NOTES ON THE POLYCLOT POPULATIONS OF NKAMBE

by P. C. MAFIANA

Nkambe Division, the northernmost administrative unit of the Federated State of West Cameroon, is composed of a large number of ethnic communities which are as diverse in their various origins as in their languages and social set-ups. The smallest group numerically is the Mbaw while the largest, most evolved and most influential group is the Wimbum who occupy the centre of the Nkambe Plateau which is well known for its cold climate and beautiful, breath-taking scenery.

1. The Mbaw

The Mbaw people, numbering 3.238 in 1953, occupy the vast Plain of the same name in the south-eastern corner of the Division. It is the westward extension of the great Tikar Plain of Banyo Subdivision, East Cameroon. Nso farmsteads dot the southern

In Tikari language "mbaw" means flat land. The view of the Plain from the Nsob escarpment overlooking it in the west is one of the most impressive sights in the Federal Republic of Cameroon. The hot fertile plain is extremely suitable for large-scale mechanised agriculture and irrigation and the raising of such cash crops as palm oil trees, sugar cane, rice, cotton and yams. A beginning has been made in this direction by semi-State farms in Waziri

The Mbaw Plain is also noteworthy in being the only place in West Cameroon where Tikari, in its original form, is still spoken

Mixed Origin

The "Report on the Cameroons Under United Kingdom Trusteeship" for 1958 defines the Mbaw as "a people of mixed Tikar. neeship for 1930 defines the most as a people of mixed like and Mambila origin". This is only partly correct. When question-



Chief and Palace of Mbirikpa, Mbaw Plain

ed, most of the Mbaw say they are Tikari; but according to both ed, most of the Mbaw say may are the largest villages in the area on the old chief of Ngu, one of the largest villages in the area on. the old chief of Ngu, one up has been and Mbirikpa are of the dominant elements in Ngu, Ntern and Mbirikpa are of the page. the dominant elements in rego, metrically interesting the direct from Kimi (Bankim), one of the

Apparently the cause of this emigration from Kimi was a desire Apparently the cause on this entire that it will was a delte for adventure, although some people now tend to link it with the expansion of the Fulani from Banyo. Both the rulers of Ngu end Ntem were princes from Bankim, while the ruler of Mbirikpa was a Quarter Head in Bankim. The Ngu prince Yamtuboh was the first to leave Bankim. He was followed by the Ntem prince Jinoh, brother of the former; and last came the Mbirikpa chief. The Ngu left Bankim coming directly and settling in the old lown Mbuweh, about 2 miles south-east of the present village of Ngu When the Ngu arrived they found the land already occupied by seven groups of autochtones, six of whom (viz. Nylitikwa, Nyegyengbe, Nyitangum, Nyatalah, Nyigamgbe and Jikwambaw—these sound like Tikar names) were conquered and assimilated, now forming only quarters of Ngu, while the seventh group, the Yakwanku,

As for the Ntem, they left Kimi, spent some time at Mobile (near present day Nguri) and thence moved on to Mbagu (Ngu) and Nkulo before arriving at Ntern where they conquered and assimilated the autochtones, the Ogha. According to the Nwanti, the Ntem arrived from Bankim after the Nwanti were already installed in the area; the Ntem first settled on Mbago Hill, said to have been given them by the Nwanti. Whatever the case, the Nem subsequently appear to have tried, unsuccessfully, to asset paramountcy over the other Tikar groups in the Mbaw Plain; hence relations between Ntern and Ngu are particularly strained.

The last emigration from Tikar-land consisted of three Tikar princes who left Buh, a Tikar settlement south-west of Bankim, and after "sleeping" at Bah (in Bamum) crossed the Magbe River and arrived in Nwanti where they first settled on Kware hill after conquering and assimilating three groups of Kaka people. The conquering and designation of the property of the people of the posterior themselves at Jatto (north of the Plain) and Nwar (east of Mbirithemselves at paths who settled in Jatto were attracted by raffia wine; Jatto is now a mainly Kaka-speaking area.

ABBIA How Long Implanted?

The genealogy of the Ngu Chiefs is as follows:

- 1. Yantuboh (ex-Kimi, settled at Mbuweh)
- 2 Kundung
- 4 Fankung
- 5 Fanimoh
- 6. Batu (First attack by Banyo Fulani)
- 7. Montchap (Chief when Nolte was assassinated in Banyo (?--? 1910) (by Umaru on 1st February 1902)



Montchap was chief when the Germans arrived peacefully in the Mbaw Plain from Nso on their way to Banyo in February (or? January) 1902. Before him was Batu during whose reign the Banyo Fulani started knocking at the gates of the Mbaw Plain. But the Fulbe-Wute/Tikar battle at Sambolabbo took place in 1840 and Hamman Dadi established Fulbe rule over the Wute (Babouté) city of Banyo in 1842. After that, attention was directed to the Mambila to the west and it wasn't till Hamman Dadi established himself at Gashaka in 1873 that attention was paid to the region south of Banyo. It is thus reasonable to conjecture that the Ngu and other Mbaw Tikar emigrated from Bankim around 1800 if not earlier, due to domestic reasons not connected with the expansion of Adamawa, as frequently stated by English scholars.

Ethnic Groups,

In the Mbaw Plain the villages can therefore be dateful ethnically and linquistically as follows: "Pure" Tikari

Ntem (though they now speak with some infusion of Kital Ngu, Mbirikpa, Nguri and Nwanti. "Pure" Mambila (Do not understand Tikar)

Li (pronounced Lui), Bang and Yadji.

Mainly Mambila but bicultural, understand Tikan.

Nwat and Ngom (including its various Quarters: Ngomkaw,

Ngomkila, and Sabongari—a stranger town mostly inhabited by Banyo Fulani and

Mixed Tikar/Kaka

Jatto 'Pure' Kaka

Nking—an independent village; they understand Tikar, but poorly. From the foregoing account it is evident that the autotones in the west of the Plain were Kaka while those in the ess. from Nwat to Songkolong, in the Banyo Subdivision of East Came roon, and northwards into the Mambila District of Northern Came roon, were Mambila. It must be emphasized, however, that both the Kaka (Mbem) and Mambila, who are kith and kin, claim (the former Aska vincentration management of the state o This claim, which is backed by very strong oral traditions, would this county which is a blanker that the name Tikar is a blanker name for heterogenous ethnic groups. On the other hand, it is possible that like groups descended from the So or Sao (Barth) and the Elagham (Ekoi) (Talbot) differences in language and customs the Eagham toward and time, among Tikar people who were

Active Links with Kimi.

The Mbaw Tikari maintain active cultural links with Kimi. The language, drass, facial marks, hierarchical social ser-up (with Nji's language, drass, laural management as soon serup (with high and Yeah's) and architecture of the houses do not differ from those and Years) and architecture of the freeze do not differ from hose observed in Bankim. The latter day Fulani influence in religion. observed in bankim. The latter day rulant influence in religion, language and dress which is observed in Bankim is also seen in language and dress writes a substruct in bankim is also seen in the Mbaw Plain. But underneath the outer papering of Fulani and the Mbaw Plain. but understanding outer papering of Fulant and Muslim influence subsists traditional Tikari pagan' culture. For

example: a successor to the Ngu throne must either go to Bankim example: a successor to him a pot of 'water' from Bankim with which or have brought to mind be before he settles down to rule. In former times he most pame update in sourcendered till the 'nchinda' (messenger) the port of water was given a young girl to be the wife of the ruler of Banking. nowadays cloth is given.

Formerly no cash was paid as bride price—only salt, palm oil and labour in kind. Nowadays a dowry is paid in cash £6 or more The choosing of a successor to the chief is as among the Wimburn

with whom there is blood relationship.

2 The Wimbum.

The Wimbum (or more populary 'Nsungli', a corruption of the Nso nickname 'Nsungnin' meaning 'chatterers') comprise three distinct clans Warr, Tang and Wiva which emigrated from the west Tiker capital of Kimi. Although the three groups arrived on the Nkambe Plateau at different times, it is remarkable that they all speak one language, Liwimbum, which has only a few words of Tikari, although with regional variants, the purest Liwimbum being spoken in the Warr area between Mbot and Watt villages. Jeffreys' quotes the Warr village head of Nsob as saying:

"we have a tradition that Kimi is part of the Mbum people who lived near Beriberi, Yola way. Our language is called Liwimbum. This is the name for the language of all these people whom the Banso call Nsungli. Li means tongue or language... Wi in Liwimbum means people, so Liwimbum means the language of the Mbum people. At Kimi the talk was not Liwimbum but Tikari which language is not spoken or even known here".

The Warr

The Warr were the first inhabitants to arrive on the Nkambe Plateau which they found uninhabited. They settled at Mbiribaw. now a Quarter of Mbot village. Although it is on record that the Warr came from Kimi, most of the young men affect not to know this and even deny that their ancestors came from anywhere other than the 'sacred' pond at Mbiribaw (Mbot Farm). The emigration from Kimi was, however, confirmed to me by several old people and most notably by the Chief of Chup who was enlightened in the matter by the old men of his village.

Altogether 14 Fons (rulers) lived and died in Mbiribaw before the Clan Head Nigh moved to Mbot. The genealogy of the Mbot. Fons after Nish is well remembered:

Nish

Tonil

3. Tokob (? - 13-10-32)

4. Mbunwe (1932 - 17.25)

5. Tokob Tangem Abrahan

Of these rulers Nijah died at Wanti, a Quarter of Watt villag. where he is buried. Tonji, Tokob and Mbunwe died at Mbol as are buried in the Palace. Tonji was the Fon when the German arrived. Before that, he was harassed by the Banyo Fulan as: the Nso. He died an old man. His successor Tokob died after the First World War at the age of 60. He is said to have rived for about 25 years. The next ruler was Mbunwe who had troob with the English who wanted to depose him. The people opposed this move, saying that a Fon cannot be chosen while to previous one is still alive—hence after some years of exile in Bamenda the Fon was brought back to Mbot. The present rule was recalled from secondary school and made Chief.

The scattering of the Warr Clan.

The scattering of the people at Mbiribaw is said to have been due to an insufficient water supply at the pool and this causel the brothers to fight among themselves. The Fon, noticing the his people were fewer in number asked what had happened to them, the answer his councillors gave was "Warr", meaning frem, The people of Warr Clan thus scattered and emigrated to various points in Nkambe Division and even beyond.

Places founded as a result of the dispersal of the Warr are Nkambe Division: 1. Ntumbaw—meaning a pit dug for trap ping animals—that was the occupation of the people. 2. Sop (Nsob) —meaning red water near raffia bush—their work

3. Chup —meaning tapping 'mimbo', a sweet drink got from the 3. Chop meaning appropriation of a west drink got from reaffia palm. These three places come high in the order of preceding rating pains. Their rulers treat with the Fon of Mbd.

on a Roung-on.

4. Other Warr villages in Nkambe founded by later emigrants from Other Wart vineges including Moh, Njema and Binju QuarMbiribaw include Nkambe (including Moh, Njema and Binju Quar
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The fon of Konchep, Nkambe Division 1965



Mbembe implements L. to R. Edo (game of dice) Stool, (Mbiaw) wooden Shield (Nko)

NOTES ON THE POLYGLOT POPULATIONS OF WALKS IN tera), Binshua, Kungi, Saa (near Binshua), Niap (near Tales), Hand (near Mark). These Marks of the Company (Near Mark). fers), Binshua, Kungr, ode theer Wart). These War Clery Wart, Wangri and Mbah (near Wart). These War Clery Wart, Wangri and fibelic Auto-Warr, Wangri and Moan error who were formerly subject to the Fon of Mbot and their chiefs were formerly subject to the Fon of Mbot and their chiefs and the chiefs are considered to the chief and the chiefs are chief and the chief are chief are chief and the chief are chief are chief are chief and the chief are chief are chief are chief and the chief are chief were formerly subject to the choice in the traditional resolution of the state of the continuous state enthroned by him tance using stream in the national news by their own village notables); but nowadays there is a beautiful of the national news the national by their own viriage nombress, for the rulers of these villages to assert their independence visits.

- 5. Other villages alleged to be founded by emigrants from the
- a Warr Quarter in Tabenken, Mbande & Akwaja (Woods area), Adere (Mfumte area) also called Nkangri, Nchani, Kisa area), Addre Univine erea, also cannot execute. Femalia, test Bem, Mfume, Dumbo, Mbissa and Kamine (all in Missie area). We cents marking, control, measure and control to the marking area, he claims in this regard are very tenous and are not generally use. ded by the people concerned. Places outside Nkambe Division

- 1. The Noni, notably Njinjep and Kochi in Nso Division. To Kochi came from Mbiribaw and the Niinjep's old quarter is a Nkambe Town to which they return annually to offer segifa When a Noni Chief dies the news is conveyed to the Fon of Non who retires thither with a mourning group. The Noni later are under Nso (Kimbo) suzerainty, though retaining their own disk According to Kaberry² the Noni (Djottin-Vitum) conquered according tones which they found on arrival at their present homes.
- 2. Oku. The old home of the Oku is where the Beprist Mission is Mbot Farm (Mbiribaw) is established. The Oku were later coope Moor rather than the control of this principality Glauning wrote. "Or lies between Bikom and Banso and stands in friendly relations will
- 3. Bum. Emigrants from Mbiribaw established this large those thinly populated independent chiefdom in Wum Division. Acre finity populates independent energoin in wom Division.

 ding to Kaberry^a Bum conquered autochlones whom they found a ding to Reporty Con of Burn goes to Mbol and makes a sadifal arrival. A new ton or bonn goes to inbot and makes a southere and takes away 'water' from Mbiribaw with which he better here and texes away before he starts ruling. Burn used to be an important centers' before ne vierts the Kola trade with Kentu. There is an interesting article of the Role trade state as Appendix VI to 1927 Report on 80
- 4. Esu: This is another extensive though thinly populated in 4. Each This is another the Wum Division founded the pendent chiefdom in the Wum Division founded by emigrant the control of t pendant chieroom in the control bounded by emigra-from Abbribaw. According to oral traditions, the Esu first settled

at Ndiwum, an abandoned site close to present day Baf-Meh in Wim Division4. From there a spear was thrown which fell in Wom DIVISION . Total things the Esu moved and conquered the present do Neerla and some were assimilated in Esu Town where they have heir own Quarter Head. (Were the 'Wekar' part of the Wukari Jukums of Northern Nigeria, or an aboriginal group like the Munka or a Widekum outpost like Fang of Fungom?). A hill near the nistoms post at Esu has been pointed out as an abandoned settlement of the 'Weker'. In their westward march towards Kawana (Gavama) on the frontier, the Esu conquered a few more aboriginal peoples at Munka; these aborigines are now all but extinct. The Fsu also crossed the Katsena Ala (Kumbi) river and extended their sway over the aboriginal Zumperi (Likam). In former days Esu was a powerful chiefdom.

The Warr are also related to some of the Mbaw Tikar. Ngu, Mbirikpa and Ngom (Ngomkuku) make sacrifices at Mbot and the death of their chiefs is announced to Mbot (and vice versa) with the killing of a cock. This relationship is said to be due to their common family origin from Kimi. The Tang Clan.

The Tang Clan are descended from the Ba-Ngu in the Mbaw Plain. First the Clan Head Talah left Ngu and established at Talah village on the Nkambe Plateau where the Warr were already established. Emigrants from Talah founded the following villages: Ntundip, Kup, Taku, Sina, Tabenken (or Tang or Tambaw—the old popular name 'Tang' was given because many people were drowned while crossing a stream there), Binka-emigrants founded Njimnjong (Mayo Binka) not quite 50 years ago after a Hausa, who leff Binka which was then suffering from famine caused by locust. had demonstrated that the land was fertile—and Ngarum.

According to oral traditions gathered by Jeffreys¹¹ the Tang are also of Bankim origin. The Tang came from Bankimi with Ngulu, the Tang settling first at Bajeng (Bamala or Mala) and later at Tang rails, the boundary with Ndu being at Maya (where a slave was slaughtered and buried by the two chiefs). Other Tang settlements are Sinne, Mbipgo, Wowo in Nkambe Division, and Tam-The Wiya Clan.

The last of the Wimburn to arrive in Nkambo were the Wiya

NOTES ON THE POLYGLOT POPULATIONS OF NUMBER OF STREET Clan. According to ame, the Fon of Konchep, and his is a statistical Missue Shaw, the Miss class Clan. According to ama; the volt or source, and he con-ledgeable old Prime Minister Ntaw Shey, the Why Clan Cast. ledgeable old Prime Minister in a started and started the name of the leader is not remembered and started the name of the leader is not remembered and started the name of the leader is not remembered. Kimi - the name or the neader is not the north-weight of the name from the Ngu, Mem enc. flon to Mbayou thought at the same of the reach there is Mberibus (Mbembe area)—where some of their reach thence to monitous visitable and finally to Mostoka at to

to establish the present vineye and overlooking Moente in to ill ochep, near the Fon's Quarters, and overlooking Moente in the control of the Konchep land was said to be unoccupied and no war was as ged to occupy it. According to the sub-chief of Moh villa however, Konchep land was occupied by the Moh of Wan Chi they, however, fled before the invading Wiya who came on him back exclaiming "mbara", this was the first time that the lies people had seen horses. The Konchep in fact are said to have got their horses from the Banyo Fulani (which would tend place the wiya migration after 1850); hence the Warr believe that the Wiya came from Banyo. The ruler of Moh further state that the Chief and people of Akwaja (Mbembe) came from Mee.

The Niem claim that it was Montensih, the son of a Yashid Ntem, who led the Wiya emigration to Ndung (Ndu).

After the arrival of the Wiya at Konchep three Chiefs (name forgotten) ruled there and died in old age before the clan scattered After the death of the third chief, Ndowa succeeded to the thorn and it was one of his sons, Nganji, who left the Mbindung Quarte of Konchep and established the powerful chiefdom of Ndus

The known genealogy of Konchep is as follows: Nkuti Nakpwo (?-1954) Jama (1954-

All the rulers of Konchep seem to have lived to a ripe old age All the futers of Rotation seems to have fived to a ripe old as Nakpwo was the Chief when the Germans arrived peacefully Jama the present Fon was installed the year Nkambe station was Jama the present rule and the year Nkambe station we established (1954). The Konchep did not wage wer either with established (1734). The bookers and not wage war the Fulant or the Mbembe; they abhorred bloodshed.

The emigration from Konchep to Ndung (Ndu) is said to have proceeded via the Mfumte area as follows:

Konchep-Mbanji (Mfumte)-Rokop-Mba-Ndung (near Tea

Estatel-Kwuiya (Wiya) or Ndung (Ndu). On arrival at Kwuiya (Wiya)—now Ndu Market Square—the On arrivar all Naving (1975) and the control of the Namentu, the landlord of the place; he was subsequently assi-Agricultu, me remaind of the piece, the trad subsequently assi-Sunyo fulani and since the latter were held in awe, Ndu, whose recole alone understood Fulfulde, grew in power and prestige Nasnij, the first Fon of Ndu, was the eldest son of the Fon of Konchep, Ndowa. He had a powerful personality—hence he became the head of the Wiya Clan.

The Wiya Clan consists of Konchep, Ndung (Ndu), Luh (near Nundip) and Ngulu (near Ntumbaw). Other Wiya offshoots ex-Konchep are integrated in Bih and Dingegeh in the Tang Clan area and Ndiboti and Yamba Quarter in Mbot Farm in the Warr Clan area.

The story of the founding of Bih is interesting. A Konchep man was travelling from Konchep to Ndu. On reaching Bih his hen hatched chickens. He also found the soil fertile and hence settled there

The Warr claim as regards the Wiya is supported by Jeffreys 11 who states that "The Wiya are fairly recent Tikar immigrants... The old capital was Mbandu, the present one is called Ndu by Europeans... "The leader of the Wiya migration from Bakimi was Nyiakunji according to Mbotshafi of Mbiripbo (Mbiribwa—Mbembe) and confirmed by the Wiya chief, Mfomi. The Wiya leader, Nyia kunji, and the Mbiripbo (Mbiribwa) leader, Nsa, left Bakimi together. Both leaders camped near a hill called Mbia. Leaving Mbia, they next settled at Ne but as Ne was too hot, Nyiakunji and the other lesser chiefs left Ne for Konshep (Konchep), parting company with Nsa whose group remained at Ne. The Wiya people continued their migration through Mbembe country... Ndimbia 11, a Ndu court official, stated: "The names of our chiefs known to us are: 1. Nylakunji 2. Towiji 3. Mfokotu 4. Mfosisimbe 5, Yamussi 6, Mfontingo 7, Mfolowa 8, Nonebit 9. Mfoburi 10. Mforambo 11. Mfu 12. Mfomi (the present chief-? 1944). Nyiakunji led us from Bakimi. His first settlement was at Ndimme or Ndipnee, now called Mbiripbo (Mbiribwa) by the Mbembe. The Mbiripbo (Mbiribwa) chief, though of the by the Moente.

Wiya family, was an independent chief and left us to find Mbiripbo (Mpiribwa). From Ndimme, Nylakunji with the whole party of

NOTES ON THE POLYGLOT POPULATIONS OF MALES Y migrants which included a number of independent lineage the lander. Minkotu, the migration moved on the control of the control migrants which includes the migration moved on the form of the foundation of the fou To Konnep. Under and the second of the secon

In support of Warr claims Jeffreys¹¹ states that the autochtonous inhabitants who were in the country when sa aurocationous innapinants who were to the accounty when as a sarrived are represented by the present-day Lu, while the rearrived are represented by the plant of the Wiji. Another days bouring wan transport people were known to the Nso is Not the which the thought today represented by such villages as Lassin and Djotte, to subjects of Nso. The Ntut, also local indigenes, have enter disappeared". Jeffreys further states that the chief of New . Lassin land under Nso, is a Lu man and that Ngulu is an indepdent Wiya group never under Ndu.

Certain Wiya claims are also discussed and disposed of Tall Lu are of Noni origin, though now under Wiya, Rom and Wuare related but independent, the Niem (Mbaw Plain) are separa from Wiya, though both groups left Bankim together. The No. Chief is emphatically not of Niem origin, as fabely claimed by Ntem in the 1920's and hotly contested by Ndu.

The Wiya, Ndu in particular, as allies of Banyo Fulani, wasd constant warfare against the Noni autochtones in the Kibin in valley and their other Wimburn neighbours: Sinna, Number Binshua, etc. The Mbembe Mbiribwa P. 12 (Under Orel Tits)

Jeffreys¹¹ was told that Berabe is of Bamum origin and the it waged war with Mbiribwa. The latter was led from Kimi ki Nsa who settled first at Mbia Hill, then at Ekuo and finally at Mbio

Highly Organised Society.

Undoubtedly the Wimbum have the most highly evolved society in Nkambe. Fons like those at Ndu and Mbot are really power in Nisamos, runs and under them are Chiefs of villages set chiefs of smaller villages, quarter heads and titled notables bit chiefs of amenical management and women. Among the men are Fais (usually brother of men and women.

Chiefs) and Nijs (notables). Among the women are the Yalk Chiefs) and this titudeness. But commoners may also be appointed Yashi usually princesses; but communities may also be appointed Yas-by the Chief. In Mbot, for example, there are Yash Muyasi by the Chief. In Moor has exemple, there are Yesh Muyers (the principal Yesh, usually the reigning Chief's sister. Set (the principal testing the principal testing the principal testing testing the principal testing testing the principal testing testing the principal testing t

Yash Fambol, Yash Manju, Yash Titu (very powerful), Yash

Yah Famoor, Yeah Tangse and Yeah Mala (daughter of a sub-chief, Yearing tan remains the controls all the king's wives). The appointed by the roll and one dares not displease them. Once rans are very the Fon and his notables they hold office for life. No downy is given or demanded in respect of their marriage. As arule they come and go as they please and no questions are asked The Chiefs and notables are distinguished as much by their

dress (Ball Chamba or Bikom Cloth) as by the stools on which they et first class Fons like those of Konchep, apart from wearing the usual ivory bangle, wear a necklace of leopard teeth and sit on a "kapla", a wooden throne with a seat carved on the back of a legard. A sub-chief on the other hand contents himself with staff and a black stool with a spider motif. High ranking Fais and Niis sit on a stool with a red spider motif. It is out of the question for a commoner to sit on these stools.

Around the Fon are a number of secret societies which have their meeting houses in the palace grounds viz: Mfuh (Chief of the secret societies), Nwarung (Kwifon-a very powerful secret police), Ngiri, Samba, Manjong and Nkuh ("juju" for dance). These societies meet on certain days, and there is usually dining and wining while affairs are discussed.

Chieftaincy.

The Chief is a powerful figure, the focus of all power and prestige. He rules in council. But though he is something more than a chairman of committees or primus inter pares he cannot rule as an autocrat, oblivious of the opinion of his councillors.

Succession to the chieftaincy is usually from father to one of his sons, rarely from brother to brother. The matter is settled in secret conclave summoned by the reigning chief when he feels the end is near. The Fon, having observed his children, proposes the one whom he thinks fit to succeed. If his notables do not like he character of his nominée they dissent and proprose other candidates. A debate then ensues and a consensus is arrived at, to which the Fon is party, regarding the most suitable person to be luccessor. Their final decision is kept secret, even unknown to the chosen heir. In exceptional circumstances the notables reverse their decision on the death of the chief and choose another member of the Chief's family if they feel that the character of the Chief elect is not conductive to the good government and peace of the land. Succession takes place immediately on the death of a rej-

gning chief. If the chief elect is not immediately available on the attention and she acts as Regent and one of A S S A S S A S S A S S A S S A S S A S S A S S A S S A S S A S S A S S A S S A S S A gning chief. If the chief elect is not immediately available on the Yoahs is put on the throne and she acts as Regent in the Country of the State of the Yeahs is put on the throne and are act as Regential to Que elect arrives. Thus the throne is never left vacant even for a box elect arrives. Thus the mirene is never left vacant even for a be-time; the new Chief assumes power even before his precises the feature and can be defined. fime, the new Chief assumes power even before his precious is interred. Unpopular chiefs are and can be dethroned by the is interred. Unpopular chiefs are and can be delired by the councillors—this happened not so long ago in Nikambe town-by this is not an easy process; the deposed chief may be allowed a this is not an easy process; the deposed order may be aboved a stay if civil peace is not threatened and he is allowed income from the stay of civil peace is not threatened and he is allowed income from the civil peace is not threatened and he is allowed income from the civil peace is not threatened and he is allowed income from the civil peace is not threatened and he is allowed income from the civil peace is not threatened and he is allowed income from the civil peace is not threatened and he is allowed income from the civil peace is not threatened and he is allowed income from the civil peace is not threatened and he is allowed income from the civil peace is not threatened and he is allowed income from the civil peace is not threatened and he is allowed income from the civil peace is not threatened and he is allowed income from the civil peace is not threatened and he is allowed income from the civil peace is not threatened and he is allowed income from the civil peace is not threatened and he is allowed income from the civil peace is not threatened and he is allowed income from the civil peace is not threatened and he is allowed income from the civil peace is not threatened and the civil

The death of a chief is kept secret; the first intimation of the decease of a chief is the enthronement of his successor in term decease of a critic to the artifluoreneous of the second of the following second of the new chief remains in secret refreat (but receives visitors) has Pelace for about one month before being publicly introduced by reacce to about the month senter being problery innonces to the people by the Shay (Prime Minister) and five Tala (subchis) the people by the sing termine running and the six notables bring him to an assembly if the people and run him stand on leopard skin on which he dances. There is gener meriment and dancing and presents are showered on him.

Elaborate ceremonies also take place for the installation of a N Entertain teremones and take precent the manufacture of the highest ranking notables). In Chup where I was forenate to witness the ceremony, the installation of a successor to a nate to witness the executivity the installation of a successed deceased Nji takes place about three weeks after the deceased deceased full facus piece about three weeks after the operation the incumbent. The successor mourns his predecessor and sleeps of plaintain leaves on the floor of his predecessor's house for the plannant serves on the produced sor's noise to serve weeks. At the end of this period the Village Head (Fon) formly instals the new Nij amidst much rejoicing, fessing and dancies instals the new on admiss truck rejoicing, reasing and appears.

The new Nij then sleeps on a bed after donning an attire of a second The new rap men success have been aner comming an anner was the five sashes worn baldric-wise and embroided with cowies, he two sames with semanting and employed with common skin of a small water animal fied round the waist and camwool sun or a annual state of the st powder covers his race end thest. The Mile is simultaneously talled with his Mfu; this is a young girl of about 8 years were failed with this may the tary young girl of about 8 years to similarly dubbed with camvood and wears, a sash embroded. is similarly opened the wais. After his installation the new N with covered to the weeks in refrest in the same house during has to spend 3 to a second retrient in the same house owner, which he does nothing except eat and rest, he has become fit by the time he leaves the retreat house.

Formerly, apart from the firewood, drinks and labour in kind Formary, apart trem the time-occ, trinks and labour in kind which the son-in-law provided, a downy consisted of 14 Bloom of 14 which the sommers providing to body consisted of 14 Bikom Cloths, costing anything from £14 to £28. Nowedays the down Cloths, costing anything them be a cost. Nowadays the down is paid for in cash and is in theory equivalent to the price of 14 Bilton is paid for in cash and as a matery equivalent to the price of 14 Bikon.

Cloths. Formerly a father could even give his daughter in marriage.

as hidworking and cooperative son-in-law who would pay by a hadworking and had the means or after giving his own

A word on the Bikom Cloth. This cloth is not made by the daughter in marriage. Gm as the name suggests but by the Jukum of Wukari, Northern North But these cloths were first appreciated and introduced Negera. But mose countries and a second of the control Cameroon Grasslands by the Kom. They the used for making stately gowns for notables and such gowns are worn on important social occasions.

3. The Mbembe

The Mbembe who are the second largest ethnic group in Nkamhe Division are quite distinct and dissimilar from any of their neighbours. Owing to the poor communications in the district they are the least known in Nkambe. They occupy part of the upper raches of the Donga River, those south of this river, the majority. forming part of Nkambe Division in West Cameroon, while those north of the river in the United Hills District of Northern Cameroon (the so-called Sardauna Province) are now called Tigon or Tigwon (Meek3). The partition of Mbembe-land dates from 15th November 1926 when the 1,165 Sq. mls. Kentu District was detatched from Bamenda Division and annexed first to Gashaka Division and then to Wukari Division of Northern Nigeria on 1st April 1933. Among other reasons, it was stated that the Tigon were cognate with the Takums and had less in common with their kith and kin south of the Donga. But in 1934 the Mbembe applied to the Resident of Bamenda to be joined to the northern Tigon⁶. According to Kaberry there are also some Mbembe villages in the Fungom sub-

The Cameroon Mbembe should not be confused with an Ejaoham ethnic group of the same name found around Obubra in Ogoja Province on the Cross River. Our own Mbembe are in fact better known by their Nso nickname "Njari" which is derived from their native word "Izare" meaning "I say" (Newton?). An interesting first account of this people was written by the famous German Darriet Officer of Bamenda, Capt. Glauning, who visited the area in 1905. (In German literature the Mbembe are referred to as Tukum' or 'Tugum'). The passages below are extracted from Glavning's interesting report on the north-western part of the old

Glaunings Report

NOTES ON THE POLYGIOT ROPULATION OF NAME

By way of Kanko (Akwenko) the expedition the east of the standard which is situated on steep forkers to By way of Kanko (Akwenko) the supeditor the fact of the supeditor that the supeditor that the supeditor that supeditor the supeditor the supeditor that supeditor the supe reached Mandi (Mbanda) which is situated on deep oxycology. We found the place, which is by far the direct of all oxycology. There are the matter and the matter and the situation of all oxycology. Tokum visingos deserted. There, the natives arrest visinges and additional hills filter than the natives are a vising seems and additional hills filter than the natives are seems. and shield, had occupied adjecent hills inten on having so see but they attempted to attack the porters and boys rest the rest Duffing alternation to another the parties and sounded their war yelling all round the camp, 191 so points and soonard their war young an round the care 58% necessary to give them some correction. They moved beck to so the parrols but sat down firmly with atong will on a fat time of the patrols but sair down himly with strong will on a fair new a sought here to prevent the passage of the troops; revented this was forced and the Mandi people fell back and wee passes further on. On 15 September Tschaefi (Jevi) was entered size 1 1/4 hours conmucus marching. The Mandi chief had a se meantime announced his submission and meanwhile delivered mail elephant tasks. He wished to self-some big tasks in Sens minumental to the winner to the some our rolling of the condition was received been and (Neamber). In Tachaeft (Jev) the expedition was received been and the condition was received been applied to the condition of the condition likewite on the next day in Berabe which lies on a hill about 200 e 300 metres above the river bed. The whole terrain is immensely rugged. Deep streams and ravines interchange with steep hills and mountains... From Berabe we marched through very roosed trasmountain... From berade we marched mough very reput to the mountain village of Ko (Akoo)... we reached the small village To me mountain straige or no (Akoo)... we rearms me mean of Eka and Amba on 19th September via Kodja (Akwaja) vilke the case and Almas un. Alm september via Rodia (Arwaya in which, affurted on the slope of the Mambila mountain, is rich a

There where the tributaries of the Donga river are very deep a the rainy season and cannot be crossed without cancer, we gas the ramy season and cannot be crossed without cancer, we get up the Intention of marching direct to Name along this river, and up the meaning or maching orient to roams along this meaning first of all visited Bogu which is situated in the mountains 817 meters. histor at vising segu which is studied in the mountains are visited high on the edge of the plain. The Chief of the place was visited high on the adge of the plant. The chief of that place was supply when he was informed that he would have no more to less happy when he was informed that he would have no more to the from the Fulbes and that therefore his village could be moved from the barren mountains once more to the plan. In the rainy season the direct road Bogu-Nama is unpassable on account of markets the effect road populations is impassable on account of manner.

We had therefore first to march to Kenty, ... Here as obsewhere the We had therefore that to match to kenton. Here a elsewhere to natives also live hidden in the mountains... Kento is a principal halives also five nidden in the mountains. Asily it a principal centre for the trade in kola and gum and lies on the big highway centre for the made in kola and dom and ties on the big highway bumbo-Kentu-Nama, the region is very fertile... The bogg River Combination of the company of the co tasking 200 to Joy mainer wants been any replo. In the rainy seeson it extends to Name and is probably even navigable for steel season, nextrons to huma must be present next and the state of the mers in its upper course up to near the Mambila Plateau. The rose

ing can be done with only one cance which owing to the strong arrent takes 25 minutes for each to and fro trip. Fifty minutes stant from the river lies the big town of Nama which creates the impression of some Hausa village. Men and women of the taum mountain villages go there completely naked, meet with the plains Tukum dressed almost all in Hausa manner. Alschoku wilsoe which I reached on the next day (and) situated on a high hill and well cultivated is the last Tukum village.

The Tukums are also handsomely built people of medium height with well formed features. In particular the Tukum women present a very handsome appearance...

The tribes of the highlands as well as the Bafums (Wum) and Dumbos carry as weapons spears and dane-guns; the Tukums of the hilly areas spears, bark-shields and a short knife; the Tukums of the plains the Ndosos as also the Munchi natives arrows and bows. The arrows are tipped with strophantus... According to Taylor the Tukum and Djukum (Jukum) languages are very much

The Tukumland areas exchange palm oil against kola in Kambo (Nkambe) ... all the tribes of the transitional lands and the plains people are divided into numerous, independent from one another, frequently hostile areas. Such disunion we find especially in Bafum (Wum) and Tukum (Mbembe). In the last land nearly every village is at war with the other. This disunion explains also why the Tokums put up so little resistance to the invasions of the Fulbe which have taken place since nearly twenty years till recent times. The latest invasions of the Fulbes from Gashaka took place: October 1904 in Adiri (Mfumte area), November 1904 in Kodja (Akwa-(a) and Tukum; January 1905 in Bogu. From the latter village the Fulbe withdrew because they heard of the war of the (Barnenda) Station in Bekom..."

Land of Ishmaels

As can be deduced from Glauning's report, the Mbembe never had and still do not have any paramount chief. No village ever lorded it over the other, and even in a village the chief is only the titular head. Notables there are—they carry a short broom in the right hand as the insignia of their office—but the egalitarianism and republican spirit are very marked. For example: if a chief does not work, climb palm trees to collect his own palm wine or palm not work, climb pain nuts, or go hunting with them, his subjects beat him up. The

NOTES ON THE POLYGLOT POPULATION OF ROSE chief is disobeyed with impunity by sayone, moops a ke love him, as they did the old blind Chief Mbsmu of the color hands a waats Heterogenity

The Mbembe area has been a place of refuge from less to the Mbembe area has been a place of refuge from less to the Mbembe area has been a place of refuge from less to the Mbembe area has been a place of refuge from less to the Mbembe area has been a place of refuge from less to the Mbembe area has been a place of refuge from less to the Mbembe area has been a place of refuge from less to the Mbembe area has been a place of refuge from less to the Mbembe area has been a place of refuge from less to the Mbembe area has been a place of refuge from less to the Mbembe area has been a place of refuge from less to the Mbembe area has been a place of refuge from less to the Mbembe area has been a place of refuge from less to the Mbembe area has been a place of refuge from less to the Mbembe area has been a place of refuge from less to the Mbembe area has been a place of refuge from less to the Mbembe area has been a place of refuge from less to the Mbembe area has been a place of refuge from less to the Mbembe area has been a place of the Mbembe area has been a pla The Moembe area lies own a prace or relige from feed and wars. Also lying on the trade routes from the highest and wars. Also lying on the fraue routes from the highest Central Cameroon to the Benue Plains of Nigeria, the Wood received infusions of "foreign" blood. In appearance and easy received introducts of the so-called 'Kirdi' of Cantral and Northern they are akin to the so-called 'Kirdi' of Cantral and Northern of East Cameroon as well as the Bachama (a Batta group) and his of northern Nigeria—all emigrants from the Lake Chal bits in the upper Benue basin in East Cameroon. The Jokum affects particularly marked in their difficult tonal language which a Oral Traditions

By and large, my investigations confirmed what Newton wa about the origins of the Mbembe.

The earliest inhabitants of the Mbembe area were the Zaeben who were the autochtonous owners of the land between Berk end Ako; their origin is unknown. The Zembenso were laters milated peacefully by Ako and by conquest by the Berabe well is said, came from Barnum as slaves of the Akuo, and having all numbered their masters, established themselves at Dumbo Bera and even extended their land at the expense of the Akuo. present time Akuo itself is practically extinct; the few surveil present title property of Berabe. Berabe with a popular that the popular t of over 1.000 is the largest and most populous Mbembe villes some of its Quarters are so scattered and distant from their needs bours—2 hours trek—as to constitute separate entities in the bours 2 hours are now intergrated in Berabe where the have their own Quarter Head. Like Berabe, Abonkwa is said to have their own countries that the Bergoe, Abonkwa is see be founded by ex-slaves of Akuo from Bamum. (The expressions be footback by "slaves" here must be accepted with the greatest reserve).

Mbiribwa is of Tikari origin, being a branch of the Wiya Cla of Wimbum from Kimi which passed there on its way to Kondhe of Wimbum from Financial Indiana the Konchep chief confirmed this and added that the Mbiribet chief has all the paraphenalia of a Wimburn chief.

The Ndaka, together with their quarter of Glddan Jukum The Nease, regener of 14 huts close to the Kentu border) came in the Kentu border) came small farming semiented to the Kentu border) came from Ndaka Bara near Tosso in Kentu. In the main they have Jukus

and Ball-Chamba characteristics and may well be stragglers from and Ball-Chamba group which attempted to settle near Mankon Bandel but was driven off to Takum (Kabery and Chilver*). Supget for his is given by Freemantle® who states: "The inhabitants of Takum, Donga and Suntai all come from the Tibati district of Congroups and migrated at much the same time about 1830, under foliari pressure from Yola. The Takum people belong to the Tikar mbe, and those of Donga and Suntai to the Chamba Division of the Dinyi tribe".

Buku, Abafu and Ako claim to have come from Wukari, though they are not of Jukum origin, and not from Munchi (Tiv) land as stated by Newton?. Another tradition has it that Buku is related to Nama (Neme) which is of Wukari origin by marriage-a Buku man marrying a woman from Neme, now in the Tigon area.

The Legend of Mbia Rock Shelter.

Akwaja the second largest Mbembe village, claims a different origin. According to Newton7 it is of Upper Donga or Kaka-Ntem origin. The Warr chief of Moh reiterated the claim that Akwaja came from Mbiribaw (for this reason Akwaja offers sacrifice in Mbot). The Akwaja Chief and other elders emphatically denied being of Kaka origin and while they could not say how, they conceded to being the "brothers" of the Warr group of villages viz. Saa, Jengi (Kungi), Nkambe, Moh, Binju Binshua, Mbot and Warr. They however insisted that the Akwaja, Jeffia (a Quarier of Berabe), Akuo, Mbande, Asha (Assa), Ekuru, Abonshie, Akwesse, Be and Afu (nearly extinct with one survivor each) and Zembu (nearly extinct with only two survivors) came from the ground of Mbia Cave or rock shelter near Amba village. The following northern Mbembe (Tigon) villages are also said to have originated from the Mbia Cave: Abong, Zhabe, Eneme, Batu, Buru, Eforebe, Zhondo and Ekwechukpo. Mbia Cave is said to be littered with clay pots and other utensils; it is a sacred spot where sacrifices are offered in times of distress e.g. during the small-pox epidemic which devas ed Akwaja and led to the scattering of the settlement.

Religious Traditions.

The Mbembe are traditionalists in matters of religion; neither The Mosmoe are translated deep in-roads into the area. Every village has its own sacrificial sacred grove. Felishes are hung from the ceilings and littered in all corners of living rooms. Amu-



Chief of Akwaja, Mbembe with wife and daughter with Bikom Cloth in background (Dec. 1965)



Mbembe Hut and Granary, Akwaja (Dec. 1945).

as se som round the neck and Wists. All these are god with for the fear of withhraft is very strong. he Whenbe also practise divination by the spider; a little a greed with shelter is dug in front of the hole where the

in the old abandoned quarter of Akwaja where the grandfather was present chief is buried, there is a place for taking oaths. This seminature raffia hut beside the village from the roof of which by day pots are hung all round. Underneath the centre of the and soully lay the skull of an animal. On a nearby stone sacriffcal fews were killed and medicinal herbs were ground. This oath

ess said to be very powerful and could make people mad. People are buried beside their huts in a subterranean bed, the for and being marked by a mound of earth and slabs of stone, one refical and the other flat on which sacrifices of fowl are made from time to time. As among the Esimbi of Wum Division, the belongings of the deceased are hung or scattered on the grave and not used by living persons.

Succession to the Chieftaincy.

A Chief is succeeded by one of his sons selected by the village elders, immedately the chief dies and before he is buried. The new chief is sworn in at a secret ceremony by the corpse of the deceased chief; he takes an oath to be faithful to the laws and customs of his village in default of which he will die. To round off he partakes of a medicinal drink.

In exceptional circumstances a chief may be succeeded by his brother e.g. in Berabe village blind chief Mbamu of Jeffia Quarter. handed over to his brother of Dumbo Berabe Quarter, but Mbamu's voice still carries a lot of weight in the village council.

Occupations.

The economy revolves around the palm oil tree. The principal occupation is the production of palm oil, which made Mbembe land famous and important to the grassfield plateau long before the arrival of the Europeans. The palm oil is bartered or sold in the markets of Nkambe, Binka, Ndu, and even as far afield as Kimbo (Nso) and Misaje. There is also some trade with Wukari-kola being and Assaje. There is a solid there in exchange for Bikom Cloth. The Moembe, however, fold there in excreme have their own home-made cloth made by beating the bark of a have their own round a soft white material resembling flax which is



Mbembe Grenary and Akwaja (December 1965)

formerly there were three types of marriage: by the payment femeny mere or dowry, by the exchange of sisters, and "free" d a bride price or unity, you have a man and woman lived together without the partingers where the price—in this case all the children of the union appropriate to the family of the woman. Where a dowry was not god, the woman could walk out on the man at any time. At the green time it is marriage by payment of a bride price which is in voque. Dowry varies from village to village. In Akwaja it massiss of 30 to 40 Athéphé (Bikom Cloth from Wukari) each valued util to £2 sterling, 60 Nyipué (native hoes imported from Oku in No Division) valued at 5/6d. to 14/6d. each, and sometimes some ash-about £15 to £30 sterling. Bikom cloth and hoes are sine ava non for marriage to be contracted. In Ako and Berabe the cash required is £20. Afterwards relatives must be entertained with 3 to 4 goats, about 4 chickens, 1 dog (formerly eaten but now only used for making sacrifices), palm wine, palm oil and salt.

Circumcision of boys takes place at the age of 7 to 8 years. No big camps are held as among the Bebe Jatto and Adere (Mfumte). There is a little feasting with 1 chicken, or 1 goat (according to one's affluence) and palm wine.

Ngah-Native Sunday.

Like the grassfield Cameroonians the Mbembe also have an 8 day week and on their "native Sunday", Ngah, all work is forbidden. In the morning the men go to the bush to tap palm wine. In the afternoon they congregate at the chief's palace with their collections of palm wine. The chief and elders hold court and try to settle minor cases. Then follows the drinking of palm wine by all present—men, women and children—from a pot placed at the centre of the court-yard. Towards sunset there is dancing and mock fighting with shields (made of the bark of a tree) and

Sources of Oral Traditions on the Mbembe,

- 1. Mpiéthéré, Chief of Ako
- 2. Babong, Chief of Akwesse
- 2. Babong, Chief of Anward, Akwaja, President of Mbembe Cus-
- 5. Nseka, Chief of Akwaia



End of Ngah Festivities, Akwaja, Mbembe-land

J. W. Sylvester Nicka, refired Administrative Messenger, Berabe. Mr. TE Shews, Headmaster, Basel Mission School, Beraba

The 'Misaje' group.

Rege is, properly speaking, no composite ethnic group called Mee is properly appeared by willish which word has only in recent years been applied by MANAGE WHITE THE MANAGE PROPERTY WAS INHABIT THIS district Rename Misajo', like most names in the Wimburn area, is deriand from the name of the founder of the town of Misaje formerhave empty land developed by strangers. 'Misaje' was an old man who white beard who was from the village of Mbissa (Bessah) atom the Hausas, the first strangers, found there on arrival. A common trait of the people of this area is that they tend to be about their ancestral homes and even deny any links with their neighbours for fear that their new-found independence might be jeopardised. But my investigations have confirmed Newton's? opinion that most of the inhabitants of this area "tome from down" (as they put it), from Kentu, but are socially much influenced by the Tikar culture of the Wimbum (Nsungli). The various ethnic groups or sub-groups are:

L - The Dumbo (Buzumbo).

This is the dominant group. The Dumbo at present claim to have always been where they are. Contrary to the Warr claim that the Dumbo came from Mbiribaw, Newton7 corroborated by Mbia, the old chief of Kamine, states that the Dumbo came from Kentu. According to oral traditions the father of the Buzumbo was called Kimezung and his wife was Ndefor. The earliest remembered residence, now regarded as sacred, was at Kimezum, a place now over-grown with trees, which is about one mile from the Present Dumbo town. An elephant ("Kingengeh") harassed the people and some Buzumbo scattered to many places around. Dumbo waged war against the Jukum of Takum and even carried the war into the opponents' camp. Akawu, the present Chief of Dumbo, states that emigrants from Dumbo founded the 'Bebe' and Nchanti groups of villages, as well as Mbissa (Bessah) village, Only the latter claim is conceded and confirmed by the Warr. Dumbo also claims to have founded the village of Ande in the

The Dumbo though small were valiant fighters. About their resistance to Fulani invasions, Glauning³ writes:

for 12 years in wer against the combined rulbe armies of Balos for 12 years in wer against the combined rulbe armies of Balos for 12 years in wer against the combined rulbe armies of Balos for 12 years in were against the combined rulbe armies of Balos for 12 years in were against the combined rulbe armies of Balos for 12 years in were against the combined rulbe armies of Balos for 12 years in were against the combined rulbe armies of Balos for 12 years in were against the combined rulbe armies of Balos for 12 years in were against the combined rulbe armies of Balos for 12 years in were against the combined rulbe armies of Balos for 12 years in were against the combined rulbe armies of Balos for 12 years in were against the combined rulbe armies of Balos for 12 years in were against the combined rulbe armies of Balos for 12 years in were against the combined rulbe armies of Balos for 12 years in well against the combined rulbe armies of Balos for 12 years in well against the combined rulbe armies of Balos for 12 years in well against the combined rulbe again The formerly very populous areas bumbo and Kenty polytics that combined rulbe armiecus and by COLATIONS OF NKAME for 12 years in war against me combined rube arms of label and Gashaka and "are today but feeble tribes under influence and feet and account of the Eulhon bar. and Gauhaka and are roomy bur recover more under influence. Chiefs. The fear of the invasions of the Fulbes has induced to Chiefs. The lear of the invasions or the runes has induced to natives to move their villages to the mountains and to see natives to move their vineges to the mountains and to see high hills. As they are informed that the invasions of the RA high hills. As they are informed that the invasions of the fue today are ended many of them declared themselves with places to the fuel today are ended many of them declared themselves with places.

ready to move their villages again to the fertile plain. dy to move that supplies of the natives and the richness the soil that, in spite of these many years of robbery, there is the same need to be a several wealthy village still a numerous population and there are several wealthy village. The Dumbo population was further decimated by conflict with as The German—Dumbo Conflict.

The German people had been stationed at Kinto (Kenh) They wanted the Chief of Dumbo, by name Isa, to send people to the station at Nkienda in order to sorve as messengers. The Kee people pleaded with the Chief of Dumbo not to send them to Ness da. At last Kwe people were sent there; but they soon returned to Ga. All lists twee people were sent there; but they soon returned pumbe. There was trouble between the German man and the Dumbo Chere was frouble between the German man and the Doumbo chere—because the latter had not allowed the Kwe people of the Allowed the Kwe people of the Balancia Chere below. formula client because the latter had not allowed the two peebs to stay at Nkienda. One Dokoh, a Dumbo man, was met at bete husha. Garmant. Than the stay of the s to any arrivenes. One beken, a Dumbo man, was mer urener by the Germans. They field grass and sent through him to the Chief, of Dumbo indicating the grass and sent through him to the by the continents may fired gress and sent through min re-Chief of Dumbo indicating that if he (the Chief) would not ellow the Kwe people to be statement as Chief of Junibo murcaling that if he (the Chief) would not an inthe Kwe people to be stationed at Nkienda, they the Dumbo people
would be burnt together with the chief of the Dumbo people
with the chief of the Dumbo people to the Chief of th the Kwe people to be stationed at Nkienda, they the Dumbo people would be burnt together with the Chief himself.

When the Dumbo people against the Chief himself. would be burnt together with the Chief himself. When the bunner people heard this they were eager to fight. The Germans converged and one of the control of people reard missiney were eager to fight. The Germans com-goed on Dumbo from Kinto and Barnenda. Wany Dumbo people were killed and this was the time. Ged on bumo from kinto and Bamenda. Many Dumbo peoperate were killed and this was the time too when Tsa the then Chel was killed. During this was required. were killed and mir was the time too when Tsa the then Chewas killed. During this war many Dumbo people were caught and easiled some to Kom some to Beam. was times. During the warmany Dumbo people were caught a called some to Kom Some to Burn. The wer lasted three months.

After the Chief was killed other than wer lasted three months. exited agent to sum-some to burn. The war lasted three members of the Chief was killed, other Dumbo Deople from Kinto and Lend Western were brought back to Dumbo Land After the Chief was killed other Dumbo people from Kinro are keep scool Dumbo Line. Was appointed to During this time Komfor was appointed by the Germans Jodes Line Germans. People well as at the Germans.

the second Dumber their was appointed by the Germans to dwell at the Present place outd. not reign for long the Present place. scaused by the common to owell at the present place.

"Konfor could not reign for long account of a small-pox."

a small-pox.

a small-pox. (Kaping could not reper tox long because of a small-pot tox long because of a small-pot tox long because of a small-pot tox constraint of the chief high could be considered to a new steekers was Najic become including the potential of the chief was now steekers. the Chief himself. The mire there was Ndikobia. The Dumbo people soon transferred to a new site. Kekwe we near the Kwe as Munkuh. The Gamma as Munkuh. The Gamma and the Kwe as people soon transferred to a new title, kekwe we near the Kwe people, at a place known as Monton, kekwe we near the Kwe he Dumbo people to live in one place. The Germans wanted subsequently because the present place. So they emigrated from

7s 1954 the third Chief Ndikobia Fawn died. Chief Akeeu

the present chief came unto the throne". from the short genealogy of the Dumbo chiefs and reference from the states who were not established in Gashaka 1873, it would appear that the Dumbo emigrated from Kentu and 1880. The Germans first visited and established a military set at Kentu in 1905; so from Glauning's report, we quess that & Gashaka/Bakundi attacks started around 1893

I - The Kwe

Wirence has been made several times in the preceeding text to the Kwe. These were autochtonous refugees from Fundong new Mashi in Wum Division to whom Dumbo Chief Tsa gave land losettle at Ntande, 4 1/2 miles west of Dumbo village. As Dumbo iself was too congested, the Kwe moved to Kinganya and thence, for farming purposes, to Ntombu which has become their dwelling place. The Kwe are now asserting their independence vis-à-vis

II - Bebe

The Bebe village Group consisting of Bebe Jatto, the parent. village, Bebe Kette, Bebe Jama (near Akweto) and Sabongida. lear the Kwe) claim to be autochtones who like the Mbembe originated, from the ground' from a cave in Nkar Hill in Bebe Jatto. his hill may well have been a place of refuge during wars, for although the Bebe stoutly deny being descended from Dumbo. Maia the old chief of Kamine confirmed the Dumbo claim that the Bebe are of Dumbo origin.

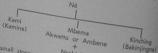
In appearance, attire, language and dances, the Bebe have a dose resemblance to the Jukum-speaking inhabitants of Ndaka IV. - The Nchanti.

The Nchanti (Yabow) too deny any links with Dumbo, claiming the Nehanti (Yabow) for day, by the directly from Kimi and formed at Ala, a Quarter of Nkanchi village, at a sacrificial spot selled at Ala, a Quarier or proposed strategy of a sacrificial spot marked by two tall stones. They found the land empty. Emigrants marked by two fall stones:

Ingrans Chunge in the five quarters of the property of the propert from Nchanti founded remanger Criunger. The five quarters of Nkanchi (Nchanti) village are: Bancho, Ala, Ansango, Sang and Nkanchi (Nchanti) village willage are and the state of the state Manchi (Ndhantir vinage and off-shoots of Dumbo, the

NOTES ON THE POLYGLOT POPULATIONS OF NAMES origin of Beng (Bebin) is unknown—Newton⁷ stated that they be

Among the Mbissa speaking peoples, Mbissa village as speak Among the moisses speaking peoples, marke vinage at egge by all the neighbours is of Dumbo origin. On the other has by all the neighbours to be bounded on the other had the Kamine group of village proper viz. Akwetto (Ambere), was the Runner group of Visings property of Bajingne (Bakinjingne tree its Quarter of Nsobi (Bansobi) and Bajingne (Bakinjingne tree its Quarter or Nation Language and Language and the form Kamine. According to Mbia the old Chief of Kamine, see Kamine group was founded by Né in the old town of Net, rea quarter of Karnine village. Nsch lies 1.5 Km. southward a the Chief's place. Nó begot three sons from whom the time



Three small stones inserted in a circular manner in the growth around a fine older in a circular manner in the growth care of the stone three strengths marketed in a circular manner in the government of the strength of the strengt around a fine piece in a secred grove in the Nseh Quarter or Nseh evillage marks the former place of residence of the Kamine grow.

The stones represents the stone of residence of the Malayan as the strange marks the former place of residence of the Kamine growth of the stones represent the three sons of Né viz. Kami, Mbens see Kinching. It is forbidden to the stone of Né viz. Sinching. It is forbidden to our down the trees in this grove in the engine be an andernic. Amounting. It is located no cur down the trees in this grove where might be an epidemic. From the time of its inception, Kamin has had 16 Chiefs.

mag re-times.

Mbia the old Kamine Chief, who would not be drawn out or

subject on previous wishs. while subject on previous visit, who would not be drawn out-discounting that both Kamina and a councillor had been supported by the subject of the subject This subject on previous visits, confirmed what a Counciller in divulged to me that both Kamine and Dumbo came from Kentu but are not of Tikar or Julium origin. The divulges to me marcoin kamins and Dumbo came from Kentu ears not of Tikar or Jukum origin. The old chief would not concess that Kantine and Dumbo are tellated the chief would not concess as a second of the control of the second of the secon are not of their ordination origin. The old chief would not consent that Kamine and Dumbo are related (the may have been due 10 the bitter was which Dumbo testings and may have been due 10 the bitter was which Dumbo testings. that Kamine and Dimbo are related this may have been due to be the warry which Dumbo, kaid this may have been due to be a concern another). The Bissa (Mbissa) is a branch of the Bassa (Mbissa) is a branch of the Bassa warry warry warry to be a bassa which is a branch of the Bassa warry w one another. Tailor quoting District Officer Hunt states the Bissa (Mbissa) is a branch of the Basi Zumbo. Né the Kaning Assessant Marated from Kentu bessuss of season. Né the Kaning Assessant Marated from Kentu bessuss of season. the Bissa (MBrssa) is a breach or the Baddumbo. No the Kampe-encestor migrated from Kentu beduse of cramped space and came and the state of the sta ancestor migrated from home because of camped space and c directly to Mah, now in Kamine village. The reference of Machine village in a remember of as only the male general remember of activities of actival at these present aims about a market present aims and market present and activities of acti with substitute of arrival of flerir present site, they make the fron the firm of a rival of flerir present site, they make the flering flerin



KAMINE Dancers

NOTES ON THE POLYGLOT POPULATIONS OF NAMES OF ALS! no war was waged; there was active social intercourse—decay

The Kamine village group is note-worthy for the strict step. The Kamine village proop is note-wormy for the strict step my in vogue there. girls from any of these villages have be a my in vogue there.

my in vogde merer gine monrany or mose vinages have to be married by men from stranger villages such as Bessah (Motion Married by Married Burney) and Married Burney (Married Burn married by men from strenger viringes auch as besser Mbiss).

Mbembe, Nsungli (Wimburn) etc., likewise ell the housewise stated.

In the Misaje area many customs are akin to those of the Webum. The social hierarchy is also akin to though on a smaller noise bum. The social merarchy is also akun to moogh the ameter rock the Wimbum. In Kamine village, for example, there are tere Ni who sit in council with the chief; it is they who select to chief's successor from among his sons. The Kamine chief ale his a stool with the black spider molif seen among the Wimbum. Ga a stoot with the black spider mont seen among the wimbon, was of important men are marked with slabs of stone as arrows the Winburn and Mbembe . The Né-Nso dance of the Winburn is also danced by the Kamine and Dumbo; but they weer here the and vertices by the kamine and Dumpo. But may well addresses bearing heavy masks with bold features carved in the like thesis opening many mans with bold reatures carves in manners of buffalces, open, atelopes, etc.—which masks resemble them ness of buttables, spes, atalopes, etc.—which masks resemble we noted among other autochtones of Central Cameroon like the Ziro-shandhandadah. 5. The Mbem (Kake) and Mfumte.

These inter-related residents of the remite hills of the normal stands. Nearther Distinguished the property of the remite hills of the normal stands and the stands of the east of Nkambe Division (Nwa Sub-District) are the kith and kith a assi of Neames Division (New Sub-District) are the kills and of the Mambils across the Dongs; all claim origin from kills district the sub-district origin from kills and the sub-district or the sub-district origin from kills and the sub-district origin to the results again the bongs; all claim origin from Kelendam contested by the liker of Mbaw Plain. Culturally, the Mbam Care Kaka or Vamba), and the Minest Plain. Culturally, the Mbam Care Kaka or Vamba). cam contend by the Interior Mosw Plain. Collorelly, the newsorthus and the Mosw Plain. Collorelly, the newsorthus and the Mosw Plainteen are very much akin to certain the Mosw Plainteen and the Mosw Plainte or Rate of Yamon, and the Mome are very much akin to ex-acother and the Mbaw Plainkinen. Their society is organised very holds. Dento and Kanina. accept and the business and samine a ministure of the Windows and samine and samine of the Windows and saminess and samine much like Dumboard was a ministure of the Wimburn moves the village is autonomous, chiefly authority is fluid, sometimes very many than the village state of the Wimburn moves the village state of the vill sees village is asserted and supply selected. Sometimes seems to about goods as the D.

Seems to about goods as the D. Ight the vineges are extended and their populated. The most go-should people in the Division, they are very artists.

in conclusion. Nikambe Division is composed of a large number of heterogenous ethnic groups at composed of a large numeration of the services of the ser ber of heterogenous and strong strong to have come a different times from Kim in East Cameroon. These groups have come a place as packet assessments. These groups have different sense from Auto in the Auto-Conference of These groups have been grained in places to Barber Auto-Chorocous Conny Populations and Auto-Chorocous Conny Populations been grafted in place to before established and populations of closure origins, which are established per one sawly populations Athough Barried by the Fulan Chembe and especially on the Athough Barried by the Fulan Chembe and especially on the form Galakia Jakun y on the companion of the property of t Astrooph harmed by me Killer from Geschike appendix props managed to mannam their made accept done appendix? these properties the arrival and accept the arrival accepts the accep groups managed to entire or commence of the cernal of the Cernant. The predominant cultural influence is That and

The large number of autochtonous populations found 1997 The large months of advantages populations found in the area under study would indicate that man has a second in the area under study would indicate that man has and in the parts for a long time. Archaeology would light on this subject.

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