

FULANI IN THE EXPANSION AND DEVELOPMENT OF NSO`OF CAMEROON, 1920 -2004

By

Charles Tardzenyuy Jumbam (PhD)

University of Buea, Cameroon

ABSTRACT

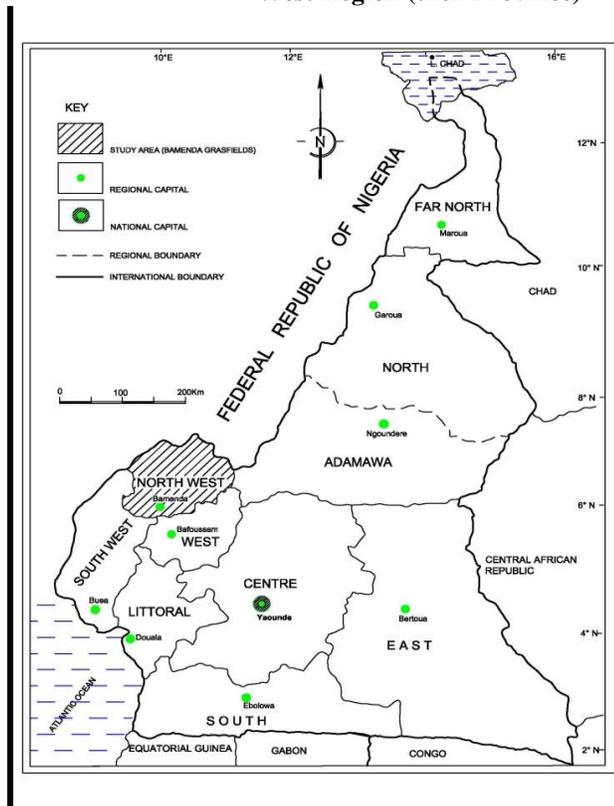
This paper argues that Fulani, considered or treated as aliens in Nso paradoxically contributed in the expansion and development process of the *fondom`*. They arrived at the Nso` *fondom* in two waves; first as warriors in the 19th Century looking for booty and slaves, and second as peaceful immigrants in the 20th Century to settle. Their main job was cattle rearing which was their principal source of livelihood. Besides keeping horses and sheep, their impact was felt positively in the expansion and development of the *fondom*. They settled in bushy and hilly areas far more remote from towns and indigenous local settlements. Their settlements were never permanent as they kept moving from one area to another in search of lush pastured land. Our findings reveal that as warriors, the first wave of Fulani into the Bamenda Grassfields forced fleeing populations of small chiefdoms and groups to seek refuge and protection and ultimate integration or assimilation by Nso, thereby causing its population and territory to swell.; Fulani abandoned settlements were occupied in the later years by indigenous local farmers who in most cases transformed such settlements in to new farmlands; that Such farmlands often attracted many more indigenous farmers who after building farm houses transformed such areas to settlements; that such settlement also attracted secondary activities thereby triggering sustained development in the proceeding years; and that some of such emerging settlements grounds bore the name of the first Fulani who settled there and or his activity in testimony of being the pioneer. Fulani activity principally, cattle rearing attracted many development agencies, projects and aid grants from out of Nso` which all culminated and contributed to the sustainable development process of the *fondom*. In order to achieve this research, a triangulation of both qualitative and quantitative methodologies was used.

Keywords: Abandoned Settlement, Expansion, Development, Development Agencies, *Fondom*,
Fulani, Nso`

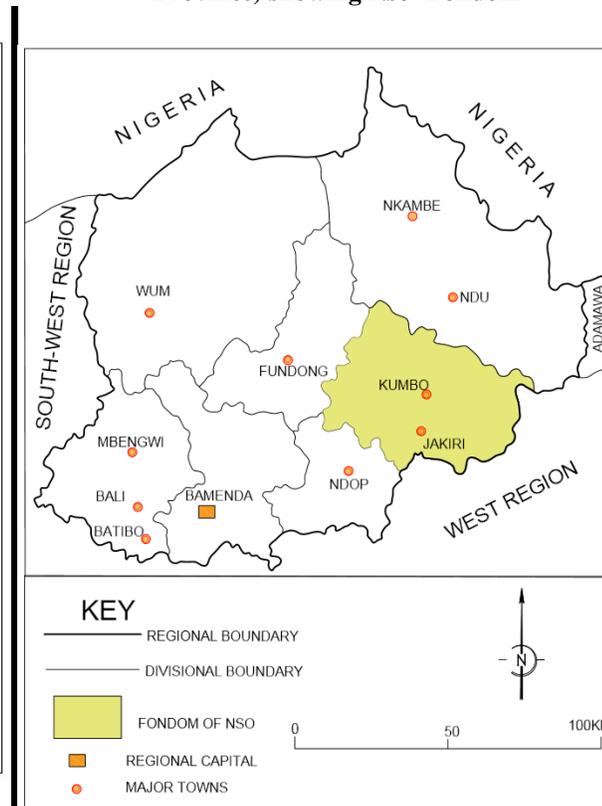
INTRODUCTION

The *fondom* of Nso` occupies the area represented by the administrative division of Bui located in the eastern corner of the North West Region of the Republic of Cameroon (see map I and II below). Also, it is found on the eastern portion of the Western Grassfields, occupying a surface area of approximately 2,300 square kilometres. It is bordered to the north by Donga-Matung Division, to the south by Ngoketunjia Division, to the east by Noun Division and to the west by Boyo Division. It falls between Latitudes 5°:25' and 6°:06' and 6°:25' north and Longitudes 10°:20' and 11°:25' East of the Greenwich Meridian. (P. N.Mzeka, 1990). The capital of the *fondom* is Kimbo (Kumbo). It provides some strategic advantages not only because it is the administrative centre, but also because it provides some security. This is particularly so because it is situated on the confluence of the Bui and *Roh* Kimbo rivers with Bamfem hill to the north, Bambuy hill to the south and *Taayav* hill to the north east, which in the pre-colonial days could safeguard the inhabitants against any easy advancement of the enemies (R. Y. Mbibah, 1991).

Map I: Republic of Cameroon showing North West Region (then Province)



Map II: North West Region (then Province) showing Nso` Fondom



SOURCE: Adapted by author from the Administrative Map of Cameroon as of 1982, INC, Yaounde.

According to the 1953 colonial census Nso` inhabitants numbered about 50,000 and in 1971, the population was estimated at 105,000. Meanwhile the 1976 national census put the population at about 142,000. By 1989 it was estimated at 200,000 (B. C. Langhee, 1989). Comparing the population of the *fondom*, its growth rate and the total land surface, it can be seen that land surface was readily available to contain and sustain foreigners. Thus the Fulani were to settle far back in the early years without any pressure on land.

Climatically, the North West Region in general has two distinct seasons-the rainy season (May to September) and the dry season (October to April). The weather conditions are modified by the mountainous nature of the region. In terms of vegetation, the region has the wooded Sudan Savannah that gives rise to the term “Grassfields” (P. N. Nkwi, 1989) to what was formerly known as the Bamenda Province. In the rainy season, the grass makes the hills beautiful and provides food for cattle (S.A. Suliy, 1990). The North West Region in general and Nso` in particular therefore provided an excellent pasture for the rearing of cattle, sheep, goats, horses and a variety of other animals. This is one of the factors that attracted the Fulani group.

The Nso` *fondom* possess fertile volcanic soils. Both food and cash crops do well here and thus attracted many agriculturalists. The plains of Mbo`Nso`, Lip and Nkuv among others are examples of areas that were rich in food production (Suliy, 1990). The most important crops grown are guinea corn, maize, millet, hairy yams, plantains, cow peas and beans. Finger-millet which the natives called *saar*, was grown mainly in Kimbo. Maize is a recent introduction and it was soon to supersede guinea corn. With regards to root crops, cassava and sweet potatoes are recent introduction (Suliy, 1990). With the arrival of the Fulani, they found life very easy and sustainable since they could exchange food with the native populace at a relatively cheap rate. Thus their implantation into the area was facilitated.

The Fulani are generally known as the Mbororo (pl. Mbororo`en). The word “Mbororo” is a pejorative description of the Fulani. This was because “Mbororo” in *Fulfulde* (Fulani language) meant a group of cattle. M.D.W Jeffreys, the Senior Divisional Officer for Bamenda Division, in a correspondence sent to the Resident of Sokoto, Rutherford in 1942 states “...the term ‘Mbororo’ is a nickname and is not used by the people themselves...” Jeffreys was responding to the resident’s request to research on the Fulani (NAB¹, 1932, File No, Ab 17/7 B.3062)². The Hausa people called the settled or town Fulani as *Fulbe Wuro* and those who moved behind cattle in bush as *Fulbe Lade*. The former who felt superior thus nicknamed the latter (their cousins) as “Mbororo”. Thus the name Mbororo originated from amidst the Fulani themselves (NAB., 1932, File No, Ab 17/7 B.3062). French people refer to them as Peuls while the English call them Fulani. They are however given different names in different places such as Foulah, Ful, Fulbe, Fellata, Pullo, Fula Macina and Mbororo (VG. Fanzo, 1989, also see M.D. Nama, D. Forbin et al. eds., 2007). In this study, we have adopted the name “Fulani” given that it is the name widely used by authors, researchers and administrative correspondences. The Fulani are generally light-skinned

¹ NAB. stand for National Archives Buea.

² According to Bouba Hawe (2007) and others, the appellation ‘Mbororo’ originated from the indigenous communities. This argument that the nickname came from the indigenous communities has been proven wrong because colonial report and research done show that the name originated from amidst the Fulani themselves.

people with slender bodies, but some clans are more dark-skinned than others. They usually have thin lips and long noses and their hair grow quite long. For the most part, they live as tiny scattered populations and ethnic minorities in the midst of other inhabitants. They are a dispersed heterogeneous group of largely pastoralist people (C.T. Jumam, 2012).

They are widespread together with their cattle and horses over much of west and central Africa. Very few countries have them as a substantial and dominant element population group. They are to be found in the Senegambia valley, Guinea, Niger, Burkina Faso, Nigeria and Cameroon (F.K. Buah 1967). Most of the Fulani were nomadic herdsmen (cattle Fulani) who spent their lives moving through the savannah regions with their cattle in search of grazing land. They spoke only *Fulfulde* and were said to be animists (Buah 1967). However, some of them particularly members of ruling families, who had settled in towns, became Islamised. In the course of time, they occupied important positions among the Hausas and became authorities in Moslem education and law. These categories are often referred to as the sedentary or township Fulani.

The cattle Fulani were of three groups, each distinguished by the type of cattle it reared. They included the *Jafun* (pl. *Jafun'en*) who reared brown cattle, the *Woddahbe* (pl. *Woddahbe'en*) who reared the brown and white cattle, and the *Aku* (*Akhu*) (pl. *Aku'en*) who had both the black and white cattle as well as the short horn cattle with black mouths. When viewed from a distance, one would think they were sheep and not cattle. Their name *Aku* comes from their cattle *Akuji* (A. Rhamani, 2004).

The majority of the Fulani in the Bamenda Grassfields were of the *Jafun* extraction. Some of them were pastoralists mostly living and taking care of their cattle in far off bushes, away from indigenous populations or town settlements. Others settled in urban centres and intermingled with the indigenes. However, difficult conditions later forced them to adopt some indigenous lifestyles while the local people were also gradually assimilated into some Fulani patterns of life. This is the process that Lucy Davis (1995) terms “Fulbeisation”. Also see P. Burnham (n.d).

The original home of the Fulani was for long a matter of heated controversy among scholars. While some studies claimed that the Fulani descended from the white stock – the Hyksos of Egypt or the Gypsies of Europe, others suggested an Arabian or Indian origin. Those who argue in favour of the Arabian or Eastern origin point to the humped-back cattle commonly reared by the Fulani as Asiatic in origin. They also argue that Fulani legend, their complexion and structure, their mental and physical characteristics all point emphatically to an Eastern origin (Fanso, 1989). According to recent studies, the ancestral Fulani are a product of the mixture of Tukolor Negroes of the middle Senegal area and the incoming Berbers from the north of Africa. These studies are definite that the cradle of the Fulani as a race and a group is Futa-Toro in northern Senegal. From this site, the Fulani began to expand all over the western Sudan long before the 20th century. Their origin in Senegal is supported by the nature of their language, which is of the same linguistic stock as languages of Senegambia region (Fanso, 1989)

FULANI IN THE EXPANSION OF NSO FONDOM

An assessment of the Fulani migration into the Bamenda Grassfields in General shows two methods: violent (raids) and peaceful (exploring and negotiating settlement grounds) Jumbam, (2012). The violent (forceful) method was the first to be

used. This was probably what made them to discover the Grassfields. The Fulani raids into the Bamenda Grassfields took place in the 1830s and were organised from Kontcha, Banyo, Tibati and Ngaoundere (P,N, Nkwi and J.P. Warnier, 1982. Also see M.M.Ayi, 2004). Their aim was to get more slaves and booty. They raided and ransacked 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 the Nkambe regions. It was led by Dandi Garbdo Harman (Ayi, 2004). The second raid came in the 1870s and was directed towards the chiefdoms of Bum, Ntem, Mfunte and others. The third and the last raid came in the 1880s and affected Bambili and including other areas of the Bamenda Grassfields (Ayi, 2004).

The raids launched by the Fulani people on the Bamenda Grassfields caused huge human and material loses on the side of the indigenous people. Villages and settlements were attacked and ransacked, captives taken away as slaves and some areas deserted as the population flee. Fon (chief) Nforambo of Wiya for example was obliged to form an alliance with the Fulani to raid neighbouring villages on condition that his own people were not to be caught. This alliance did not last long as the Wiya Chiefdom itself was equally ransacked and captives taken away as slaves (Nkwi and Warnier, 1982. Also see Ayi, 2004). Despite the attack mounted by the Fulani on the Bamenda Grassfields, the region escaped total subjugation by the Fulani warriors. Two principal reasons explain why the Bamenda Grassfields was never brought within the sphere of Fulani influence despite its precarious location: the existence of the powerful *fondoms* of which Nso was one offering protection to fleeing populations and groups. The second and the most successful method which brought the Fulani people to settle in the Bamenda Grassfields was exploration and peaceful negotiations for settlement. The raids for booty and slaves had probably made them to discover this region which to them was still virgin. According to J.Boutrais (1995), the discovery of the Bamenda Grassfields was “magical” to the Fulani. The author state further that:

Les Mbororo étaient soucieux de découvrir de nouvelles sources natronée non appropriée par les Foulbé. Leur sortie du Lamidat de Banyo s'explique par cette préoccupation, pastorale. Telle est du moins la raison avancée par les Djafun du Bamenda, surtout par le Lignage dominant des Gosi'en.

Certainly, the Fulani were spurred by the need to acquire more sustainable pasture lands. The Bamenda Grassfields with its lush grassy landscape thus attracted the Fulani, particularly the *Jafun* to begin trickling into the region. They began by exploring the area and negotiating peacefully for settlements Boutrais (1995)

The Fulani appeared in the *fondom* of Nso` in the early 1920`s. They entered the *fondom* via her border with Menchum and spread to Lassin, Nkor area extending to Mbiame, Mbokam, Tan and Vekovi- Jakiri grazing zone (K.S.Nzeidze, 2001). The *Aku* (pl *Aku`en*) migrated much later around the 1950`s and established settlements at Mbokam, and Mbonso` before later spreading to other places of the *fondom*. The majority of Fulani who settled in Nso` were of the *Jafun* sub clan. They initially did not set up permanent settlements. They migrated from one area or region of the *fondom* to another often looking for lush pasture.

Indeed, few would have imagined that the Fulani who preferred hilly or bushy areas as settlement grounds, far off from indigenous settlements would one day interact with them or contribute in any way to sustainable development talk less of modernization of the *fondom*. The Fulani from the beginning were dreaded by the indigenous peoples who regarded them

as strangers in Nso³. The horses they rode, their history of burning houses and taking captives as slaves and their physical outlook scared many indigenes, particularly children. Several myths that were told about the Fulani caused some indigenes to distance themselves from them (Anastasia.Yeh, Interview, 26 December 2004).⁴ The Fulani on their part regarded the indigenes who knew nothing of Islam as pagans. Besides the need for grazing land, one reason why they kept themselves at a distance from the indigenous people was to avoid mixing with the unclean (pagans). Mixing with these indigenes (pagans) was seen as contrary to the *Pulaaku* (Fulani virtues or code of conduct). According to Davis (1995), “the Fulani have a code of behaviour called *Pulaaku*. It represents a fuzzy ambiguous cluster of identity of Mbororoneess.” It demands that every Fulani must manifest a great degree of reserved pride, a sense of shame, honour, discretion, self-control, not raising one’s voice or rising to conflict, not showing others what one has in mind, or revealing one’s real desires (NAB., (1941). File No. AB 1 7/3/19124).⁵

Native agriculturalists were regarded as *harbe* (slaves). The act of invading the land, digging the soil and mounting it into heaps (as the indigenes did) was regarded as slavish. This was strange to the Fulani since rearing of cattle was their only source of livelihood (NAB., (1941)⁶. The Fulani (particularly of the *Jafun* family) regarded themselves as a white race and therefore had nothing in common with local people (N.F. Awasom, 1984). In sum, the Fulani perception of their agricultural neighbours was highly negative.

Despite the above contradictory feelings that seemed to widen the gap between Fulani and indigenes, it is interesting to note how the two later interacted and shared. This interaction brought the Fulani and the local population closer. This paved the way for the former to contribute in the expansion and development of the Nso`fodom.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO EXPANSION OF THE NSO FONDOM

The Fulani contributed in the expansion of Nso` in two ways: Expansion of the *fodom* to exert sustained influence on vassal states and extension of settlement grounds within the *fodom*. Concerning expansion of Nso` to exert influence on many vassal states, the Fulani role was highly noted (Nkwi and Warnier, 1982). This happened before the Fulani finally came to settle in Nso`. In the 19th Century, the Fulani attacked and mounted pressure on many chiefdoms in the Ndop plain, Ndu, and Nkambe plateau among other areas. The result was that while some chiefdoms abandoned their old sites and took refuge under Nso, some formed protection alliances or got directly integrated surrendering their existence under Nso` thereby causing the *fodom* to expand in population and territorial sphere of influence .This time, Nso` have developed more punitive defensive and aggressive measures after its old capital Koviferm was sacked twice. It had a more experienced, better organized and well equipped army (Nkwi and Warnier, 1982). More so, Nso` achieved a major victory over Bamoun and

³ Indigenous people termed the Fulani as *vifeer meaning mosquitoes as well as karr-wuu nwiee* meaning strangers who only bath their legs and feet with dew on grass.

⁴ Anastasia Yeh, spoke *Fulfulde* fluently as a result of her encounter with many Fulani who came to her often to buy cassava and corn. Her view was also held by many indigenous informants generally in Nkambe and Wum.

⁵ Davis argues that the idea of *Pulaaku* which rests particularly on needs and independent from others, affect negatively to a greater or lesser extent, most Fulani social relationships.

⁶ Davis argues that the idea of *Pulaaku* which rests particularly on needs and independent from others, affect negatively to a greater or lesser extent, most Fulani social relationships.

successfully stopped off raids from Banyo in the 1890s. Consequently many chiefdoms sought refuge under Nso`. They feared being attacked or exploited by Fulani raiders and as such needed sustained protection. Examples of such chiefdoms included: Doh, Sob, Ndzedzef, Tang, as well as the Ya clans who were all from the Nkambe Plateau (Nkwi and Warnier, 1982). However, some other chiefdoms also sought protection from Nso as a result of other raids like of the Bani, Wiya and the Bamouns. The Nso` fonom as a result expanded to control many vassal states making its population to swell to about 20,000 in the late 19th century (Nkwi and Warnier, 1982). Thus from this presentation and examples, it can be argued that Fulani raids besides other factors contributed in the expansion of Nso` fonom to usurp vassal states consequently witnessing expansion in population and size.

With regards to extension of sustainable settlement grounds within the Nso` fonom, the Fulani contribution cannot be totally disregarded. Many regions, places as well as farms in Nso` were named in *Fulfulde* language either because Fulani activity was taking place in the area or because a Fulani man or his family once lived there. Fulani initially did not set up permanent settlements. (Boutrais, 1995). They moved from one place or region to another incessantly looking for lush pasture areas. When an area was spotted, they occupied it temporally until it was grazed up. They built only sticks and grass thatched houses in which they stayed till next migration. Such houses and settlement were often abandoned upon migration. As a settlement was grazed off or discovered with cattle diseases, they abandoned it for another with lush pasture and less or free of cattle disease. Cattle don deposited or dropped in abundance made abandoned settlements very fertile and good for agriculture (cultivation of maize huckleberry and many other crops did extremely well in such places) and actually helped to sustain the lives of many families in Nso`. Fulani abandoned sites were often occupied by indigenous local inhabitants as farms. Since much yields were often harvested, some of the farmers resorted to the construction of farm houses there. From simple farm houses some of such areas expanded in activities to sustainable permanent settlement grounds and attracted secondary activities in the later years such as Church, school, clinic centers, provision stores and markets including motorable roads among others. Toponomically some of such regions, places as well as farms in Nso` were named in *Fulfulde* (Fulani language) either because Fulani activity started off there or his family first settled there. See table I below showing places named after Fulani in Nso that later developed into full fletch indigenous settlements`.

Table 1:
Some Toponyms in *Fulfulde* in Nso`fonom

Division	Toponym	Description	Origin of the Toponym
Bui	<i>Njenawa</i>	Mbiame	Ardo Njenawa (Fulani) lived there
	<i>Njengi-gwan</i>	Kingomen	A herdsman by name Njengi(Fulani) settled there
	<i>Mboh-Berlem</i>	Kitiwum	Ardo Berlem(Fulani) and his family settled there.
	<i>Jakiri</i>	Nkar	Ardo Jahjiri(Fulani) and his family settled there.
	<i>Akurong</i>	Nkuv	<i>Aku`en</i> (Fulani) settled there

Source: Constructed by author from: HRH⁷, Sunjo I (interview, 18 July 2021), Sheey wo` Ndzenkov (interview, 4 July 2004), Langwa Lawrence (interview, 4 July 2004) and Tawong wo` Bamkov (interview, 5 July 2004) We selected only few and major toponyms.

Table one above presents settlements in Nso` named in *Fulfulde* and which originated or started off as a Fulani settlement or from Fulani activity. Some of these places have developed in to towns while others transformed to indigenous local settlements inviting urban characteristics. It can therefore be argued from the above analysis that Fulani contributed in the expansion and extension of settlement grounds in Nso`.

Expansion helped to aggrandize the Nso` *fondom*, as it usurped and grasped influence over some vassal states and populations while extension of settlement grounds within the *fondom* led to some areas and regions given Fulani names in testimony of pioneership.

Contributions to Sustainable Development and Modernization of Nso`.

Fulani contributed in the development and modernization of Nso through their activity which was principally cattle rearing. Fulani did not do farming or other tedious activities like indigenous populations did. Yet with only cattle rearing they contributed immensely in the development and modernization of the Nso *fondom*. This can better be analysed in the following ways.

The cattle, horses as well as sheep made available in Nso` by the Fulani contributed immensely to the development and modernisation process of the *fondom*. In this light, the Bui Divisional Delegation of Livestock Fisheries and Animal Industries (BDDLFAI) with its French acronym known as MINEPIA) was set up to cater for, maintain and to promote the species of animals in the Division (Samuel Sunjo, Interview, 26 July 2004). The Bui Delegation was one of the seven Divisional Delegations which constituted the then North West Provincial Delegations of Lives Stock Fisheries and Animal Industries (BDDLFAI., 2004, File No. 240/DD/ATIA/11) This Delegation consisted of four Sub-Divisional Delegations. Three of them functioned with appointed Sub Delegates. The three included: Kumbo, Jakiri and Mbven Delegations. The Sub Delegation of Oku later created was managed at the level of the Divisional Delegation of MINEPIA pending the appointment of the Sub Delegate for the unit. The various Sub Divisional Delegations were sub divided into Zootechnical and veterinary centres. There were thirteen of them in all including the newly created Zootechnical and Veterinary centre of Dzeng in Kumbo Central Sub Division. Thus the Kumbo Sub Divisional Delegation had six centres (Kumbo, Tatum, Tadu, Lasin Banti and the newly created Dzeng Centre). Jakiri Sub Divisional Delegation had two centres (Jakiri and Vekovi), Mbven Sub Divisional Delegation had three centres (Mbiame, Mbonso and Lip) and finally the Oku Sub Divisional Delegation with two centres which included Elak Oku and Ibal Oku (BDDLFAI., 2004). Because of high cattle population as well as distance, proposals were made for the creation of new Zootechnical and veterinary centres in Noni, Djottin, Nkor, Banten, Mbokam, Ber and Ndzerem Nyam. There also existed the National Veterinary School in Jakiri which was answerable to the Ministry of Livestock Fisheries and Animal Industry based in Yaounde (BDDLFAI., 2004)

⁷ HRH. stand for His Royal Highness

The programme of action for the Divisional Delegation of Livestock Fisheries and Animal Industry Bui, included: Mass vaccination campaigns against diseases like Rinderpest and Black Quarter among others, the control of Rabies outbreak, the intensification of campaigns on revenue collection and prompt payment into the treasury and the post office, and finally the improvement upon the veterinary sanitary inspection services in towns and villages in Bui (DDLFAI., 2004). All these constituted part of the development and modernization process in the Nso *fondom* attributed to the cattle, horses and sheep brought in abundance to Nso by the Fulani.

Sustainable development and modernisation attributed to the Fulani cattle industry also took the form of construction of Crushes, Dips and Animal drinking water point. Crushes on the one hand were sites well arranged with sticks fastened to facilitate the vaccination of animals. Two major permanent crushes by 2004 were constructed; one at Lasin and the other at Mbiame. A semi-permanent crush was also at Bamdzeng and another one at Tadu (BDDLFAI., 2004). Dips on the other hand were places dug and cemented in areas where animals were reared. Water was put in it and mixed with Acaricides for the treatment of animals. Cattle, horses, sheep and goats were treated in dips when they were suffering from parasites or skin infectious diseases. One permanent dip was constructed at Tadu and by 2004, plans were made for the construction of new dips are Taakuy, Tan, Mbiame, Mbonso', Mbokam, Lasin and Oku (BDDLFAI., 2004 and Sunjo Samuel, Interview, 26 July 2004). Drinking water points were also constructed in some places to provide or bring water closer to animals. The one at Mbven was a classic example. By 2004 Dr. Douglas Lewis, an American Evangelist, a grazier and a private veterinary practitioner constructed four drinking water points at Tadu and its environs. The total cost for the construction of these water point was 367,875 frs CFA (BDDLFAI., 2004).

The *fondom* of Nso' also became the centre of sustainable Artificial Insemination. The system of cattle management practiced in Nso` formerly was traditional whereby the extensive method of grazing was used. Animals were reared on vast lands with or without herdsmen and this system encouraged indiscriminate mating. Selection and controlled breeding was completely absent. Artificial insemination was later introduced. It was carried out by Dr. Lawrence Shang who established the Tadu Dairy Cooperative Society (TDCS). The TDCS trained young farmers on artificial insemination and also organized seminars to train Nso` farmers on pasture improvement, milk production and milk hygiene (BDDLFAI, 2009). Members of the TDCS by 2008 owned 5000 cattle and this number included the local and crossbreeds. The National Veterinary School in Jakiri by 2008 also had 17 cattle for demonstration purposes. Artificial insemination was also practiced in Jakiri by Society for the Development and Exploitation of Animal Product (SODEPA).⁸ Cattle management in these two places was done in a more organised manner. Exotic breeds of cattle could be obtained from the Taadu Dairy Co-operative Society. Species of livestock reared in the Division which were of economic importance included Bovine (technical name for cattle); Equine (horse), Ovine (sheep) as well as Caprine (goat) among others (Samuel Sunjo, Interview, 26 July 2004). In Bui Division, animal production came next to Agriculture in terms of the economic activities of the inhabitants. Cattle, sheep and goats dominated the types of animals that were reared here (BDDLFAI, 2009).

⁸ SODEPA. Stand for Partenaire de L`innovation Technologique dans le Developpement et Promotion de la Filiere d`elevation.

Sustainable Development and Modernisation in the Nso' *fondom* also took the form of the flooding of group aid or development agencies into Nso attracted by the Fulani cattle industry. Formerly, lack of and high cost of animal feed slowed the activities of the livestock industry thereby forcing most breeders to let lose their animals to fend for themselves and this often resulted to undesirable consequences such as animals roaming and destroying crops giving rise to farmer-grazier disputes. Also animals were exposed to diseases, predators and even rustlers. Group aid came in to rescue this situation to the advantage of breeders in the *fondom*. The agents of intervention or organisations which gave assistance to breeders in one way or the other included: MIDENO (Projet de Developpement Rural dans la Province du Nord-Ouest)⁹ which in the year 2000 provided over 30,000,000 frs CFA to breeders in Bui for the fattening of livestock; CDENO (North West Livestock Development Fund) which gave assistance to graziers in the way of building of Dips and Crushes for the treatment and vaccination of animals. It also provided vaccines at subsidised prices for the vaccination of animals in the division, FIMAC¹⁰ also granted loans to farmers who wanted to venture in animal business if the breeders could group themselves together and also show proof of possessing a fraction of the desired amount; HPI (Heifer Project International) ordered improved breed of animals (parent stock) and disseminated to member who are registered with them. They made a follow-up to see to it that the animals were well managed (BDDLFAI, 2000). IRAD (Institute de Recherche Agricole pour le Developpement known in English as Institute of Agronomic Research and Development) assisted breeders in finding solutions to Health problems in the domain of laboratory investigations.

It can be remarked therefore that the cattle brought in abundance to Nso` by the Fulani no doubt contributed immensely to sustainable development and modernisation. The opening up of a Bui Divisional Delegation of Livestock Fisheries and Animal Industries, and its Sub Divisional Delegations, Zootechnical and Veterinary centres, the intervention of groups, construction of Ranches, Crushes, Dips and drinking water points are all evidence of development, prosperity and modernisation taking place in the *fondom*. The results was a dramatic increase in animal production in Nso`by 2003. It has also facilitated the yearly assessment of livestock through the reports gotten from the different sub divisional Zootechnical veterinary centres as shown on table 2 below .

⁹ MEDINO in English stand for North West Development Authority

¹⁰ FIMAC is a non-profit Organization that aimed to improve the health conditions of people in Central Africa through Cooperative management bodies.

Table 2: Estimated Animal (Cattle, Horse, Sheep and Goat) Population in Bui Division 2003, by Sub Divisional Zootechnical Veterinary Centres. (ZVC)

UNIT	ZVC	BOVINE (CATTLE)	EQUINE (HORSE)	CAPRINE (GOAT)	OVINE (SHEEP)
KUMBO	Kumbo	4415	184	8497	4732
	Tatum	3227	92	926	973
	Tadu	2510	123	1331	1545
JAKIRI	Jakiri	7500	170	2600	1000
	Vekovi	4726	145	2800	500
NONI	Lassin	8300	124	4651	1386
	Bamti	5360	49	510	1054
MBVEN	Mbiame	12520	232	11593	8795
	MboNso'	2868	/	1354	1649
	Lip	2423	6	46	690
OKU	Elak	2500	12	5000	4500
	Ibal				
TOTAL		56,349	1,137	39,308	30,324

Source: Constructed by author from BDDLFAI., (2004) File No. 247 DD/ATIA/11), Annual Report, 2003

NOTE: The table above shows an estimated animal population in Bui Division for the year 2003 gotten from the twelve Sub Divisional Zootechnical Veterinary Centres. It shows a total cattle figure of 56,349, Total horse figure of 1137 excluding the statistics of Mbonso, total goat figure of 39308 and a total sheep figure of 30,324. The Sub Divisional Delegation of Mbven did not give the statistics of the horse population in Mbonso'.¹¹

Revenue

Fulani also contributed in generating revenue to the Councils in Nso. This was done through the *jangali* tax paid regularly each year by all Fulani cattle owners. As opposed to the Germans who linked the development of cattle rearing to a white settler population, the British colonial administration decided to encourage the settlement of Fulani cattle rearers in the Bamenda Grassfields. The reason behind this policy was that when Britain took over the

¹¹ We completed the calculations and it should be noted that the words in brackets are technical names for the different species of animals).

administration of Southern Cameroons under the league's mandate in 1922, she lacked the finances to run the administration put in place (T. Eyongeta and R. Brain, 1979). Due to this fact, the British administration started looking for taxable wealth from which revenue could be gotten. It is in this light that the introduction of cattle rearing in Bamenda Grassfields was seen as a heaven sent solution. From the British experience in Northern Nigeria, it was believed that the Fulani were to contribute much into the state coffers. It was no surprise therefore, that from the late 1930s to 1940s, *jangali* or cattle tax was a major source of revenue for the Bansa Native Authority (BNA). In the 1946/47 fiscal year, for example, poll tax paid by the Nso' was £1,900 as against £4,400 gotten as *jangali* tax alone from the cattle industry (A. S. Suliy 1990). As time went on, more and more Fulani and their herds streamed gradually into the Bamenda Grassfields such that between 1940 and 1960, cattle population increased rapidly and the cattle industry gained prominence. For example in 1940, cattle population statistics stood at about 91,782; in 1954 it went up to about 206, 698 and by 1960 it was already 258, 796 (Suliy, 1990). In the past, cattle, horse and sheep population was gotten from stream count by commissions sent to grazing lands (Samuel Sunjo, Interview, 26 July 2004). By 2004, the situation changed. Cattle population statistics for example was collected from mass vaccination figures. These figures were extracted from the reports of the sub-divisional delegates who themselves did not submit their report on time. The figures collected could not be considered as being accurate because some graziers hide some of their animals during mass vaccination campaigns (DDLFAI, 1999).¹² However, the revenue gotten from livestock has shown a rise since 1999 (in 1999 revenue stood at 3.325.890 frs).¹³ In 2002, the revenue figure went up to about 8,495,640¹⁴ frs CFA. 70 percent of the total amount collected was paid into the account of the North West Development Fund while the remaining 30 percent was paid into the state treasury. The amount entering government coffers shows the contribution of livestock towards enabling the government to function.

Equally, the *jangali* tax collected enabled the councils in Nso to function properly effectively and sustainably (Mayenin Amadou, Interview, 15 June 2004). The Kumbo Rural Council (KRC) for example embarked so many projects by 2004 and many were accomplished. A main road was constructed linking Kuvlu and Ndu Sub-Divisions and many shades and provision store buildings appeared in the Mveh market besides the many innovative works, many other roads and bridges were constructed. An Islamic Primary School (IPS) was also constructed at Kovifem. A project for the construction of a primary school at Beshi-Kuvlu was also launched and the Rural Council appointed Wajiri Manu a Fulani to follow it up. This same year, 2004, a water project was launched intended to drain water from *Bui-Biim* River to Taakijah (Mayenin Amadou, 2004). The success of these council projects was largely due to the *jangali* tax paid regularly by the majority of the graziers who were mostly Fulani. (Mayenin Amadou, 2004). The tax was usually 200 frs CFA per cattle or horse. The *jangali* tax since introduction became one of the main sources of revenue for the Bansa' Native Authority (BNA), later Nso' District Council, and by 2004 Kumbo Rural Council and Kumbo Urban Council. The money received by the Divisional treasury from the Divisional Delegation of Livestock Fisheries and Animal Industries and from the councils (Kumbo Urban and Rural

¹²The motive behind hiding some of the animals as owners did was to evade the *jangali* tax which would be very high if the total cattle figures per case was made known.

¹³ *ibid.*

¹⁴ Bui DDEPIA Annual Report 1999/2000 p. 22.

Councils) showed an economic impact of the Fulani on the *fondom* thanks to the cattle they brought in abundance (Samuel Sunjo, Interview, 26 July 2004)

Promotion of Trade

Before the coming of Fulani into indigenous population depended much on agriculture and trade. Each household had its mensal land in which enough corn, millet and root crops were grown to satisfy domestic and local needs. The farms were cultivated by female relatives and by women married into the lineage. The men were engaged in hunting, house building, growing tree crops such as kola and tending the small livestock. Palm oil and pots were obtained from regional markets while salt, camwood, cloth, ornament and guns were acquired by barter or purchase (P.N. Nkwi and J.P. Warnier, 1982). Cowries from the surrounding regions reached Nso` in great quantities in the 19 century through distant trade. Men in Nso`, Oku and Mbiame manufactured household and farm equipments, reared small livestock, kept bee hives, grew tobacco and acted as middle men in the kola trade. The main items of wealth included cowries, sheep, raffia plantations and groves of kola trees. They were largely controlled by lineage heads who promoted local and regional trade personally or by entrusting their wealth to capable lineage members (P.N. Nkwi and J.P. Warnier, 1982). With the coming of Fulani, Nso` markets were invaded with many more trade goods such as cattle, more sheep, kwasham (milk obtained from cattle), hides, meat, *dahteh* (cowskin shoes) *ndahdu* (cloth made out of backs of a tree called *bakerie* and is used on a horse back (*dahdareh*) and on sand mounted beds mostly by Fulani), *gurii* (soft leather used in making amulets) *tumuhdeh* (large bows for the selling of milk – kwasham) and *nyibam* (butter), *torkiih* (Bow and arrow), beads, *kirkeh* (seat used on a horse back), perfumes, *leehleh* (a special oilment used by women for decorating their feet and palm) and *Pinari* (black powdery substance used by men in painting their eyelids among other things) (Sheik Abduh Karim, Interview, 26 June, 2004). The Fulani therefore changed the order of the Nso` market system resulting to many other developments geared towards the promotion of trade in the *fondom*.

The buying and selling of cattle gave rise to the opening of many cattle markets in the *fondom*. Main ones include, Kumbo, Tatum, Tadu, Dzeng, Jakiri, Vekovi, Mbiame, Mbonso`, Lip, Lasin, Bamti, Elak Oku and Oku (BDDL SFAI, 2004). Horses, sheep and goats were also sold in these markets. Prices per livestock varied in these markets considerably especially during periods of social events like during Christmas, feast of the Ramadan, Easter week and so on (Yaya Yacubu. Interview 29 June 2004), *Takijah* (Kumbo) market was the largest cattle market in Nso`. Traders who came there were drawn mostly from within the North West Province, the West and Littoral Provinces. Cattle sold in *Takijah* market came from regions within Nso like; Mbiame, Lasin, Jakiri and others and out of it including Donga and Mantung Division and beyond. In 1999 for example, about 10,687 cattle moved into and out of this market for trade purpose. In this particular year, 25 horses destined for Nkongsamba, and 175 for Dschang were also controlled (BDEDLSFAI, 2000). The newly created veterinary centres of Mbonso and Lip in the Mbven Sub-Divisional Delegation of Livestock Fisheries and Animal Industries were setup besides their activities to also control animals taken across the River Bui in Nso`. Cattle also left the above mentioned markets to Bamenda, Yaounde, Douala, and the South West Province.

The selling of cow milk and butter in Nso` was done almost on daily basis by Fulani women. They move through most of the villages and quarters of the *fondom* carrying milk and butter on their heads not only selling but also exchanging it for corn, cassava potatoes and other things the natives could offer them in exchange (Ardo Yonguda Sambo, Interview, 24 June 2004). Fulani consequently contributed immensely to the improvement of trade in the Nso` *fondom* by not only adding trade goods but also participating actively in the trade.

CONCLUSION

The presence of the Fulani in the *fondom* of Nso` is of little or no regret to a Nso` man mindful of their contributions towards sustained development and progress of the *fondom*. The two waves of the Fulani attack on the Bamenda Grassfields in general in the 19th century even though with devastating consequences in many areas of the region, rather favoured Nso` expansion. The populations fleeing Fulani attacks let some to seek refuge and protection under the Nso *fondom*. While some refugees fused under Nso`, some small groups and chiefdoms also surrendered their sovereignty under the *fondom*. Consequently the *fondom* witnessed a degree of expansion in terms of population and territory. With regards to extension of settlement grounds within the Nso *fondom*, Fulani role could also be noted. Their abandoned settlements were quickly grasped by indigenous people who transformed many to new farmlands and later sustainable permanent settlements grounds attracting urban characteristics. Some developed into full-fledged villages and later towns. Cattle rearing which constituted the only source of the Fulani livelihood contributed to development and modernization of Nso`. The cattle brought in abundance by the Fulani invited development agencies and aid grants from out of the *fondom*. Besides promoting animal breeding by these development agencies, the *fondom* witnessed the creation of the Bui Divisional Delegation of Livestock Fisheries and Animal Industries, and its Sub Divisional Delegations, Zootechnical and Veterinary centres. Through aid grants and development agencies, Nso witnessed the construction of Ranches, Crushes, Dips and drinking water points. These were all evidence of development, prosperity and modernisation activities that took place in the Nso` *fondom*. The cattle industry equally promoted trade in Nso`. Nso` council development projects were equally accomplished with time because of the availability of funds which huge proportion came in form of revenue from the cattle sector. As part of the multiplier effect of the Fulani cattle, employment opportunities were open directly in: cattle rearing, Ranches, cattle market, butchery, veterinary departments and so on and indirectly in farming, sculpturing, and all cattle related professions. However the most regrettable aspect of the Fulani presence and the cattle industry in the *fondom* remained the farmer-grazier conflict which has persisted and hasn't yet found a lasting a solution.

REFERENCES

- Abdu, Karim. Sheik. (2004). Interview. Aged 72. Islamic Education Secretary, Nso`, Kumbo. 28 June.
- Amadu Mayenin, (2004). Interview. Aged about 50. Lord Mayor of Kumbo rural Council. 15 June.
- Yeh Anastasia, (2004). Interview, Aged 58. House wife and farmer in Nkuv village (now of blessed memory). 11 July
- Awason N.F., (1984). "The Hausa and Fulani in the Bamenda Grassfields 1903-1960", Doctorat de 3^e Cycle Thesis in History, University of Yaounde, p. 163
- Ayi, M.M., (1994). Lecture Notes on "Conquete et Resistance au Cameroun", U.V. 2111, Level 2, Department of History, University of Yaounde I.
- BDDLFAI., (Bui Divisional Delegation of Livestock Fisheries and Animal Industries), (2004) File No. 240/DD/ATIA/11, Annual Report on the Livestock Fisheries and Animal Industries for 2003.
- BDDLFAI., (1999), File No. DD/ATIA/11). Annual Report on the Livestock Fisheries and Animal Industries for 1998.
- BDDLFAI., (2000), File No. DD/ATIA/11). Annual Report on the Livestock Fisheries and Animal Industries for 1999.
- Bouba Hawe, (2007). Interview. Aged 38. Spokes lady of the Fulani in Cameroon, Yaounde, 15 December.
- Boutrais J., (1995). *Hautes Terres D'élevage au Cameroun*, Vol. 1, Paris, ORSTOM p.32
- Burnham P., (n.d.) "L'ethnie, la religion et l'Etat: le rôle des Peuls dans la Vie Politique du Nord Cameroun", journal des Africanistes, No. 16, pp. 73-102.
- Eyongetah T. and Brian, R., (1979). *A History of the Cameroon*. London: Longman,
- F.K. Buah F.K., (1967). *West Africa and Europe: A New History for Schools and Colleges*, Book II, London, Macmillan, p. 127.
- Faay, Tawong, Wo Bankov, (2004). Interview. Aged 78. Prince Deputy High Priest of Nso`, 5 July.
- Fanso V. G., (1989). *Cameroon History for Secondary Schools and Colleges*, Vol. 1, From Precolonial Times to the Nineteen Century, London and Basingstoke, Macmillan Press Ltd., pp. 28-29
- Jumbam C.T. (2012). "The Fulani Impact on the Bamenda Grassfields, 1916-2008": A Historical Investigation (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation Thesis). University of Yaoundé I. Cameroon.
- (2007). "The Fulani in the Bamenda Grassfields: Social, Cultural, Economic and Political, 1916-2005" (Unpublished DEA Dissertation in History). University of Yaoundé I. Cameroon.
- (2005). "The Impact of the Fulani on the Fondom of Nso", 1920s-2004. (Unpublished Master Dissertation in History). University of Yaoundé I. Cameroon.
- Langhëë, B C., (1989). *The Suufaayship of Professor Benard Nsosika Fonlon*. Yaounde: By the Author, P.O. Box 775 Yaounde, CEPER,

- Langwa Lawrence. (2004). Interview. Aged 64. Lordling and attendance to the Fon of Nso` Kumbo, 4 July.
- Lucy Davis, (1995) "Opening Political Space in Cameroon: The Ambiguous Response of the Mbororo", Review of African Political Economy, No. 64, p. 217
- Mbibah R. Y., (1991) "Nso` and her Neighbours: A study of intergroup Relations in the Nineteen and Twentieth Centuries, (Unpublished Maitise Dissertation). University of Cameroon. 7-8pp
- Mzeka P.N. (1990). *Four Fons of Nso:Nineteen and Early Twentieth Century Kingship in the western Grassfields of Cameroon*. Bamenda, Spider Publishing Enterprise, p.5
- NAB. (National Archives Buea, 1932). File Ab 17/7 No. B 3062. Fulani Intelligence Report Correspondence, Bamenda Division, p.36.
-(1941) File Ab 17/3 No. 19124. Education of Normadic Mbororos Fulani Intelligence Report Correspondence, Bamenda Division, p.36
- Nama M.D., Forbin D. et al. (eds.2007) *Stay Tuned*, Second edition, Student's Book, 4eme, Cambridge, p. 64.
- Ndzeidze S.k., (2001). "Change in the Ecological Character of Wetlands: The case of Ber Plain in Bui Division" (Unpublished Master Dissertation). University of Yaounde I, Cameroon.
- Nkwi P.N. and Warnier J.P., (1982). Elements for a History of the Western Grassfields, Department of Sociology, University of Yaounde I, pp.129-135
- Nkwi P.N., (1989). *The German Presence in the Western Grassfields 1891-1913: A German Colonial Account*, Leiden, African Studies Centre, p. 10.
- Rhamani A., (2004.) "The Political and Socio-Economic History of the Fulbe (Mbororo) in Mezam Division in the Twentieth Century: A Historical Perspective", (Unpublished Master Dissertation). University of Yaounde I, Cameroon.
- Sambo, Yonguda, Ardo. (2004). Interview. Aged 53. Fulani Chief of Taadu. Kumbo. 26 June.
- Shey wo` Ndzenkov, (2004). Interview. Aged 82. Title-Leader of ηweroη. Kumbo. 4 July.
- Suliy S.A., (1990). "The Evolution of Islam in the fondom of Nso`, 1916-1989. (Unpublished Maitise Dissertation). University of Yaounde I, Cameroon.
- Sunjo I HRH, (2021), Interview. Aged about 60. Fon of Ndzeen. 18 October.
- Sunjo Samuel, (2004). Interview. Aged 54. Chief of Bureau, Divisional Delegation of MINEPIA, Bui, Kumbo, 26 July.
- Yacubu Yaya, (2004), Interview. Aged 34. Fulani elite, Paralegal First Vice Secretary of MBOSCUA North West Province and Divisional Cattle Market attendant, Kumbo, 29 June.
- Yenlanyuy. M, R., (1991). "Nso and her Neighbours: A Study of Inter-Group Relations in the Nineteen and Twentieth Centuries." Maitrise Memoire, University of Yaounde

ABOUT THE AUTHOR:

Charles Tardzenyuy Jumbam, Senior Lecturer (CC), University of Buea, Cameroon