drawn up should be signed also by the parties in dispute;

(IV) On reception of the Sub-Commission's report, the President should bring the matter up during the next sitting of the Full Commission. In case of urgency he can summon the Commission at once.

ARTICLE 9: (I) The Commission can only deliberate when two-third of its members are present;

(II) The Commission's vote on the report of the Sub-Commission will be by secret ballot after examining the written report of the Sub-Commission and hearing views of its members where there is a tie, the President has a casting vote;

(III) The decision arrived at, shall enter the minutes of the meeting and signed by all present. This said decision shall be executed by an order of the Prefect and notified to the diligents with a copy to the Ministers incharge of Lands, Agriculture and Animal Breeding.

(IV) The decision of the Commission is sovereign where the latter pronounces on disputes bearing on the delimitation of agricultural and grazing zones in rural areas or on the use of zones of mixed farming.

ARTICLE 10: Infractions of the articles of this Decree shall be punished in conformity with Articles 317, R368 paragraph 6, R369 paragraph 6 and R370 paragraph 12 of the Penal Code.

ARTICLE 11: The present Decree which abrogates all others bearing anything to the contrary, notably Articles 14, paragraph 1; and 15 paragraph 4 of Decree No. 76/166 of 27/8/76 fixing the methods of using National Lands and shall be registered and published in the official Gazette in French and English.

Yaounde, July 3, 1978

The President of the Republic

(Sgd)

AMADOU AHIDJO.



## Appendix IX: Life Threatening

UNFILED-11/1/74  
 Veterinary Control Post  
 Befang - Wum 80  
 2/5/86  
 The Senior Divisional Officer  
 Menchum Division - Wum  
 Sir  
Threatening of Life  
 I have the honour and respect to report to you first as a matter of urgency that my life was threatened today by some cattle traders from Bamenda who passed by Wum when executing my official duties.  
 I am the chief veterinary control post Befang whose duties exclude the control of Trade Cattle through this post to other Divisions or Provinces.  
 - That last Saturday 30 May, 1986 and Monday 5th instant I discovered that some traders had not got enough documents to allow them pass and called for the attention of the Municipal Administrator who was in the situation using Gendarme officers from Wum when 28,000 or twenty eight thousand francs was recovered. Many other uncompleted documents were sent to my Head Office Wum for action as it is the case.  
 After that my life was threatened by one Mr. Abiya Asach Joseph who came and stayed the whole night at my door with a knife and I was alerted by my neighbours when I escaped. I reported this first incident to Police Wum where investigation is still going on. Now the one of this morning



I do not yet know arrived Befang  
 and threatened my life. They said  
 they are going to send me a  
 small boy. The people of Befang  
 who were around have asked me  
 not to be slow in this matter  
 because they mean that they  
 will send me lightning.  
 I am first because of official job  
 my life is in danger and I  
 humbly ask that the Prefect will  
 use his good office to see that  
 I be protected.  
 Treat very serious Sir  
 because I am now in the hands  
 of bad elements.  
 Your humble servant.



DIRECTOR OF VETERINARY  
 CONTROL POST BEFANG

GALADIMA SIMON KIKI

## Appendix X: Exploitation of Cattle Economy in Esu

REPUBLIQUE DU CAMEROON  
Paix — Travail — Patrie  
MINISTÈRE DE L'ELEVAGE, DES PÊCHES  
ET DES INDUSTRIES ANIMALES  
DELEGATION PROVINCIALE DU NORD-OUEST  
SECTEUR DE LA MENCHUM

## APPENDIX 8

REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON  
Peace — Work — Fatherland  
MINISTRY OF LIVESTOCK, FISHERIES  
AND ANIMAL INDUSTRIES  
NORTH-WEST PROVINCIAL DELEGATION  
MENCHUM SECTOR

N° MINEPIA/SEPIA/H/C2/00117

Réf. :

WUM, le - 3 AVRIL 1986  
the

OBJET/Subject :

Le Chef de Secteur de l'Elevage, des Pêches et des Industries  
Animales de la Menchum

The Chief of Sector Livestock, Fisheries and Animal  
Industries Menchum Division

M. Monsieur LE PREFET DE LA MENCHUM  
to

- W U M -

J'ai eu l'honneur le 22 Février 1986 de vous rendre compte  
que les éléments de la police de ESU exploitaient considérablement les éleveurs de cet-  
te zone d'élevage.

Je reviens à nouveau de porter à votre connaissance que ces  
éléments de police continuent à plein feu leur néfaste activité d'exploitation de l'hom-  
me par l'homme, préjudiciable au développement des éleveurs.

C'est ainsi que, il a été porté à ma connaissance le 24 mars  
1986 que le chef de la police de ESU a enfermé dans sa cellule :

1°) Monsieur HAROUNA BI WADJIRI ; enfermé le vendredi 21 mars  
1986 à 10 heures au samedi 22 mars 1986 à 11 heures après l'avoir relaxé il a donné  
15.000 frs sans quittance. La parole du chef de la police " donne moi quelque chose  
pour que je ne t'enferme pas ". Ensuite après avoir relaxé Harouna de la cellule; il  
a promi qu'il reste encore des problèmes et qu'il va conduire Harouna au Tribunal.

2°) Monsieur BOURA : Eleveur à ESU enfermé le 22 mars 1986.

3°) Monsieur HASSAN : Eleveur de la même localité enfermé le  
23 mars 1986.

Compte tenu de mon programme très chargé, je n'ai pas eu l'oc-  
casion de rencontrer et d'entendre ces deux derniers éleveurs à mon Bureau.

Je vous serais reconnaissant Monsieur le PREFET de bien vou-  
loir faire prendre des mesures énergiques pour enrayer les maux qui ruinent cette par-  
tie de la MENCHUM./-

AMOLATIONS :  
- MINEPIA Ydé  
- GOUVERNEUR Bda  
- DPEPIA N.O. Bda



DJABEC DJIBILLA

Source: DWA, File: No.128/655/Vol.III, preSs and Information, 1986.

## Appendix XI: Livestock Exploitation in Esu

MINISTÈRE DE L'ELEVAGE, DES PÊCHES  
ET DES INDUSTRIES ANIMALES  
DELEGATION PROVINCIALE DU NORD-OUEST  
SECTEUR DE LA MENCHUM

MINISTRY OF LIVESTOCK  
AND ANIMAL INDUSTRIES  
NORTH-WEST PROVINCIAL DE  
MENCHUM SECTOR

N° MINEPIA/SEPIA/M.S/C2/00122.-

Réf. :

WUM, le  
the

16 OCT. 1987

OBJET/Subject : EXPROPRIATION ELEVEURS A ESU.-

Le Chef de Secteur de l'Elevage, des Pêches et des Industries  
Animales de la Menchum

The Chief of Sector Livestock, Fisheries and Animal  
Industries Menchum Division

à M.onsieur LE PREFET DE LA MENCHUM  
to

CONFIDENTIAL

*SP-Return to  
me when the  
proprietor is around  
8/28/10/87*

- W U M -

Faisant suite à la lettre des notables traditionnels de  
ESU en date du 17 JUILLET 1987, qui vous a été adressée, sur l'octroi d'une  
très grande importante zone d'Elevage ( EWO et KENJONG ), à partir de la rivière  
EMIA, jusqu'à la rivière KASINA ALA, sur la Route ESU - FURU-AWA soit environ  
50 km de long et 15 km de large; à ELBA RANCH, pour un projet de développement  
d'un Elevage bovin moderne, j'ai l'honneur de porter à votre connaissance que  
compte tenu de cette situation, je m'étais transporté successivement, le 23 et  
24 AOUT 1987, le 19 et 21 SEPTEMBRE 1987 et enfin le 07 OCTOBRE 1987, sur le li  
pour recenser tous les éleveurs chefs de famille et leurs biens dans cette zone  
en question.

La liste ci-dessous énumérée vous donnera, l'idée d'étu-  
dier la possibilité d'expropriation, d'indemnisation et de recasement de ces  
éleveurs ailleurs dans le département de la Menchum.

.../ 2..

| N°                 | Nom de l'éleveur chef de famille<br>Noms des éleveurs chefs de famille | Nombre de<br>membres<br>famille | Nombre<br>boeufs | Nombre<br>moutons | Nombre<br>maisons<br>torées | Nombre<br>maisons<br>en paille | CHAMPS DES |        |        |        |        |      |
|--------------------|--|---------------------------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------|
|                    |  |                                 |                  |                   |                             |                                | Plantain   | Manioc | Potato | Macabo | Iguane | Mais |
| 1.                 | WATRE Abdouh 1/2/82<br>NW/4248/82 du 8/8/82 - Vum                      | 10                              | 546              | -                 | 3                           | 54                             | -          | -      | -      | -      | -      | -    |
| 2.                 | Sanda Shituma 10/5/82<br>NW/1445/82 du 25/8/82 - Vum                   | 27                              | 250              | 10                | -                           | 29                             | -          | -      | -      | -      | -      | -    |
| 3.                 | DONGOURI Wadjiri   | 17                              | 30               | 17                | -                           | 8                              | -          | -      | -      | -      | -      | -    |
| 4.                 | BARONE Wadjiri 4/5/82<br>NW/1295/84 du 30/5/84 - Vum                   | 21                              | 300              | 17                | -                           | 8                              | -          | -      | -      | -      | -      | -    |
| 5.                 | MEYENE Samba 4/5/82<br>NW/1225/85 du 25/7/85 - Vum                     | 10                              | 80               | -                 | -                           | 6                              | -          | -      | -      | -      | -      | -    |
| 6.                 | SULE Badjo   | 6                               | 110              | -                 | -                           | 5                              | -          | -      | -      | -      | -      | -    |
| 7.                 | WATRE Dega 26/1/87<br>NW/30/8754/85 du 23/9/85 - Eau                   | 7                               | 200              | -                 | -                           | 8                              | -          | -      | -      | -      | -      | -    |
| 8.                 | IBRAHIM Danjoro 1/1/82<br>NW/30/0135/85 du 7/5/85 - Eau                | 19                              | 150              | 50                | 5                           | 7                              | 1          | -      | -      | -      | -      | -    |
| 9.                 | SADOU Ols  | 4                               | 30               | -                 | -                           | 3                              | -          | -      | -      | -      | -      | -    |
| 10.                | ABDUL Ols 23/11/83<br>NW/1184/83 du 19/7/83 - Vum                      | 1211                            | 16100            | 7                 | -                           | 4                              | -          | -      | -      | -      | -      | -    |
| 11.                | SULE Terima 16/2/84<br>NW/0675/83 du 9/5/83 - Vum                      | 13                              | 175              | 32                | 2                           | 13                             | -          | -      | -      | -      | -      | -    |
| 12.                | OIAE Samba 5/7/84<br>NW/1184/83 du 19/7/83 - Vum                       | 112                             | 15020            | 2                 | 1                           | 7                              | -          | -      | -      | -      | -      | -    |
| TOTAL = à reporter |  | 317                             | 27091            | 251               | 11                          | 106                            | 1          | -      | -      | -      | -      | -    |

.../3..

2/6/87

-3-

| N°  | Noms des Eleveurs chefs famille              | Nombre de membres famille | Nombre boeufs | Nombre moutons | Nombre maisons tolées | Nombre maisons en paille | CHAMPS DES |        |        |        |        |      |
|-----|--|---------------------------|---------------|----------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------|
|     |  |                           |               |                |                       |                          | Plantain   | Manioc | Potato | Macabo | Ignane | Maïs |
|     | Report                                       | 138                       | 2109          | 151            | 11                    | 4                        |            |        |        |        |        |      |
| 13. | MALO Sambo<br>NW7/0889/85 du 2/5/85, Wum     | 37                        | 300           | -              | 22                    | 19                       |            |        |        |        |        |      |
| 14. | MUCU Joro<br>NW30/0109/85 du 30/5/85, Esu    | 11                        | 150           | 10             | 3                     | 2                        |            |        |        |        |        |      |
| 15. | MAHA Modayi                                  | 17                        | 250           | 17             | -                     | 8                        |            |        |        |        |        |      |
| 16. | BUDA Bagni<br>NW7/0502/82 du 4/5/82, Wum     | 21                        | 350           | 17             | -                     | 8                        |            |        |        |        |        |      |
| 17. | MADOUYOU Bagni<br>NW7/0503/82 du 4/5/82      | 15                        | 200           | 10             | -                     | 9                        |            |        |        |        |        |      |
| 18. | LEBU Debu<br>NW7/1411/83 du 22/8/83, Wum     | 17                        | 50            | 30             | -                     | 5                        |            |        |        |        |        |      |
| 19. | TUDU Wajiri<br>NW30/0026/87 du 26/1/87, Esu  | 7                         | 220           | -              | -                     | 3                        |            |        |        |        |        |      |
| 20. | ADINU Wajiri<br>NW30/0001/87 du 5/1/87, Esu  | 10                        | 150           | -              | -                     | 4                        |            |        |        |        |        |      |
| 21. | BAWUIDO Wajiri<br>NW7/0505/82 du 2/5/82, Wum | 3                         | 80            | -              | -                     | 2                        |            |        |        |        |        |      |
| 22. | JAB M'ic<br>NW7/2247/83 du 29/11/83, Wum     | 13                        | 60            | -              | -                     | 6                        |            |        |        |        |        |      |
| 23. | AULA Jibirih<br>NW7/381/84 du 16/2/84, Wum   | 12                        | 183           | -              | -                     | 8                        |            |        |        |        |        |      |
| 24. | MAMA Jebel<br>NW7/1768/84 du 16/7/84, Wum    | 13                        | 97            | 20             | -                     | 8                        |            |        | 1      |        |        |      |
|     | TOTAL = à reporter                           | 317                       | 4271          | 255            | 16                    | 156                      | 1          | 1      |        |        |        |      |

.../4...

- 4 -

| N°  | Noms des Eleveurs chefs famille              | Nombre de membres famille | Nombre boeufs | Nombre moutons | Nombre maisons folées | Nombre maisons en dalle | CHAMPS DES |        |        |        |        |      |
|-----|--|---------------------------|---------------|----------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------|
|     |  |                           |               |                |                       |                         | Plantain   | Manioc | Potato | Macabo | Igname | Mais |
|     | Report                                       | 317                       | 4,271         | 295            | 16                    | 196                     | 1          | 1      | -      | -      | -      | 1    |
| 25. | KURI Bira<br>NW7/1121/87 du 7/7/87, Wum      | 20                        | 540           | 15             | 2                     | 7                       | -          | -      | -      | -      | -      | -    |
| 26. | RAMANA Jaé<br>NW7/1727/82 du 29/11/82, Wum   | 40                        | 5,681         | 15             | -                     | 24                      | 6          | -      | -      | -      | -      | -    |
| 27. | MUSA Usamni<br>NW7/1753/82 du 29/11/82, Wum  | 14                        | 101           | 16             | -                     | 4                       | 1          | 1      | -      | -      | -      | -    |
| 28. | LEB Bani<br>NW7/1286/83 du 4/8/83, Wum       | 16                        | 200           | -              | -                     | 4                       | -          | -      | -      | -      | -      | -    |
| 29. | DéBO Bouka<br>NW7/1286/83 du 4/8/83, Wum     | 10                        | 60            | -              | -                     | 3                       | -          | 1      | -      | -      | -      | 1    |
| 30. | GWIDE Doka<br>NW7/6607/85 du 2/3/85, Eya     | 23                        | 300           | 30             | -                     | 9                       | -          | 1      | -      | 1      | -      | -    |
| 31. | Ma Lam AMADOU Harouna                        | 28                        | 254           | -              | -                     | 10                      | -          | -      | -      | -      | -      | -    |
| 32. | DIANGA Baga                                  | 11                        | 160           | 16             | -                     | 5                       | -          | -      | -      | -      | -      | -    |
| 33. | DAMALI Nema Jé<br>NW7/0825/86 du 2/6/86, Wum | 15                        | 35            | 6              | -                     | 4                       | 1          | 1      | 1      | -      | -      | -    |
| 34. | UMARU Bello<br>NW7/0756/87 du 25/5/87, Wum   | 23 maisons totales        | 31            | -              | -                     | 6                       | -          | -      | -      | -      | -      | -    |
| 35. | HASSAN Bello                                 | 13 maisons totales        | 60            | -              | -                     | 6                       | -          | -      | -      | -      | -      | -    |
| 36. | Salé BRO<br>NW7/132/83 du 8/8/83, Wum        | 9                         | 100           | 4              | 2                     | 4                       | 1          | 1      | 1      | -      | 1      | -    |
|     | TOTAL = à reporter                           | 525                       | 6,493         | 357            | 20                    | 242                     | 6          | 6      | 2      | 11     | 1      | 2    |

1 champ des ignames  
champs des...

.../5..

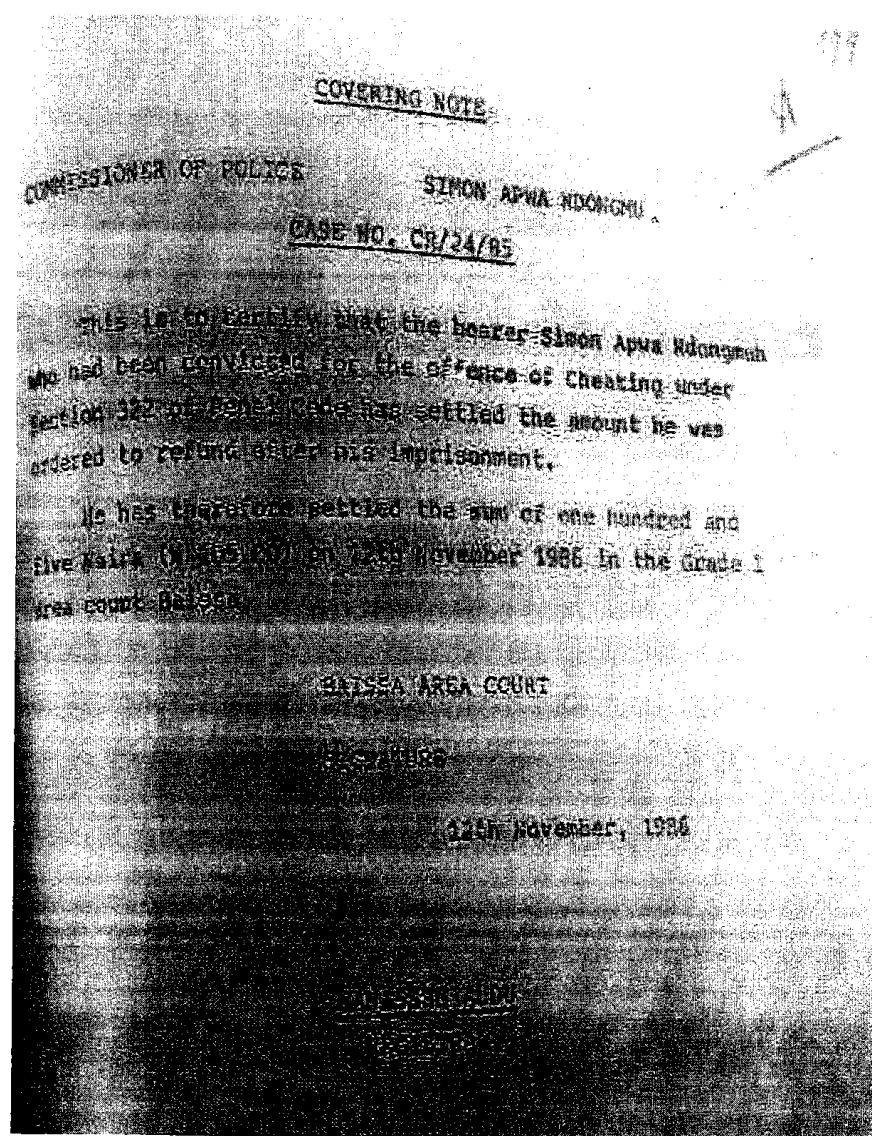
- 5 -

| N°  | Noms des Eleveurs chefs famille            | Nombre de membres famille | Nombre boeufs | Nombre moutons | Nombre maisons tolées | Nombre maisons en paille | CHAMPS DES |        |        |        |        |
|-----|--|---------------------------|---------------|----------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
|     |  |                           |               |                |                       |                          | plantain   | Manioc | Patate | Macabo | Igname |
|     |  | 525                       | 6.193         | 357            | 20                    | 242                      | 6          | 6      | 2      | 1      | 1      |
|     | Report                                     |                           |               |                |                       |                          |            |        |        |        |        |
| 37. | Dankwo - ERO<br>NM7/1320/83 du 8/8/83, Wum | 8                         | 200           | -              | 2                     | 5                        | 1          | -      | -      | -      | -      |
| 38. | PANTON Modat<br>NM7/1523/83 du 2/9/83, Wum | 16                        | 200           | 30             | 1                     | 6                        | -          | -      | -      | -      | -      |
|     | TOTAL GENERAL                              | 549                       | 6.593         | 387            | 23                    | 253                      | 7          | 6      | 2      | 1      | 1      |

## SOMMAIRE

38 chefs de famille  
 549 membres de famille  
 6593 boeufs  
 387 moutons  
 23 maisons tolées  
 253 maisons en pailles  
 7 champs des plantains  
 6 champs des manioes  
 2 champs des patates  
 1 champ des macabos  
 1 champ des ignames  
 2 champs des nats

## Appendix XII: Covering Note on Boundary Conflict



Source: File no. 4055/MR/EGNW.64/SP, The State of Furu-Awa-Nigeria Border of 05/09/1987, 20/08/2016.



# Appendix XIII: The Presidential Decree liquidating of WADA

## The Presidential Decree Liquidating WADA

REPUBLIQUE DU CAMEROUN

PAIX - TRAVAIL - PATRIE

DECRET N° 89 / 0 3 7 DU 13 JAN. 1989  
 Portant dissolution de la Mission de  
 Développement du Périmètre de WUM  
 (WUM AREA DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY - WADA).

LE PRESIDENT DE LA REPUBLIQUE,

VU la Constitution ;

VU le décret n° 73/2 du 3 janvier 1973 portant création de la  
 Mission de développement du Périmètre de WUM ;

D E C R E T E :

### ARTICLE 1er.

La Mission de Développement du Périmètre de WUM est  
 dissoute à compter de la date de signature du présent décret dont  
 les modalités d'application seront déterminées par arrêté.

### ARTICLE 2.

Le présent décret sera enregistré puis publié au Journal  
 Officiel en français et en anglais. /-

YAOUNDE, le 13 JAN. 1989

LE PRESIDENT DE LA REPUBLIQUE,

Source: Archives of J.N. Gabuin, Bmenda

## Appendix XIV: A Request for the Creation of a Cattle Market in Mmen

Paix - Travail - Patrie  
 MINISTÈRE DE L'ECONOMIE ET DES FINANCES  
 SECRETARIAT GÉNÉRAL  
 PROVINCE DU NORD - OUEST  
 DÉPARTEMENT DE LA MENCHUM  
 CONTRÔLE DÉPARTEMENTAL DES FINANCES

REF. 10 /MINEFI/SG/DCF/WUM/ 81

Objet: CATTLE MARKET FOR MMEN  
 Subject: AN ABSOLUTE NECESSITY.

Peace - Work - Fatherland  
 MINISTRY OF ECONOMY & FINANCE  
 GENERAL SECRETARIAT  
 NORTH WEST PROVINCE  
 MENCHUM DIVISION  
 DIVISIONAL CONTROL OF FINANCE

WUM the 25 NOV 1998  
 Le

The Divisional Controller  
 Le Contrôleur Départemental

To: M. THE DIVISIONAL DELEGATE,  
 à  
 MINEPIA WUM MENCHUM DIVISION.

I have the honour to write and call your attention to the importance and necessity of the subject matter cited above.

You are already aware of the volume of revenue brought into the Government Treasury on weekly basis, by Cattle markets around us. A place like Mmen with a lot of cattle which are being transported to Fundong daily ought to have had a cattle market. Revenue to be paid in MENCHUM Division is consequently being collected by Boyo Division.

I am therefore appealing to you to use your sense of a good service head to set up a cattle market at Mmen which will enable us collect revenue for the MENCHUM Public Treasuries.

DIVISIONAL CONTROLLER OF FINANCE  
 MENCHUM DIVISION



C.C.- THE S.D.O MENCHUM  
 - THE SUB DELEGATE, MINEPIA WUM

The above for your necessary action.

*Belise Jonathan Gata (Shey)*  
 Senior Executive Off. Off. M.E. / Public Law

Source: DAW File: No E28/655/Vol.III, Press and Information, 1984.

# Appendix XV: A Response to the Request for the Creation of a Cattle Market in Mmen

141/

11 NOV 1998

## CATTLE MARKET FOR MMEN

The Divisional Delegate  
of MINEPIA WUM-MENCHUM  
Division.

As per letter reference N°.10/MINEFI/SG/DCF/WUM/81 of 05/11/98 from the Divisional Controller of Finance Wum; I have the honour to hint you that the service of MINEPIA does not create markets but could recommend its creation to the competent Municipal or Administrative Authority.

Consequently, I am requesting you to make a feasibility study of creating a cattle market at Mmen and make your recommendations accordingly.

THE PREFECT



PRISONS

# Appendix XVI: Intimidation and Arrest

MINER To app  
and necessary  
To: Divisional Delegate, MINEPIA  
URGENT Request 9/8/2002  
Sir, MENCHUM  
render account

04/08/2002

SENIOR DIVISIONAL OFFICE-WUM  
MENCHUM DIVISION  
**RECEIVED**  
DATE 09-AUG-2002 N° 677

Subject: INTIMIDATION AND ARREST.

C I have the honour to report to you for your action that on Saturday 27/08/2002 at 12:15 p.m., was intimidated and arrested by two Gendarme Officers from Zhoa which I don't know their names but can be gotten from the Brigade Commander of Zhoa. I was called by Mr. Tanghi Kifuh my butcher to do inspection of Bovine meat that he slaughtered. When I was retaining from the sale slab, I saw the two gendarme officers in the market and went and greeted them, only to received the greatest surprise when the Boss only responded to me that they came for me and that I was not to step from there. that I should complete my statements which I gave on the 18/06/2002, I accepted giving. He left that issue and asked me to present my Identity Card. I told him, that it was in my house, that I came out from my house to do meat inspection. That he used it on the 18/06/2002 when he was taking my statements. Since they had plans to arrest me, he intimidated me and arrested me even though knowing me well.

D I was tortured, cruelly handed and degrading treatment was given to me in the Public. This was in market square, many people were present, since it was eve of Mmen Market day and also a country Sunday (kilian Gama's store), he was present. When I asked them why I was arrested and where was the warrant of arrest ordering them to arrest me, the boss of the Gendarme Officers pushed me and the other Gendarme kicked

me and that's how they continued through the population from market square to motor park into the house I was detain till 2:55 p.m. On the way to the house where I was detained, I saw one worker of Bafmeng Health Centre, and sent him to my house to take my Identity Card from my wife, which he brought immediately. They still refused to release me and told me that they have arrested people more than me and nothing happen with them, so they can still take me to Zhao and continue to detain me there. As I was with handcuff, many people that heard the matter came. There came also one retire Commissioner by name Mr. Fukah Peter who met me with the handcuff and my Identity Card on the table but the Boss of the Gendarme was only forcing me to sign my statements that I was arrested because I hadn't Identity Card. Mr. Fukah Peter asked the Gendarme whether he knew him, the Gendarme accepted. He then asked why I was with a handcuff; Mr. Fukah Peter left then, the Gendarme removed the handcuff from my hands and followed Mr. Fukah Peter outside and told Mr. Fukah that if he didn't arrest me, his Brigade Commander will accuse him to have taken bribe from me and Mr. Fukah Peter asked him that Brigade Commander will accuse you, that a Civil Servant and head of Service will give you bribe now? Then left. The Gendarme force one man to sign that they arrested me because I hadn't Identity Card and the man refused signing since he was seeing my Identity Card.

At 6:30 p.m. they wrote convocation that I should report at Zhao on 07/08/2002 that they were not to give my Identity Card. When I took it and showed no fear in me, they saw that I was firm and I know my rights. So they took the convocation from me and torn it then gave me my Identity Card and told me to forgive them. I told them that I cannot easily forgive them for the serious harm done to me. They should apologise in the same public that they degraded me.

Sir, reference my letter to you dated 12/07/2002, you can see that they started intimidating me on 18/06/2002 when they were taking my statements in my Office in Mmen.

So Sir, I wish that same treatment they gave to me should be given to them and even double for gendarmes should not use Government Uniform and Office for their personal interest when they are influence.

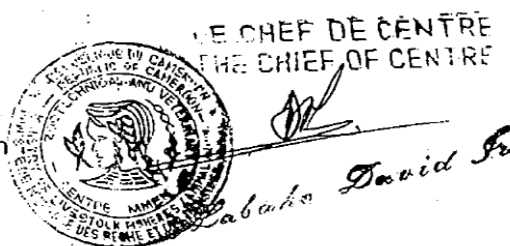
The matter is Farmer/Grazier problem and if I as Chief of Zootechnical and Veterinary Centre was wrong to ask a farmer who worked in grazingland and made a weak fence to make a strong fence, my letter would have been challenge by the Farmer/Grazier Commission not to be tortured degraded by Gendarmes, when the matter has not been forwarded to them by the Chairman of aforementioned commission.

I appeal that the Commission should visit the land and take their decision for if the farmer did not know that he was farming in the grazingland, he would have not made a fence. There is even a Court Decision that sent off one farmer from that area in 1995 before I was even transfer to Mmen in 1998.

The persons' names mentioned here can be interview to know my truth.

Cc.

- The Senior Divisional Officer Menchum
- The Company Commander, Menchum
- The Divisional Officer, Fungom
- The Sub-Delegate, MINEPIA, Wum



Sirs, I appeal for your prompt action for I am not free now in Mmen.

## Appendix XVII: Payment of Njangali Taxes

NORTH WEST PROVINCE

MENCHUM DIVISION

SENIOR DIVISIONAL OFFICE, WUM

PRIVATE SECRETARIAT

TEL: 3362524/3362557

REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON  
PEACE - WORK - FATHERLAND

N°. 043/L/E28/PS/CA41106

WUM, the

THE SENIOR DIVISIONAL OFFICER

TO THE SUB-DIVISIONAL OFFICER  
FOR WUM CENTRAL SUBDIVISIONSUBJECT: Payment of Jangali taxes. ©

My attention has been drawn by the Provincial control team for the evaluation of Jangali tax, that visited Wum on 09/10/06, to the fact that some graziers of your administrative unit have refused to pay Jangali taxes.

Prominent amongst them are: Alhadji Baba Dampolo and NI John FRU NDI.

May I request you to include their names in the exercise for 2006 and ensure that they actually pay even the accrued amounts of previous years.

Feed me back on difficulties encountered in the course of this exercise.

C.C.  
- THE GNWP/B'DA.



Source: DAW, File: No. E28/PS, Veterinary Department, 2006.

# Appendix XVIII: Payment of Vaccination Fee

REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON

PEACE - WORK - FATHERLAND

NORTH WEST PROVINCE

MENCHUM DIVISION

SENIOR DIVISIONAL OFFICE, WUM

PRIVATE SECRETARIAT

TEL: 3362524/3362557

REPUBLIQUE DU CAMEROUN

PAIX - TRAVAIL - PATRIE

PROVINCE DU NORD-OUEST

DEPARTEMENT DE LA MENCHUM

PREFECTURE DE WUM

SECRETARIAT PARTICULIER

N°. 014 /1/E28/PS/ CA41126

Wum, the \_\_\_\_\_

THE SENIOR DIVISIONAL OFFICER

TO THE DIVISIONAL OFFICER FOR  
FUNGOM SUBDIVISION.

**SUBJECT:** Payment of vaccination fees

I have the honour to request you to convoke the following graziers who are owing CDNO various amounts of money for mass vaccination fees not paid in 2003 exercise, and instruct them to pay those monies to their creditor as soon as possible, then present their receipts to you before the 20<sup>th</sup> October 2006,

Render me account of your action.

Those graziers are per the board below:

| S/N | Names of Graziers | Amounts owed | Location | ZVC     |
|-----|-------------------|--------------|----------|---------|
| 1   | Ali Buba          | 28860        | Bafmeng  | Bafmeng |
| 2   | Francis Ngea      | 8190         | Bafmeng  | Bafmeng |
| 3   | Yamsa Adamu       | 16770        | Bafmeng  | Bafmeng |
| 4   | Bashiru Abdu      | 14430        | Bafmeng  | Bafmeng |
| 5   | Clement Tah       | 3600         | Esu      | Esu     |
| 6   | Alhadji Rogo      | 20280        | Esu      | Esu     |
| 7   | Mbodo Salle       | 21450        | Esu      | Esu     |
| 8   | Hassan Bangoj     | 6720         | Esu      | Esu     |



# Appndix XIX: Authorisation of Kum Amadu as a Butcher

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REPUBLIQUE DU CAMEROUN  
PAIX - TRAVAIL - PATRIE

MINISTÈRE DE L'ÉLEVAGE DES PÊCHES  
ET DES INDUSTRIES ANIMALES

DELEGATION DEPARTEMENTALE DE LA MENCHUM  
WUM

PROVINCE DU NORD OUEST

Your Ref. No. \_\_\_\_\_

Subject: Authorisation of a Butcher

REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON  
PEACE - WORK - FATHERLAND

MINISTRY OF LIVESTOCK, FISHERIES AND  
ANIMAL INDUSTRIES

MENCHUM DIVISIONAL DELEGATION  
WUM

NORTH WEST PROVINCE

Ref: MINEPIA/DDEPIA/MNI/57/1106

DATE: \_\_\_\_\_

THE DIVISIONAL DELEGATE

To the Senior Divisional Officer  
- Menchum -

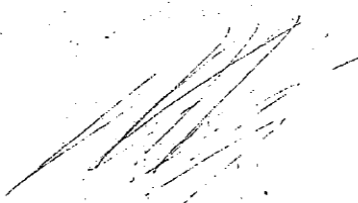
30/12/2012

I have the honour to forward here a proposed order to authorise Mr. Kum Amadu of Weh village to operate as butcher. He has operated as butcher assistant for over fifteen years. In a bid to generate more revenue, it is better to have more butchers who will pay 'Patente' than have many butchers operating under one licensed butcher.

More applicants will be proposed in the days ahead.

The proposed draft is attached to this note.

Thanks.



Prefectoral Order No. \_\_\_\_\_  
 To authorise Mr. Kum Amadu Deghe to  
 practice the Butcher Trade in Weh for the  
 Fiscal Year 2003.

Relevant Decrees to the butcher trade are:

- Law No. 2000/17 of 19<sup>th</sup> December 2000 to regulate Veterinary Sanitary Inspection;
- Decree No. 76/420 of 14<sup>th</sup> September 1976 to regulate breeding, movement and exploitation of Livestock;
- Decree No. 2000/980 of 8<sup>th</sup> December 2000 creating the Livestock and Fisheries Revenue enhancement programme.
- Decree No. 2000/981 of 8<sup>th</sup> December 2000 - fixing the revenue generating sources and modalities of collecting and controlling taxes applicable to livestock and fisheries exploitation.

Article 1: That Kum Amadu Deghe resident in Weh and holder of National Identity Card No. 102636504 issued on 29-12-2001 at Esu is hereby authorised to practise the butcher trade in Weh Council Market for the fiscal year 2003.

Article II : That he shall handle a total of twenty (20) cattle.

Article III: That he shall obligatorily make sure that all animals destined for public consumption are inspected before and after slaughter

Article IV: That he shall abide by all rules and regulations related to the butcher trade.

Article V: That the Divisional Delegate of Livestock, Fisheries and Animal Industries, the Chief of Zootechnical and Veterinary Centre Weh, the Forces of Law and Order are each charged according to their competence with the execution of the present order which shall be published and communicated where necessary.

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**Oral Sources: Interviews**

| <b>Names of Informants</b> | <b>Age</b> | <b>Status</b>            | <b>Place of Interview</b> | <b>Date of Interview</b> |
|----------------------------|------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| Aalima Adama               | 43         | Fulani Elder             | Kung                      | 16/10/2022               |
| Abdou Amidou               | 40         | Grazier                  | Kuk                       | 19/08/2021               |
| Abdoulayi Lawan            | 37         | Grazier                  | Bafmeng                   | 14/08/2021               |
| Achou Miranda Sih          | 64         | Farmer                   | Wum                       | 14/08/2021               |
| Amadou Dibo                | 39         | Grazier                  | Fungom                    | 07/06/2021               |
| Awa Dorothy Farmer         | 64         | Farmer                   | Furu-Awa                  | 06/08/2021               |
| Adamu Musa                 | 36         | <i>Ngainakoh</i>         | Wum,                      | 21/08/2021               |
| Adem Rose Ngea             | 51         | Farmer                   | Kung                      | 18/08/2020               |
| Akum Chrisantus Mtam       | 56         | Teacher/Farmer           | Kuk                       | 6/08/2020                |
| Alhaji Alabi               | 78         | Grazier                  | Kuk                       | 15/08/2020               |
| Alhaji Deleh               | 77         | Grazier                  | Wum                       | 21/08/2021               |
| Alhaji Umaru Djibril       | 66         | Grazier                  | Weh                       | 17/08/2018               |
| Amadou Njango              | 57         | <i>Ngainakoh</i>         | Kuk                       | 7/06/2020                |
| Amang Pius                 | 88         | Notable                  | Bafmeng                   | 14/06/2021               |
| Amidou Sulley              | 51         | Grazier                  | Abar                      | 18/08/2021               |
| Angah Daniel               | 72         | Hunter                   | Kuk                       | 15/08/2018               |
| Annah Kah                  | 53         | Farmer                   | Esu                       | 16/08/2018               |
| Buba Amadou                | 52         | Grazier                  | Wum                       | 14/08/2020               |
| Bulge Karimou              | 41         | Grazier                  | Benakuma                  | 14/12/2021               |
| Che Joseph Mtembi          | 73         | Teacher                  | Kuk                       | 21/06/2021               |
| Che Julius Kah             | 53         | Farmer                   | Fungom                    | 7/06/2021                |
| Che Peter Ngem             | 76         | Teacher/Farmer           | Bafmeng                   | 4/08/2021                |
| Che Sanji                  | 84         | Herbalist                | Kuk                       | 17/08/2018               |
| Chu Simon Kah              | 49         | Teacher/Farmer           | Esu                       | 16/08/2021               |
| Djibo Oumarou              | 82         | <i>Gainakoh</i>          | Nyos                      | 04/06/2021               |
| Ebua Aloysius Akai         | 76         | Herbalist                | Kuk                       | 11/08/2021               |
| Ebua Esther Mnam           | 65         | Farmer                   | Wum                       | 14/08/2022               |
| Eric Kebeuh                | 41         | Farmer                   | Kuk                       | 15/08/2018               |
| Ewi Rita                   | 36         | Farmer                   | Esu                       | 16/08/2020               |
| Fali Saly                  | 51         | Grazier                  | Kuk                       | 11/08/2021               |
| Fine Glass Kom             | 92         | Notable                  | Kuk                       | 9/08/2018                |
| Fukah Danial Che           | 90         | Notable                  | Kuk                       | 8/08/2018                |
| Fuh Jucentha Ekei          | 72         | Farmer                   | Wum                       | 14/08/2021               |
| Free boy Kwalla            | 87         | Notable                  | Weh                       | 17/08/2018               |
| Hamidou Sanni              | 57         | Teacher and Farmer       | Furu-Awa                  | 06/08/2021               |
| Haro Baby                  | 38         | Second Deputy Mayor, ZMC | Bafmeng                   | 14/08/2018               |
| Haro Hamajam               | 86         | <i>Ardor</i>             | Bafmeng                   | 14/08/2018               |

|                       |     |                           |         |            |
|-----------------------|-----|---------------------------|---------|------------|
| Haruna Musa           | 60  | Fulani Elder              | Weh     | 17/08/2021 |
| Henry Wong            | 46  | Farmer                    | Kuk     | 19/08/2020 |
| Ibrahim Ousmanou      | 55  | Grazier                   | Weh     | 17/08/2021 |
| Issa Alabi            | 41  | Grazier                   | Kuk     | 15/08/2021 |
| John Tang             | 80  | Notable                   | Nyos    | 4/06/2018  |
| Kang Justine          | 31  | Trader                    | Weh     | 17/08/2021 |
| Kang Richard          | 67  | Farmer                    | Weh     | 17/08/2021 |
| Kawzu Chi Albert      | 50  | <i>Fon</i> of Esu         | Esu     | 12/08/2018 |
| Kum Chrisantus        | 66  | Farmer                    | Esu     | 12/08/2020 |
| Kum Esther Sih        | 62  | Farmer                    | Wum     | 20/06/2021 |
| Kum Lah Ivo           | 50  | Farmer                    | Kuk     | 22/08/2018 |
| Kum Patricia Mbong    | 62  | Farmer                    | Kuk     | 08/08/2020 |
| Lang Innocent         | 74  | Farmer                    | Weh     | 17/08/2021 |
| Madaki Shiroma        | 78  | Grazier                   | Kuk     | 14/08/2018 |
| Manje Gilbert         | 58  | Teacher/Farmer            | Bafmeng | 18/08/2018 |
| Miah Denis            | 39  | <i>Gainakoh</i>           | Kung    | 14/03/2021 |
| Muamadou Kujare       | 65  | Fulani elder              | Weh     | 17/08/2021 |
| Muwanda Ndong         | 91  | Notable                   | Kuk     | 10/08/2018 |
| Ndi Alexander         | 78  | Farmer                    | Kuk     | 19/08/2018 |
| Ndi Justus            | 36  | Market Master             | Zhoa    | 16/08/2020 |
| Ngang Nora Bih        | 33  | Farmer                    | Munken  | 18/08/2021 |
| Ngeh Lambert Bang     | 66  | Public Contractor/Notable | Fungom  | 19/08/2020 |
| Ngem Abanda Ndeuh     | 111 | Notable                   | Kuk     | 6/08/2018  |
| Ngong Moses Achia     | 40  | Teacher                   | Kuk     | 10/07/2021 |
| Nji Christopher Kang  | 59  | Teacher/Farmer            | Kuk     | 14/08/2021 |
| Nji Evelyne Njang     | 66  | Farmer/Trader             | Kung    | 6/08/2021  |
| Nji Fidelis Ngoh      | 41  | Councilor                 | Kuk     | 10/08/2021 |
| Nji Mathias Nyoh      | 86  | Farmer/Notable            | Kuk     | 13/08/2021 |
| Njoya Christopher     | 67  | Ex-worker WADA            | Wum     | 16/12.2022 |
| Ndi Nji Cletus        | 65  | Notable                   | Kuk     | 11/08/2021 |
| Ntang Nembong         | 85  | <i>Fon</i> of Nyos        | Nyos    | 4/06/2018  |
| Ntuh Mbeng Evaristus  | 46  | <i>Fon</i> of Kuk         | Kuk     | 26/08/2021 |
| Ntuh Jude Kpa         | 57  | Former President of KCUDA | Kuk     | 04/08/2017 |
| Nyeah Damian Choua    | 70  | <i>Fon</i> of Fungom      | Fungom  | 7/06/2018  |
| Nyoh Margrette Tse-eh | 64  | Farmer                    | Kuk     | 15/08/2021 |
| Ntuhsen John Toh      | 62  | Ex-worker WADA            | Wum     | 16/12/2022 |
| Che Peter Ngem        | 76  | Teacher/Farmer            | Bafmeng | 04/06/2021 |
| Susana Chou Bih       | 86  | Farmer                    | Kuk     | 15/08/2021 |
| Tangha Federick Che   | 77  | Trader                    | Bafmeng | 16/08/2021 |
| Tangha Moses Ibuh     | 43  | Trader/Farmer             | Kuk     | 15/08/2021 |
| Tanghi Kikung         | 59  | Butcher                   | Bafmeng | 15/08/2018 |

|                  |    |                   |         |             |
|------------------|----|-------------------|---------|-------------|
| Tela Tena        | 95 | Notable           | Bafmeng | 3/08/2018   |
| Tem Deborah Che  | 58 | Farmer            | Esu     | 24/08/2018  |
| Toh Henry Ngwa   | 75 | Notable           | Kuk     | 10/08/2021  |
| Toh Odelia Lenam | 53 | Farmer            | Kuk     | 20//07/2020 |
| Toh Simon Che    | 53 | Herbalist         | Kuk     | 16/08/2020  |
| Tryself Ntam     | 95 | <i>Fon</i> of Kuk | Kuk     | 14/06/2017  |
| Yaya Djibril     | 38 | Grazier           | Abar    | 18/08/2017  |
| Yusufou Alidou   | 47 | Grazier           | Nyos    | 14/08/2018  |
| Zuh Glory        | 42 | Farmer            | Kung    | 11/08/2020  |



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