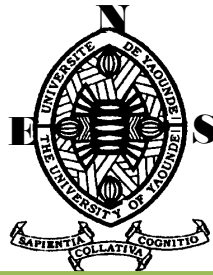


UNIVERSITY OF YAOUNDE I

HIGHER TEACHER TRAINING
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DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY



UNIVERSITE DE YAOUNDE I

ECOLE NORMALE SUPERIEURE

DEPARTEMENT D'HISTOIRE

MBORORO ACTIVITIES AND IMPACT IN FUNDONG AREA, 1922-2012: A HISTORICAL STUDY

*A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF A POST GRADUATE
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DEDICATION

To my parents, Francis Ngem and Celestina Chuffi

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ABSTRACT

The original home land of the Mbororos is said to be the Futa Toro region in Senegal. As a consequence of their eastward migration, they entered the Kom Fondom in 1922. The first wave of their migration was led by Ardo Malloum. In the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, other waves continued arriving the area. By the 1970s, their settlements were found all over the Fundong Area, an interaction which has had significant consequences. Since then, they began interacting with the indigenous population of the Fundong area.

This work seeks to show that as a result of their influence, the Mbororos impacted the area politically, economically and to an extent socio-culturally. In this respect, conflicts, politics and their Alkali courts influenced the area. Besides creating conflicts in Fundong area, the Mbororos created employment opportunities and served as one of the major sources of revenue. They also promoted trade, transport, communication and agriculture.

Some of them inter-married with the Fundong people, contributed in the introduction of Islamic education and later developed interest in the western system of education, added their traditional healings methods and contributed in the housing techniques of the study Area. Besides contributing to the spread of Islam and other cultural manifestations, Mbororos also contributed to the employment of Kom people in Fundong. The work also shows that through their language (Fulfulde), dressing, dance and other cultural influences, the Mbororos immensely impacted the area under study.

In spite of the positive impact of the Mbororos as mentioned above, their negative impact could also be noted. The farmer-grazier conflicts and other socio-cultural and economic ills related to their presence made life uneasy not only in the Fundong but in the Kom Fondom as a whole.

RESUME

Les Mbororos dont l'origine remonte aujourd'hui au Futa Toro dans le Nord de Senegal ont en conséquence à leur migration vers l'Est occupé progressivement la zone de Kom particulièrement Fundong. La première vague de leur immigration dans le Fundong a été menée par Ardo Mollaum. Dans les années 1940s 1950, et 1960, plusieurs ont immigré au point ou avant les années 1970, les territoires occupés ont pu être démarqués en zone de Fundong. Depuis lors, ils ont commencé à interagir avec la population indigène et à exercer leur influence qui a eu comme effet un grand impact sur la zone de Fundong.

De ce travail il en ressort que suite à leurs influences, les Mbororos ont influé sur le secteur politique, économiquement et dans une moindre mesure socialement, culturellement. A cet égard, les conflits, Politiques et courts Alkali ont influé cette zone. Au-delà des opportunités d'emploi, créées et servant d'une des sources majeures de revenus, il a promu le commerce, le transport, la communication tout comme l'agriculture. A cet égard, certains parmi eux se sont mariés avec les populations indigènes, ont contribué à l'introduction et la propagation du système d'apprentissage arabe ont développé plus tard un intérêt pour le système d'enseignement occidental. Ils ont adjoint leurs méthodes de traitement traditionnelles aux pratiques locales et ont participé aux activités de construction des maisons de cette zone d'étude. Parallèlement à la diffusion de l'Islam et dans toutes les fêtes y afférentes, les emplois indigènes dans cette zone d'étude. Il est démontré que, par leur langue (Fulfulde), habillement, danse et d'autres manifestations culturelles, les Mbororos ont influencé.

Malgré l'impact positif des peuls dans les domaines ci-dessus, leur impact négatif pourrait aussi être noté. Les conflits entre fermiers et herbagers et d'autres autres conflits socio-culturels et économiques ont rendu la vie difficile non seulement à Fundong en particulier, mais dans le royaume.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ADARD- Aduk Area for Rural Development

CNU- Cameroon National Union

CPDM- Cameroon People's Democratic Movement

ENS- Higher Teacher Training Collage

G S- Government School

G SS- Government Secondary School

GBHS- Government Bilingual High School

GTHS- Government Technical High School

ITCZ- Intertropical Convergence Zone

KNC- Kamerun National Congress

KNDP- Kamerun National Democratic Party.

LADA -Laikom Development Association

MBOSCUDA- Mbororos Social and Cultural Development Association

MEDU- Meli Development Union

NADU- Ngwah Area Development Union

NUDP- National Union for Democracy and Progress

S.D.O- Sud Divisional Officer

S.D.O- Senior Divisional Officer

SDF- Social Democratic Front

GLOSSARY OF KOM AND MBORORO TERMS

Names	Explanation
<i>Gaynakohs-</i>	herdsman
<i>Ngamti-Ilung</i>	Initiative group Ilung
<i>Achaff</i>	Type of clan in Kom
<i>Itchinala</i>	Type of a clan in Kom
<i>Nkang</i>	Beer made with corn
<i>Mbororo</i>	Cattle men
<i>Boteh</i>	Quarter head
<i>Kwifon-</i>	The highest secret regulatory society in the Kom palace
<i>Akum</i>	Juju
<i>Njong</i>	Military department in Kom Fondom
<i>Ta'manjong</i>	One who serves wine in the njongs' house
<i>Ardo</i>	Mbororo Chief
<i>Fubien</i>	A group of old women who riot against any fault
<i>Alkali</i>	Mbororo court
<i>Katanga</i>	Kide and skin of cows
<i>Wu Mboloh</i>	Mbororo man
<i>Fulfulde</i>	Language spoken by the Mbororos
<i>Njanwain</i>	Song for a new born baby
<i>Njang</i>	Song
<i>Lili</i>	Hausa curtest
<i>Mbuteru</i>	Mbororos traditional houses

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The word “Mbororo” in fulfulde (Mbororo language) means group of cattle men. They are however having different names in different part of West and Central Africa such as Fouah, ful, fulbe, pullo, Fula and Mbororos¹. Fundong is a Sub-division found in Kom Fondom in Boyo division. The Kom people migrated to their present settlement from Mbankim in Adamawa. From Mbankim, they first settled in Babessi and later to their present location around the middle of the 18th century². Due to the fertility of the soil, they embarked on agriculture. The most important crops grown were maize, guinea corn, beans, cocoyam and other root crops like cassava and sweet potatoes. The Mbororos also migrated into the Kom Area in 1922³. The first Mbororo man to arrive the Bamenda Grassfields was Ardo Sabga who migrated from Banyo with some of his people and settled in Sabga escapment in 1916. The Mbororo are said to have originated from Tukolor in Senegal and migrated toward Northern Nigeria before entering Cameroon. Many of them moved into Fundong in the early 20th Century, more precisely in 1922. The first Mbororo man settled in Fujua and later on moved to Ijim where there was enough grazing land⁴.

The availability of arable land in Fundong for pastures and for agriculture enabled Kom people of present day to cultivate their crops and the Mbororos to rear their cattle. This cultivation of crops and the rearing of cattle between the Fundong and Mbororo people brought them together and each group benefited from each other for food and meat. This led to so many impact which were political, economic, and socio-cultural. Despite this relationship, competition later on started developing between them over the use of land⁵. This keen

¹ V.G. Fanso, *Cameroon History for Secondary Schools and Colleges, Vol.1, From Precolonial Times to the Nineteen Century*, London, Macmillan Press Ltd, 1989, p.28.

² Mbeng John Ndim, “Farmer-Grazier problems in Kom Fondom 1922-1996”, DIPES II Dissertation in History. E. N .S Yaounde 1, 1996, p .1.

³Ibid

⁴Ibid

⁵ E.M.Chilver and P.M. Kabberry, *Traditional Bamenda: The pre-colonial History and Ethnography of Bamenda Grassfields*, Buea, Government printers, 1986, p.38.

competition was brought about by increase of people and animal population. This issue of competition was mostly as a result of the introduction of Arabica coffee in Kom in the 1930s⁶, and the practice of land tenure system that led to farmer-grazier conflicts. Also, the persistent causes of these conflicts were as a result of prolonged crop damages by the cattle which led to these farmer-grazier conflicts in Fundong Area.

In order to put an end to these conflicts, the British colonial government started intervening from the 1940s. This was continued by the Cameroon government after independence.

Statement of the problem

The Mbororos entered Fundong Area successfully from 1922 and settled in different villages in scattered and dispersed settlements. They then organised themselves into families and clans⁷. Indeed people would not have imagined that the Mbororos who preferred hilly areas as their best settlements far away from the Fundong people would one day interact with them. The horses they rode on scared the indigenes especially children. The Mbororos also regarded the indigenes as pagans who knew nothing in Islam.

Despite the above contradictory feelings that seemed to widen the gap between the Mbororos and Fundong people, it is important to note that the two later interacted together. This interaction brought the Mbororos and Fundong people together. This paved the way for impact which can clearly be seen on economic, cultural and socio-political domains. The problem here is to show that the presence of Mbororos in Fundong Area left so many impact on the economic, socio-cultural and political aspects which were more on the positive aspects than negative as Fundong people often imagined.

⁶ Mbeng, "Farmer-Grazier Problems", p.2.

⁷ Linus Ghangha Wainjain, "The Adaptation of Kom Area Traditional Land used pattern to Agro-pastoral Innovation in Kom", Maitrise Dissertation in Geography, University of Yaounde, 1988, p. 21.

The problem raised in our research work permit us to ask some general questions. Where did the Mbororos originate and what attracted them to their present area of settlement? What was the main occupation of the Kom people before the arrival of the Mbororos? How did they later co-exist with the early settlers they met in place?

Objective of the Study

The objective of this study is to treat the impact left by the Mbororos in Kom in general and in Fundong Area in particular. These impact were both positive and negative. This was because the Kom people in Fundong area benefited alot from the Mbororos on the economic, socio-cultural and the political aspects.

Also, the study aims at showing that from time to time, the two groups were torn apart by minor disputes. It also aims at showing that where conflicts set in, they were not always farmer-grazier conflicts, other socio-political and economic problems usually disunited them. The work also aims at showing the impact of this long relationship between the Mbororos and the Kom people. This work also brings out the effort made by the local and public administration to solve these problems.

Significance of the Study

The research is significant in that it will enrich the history of the Mbororos in the North West Region in general and in Fundong area in particular especially in the aspects of impact. It will also show the numerous effects brought by the rearing of cattle in the Fundong area. Examples are seen on trade, employment and development. This peaceful cohabitation will hopefully interest policy makers, scholars and researchers in Cameroon, North West Region, Boyo division and Fundong Sub division in particular to intervene and promote these peaceful interactions. It will also help them to build

strategies that will permit continuity in co-existence between the Kom and the Mbororos of Fundong Sub Division. It is equally hopeful that this work will spur future researchers wanting to carry out research on the area, most importantly on the Mbororos activities in Fundong Sub Division in particular and elsewhere in the North West Region. This study will also help people who have never been to this Division to know how Christians and Muslims lived together in harmony.

Scope and Delimitation of the Study

This study runs from 1922-2012. The year 1922 is important to this study because it marks the arrival of the first group of Mbororos, in the Kom Fondom. They were warmly received by Fon Ngam, the then Fon of Kom.

The year 2012 is important for the study because the Mbororo in Achain, Fundong Sub-division raised money and constructed two classrooms in Government School Achain. The Mbororos Social and Cultural Development Association (MBOSCUDA) School Menduh-Achain also received aid from the Mbororo elites. Also, Mbororo people in Fundong participated financially in the Laikom Development Association (LADA), the same year. Funds raised by the Mbororos enhanced innovation works in the Kom palace. It was a giant step that impacted the development of Fundong. The year was also important because it showed the peaceful co-existence between the Mbororos and Fundong people. This was seen when one of the Mbororo leaders, Ardo Manou of Achain, became the Sub-Section president of (NUDP) National Union for Democracy and Progress. This further strengthened the peaceful collaboration between the Mbororo people, and the Fundong people most especially militants of the party.

Literature Review

So many authors have written about Fundong Area but no particular attention has been paid to the economic, cultural and socio-political impact of

the Mbororos in Fundong area. Most of the works written about the Kom are mostly based on the fact that the Mbororo relationship with the Kom people in general and Fundong people in particular have been strained. Others have equally written on the advent and impact of the Mbororos in the North West Region as a whole and the case of Fundong is treated partially. Therefore, this researcher admits that these works have been very useful to this study. But, what the researcher seeks to add on the Fundong and Mbororo relationship is to bring into the limelight Mbororo's activities and their impact in Fundong Area.

V.G. Fanso in his book⁸ situates when the Mbororos infiltrated Cameroon and why they did so around the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. When they came in small numbers in search of pasture and agricultural lands. They submitted themselves quietly and peacefully to local rulers and did not hesitate to pay tributes when it was demanded by the Fons. This work is useful to this study because it provides the general reasons that prompted the Mbororos to settle in Cameroon with emphasis on grazing land, the spread of Islamic values before their subsequent spread to other parts of the country like the Bamenda Grassfields and Kom land in particular. However, the information about the Mbororos in this book is limited only to North Cameroon.

Njeuma Martin⁹ examines the origin, migration and settlement of the Fulani in Cameroon. He states that the Fulani migrated from Yola in Northern Nigeria to the present day Adamawa Region of Cameroon. He also examines the political, economic and socio-cultural organisation of the Fulani. He also highlights that one of the factors that forced people to move from old Adamawa region to the south was due to the activities of the jihads. This work helps to enumerate the chain of movement of the Mbororos from Northern Cameroon to the Grassfields region. But, the researcher's work seeks to explain more on the

⁸ Fanso V. G, *Cameroon History for Secondary Schools and Colleges*, p.29.

⁹ Njeuma Z. Martin, *Fulani Hegemony in Yola (Old Adamawa) 1809-1902*, Yaounde, CEPER, 1978, p.78.

advent of the Mbororos in Fundong and how their activities were embraced by the Fundong people.

Neba Aaron ¹⁰equally holds that the Mbororos migrated into Cameroon from the Senegal-Mauritania region in West Africa, bringing along the Moslem faith. He goes further to explain that the Fulbe occupied mostly the Northern part of Cameroon. Upon arrival in the Kom land, some intermingled and intermarried with the indigenous people. He states that the first half of the 20th Century saw the arrival of the Fulbe in the North Western Highlands and they were commonly referred to as the Mbororos. The typical Mbororos are tall and slim with narrow faces and have a clear complexion and wavy hair. This work is important for the study because it gives us information concerning the early Mbororos settlers in Northern Cameroon. He did not extend the work to Fundong but rather limit his work to certain parts of the North West Region in particular and Cameroon as a whole.

Nchoji Paul Nkwi and WarnierJean Pierre ¹¹in their book further trace the migration route of the Mbororos from Northern Cameroon passing through Bamum land before reaching the Bamenda Grassfields. They are of the opinion that the pastoral Mbororos had kept moving steadily eastward and southward in the area under consideration from the fourteen to eighteen centuries in search of good pastures and political conditions favorable to their way of life. They intermingled more or less peacefully with the local population. They also state that in the Grassfields, the Fulani raided some tribes such as Bum, Fungom and Aghem. This work is useful to this study because it traces the migratory routes of the Mbororos to the Grassfields.

¹⁰ Neba Aaron, *Modern Geography of the Republic of Cameroon*, Bamenda, Neba's publisher, 1999.

¹¹ Nchoji Paul Nkwi and Warnier Jean Pierre, *Elements for a History of the Western Grassfields*, Yaounde, Publication of the Department of Sociology, University of Yaounde, 1982.

Adu Rhamani¹² presents the political, economic and socio-cultural activities of the Mbororo in Mezam Division. He also treats conflicts and conflicts resolutions within the Mbororos as well as interaction between the Mbororos and their neighbours. The work is pertinent to this study because it provides us with information concerning Mbororos interactions with their neighbours. It treats in general, common aspects of the Grassfields Mbororo people. This research work will help us to bring out these same aspects in the Fundong area and how they impacted on the area.

Awason Nicodemus Fru¹³ discusses the origins and settlement of the Fulani and Hausa Communities in the Bamenda Grassland, 1903-1960. He examines the conflictual relationship between agriculturalists and pastoralists, otherwise known as farmer–grazier problems. While laying emphasis on some measures that were applied by the British colonial administration to solve the problems. He is of the opinion that those proposals made by the British administrators to resolve the crises did not end the crisis since those crisis continued even after independence. This work is relevant to the study because it provides us with information concerning the early Mbororo settlers in the Bamenda Grassfields which was the points of departure of Mbororos to other areas of the North West Region.

Awuh Harrison Esam¹⁴ affirms that the causes of the Farmer-Grazier conflicts were due to free grazing transhumance carried out by the cowboys generally known as *gaynakohs*. He concentrates on the causes of farmer-grazier conflicts, impact of the conflicts and the attempted solutions to the problems. He ends with the recommendations and did not dwell on the peaceful impact between the Mbororos and the Indigenes. He based his attention only on the

¹² Adu Rhamani, "The Political and Socio-Economic History of the Fulbe (Mbororo) in Mezam Division in the Twentieth Century", Maitrise Dissertation in History, University of Yaounde1, 2004.

¹³ Awason Nicodemus Fru, "The Hausa and Fulani in the Bamenda Grasslands 1903-1960" Third Cycle Doctorat thesis in History, University of Yaounde 1, 1984.

¹⁴ Awuh Harrison Esam, "The Farmer-Grazier Problems in Jakiri Sub Division", Maitrise Dissertation in Geography, University of Yaounde 1, 2001.

conflictual impact brought by the Mbororos. This work will be useful for this study because it proves that in Fundong area it was not only conflictual but also peaceful impact.

Babila Robert Sikod¹⁵ states that the Mbororo people arrived Bali and initially lived peacefully with the indigenes before problems later came up, due to an increase in the population of cows. He affirms that they had paid tributes to the Fons before they later brought hatred. He concentrates on the causes of farmer-grazier conflicts, impact, and some attempted solutions by the government and local authorities. This work is important in that, the Mbororos in Fundong Sub-division did not only leave negative impact but positive impact.

Nchia Christopher F.¹⁶ situates the origin of farmer –grazier conflicts and its consequence in the Aghem society. He did not dwell on the peaceful impact that existed amongst the Aghem and the Mbororo people. The researcher intends to identify those elements that suggest that the relationship between the Kom people in Fundong Area and the Mbororos was not only conflictual impact but also peaceful impact.

Mohamadou Jabiru A.¹⁷ examines the entering of Fulani cattle rearers into Menchum Division from Sabga and Nigeria between the 1920s -1950s respectively. He equally presents Fulani political organisation, economic and socio-cultural integration into the Menchum community. He discusses that the culture of cattle rearing by the Menchum people was inherited from the Fulani. He limits his work to the Fulani of Menchum Division of the North West Region of Cameroon and did not extend his study to areas like Fundong since it was not the purpose of his study. He was concentrating on integrations of the Menchum population.

¹⁵Babila Robert Sikod, "Farmer-Grazier Conflicts in Bali Sub Division, 1975-2010", Master Dissertation in History, University of Yaounde 1, 2010.

¹⁶ Nchia Christopher F., "The Farmer-Grazier Conflicts in the Aghem Federation 1950-2005", Maitrise Dissertation in History, University of Yaounde1, 2005.

¹⁷ Jabiru Mohamadou A., "The Advent, Organization and Integration of the Fulani into the Menchum Community from Early 20th Century to 2003", D E A Dissertation in History, University of Yaounde1, 2004.

Jumbam Charles Tardzenyuy¹⁸ also examines the Impact of Fulani on the Bamenda Grassfields. He confirms that the Fulani cultural values such as dance, language, building techniques, dressing styles and common habits left lots of impact on the Grassfields especially on the Nso Fondom. In this way, he shows the trend of the events beginning with arrival of the Fulani in the Bamenda Grassfields. He establishes that many Grassfielders who were Christians admired the Fulani way of life and therefore were acculturated. This work is relevant to the study because it provide us detailed information about the Mbororos origin which is very important to the first chapter of the work. However, the author mentioned Fundong area only in passing. He makes mention of MBOSCUDA school at Mundou-Achain and Fundong Rural Council. Thus, it will be important to study a similar work in this area of Fundong.

Wainjain Linus Ghangha¹⁹ traces the relationship between the agrarian and the pastoral landscape. He brings out the relationship between cattle rearing and crop production. He concentrates on the effects of animals to land and states some measures used by the government on agro-pastoral innovations. This work is helpful in that, it will provide us with the negative effects of the Mbororo cattle which will be part of our work.

Mah Victor Aghe-ah²⁰ presents how the Mbororos at first did not want to participate in rural development in Fundong Sub-Division. He states that they boycotted development because there was little unity among the Mbororos and the Kom people in Fundong. He brings up some reasons why they have been doing so for so many years. He also emphasizes that as time was evolving, they started involving effectively on rural development. This work is helpful in that,

¹⁸Jumbam Charles Tardzenyuy, "The Fulani Impact on the Bamenda Grassfields 1916-2008", Ph. D Thesis in History, University of Yaounde 1, 2012. p.94.

¹⁹ Wainjain Linus Ghangha, "The Adaptation of Kom Area Traditional Land used pattern", Maitrise, p.73.

²⁰ Mah Victor A., "The Mbororo as Agent of Community Development of Fundong Sub Division", Master Dissertation in Geography, University of Yaounde 1, 2010.

while the author concentrated on development, the present researcher wants to show that apart from development by the Mbororos, there were some activities like economic activities that really impacted in the Fundong area.

Mbeng John Ndim²¹ examines the causes of the Farmer-grazier problems in Kom Fondom, its manifestations and the attempts made by the British colonial administration and the Cameroon government in solving the problems. He argues that Farmer-Grazier problems have remained a factor of strained relations in the Kom Fondom. The work is relevant to this study in that, it is an extensive study concerning the agro pastoral problems in Kom. The difference between this work and the ongoing research study is that he focuses on the farmer- graziers problems, whereas, the interest of the present research is to show that though these problems occurred in Kom, they were minimized to a larger extent thanks to the peaceful activities that Fundong people copied from Mbororo settlers.

Ngongbi John Yon²² examines how cattle rearing in Kimbi brought both positive and negative impact on the social, cultural and the economic aspects. He points out that as the Fulani arrived with their cattle, some indigenes looked at them as wealthy and prestigious men. Because of this, some indigenes started indulging in the rearing of cattle. He poits out that so many indigenes of Kimbi Area in Bum Sub division of Boyo division, developed the Fulani ways of life and some even started learning Fulfulde, a language spoken by the Fulani people. According to him, cattle always played very important role in ceremonies such as death and marriages. During these occasions, cows were slaughtered and offered to invitees. The Fulani also slaughtered some cows during the naming ceremonies. This work is very necessary to the study in that, its helps to bring out some of the activities of the Mbororos which were also

²¹Mbeng, "Farmer-Grazier problems" P.45.

²² Ngongbi JohnYon, "The Impact of cattle Grazing and The Forage Conservations: A case Study of Kimbi River Basin", Maitrise Dissetation in Geography, University of Yaounde, 1988, p.102.

common with the Mbororos of Kom in general and those of Fundong area in particular.

Saliy A.S.²³ situates the Farmer-Grazier conflicts in Bui Division. He blames the farmer more for the persistent conflicts with the graziers. He equally suggests that the eradication of the indigenous primitive system (shifting cultivation) of agriculture could be a lasting solution to the conflicts. Even though his argument seems pertinent, he fails to consider other factors that also provoked farmer-grazier conflicts like the destruction of farms by animals. This researcher intends to identify those elements which prove that the Mbororo presence was very visible in Fundong Area.

Fungwi H.M.²⁴ analyses the evolutions of the food crops in Kom. He brings out the role played by the British colonial administration in influencing agriculture in Kom. Women spent most of their time going after the destructive animals. So many people starved themselves because of food problems. He did not dwell on the impact of the Mbororo activities in the area of study and it will be necessary for us to study the impact.

Buba Umaru Hassan²⁵ discusses how the sedentarisation of the formerly nomadic people like the Mbororos brought them together. He states that by sedentarising, they had to change their way of life, feeding habit and adopt new types of houses. The Mbororos of Boyo Division adopted a more modern type of housing and started construction with hard materials. He confirms that the presence of the Mbororos in this area has made them to get married to some indigenes. He focuses on the evolution of the Mbororos habitats and this motivates us to show the impact that they brought. This work is

²³Saliy A.S. "Farmer-Grazier Conflicts in Bui Division 1916-1989", Maitrise Dissertation in History, University of Yaounde, 1989, p.58.

²⁴ Fungwi M. H., "The Economic Development of Kom Fodom: From the Settlement to Present", Maitrise Dissertation in History, University of Yaounde 1, 1989, p.96.

²⁵ Buba Hassan Umaru, "The Evolution Of Mbororo Habitat: An Indicator of Sedentarisation of a People that are Traditionally Nomadic Breeders, Case of Boyo Division North West Region Of Cameroon", Master Dissertation in Geography, University of Dschang, 2010, p.39.

more relevant because it will help us to show continuous co-habitations between the Mbororos and Kom people in Fundong area.

Research Methodology

In order to carry out this study, the researcher exploited sources which included primary and secondary sources. With regard to primary sources, archival and oral sources were used. This research was done in two trips ; on the month of August and month of December 2014. Informants were interviewed individually and collectively. Those interviewed individually were people who had information concerning the Kom-Mbororo relationship. As concerns collective interviews, we interviewed meetings and some associations like *Ngamti- Ilung*, a meeting group in Ilung village found in Fundong sub-division. Archival materials provided the author with first hand sources of information relevant to Kom and Mbororo relationship in Fundong Sub division. As concerns secondary sources, published and unpublished works were exploited.

Primary Sources

In order to have relevant information, the researcher visited the National Archives of Buea, Regional Archives Bamenda, Fundong Sub-Divisional Archives, Divisional delegate of Livestock Fisheries and animal Husbandry in Fundong, Environment and protection, Divisional Delegation of Agriculture and Rural Development were exploited. The files we came across provided information ranging from reports, complaints, intelligent and assessment reports. The information gotten was very useful because it helped the researcher to understand the role of local authorities, Administrative authorities who ensure that the Kom people and the Mbororos live peacefully in Fundong Sub division.

In dealing with oral sources, interviews were conducted amongst the Kom and Mbororos. Interviews were carried out with so many people and more

attention was given to the elderly people who had information concerning our study. Our interest here was to have information on peaceful impact between the Fundong people and the Mbororos. These peaceful impact were political, economic and socio-cultural. The number of oral sources gathered was of great importance because they complemented our archival and secondary sources.

Secondary Sources

As concerns secondary sources, we obtained information from published and unpublished sources such as books, articles and theses. The books consulted furnished us with information concerning the Kom and Mbororo people.

A good number of libraries were visited to facilitate the study. These included the Faculty of Arts, Letters and Social Sciences (FALSS) Library of the University of Yaounde 1, the Department of History Library, the Higher Teacher Training College Library Yaounde and some private libraries. Some elites and friends supported us with few documented materials that helped in the realisation of this work. The published and unpublished materials equally facilitated the realisation of this study.

Problems Encountered

The work was not accomplished without problems. The first problem was that the research was carried out during the summer holidays where there were lots of rainfalls and mud, making trekking to certain areas difficult. This problem was solved by using rain boats to trek to these places.

Another major problem which was encountered was the absence of enough written materials. It was very difficult to have books that effectively treated issues concerning the Kom and Mbororo people. For example at the Higher Teacher Training Collage Library, University of Yaounde 1 and Ministry of Scientific Research and Innovations, where we found codes of books in the catalogues but most of those books were never given to us on grounds that

they were not available for reasons that some people took them to their homes and never brought them back to the libraries. To overcome this problem, we had some books from friends and in the home libraries of some elites. Again, trying to rely on oral interviews, as a means of having original information, some of the informants were reluctant to do so for fear that we were spies to the government. To overcome this problem, we took time to explain to them that we were students and needed information only for our academic work.

Some Muslims who live at the peripheries of North West Region in general and in Fundong in particular do not really speak English language as well as Pidgin English, and so we had difficulties to translate from Fulfulde to English language. This problem was overcome by seeking the services of interpreters. There was also the problem of accessibility. Some areas were very inaccessible. These areas include Baisso, Mbonkissu, Mbenkas, Mual and Isaibi all found in Fundong Area. These problems were solved by trekking to the research area since motor bikes could not reach these areas. The problems enumerated above almost handicapped the work, but the determination of the researcher and the help of some people who assisted us, made the work to be realised.

Organisation of the study

This work is divided into five chapters. The study begins with the general introduction which deals with the statement of the problem, the objective of the study, scope and limitation of the study, significance of the study, research methodology that was employed and the problems encountered in the field during research. It ends with the general conclusion.

Chapter one looks at the area under study in time and space. It includes location, climate, relief, hydrology, vegetation and soils of the area. Moreover, a brief history of the people, beginning from origin, migration and settlement of Kom people in Fundong. It also treats political, economic and social lives of the

Kom people. This chapter is very pertinent because it will properly disclose Fundong Area where both the Kom and Mbororo people live.

Chapter two aims at examining the arrival of the Mbororo in Fundong Area or land. This chapter treats the pull factors that led to the arrival of the Mbororos in Fundong Area. These pull factors are sub divided into three sub headings namely, the physical, economic and social factors. The second section of this chapter handles the migration and settlement of the Mbororos in Fundong. Under this section, the origin of the Mbororos, their migration and settlement will be discussed. This chapter is important because it will enable us to have a brief understanding about the Mbororos in Kom as a whole and in Fundong in particular thereby permitting the reader to further understand their impact on the Fundong people.

Chapter three analyses the political activities and impact of Mbororos in Fundong Area. These political impact concentrate on issues of conflicts, Mbororos and politics, justice and peace.

Chapter four presents the economic impact of Mbororo activities in Fundong Area from 1922-2012. These economic impact handle issues such as employment, agriculture, the Mbororos and trade, transport and communication, the revenue generating activities. As for the negative impact, low crop production and starvation, environmental effects such as water contamination and deforestation will be discussed.

.Chapter five analyses the socio-cultural activities and impact of Mbororos in Fundong Area. The social aspects will focus on religion, education and health. While the cultural aspect will treat marriage, language, dressing, building techniques, foods and Mbororo dance. This work ends with the general conclusion which will be a summary of all the work.

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND OF THE FUNDONG AREA

Introduction

This chapter seeks to present the geographical setting and historical background of the Kom people in general and Fundong people in particular. By studying the physical and human activities that influenced mans' behaviour in this Sub division, geographical aspects such as location, vegetation, soils, climate and human activities are points of focus of this chapter. As for the historical background, it will treat the origin, migration and settlement of Fundong people. It will also focus on the economic, political and socio-cultural activities of the Fundong people.

Geographical Location of Fundong Area

Land scape

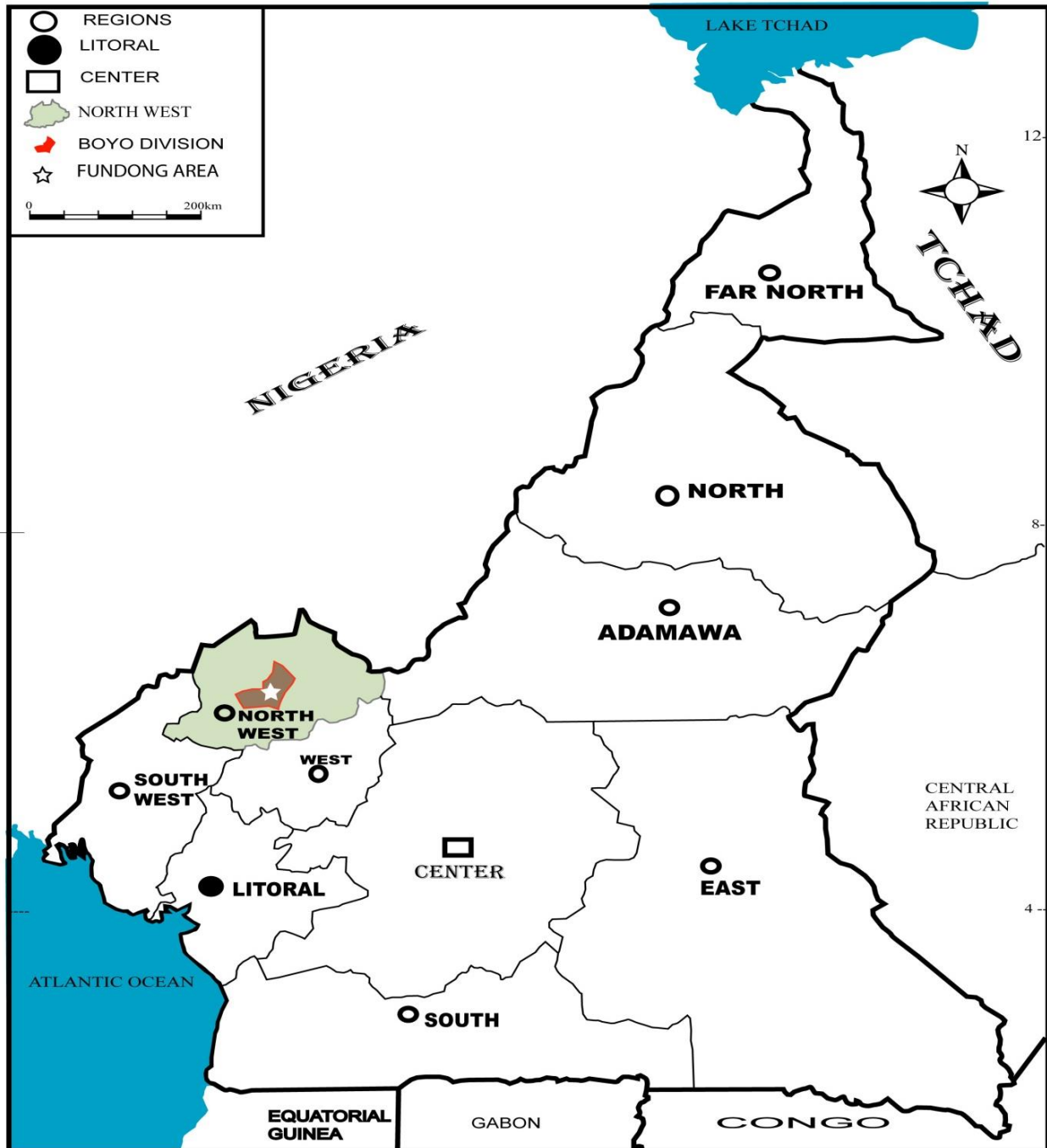
Fundong is located almost at the centre of the present day North West Region of the Republic of Cameroon. The population of this area was about 28,757 inhabitants and 3911 household (according to the 1987 population census), and Fundong Area is made up of 27 villages. These villages are Laikom, Muteff, Ajung, Akeh, Mbengkas, Baiso, Mbongkisu, Abuh, Mentang, Baichu, Mbissi, Fundong-up, Meli, Ngwainkuma, Mboh, Atoni, Fujua, Alim, Boyui, Ngwah, Bolem, Aduk, Achain, Atoni, Ilung, Isaibi, Mbam and Achangne.²⁶ However, the population has grown to about 47,897 inhabitants with a surface area of about 537 Km² giving the population density of 89.2 people per square Kilometers (2005 population census) and number of households has also increased.²⁷ As already mentioned, Kom is located in the

²⁶ Mah Victor Agh-ah, "The Mbororo as Agent of Community Development", p.3.

²⁷ Interview with Awoh Joseph, Fundong-up, 42 Years, civil Registrar, Fundong Rural Council, 10th August, 2014.

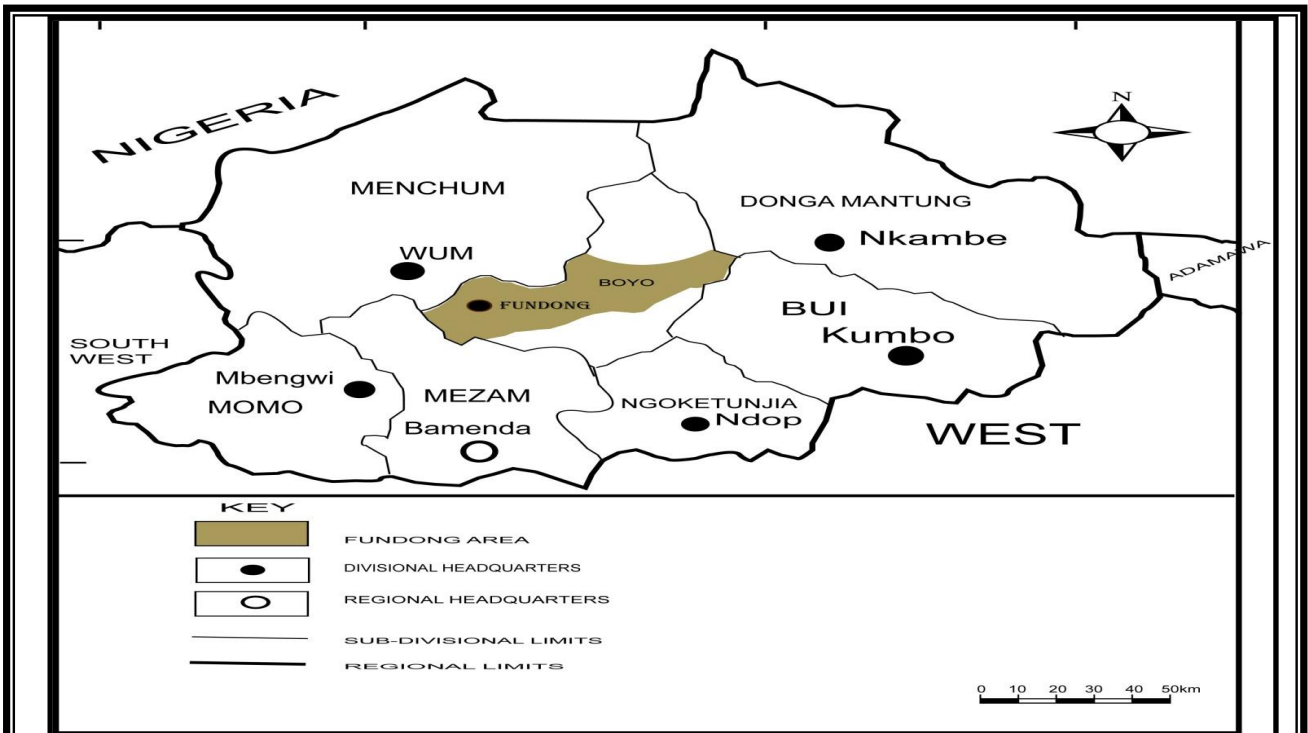
centre of the North West Region, Fundong is also located in the centre of the Kom Fandom as seen on the map below.

Map 1: Location of Fundong in the North West Region of Cameroon



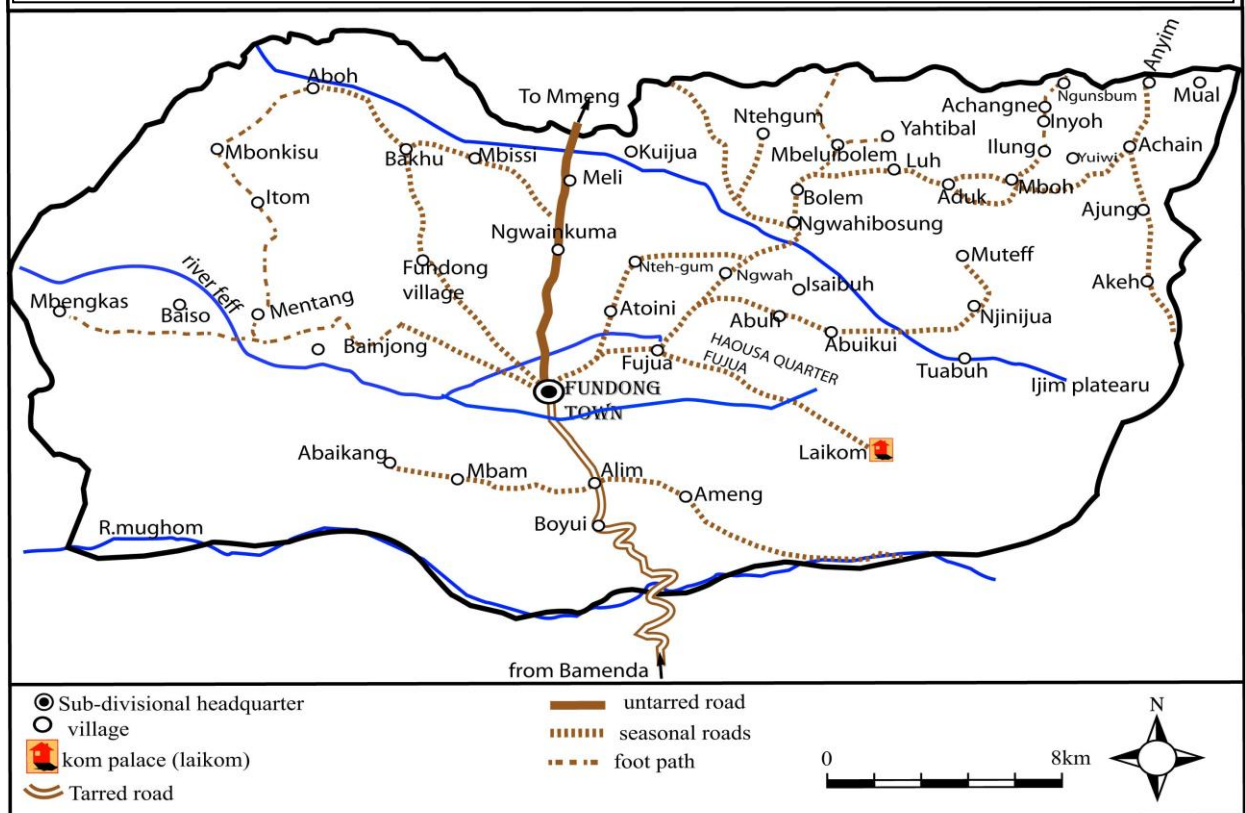
Source: Adapted from the 1992 administrative map of Cameroon, INC, Yaounde. 2015

Map 2: Location of Fundong Area in the North West Region



Source: ADAPTED FROM THE ADMINISTRATIVE MAP OF CAMEROON, INC YAOUNDE, 2015

MAP 3 : Lavout of Fundong Area



SOURCE: ADAPTED FROM THE 1992 ADMINISTRATIVE MAP OF CAMEROON, INC YAOUNDE, 2015

²⁸ Mah Victor Agh-ah, "The Mbororo as an Agent of Community Development", p. 4.

geographical position of Fundong Area or Sub division shares boundaries with some sub divisions in the Boyo as well as other divisions in the North West Region of Cameroon. It is the head quarter of Boyo Division. It is bounded in the south by Njinikom and Belo sub divisions, to the North by Fungom sub-division, to the East by Noni sub division, to the West by Menchum valley sub Division, to the North East by Bum sub division and to the South West by Bafut sub division.²⁹

Climate

The climate of any society has a big influence in the mode of life of its people and so affects the people in one way or the other. The climate of Fundong Sub division has not witnessed many changes since they occupied the place. Her climate has been largely influenced by altitude, relief, rainfall, sunshine, vegetation and hydrology which have direct effects on the physical landscape and the evaluation of human activities.

Fundong Area experiences tropical Sudan climate which is greatly influenced by altitude and characterized by two seasons, the long rainy season of about eight months (March-November) and a short dry season of about four Months (November-February)³⁰. These seasons do at times fluctuate where by rain may come by February instead of March. The dry season is characterized by the dominance of Harmattan. Due to temperature changes, places are hot during the day and cold during the night, and during the rainy season, the visibility is at times very dull and there is constant cloud cover and dew which affect the people of the Fundong area due to so much cold³¹. Rainfall ranges between 1600mm to 2200mm and temperatures 11°C and 24°C. The rainiest months are July and August with rainfall of about 2200mm, whereas early

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Nkwi, *An Ethnographic and Historical Study of the Kom People in the Bamenda Grassfields of West Cameroon*, Roma Urban University, P.11.

³¹ Ibid,

March is the warmest Month with temperatures rising up to about 26°C³². The Intertropical Convergence Zone (ITCZ) explains the high rainfalls and temperatures. The ITCZ is a low pressure zone where the anticyclones of the Northern hemisphere (Harmattan Winds) meet with that of the Southern hemisphere (Monsoon Winds). The climate variations in the Fundong Area are caused by the seasonal movements of this ITCZ. Fundong area is characterized by conventional rainfall with persistent drizzles in July and August.³³ The abundant rainfall in Fundong favours crop cultivation as well as animal rearing which were all factors that favoured the settlement of Kom indigenes and the Mbororo settlers.

Relief and Hydrology

As already mentioned in the introduction, Kom is hilly not leaving out Fundong Area. This has influenced many activities of the people where the Mbororo men graze their cattle. Fundong like other Grassfields Areas is made up of hills such as that of Achain, Bolem and Ajung as well as Ijim Mountain hill and plateau. Most of which are rugged especially the South Eastern part of the Fundong Area. The North and Eastern part of the Sub division have gentle slopes which are drained by numerous rivers.³⁴ These rivers and streams are all tributaries of the Menchum and Katsina Rivers. The most important rivers in Fundong Area are Juafeuf found in Fundong town, River Ngwah, River Achain and River Yuwi. The hill slopes are most of the time covered with stunted plants and at times not fertile for cultivation of crops. Most of the rivers take their rise from these hills and flow down to the valleys. The most important Rivers that flow through this area are that of Achain, Ngwah, Juafeuf and streams like those of Mboh, Bolem and Yuwi. Fundong has a network of

³² Mah Victor Agha-ah, "The Mbororo as an Agent of Community Development", p .4.

³³ Ndu Chia Oliver, "The Socio-Economic and environmental Impact of Population Growth in Kom (Boyo Division)", DIPES 11 Dissertation in Geography, E.N.S Yaounde 1, 1999.

³⁴ Nkwi, *Traditional Government and Social Change: A Study of the Political Institutions Among the Kom of the Cameroon Grassfields*, Fribourg University Press, 1976, p.11.

seasonal streams whose volume completely dried up at the heart of the dry season or reduced very low. There are also some important permanent ones that cannot dry to a very low extent and they include River Ngwah, Juafeuf in Fundong town and River Achain. These streams do not only help for household usage but also help the Mbororo men to give water to their animals and also help people to water their vegetables during the dry seasons and also construct their mud houses. In short, these numerous streams help to carry out agriculture on the study area.³⁵

Soils

The soils of the study area are predominantly made up of ferralitic and laterite soils put in place by a combination of climate and altitude which favoured the accumulation of humus soils in certain areas like Ijim, Ajung and Akeh³⁶. Ferralitic and laterite soils have a high content of Organic materials but poor in chemicals such as calcium, potassium, magnesium and azotes. These laterite soils are reddish in colour. In the low land areas such as Mentang, Baiso, Mbongkisu and Abuh are alluvial soils washed from the upper slopes in the Eastern areas. The sticky nature of these soils favours the moulding of bricks for house construction. The greater part of the Fundong area is covered by the volcanic and alluvial soils and they reflect the influence of the parent material. These soils cover the Ijim, Fundong plateau which favours the abundant coffee plantations and the crop farms found in the study area. The plains of Mbongkisu, Baiso and Mentang are characterized by the alluvial soils. The rampant occurrences of the floods have led to transportation of eroded organic matter from the upper course. These rocks here rang from granite, basalt, and aluminum. These soils types are important because they support a very high proportion of agricultural activities in Fundong Area.

³⁵ Interview with Alhadji Nuhuh, 50 Years, Cattle rearer, Achain, 12th, August 2014

³⁶ Mah Victor Aha-ah, "The Mbororo as an Agent of Community Development",p.5.

Vegetation

Like the Bamenda Grassfields, Fundong is an area usually very visible in so many directions because it is made up of stunted grass. The stunted grass provides hills with beautiful sceneries during the early months of the rainy seasons (March and April) and poor outlooks in the heart of the dry season. The slopes of the hills and escarpments were sometimes very bare and exposing doomed shaped Rocks. The valleys were sometimes covered by a sort of forest with pieces of galley trees typical of the savanna type.³⁷ The vegetation cover of Fundong witnessed a series of changes due to the increasing human intervention on the land through farming, hunting and construction. The Fundong vegetation was therefore a mixture of typical grasslands and forest features. Eventhough the vegetation was mainly stunted grass, there existed some tree species in the small forest found in the Fundong Area. In Ilung, Mboh, Abuh, Bolem and Akeh, there were very long trees of about 30 metres height. Other vegetation covers were planted by Indigenes of the area. Some of these trees were pear trees, eucalyptus trees, kola nut trees, mango trees, orange trees, guavas trees and coffee trees. Vegetation did not only influence settlement in this area of study but also supported agriculture as people moved to the forest for the cultivation of crops and graziers moved into the area for the rearing of animal.

Historical Background

Origin of Kom people

Fundong is found in the heart of Kom. Kom is said to have been refferred to variedly as ; Bikom, Bamukom or Bekom³⁸.According to legend and some oral sources, Kom people are said to have originated from Ndobbo in the Tikar Country found in the Adamawa area. Some claim that they originated from Bankim. They are most often linked with the general movement that pushed

³⁷ Ngam Confidence Chia, "Kom and Her Neighbours, From the Earliest Settlement to the Present: A Situation of Conflicts and Peace", Ph.D Thesis Project proposal, University of Yaounde 1, 2005, p.52.

³⁸NAB, The Kingdom of Kom in West Cameroon by E.M.Chilver and P M Kaberry.P. 10.

most of the Grassfields people from Tikar country down south during the 18th Century³⁹. The Kom people are said to have migrated as far back as around the 18 Century. In the course of their migration, they passed through the Upper Mbam River. Eventhough the real cause of their migration is not well known, we can say that it was because of succession disputes, intertribal wars and population pressure. According to recent research carried out especially from the new chronicles of Fundong like those of Francis Chia Ngam, it has been established that all the Fundong people did not come from Ndobu. The reliability of this fact is that only the Ikui clan was the clan that really left Ndobu and other clans were being incorporated in the migration sites or found already settled such as the *Achaff* and *Icinala* clans⁴⁰.The Ndonali clan were the original settlers before the arrival of Fundong people.

Migration and Settlement of the Kom People

Kom People in Babessi

From Ndobu, Kom people moved to Babessi. Their settlement in Babessi was made possible by the fact that land was large and unoccupied and that the Babessi people never saw them as a threat and welcomed them peacefully. They were at first very hospitable to the Kom people and the Fon of Kom went ahead signing friendly pact with the Fon of Babessi.

Babessi was the first settlement of Fundong people in the Grassfields area of the North West Region of Cameroon. They freely interacted with the Babessi, farmed and hunted together without any problem⁴¹. Unfortunately, the Kom population kept on increasing rapidly and the youths from the Kom tribe were stronger than those of the Babessi. These factors made the Babessi Chief and his people to become jealous of the Kom people⁴².The Babessi saw the fast

³⁹ Nkwi, *Traditional Government and Social Change*, p.40.

⁴⁰ Ngam, "Kom and Her Neighbours" p.53.

⁴¹ Nkwi, *Traditional Government* p.19.

⁴² Abang Njousi, *Kom Folktales*, NEC Publisher, Yaounde, p.1.

growing population of Fundong as a threat to them and their Fon. The Fon of Babessi tricked the Fon of Kom that as the population of our youth is fast growing, let us reduce the number of the youths by building two Houses, one for Kom (Fundong) people and another for Babessi where each was supposed to have one door so that when the youths will enter into these houses, we will burn them and reduce the fast growing population which may one day be a threat to their authorities.

When these houses were constructed, the Fon of Babessi's house was constructed with two doors, one door in front and another door behind while that of the Kom people was constructed with one door, and when the youths entered into these houses, all the youths of Kom were burnt inside the house while those of Babessi entered their own house and escaped behind the house. This angered the Fon of Kom and he promised his remaining people that he will go and commit suicide in that area, will appear a fish pond. In the fish pond will occur fishes and no Kom (Fundong) person should fish in this pond. He instructed Kom people that they will follow the foot of a python and when this foot stops anywhere, they should settle there.⁴³ By the time the Fon finished making his speech, he left and committed suicide and subsequently a fishing pond appeared on that spot. Babessi people entered to fish, but the pond sunk and they all died.

Many accounts have it that the Babessi Fon devised a means to eliminate the Kom work force and their productive population by convincing the Kom Fon to accept that the young men of the two tribes be burnt in these houses⁴⁴. After the death of Babessi youths, they were waiting for the python trail to appear and take them to a new found land where they shall be protected and safe from all harms⁴⁵. On the spot where he hung himself, a python is said to

⁴³ Nawain Grace Fukuin, Age 80, Housewife, Ilung, 10 August 2016.

⁴⁴ Nkwi, *Traditional Diplomacy*, p.15.

⁴⁵ *Ibids*

have appeared and moved in agony out of Babessi. This movement covered a long distance and painful tiring trekking led by a woman called Nandong who was the sister of the deceased leader. The python track moved toward the north eastern part of the present site and settled at Din, Nkor in Noni Sub Division. This place acted as the second temporal site of the study area and this settlement was influenced by the fact that the python disappeared there⁴⁶

At Din, Nandong fell in love with a leader of Din and gave birth to a son and the name of the son was Jina which means child in the Din's mother Tongue, and the child was later on called Jinabo which means papa or Bo⁴⁷. Since his father loved Jinabo, so much that he told him "the state secrete" and apparently named him the heir to the throne⁴⁸. It was said that when the Fon of Din died the Din people refused Jinabo as their ruler, referring to him as son of stranger. As a result of this, a conflict occurred between the Kom and Din and they took off again after the reappearance of the python trail.

From Din to Laikom

When the Kom people left Din, they followed the python trail and disappeared again at Ajung. The Kom people settled at Ajung for a short period of time. While at Ajung, Kom people entered into alliance with the Ajung people. Kom people later moved southwards, and settled again at Idjim after when the python trail had left Ajung again. With the conviction that they had finally gotten a permanent settlement, they got up one morning to discover that the python trail had taken off from where it stopped. This track at this time took them to their final place of settlement. This was by passing through Anyajua before reaching Laikom. It was at Laikom that the python trail finally disappeared. At Laikom, the Kom people met with the Ndonali clan who later on transferred to Achain. Oral tradition holds that their main reason to transfer

⁴⁶Ngam Confidence Chia, "Kom and Her Neighbours from the Earliest Settlement to the Present", p.56.

⁴⁷Ibid

⁴⁸ Chantal Nkeneh, "Kom and Long Distance Trade", P.19.

to Achain was because they did not want the domineering attitude of the Kom people⁴⁹. At Laikom, Nandong handed down her powers to her son Jinabo who became the first nephew to reign in the Kom Fondom. Also, Nandong attitude of making her son successor marked the beginning of matrilineal succession in Kom⁵⁰. While at Laikom, the Kom Fondom eventually grew and expanded during the colonial era due to the expansionist policies of Fon Yuh. Clans such as Ajung, Achain and Akeh chiefdoms were later on peacefully incorporated into the Fondom through peaceful negotiations. In fact, the Kom Fondom witnessed some expansion and the creation of some neighbouring chiefdoms in the early and mid 18th century⁵¹. The Nkwene people had earlier moved out of Ndzikwin peacefully to their present site, Mendankwe. The Bafut Chiefdom was also situated on the slope of Boyo Hill in Njinikom. The expansionist policy of the Kom Fondom progressed with the suppression of smaller groups like, Baisso Mbenkas and Mejung. Before the beginning of the 20th century, the Indigenous population of the Kom Fondom by 1922 witnessed the advent of the first group of Mbororos into the Area.

Activities of the Fundong people

Economic life

The economy of the Fundong people was largely subsistence, comprising farming, small scale stock rearing and trade. Agricultural production was largely in the hands of women who produced enough food to satisfy local needs and to supply enough food during traditional ceremonies such as child birth and death celebration. Men helped them in the clearing of farms, harvesting and even transporting the products from the farms to the house⁵². Some of the food crops grown were beans, maize, guinea corn, coco-yam, sweet potatoes,

⁴⁹ Nkwi and Warnier Jean Pierre, *Elements for a History of the Western Grassfields*, p.173.

⁵⁰ Ibid

⁵¹ Ibid

⁵² Nkwi, *Traditional Government and Social Change*, p.45.

cassavas and yams⁵³. From these crops, maize was the main diet and was cultivated twice a year. That is from March to August and from September to February. The production of these crops was encouraged because of so many feasts that ran across Fundong area. These feasts were death celebrations, new born babies, 'Njangi' with food items. They also contributed food items to welcome strangers⁵⁴. Fundong people also cultivated tree crops such as bananas, Kola nuts, plantains, Mangoes, Sugar canes, raffia palms and coffee trees. Kola nut was the main product that brought revenue into Fundong Area even though Arabica coffee later replaced it due to the decline in the buying and selling of kola nuts. Fundong people reared animals like goats, sheep and pigs. They domesticated birds such as fowls that were used mostly for social events or rituals. Goats and fowls were used in funeral ceremonies and for home consumption⁵⁵. Fundong men also dominated in brewery industry. They were involved in tapping of palm wine and weaving of bags while the women prepared local beer that was made out of fermented corn called *nkang*. This *nkang* was made for business purpose. People who bought were mostly men who were very interested in drinking. But today, so many women also pass most of their leisure time in *nkang* houses.

Socio- cultural life

In Kom in general and in Fundong in particular, the socio- cultural life of its people was closely linked to the palace. Men societies such as the Njong society supplied firewood to the Fon as well as goats and palm wine⁵⁶. These gifts were a means of paying allegiance to the Fon and expressing their respect and loyalty to him. Some of the people who paid these allegiances to the Fon were Jacob Mileng of Ilung, Hycenth lengha of Achangne who were always carrying palm wine to the palace every month. These people exploiting the palm

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Interview with Nawain Celestina Chuffi, 63years, Housewife, Ilung, 28 March 2015.

⁵⁵ Ibid

⁵⁶ Interview with Jacob Mileng, 69 Years, palm wine tapper, Ilung, 28 March 2015.

bush owned by the fon needed to take part of the wine to the palace. In cases where there was a ceremony in the palace, the quarter heads referred to in Kom as '*boteh*' were responsible for giving goats to the palace so that all those goats could be used as meat to receive strangers. Men also contributed money to take to the palace especially in case where the Fon was in need of a house. This money was used for the construction of houses. Women were in charge of donating food items like corn and guinea corn in order to take to the palace so that visitors to the palace were entertained with.⁵⁷ Among some of the *botehs*, who participated in paying these allegiances with goats were Cament Ndongbmbu, the head quarter of Ilung, Ghangha Muso, the Abuh quarter head, Ndvi Nangeh, the Mboh head quarter and Longku Nain of Aduk⁵⁸. In Fundong Area, if one was opportuned to offer to the Fon a gift, it was seen as a prestige for him.

Annual hunting expeditions were always carried out in the entire Fundong Area in the Month of April every year and the animals caught during such expeditions were given to the Fon. Some of the animals caught were more respected than the others. Example of animals respected were lions which were used by the Fon to put his feet on the hide and skins. Nonetheless, today most of these hunting expeditions have given way to other profitable activities like the cultivation of maize and most of the energetic youths who can hunt are mostly in the South West Region working in the cocoa plantations. These have led to shortages of people who could hunt⁵⁹.

In the religious aspect, the Fundong people regarded their Fon as the spiritual leader who acted as the link between the living and the dead. The Fon offered sacrifices both to the supreme gods and to the ancestors asking for prosperity, peace and fertility in the land. For example, every Month of May,

⁵⁷ Interview with Nawain Celestina Chuffi, 63years, House wife, Ilung, 28 March 2015.

⁵⁸ Interview with Clement Fukwa, 63 years, Second Class Chief, Abuh, 02 April, 2015.

⁵⁹ Ibid

Kom people in every village go out to bless their farms for the nursing of guinea corn. This activity called *ngvin* is believed that when performed, the farms are blessed and the cultivation of guinea corn will lead to more yields⁶⁰. Those who blessed those farms are mostly men and the youths while the old people moved with calabashes with water inside, mixed with concoction to bless the farms also. The purpose of this was to ask the gods to maintain fertility on the land. The ancestors were believed to be having control over the lives of those living. For this reason, the Fon interceded through them in order to ask for protection for the entire area. As a supreme leader and descendant of the ancestors, the Fon was the only person who could exercise such powers. All the attitudes mentioned above were proves that the lives of the people in the community were mostly in the hands of the Fon.

Political Life

The political life of the Kom (Fundong) people was centered around the Fon who was head of almost all the political institutions in Kom fondom. Fundong is a centralized political unit and had two main political institutions that grouped all the Fundong area together. These were the *Kwifon* and the *Akum* societies. The *Kwifon* was made up of the state functionaries selected and trained for the execution of the affair of the Kingdom⁶¹. The *Kwifon* was an executive arm of the government and it had the authority to carry out decisions issued by the Fon. *Kwifon* also facilitated the role of the Fon⁶². The *Kwifon* provided the Fon with police force, messengers and royal family. It was charged with proper functioning of the Fon's administrative institutions which characterized many tribes in the Grassfields⁶³. According to Chilver and Kaberry in Traditional Bamenda, the *Kwifon* was the instrument of the Fon's

⁶⁰ Nkwi, *Traditional Diplomacy*, P. 46.

⁶¹ Nkwi, *Traditional Government and Social Change*, p.94.

⁶² V. J Ngoh, *History of Cameroon since 1800*, Limbe, Press Book, 1996, p.10.

⁶³ *Ibid*.

secular authority and short of his personal intervention, there was no appeal against its decision.

The *Kwifon* society had as duty to apprehend wrong doers, inflicting punishment imposed by the Fon or his council. It also tried cases of adultery with royal wives, witchcraft, murder and handled infringements of its injunctions. All these were carried out in the name of the Fon⁶⁴. According to Evaristus Mom, he is of the opinion that the *Kwifon* was an instrument of peace maintenance. When Mr Christopher Mbuh of Mboh was fighting over my land, it was only the *Kwifon* that came and settled the problem. He believes that the *Kwifon* forced him to unplant medicines he planted on his land and the man did so in the presence of everybody before peace reigned on that land.

This is therefore to prove that *Kwifon* was the peace maker and was acting like police force on the Kom land in general and the Fundong area in particular. Apart from the *Kwifon*, there was also the *Akum society*.

Akum Society

Akum was referred to as *juju*. It was a regulatory society charged with village government. There existed so many types of *Akum* societies (*Mukum*). The *Akum* society was a village government body which regrouped all the males in the area. Each *Akum* had a particular name, a particular mask which distinguished it from other *Mukum* societies. Their names sometimes characterized their individual particularities especially in terms of functions, they carry out similar services. Some of these *Mukum* or *jujus* were *Ntoken* of Ilung, *Akumkum* of Mboh, *Mbeng* of Aduk, *Mabugh*, *ifel Aku*, *Alo-bih-A-Atoh*, *Ago-oh fileh* all from the Kom palace and *Nantang* of Abuh. Some of these *Mukum* were always coming out in the night to denounce all the evil acts on the land like witchcraft practices and people who wanted to kill others⁶⁵. These

⁶⁴NKwi, *Traditional Diplomacy*, p.96.

⁶⁵ Interview, with Ngo-ah Simon, 70 Years, member of the *Kwifon*, Ngwah, 03 April 2015.

Mukum were very useful during the funeral ceremonies of its notable. Like the *Kwifon*, the *Akum* carried out similar activities at the village levels. It deliberated village affairs, tried civil cases, inflicted fines on matters concerning the land, minor assaults, matrimonial disputes and failure to participate in public works⁶⁶.

It is of important to note that not only the *Kwifon* and *Akum* societies in the political life of Kom people were important, there was also the existence of other societies like the *njong* society which also played a very important role in the political life of the Fundong people. The *njong* society was a military department of the administration made up of the male adults. It was controlled by a leader (*bondo njong*) and each village had its own military club⁶⁷. *Bondo njong* was assisted by *Ta'manjong* who was the person who served wine in *ndo njong* (house of njong). The *njong* society went to war with the Bafuts when they attacked the Mujang people in South of Kom. After their success, Mujang became part of the Kom Fondom. The *njong* also went to war with the Bafut and Bum⁶⁸. The fon was the only person to decide in matters concerning the declaration of war and making of peace. These decisions were to be carried out by the *njong*. It was through the *njong* that Kom was able to expand her territory following her conquest of 1730s⁶⁹. Some of the tribes conquered by Njong at this era were Achain, Mmen, Mejang and Bafut were pushed to their present site. The role of the *njong* society was also to supply firewood to the Kom palace when the fon was in need of it. The *njong* and *Akum* societies performed the role of *Kwifon* at the village level⁷⁰

⁶⁶Nkwi, *Traditional Government and Social Change*, p.45.

⁶⁷ Nkwi, *Traditional Diplomacy*, P.72.

⁶⁸ Nkwi, *Traditional Government*, p.45.

⁶⁹ Ibid

⁷⁰Ngoh, *History of Cameroon*, p.10.

Conclusion

This chapter was aimed at providing background information to the study area. The chapter treated the geographical and historical aspects of the Fundong Area. The elements of geography treated include climate, relief and hydrology, soils and vegetation. These elements were said to be primordial factors that favoured the settlement of Kom people in the area. The other part dealt with the origin, migration and settlement of the Kom people. The chapter also gave a clear cut description of the economic, socio-cultural and political life of the Fundong people.

CHAPTER TWO

MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT OF THE MBORORO IN FUNDONG LAND

Introduction

This chapter is aimed at examining the arrival of the Mbororos in Fundong Area or land. It treats the pull factors that led to the arrival of the Mbororos in Fundong Area. These pull factors are sub divided into three sub headings namely, the physical, economic and social factors. The second section of this chapter handles the migration and settlement of the Mbororos in Fundong. Under this section, the origin of the Mbororos, their migration and settlement are discussed. This chapter is important because it will enable us to have a brief understanding about the Mbororos in Kom as a whole and in Fundong in particular thereby permitting the reader to further understand their impact on the Fundong people.

Factors that led to the arrival of the Mbororos in FundongArea

Physical factors

Among the factors that influenced the settlement of the Mbororos in the Fundong Area, the physical factors were the most important. This was seen through the climatic elements, the soils, the hydrology and the relief of the Fundong Area⁷¹.

The climatic elements like temperature, rainfall, the dry and the rainy seasons were very important elements that influenced the Mbororos to develop interest to settle in Kom in general and Fundong in particular. The area had two different seasons, the rainy season and the dry season. The rainy season starts from early march and ends in November while dry seasons starts from November ending and ends in February ending. These two seasons favoured

⁷¹ Mah, "Mbororo as Agent of Development", p.62.

transhumance because during the rainy seasons, the Mbororos and their cattle were at hill tops. This was because there was enough pasture during the rainy season whereas in the dry seasons, they moved down the valleys to get greener pastures to feed their cattle. The fresh grass still existed in the valleys because water moistures were available in the valleys to sustain the grass. While on the hills, the pastures were usually dry during the dry season. In the same direction, the mean annual temperature of about 20⁰ c with the annual rainfall of about 2100mm also attracted the Mbororos to settle in the area⁷². The high humidity and good temperatures played a very important role in the growth of pasture which were one of the factors that attracted the Mbororos in Fundong. The climate was very good that it did not favour the prevalence of mosquitoes and some cattle diseases such as trypanomiasis and tsetse flies.⁷³ The increase of animal population in Fundong every year testifies to the fact that this area was not only attractive but also advantageous and favourable to the growth of cattle⁷⁴.

The Fundong Area was also made up of favourable topography. The topography and vegetation of the area were also among some of the pull factors that attracted the Mbororos into Fundong Area. Fundong is characterized by many plateaux, hills and valleys. These hills are commonly found in LaiKom (where the palace is found) Ilung, Muteff, Ngwah, Aduk, Bolem, and Achain. Valleys and plateaux were found on these hills. For example the Ijim Mountain has a very large plateau that so many Mbororo people settled and reared their animals⁷⁵. These elements attracted the Mbororos who settled on the hills, plateaux in the rainy seasons and in the valleys during the dry seasons. The type of vegetation in Fundong Area equally attracted the Mbororo settlers. At the hill sides there were stunted grasses as well as small forests in the grassland that

⁷²Nkwi, *Traditional Government and Social Change*, p.11.

⁷³ Ghangha, "The Adaptation of Kom Area Traditional Land use Pattern to Agro- Pastoral Innovation" p.26.

⁷⁴ Interview with Ardo Manou, 78 years, Mbororo chief, Ilung, 02 August 2014.

⁷⁵ Interview with Godlove Biih, 67 years, butcher, Muteff, 03 December 2015.

could shelter animals during high temperatures whereas in the valleys, there were elephant stocks that could be used to feed the cattle as well as sheep. All of these provided nutritious food for the Mbororo cows and therefore encouraged them to settle in Kom in general and in Fundong in particular. It is good to know that the vegetation of Fundong was rich in pasture and thus, attracted the Mbororos in this area whose main attention was the rearing of animals.⁷⁶

For quite a long time, the Mbororos were noted as wanderers. This is the reason why they moved from Tokulo in Senegal to Northern Nigeria and to Northern Cameroon where, many of them spread to other parts of Cameroon including Fundong. Originally, they were only on transits to unknown destination since they were guided by the search for greener pastures.⁷⁷ At their arrival, land was abundant, and they constructed mostly huts because they knew they were not going to stay on the same spot for long. Later on, the increase in population of both the animals and people made the Mbororos to realise that permanent settlements were important. They also preferred permanent settlements because it was very difficult to be moving with large herds of animals. Kom as well as Fundong became one of those suitable areas which the Mbororos deemed they could settle especially as there was available grazing land.⁷⁸

Fundong area was characterised by a variety of soil types. Most of the valleys were made up of hydro morphic soils since most of them were marshy areas. These elements favoured the growth of elephant grass stock and other grass which permitted transhumance. The Mbororos saw that it was possible to alternate from hill tops to valleys during the dry season and from valleys to hill tops during the rainy season. This was because there was the availability of

⁷⁶Interview with Ardo Manou, 78 years, Mbororo Chief, Ilung, 02 August 2014.

⁷⁷ Ghangha, "The Adaptation of Kom Area Traditional Land use Pattern", p.27.

⁷⁸Interview with Amidou Bouba, 70 years, grazier, Fundong town, 03 December, 2014.

pasture on the slopes of the hills during these periods. There was also the presence of ferruginous soils that were able to support the growth of rich pastures for cattle. This made the Mbororos to settle in the Fundong Area⁷⁹

There was also the presence of volcanic soils in the Fundong area. This was experienced in areas like Mbenkas, Mbonkisu and Ijim Mountain. This permitted the growth of forest that acted as shelter to the Mbororos as well as their cattle especially in the dry season. These forests were made up of trees of about 30meters high and other trees were about 3-4meters which they used in making their huts. Hydrology was also an important factor that provoked the arrival of Mbororos to the Fundong zone. This was because the hill tops served as water catchments to both the cattle rearers and their animals⁸⁰. The availability of plateaux especially on the Ijim Mountain that stretched for about hundreds of kilometers help animals to lie down during the day and bask the sun. The plain lands were also important because animals could move freely and even permitted the grazier to have access to construct their huts. Animals could not collapse and die because these animals lived on plain lands of which accessibility was not a problem

Economic Factors

The main economic activity of the Mbororos was cattle rearing. Cattle rearing required a large piece of land. The increase in population of both animals and people in North Cameroon forced them to start the search for other grazing lands .The pressure mounted by the youths who had their own cattle forced the elders to start the search for new areas. According to Ardo manu of Ilung, the search for new grazing areas was in a bid to resettle the youths who had their own herds of cattle and families⁸¹. The Kom fondom provided a

⁷⁹Ibid

⁸⁰Interview with Bobe Adrew Mbong, 55 years, herdsman, Ngwah, 10th January 2015.

⁸¹ Mbeng“Farmer-Grazier Proplem”, p.32.

solution thanks to the availability of vast land in places such as Ilung, Bolem, Aduk, Achain, Akeh, Ajung, Meli, LaiKom and Ijim.

Trade was another main factor that promoted the arrival of the Mbororos to Kom. The Mbororos discovered that the Kom fondom as well as Fundong was located in the Bamenda Grassfields. Since they were people who practiced long distance trade, they realised that the centralised nature of Fundong area was going to be very useful to them in terms of long distance trade. For example, the Mbororos traded in cattle business and it was easy for them to leave from Fundong with their cows to other areas such as Wum, Bafut, Oku, Nso, Fonfuka, Dumbo, Bamoum and Bamenda without any major difficulties⁸². Also, the Mbororos discovered that Fundong area was very rich in natural resources like kola nuts which was a lucrative trading item⁸³. Kola nuts was one of the most highly demanded trading items in northern Nigeria⁸⁴. This was because kola nuts was used for the dying of dresses mostly demanded by Muslims. The Mbororos therefore discovered that this settling in the Kom fondom was going to fetch them a lot of profit from the lucrative long distance trade in kola nuts. These factors together with the hospitality of the Kom traditional administration were among the pull factors that encouraged the Mbororos to settle in the Fundong area.

Social factors

The Fundong people are generally hospitable. They are open to strangers. This attitude attracted the Mbororos who first visited Fujua. A case in point was that of Ardo Maloum who was given a good treatment by Fon Ngam and his entourage. Ardo Maloum went and informed Hardji jorda Manou that he had found an area with vast grazing land whose inhabitants were welcoming and

⁸²AD (1926), Bikom Assessment report, NAB, 1927, p.70.

⁸³ Nkwi, *Traditional Government and Social Change*, p.17.

⁸⁴Nkwi, *Traditional Diplomacy*, p.112.

hospitable⁸⁵. According to him, apart from few misunderstanding as a result of the negative behavior of some young Mbororo boys, who steal and will not protect their cows from going into indigenous farms, Fundong remains a place to be.

Origin of the Mbororo

The word Mbororo means cattle Fulani and they are found all over the Bamenda Grassfields. Mbororos are mostly slim, having long noses. The ancestors of the Mbororos traced their origin from the Futa Toro region in Northern Senegal. The ancestors of the Mbororos are products of intermixture between the Turkolo of the middle Senegal area and the incoming berbers from the Northern Region of Africa⁸⁶. Others suggested an Arabian or Indian origin. Those who argued in favour of the Arabian or Eastern origin point to the humped-back animals commonly reared by the Mbororos as Asiatic in origin. They also argued that the Mbororos legend, structure, complexion, mental and physical characteristics were more of the eastern origin⁸⁷. Their origin in Senegal was supported by the nature of their linguistic stock as languages of the Senegambia region. Ardo Sabga Abdulahi, the first Mbororos man to settle in the Bamenda Grassfields declared in his own words:

I am Ardo Sabga, son of Ardo Wumme, son of Kura, son of Jiboude, son of Nando. I was one of those who migrated from the Shehu from the people of Futa Toro at the time of the coming of jakwallo, the grandfather of Shehu Osman Dan Fodio who was the leader of the caravan of Torobe.⁸⁸

The declaration of Ardo sabga mentioned above supports the view that the Mbororos of the Bamenda Grassfields especially the *jafun*, originated from the

⁸⁵Interview with Hardji Jordan Manou, 67 years, Grazier, Mentang 11, 2nd August 2014.

⁸⁶ Babila Robert Sikod, "Farmer-Grazier Conflicts", p.5.

⁸⁷ Fanso, *Cameroon History*, Vol.1, p.28

⁸⁸ NWR AB, File No Na/a (SAB) 1940/2 Memorandum from the Resident of Sokoto to the Resident of the Cameroon Province, Buea, on Ardo Sabga of Bamenda, 12 April 1930.p.6.

Futa Toro region in Senegal. From the 4th century, the Mbororos migrated eastwards from Senegambia where most of them use to live and by the 18th century, many had reached the Hausa state of Gobi in Northern Nigeria⁸⁹.

Among the Mbororos who settled in Gobir were Toronkawa clan who were well educated in the moslem laws and religion and were regarded by other Mbororos as wise leaders. The chief of this group was Usman Dan Fodio, the son of Fodio and his brother Abdulahi. They spent many years as preachers and many found this as oppressive and unjust which was contrary to the true faith of Islam. The concentration of the *jafun* people in Gobir and Kano started disintegrating in about 1875. From then until 1910, the *Jafun* migrated from Gobir and Kano emirate to various destinations. This great migration of the Jafun is attributed to the fact that when the king of Gobir threatened to attack the Moslems, Dan Fodio fled from that state in 1804⁹⁰. This became known as the *Hegira* of Usman Dan Fodio which made his followers to call him *Al Muminin*, meaning the commander of the faithful. This was certainly one of the factors that provoked the Mbororos and Islamic religion to spread to other areas of which Cameroon was not exempted.

The migration of these Mbororos Jafun to other areas is also explained by the fact that herdsmen preferred to settle in a relatively uninhabited area where the climate was suitable for grazing. An increase in cattle population was the top priority of a herdsman, but as the herds increased the top soil became eroded, cattle started degrading and the herdsman continued moving on⁹¹.

These factors provoked the *Jafun* who took the eastern direction and journeyed down to the Cameroon plateau which comprised the high plateau, the Adamawa, Mambilla, Tibati and Banyo. The first Mbororo to ascend the Cameroon plateau was Biji, a herdsman who came on foot to spy the land. He

⁸⁹Jumbam, "Fulani Impact on Bamenda Grassfields", p.52.

⁹⁰Jabiru, "The Advent, Organisation and Intedration" p.34.

⁹¹Interview with Ardo Oumarou Bouba, 79 years, Ijim, Mbororo Chief, 1st April 2015.

then returned and gave report of good grazing land. This caused the first wave of *Jafun'en* to migrate⁹². Ardo Manya was the first *Jafun* who came and settled with his family in Adamawa. They were immediately followed by the *Tukanko'en*, *Bamanko'en*, *Jaranko'en*, *Debanko'en* and *Rahji* clans⁹³.

The settlement of the Mbororos in Adamawa and its environs was later rendered difficult by the human and physical factors. Pressure was mounted on them by the local rulers of Lompta and Galim. The chief of Galim for example imposed a tribute of 36 cows each year per Mbororo settler. The cattle of the *Jafun'en* which had been doubling were threatened and this made them to be thinking of moving again to more peaceful areas⁹⁴. As a consequence of this explanation, *Jafun'en* dispatched people southwards and westward to make contact with king Njoya of Bamoun who had issued an invitation to the Mbororo to come to his home country⁹⁵. Yaya, Yuyi and Kaki went to Fouban while Buba, Lalu, and Umaru went further into the Bamenda Grassfields in the company of Hausa traders⁹⁶. The report from Fouban could not have been good because of the presence of the tsetse fly in large part of the territory. But, those who visited Sakin, Nsaw, Babantu-Tungo and other parts of the Bamenda Grassfields were overwhelmed by what they saw: the land was full of grass, the air was cold and the breeze was strong to blow away flies, in short the land in which everything needed by cattle was found. The first wave of bold spirited men led by Ardo Sabga, Abdulahi Bi Hobba of the Gosi clan immediately migrated from the Banyo-Tibati area in the Adamawa plateau to the new found land and was followed by greater numbers who were more cautious preferring to visit and make sure that the new found land was worth the claim⁹⁷.

⁹² NWB, File AB.17/7 No.B3062, Fulani Intelligent Report.1937.

⁹³ Ibid

⁹⁴ Interview with Ardo Oumarou Bouba, 79 years Ijim, Mbororo Chief, 1st April 2015.

⁹⁵ Awason Nicodemus Fru, "The Hausa and Fulani in the Bamenda Grassfields", p.72.

⁹⁶ Ibid

⁹⁷ Ibid

The migrations of the Mbororos into the Bamenda Grassfields were in two ways: raids and peaceful (negotiation and settlement grounds) ways. The violent method was the first to be used. This was probably what made them to discover the Grassfields. In 1830, the Mbororo- Fulani raided the Bamenda Grassfields. They organised the raids from Kontcha, Banyo, Tibati and Ngoundere. Their aim was to get more slaves and booty. They raided villages and settlements taking captives as slaves and causing the population to flee. The first raid took place between 1835 and 1840 and was directed towards the Tikar and Nkambe region. It was led by Dandi Garbdo Harman⁹⁸. The second raid occurred in the 1870s and was directed towards the chiefdoms of Bum, Mfunte and Aghem. The last raid came in the 1880s and affected Bambili and other areas of the Bamenda Grassfields⁹⁹. Despite the attack mounted by the Fulani on the Bamenda Grassfields, the region was not subjugated by them because of the advent of Europeans¹⁰⁰.

The second and the most successful method used which brought the Mbororo people to settle in the Bamenda Grassfields was the exploitation of peaceful negotiations for settlement. Ardo Sabga left Banyo for the Bamenda Grassfields with about thirty *Jafun* herdsmen of the Gosi clan. They moved along with about 200 herds. As soon as they arrived Babanki-Tungo, Ardo Sabga remained on the hill. He then sent his son and the hausa traders who accompanied them to contact chief Caliku and make known their intension of settling in his territory. When chief Caliku responded favourably by offering him land, Sabga expressed his joy giving him 10 cows. Sabga went as far as giving the chief a cowboy (*gaynakoh* to cater for the chief's cows). There was a lot of excitement in the chief palace and the Fon later reciprocated by ordering his wives to supply the *Jafun* people with food of all varieties¹⁰¹. Ardo Sabga

⁹⁸Jumbam. "The Fulani Impact on the Bamenda Grassfields" P.59.

⁹⁹Ngongbi John Youla, "The Impact of cattle Grazing and The Need for Forage Conservations", p.102.

¹⁰⁰ Awasom, "The Hausa and Fulani", p.20.

¹⁰¹Ibid

later visited Babanki-Tungo and other neighbouring villages in the Babanki area such as Fungom, Ndop, all in search of grazing land. Ardo Sabga later on left his property behind and went back to Banyo to inform others about abundant grazing land in the Grassfields. This news led to the influx of many Mbororos to the Bamenda Grassfields under different leaders. Among these Mbororo people who entered the Bamenda Grassfields under different leaders was found Ardo maloum.

While in the Bamenda Grassfield, Ardo Maloum who was the first Mbororo to enter the Kom Fondom in 1922 more precisely in Fujua, left his family at Babanki and travelled to the Kom fondom where he was hilariously received by the fon of Kom¹⁰². He brought gifts in the form of cattle to the Fon of Kom. He also made his intensions of settling in the area known to him. The Fon appreciated his kind gesture and provided him with abundant land for grazing. The provision of land to the Ardo enabled him to bring his family and his herds of cattle to settle and graze in Fundong. He settled on the Ijim hill near LaiKom and was very friendly to his surrounding neighbours. The settlement of Ardo Maloum at Ijim subsequently paved the way for other Mbororo groups to enter the Kom Fondom. The wave of Mbororo immigrations into the Kom area was slow and progressive. By the late 1920s and early 1930s, their numbers became significant¹⁰³. These later groups settled in villages like Mbam, Fundong, Fujua, Meli, Ngwah, Bolem, Aduk, Ilung, Ngwunabum, Mentang and Achain¹⁰⁴. The settlement of the Mbororo people in the Kom Fondom marked the beginning of a new era in the history of Kom as both parties had to learn how to live with one another and also learned how to accept the strength and weaknesses of one another.

¹⁰²Mbeng "Farmer-Grazier Problem", p.30.

¹⁰³Ibid

¹⁰⁴Interview with Charles Yong, 58 years, Farmer, Achain, 4th April 2015.

The Migration and spread of the Mbororos in Fundong

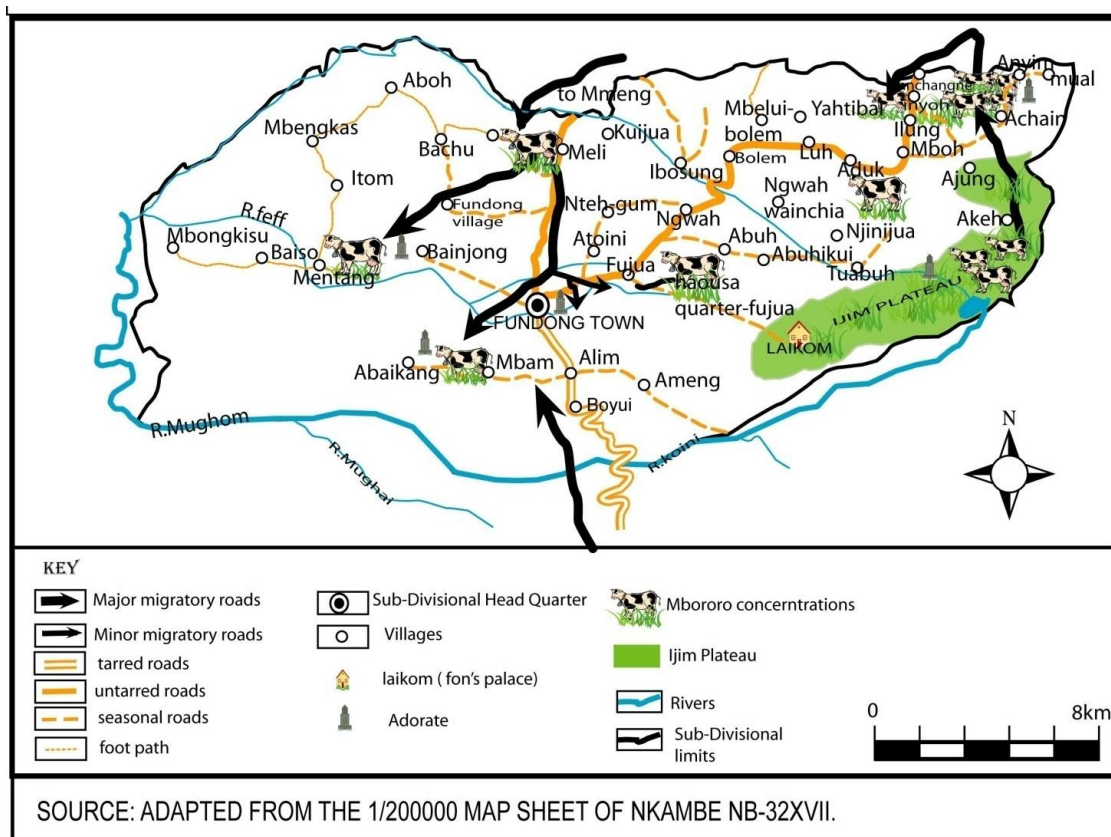
The migration of the Mbororos into Fundong took place in three directions, Babanki to Fundong, Bum to Fundong and lastly wum to Fundong. According to a veterinary doctor Yang Divine, those who came from Babanki were originally from Sabga¹⁰⁵. When they came to Babanki, they discovered that the terrain was rugged and they finally took a decision to continue their movement even though a few others remained in a small land. In the course of their movement, they passed through the villages found in Belo sub-division such as Mbingo, Njinikijem, Ashing, wombong, NjiniKom before finally entering Fundong Area. Some of the areas which the Mbororos first occupied were Fujua, by Ardo Maloum, Ijim, Ngwah, Meli, Mbengkas, Mbam and Mbonkisu¹⁰⁶. The group that passed through Wum from Nigeria was from Nyos and migrated through Weh, Mmen, and finally settled at Meli, Bolem, Aduk and Ngwah. The third group of the Mbororos came to Fundong through Bum. They crossed the Katsina River which is the River which separate Cameroon and Nigeria¹⁰⁷. From there, they entered Bum and continued their journey through Saff and Konene, all in Bum sub-division. From here, some of them moved and settled at Achain, Ajung, and Akeh while others moved directly to Ngunambum, Ilung and Yuwi as seen on the map below.

¹⁰⁵ Interview with Yang Divine, 57 years, Veterinary doctor, Fundong, 27th August, 2014.

¹⁰⁶ Interview with Jibo, 70 years, Grazier, Mentang 1,16 August, 2014.

¹⁰⁷ Mah Victor A., "The Mbororo as Agent of Community Development" p. 40.

Map 4: Migratory routes and spatial distribution in the Fundong sub-division



The map above shows different routes the Mbororo used to enter Fundong and their settlement areas. It is important to note that the Mbororos movement into the Kom land was not easy because it involved a lot of difficulties.

Difficulties Encountered in the Migration Process

Just like the migration of so many tribes into Cameroon who faced some problems, the Mbororo migration into Kom was not an exception. The first difficulty they faced was the problem of language. This was because both the indigenous people and the Mbororo people did not understand the language of each other. That made movement very difficult for the Mbororo people. Movement with cattle was not always easy .That was because they needed to run and cut across at all moments to stop the cattle from going wayward. Also to stop the cows from entering people’s farms. This was also to make sure that

the direction the cattle were taking were not going to be a dangerous one that could lead to their death¹⁰⁸. So many of their cattle died in the course of these movements of unknown destination. This was mostly as a result of tiredness, and this was a great loss to the Mbororo migrants. The movement from Senegal passing through Northern Nigeria to Cameroon and especially the Grassfields were mixed with different climatic conditions. The climate of Northern Nigeria was hot while that of the Grasslands was cold. This mixed up climate made them to face a lot of problems with their health¹⁰⁹. The Mbororo movement to Kom was very difficult because they suffered under severe rain fall, hot dry seasons. In periods of heavy rainfall, movements could take a long time because they needed to hide under the rocks or build temporal traditional Mbororo houses that could serve as shelters. Fundong is made up of rocky hills which made movement of Mbororo up and down the hills difficult.

Plate 1: Shows an example of rocky hills in Achangne



Source: Authors' collection, 2nd April 2015.

The plate above shows one of the rocky hills that made movement very difficult for the Mbororos

¹⁰⁸Interview with Ardo Oumarou Manou Bouba, 79 years, Ijim, Mbororo Chief, 1st April 2015.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid

They were not only moving with cattle. They were also moving with their families. Some of them suffered the problem of Trekking¹¹⁰. In the periods of intense sunshine, water scarcity was the main problem for their cattle. Food was also another major problem faced by the Mbororos during their migration to Fundong Area. This was because it was difficult to come across food during their journey. Most often, they ran out of food which they took along. As such they depended merely on indigenous food like banana¹¹¹. In some cases raw food was available but the place to cook it was another problem especially during the rainy season. Furthermore, the Mbororos encountered some problems when they finally arrived Fundong Area¹¹². This was because in Kom, there was traditional land tenure system which began a long time ago. Land acquisition was very difficult and the indigenes had to depend on the close ties with either the quarter heads or the Fon before having land. In this way, it was difficult for someone to have access to land, not to talk of giving it to a Mbororo man to rear his cattle on.

Conclusion

Generally, this chapter discussed the pull factors that attracted the Mbororo to Kom in general and in Fundong in particular, with emphasis on the physical factors. These included the climatic elements, the soils, the hydrology and the relief of Fundong Area. These Physical factors were very important and primordial to the Mbororo settlement in Fundong. The next part of this chapter discussed the Migration and settlement of the Mbororos in Fundong. Under this section, we examined the origin of the Mbororos, their migration and areas of settlement and finally the difficulties encountered during their migration to the Fundong Area. Therefore, the chapter is very important to the study because it

¹¹⁰ Mbeng "Farmer-Grazier Problems" P.34.

¹¹¹ Interview with Ardo Oumarou Manou Bouba, 79 years, Ijim, Mbororo Chief, 1st April 2015.

¹¹² Interview with Hassan, 55 years, Grazier, Achain, 30th March 2015.

enabled the reader to have an idea concerning the Mbororos and how they arrived and settled in Kom land in general and Fundong area in particular.

CHAPTER THREE

MBOROROS POLITICAL ACTIVITIES AND IMPACT IN FUNDONG AREA

Introduction

When the Mbororos entered Fundong, they interacted with the local inhabitants politically. They also exerted their influence on the aspect of politics. This chapter examines the political activities and impact of the Mbororos in Fundong area. It also looks at some conflicts between the Mbororos and the local inhabitants. The role played by the Mbororos in politics as well as their contribution towards justice and peace in the Fundong Area was enormous.

Mbororos and the local administration

When the Mbororos came to the Bamenda Grasslands, they met Native Authorities already in place. In Kom, there was a village head and its councilors designated by the colonial authority to administer people within their own areas of jurisdiction. The Mbororos were not included in the Native Authority in Kom on the grounds that they were aliens. But as time went on, the Mbororos authority was recognized as a result of the introduction of jangali tax.¹¹³ The coming of the Mbororos to Fundong in 1922 marked the introduction of the Ardorate system. By this system, Fundong was divided into zones. Each zone was placed under a leader called Ardo (chief of the Mbororos).

Ardos were regarded as influential leaders, seen and recognised by the Mbororos as those who could lead them and their herds of cattle to fertile land full of pastures.¹¹⁴ They usually officiated at marriages and funeral, settled disputes and led the faithful at prayers, especially on Fridays and

¹¹³ Umaru, "The Evaluation of Mbororo Habitat", p. 47.

¹¹⁴ Njeuma, *Fulani Hegemony*, p. 13.

during important Moslem feast days¹¹⁵. According to Ardo Manou of Ilung, an Ardo has the right to make laws, appoint his administration based on merit, appoint his successors and distributes settlement grounds to families within his own zone of influence.

Before the implementation of the British system of administration in the 1920s, Ardo Sabga was the paramount chief of the Mbororos in the Bamenda Grassfields¹¹⁶. He was assisted in his administration by a group of senior Mbororo officials each charged with a particular function. These leaders were all appointed by him in order of hierarchy. They included; *wakili* (*pl Wakilien*), the Ardos adviser. He could administer the Mbororos in the absence of the Ardo. Next to *Wakili* was *Jauro* (*Jauroen*)¹¹⁷. He was the bridge between his people and Ardo of the whole area. After *Jauro* came the *Wajiri* (*pl Wajirien*). He took urgent information to and from all the families within an Ardorote and also communicated or diffused information rapidly to the Ardos of other areas. After the *Wajiri* was *Madahki* (*pl. Madakien*). He was an elderly person appointed to serve as a gateway to an Ardo. Also there was *Sarkin Shahno*, (*pl. Sarkin Shahnoen*) was next to *Madahki*¹¹⁸. His function was only to distribute settlement grounds to Mbororo families within a given area following the wishes of Ardo. In the last position was *Majaji* (*pl. Magajien*), who gave account of all contributions made within the Ardorote. All the Mbororos were called upon to respect this setup and to be loyal to their Aldorate¹¹⁹. The Ardo and some of his close collaborators usually assist in some council meetings in Fundong. For example Ardo Manou of Achain served as the council chair man in that locality. He also acted as the member of Ilung traditional council. In 1990, after the creation of Social Democratic Front, Dahirou Oumarou became a councillor in

¹¹⁵ Umaru, "The Evolution of Mbororo Habitat", p.48.

¹¹⁶ Ibid

¹¹⁷ Interview with Ardo Umaru Manou, 79 years, Ardo, Ijim, 5th April 2015.

¹¹⁸ Ibid

¹¹⁹ Ibid

Fundong Rural Council. By 1996, he became the second deputy Mayor and by 2007 he took the post of the first deputy Mayor.¹²⁰

Farmer-Grazier Conflicts

The coming of the Mbororos to Fundong led to the development of some conflicts related to land. This was the conflict between the farmers and the graziers. The farmers were Fundong people whose main occupation was agriculture while the graziers were the Mbororos whose main occupation was cattle rearing. The major cause of this conflict was that animals strayed into the farm lands and destroyed crops or farmers encroached into the grazing land for agriculture.¹²¹ From 1922 to 1940, there was little or no tension between the Fundong farmers and Mbororo graziers. This was because at that time, the Mbororos were still few in number. Mbororos and cattle entered into Kom in successive waves and were welcomed by the natives. Kom people benefited from the meat and cow dungs which constituted manure for their crops¹²². Continuous increase of Mbororo population in Fundong alongside their animals later destroyed these peaceful relations. This was also because cattle were always straying into indigenous farms and destroying their crops. The issue here is that the Fundong people depended solely on agriculture for livelihood. The destruction of these crops was tantamount to ‘Killing’ and they could not tolerate.¹²³ The farmer-grazier problems had several causes. The administration, traditional authorities, graziers and farmers were all responsible for the persistent conflicts. Each party had its own share of blame. Some administrators concentrated more on the revenue they got from the Mbororo jangali tax. An increase in the number of cattle implied an increase in revenue collected from the jangali tax. Apart from neglecting

¹²⁰ Interview with Ardo Umaru Manou, 79 years, Ardo, Ijim, 5th April 2015.

¹²¹ Mbeng, “Farmer-Grazier Problem”, p. 61.

¹²² Ibid

¹²³ Interview with Grace Fukuin, 80 years, Housewife, Ilung, 31 April 2015.

indigenous agriculture and promoting cattle rearing, the administration gave them temporal grazing permit and illegal ranches to the Mbororo graziers especially when bribes were given. In 2001, the Sub Divisional Officer (SDO) for Fundong demarcated pieces of land at Mbonkisu, Mentang and gave to some Mbororos who had migrated from Wum¹²⁴. He also implanted an illegal ranch in Ilung on the land of Ardo Manou after refusal by the Ilung people not to plant any pillar in their village. Upon planting these pillars, the Fon of Kom and headquarter of Ilung refused to recognise it.¹²⁵

Also, the Fon took bribes from the Mbororo people and contributed in the farmer-grazier conflicts. For example, in 2009, native of Mentang, Itom and Mbonkisu villages threatened to boycott the Fon's maiden visit in their village communities as it was alleged that the Fon had sold out farm lands of Akami, Abang and Afein to some wealthy Mbororos.¹²⁶ In Ilung Bobe Ndongmbu Cament, the quarter head told Ardo Manou that if Mr David Chia does not quit the land around his grazing land, he should not bother because when cows would stray into his farm, he will run on his own. The practice of extensive farming and grazing methods was the root cause of farmer-grazier problem in Fundong Area. In Inyoh, Achangne and Anyim where population was not as dense as in other parts of Fundong, extensive farming was practised through shifting field cultivation. While waiting for the farms to regain fertility, the natives advanced in the grazing land, thereby creating farmer-grazier problems. What was even more worst is that no area was allowed to fallow to regain it fertility. Cattle were also restricted from some pasture area¹²⁷. This was always causing conflicts between the Fundong people and the Mbororos, because of the limited land. The Mbororos on their part greatly contributed to the conflicts. Since there has been the

¹²⁴ -File No KC.378 'Farmer-Grazier boundary disputes', Kom Council, 1987.

¹²⁵ Interview with Grace Fukuin, 80 years, Housewife, Ilung, 31 April 2015.

¹²⁶ Mah, "Mbororo as Agent of Development", p.64

¹²⁷ Mbeng, "Farmer-Grazier Problem", p. 77.

scarcity of pasture during the season, Mbororos sometimes resorted to the burning of grass in order to regenerate new pastures for the cattle.

Plate 2: Shows bush burning in Fujua.



Source: Adopted from Mbeng, “Farmer-Grazier Problem”, p.77.

The plates above show Mbororo people burning grazing land. This led to destruction of fences as seen above

Bush burning led to the destruction of soil fertility. In this process, huge fire was set in the localities of Ilung, Bolem, Mbam, Achain and Ajung where there were enough grazing areas. The fire was always poorly controlled and this allowed for the destruction of crops and fences. The devastating effects of such fires always generated conflicts with local farmers. Besides bush burning, they also allowed the cattle to stray farms especially during the night. This was the major cause of farmer-grazier conflict. Mbororos also practiced transhumance wrongly. Transhumance is the movements of cattle from hill slopes to the valleys in the dry season and the reverse movement back to the hillslopes in the rainy season in search of pasture under the guidance of herdsman. In Fundong, cattle left from Ijim, laikom, Ngwah,

Achain and Fujua and went on transhumance to Mbonkisu plain, Mejang and Baisso¹²⁸. A circular letter was usually issued for the date of transhumance.

In 1991, letter N° MINEPIA/DPEPIANO/96/83 of 12/12/91 authorised the graziers to go on transhumance from the first of January while letter No MINEPIA/DPEPIANO /96/91 of 02/04/92 required all animals on transhumance to return to their rainy season grazing lands by 4th April 1992¹²⁹. So many graziers were not always respecting this calendar. Some carried out this transhumance at wrong times. This always victimized people who farmed along the transhumance track. Some of these cattle were very stubborn and when there was shortage of pasture, they started moving on their own since it was difficult to control. In this case, farmers were always taken unaware. Vast destructions were caused mostly by breaking the barbed wire fences in which they were confined to at night and strayed into food crop farms¹³⁰

The Impact of these conflicts were far reaching. Farmer grazier conflicts encouraged petition writing in the Fundong Area. Files were all flooded in the Division and Sub divisional offices, divisional courts, and delegation of livestock, delegation of agriculture and in the traditional councils. These petitions (complaints) came from both parties. Farmers complaining about crops and farms destroyed by Mbororos cattle and Mbororo graziers complaining about farmers encroaching grazing lands with farms and fences¹³¹. See Appendix for example. These petitions forced the administrators to leave offices in Fundong town, spending hours and at times covering kilometers on foot and passing through difficult terrain to remote

¹²⁸ Mbeng, "Farmer-Grazier Problem", p.68.

¹²⁹ Ibid

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ -File No 478/Vol.87, "Farmer-Grazier complaints", Fundong Rural Council, 1996, p.56.

areas to inspect farms and grazing land under disputes¹³². Divisional Officer like Eno Abrams Egbe in Fundong Sud division, delegate of livestock, Yang Divine and other delegates toured Fundong Area on several occasions. In Ilung, SDO for Fundong Sub division came to inspect the school farms destroyed by the cows of Ardo Manou. When this was done, they concluded that Ardo Manou will pay 750,000Fcfa¹³³. The table below shows the level of complaints that were written by both Mbororo and Fundong people from 2000 to 2010 because of farmer-grazier problems in Fundong Central Sub division.

Table 1: Farmer-grazier problems in Fundong from 2000-2010

YEARS	NUMBER OF COMPLAINTS
2000	40
2001	27
2002	60
2003	15
2004	08
2005	51
2006	42
2007	24
2008	56
2009	30
2010	70

Source: constructed by author from Fundong Sub divisional Archives.

Farmer-grazier complaints; File No. 43/s.3 vol.3o.

We started from 2000, but this does not mean that there existed no conflicts before then. The statistics of these periods were not really in chronology.

¹³² Interview with Francis Ngelle, 45 years, Farmer, Achangne, 8th August 2014.

¹³³ Interview with Yang Divine, 57 years, delegate of MINEPIA Fundong, Fundong, 17th August 2014.

From the table above we witnessed that before 2003, so many complaints flooded the offices of administrators, but by 2003 to 2004, it dropped drastically because the Senior Divisional Officer for Boyo division vehemently refused to take bribes from the Mbororo cattlemen. It was even alleged that he jailed some Mbororos for attempting to bribe him when animals destroyed some crop in Achain¹³⁴. From 2005, he was already transferred to Wum and the farmer-grazer conflicts re-generated.

Farmer-grazier conflicts also led to street demonstration in Fundong area, mostly cause by women. They went to the streets sometimes holding fresh leaves or branches of trees and marched to the Mbororo huts or compounds in anger. Over ten villages marched to the Mbororo huts as well as the D.O's offices to express their grievances. These villages were Achain, Ajung, Akeh, Achangne, Mbonkisu and Yuwi¹³⁵. In February 2012, the Ilung Youths left very early in the morning and went to Ardo Manous' compound to warn him of the cattle destruction in their farms. The leader of the group Njam Cyprain talked brutally to Ardo Manou, telling him that they have seen and heard about the destruction of farms by his cows and they were not ready to cause any harm to his animals when next it would occur.¹³⁶ Again, a group of old women (*fubien*) in Achain went to Ardo Manou one morning and warned him of cattle destruction. When this incident continued, they took the issue to the D.O and because he had taken bribes from the Ardo, he was lukewarm over the issue. It was a disgrace when the D.O visited the village of Achain, and when it was time for refreshment, they gave the D.O palm fruits as food, on the pretext that all their farms were destroyed by cows and for that reason, they were only eating palm fruits as food¹³⁷. This

¹³⁴ Interview with Charlse Yong, 57 years, farmer, Achain, 4th April 2015.

¹³⁵ Ibid

¹³⁶ Interview with Njam Cyprain, 34 years, driver, Ilung, 5th January 2015.

¹³⁷ Interview with Charlse Yong, 57 years, farmer, Achain, 4th April 2015.

act provoked the D.O who wanted to spend the night in Achains' palace, to go and stay in Ardos' compound.

Apart from street demonstration, they also carried out manifestations in the farms. The behaviour of farmers faced with the destruction of their crops by the animals were the most important component of farmer-grazier problems. The manifestations varied according to the damage. On the whole, the scene was always characterized by chaos. There were serious quarrellings that resulted to angry groups of women whose crops were damaged by animals. The farmers especially in the case of severe damages, often beat the animals to death so that both parties should incur losses. These manifestations usually led to expenses in the court procedures in Fundong and even in Bamenda¹³⁸

Mbororos and Politics

Mbororo people were not very interested in politics in Fundong because they were cattle rearers and they preferred to spend much time with their cattle than politics. However, as time passed, they gradually joined the political scene in the Kom Fondom. They joined politics as far back as 1957 when general elections were held in Southern Cameroons. These elections enabled all the political parties present in Southern Cameroons to campaign vigorously. Initially, the KNC (Kamerun National Congress) of E M L Endeley stood for full and autonomous self government for Southern Cameroons, but later changed his view by wanting Southern Cameroons to integrate with Nigeria¹³⁹. Some Kom people later joined the party as well as the Mbororos. The first Mbororo man to join the KNC was Ardo Jordan who joined the party in 1957. He militated in this party for about two years and by 1959, elections were organized in Southern Cameroons and unfortunately

¹³⁸ Mbeng, "Farmer-Grazier problems", p.98.

¹³⁹ V. J. Ngoh, *Cameroon History, 1884-1985, A Hundred Years of History*, Limber, Navi group publication, 1987, p.208.

for him, the KNC lost the election¹⁴⁰. In 1959 elections in Southern Cameroons, Ardo Jordan of Fundong together with Kom people actually militated in favour of the KNDP (Kamerun National Democratic Party) formed in 1955 by John Ngu Foncha.

By the early 1960s, Ardo Amadou Bouba of Fundong became an active politician with the KNDP and was later on given the post of Councillor in Menchum Rural Council. He served both the Kom indigenes and the Mbororo people¹⁴¹. By 1980, Ardo Manou of Ijim became the organizing secretary for the CNU (Cameroon National Union) for the Ijim area. He occupied this post until 1985 when the CPDM (Cameroon peoples' Democratic Movement) was created by president Biya. Alim became the Sub-section president for the UNDP in Fundong where he attracted both the kom and Mbororo supporters to the party.

Politics was considered by many Cameroonians as a game of interest. All the Mbororos needed protection. They were always loyal to the regime in power for they realised that since 1978, government laws always favoured them¹⁴². Indigenes were always reminding them that they were strangers and that made them to be afraid. They found it necessary to support the party in power because they needed support from this party. Because of Alhidjo's land reforms of 1970s, they supported the CNU full heartedly throughout his term of office, and extended this support to the CPDM of His Excellency Paul Biya since its creation in 1985. With the re-introduction of multi-party politics in the early 1990s, the Bamenda Grassfields Mbororos were clearly seen¹⁴³. They knew their greatest protection could only come from the party in power. Following the trend of events in the Bamenda Grassfields that were characterized by rumours that "Biya must go" and SDF (Social

¹⁴⁰ Ibid

¹⁴¹ Interview with Ardo Amadou 76 years, Ardo, Mentang 11, 25th March 2015.

¹⁴² Jumbam, "Fulani Impact" p.304.

¹⁴³ Interview with Alhadji Nuhuh, 67 years, Graziers, Fundong Town, 10th December 2014.

Democratic Front) slogan “power to the people”, the Mbororos of the North West Region in general and those of the Fundong area in particular were confused. They lost hopes in the CPDM government and later withdrew their support, especially when they realised that the CPDM leaders and militants were being attacked and property burnt. For example, Fundong Mbororos’ houses were put ablaze by the SDF militants because they were supporting CPDM¹⁴⁴.

They lost hopes in the CPDM government but did not support SDF that was the popular party in the Bamenda Grassfields by then. Fundong Mbororos were no exception. The SDF slogan of “Power to the people” made Fundong Mbororos to think that indigenous enemy neighbours would use it to chase them out of the land they were occupying and grazing their cattle. This was also because they were frequently reminded that they were strangers. The Mbororos of Fundong area, after losing hopes, switched from the Biya’s party and supported the party of Bello Bouba Maigari, NUDP leader. This was because they believed that it was the only way of creating a group for proper protection¹⁴⁵. It was clear that people of the Bamenda Grassfields especially the Mbororos misinterpreted the slogan. The slogan in its complete form was power to the people and equal opportunities. The idea of this statement originally meant that SDF stood for a system of government in which power belonged to all the citizens who accorded equal opportunities in all aspects without any discrimination¹⁴⁶. Beside the Mbororos, Fundong people also misinterpreted the campaign slogan. They took the slogan power to the people to mean power has been given to them to use force and chase the Mbororos out of their grazing land considered good for farming. Fundong people showed hatred for the Mbororos for not

¹⁴⁴ Ibid

¹⁴⁵ May, “Mbororo as Argent”, P. 121.

¹⁴⁶ Interview with Kiyam Chrisantus, 58 years, retired Mayor Fundong Rural Council, Fundong Town, 10th August 2014

joining in public rallies and meetings to denounce the CPDM government. Young people of age 20 to 30 supported by elders produced a masquerade that accompanied them in SDF demonstration. These masquerades and people jointly attacked Mbororo settlements and ordered them to leave the areas. They ordered them to evacuate their grazing lands, claiming that those grazing lands were soon to become farm lands. This was confirmed by Ardo Manou in his word that:

People of Ilung, Mboh and Yuwi gathered at the head quarters' compound of Ilung at 9.00 in the morning and armed themselves to burn down Mbororos houses and huts. When they arrived in one of my houses, my herdsman was preparing food and they did not permit him to finish preparing the food. They burnt down houses, huts at Ilung, Achangne, Ajung and Achain¹⁴⁷

From the view of Ardo Manou, SDF was not a party to join due to the destruction caused by the Fundong people. Some of the areas where damages of the Mbororos' settlements took place were Aduk, Mbam, Achain, Akeh and Mbonkisu. In Aduk, Alhadji Seleki was forced to abandon his grazing land and moved further for about 7 kilometres¹⁴⁸. The attack did not only go to the Mbororos, it also went as far as attacking some indigenes who were ardent supporters of the CPDM. Some indigenous houses were attacked and burnt down to ashes. Examples included the compound of Bobe Francis Chia of Fundong town, who was the strong CPDM militant.¹⁴⁹ An attempt was made to burn down the compound of Mr Chindo Ignatius of Fundong town. It failed because the wife was SDF militant.

The impact of this aspect to the Fundong people was that land seized from the Mbororos was full of insecurity as people who farmed on these

¹⁴⁷ Interview with Ardo Manou, 78 years, Mbororo chief Achain, 12 April 2015.

¹⁴⁸ Interview with Alhadji Seleki, 74 years, grazier, Aduk, 3rd January 2015.

¹⁴⁹ Interview with Joseph Kafain, 48 years, teacher, Fundong, 5th April, 2015.

lands were always attacked during the day by Mbororo youth with bows and arrows. Those who constructed on them were also attacked, beaten and wounded by the Mbororos. Some of the people attacked were Mom Evaristus, Muam Fidelis of Ilung, Emmanuel Yong of Inyoh, Muh Njang of Achain who constructed on the land seized from the Mbororos¹⁵⁰. Note should be taken here that Mbororos' response was not always negative to the indigenous population. Some Mbororos even threatened to shoot people at Anchangne when their compound was in fire.

On the positive aspect, Mbororos participated in so many political events in Fundong area especially in official visit of state personalities, installation of Divisional officers, National days and Youth Days. They attended these events at times uninvited just to demonstrate their dance and in certain cases demonstrated their horse displays. This gesture was experienced in Fundong when Peter Mafany Musonge visited Fundong Sub division in 1999. This showed the level of unity between the Mbororos and the Kom people in Fundong. Another incident occurred when the Minister of Basic Education Madam Haman Adama visited Fundong Sub division in 2008 and the Mbororo people participated in dancing, playing their drums put in the armpit and singing songs. Ardos and Alhadjis were sitting in the grand stand anxiously waiting for the minister. In an interview with Ardo Manou of Achain, he said:

I have been the assistant PTA (Parent Teacher Association) in Achain for so many years. As if that was not enough, I have been the Sub Section president of UNDP. I have also been a member of Ilung Traditional Council and I think that if people can work hand

¹⁵⁰ Interview with Evaristus Mom, 45 years, farmer, Ilung, 4th April 2015.

in glove, it will reduce hatred between the Mbororos and Fundong people¹⁵¹.

Justice and Peace

The Mbororos had been eager to have Alkali court in the Grassfields in general and in Kom in particular. It was thanks to the pressure that they exerted on the colonial administration that Alkali court was established in Fundong between 1945 to 1957¹⁵².

Before the creation of Alkali court, most of their cases were judged and tried in Native courts, where native laws and customs prevailed. As years went by, they started detesting Native courts, arguing that they were not given fair trial. According to Alhadji Jibo, Native court charges to them were too high than those charged to the indigenes since they knew they had much money¹⁵³.

The Mbororos also disliked the Native court because of the language problem. The court members spoke in Pidgin English or Mother Tongue and the Mbororos did not understand them. This provoked the Mbororos to demand for Alkali court. Since the colonial administration was not yet ready to create this Alkali court, they decided not to attend Native Court that was in Njinikom. Their problems were taken to Mallams and Ardos who were still not perfect judges. The Mbororos referred to Native Court as ‘pagan courts’ and there was no link between pagan and Moslems when it came to justice. The decision to create an Alkali court for Bamenda Division was approved on 12 April 1945¹⁵⁴. It was agreed that the court was to have an Alkali judge, a scribe and 3 messengers. The scribe was to be someone who was able to read Arab and keep his record in English. The judge could only

¹⁵¹ Interview with Ardo Umaru Manou, 79 years, Ardo, Ijim, 5th April 2015.

¹⁵² Ibid

¹⁵³ Interview with Jibo, 70 years, Grazier, Mentang, 16 August 2014

¹⁵⁴ Jumbam, “Fulani Impact”, p.287.

give a Koran for a criminal to swear on. If he was guilty, he could become mad. Between 1945 and 1957, the British colonial administration created four additional Alkali courts in Wum, Kumbo, Mbengwi and Fundong respectively¹⁵⁵. The impact of these courts were both positive and negative.

On the positive aspects, Alkali courts created employment and education. Many Hausa and Fundong converts embraced the Alkali court as it offered employment opportunities. They gained employment as scribes, messengers, secretaries and later as judges even though the opportunity was given mostly to people who had sound knowledge of Islamic laws and spoke Fulfulde, Hausa and English¹⁵⁶. For example, Cyprain from Mbam was the secretary of the Alkali court in Fundong town from 1994 to 2006. He is presently working with Fundong Rural Council. These employed people were supposed to speak Fulfulde fluently, had a mastery of Mohammedan laws and could read and write Arabic language. The services of the court clerks and messengers in the Alkali courts were in the hands of the Fundong trained staff¹⁵⁷. On March 1966, the West Cameroon minister of local government advertised the post of Alkali judges. Following the announcement that recruitment will be done in five years time, a new spirit of learning developed among the indigenes of the Grassfields not leaving out those of Fundong. There was no school or institution in the Bamenda Grassfields where people could receive training as Alkali. Many people started moving out of the Fondom of Kom to learn Islamic language in areas like Tibati, Banyo and Ngoundere. Others sought to learn Fulfulde and Hausa language at all cost¹⁵⁸. The desire to acquire Islamic education and the

¹⁵⁵ Interview with Abdou, 47 year, secretary in the D O's office, Fajua, 25 May 2015.

¹⁵⁶ Interview with Alhaji Nuhuh, 67 years, Grazier, Fundong town, 10th December 2014.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ NWRAB., File No. Ka/b: 1966./Vacancy in local Government services, 14 March 1966, p.20.

laws of Mohammed was caused by the willingness to have jobs in Alkali courts¹⁵⁹.

Alkali court also contributed to the implementation of peace and justice. Cases such as inheritances, theft were ruled out by Alkali court. The case of cow theft between Musa Ibrahim and Mohammed Yaya of Ajung was peacefully settled by the Alkali court. In 2007, the D.O for Fundong sent two Mbororos who were having land problem at Fujua to the Alkali court to go and swear upon the Holy Koran if they knew that the land belongs to them.¹⁶⁰

Concerning revenue, we also noticed that the Alkali court contributed revenue though insignificantly when compared with other legal institutions. This Alkali court raised revenue through court fines and fees. These court fines were collected and sent to the government account.

Alkali court also left some negative impact in Fundong Area. Some criminals who were not happy about the rulings of the Alkali court at times manifested violence during court sessions. Problems considered poorly treated were transferred from the court room to the quarters where at times fighting began and ended up by using knives against each other.

Messengers whose roles were to distribute summons and conduct arrests resorted to collecting bribes and running their own missions. This led to dissatisfaction in the handling of some cases. Some Alkali judges went out of their jurisdiction to handle cases that were not within their own competence. This led to conflicts between the Alkali judges and the administrative offices.

¹⁵⁹ Interview with Abdou, 47 year, secretary in the D O's office, Fujua, 25 May 2015.

¹⁶⁰ Interview with Ardo Umaru Manou, 79 years, Mbororo Chief, Ijim, 5th April 2015.

Conclusion

The political impact of the Mbororos in Fundong area came in the form of conflicts with farmers, their contributions to justice and peace, and their role in the politics of the area. With regard to conflicts, two forms of crisis occurred and left so many impact. They included incessant farmer-grazier conflicts, clash in the Mbororo-indigenous customs and traditions. Concerning justice and peace, the Mbororos exerted a lot of force for the establishment of the Alkali courts in the area. This court helped to reduce crime even though limited only to Moslem faithfuls. In the aspect of politics, they played their own role even though just to an extent because they were not interested in politics. Circumstances brought them into politics that led to some impact in Fundong.

CHAPTER FOUR

MBORORO ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES AND IMPACT IN FUNDONG AREA

Introduction

This chapter treats the economic activities of the Mbororos and its impact in Fundong area from 1922 to 2012. These impact are both positive and negative. Those that are positive include; cattle rearing and employment, revenue generating activity, Mbororos and trade, the Mbororos and agriculture, transport and communication. Whereas those that are negative include low crop yields and starvation, contamination of the environment and deforestation.

Cattle rearing and employment

Despite the low level of education, the Mbororos contributed immensely toward employment in the Fundong area. The opportunities they offered were both direct and indirect. These opportunities were visible in the cattle sector. Some Fundong people became attracted to the cattle sector and got engage in it. Some invested in cattle to the extent that in the later years they owned more cattle than the Mbororos. Some boasted of their economic strength in terms of the number of cattle they possessed.. Some bought their cattle directly from the Mbororos, while others obtained theirs through the exchange services with the Mbororos. Many indigenes served the Mbororos as *Gaynakohs* (herdsmen) and were compensated after an agreed period with one or more cows depending on the terms of the agreement. One herdsman once said:

He worked as herdsman for more than 20years and he was always paid with a cow every three months and only of small amount of money was given to me to feed my family and meself. I am now

also paying some herdsmen to care for my cows just like other people did for me¹⁶¹.

By 1970, about 20 indigenous graziers could be counted in Fundong having an estimated 1523 herds of cows.¹⁶² They were obliged to conform to the same grazing rules as the Mbororos. They also started paying jangali like some Mbororos cattle rearers. The jangali assessment figures from the period 1970-1980 reveals that so many indigenes owned cattle since it was the only lucrative activity at the time.

The impact of cattle ownership to the Fundong people was great. It offered employment and changed the life style of many cattle owners. Those who kept cattle catered for them effectively. As their number increased, the indigenous cattle owners became wealthy and boasted of their new found economic power¹⁶³. Some of the cattle were sold in time of difficulties to sponsor their children in schools and also to have some domestic needs. During some important family events and occasions like rural developments, dead celebrations and marriages, cows as well as goats were slaughtered to be use for meat. The importance of the event determined the number of cows slaughtered. The more cows slaughtered, the more the prestige¹⁶⁴.

As the Fundong people were developing and growing interest in the cattle rearing, they began investing heavily in it. Cattle population increased tremendously in Fundong. Wealth and affluence were measured in terms of the number of cattle owned by an individual. Native graziers who owned many herds of cattle received grazing permit just like the Mbororos. Hence, they were allocated grazing lands each under a Mbororo Ardo who owned the largest herds¹⁶⁵.

¹⁶¹ Interview with Lengha Hycienth, 52 Years, herdsman, Ilung, 18th October 2014.

¹⁶² Interview with Ngong Julius, 72 years, Grazier, Ilung, 18th October 2014.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Interview with Ngong Julius, 72 years, Grazier, Ilung, 18th October 2014.

Beside owning cattle and being self employed, some Fundong people were directly employed by the Mbororos as gaynakohs and were paid monthly. Mbang James of Mbam, a gaynakoh confirms these facts in the following words.

I have been a gaynakoh under Malam Jebou for 15years. I worked with him for three years before getting married. He pays me every end of the year depending on the agreement we made at the beginning of the year. I may agree to be paid with an amount of money at the end of each month or he gives me a cow at the end of each year. Because of this, I have been able to have 8 cows today. I have been able to build, married with three children, and acquired a plot at Mbam. I have been able to sponsor my children in school. For example Joseph is in Government Bilingual High School Fundong and Livinus is in primary school Baikang¹⁶⁶.

From Mbang's words, we can say that his employment as herdsman enabled him to sustain himself and to provide for his family. Many other jobless natives gained employment as herdsmen. By 1990, Ardo Manu of Achain was having about 300-350 herds of cattle controlled by three herdsmen. In Mbam, Ilung, Achain, Akeh and Ajung, there were about 800 cows in 1999-2000 and were controlled by 12 gaynakohs¹⁶⁷. The difficulties to effectively control this huge number of cows by a few herdsmen explained the inevitable destruction of crops in Fundong sub-division.

The transportation of cattle from grazing land to the market and to the slaughtering points also created another form of employment for the Fundong people. The Mbororos had more cattle but did not have power to carry them to the slaughter house (butchery). For this reason, transportation was mostly done

¹⁶⁶ Interview with Mbang James, 45 years, herdsman, Mbam, 5th September 2014.

¹⁶⁷ Interview with Ardo Manou, 78years, Mbororo chief, Ilung, 02 August 2014.

by indigenes. They were often hired either by the Mbororos who intended to sell a cow or by butchers who had bought cows at some distant places and wanted them to be transported to town. Examples of some cattle transporters were Ajangha in Fundong town and Atah who were claimed to be very powerful¹⁶⁸. Some of the indigenes were also transporting the cows from Fundong to Bamenda town. They were usually leaving Achain, Isaibi, Achangne, Ilung and Ngwah on Sundays for Bamenda cattle market. This journey was done for three days with serious trekking. That is from Sunday to Wednesday which was the cattle market day in Bamenda. People who were transporting had money that helped in the up keeping of their families¹⁶⁹.

Many Mbororos and indigenes were also employed as butchers. They were found in villages as well as in Fundong town. These butchers worked in collaboration with the cattle transporters. They paid the cattle transporters in cash and provided them with money to buy cows from the Mbororos. According to Anjangha they were paid according to the distance covered¹⁷⁰. The longer the distance the higher the amount paid and vice versa. The butchers slaughtered the cows and sold them to people who in turn retailed them to local consumers. These butchers generated a lot of income not only for themselves but equally for the local council and inspection services. They paid regular charges. These were obligatory payments expected from all butchers and were calculated depending on the number of cows slaughtered in a day¹⁷¹. Any butcher who failed to pay his dues was taken to court. Several butchers were jailed in Wum magistrate court in 1975 because they refused to pay their inspection charges¹⁷².

Many people were also employed indirectly in the sector. The roasting and selling of meet (soya) became a profession that employed many indigenous

¹⁶⁸ Interview with Atah, 45 years, Farmer, Fundong town, 5th September 2014.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Interview with Anjangha, 45 years, butcher, Fundong, 5th September 2014.

¹⁷¹ Ngala Kilang Elsie, "The Role of the Fundong Rural Council in the Development of Kom 1992-2002", Master Dissertation in History, 2005, P.45.

¹⁷² Umaru "The Evolution of Mbororo Habitat", p.41.

youths in Fundong sub-division. Most of the meat roasted was cow meat. In Fundong town, about 10 people roasted meat every day for sale. They placed their roasters in busy areas of the town such as bars, market place, night clubs and motor parks. Some used wheelbarrows to mount their roasters and this facilitated quick movement. Soya roasting profession was indeed another form of hot employment cherished by the youths because the gain was immediately after the sales. They used sticks from raffia palms bushes, cut them into desirable sizes and fasten meat where after roasting they tied them in bundles and wait for customers¹⁷³.

Plate 3: Shows a boy roasting meat.



Source: Authoro's collection, 12/03/2015

From the plate above a boy roast cow meat on the drier for sale. This was seen as a source of employment

Indirect employment generated by the cattle extended to pig rearing. At first, pigs used boiled plantains, cocoyam remnants of food collected from home, dead celebrations and garbage cans as their food. When the Mbororos arrived

¹⁷³ Interview with Chia Joseph, 27 years, meat roaster, Fundong, 5th September 2014.

with their cattle, they use blood from the butchers to feed their pigs making them to grow healthy and increasing in size¹⁷⁴

Revenue Generating Activities

Even though the Mbororo population in the Bamenda Grassfields was very small, they contributed remarkably to the economy of the region in general and that of Fundong in particular. They contributed almost half of the annual revenue of the area each year during the British colonial period and some years after independence. This was the case between 1950 and 1960¹⁷⁵. The source of government revenue in Kom included court fines, interest, forest fees, cattle market fees, dispensary and maternity fees, tax and veterinary inspection charges. Out of all these, the jangali tax was the highest. The collection of this was done by the council and Veterinary department.

The impact of this revenue was that money collected helped to sponsor projects like maintenance of roads, administrative buildings and bridges. They also contributed for the payment of market labour in Fundong, sanitary structures, staff salary and wages. It was also used for the payment of debts. The Mbororos contributed half of the total revenue realized each year in the Fundong community.¹⁷⁶ Most of the products produced in Fundong were more of agricultural products mainly for consumption and were not money producing like the animals that were expensive and the Mbororos who had cattle paid in taxes and a lot of money entered into the Fundong community¹⁷⁷.

As the population of the Mbororos increased, the population of cattle also increased and as a result, the amount collected as jangali tax also increased¹⁷⁸. Apart from the jangali tax, other taxes of the cattle sector included livestock market fees, slaughter house fees and veterinary inspection fees. These taxes

¹⁷⁴ Interview with Hilda Fuwain, 55 years, Farmer, Ilung, 5th April 2015.

¹⁷⁵ NWRAB, File No.Fa 1949/1. Short notes on Bamenda Province on tax rate 1950, 14 November 1950, p.32.

¹⁷⁶ Interview with Awoh Joseph, 45 years civil registrars, 5th December 2014.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid

¹⁷⁸ Mbeng, "Farmer Graazier Problem", p.106.

give a good impression that cattle contributed to revenue generating in Fundong area. According to Bobe Joseph Awoh, he told us that the percentage of money gotten from cattle as tax was more than all what the indigenes can do even though plenty¹⁷⁹. Half of the projects realized by the Fundong council such as construction of bridges, supporting schools like G. S.S Ilung in 2011 with pieces of aluminum sheets of zinc were done with part of the money gotten from the Mbororo cattle owners.

Traditional rulers were also given an insignificant proportion of the jangali tax collected. They received each a sum ranging from between 1.5-2.5 percent of the total jangali collected from graziers within their fondom. This was to enable them meet their daily palace needs, given that they were land owners, auxiliary of the administration and the custodians of traditions¹⁸⁰.

The Mbororos and Trade

When the Mbororos first arrived in Fundong, they did not trade directly with the indigenes. They paid people to buy them food from the indigenous people at local market¹⁸¹. These were trusted indigenes that became used to the Mbororos and were employed to render these services. This acted like a form of employment. In the course of the year, cattle became attractive not only to the inhabitants who wished to become cattle owners but also the traders from within and outside Fundong. The profit gotten from cattle sales necessitated the establishment of a cattle market in Fundong in 2005 where the Mbororos and local people bought and sold their local animals¹⁸².

In this market not only cattle were sold and bought, goats, pigs and sheep were also sold and bought. The decision to officially establish permanent cattle markets was taken in May 1955 due to increase pressure from Fulani

¹⁷⁹ Interview with Awoh Joseph, 45 years Civil registrar, Fundong Town, 5th December 2014

¹⁸⁰ NAB, File Ab.1718 no.52301 L.G. The Control and Settlement of the Fulani in Bamenda, 17 October, 1956, P.31.

¹⁸¹ Interview with Ngong Cusmac, 68 years, Farmer, Ilung, 5th December 2014.

¹⁸² Interview with Nuhuh, 67 years, Grazer, Fundong Town, 10th December 2014.

cattle owners. The District officer for Bamenda Grassfields wrote to the commissioner of the Cameroons in Buea stating the advantages of permanent cattle markets in the Bamenda Grassfields. He wrote:

The aim behind the establishment of cattle market is to regularise the sale of cattle which at present are sold highly all over the place. Under the present system the producers are exploited by the cattle traders and consumers are required to pay too high a price for meat. Fixed market places would stop this as well as encourage increased consumption to the benefit of health and general economy¹⁸³

In Fundong town, cattle market was periodical and was holding once a week and on that day, a particular section was taken for the sale of food stuff such as garlics, corn, beans, potatoes, onions and soya beans¹⁸⁴.

The impact of this cattle market was that it also generated revenue in the Fundong community. All the cattle that entered the market were charged a tax per herd. Cattle in these markets came from Bum sub-division especially from Konene, Achain, Isaibi, Mbonkusu, Mentang as well as Ijim¹⁸⁵. According to Yang Divine, he said 150fcfa was collected by the council in the market and 150FCFA again was collected and sent to the veterinary department for injecting the cows¹⁸⁶. This was because the council helped the market in building fences and by providing portable water while the veterinary department inspected cows and vaccinated sick ones. All these cattle and other foodstuff generated income into the market from the sales of these products and articles.

Another link to the cattle trade was the sale of hides and skins which equally flourished leaving in a positive impact on the Fundong people. When

¹⁸³ NWRAB, File No.Qg/a.1954, Ref.No.B.3154/55. Establishment of Cattle Markets, 25 May, 1956. P.55.

¹⁸⁴ Interview with Yang Divine, 57 years, Veterinary doctor, Fundong, 27th August, 2014.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid

¹⁸⁶ Ibid

the skins of these animals were dried, they were roasted and after roasting, they were cooked and salted to be eaten. This cooked skin was locally referred to as *Katanga* where children mostly sold them in bars or night clubs in the night.

Another impact was seen in that Mbororo men promoted indigenous local markets. They were buying Kola nuts and banana from the local population. The Fundong people also sold items such as beans, corn, vegetables, groundnut and plantains to them¹⁸⁷. This was frequent in Fundong central market, Achain market and Ilung. Other items included ropes that could be used to tie goats and small cows, so that they should not go astray¹⁸⁸. Money gotten from the sales of these product went a long way to ameliorate the living standards of Fundong people as they used the money to purchase their basic needs. Mbororo women also reared fowls and sold them to the indigenes when they were in need. These fowls were very influential in Kom traditional activities.¹⁸⁹ All of these went a long way to foster economic integration.

The Mbororo and Agriculture

Inrespective of the initial negative attitude of Mbororos towards farming, they eventually took part in agriculture in Fundong area. When they came to Fundong in 1922 they depended on cow milk and light pap (mixture of milk and corn flour). As they lived with the indigenes, they started interacting with them and later developed interest in eating food stuff produced by the indigenes. From there, they started having small farms. This situation later changed as they developed interest in agriculture since they were also interested in eating corn fufu¹⁹⁰. By 1990 to the late 2000s, so many Mbororos were found eating fufu corn in public ceremonies such as dead celebrations, marriages and in rural development occasions. This was the case of Ilung development union, Achain,

¹⁸⁷ Nkwi, *Traditional Diplomacy*, p.135.

¹⁸⁸ Interview with Ardo Manou, 78 years, Mbororo chief, Achain, 02 August 2014.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid

¹⁹⁰ Interview with Ngongbi Hycenth, 48 years, Grade One Teacher, Ilung, 31 April, 2015.

Meli and Aduk development Union¹⁹¹. This situation was very rare for a Mbororo man to eat in the public. The co-existence of the indigenous farmers and Mbororo pastoralists in the Fundong community forced them to realize the importance of each other. The first group to accept the change or diversification in agricultural activity was the indigenous inhabitants. They developed interest in cattle and began to buy cows as far back as the 1950s. This early adaptation of livestock farming in Fundong community was because there were no major lucrative economic activities. The fall of coffee prices during the economic crises in the 1980s made many indigenes to invest in cattle rearing as a substitute¹⁹². Many people who produced coffee and took up cattle rearing as a new form of investment hoped that they may find benefits in the trade. The rearing of cattle soon became an aspect of social classification and many went into it for prestige.

Because of the above reasons, many began to rear cattle. In so many villages in Fundong, many indigenes reared cattle. Among these people were Julius Ngong, Labali Kichou of Ilung, Salia Ngong, Cletus Ful, Valentine Kechuo of Yvuwi, Bobe Sayong Ngong, Tali Mah, Mathias Ndong at Aduk, and Nuh Njung Michael in Fujua. Some people became cattle owners after serving as *gaynakohs* under Mbororo. They received cows in return for their services¹⁹³. Others got money to buy from the Mbororos after sales of coffee, goats and plots etc. Some bought cows in small numbers and then attached them to Mbororo cattle owners, mostly to those Mbororos whom they bought the cattle from. This was because they were still starting and were not yet ready enough to keep their cattle on their own. For example, Labali Kitchuo left so many of his cattle in Bobe Julius Ngong's herds of cows in Ilung because Julius was already well based and had known the techniques of rearing cattle than him. In Aduk, Sayong Ngong left his cattle in Bobe Tally's cows because he was not

¹⁹¹ Interview with Nawain Grace Fukuin, 80 years, House wife, Ilung, 31 April 2015.

¹⁹² Mbeng, "Farmer-Grazier Problems", P. 2.

¹⁹³ Neba, *Modern Geography* p.127.

yet strong enough to rear it independently. This means that the indigenous involvement in the rearing of cattle was greatly motivated by the Mbororos. By involving themselves in the cattle business, two groups eventually got into mixed farming. In this practice, the Mbororos benefited from indigenous land while the indigenes benefited from the Mbororos cows and cow dung fertilizers¹⁹⁴.

These Mbororo cattle farmers also developed interest in crop farming that was the main occupation of the indigenes. They were encouraged by administrative and Non Governmental Organisations to start the practice of mixed farming in such a way that they would benefit both sides and improve their living standards. The involvement of the Mbororos in agriculture led to increase in ‘prices of daily pay’ in Fundong. By this statement, daily pay means that somebody works for you and you pay on that same day basis. Since the Mbororos did not initially work as farmers themselves, the Fundong people were employed to do the work for them. By 1990, daily pay cost 500frs. By 2000, the price of daily pay rose to 2000 FRS where a person needed to work from 8:00am to 4:00pm. We should also note that these prices differed as people who carried out daily pay in towns were a bit expensive than those in the villages¹⁹⁵.

The Impact of the Mbororos to the Fundong people in this aspect is that those farms soon became a source of livelihood for many Fundong men and women. In Achain, Alhadji Nuhuh employed many indigenes in his farms to till his farms and plant corn, beans and also weeded the farms right up to the time of harvest¹⁹⁶. This became a regular “job market” for so many women in Achain. So many holiday makers and job seekers worked money in the farms of the Mbororos and bought their basic school needs such as books, pensils, pens

¹⁹⁴Interview with Jibo, 70 years, Grazier, Mentang, 16 August, 2014.

¹⁹⁵Interview with Hilda Fuwain, 55 years, Housewife, Ilung, 5th April 2015

¹⁹⁶ Interview with Alhaji Nuhuh, 67 years, Grazier, Fundong Town, 10th December 2014

as well as school uniforms. Some women also bought their house equipment from money gotten from the Mbororo farms. In Ilung, Odette Nainbi, Ngow Nih Joceline, Ndongmbu Erica were students who sponsored themselves from money gotten from Alhadji Ganou at Achangne. Also, some of the women who worked with the Mbororos in Achain were Nyonguo Mbel, Hilda Fuwain, Zitta NaKoma, Prodentia Nawangha and Nyangha Ndong of Ilung. Some men also worked in their farms by constructing fences to protect stubborn cows not to invade the crops in the nights. This money got from them made so many people to construct their house and got married for working in the Mbororos's farms. According to Ntoh Jerome in Inyoh, he said

we worked in the Mbororos farms and only saved the money. It is from the money that I constructed my house, got married and today i sponsored my five brothers mostly with the money gotten from the Mbororos fences...¹⁹⁷

The Mbororos really acted as sources of employment. In Achain, Muhnjang spent most of his time constructing fences on their farms. We can also site some men like Ignatius wam, Yisah Alexandra, Ngeli and Hycenth Lengha in Achangne just to name these few¹⁹⁸. This form of employment that was steady to some women did not go on without some jealousy. Some women who monopolised the farms of some Mbororos became obstacles to others who were seeking employment. This situation at times led to conflicts among indigenous women of some villages. In some cases false rumor propagated by those who were denied access into particular farms went wild. For example in Achain, Nawain Mbu in 1995 was accused of having sexual relation with Djibou just because she did not want to open access to the others who wanted to work in his farm. Thanks to indigenous labour, the Mbororos cultivated grains such as

¹⁹⁷ Interview with Jerome Ntoh, 42 years, Farmer, Inyoh, 12 August 2014.

¹⁹⁸ Interveiw with Yisah Alexandar, 70 years, Farmer, Ilung, 12 August 2014

maize, beans, soya beans as well as cabbages, tomatoes and pepper¹⁹⁹. Ibrahim of Inyoh cultivated food crops in his farm in the year 2005 and so many women bought corn from him in times of hunger. Others worked in his farm to be compensated with corn which served as food. It is also good to note that so many Mbororos carried their hoes and machetes to their own farms to till²⁰⁰. This was always practiced by people who were poor to pay some indigenous labour²⁰¹.

Plate 4: shows a Mbororo man working on the farm.



Source: Author's collection, 2nd April 2015

From the plate above, we can see a handicapped Mbororo man working on his farm. This is to show the interest they have for agriculture.

It can be said that the Mbororos who were exclusively pastoralists, gradually became engaged in crop cultivation. By so doing, they spurred some indigenous inhabitants to embrace mixed farming. The Mbororos impact on the Fundong people was enormous. The advent of the Mbororos also brought means of transportation and communication.

¹⁹⁹ Mah, "Mbororo as Agents of Development", P.71.

²⁰⁰ Interview with Mallam Bouba, 55 years, Farmer, Achangne, 4th April, 2015.

²⁰¹ Interview with Helmina Mussi, 74 years, Farmer, Inyoy, 4th April, 2015

Transport and Communication

The Mbororos used horses as their means of transportation. They came to the Bamenda Grassfields with many horses which later became useful to the colonial administration and some indigenous inhabitants, who also developed interest²⁰². This was explained by the fact that their horses were less costly to be managed. More so, they could go into inaccessible areas. Land rover vehicles and bicycles were later used but were handicapped by continuous break downs and the fact that they were too costly to obtain. A single road was motorable in Fundong. The road was linking Fundong town to Bamenda town in 1970s and a vehicle could take four days from Fundong to Bamenda²⁰³. According to Muteh Clement, he said a horse cost 5000f by 1970s and a motor cycle cost 750000f. Many people found it very difficult to afford for a motor cycle. More to that, motorcycle spare parts could not be found in Boyo Division by then. This made so many people to prefer horses as means of transportation.

These impacted on the Fundong people in that the horses facilitated transportation. Fundong people used these horses for their private affairs. Those who went in for the horses used them to cover long distances with less fatigue. They used these horses to the ceremonial grounds, markets, and also to check their grazing farms²⁰⁴. The Mbororo people also served as drivers in many transport agencies of the area both within and out of the region. For instance in Savanna Express Agency that was found in Fundong in the late 1990s, people like shalley Amadou, Tanimou and Sagari of Mbam were drivers in this agency. They worked in this agency until it collapsed²⁰⁵. Another instance was seen in the early 2010 where Bouba was considered as the best taxi driver in Fundong. Heavy duty vehicles that transported fuels, bear and cargo functioned effectively under the care of Mbororo drivers. Examples of these

²⁰²Jumbam, "Fulani Impact in the Bamenda Grassfields", p.219.

²⁰³ Interview with Clenemt Muteh, 73 years, Grazier, Yuwi, 13 August 2014

²⁰⁴ Interview with Gideon Boh, 89 years, Farmer, Yuwi, 13 August 2014

²⁰⁵ Interview with Sagari Bouba, 52 years, Grazier, Mbam, 1st April 2014.

Mbororo drivers were Adamou who drove the cargo of Chia Evaristus by carrying his building equipments from Bamenda to Fundong town²⁰⁶. Some drove 20 tons for the transportation of sand from Bafut to Fundong and some neighbouring villages. These people were considered as the best drivers because most of them did not drink alcohol according to their tradition. They did not smoke and were very faithful and loyal in executing their duties²⁰⁷. Besides driving trucks and passenger vehicles, the Mbororos also contributed in public transportation using motor cycles. In Fundong town for instance it was noticed that about 70 percent of the motor bike riders were Mbororo youths and it was said that because they could not go to the South West Region to work in the cocoa farms, they saw the Chinese motor cycles as their best way out²⁰⁸. The Mbororos were seen as excellent riders but were often accused of robbery.

Plate 5: Shows Mbororos bike riders waiting for passengers in Fundong town



Source: Author's collection, 4th April 2015

On the Plate above, shows Mbororo bike riders waiting for passengers

²⁰⁶ Interview with Adamou, 43 years, driver, Fundong, 1st April 2015.

²⁰⁷ Ibid

²⁰⁸ Interview with Hassan, 35 years, Bike rider, Fundong, 1st April 2015.

Negative impact of Mbororos activities in Fundong.

Low Crop Yields and Starvation

There were also some minor negative impact of Mbororos presence in this Area. The damages caused to farms in the Fundong area led to low crop yield²⁰⁹. In 1958, destruction caused by cows to crop in Fundong completely robbed the people of their ability to harvest crops. The increase in the rate of crop destruction which intensified in the 1980s raised the incident of starvation from 1982 throughout the whole decade. This was because the whole Fundong area was surrounded by graziers and they usually allowed the cows to stray into farm lands.

Table 2: below shows the rate of damage caused by cattle in Fundong in 1993-1996.

VILLAGES	CROPS DAMAGED	CROP LAND SURFACE AREA AFFECTED (M²)	COMPENSATION PAID TO FARMERS (FCFA)
FUNDONG	Maize	2640	250800
NGWAH	Maize, beans, sugar canes, cocoyam, plantains	10670	158650
EKUIJUA	Maize, sugar canes	800	76000
FUJUA	Maize, coffee	2000	19000
MENTANG	Sugar canes, plantains	900	85500
MUTEFF	Maize, beans	2600	247000

²⁰⁹Mbeng Johnson Ndim, "Farmer-Grazier problem", p.120.

BAISO	Sweet potatoes, maize	1500	1425000
ILUNG	Maize	1630	154850
AKEH	Cassava, maize, beans	2930	278380
AJUNG	Maize, plantains	1340	127300
BOLEM	Maize, means, pumpkins	1625	154375
ABUH	Cocoyam, maize	1050	99750
TOTAL		25415	2949225

Source: Adopted from Mbeng. “Farmer-Grazier Problem” pp. 121-122

From the table above, it is realised that the Mbororos were supposed to pay compensation to farmers all over the Fundong Area .The sum of 2949225 Fcfa was spent from 1993 to 1996. This was due to rampant destruction caused by the cattle. The reason for the destruction was because of the fact that these villages shared common boundaries with the Mbororo graziers and for this reason cattle herds always had some access to farms around such villages²¹⁰.

In the course of taking the cattle down the valleys, damages were done to food crops. These crops included maize, beans, sugar cane, and plantains which were favourable for animals. Thus, conflict between farmers and nomads were always in abundance²¹¹. The resultant effects were wide spread starvation and misery. Example of areas where people stayed under this misery were Ilung, Achangne, Inyoh, Mentang and Achain. This was confirmed by Nawain Fienyoh where she said:

²¹⁰ Interview with Helmina Mussi, 74 years, Farmer, Inyoy, 4th September, 2015.

²¹¹ Mbeng, “Farmer Grazier Problem”, p.121.

Before animal entered Achain, we were producing numerous food items like “cow puse”, corn, and beans twice a year. But when they started destroying our food products, we stopped the production of these twice a year. We could only manage to produce once a year, from March to September because there was enough pasture those animals could divert their attention from food crops to green pastures. We did not work from September to February because the pastures were limited from November to February and when people produced, animals were always entering and eating up everything...²¹²

The low crop yields which brought starvation was not only caused by cows but also by grass burning practiced by the Mbororos to improve on the pastures. This grass burning mostly ended up entering into farm lands. For example many farms in Fundong area like Ilung, Achain, and Abuh, suffered from fire incidents and lost their organic minerals which were very much needed for soil fertility²¹³.

Low crop yields also emanated from the continuous trampling effects on the farm lands and overgrazing. All these left the affected farmlands low vegetation to improve the fertility of the soils. These soils remained very infertile, since the Fundong people were in the rural area, they were not able to improve the soil fertility. This resulted to the abandoning of pieces of land whenever crops refused to do well. This particular impact had effect on the Fundong people because they cultivated large portions of land but majority of the people were always complaining of food. It was very difficult for a family in Kom to boast of an average meal throughout the year, but people worked tirelessly and ceaselessly²¹⁴.

²¹² Interview with Nawain Fienyoy, 67 years, Farmer, Achain, 3rd April 2014.

²¹³ Ghangha Linus Wainjain, “The Adaptation of Kom Area Traditional Land use Pattern”, p.43.

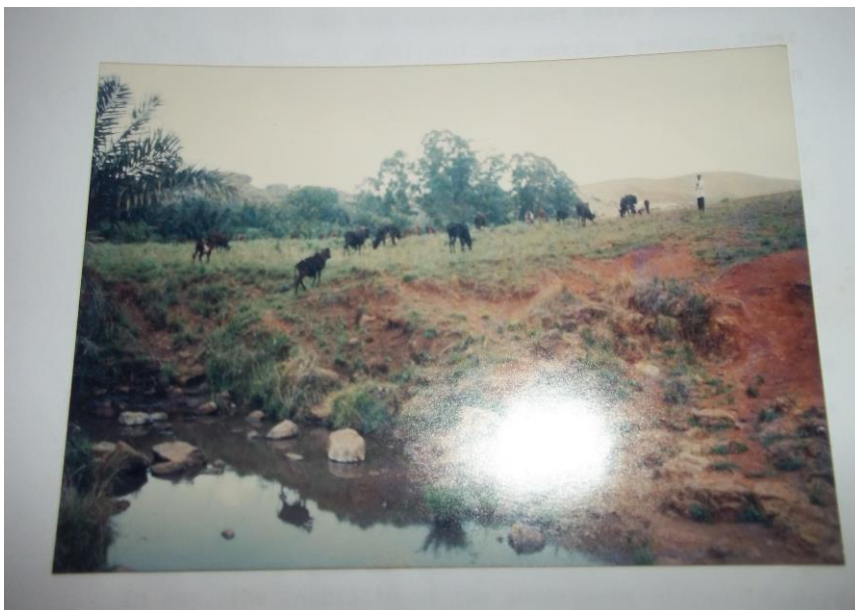
²¹⁴ Mbeng, “Farmer Grazier Problem”, 128.

Contamination of the Environment

Sources of water

As the cattle moved down the hills slopes, they drank water from rivers, streams which were also used by the villagers around. They did not only dirty the water but worst still, their dunks were directly deposited inside the water in many occasions²¹⁵.

Plate 6: Shows animals drinking water in Fujua.



Source: Mbeng, “Farmer-Grazier problem”, p.29.

From the plate above, we can see animals drinking water in a sprink. This made water very dirty.

This later on led to its contamination by pathogenic organisms like ringworm, tapeworms and nematodes which were easily transmitted to people and other animals. Again, the passage of cows along specific tracts led to erosion which was aggravated by an increase in rainfall which gave rise to gullies and created terrible irregularities in the valleys²¹⁶.

²¹⁵ Ibid

²¹⁶ Ibid

Deforestation

The arrival of cattle owners in Fundong area impacted negatively on the forest areas. Areas that were made up of stunted forest on the grass land were later affected by the Mbororos' cattle. The scarcity of the cultivated land forced those who were without farms to move into the forest areas of Mbueni, Mejang, Abuh, Mughom, Baicham, and Ndongmughang, Mboh and Aduk. For this reason, these areas were cleared down for farming²¹⁷.

Also, the Mbororo cattlemen were always burning their bushes during the dry seasons.

Plate 7: shows a forest gradually destroyed by cows.



Source: Author's collection, 16th October 2014.

On the picture, we can see that animals feeding in place which was formerly a forest. This has led to gradual disappearing of forest. This later made the grass to disappear on areas that were formerly covered by forest. Fire being wild as it was, burnt down some forests that were found on the grazing land. This led to deforestation. Some areas that were forests, later changed into grazing lands. In

²¹⁷ Mah Victor, "Mbororo as Agent of Development", p.71.

Fundong area, cows were also grazing much inside the forest closer to the Laikom Palace especially during the dry season when they ran short of pasture. This also contributed to the degradation of forest land. Some of the areas on the grazing lands that were forests started losing vegetation²¹⁸. The rampant degradation of the forest in Kom attracted government's attention. This is the Ijim Mountain Forest Reserve was set up to fight against rampant forest degradation. Large portions of lands were converted to Ijim Mountain Forest Reserve. Example of areas where the government put measures not to cut down trees were Bolem, Mboh, Ilung, Ajung, and Achain. This therefore left the farmers and graziers with limited land to carry out agro-pastoral activities. The forest reserve officials faced serious problems in maintaining the boundaries drawn up by them. In November 1994, four officials were attacked at Abuh²¹⁹. A similar case happened at Mboh. This was because much farm lands were brought under forest reserve. So many people who intensified themselves on the forest zone because of farmer-grazier problem became again landless. We can therefore say that deforestation was as a result of farmers-graziers conflict in Fundong since people whose farms were forced to abandon because of the farmers-grazier conflicts. This made them to divert their attention into the forest for agriculture.

Conclusion

This chapter treated the economic activities of the Mbororos and their impact in Fundong area from 1922 to 2012. These impact were both positive and negative. Those that were positive included cattle rearing employment, revenue generating activities, Mbororos and trade, Mbororos and agriculture, and transport and communication. Whereas those that were negative included low crop yields and starvation, contamination of the environment and deforestation.

²¹⁸ Mbeng, "Farmer-Grazier Problem", p. 129.

²¹⁹ Interview with Yama Ezickle 79 years, Farmer, Abuh, 3rd April 2014.

CHAPTER FIVE

SOCIO-CULTURAL ACTIVITIES AND IMPACT IN FUNDONG AREA ASPECTS

Introduction

The Mbororos came to Fundong with their socio-cultural activities which they used to interact with the people of Fundong. These activities had great impact on the Fundong area. This chapter therefore treats the social and cultural aspects of the Mbororos and their impact in the Fundong area. Regarding social aspects, we will treat religion, education and health. While the cultural aspects will focus on food processes, marriage, language, dance, dressing and building techniques.

Social Aspects

Religion

The Mbororos came to Kom Fondom with their religious practices and beliefs. They condemned the traditional practices of the Kom people. Such practices were masquerades dances, human and animal sacrifices, traditional rites, describing them as satanic. The Mbororos believed in Allah (God) and the prophet Mohammed. The Mbororo religion also impacted in this area.

The Mbororo religion converted some indigenous people to Islam. Their aim was to spread their religion all over the Kom Fondom in particular and in the whole region in general.²²⁰ That was why before an indigenous person got married to a Mbororo girl, he was always converted to Islam before marriage. We should note that none of the Mbororo person has ever changed from Islam to Christianity in Fundong. They even Islamized some staunch Christians into Islam. Some people changed from Christianity to Islam because they wanted to get rich, have prestige and social status. This was

²²⁰Umaru, "The Evolution of Mbororo Habitat", p .49.

confirmed by Dr Souley Mane in his work : « Pour certain peuple embrasser la religion musulmane, apparait comme un prestige, voire une elevation sociale, c'est se donner un moyen d'etre riche »²²¹ These converts usually had Moslem names after conversion. For example Blasius Timgum of Fujua after Islamized changed his name to Ibrahim Yelima, Asanda of Meli changed to Abdou Hamadou, Dr Lanji of Anyim changed to Mohammed, Linus Chia changed to Mohammed and many others.²²²

Plate 8: shows Kom man being islamized



Source: Ibrahim Picture Album

On the plate we can see indigenous converts holding Koran in their hands.

The construction of the Mosques by the Mbororos added to the beauty of the Fundong area. In Fundong town and Baijong, big mosques were

²²¹ Souley Mane, "Islam et Société Dans la Région du Mbam (Centre-Cameroun): XIXe-Siècles", PH.D Thesis in History, University of Yaounde 1, 2006, p.69.

²²² Interview with Ngongbi Hycinth, 48 years, Grade One Teacher, Ilung, 31 April, 2015.

constructed. Some Mbororo people also constructed mosques in their compounds in Ilung, Achain, Laikom, Mentang and Ijim²²³. More to this, the construction of those mosques created so many jobs to Fundong people since the Mbororos were not used to hard work. Much of the skilled and unskilled labour at the construction sites was done by the Fundong people. The money paid to the workers enable them to provide basic needs for their families.²²⁴

There were also negative effects of the Mbororo religion in Fundong. The conversion of some people brought problems to their families. Some people were disowned. For example, Linus Chia was disowned by the parents for joining Islam. He was further described by the indigenee in Kom language as *Wu Mboloh* meaning Mbororo man. These converts completely abandoned their traditional culture. This was the case of Blasius Timgum who confronted with his family for trying to put his death son in the mortuary. He complained that according to the Moslem tradition, you should burry a person immediately when the person dies.²²⁵

Education

The Mbororo education at first was mostly in Arabic. This made education of the Mbororos in western style schools difficult. Educating them in these schools faced so many resistances. However, Mbororo parents gradually developed interest by allowing some of their children to attend some of these school and also by constructing mixed Anglo-Arabic schools like the one at Baijong-Mentang. Some Mbororos, especially those with many heads of cattle saw the need for their children to acquire western form of education. This was to enable their children acquire knowledge that could lead them to count or sell their cattle. To them, it was the best way to prevent cheating and exploitation which they had

²²³ Interview with Francis Yakubou, 46 years, herdsman, Yuwih, 23rd March 2015.

²²⁴ Ibid.

²²⁵ Interview with Blasius Timgum, 75 Years, Grazier, Fujua, 19th December 2014.

been subjected to for long by the Fundong people.²²⁶ This was why by 1984, four Mbororo children were found in GSS Fundong as students. One student called Dairu Mussa came from Mbam, Saidou Bello came from Ijim, Adamou Bouba came from Mbonkisso and Yaya from Fujua. None of them went further than form five.²²⁷ Mah says that it took the Divisional and Sub divisional delegate of MBOSCUDA two years, 1998 to 1999 to persuade Mbororo parents to accept western education for children especially for the girl child in the village communities of Ijim, Achain, Baijong, Mbam, meli, Ajung and Aduk.²²⁸ The creation of MBOSCUDA in 1992 was another welcome development in the Grassfields in terms of education.²²⁹ This was because MBOSCUDA came to unite all the Mbororo people.

Plate 9: below shows a peripheral out look of MBOSCUDA School at Achain.



Source: Author's Collection, 29/ 03/ 2015.

On the picture above, we see Mbororo pupils standing in front of their (MBOSCUDA) school Achain.

²²⁶ Interview with Alhadji Nuhuh, 67 years, Graziers, Fundong Town, 20th December 2014.

²²⁷ Interview with Mallam Yaya, 57 years, Grazier, Fujua, 20th December 2014. He was the then student of that school.

²²⁸ Mah, "Mbororo as Agent of Development", p. 93.

²²⁹ Ibid.

In 2001 to 2008, MBOSCUDA constructed a primary school in Achain. This school was mixed with the native children even though mostly populated by Mbororo pupils. The Mbororo people also gave financial assistance that benefited both the indigenes and Mbororos children. These assistances were also in material form. Such were benches, school bags, toilets, scholarships and books. These assistances were also given to schools like GS (Government School) Achangne, GS Ajung, GS Akeh and especially to Arabic school at Baijong.

Besides contribution made by MBOSCUDA, the personal effort of Baba Ahmadou Danpullo generally known as Ndawara, also promoted education in Fundong Area. He assisted in the construction of (GTHS) Government Technical High School Fundong.²³⁰ MBOSCUDA also encouraged many Mbororo parents who developed the interest of sending their children to school. In Achain, we discovered so many Mbororo female students in primary school. A similar case was seen in GS Achangne, Ilung and Anyim. In 2008, so many Mbororo female students as well as male were attending GBHS Fundong. Some of them were Ayatou, Bouba Remedy from Akeh, male students were Musa Dandi and Sheni Bouderi who all came from inyoh. These students later went to Higher Teacher Training College (ENS) Bambili and Government Teacher Training College (GTTC) Fundong respectively.²³¹ These students came out from these schools and were teaching both the indigenous and Mbororo students in their various schools.

The refusal of some Mbororo youths to go to school left a negative impact not only on themselves but also on the host community of Fundong. Since they were always idle, some gathered money from the sale of cattle and moved to the squares of Ilung, especially Ahidjo of Inyoh, Achain, Aduk and Fundong town where they organised drinking spots. The result of such

²³⁰Ibid

²³¹ Interview with Ngongbi Hycinth, 48 years, Grade One Teacher, Ilung, 31 April, 2015.

drinkings was fighting and stabbing of people. In the year 2000, two Mbororo boys after being drunk in a bar stabbed Mr Mbanghinu Joseph in Isaibi. These boys were all illiterates.²³² Those who were not able to have cows ended up stealing to earn a living.

Health

Mbororos in Fundong Area introduced their own method of diagnosis and treatment of disease. Mbororo healers were of two categories. The mallam used only the Holy Koran to heal patients and the herbalists who used herbs and material items in diagnosis and treatment of patients.²³³ With the Koran, the mallams only read verses in the Koran and prayed for the healing powers to come from Allah. One of the Mallam was Mallam Baba of Isaibi. They also prayed for thieves to be caught. In the year 2004, Isidor kuma, Mathias Njam and Martin Song stole a cow of Bobe Cletus Ful. He went and asked for prayers to be done by a Mallam. When this was done, they were confused and instead carried the cow and were running with it toward the town. These culprits were caught and sent to the Bamenda Centre prison.²³⁴ Some impact were also noticed in this aspect

Mbororo Mallams could easily detect thieves among a group of suspects. In this way they helped in scaring many youths and other people away from stealing. At times, the Mallams frightened people that if the stolen item is not quickly returned, he will put medicines and at the end, the thief will die. In Ilung, the goats of Mr Frankline Ntoh were returned in 2005 by thieves because Mallam Baba put medicines in front of his compound. In Achain, Akeh and Ngwah, people were always consulting Mallams for the planting of medicines so that their goods could be returned.²³⁵ The fear of Koran therefore helped

²³² Interview with Yisah Alexandar, 70 years, Farmer, Ilung, 12 August 2014.

²³³ Interview with Ibrahim, 45 years, herbalist, Inyoh, 05 October 2014.

²³⁴ Interview with Mallam Hassan, 66 years, Achain, 30 March 2015.

²³⁵ Interview with Frankline Ntoh, 51 years, Trader, Ilung, 15th April 2015.

reduced crime waves in Fundong area. The Alkali court in 1950s in Fundong became effective in administration of justice thanks to the usage of the Koran.²³⁶

Mallams were equally said to have powers which could help protect people from evil spirits and assaults. They prepared amulets which were held in secret by those who went for them. They also produced materials like rings, neck-laces, belts, charms that were prepared and given to people who needed protection from Allah. Some Fundong people received these objects for fast sale of their products, protection from all dangers, and charms for lovers.²³⁷ Many Fundong people were said to have attributed much of their successes to these materials produced by the Mbororo herbalists and spiritualists.

Another impact is that some chronic diseases like gonorrhoea, clamymdia and other illnesses that were very difficult to be treated in the hospitals were mostly treated by the Mbororo herbalists.

Cultural Aspects

Marriage

From the time of settlement, the Mbororos did not marry Kom women. They were rather keeping them as concubines. This practice later on disappeared gradually as the Mbororos started entangling with the Kom people. They gradually moved from keeping them as concubine to getting married to them²³⁸. It was from this interaction that Mbororos' relationship with the Fundong people was felt. The Mbororos brought endogamy marriage which was considered by the Fundong people as a taboo to the area. Endogamy marriage was a marriage situation whereby Mbororos got marriage within the same families. Endogamy married was completely different from that of the Kom people and it was not easy to be accepted by Kom people. By endogamy, only men and women of the same family could

²³⁶ Interview with Alhadji Nuhuh, 67 years, Graziers, Fundong Town, 20th December 2014.

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ Interview with Francis Yakubou, 46 years, herdsman, Yuwih, 23rd March 2015.

get married²³⁹. According to Ardo Manou of Ijim, it was a tradition they inherited from their fore fathers and it was practiced because the Mbororos wanted to keep their animals within the family. Getting married to non-family members, he said was like giving out wealth of the family to the outsiders. To them, marriage means giving a lot of things to the couple²⁴⁰. Besides endogamy, the Mbororos equally practised polygamy and monogamy.

The Mbororos used the Holy Koran to guide anyone who wanted to marry. The Koran permitted every man to get married to four wives provided he was able to support the women. At first, they did not marry out of their society, but as time went by, they started getting married to the Kom people. According to Alhaji Nuhuh, he confirmed this in his words:

All Mbororos people of the North West Region are Moslems. Their marriages are contracted according to the principles of Islam. A man must not marry more than four wives because it is against Islamic laws. Mbororos people are now getting married out of their families, out of their clans. Mbororos people left Achain, to get married to Kom people at Njinikom, Belo, Fundong town and in so many villages. Any person can get married to his or her choice and not as it was before now because the world is evolving.²⁴¹

In this view, Nuhuh remarked that marriage that use to be limited between families or clans have greatly evolved, giving way to inter- clans and even marriages with non-Mbororos.

Even though it was initially difficult for a Mbororo man to get married to a Kom woman, the odd was later on broken. This was seen when Mallam Hamidou of Ajung got married to the daughter of Song Chia of Ngwah. By

²³⁹ Jumbam, "Fulani Impact", p.106.

²⁴⁰ Ibid

²⁴¹ Interview with Alhadji Nuhuh, 67 years, Graziers, Fundong Town, 10th December 2014.

late 1990s, such inter-marriages had reached Abuh when Evelyn Nageh got married to Oumarou of Ijim. Some examples were also discovered at Yuwi where in 2008, Yakubu got married to a Kom girl called Magerate Mbutoh, Edith of Yuwi went and got married to a Mbororo man at Konene, in Bum Sub division. All of them converted to the Islamic faith immediately and were given names such as Ajara, Maimona and Amina. For example, Mbutoh changed her name to Amina²⁴². These marriages had so many impact.

Inter-marriages between the Mbororo and the Fundong people triggered a general feeling of oneness or the sense of belonging. This explains why the Mbororos were seen mourning together in Abuh, when Bobe Ghangha Muso, second Class Chief, died in 1999. This was also seen in Achain and Anyim when the Mbororos condoled in kind and in cash and participated in most activities that took place during the ceremony.²⁴³

The feeling of oneness between the Mbororo and Fundong people was of great significance. It confirms to the Cameroon government policy of national integration. The Kom-Mbororo relationship was no doubt a mark of national integration.

Another consequence of the inter-marriages between the Mbororo and the Fundong people is that farmer-grazier conflicts were reduced, though insignificantly. These in-law relationship reduced the complaints and tensions between farmers and graziers. In the year 2007, a general call came up at Ajung and Akeh that all Mbororos should evict the areas. Not all the indigenes accepted because people who had given out their children to the Mbororos for marriage were not in support.²⁴⁴

²⁴² Interview with Francis Yakubou, 46 years, herdsman, Yuwih, 23rd March 2015.

²⁴³ Interview with Ijama Muh, 75 years, Grazier, Anyim, 02 April 2015.

²⁴⁴ Interview with Ngang Godlove, 37 years, Student, Bamenda, 12 October 2014.

Some Fundong people who got married to the Mbororo women later became rich. This was because the Mbororos after allowing their daughters to marry some indigenes extended gifts to them. Such gifts were intended to enable their daughters live happily in their new homes. For example Linus Chiia got married to a Mbororo girl and received a lot of cattle as gifts from the Mbororos. Such cattle came from the family that offered him a wife. His name later changed from Linus to Mohammed.²⁴⁵

Moreover, inter-marriages compelled many indigenes and the Mbororos to learn the language of each other. This partly explains why in Achain, Yuwi, Achangne, Anyim and Akeh villages more than half of the indigenes speak Fulfulde.²⁴⁶ This facilitated communication, integration and making Kom Fondom a multilingual Fondom in the Bamenda Grassfields.

On the negative aspects, inter-marriages between Fundong people and Mbororos, sometimes resulted in quarrels, division and the separation of indigenous families. For example, Magaret Mbutoh of Yuwi disagreed and fell out with her own families because she got married to a Mbororo man, Yakubu at Yuwi. She was disowned by her family and up to 2012, the problem was unsolved. Mbutohs' parents later attempted to separate because the mother stopped opposing the marriage and began visiting the daughter against the wishes of the father. The father, Martin Ntoh complained that his daughter and the mother have stigmatized him and other members of the families.²⁴⁷ Many people in Kom called this marriage illegal because they do not follow the Kom tradition and customs again, on the terms that most of the kom customs are against Islamic laws.

²⁴⁵ Interview with Mallam Yaya, 57 years, Grazier, Fujua, 20th December 2014.

²⁴⁶ Umaru, "The Evolution of Mbororo Habitat", p.39.

²⁴⁷ Interview with Martin Ntoh, 62 years, Farmer, Yuwi, 07 September 2014.

Language

The Mbororo brought their language which was different from that of the Fundong people. This language was called Fulfulde. They preserved their language and only learned Kom language to facilitate communication with the Kom people.²⁴⁸ The Mbororo people benefited a lot from the indigenous communication as well as the indigenes benefited from their language. Fundong people needed Mbororo cows, sheep and employment. The zeal to have these benefits forced some indigenes to learn *Fulfulde*.²⁴⁹ Many indigenous populations especially the converts who wanted to enjoy the advantages embarked on learning to read and write in *Fulfulde*. Some of the people who spoke Fulfulde were Ignatius Wam, Alexandar Yisah of Ilung, Tohnain Ngwain of Isaibi, who later became Moslems after being a cow boy. Hycinth Lengha-ah, Mah Aaron of Achangne and Muh Njang of Achain.

The impact of this language in Fundong was that it facilitated communication between the Mbororo and the Fundong people. Fundong people bought traditional medicines, wrappers and other items with ease from the Mbororos. Farmer-grazier problem was negotiated without any major difficulty in communication. Fundong people who wanted to construct Mbororo houses, worked in their farms and even as herdsmen, found it easy to discuss or negotiate with them.²⁵⁰ In areas where so many Mbororos were found in Fundong, many indigenes spoke Fulfulde. Some of these areas were Mbonkisu, Achangne, Achain, Mail, Anyim and Isaibi. Mbororo language also promoted long distance trade. Some Fundong people went to Nigeria for trade. The languages they spoke were Fulfulde and Pidgin English.²⁵¹ Some traditional rulers spoke the language fluently. This was the case of the Fon of Achain and Ajung.

²⁴⁸Interview with Jibo, 70 years, Grazier, Mentang, 16 August, 2014.

²⁴⁹ Interview with Ignatius Wam, 59 years, Farmer, Ilung, 5th April 2015.

²⁵⁰ Interview with Yisah Alexandar, 70 years, Farmer, Ilung, 12 August 2014.

²⁵¹Chantal Nkeneh, "Kom and Long Distance Trade", p. 35.

Food Processing

The Kom people in Fundong area produced some types of food crops like corn, beans, cassava, cocoyams and sweet potatoes. Corn was used to produce fufu-corn. It could also be prepared and eaten empty. It was also processed into corn beer known in Kom dialect as *nkang*. It was also used to prepare pap. The Mbororos also processed food into different items. They processed corn into *makra (mahhsa)*, *Kuno* and pap²⁵². *Makra* was food made from a mixture of corn flour, palm oil and salt. After this mixture, it was fried. These fried *makra* was taken to the market and sold for 10 Francs cfa each.²⁵³ Corn flour was also used by the Mbororos to prepare pap in Fundong area. When grinded or pounded, they put amount of water and shifter it before putting into the pot.

This impacted on the Fundong people in that the variety of food items required the use of much corn. Since the Mbororos needed much corn to produce these items, they were always buying corn from the Fundong people in their various local markets. Examples of these markets were Achain market, Ilung, Fundong central market and other smaller markets in that locality. They even bought this corn even in people's homes.²⁵⁴ They also acted as markets for the indigenous farmers. Some Mbororos later realised the importance of corn and embarked on the cultivation of corn²⁵⁵. Even though, they still relied on the Fundong people to till their farms. Some of the people that worked for the Mbororos were Hilda Fuwain, Zitha Nakoma and Prodensia Nawangha of Ilung, Nyungo of Achain, cicilia of Ajung and Nangeh of Inyoh who confirmed that she bought most of her house utensils with money worked on the Mbororo farms²⁵⁶.

²⁵² Interview with Miamouna, 70 Years, House Wife, Ijim, 15 August 2014.

²⁵³ Ibid.

²⁵⁴ Interview with Clementine, 70 Years, Housewife, Fundong 14 August 2014.

²⁵⁵ Awasom, "The Hausa and the Fulani", pp.127-128.

²⁵⁶ Interview with Nangeh Fien, 40 Years, Housewife, Inyoh 2 August 2015.

Dance

The Mbororos came to Fundong with their own dance that was quite different from that of the Fundong people. The dance was dominated by the beating of drums, the singing of songs and dancing in a circular form. This dance was usually executed during the Moslem feast of Ramadan, National Days such as 20th Mays, 11th Februarys (Youth Days)²⁵⁷. On the 20th of May 1999 in Fundong town, so many Mbororo people danced on the ground stand during the traditional dances period. It has been the case on the Youth Days in places like Ilung Youth Centre Aduk Youth Centre, Issaibi and Ngwah Youth Centres.

Plate 10: shows Mbororo students dancing on Youth Day.



Source: Tim Venatius Album, 11/02/2015.

From the plate above, we see Mbororo students dancing on the Youth Day at Ilung village.

Mbororo dance was also experienced during the days of Rural Development. This was the case of Aduk Area for Rural Development

²⁵⁷ Ibid

(ADARD), Meli Development Union (MEDU) and Ngwah Area Development Union (NADU)²⁵⁸.

Another impact was that during ceremonies like 20th May and Ramadans, the Mbororos continued for about three to four days even when the feast days were over. During their stay, they bought some food items from the Fundong people and rented hotel rooms and houses in the host areas²⁵⁹. This was in fact enormous benefit on the part of the indigenous people from the Mbororo dance.

The dance also left so many negative aspects on the the host areas as well as on the Mbororos themselves. During this dance, prostitution was rampant. Some Mbororo people even fought with other Mbororos over women. During these periods, girls abandoned their old boyfriends and ran to the Mbororo boys because they had money. A lot of thefts usually occurred during these dancing periods. This is because when they consumed their money completely, they resulted to stealing in order to have money to return to their various destinations. A case in point was that of Touro of Achangne in the year 2000 who was beaten to dead because he broke into some body's store in Fundong town. This was due to the fact that his money had completely finished and he did not have money to go back²⁶⁰.

The Mbororo groups equally evolved from the simple dancing group to escorting dancing group. Most installations of important personalities in Fundong Sub-division were animated by both the traditional and Mbororo dances. In the year 2003, Mr Ino Abrams Igbe, the then Senior Divisional Officer for Boyo was escorted by both the Mbororos and the indigenous traditional dances. Some of these dances were *njanwain*, (song for a new born baby), Musical group such as *Ibain ni Boyo* (the light of Boyo). All these groups

²⁵⁸ Interview with Sayong Ngong, 70 years, Farmer and Grazier, Aduck, 10th August 2014.

²⁵⁹ Interview with Ndongmbu Moses, 30 years, hotel Manager, Fundong town, 12 February, 2015.

²⁶⁰ Interview with Joseph Ngwain, 44 years, trader, Fundong Town, 12 February, 2015. Interview with Dandhi Saydou, 53 years, Grazier, Inyoh, 13 April, 2015.

went and escorted Abrams in Bafmen where he was transferred from Fundong to Wum in Menchum Division²⁶¹.

Fundong people equally used tails of horses to make their dancing instruments such as whisks use in dancing. It was only as a result of the Mbororos arrival that people in Fundong area had access to such whisks and made their dancing instruments with. The *njang group (song group)* used these whisks as their dancing instrument. Some *jujus* made their dancing instruments with these whisks. Example of the *jujus* that used tails as dancing instrument were *tekeng Ilung*, *kidong* of Inyoh, and *molam Ngwah*. The tails were not only bought but some criminal people held the horse tails and cut them. The British colonial administration considered these tails cutting in 1952 as animal cruelty²⁶². Some women cut the tails of the cattle when they discovered them in their farms. This was mostly in cases where the animals were more powerful to be dragged home²⁶³.

Dressing

The coming of the Mbororos also introduced new dressing style in the Fundong area. This dressing style was very much appreciated by the Kom indigenous population. Mbororo men wore *gandoula* (gown usually worn with jumper inside). They also put a cap of different designs and colours.²⁶⁴ Mbororo women also had their own dressing style. On the part of women, they wore blouses sown from loin cloth. They tied wrappers of different colours around their waists and a cloth under their right arm and over the left shoulder. Also they put on many rings on their ears and noses as well as bangles on their wrist. Their finger nails were decorated with *Lilli* (Hausa curtest). The Mbororos also made tattoos on the palms and feet with intension of looking more beautiful²⁶⁵.

²⁶¹ Interview with Bain Christopher, 45 years, Public work 's Officer, Fundong, 2nd April 2015.

²⁶² NWRAB, File No, Qc/1 1938 to animal cruelty to animal correspondence, 13 December, 1952. P. 110.

²⁶³ Linda Lawyer Ankiambom, "The role of Women in the development of Kom", p.57.

²⁶⁴ Jumbam, "Fulani Impact in Bamenda Grassfields", p.103.

²⁶⁵ Umaru, "The Evolution of Mbororo Habitat", p.71.

Another style of Mbororo dressing in Fundong was reserved only for titled men or leaders (Ardos). This involved the turbans that rapped the head in white cloth living out only the eyes and nostrils opened or a white cloth that simply covered the head.

Kom people later developed interest in these styles of dressing and either bought or sewed them in great number. It was common to see young men of different ages and adults dressed like Mbororos in public places. They dressed in *gandoura*, putting on some caps like the Mbororos. Some Fundong people who emulated this culture were Njam Cyrain of Ilung who had copied Mbororo dressing and was always wearing *gandoura*. He went ahead and even gave his name Alhadji. In Achain, Blasius Timgum converted from Christian faith to the Islamic faith and was always wearing *gandoura*. We also had people like Linus Yai of Aduk. In fact today, so many Fundong people are dressing in Mbororo wears²⁶⁶.

The impact of this is that so many tailors who were able to sew the Mbororo dressing increased their standard of living from money got from the Mbororos. In Fundong, people like Linus Ngong who sewed the dresses, increased the price of sewing especially during times of Ramadan where the Moslems needed lot of traditional wears²⁶⁷. This statement could be supported by the fact that as so many indigenes copied this dressing habit, the demand increased and so many people sewed them and put in their houses to sell to Fundong people as well as the Mbororo people.

Building Technique

The Mbororo buildings were different from that of the Fundong people. They constructed temporal circular houses called *Mbuteru* spotted

²⁶⁶ Interview with Mitah Mbanghanain, 93 years, Farmer, Inyoh, 10 August 2014.

²⁶⁷ Umaru, "The Evolution of Mbororo Habitat", p.56.

here and there. Their walls and roofs were made with sticks and thatched²⁶⁸. These primitive houses later underwent changes to modern houses. The reason for the change was that those *Mbuteru* were short lived and frequently required repair works.²⁶⁹ These were houses constructed with sticks and cemented all over the house with mud as seen on the pictures below. They also used white colours to paint their houses, using traditional paint dug from the ground.²⁷⁰

Plate 11: shows Mbororo traditional and modern houses.



Source: Source Authors Collection, 02/04/2014.

The plates above describe how Mbororo houses evolved from the primitive houses to modern houses.

These houses required hard labour and could only be done by Fundong people since the Mbororos were considered to be weak by indigenes. They were constantly moving behind their cattle and did not pay much attention to modern building. Progressively, the Fundong people copied the technique of building Mbororo houses. In Achain, Mbonkisu, Belem, Mutang, Achangne, Anyim and other villages, these structures were spotted here and there.

²⁶⁸ Interview with Jibo, 70 years, Grazier, Mentang, 16 August 2014.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ Ibid

These houses served as farm houses. They were used as refuge from rain and high sun. They also served as storage facilities for farm tools and harvested crops as they awaited transportation to their homes²⁷¹.

The Mbororos equally left from the primitive construction to modern construction copied from the Fundong people. They built houses using cement blocks, plastered and also put loovers in the houses. This was seen in Achain where Alhadji Nuhu constructed modern houses in his compound and distributed pipe borne water to each house. He even bought houses in Fundong town. Ardo Manou also constructed a very big compound in Ilung full of modernity²⁷². In Mutang, Achain, Akeh, Ajung, Ilung and Mbam, we saw houses that were constructed in a modern style still by the Mbororos²⁷³.

The impact on this aspect, was that some of the temporal houses constructed were abandoned especially during transhumance. Those buildings became hiding places for thieves and smokers of Indian hems. Also, Mbororo houses added to indigenous houses offered employment opportunities to local inhabitants. Some Fundong people were employed for the construction of these Mbororo houses especially when they started copying Modern houses of Fundong people. In Ilung, Yisah Alexandar had been constructing houses for the Mbororos for so many years. Mr Mathias Njam was in charge of roofing the houses. In Achain, Mutang and Aduk just to name this few. Indigenes were the ones who constructed houses for the Mbororos after being paid.

Apart from contributing in houses, they also helped in the construction of bridges and pipe borne water. In 2001, the Bolem Mbororos assisted the construction of bridge with the sum of 500000Fcfa. Mentang Mbororo also supported water project with the sum of 200000Fcfa. Those of Ijim also

²⁷¹ Interview with Yisah Alexandar, 70 years, Farmer, Ilung, 23 March, 2015.

²⁷² Interview with Ardo Manou, 78years, Mbororo chief, Ilung, 02 August 2014.

²⁷³ Umaru, "Evolution of Mbororo Habitat", p.39.

aided LADA with an amount of 600000Fcfa in the year 2012 when they were constructing a house in the Laikom Palace²⁷⁴.

Conclusion

This chapter examined the socio-cultural activities of the Mbororos and their Impact in Fundong area. The Social aspects included, education, language and health. Looking at the cultural aspects of the Mbororos in Fundong, practices like marriage, language, dancing, techniques of building, dressing style, food processing were also treated. The Fundong people learned more from these socio-cultural aspects of the Mbororo people. In this way, they contributed in making the entire Fondom one of the most multicultural regions of Cameroon.

²⁷⁴ Mah, "Mbororo as an Agent of Development", p.100.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

The advent, spread, implantation and integration of the Mbororos into Fundong left a lot of impact. The impacts were on four main aspects, namely political, economic social and cultural.

Politically, Mbororos impacted Fundong area through their participation in the local administration, politics and judiciary. Conflicts and clash between Mbororos and indigenous customs was another point of impact. Farmer-grazier conflicts started since the 1940s and never found a lasting solution despite all efforts towards their resolution. The crisis led to wanton crop destructions, unending clashes between the Mbororos and agricultural neighbours. Sometimes it resulted to deaths, petitions and complaints. Some parties like the administration, traditional rulers aggravated the situation.

The Mbororos pressed for the Alkali court in Fundong and this led to the creation of this court from 1945 to 1957. Once created, the court created employment to most of the indigenous converts. This courts signalled a new phase of judicial history of the Kom people. The Alkali court promoted Arabic education, offered employment, contributed to justice and generated revenue for the government from the fines and courts fees.

In the aspect of politics, the Mbororos left significant impact although they were not interested in politics. Circumstances however implicated them into politics and their negative response left some consequences on the area. The Mbororos desired for protection, given the hostile habit of their agricultural neighbours. They supported the CNU of Ahmadou Ahidjo and CPDM of President Paul Biya since its creation in 1985. In the early 1990s, following the reintroduction of multi-partism, they preferred to support the UNDP party of Bello Bouba Maigari. The negative response to SDF call demonstrated their readiness to remain loyal to the government for protection.

Economically, the Mbororos left numerous effects on the economy of the Fundong area. They contributed to employment, sources of revenue to the government, encouraged trade and fostered transportation and communication. The struggle by the Mbororos to acquire ownership over the land led them into crisis with the local inhabitants.

The Mbororos made a great impact on the social development of Fundong area. Their influence in the marriage institutions was immense. Inter-marriages were rare initially. But, as time went on, the Mbororos started getting married to Fundong women. In all cases, only indigenous people were obliged to abandon their traditional religion or Christianity. They accepted Mbororo names and the Islamic faith. The Mbororos interacted with the Fundong converts to promote education in the area. The result was to construct many Anglo-Arabic schools, the provision of incentive to some pupils and students. This was not totally successful as some Mbororos were still hesitant to embrace western-style education and preferred giving their female children for marriage. Their religious manifestations gave room for the construction of many mosques. Indigenous conversion to Islam led to the separations of some families and confusion in the area.

Mbororos also contributed in making the Fundong area one of the multicultural areas of Cameroon. A great number of people started dressing like the Mbororos. The Mbororos dance besides giving a positive and colourful image to the culture of the area, also contributed negatively through robbery as a means of survival, especially uneducated Mbororo elements. Nevertheless, the impact of Mbororos presence in Fundong cannot be underestimated. Their political, economic and socio-cultural organisations greatly helped in the development of the Fundong area. It also brought a lot of ramification to the Fundong people.

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No	Names	Ages	Social Status	Place of Interviews	Date of Interview
1	Alhadji Jibo	70	Grazier	Mentang 1	16/08/2014
2	Alhadji Nuhuh	67	Grazier	Fundong town	20/12/2014
3	Alhadji Seleki	74	Grazier	Aduk	03/01/2015
4	Amadou	43	Driver	Fundong town	01/04/2015
5	Anjangha	45	Butcher	Fundong town	10/09/2014
6	Ardo Amadou	76	Mbororos Chief	Mentang 11	02/03/2015
7	Ardo Manou	78	Mbororos Chief	Ilung	02/08/2014
8	Awoh Joseph	45	Civil registrar	Fundong town	15/12/2014
8	Bain Christopher	45	Public work officer	Fundong town	02/04/2015
9	Blasius Timgum	75	Grazier	Fujua	19/12/2014
10	Celestina Chuffi	63	Housewife	Ilung	28/03/2015
11	Charlse Yong	57	Farmer	Achain	04/04/2015
12	Chia Joseph	27	Meat roaster	Fundong town	05/09/2014
13	Clement Muteh	73	Grazier	Yuwih	13/08/2014
14	Clementine	70	Housewife	Fundong town	14/08/2014
15	Cyprain Ngong	55	Court officer	Mbam	23/05/2015

16	Dandhi Saydou	53	Grazier	Inyoy	02/04/2015
17	Francis Yakubu	44	Herdsman	Yuwih	23/03/2015
18	Frankline Ntoh	51	Trader	Ilung	15/04/2015
19	Hardji Jordan Manou	67	Grazier	Mentang 1	02/08/2014
20	Hassan	34	Bike rider	Fundong town	01/04/2015
21	Helmina Mussi	74	Farmer	Inyoh	04/09/2014
22	Hilda Fuwain	55	Housewife	Ilung	31/10/2014
23	Ibrahim Bonderi	45	Herberlist	Inyoh	05/10/2014
24	Ignatius Wam	59	Farmer	Ilung	12/08/2014
25	Jerome Ntoh	42	Farmer	Inyoh	12/08/2014
26	Joseph Kafain	48	Grade one teacher	Fundong town	05/04/2015
27	Julius Ngong	72	Grazier	Ilung	18/10/2014
28	Kiyam chrisantus	45	Former mayor, Fundong Rural Council	Fundong town	10/08/2014
29	Lengha Hycinth	52	Herdsman	Ilung	18/10/2014
30	Linus Ngong	47	Tailor	Fundong town	02/04/2015
31	Maimouna	70	Housewife	Ijim	15/08/201
32	Mallam Abdou	57	Grazier	Fujua	20/12/2014
33	Mallam Bouba	59	Farmer	Anchangne	04/04/2015
34	Martin Ntoh	62	Farmer	Yuwih	07/09/2014
35	Mutah Mbanghanain	93	Farmer	Inyoh	10/08/2014
36	Nawain Grace	80	Housewife	Ilung	31/10/2014

37	Fukuin				
38	Ndongmbu Moses	30	Hotel manager	Fundong town	12/12,2014
39	Ngong Cusmac	68	Farmer	Ilung	05/12/2014
40	Ngongbi Hycinth	48	Grade one teacher	Ilung	31/04/2015
41	Ngwain Joseph	44	Trader	Fundong town	12/02/2015
42	Sagari Bouba	52	Grazier	Mbam	01/o4/2015
43	Umarou Manou	79	Mbororos chief	Ijim	05/04/2015
44	Yama Ezickle	79	Farmer	Abuh	03/04/2015
45	Yang Divine	57	Delegate of Livestock	Fundong	27/08/2014
46	Yisah Alexandar	70	Farmer	Ilung	23/08/2014

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