THE ECONOMY AND SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CAMEROONS UNDER BRITISH COLONIAL DOMINATION C.1916-1961 A STUDY OF THE IMPACT OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM ON BAMENDA DIVISION

By

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APPROVAL PAGE

This work meets the requirements for the partial fulfilment of the award of a Master of Arts (M.A.) degree of the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria-Nigeria.

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare, that this is the product of my own research and has been written by me. It has never been presented anywhere for the purpose of any award to the best of my knowledge.

Nyiwatumi Eric M.

DEDICATION

This Thesis is dedicated to my mother - Mme. Esther Kiagha; My Dearest brother - Ndashi Eugine T.; and Sisters.

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ABSTRACT

In this study, we have explained the impact of British imperialism in Bamenda Division c.1916-1961 by examining the process by which the region was transformed into a dependent economy and society. Bamenda Division attracted us because of its rich physical environment on the one hand, and its being a cradle of civilization in the Bamenda grassland on the other. The relevance of this is that it throws more light on the socio-economic and political changes that colonialism created in this region thereby, showing what new trends emerged in the region that have affected the lives of the indigenes today. The process of colonialism in this region (as part of Southern Cameroons), created some structural problems of development for the post-independent regimes.

However, most of the studies on colonialism in this region, paid attention more on the political aspects of the change, thereby largely neglecting the social and economic. Other inadequacies of the historiographies which attracted much of our interest is the contemporary practice of comparing and contrasting one colonial system with the other - the German and the British. This has affected today's public opinion regarding the development strategies that the state could adopt. Due to this historiography, it has been difficult for those studies to come up with new perspectives that bring out clearly the dependency problem,

so that a starting position for meaningful (self-reliant) development could be pursued in Cameroon at large.

In this study, we adopted a historical approach. At the philosophical level, this approach deals with the totality of the changes in human activities in nature over time. These activities have made the subject of history to be holistic. In this regard, our target was to present the changes in a more scientific, objective and purposeful manner.

Based on the information which we could gather from the oral and written (primary and secondary) sources, we could anchor our arguments to the following: it is not meaningful to talk about the similarities or differences between the German and British colonial rules in the region because both exhibited no fundamental differences on the one hand, and the outcome (impact) was the same. It was instead a continuation and consolidation, by the British, of the same process of exploitation that the Germans had earlier established. The process made the indigenes to be dependent on the British and other European nation states for development.

The German and later British colonial systems of exploitation centred around peasant commodity production, which led to some fundamental changes in the economy and society of the Division, thereby creating some major departures from the pre-colonial systems.

The German (c.1900-c.1915) contribution to the changes to dependency were felt through their colonial policies of

development. The British took-over from the Germans due to the outcome of the first world war. They too established their dominance on the basis of the colonial policies earlier established in the Southern Provinces of Nigeria, but with some major readjustments because of the German and local factors.

The basic changes which explain the second phase of the study constituted the land laws and agricultural, taxation (monetization) and labour policies in the region. Like the Germans, the British interest was consolidated through a system of cash crop production by the indigenes for export. The expansion of the economy and society created several contradictions in the Division which affected the local systems of subsistence. Then the indigenes' dependence on the external (European) economies was steadily consolidated.

These developments ushered in the last pattern of change examined which centred around the establishment of socio-economic institutions and services on the one hand, and maintenance of a colonial law and order society on the other.

Against these backgrounds we further argued that the German and British systems of production and distribution in the region evolved some dual features of development in the economy, even though the local ones were subjugated and not entirely destroyed. The local features were also rendered dependent on the colonial systems.

In conclusion, our argument implies that we should rather think of a new course of development that would be self-reliant, indigenous and involving the rural masses. In this case, major political, economic, social, cultural and ideological changes have to be effected in the society in a direction that would be of interest to the majority of the Cameroonian society.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.W.A.M. - Association of West African Merchants.

B.C.G.A - British Cotton Growing Association.

C.D.C. - Commonwealth Development Corporation.
Also, Cameroon Development Corporation.

C.D.W.F. - Colonial Development and Welfare Fund.

COSTAIN. W.A. - Costain West Africa Limited.

C.P.C. - Cameroon Protestant College.

D.O. - Divisional Officer.

D.W.H. - Deutshe Westafrikanishe Handelgesellschaft.

F.A.O. - Food And Agricultural Organization.

G.D.P. - Gross Domestic Product.

G.R.A. - Government Residential Area.

I.B.R.D. - International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

I.L.O. - Intenational Labour Organization.

I.T.C.Z. - Inter-Tropical Convergence Zone.

K.N.D.P. - Kamerun National Democratic Party.

K.P.P. - Kamerun People's Party.

K.U.N.C. - Kamerun United National Congress.

M.C. - Muslim Congress.

N.A. - Native Authority or Administration.

N.C.O. - Non-Commissioned Officers.

O.K. - One Kamerun.

P.W.D. - Public Works Department.

R.C.M.	-	Roman Catholic Mission.
S.C.H.C.	-	Southern Cameroons House of Chiefs.
U.A.C.	-	United Africa Company.
U.N.I.C.E.F.	-	United Nations Children Fund.
U.N.O.	-	United Nations Organization
U.N.V.D.A.	-	Upper Nun Valley Development Authority.
U.P.C.	-	Union of the Populations of Cameroon.
W.A.F.F.	-	West African Frontier Force.
W.H.O.	-	World Health Organization.

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 GENERAL INTRODUCTION

This study seeks an examination of the impact of British imperialism in the Bamenda Division in particular, and Southern Cameroons in general, from the period C. 1916 to C. 1961. It is primarily a study of societal change; this change being the transformation of the pre-colonial socio-economic systems of Bamenda Division into a dependent economy and society, through colonialism. This change had its origins in the long standing contact between the region and the international market through the coastal and northern trade outlets. The development of imperialism and the quest by the European industrialized nations to consolidate the political and socio-economic position of their ruling classes, led to the imposition of colonialism and the entrenchment of externally oriented policies in this region.

The Germans were the earliest in instituting this process of transformation (c.1884-c.1915). Following the outbreak of the first world war (1914), the British and French troops (Allied forces) defeated and ousted the German colonialists from the region. The British then took-over the region from the Germans thereby continuing the colonial process of transformation. The British reshaped the German colonial structures and policies to

suit their own interest, especially as the League of Nations formally recognized this area as part of the British sphere of influence in 1922. This recognition was subsequently confirmed by the United Nations Organization (U.N.O.). British rule continued to 1961 with substantial socio-economic impact on the society of the region.

1.1 Definition of Unit of Study

As can be seen in the title, the study would be limited to the former southern Cameroons which is today constituted by the Northwest and Southwest Provinces, more particularly, the Bamenda Division of the colonial era. The Southwest province (in Southern Cameroons) is also important in this study. It constitutes one of the richest naturally resourced regions in the entire Cameroons because of its nearness to the coast, and its montane and volcanic environment that is influenced by the Mount Fako. The importance of the Southwest province also lay in the different levels at which it related with our region of study, from which general patterns of changes could be discerned for the southern cameroons. These general patterns were conditioned by the colonial administration, and they centred around the dualism which existed especially in the socio-economic structures. But unique to Bamenda Division was that its dualism covered both the agricultural and animal husbandry industries, and thus evolved different levels of exchange with the Southwest Province (plantation agriculture mostly). The colonial

state in our area of study introduced state farms or estates that were relatively smaller than the plantation but with the functions of serving the plantations and the 'modern sector', through training and dissemination of information about the 'modern' methods to the indigenes. Such farms were varied in terms of crops and livestock introduced by the colonialists, but they were largely dependent on the Central State Botanical Gardens in Victoria (the plantation zone of the coast)[1], for modern techniques and so on.

1.2 Scope and Justification of Study

We have earlier indicated that the date c.1916 does not imply the beginning of colonialism in the region, nor the year of the first contact with the Europeans. Before then, the British had in the pre-1884 period, established trade contacts with the peoples of the coastal areas. This relationship culminated in the establishment of a form of administration under the Missionaries at Bimbia-Victoria, and later on under a quasi judicial system (for that coastal zone and Douala) called Equity. But the Germans were recognized by the Berlin West African Conference (1884-1885) as the 'owner' of that sphere of influence and they established a colonial presence which lasted to 1914.

The second appearance of the British after the first World War fulfilled their long standing economic interest

[1]The colonaillists' left-overs could still be seen today in the form of infrastructures viz: houses, roads and the farm at Bambui.

in this region and in the hinterland. British domination from 1922-1945, was under a Mandatoriship of the League of Nations, and from c.1946-c.1961 as a Trusteeship of the U.N.O. But throughout, it was administered as a British sphere of influence from Nigeria viz: through the Southern and later the Eastern Region, and finally from Lagos. Series of administrative reorganizations accompanied these changes in order to facilitate the control and exploitation of the region.

Le Vine T. Victor[2] limited his scope of study to the period 1922-c.1961 implying that the British presence was most felt between this period. However, he remained very uncritical about the relationship between the League of Nations (and later-on the U.N.O.) on the one hand, and the British on the other, with regard to the transformation of this region into the state in which it found itself by independence (c.1961)[3]. We identify this lack of critical analysis to his periodization (which promises us an examination of that relationship but fails to do it). And further, because he merely mentioned in sketches the

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[2] Le Vine T. Victor, The Cameroons from Mandate to Indpendence. Univ. of California Press Los Angels 1964.

[3] Surprisingly throughout this study, very little attention is paid to the entire Southern Cameroons, talkless of Bamenda Division whose position in the nationlist struggle; and nation building in the colonial period (- Levine's major theme) was very significant. In order to understand this significance, see J.V. Ngoh, Cameroon 1884-1985. A Hundred Years of History. Navi Group Publication Buea. 1987.

importance (structural) of the German past. However, all these could be explained from his pro-western position[4]

The limitation in scope becomes more serious when we consider other secondary works like Michael Crowder's[5]. Crowder's manner of over-generalization makes him to neglect the southern Cameroons as being part of West Africa, eventhough he makes a lot of references to the Nigerian colonial experience. The period from which he makes the references about Nigeria, it should be noted, was also the period during which the southern Cameroons was being administered from Nigeria. So the Southern Cameroons should have been given more attention, especially because it had earlier on existed as a German Colony[6]. However, this negligence is a general characteristic about most general studies on colonialism in Africa. On this note, our study becomes very significant in representing the colonial experience of the Africans of this region during this

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[4]Le Vine T. Victor Ibid Pg. 1-44, 88-131. This pro-westernization had its base in the fact that he largely saw the independence struggle as given by the Europeans. Even then, the extent to which the League of Nations' and U.N.O.s Mandate Commissions and Trusteeship Councils respectively, intervened in the British colonial system in this territory are hardly examined by Le Vine. Meanwhile, we consider this examination as being very significant towards an understanding of the process of nation building within this period on the one hand, and the state of affairs in the territory by 1961 on the other.

[5]M. Crowder, West Africa Under Colonial rule. Hutchinson Univ. Library for Africa. London 1968.

[6] Relating this issue with his scope we can see that the study is largely inadequate in explaining the colonial experience of West Africa. Besides that, he does not identify the International 'Peace' bodies-League of Nations and U.N.O. - in his chapter on the nationalist struggle (just as Le Vine T. Victor does), as one of the major experiences of west Africa under Colonial rule. Had it been he treated this then the Southern Cameroons would have deserved a better treatment.

period of study. So it brings out the most relevant details about the period, on which note some basic judgements could be made.

The details revolve around the fact that in order to maintain British presence in this region some departments were established. Other structural and institutional changes were effected for the transformation of the economy and society to take place. These structural changes therefore imply that the German colonial impact (against which the changes were targeted) would also be examined. Apart from that, the agents of socio-economic transformation during this period (which the earlier writers mentioned above neglected), would also be examined. These included: the Missionaries; Marketing Boards; Cooperative Societies; the Multi-national firms and the colonial administration itself (Native Authorities or N.A.) amongst others.

The study terminates in c.1961 largely because it marked the emergence of new structural relations which the British colonial rule had conditioned. Such relations were also conditioned by the independence struggles which led to the Plebiscite and, the Foumban Constitutional Conference (1961)[7]. The earlier studies mentioned above also terminate in this period[8]. So from c.1916-c.1961, we shall also learn

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[7] Le Vine T. Victor op. cit. pg 215-231. He examines these new relations clearly even though the structural relations between the British Southern and French East Cameroons are in sketches.

[8] Save for M. Crowder op. cit who terminated in 1945 further justifying the inadequacy of his scope as judged from the title.

how the British colonialists approached the issue of nation building in the region, in their interest[9]

This inquiry would clear the public ignorance and some fallacies which centre around the colonialist historiography. Amongst these colonialist views are the generalizations that colonialism brought 'civilization'; stamped out slavery for 'legitimate trade'; 'introduced modern technological developments, infrastructures and great advancements in the material conditions of the indigenes of the Division[10]. Lord F. Lugard expressed these most and was further supported by some academics and theoreticians[11] though they only further economic exploitation[12]. Apart from the fact that this historiography seeks to justify the exploitation of the indigenes by the imperialist nations, it also tarnishes our perception of the pre-colonial past. Indeed this past is

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[9]For more see G.A. Kwanashie, "Nationalism and Nation building. Some observations on the Nigerian experience under colonial rule". Paper presented to the Post Graduate Seminar, Dept. of History, A.B.U., Zaria June, 1977. Eventhough the southern Cameroons is not given any attention in this examination (just like LeVine T. Victor and Micheal Crowder do), it provides some critical thinking about the colonial experience of the Nigerians. And by implication the southern Cameroonians. We have decided to apply these critical insights in our study largely because the structural changes that the British effected in Bamenda Division also led to some of the conclusions brought out in this paper. Amongst these conclusions included: the British ethnic and regional approach towards colonial administration (divide and rule) and the building of an externally oriented economy and society through the colonial policies.

[10] For more see O. Knoli (ed.); Path to Nigerian Development 1981 chpts. iv pg 80.

[11] See Lord Lugard, The Dual Mandate in British West Africa, Frank Cass London 1965.

[12] Le Vine T. Victor, op. cit. No doubt Le Vine sees a lot of contradictions in the colonial system in the Cameroons especially in the French territory. He examines these in depth in his last chapter (pages 215- 232). But he fails from the onset in seeing that colonialsm was antithetical to humanism. And this weakness makes him to be eurocentric in his perception of nation-building in this territory (see his chapter three pg 44-87) as having been determined from the 'west'-Europeans.

very relevant in a study such as this because the manner in which it is represented affects our analysis of the impact of colonialism in this region in particular and Africa at large. In this regard, Le Vine examines this period in a very shallow manner and from an ethnic point of view[13]. He does not see the political systems as having developed to the extent that large and centralized polities could be found amongst them. This weakness stemmed from the over-generalized manner in which he examines the peoples of the region. Again, this mode of examination could be explained in that Le Vine just like Lord F. Lugard and other colonialists wanted to paint a picture of backwardness and lack of socio-political organization in these societies, thereby justifying their conception of nation-building as coming from the west and by implication suggesting that colonialism had its positive contributions.

It should be noted at this juncture that, Le Vine's categorization of the ethnic groups in the pre-colonial era of not only this region but the entire Cameroons is largely misleading[14]

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[13] Ibid. pg. 1-14. Even the ethnic groups which he mentions such as the Bamuns in the neighbourhood of our Division of study, LeVine does not examine (even sketchily) the nature of political organization of these societies. Granted that this was done then the impact of colonialsm on the political structures would have been examined more indepthly at least with regard to his theme of nation-building.

[14] It is misleading primarily because it is an inadequate categorization. He regards the groups as tribes, thereby making it difficult to delineate the meaning of tribes from ethnicity. Le Vine op.cit pg. 6). According to him also, the polities in Bamenda Division were tribes from the Tikar ethnicity. But he does not tell us how the Tikar came about as an ethnic group or how the different 'tribes' of the region emerged from the Tikar. It therefore seem that 'tribes' refer to the different polities of the region; and if so then it is largely colonialist and an unscientific mode of representing those societies. For more see pgs. 9-11. Instead of tribes we prefer ethnic groups.

In our investigation in the Bamenda Division, we could not find any evidence of a civilizing mission or those type of achievements which Le Vine and the other colonialists (such as Lord F. Lugard) claimed. On the contrary our evidence points to the pre-colonial societies being in an organized manner and undergoing some fundamental changes in their socio-economic, political and ideological developments before colonial conquest. And with the colonial experiences from the Germans and the British there was a dependency situation created; especially through the British. The British established, consolidated and expanded their colonial system of exploitation by claiming that they were introducing 'modern' development in the societies. Meanwhile in the real sense of development, there was nothing but underdevelopment and poverty.

On the other hand the title of our study is important because it reflects the subject of study as an inquiry into the socio-economic impact of British imperialism. By implication it is also a re-examination of some of the conclusions that earlier writers have brought out concerning the colonial experience of these people. But we have concentrated more on the socio-economic impact because this subject of study has largely been neglected by contemporary Cameroonian historians[15], and Le Vine also[16]

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[15]A bulk of the studies about southern Cameroons which we are aware of focus on political history. A study like LeVine's op cit. 1964 is very clear about this. Bamenda Division in particular has not been exploited in this dimension. The neglect is very serious if we take LeVine's study into consideration. Indeed most of the weakness of the study could also be attributed to his lack of any (talk less of the detailed analysis of the socio-economic background of the political developments which he brings out in the work. So his approach is limited in the dialectics of nation-building-his

(continued...)

In a study such as J.V. Ngoh's[17] the socio-economic background of the colonial experience is examined largely in sketches. He concentrates on the analysis of colonial institutions but fails to go deep into the issues raised by the existence of these institutions. Due to this approach his conception about the impact of the colonial experience is not critical enough. For example, he does not examine how the new institutions affected the local (indigenous) institutions. Also, the local response to these new institutions is not examined, save for the political developments that led to independence. However, these weaknesses begin right from the title of the study which remains very vague[18]. At this point it should be noted that even though there are as many historians as there are histories, the manner in which any historian should present his study must be one that has a significance to the contemporary society. This significance should also be reflected in the title of the study. LeVine is even more clear on this issue when he makes us to understand that his task is to examine the process of nation-building in the

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[15](...continued)
major theme.

[16]Ibid. This weakness is even acknowedged by LeVine in his preface (pg. viii). But we could hardly take this as an excuse because though a political scientist, he attempts using a historical approach. A historical approach must be holistic enough to bring out this socio-economic dimension of his major subject of study.

[17]J.V. Ngoh; op.cit

[18]From the title of the study we could hardly get any idea of relevance of the study to our contemporary society. Really Ngoh goes as far back as the pre-colonial period of the societies which he studies (just like LeVine), and ends in the post-independence period-1985. But the problem of the study is that it is too general and from this scope, the study can hardly even serve as an introductory history of this region.

Cameroons from the period when it became a mandatory territory of the League of Nations, till independence. But J.V. Ngoh is less clear on such, and T. Eyongeta and R. Brain[19] exhibit the same limitations.

Nevertheless, it is implied in J.V. Ngoh's study that its significance lay in the attempt at explaining the origins of the structural and institutional crises of the post-independent Cameroons. Better still, an attempt at examining the different colonial approaches and how these approaches gave rise to the type of historic experiences of the post-independent era. As we shall see in our analysis, this reconstruction is not enough unless the impact of these colonial approaches are brought out more critically and clearly. In our opinion, the manner of examining this change from the German to the British colonial presence can only be relevant if it is seen as a continuation of a pattern of exploitation and a relationship which largely disfavoured the colonized[20]. From this point of view meaningful comments could be made (which J.V. Ngoh largely escaped from), thereby injecting some new thinking with regard to the solutions to the contemporary crises of development in Cameroon.

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[19] T. Eyongetah, and R. Brain (eds.); A History of the Cameroons. Longmans Ibadan. 1974. These authors together with J.V. Ngoh make use of LeVine's study. But surprisingly, they are very uncritical about it. However, their weaknesses can also be explained from the stand point of their lack of a theoretical frame-work.

[20] This goes beyond the comparison of one colonial system with the other as T. Eyongetah and R. Brain do. See Ibid pg 113-118.

Meanwhile, the relevance of our socio-economic study is theoretically explained from the fact that the economy constitutes the base of any social system. It is often used to depict the management of the resources of various social units ranging from simple household to more complex ones like business enterprises, ministeries and national economies of states. The management is aimed at a systematic organization of labour to achieve maximum output from minimum input (efficiency)[21]. The economy therefore takes into consideration the economic objects, activities, labour, technology, capital and their inter-relationships.

Society on the otherhand, unlike the economy, is a more vague concept. But at a general level it involves man, his fundamental needs, and the means by which he satisfies them. These are manifested in stages and forms that are changing. It is therefore absurd to talk of the economy without the society or vice-versa; and equally irrelevant to ask which comes first. Indeed, the relationship and interdependence came as a result of the fact that they have nature and man as their common terrain and these are constantly changing, with man being a central conditioning force.

The interactions are focussed towards defence, security, production, procreation, amongst others. From these, other forms of relationships further develop. Therefore in a study of this nature, it should be

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[21] P.F. Wilmot, Sociology, A new Introduction. Collins Academic and Professional Texts. London 1985. pg 88-89. Also I.S. Ikon (ed.); A History of classical Sociology. Progress Moscow 1979. pg. 10.

recognized that all economic relations and activities are embeded in particular social structures and vice-versa. At the same time, the economic activities and relations determine the nature of social structure and the laws of its development[22].

Having said this it is pertinent to observe that British imperialism in Bamenda Division operated within and created specific economic and social conditions and to understand it requires a framework of analysis that focusses on the dynamic and dialecical relationship that exists between the economic base and the social structures of society[23]. And this frame-work is more relevant today if we consider the collapse of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.); and the imperialist penetration of the entire world due to that collapse[24]. In this regard, British imperialism constituted a significant element in the historical experience of the colonized people. Imperialism is a stage in the development of capitalism in Europe and V.I. Lenin termed it "the highest

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[22]I.S. Ikon Ibid. pg. 10.

[23]This frame-work of analysis could be applied in examining the colonial experience in the entire Cameroons whether French or British. The frame-work therefore embraces all the issues mentioned in the earlier works discussed above, and goes beyond in indentifying certain critical issues that are crucial in understanding today's fundamental problems of development. It also provides some direction (in terms of policy making) to the post-independent regimes.

[24]Given this international dimension of the study, we could predict that similar clashes of interest amongst the imperialist nations could take place in our region of study like what happened before and during the colonial period in Bamenda Division in particular, and Southern Cameroons at large.

stage of capitalism"[25] marked by intense monopolistic competitions, aggressiveness, conflicts and clashes of interest which often result in wars. This issue has been expatiated upon by many scholars[26].

About Africa's historical experience in this process of capitalism some studies have also been carried out[27]. In these studies, most of the scholars agree that colonialism (an offspring of imperialism), more than anything else represented the process whereby the actual transformation of African societies to capitalism began. This process involved the carving of spheres of influence in Africa by the imperialist powers from Europe. This carving of spheres resulted in a consequent subjugation and capture of state power of the pre-colonial states and social formations. It was through this process that the British Cameroons (Southern and northern Cameroons) emerged in the second decade of the twentieth century. From that sphere of influence, Bamenda Division was subsequently carved out to create
some efficiency in the exploitation and management of the resources of the region in British interest.

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[25]See V.I. Lenin., Imperialism, the Highest stage of Capitalism (1917). Foreign Languages Press Peking; 1965. He based his study on Hilferding's conclusions. Also Makoto Itoh: The Basic theory of capitalism. The forms and substance of the capitalist economy. McMillan Press 1988

[26]See N. Bukharin; Imperialism and World Economy. Merlin Press, London 1972. Also K.T. Tarbuck (ed.); Rosa Luxemburg and N. Bukharin. Imperialism and Accumulation of Capital. Allen Lane. The Penguin Press 1972. pg. 238-269.

[27]See D. Nabudere; Political Economy or Imperialism. Monthly Review Press. New York 1969.

In the process of economic exploitation and management of the surpluses from the Division, British colonialism created other conditions (as we shall see) which eventually transformed the region to dependend on her for development. This dependent situation came through some fundamental structural and institutional changes under the German and later-on the British colonial administrations. In both administrations the transformation was effective because of the administrations' collaboration with some private agencies viz: The colonial state reinforced its control by establishing some administrative, economic and social policies on the indigenes. Cash crops and livestock species were introduced in the Division followed by some other socio-economic institutions (educational, health, road and housing infrastructures) in anticipation of a radical change in in the nature of rural society. Instead, the colonial policies made those institutions above to constitute the limits within which the emergent dependent structures could operate[28]. So the result was a breakdown in the rural economy from the claimed 'back-ward', 'small-scale', 'isolated' stage of the societies of the Division to dependency and underdevelopment.

In another light, the dependent structures also required the services of law and order; production of cash crops and livestock, collection of taxes and supply of the unskilled labour required by the new economic and administrative systems. When these new forces were about

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[28]See A.G. Frank Underdevelopment or Revolution. Monthly Review Press. New York 1969.

to provide the radical change towards 'modernism', the colonial authorities again discouraged it by failing to modernize the local structures on the one hand, and then limited the extent of technological transformation in the sectors which she was intertested in on the other. For example, she prevented even the private sector and the indigenes from providing the technological changes.

Apart from the local structures (values) that the colonial capitalists prevented from modernizing in the Division, another new behaviour emerged in the region. This was that of access to the 'modern' structures of development. This new value emerged because the colonial system of production and distribution which the British established in the Division attacked the pre-colonial socio-economic systems (and even the German) at their vulnerable points thereby challenging the relatively weak economies. This threatened the indigenes' self-reliance and indigeneity.

Accordingly, it was the British colonial system of production and distribution that encouraged the emergence of the dualistic typology which we mentioned earlier. The dualism assumed the existence of dominant colonial and the dependent (local) indigenous structures together. The former introduced the changes and derived their objectives from the metropolitan centre. The dependent indigenes in turn served the colonialists and exercised authority only

within the limits set by the demands of the metropolitan centre[29].

Against the above background, conflicts were promoted because of the inequalities that characterized the relations between the colonial capitalist and the dependent indigenous institutions. The conflicts also came as a result of the fact that the colonial structures and institutions were aimed at producing surpluses at the expense of the local economy. The surpluses were not even distributed within the local economy, but transfered to the advanced capitalist societies through international trade. However, at the local level the international trade on the one hand, and the system of production and distribution on the other, generated some forms of trade and exchange amongst the indigenes. And because of this factor and other conditions of the colonial system, certain groups of indigenes and regions could be able to utilize the limited surpluses to advance their positions relative to that of others in the society[30]. This relationship introduced the notion of unbalanced development within the dependent economy. The unbalanced nature took the form of class formations on the one hand, and the availability of more socio-economic amenities and infrastructures in some regions of the Division than others on the other.

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[29] R.A. Brett. "Problems in Analysing colonial change" in Peter C.W. Guttkind, et al (eds.); African Social Studies, A. Radical Reader. Heinman London, 1977 pg. 57.

[30] Ibid pg. 59.

Similarly, there was the concentration of more elites in particular areas of the Division than others.

1.3 The Contemporary Problem

The structural and institutional problems created by colonialism represent one of the most significant crisis in Bamenda Division today[31] The crisis situation has been made more complex because of the dualism which exist in the region[32]. As a result of the dualism, it has been difficult for some writers to evolve some perspectives that relate today's problems with that of the colonial past thereby rendering it difficult to provide a starting point and direction for meaningful development. Therefore, on the first note, it is our objective to provide this conceptual relationship. To this effect, we maintain amongst others, that the problems of bilingualism, regionalism, ethnicity, poverty, low industrial development, food crisis, the

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[31]Since independence in 1961 the Division's natural potenials have either been neglected or not been exploited to full capacity by the state (even the private sector), despite the fact that separate ministeries were created for agriculture; livestock (animal husbandry) and fisheries; mines and power. This has made the Division to be very low in terms of industrial (modern) development. The state further consolidated this neglect by making the indigenes to believe that the Division hasn't got the natural potentials. So the regimes merely continued with the modes of economic exploitation that the British left. These have partly led to the present socio-economic crises that the indigenes of the region are suffering from. Therefore the origins of these crises should be traced to the colonial era.

[32]The duality that the German and British colonialists created in the primary sectors of the economy of this Division viz: agriculture and animal husbandry, could have served as a departure point for the post-independence regimes to effect more fundamental re-structuring towards 'modern' development. A.L. Mabogunje termed this process of change as one of 'institutional radicalization' of not only the modern structures but also the 'traditional' ones towards a free market economic growth. However, the post-independent regime did not (this year's experiences is out of our scope of study anyway). For more see A.L. Mabogunje, "New Paradigm for Urban Development" in Lawrence H. Summers et al (eds.); Proceeding of the World Bank Annual Conference on Development Economics 1991: Supplment of the World Bank Economic Review and the World Bank Research Observer Pg. 191-217. Also Ntangsi Joseph "The Political Economy of Agricultural Policies in Cameroon" (unpublished).

inability to form capital, ecology and so on, of post-independent Bamenda Division, owe their origins in the British colonial system in Southern Cameroons. So these crises were part of the excesses of colonial capitalism.

Secondly, in an agricultural and livestock industrial region like Bamenda Division, these sectors (in relation to the other sectors of the colonial economy) were, under British colonialism, controlled in such a way that they placed a structural handicap on the post-independent regimes on the one hand, and prevented them from introducing meaningful agrarian, livestock etcetera policies for the development of the economy especially in terms of industrialization on the other[33]. This further explain why the system of production and distribution which the British colonialists established in the region as we shall see, evolved and consolidated some agrarian and development crises which continued into the post-independent era. These crises were further compounded by the monetization policies of the British and later-on the French imperialists that the post-independence regimes adopted in the Cameroons.

Furthermore, there is an on-going fallacy in the Cameroons that the rural small (peasants) farmers, livestock rearers, fishermen and artisans have proven unsatisfactory and inadequate because they are illiterate, ignorant or use primitive tools and methods of farming,

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[33]Ntangsi Joseph. Ibid Pg.1. Also Ministry of Agriculture Cameroon."La Politque Agricole du Cameroon" June 1990.

animal husbandry and crafts manufacturing. It is even a similar fallacy that prevails in other African set-up[34]. However, the propagators of these fail to see that they were these same conditions that the British exploited in this part of the colony and elsewhere to produce the quantities of exports like the cash crops (coffee, cocoa, palm produce, castor, cotton, groundnuts, banana, rubber, and so on) and livestock (hides, meat, milk and son on) that her industries needed. Talkless of the surpluses that were siphoned by their multi-national firms, licensed buyers, Marketing Boards, cooperative controllers, Bankers amongst others. On the other hand, the propagators also fail to see the break-down of the rural social economy and so forth which the British system of production and distribution caused. And this break-down affected these peasants and mostly the crafts industry, thereby being the most significant reason for the technological stagnation and consequent decline of the indigenes. Therefore, the reality goes beyond the propagators' notions of illiteracy, ignorance, primitive tools and method of production, and so forth of the indigenes.

Moreover, the above fallacies provide an ideological justification for 'modernization' which in reality is capitalist dependency i.e. the post-independent regimes' dependence on the external forces for capital for

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[34]It is a similar experience with Nigeria and other Third World countries operating under the International Monetary Fund-IMF Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) for more see O Oculi, "Dependednt Food Policy in Nigeria 1975-1979."in Rural Underdevelopment in Nigeria 1900-1980 Dept of Pol Sci.Seminar Series Vol 2 ABU Zaria 1985 pg23.

development, technology, market, hybrid species and so on. Beyond these, is the justification for the International Monetary Fund's (I.M.F.) Structural Adjustment Program (S.A.P.) and other capitalist financial donor Institutions' involvement in the economy of Bamenda Division in particular and the Cameroons at large[35] through loans, Aids, amongst others. We regard all these as the furtherance of structural dependency and even enslavement of the indigenes to those interventionists. Correspondingly, there has been a production and distribution in collaboration with the Marketing Boards; cooperative societies, multi-national firms, licensed buyers, and so on, in the interest of the financial donors instead of the indigenes.

Our perspective does not dismiss the capacity of modern scientific knowledge, methods and technology to make the primary producers of our region of study to become significantly more productive. However, their actual significance cannot be understood without a knowledge of the dependency relations, structures and institutions that the British colonialists created in this Division. Our study would attempt to show this. More importantly also,

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[35]In Bamenda Division this dependence has been entrenched in the post-independent period through the role of the following institutions concerned with primary development: the North West Cooperative Association (N.W.C.A.) Ltd.; North West Development Authority (N.D.E.N.O.); Mum Area Development Authority (M.A.D.A.); National Institute for Zootechnique Research (I.R.Z.); Bambili; National Institute for Agronomic Research (I.R.A.) Bambui; Upper Mun Valley Development Authority (U.M.V.D.A.) Ndop amongst others.The dependency manifested by these Institutions on the Western capitalist donor nations and Institutions could be seen in the areas of capital and technology. The world's economic contraction, Cameroon's economic crises in the 1990s and the devaluation of the C.F.A. Franc (1994) further made these institutions to collapse. But we are saying that these dependency crises had its roots in the colonial experience of this territory.

our study would examine the British approach towards the introduction of the modern scientific inputs for developing the primary sectors of the Division. From the examination, the weaknesses of the British approach would be seen objectively in the deterioration of the local methods from self-reliance, self-sufficiency, indigeneity, autonomy to abandonment, spoilation, underdevelopment and consequently dependency. Having these in mind, the relevance of the modern scientific inputs would be seen in the extent to which they were adapted to suit the local realities and achieve development.

That not withstanding, the modernization perspective has not been adequate in the way it has been exploited to develop the under-developed social economy of the Division in particular, and other regions of Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean that underwent colonialism in general[36]. Particularly on our region, some of the limitations are found in the notions of the Achievement schools with their liberalist perceptions such as - the positive and negative

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[36]See J.V. Ngoh, op. cit. Also T. Eyongetah et al. (eds.) op. cit.; LeVine T. Victor, op. cit.

impact of colonial rule[37]. We came across all these in the field.

These liberalist perceptions were also manifested in other areas of Africa - for example, the 'vent for surplus' theory of J.S. Hogendorn. Summarily, he claimed that colonialism in the Hausaland of Nigeria created a peaceful environment for the Hausas to cultivate cash crops and trade in groundnut crop based on the Hausa farmers conservatism', and rapidly expanded its acreage. That the process was facilitated by the ready acceptance of the British silver coinage. Furthermore, that Lord Lugard brought peace to the 'semi-civilized' people and this made them support the groundnut trade.[38]

We regard this perception as very conservative because it fails to objectively understand the material conditions

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[37]Nteh Emmanuel W.; The Negative Impact of Colonial Policies on the centralized traditional Authority: The case of Nso 1902-1962. Matrise (History) Dissertation University of Yaounde (unpublished). This examination implies that colonialsm had its positive impact on Nsaw.
However, our perspective differs from this liberalist position because of its inadequacies in explaining the contemporary problems of development in Nsaw. We see colonialism as being antithetical to humanism, therefore, it is neo-colonialist adopting this liberal position. This study is also guilty of some of the conceptual weaknesses of LeVine T.V. op.cit; for example the treatment of the pre-colonial political formations. Although, E.W. Nteh gave some details and made some major clarifications about the pre-colonial and colonial systems (which Le Vine did not even make mention of), his treatment of and notion about the pre- colonial political system as 'tradtional' is rather obscuring. This is part of the uncritical use of the information available in the primary sources by either the colonial administrators or the anthropologists. Nonetheless, unlike Le Vine, Nteh rightly conceptualized the ethnic categories in the region and brought out more details about the colonial experience of the indigenes using more primary sources - (oral information).
With more insight in Nteh's study, the evidence is generally sketchy (in all the colonial systems viz: German and British) because of his method of approach mentioned above. This weakness comes out more clearly when we consider the socio-economic dimension of the impact of the colonial policies on the centralized 'traditional' structures in Nsaw in the period under study.

[38]See J.S. Hogendorn, Nigerian Groundnut Exports. Origins and early Development; Ibadan 1978:Pg 10-12,14-18. Also Mary Tiffen; The Enterprising Peasant. Economic Development in Gombe Emirate, 1900-1968.Overseas Research Publication No. 21. London 1976; M. Perham (ed.); Mining, Commerce and Fiance in Nigeria. London 1948.

that made the indigenes to produce the groundnut. However such a perspective has gone a long way to influence the perception of the British system of cash crop and livestock production in Bamenda to follow the 'vent for surplus' direction. We noticed this in the field in that some informants were fond of comparing the German and British systems of production and distribution thereby preferring one for the other. The British system was preferred because of the cash crop and livestock 'surplus vents'.

It is clear from the Liberalists' perceptions that part of the problem in understanding the contemporary problem in Bamenda Division which our study further aims at re-considering is that of historiography[39]. According to E.A. Brett, this problem is largely created by the behavioural scientists who have been colonialist in their perspectives by agreeing that the colonial relationship produced essentially beneficial results because the colonial contact diffused the values and techniques required for 'modernization'[40]. These behaviouralists[41] focused primarily on the problems relating to stability,

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[39]For more see E.A. Afigbo "The Poverty of African historigraphy". Public lecture Institute of African Studies Univ. of Ibadan. Also Obaro Ikime, "History and the Historian in the Developing countries of Africa", K.O. Dike "African History Twenty Five Years Ago and Today. A Keynot Address". Nigerian Historical Society Silver Jubilee 29th Sept. 1980; Thiero M. Bah, "Le role de L'histore dans les Science Sociales en Afrique: Passe present et Future". in Africa Development Vol. XIX No. 1 1994 Pg 17-27.

[40]E.A. Brett, op.cit 1977 Pg 52. Also E.A. Brett, Colonialism and Underdevelopment in East Africa. Heineman Educational Books London 1973; P.A Baran The Political Economy of Growth. New York 1962. pg. 248.

[41]For example G. Almond and G. Powell (eds.); Comparative Politics. Princeton, 1966. Also D. Easton, A framework for political Analysis. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1965. Chpt. VI especially para 14.15; LeVine T. Victor, op. cit pg. 215-232.

persistence or maintenance of given systems using concepts like 'stable equilibrium'[42]. They have however come under serious criticisms[43].

The use of the concept of 'modernism' at this juncture, need more inquiry because it is central in understanding the colonial dualism and dependency on the one hand, and further clarifies some of the sweeeping generalizations which we came across in the field. It has been defined in various ways to depict different situations. However, H. Beinstein[44] viewed it from the stand point of the formulation and execution of guided change program in developing countries. This view stresses correlates of industrialization and the use of inanimate power sources on a very large scale. Nonetheless, it is closely related to development[45]. In this regard, some scholars emphasize the structural aspects, while others deal with the transformation of culture, and of personality, in so far as it is influenced by culture,

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[42]LeVine T. Victor. Ibid. He manifested this in his examination of the problems that the independent Cameroon (from 1961) was faced with. Such problems included that of nation-building, Political unity, party politics and so on. But like we mentioned earlier, these are Limited to political history. The main thrust of his examination does not go deep into the problems of stability that the colonial system caused. For this reason more critical issues like the national question in Cameroon and the crises of socio-economic development, amongst others are left unexplained. Meanwhile, there are more significant issues that shape our understanding of the maintenance of 'stability' in development or civilization right from the colonial period.

[43]See E.A. Brett op. cit. 1977 pg 51.

[44]H. Bernstein, "African Peasantries. A theoretical framework" in Journal of Peasant Studies Vol. 6 No. 4 1976. Pg. 421-443. Also W.E. Moore; Social Change, Englewood Cliffs New Jersey, Prentice Hall 1963.

[45]H. Bernstein, "The Modernization Theory and the sociological study of development" in Journal of Development Studies Vol. 7, No 2 Pg 141.

rather than by some aspects of social organization of human environment[46]

To be more specific, the different definitions have emphasized technology, industry, economic development, 'Westernization', 'Europeanization' and so forth, all having connotational meanings with 'traditional (local) - modern' and 'backward - progressive' dichotomies[47]. To us anyway, these suggest a historic stage of similarity or par in development between Africa - the colonized and the Europeans - the colonizers, before colonialism altered this stage through some policies and structures. From this point of view the inappropriate understanding of the concept of 'modernism' by the policy makers of the post-independent regimes in the Cameroons especially their prescription of 'diffusion', 'technological transfer', etcetera reveal the problem of continuous dependency[48].

Our analysis would reflect these features of 'modernism' (structural and cultural) and would not also exaggerate the dualism. We shall concentrate mostly on the

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[46]N.J. Smelster, "The Modernization of social Relations" in M. Weiner (ed.); Modernization. Basic Books N.Y. 1966 pg. 110-111. Also R.P. Appelbaum; Theories of social changes Markham Publishing Co. Chicago 1970 pg 37.

[47]V.W. Ruttan, et al. "Induced innovations Model of Agricultural development"; V.W. Ruttan "Models for Agricultural Development" in C.K. Eicher et al.(eds.); Agricultural Development in Third World 1984. pg 38-45.

[48]A.G. Frank "Dependence is Dead Long Live Dependence and the class struggle" in Latin American Perspectives vol. 1 No 1 1974 pg. 87-88. Also A.G. Frank; Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America. N.Y. 1967; Samir Amin, Unequal Development, London 1976; S. Amin, Accumulation on a World Wide Scale N.Y. 1974; W. Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa. Bogle L'ouverture Publications 1972; Tamas Szentes, The Political Economy of Underdevelopment. Budapest 1976; H. Berstein, Underdevelopment and Development. The Third World Today. Penguin Books 1973.

primary sectors of the economy of Bamenda Division, Viz: agriculture; animal husbandry; mining; and crafts manufacturing. The emphasis on these sectors is because they constituted the major areas that were targeted by the colonialist so that the dependent conditions are created in them, and this would dialectically affect the other sectors and institutions of the local economy and society.

1.4 Sources and perspective of study

Given the definitional weaknesses of the above sources that deal with the colonial experience of the indigenes of Cameroon we shall attempt a more scientific examination of the experiences. J.V. Ngoh[49] limits his historical science to mere presentation of the facts about those past experiences. He goes deep into the use of primary sources such as oral information and some colonial Reports. However, he hardly passes any judgements about the issues which he examines. And like we said earlier, this could be explained right from the nature of his title. This weakness is fundamental because it is a pointer to his conceptualization of the study of history. Similarly, T. Eyongetah and R. Brain[50] manifest this same weakness. But unlike J.V. Ngoh, they attempt making some critical comments. These comments are exemplified on their

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[49] J.V. Ngoh; op.cit.

[50] T. Eyongetah, et al. op. cit. They hardly create any premise within which the facts they are examining should be understood. It instead seems as if they (just like J.V. Ngoh) are out to present a groundwork history of the Cameroons. This is a task that is very crucial and deserve more care, attention and inquiry than what they do. For this reason, the examination of more ciritical methodologies for studying history is totally neglected.

examination of the nature of the British and French colonial systems of exploitation[51]. The same criticism is observed in the manner in which they examine the impact of colonialism on the indigenes where they start with issues like "land alienation"[52]. But, this promising perspective is hardly adhered to, for example by going into more socio-economic details about the issues which they raised. By so doing, their critical examination still remains very general.

Nevertheless, unlike J.V. Ngoh, T. Eyongetah and R. Brain make use of a very limited range of sources. Indeed they acknowledge this in the preface of the study[53]; that they have depended much on the secondary sources. The few primary sources which they consulted are the works of P.M. Kaberry, E.M. Chilver and Edwin Ardener. And they hardly make use of foot or endnotes in the study (just like J.V. Ngoh does). It could have been due to the weaknesses of T. Eyongetah and R. Brain that J.V. Ngoh went further in using oral information and some colonial Reports (Archival Sources). This strength not withstanding, the study still remains largely sketchy. It should be noted here that given these limitations at the level of sources, we shall go further into this past by examining the information in the colonial Reports; the Reports by the British

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[51] Ibid., pg. 98 - 103 .Indeed here, they are more critical about the role of the league of Nations and the U.N.O. in the administration of this territory.

[52] Ibid., Pg. 106-107.

[53] Ibid, Pg. vi-vii.

Administration in the Cameroons and Nigeria to the League of Nations and the Trusteeship Council of the U.N.O.

The weaknesses of such a source category are obvious - the reliability of the information since they were presented by the colonialists themselves. This has been taken care of by the fact that firstly, we have embarked on a thorough corroboration exercise. We have examined all the Reports at our disposal from 1923 to 1958. This has enabled us to compare and contrast the manner in which the information were presented, and the comments that the Permanent Mandate Commission and Trusteeship Committees respectively made. From their comments we have deduced the authenticity of the information. Also, we have carried out some field work during which we have conducted some interviews and engaged in discussions with some categories of people who had that colonial experience. Of course, other secondary works have also been consulted. The anthropological and ethnographic works of some American writers who visited this territory and stayed there for sometime were also another category of primary sources that we consulted. Lastly, we have also used some of the Archival information available to us in the Kaduna, Enugu (Nigeria) and Bamenda (Cameroon) Archives.

Our search for and examination of these sources of information on our period was aimed at bringing out the relevant details about the contributions of the different colonial nations (particularly Britain) in transforming the economy and society of Bamenda Division into a dependent

state by c.1961[54]. It should also be noted that the issues that we raised (from our examination of the categories of information at our disposal) were confirmed with regard to the contemporary problems of Bamenda Division in particular and the Cameroons in general. This method of presentation goes beyond mere presentation of the facts about that past simply because, in historical studies, the past is only relevant in the way it is interpreted to explain the present; and this is done with a view towards the future. Better still, facts are irrelevant unless they are subjected to scientific historical analysis and judgements.

In doing our analysis we have used the dependency model[55] as our main perspective. From it some meaningful conclusions have been made[56]. According to G.T.

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[54]As said ealier, J.V. Ngoh amongst the other writers mentioned above, went closer to this issue but he analysed them in a rather sketchy manner. And from an institutional point of view (see his chapters on the British Cameroons). The weakness here is that he failed to bring out the interdependence of the intitutions to each other on the one hand, and the dialectical relationship between these institutions and the entire colonial economy on the other. Furthermore he failed to state a theoretical framework or perspective within which the facts which he assembled could be understood.

[55]For more see: Colin Leys "Underdevelopment and Dependency. Critical notes" in Journal of Contemporary Asia. vol. 7, No. 1. Also U. Bappa; The Impact of British rule on Agriculture in Gombe Division 1900-1948. A study of Agricultural Underdevelopment.M.A. (History) Thesis A.B.U., Zaria 1988. pg 12; D. Nabudere, op. cit.; W. Rodney op. cit. chpts. 3 and 4.

[56]This model goes beyond the perspectives of study that E.W. Nteh; Le Vine T. Victor; J.V. Ngoh; T. Eyongetah and R. Brain (eds.) and Michael Crowder reviewed above, adopted. E.W. Nteh saw the impact of colonialism (German and British) as subjugating the local system of administration in Nsaw amongst others. Le Vine T.Victor saw the impact of colonialsim (German and French) in the direction of nation-building, eventhough with a eurocentric conception. While J.V. Ngoh's examination of the one hundred years of the history of the Cameroons (from the German - 1884 to the post-independent era - 1985) could be regarded as an attempt at bringing out the various forces and processes that contributed to the dependency crises of post-independent Cameroon. From these modes of analysis we have been able to conclude that the colonial experiences of the indigenes of Bamenda Division as part of southern Cameroons (under the Germans and the British) led to a dependent capitalist situation (by c. 1961).

Emeagwali[57] Walter Rodney amongst other scholars of this school (in the later phase of his life), provided a revolution to this historiography[58]. This was because he exploited the historical materialist mode of analysis[59]. In a nutshell she concluded that the historiography focused on the "... analysis of the interplay of forces vis-a-vis the Atlantic slave trade and the African continent, and its analysis of the mechanism of exploitation through which the expatriation of surplus was perpetrated in the colonial period. By virtue of this mode of analysis, it becomes possible to unveil such terms as 'international law', 'international trade', 'foreign capital', and 'development'. The subjectivist balance sheet approach to historical writing, what one may term the 'credit-debits' frame-work of analysis is exposed for being essentially shallow in perspective and markedly incapable of providing a meaningful evaluation of the colonial period"[60].

Moreover, using some colonial structures and institutions like education; agriculture; trade; and other areas of colonial exploitation, Rodney and the proponents

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[57]G.T. Emeagwali, "Alternative Perspective in the Reconstruction of the African Past. The case of Walter Rodney" she critically studies the works of W. Rodney from which she delineated two distinct phases in his intellectual development viz: the first is represented mostly by the work A Hisotry of the Upper Guinea Coast and the second by How Europe Underdeveloped Africa.

[58]W. Rodney op. cit. 1972.

[59]For more see: V. Krapvin, ABC of Social and political knowledge. What is Dialectical Materialism. Progress, Moscow, 1985. Also Z. Berbeshkina et al (eds.); ABC of social and political knowledge. What is Historical Materialism? Progress Moscow. 1985; K. Marx: The Holy Family; The German Ideology; Manifesto of the Communist Party; Capital; F. Engels: Anti Duhring; The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the state; G. Plekhanov, Selected Philosophical works (in volumes). Progress Moscow 1976.

[60]G.T. Emeagwali, op. cit., pg. 130-131.

of that model emphasised, that the colonialists introduced a new set of formal institutions which partly supplemented those which were there before[61]. So this further negates some of the claims of the Achievement school[62]. On the basis of this (structuralist) mode of analysis, we shall start by identifying the major socio-economic and political structures and relations of production in Bamenda Division from the pre-colonial period[63].

Some of the proponents of this dependency school[64] have been criticized of recent on the basis of their model which lack the class analysis; their evident national growth measured by the economics of some of the underdeveloped countries; amongst others[65]. Moreover, it is said that they down-played the relationship between the national and international capitalist forces, or better still,and that between the local and international capital.

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[61]See W. Rodney "Education and Black Struggle" in Harvard Educational Review 1974. (Quoted by Eneagwali op. cit. Also see the arguments of A.G. Frank and the Economic Commission of Latin America (E.C.L.A.) in Dudley Seers (eds.); Dependencey Theory: A Critical Re-asessment. Frances Printer Ltd. London 1981 pg 13-15, 51-57, 79- 87. Their arguments have made them to be identified as structuralists.

[62]For example M. Crowder op. cit; Also LeVine T. Victor op.cit; E.N. Nteh op.cit. They talk of "credit debits", negative or positive impact of colonialism.

[63]Of course the studies reviewed above on the colonial experience in the Cameroons began in this manner. However, their examination is too limited (especially LeVine T. Victor's) because of the use of a wrong perspective. As we shall see, their acceptance of some of the concepts of the colonialsit writers (anthropologists and administrators) such as the ethnic categorizations - 'tribes', 'natives' make them to be less objective in representing that past.

[64]For more see R.H. Chilcote, et al (eds.); Latin America, the stuggle with Dependency and Beyond. John Willey and Sons N.Y. 1974, pg. 1-46. Also S. Hodebeimer; "Dependency and Imperialsim, The root of Latin American Underdevelopment" in K.T. Fan et al (eds.); Readings in U.S. Imperialism. Porter Sergeant 1971; R. Palmer, et al (eds.); The Roots of Poverty in Central and Southern Africa. Heineman London 1977 (the Introduction); Dudley Seers, (ed.); op. cit. pgs 15-16, 55-57.

[65]J.C. Taylor, From Modernization to Modes of Production. A critique of the Sociologies of Development and Underdevelopment. MacMillan London 1979.

That the model further rejects the identity and contradictions of interests between the international and national capitalist forces and reject the possibility of class alliances in the anti-imperialist struggle[66]. These criticisms shall be taken care of. Nonetheless, their use of historical materialism is a major strength. Besides that, they globaly comprehend the phenomena in its structural and institutional form through history[67]. Moreover, through the model we can understand the root causes of today's problems of ruralness, poverty, and so on, that reign in the Division[68]. It also distinguishes capitalist dependency from the socialist.[69] To them also 'modernism' must be considered, together with factors like the nature of investment, volume of production, level of development of the productive forces, technology or research capability, and the nature of accumulation[70].

All these issues were confirmed by our findings in the study. So colonialism, instead of transforming the social economy of Bamenda Division towards complete 'modernization', created a condition of dualness as

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[66]U. Bappa; op. cit. Pg 22-23. Also Fernadez and Campo, "The Latin American Revolution: A Theory of Imperialism" in Latin American Perspectives vol. I No. 1 1974 pg. 32.

[67]Bjorn Backman, "Causes of Underdevelopment" Text of a Public Lecture delievered at College of Arts and Science. Bauchi 1979. Quoted: U. Bappa op. cit pg 17. Also Dudley Seers (ed.) op.cit pgs 16-18, 79-97, 181- 207.

[68]H. Berstein (ed.); Underdevelopment and Development. Pg 64-74.

[69]Guy Gilbert: "Socialism and Dependency" op. cit. Latin American Perspectives. 1974 pg 107-110.

[70]J. Petras and R. Rhodes."Imperialism and the contradictions of Development."in New Left Review Vol. 85. 1974.

explained earlier. That not withstanding, for any meaningful development to take place in the Division, we maintain that profound changes in social, political and economic structures, institutions and ideology be initiated by the government in the indigenes of the Division. These would provide the basis for socio-economic and technological growth. In this regard, some of the conclusions of the Rodney school such as the radical break from the international capitalist system are deemed not to be in the interest of this change process[71]. Instead, their arguments which relate to the need to change the present material basis on which exchanges take place between the Division in particular and the Cameroons at large (forming the underdeveloped people) and the capitalist nations (developed societies) should be fully accepted.

In this process a significant position should be given to the indigenous social, economic and political forces so that a strong socio-economic production base be created in the Division. This production base would cover agriculture, animal husbandry, fishery, mining, industrial manufacture, environment and so on, such that it would be strong enough to resist any alien penetration that is aimed at destabilizing the social economy of the Division like what happened in the pre-colonial period.

Given the nature of such a study, it is important to start by examining certain general features of the physical

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[71]Dudley Seers op. cit.; Pg. 81, 137-139.

environment of Bamenda Division, because human activities are not located in space. The interplay of man and his environment cause changes which constitute the subject matter of history.

1.5 The Physical Environment of Bamenda Division

1.5.1 Location

Bamenda Division was an important political and economic zone in British Cameroons. As part of the British Southern Cameroons, it is located at the point where the Long West African Coastline turns sharply south, to run down to the Congo and the Cape[72]

On the globe, it is found East of the Greenwich, approximately between longitudes $5^0 3'$; $6^0 5'$ and latitudes $9^0 5'$;'$11^0 0'$ north of the Equator.

The Division was the seat of the British colonial administration in the grassfield area. It was made an administrative unit (Bamenda Division) within the Bamenda Province, in 1935. This administrative re-organization engulfed the following areas of the present administration: Mezam, Momo, Bui and Ngoh'ketunja Divisions in the North West Province of Cameroon. Bamenda Division is surrounded by the following areas: French speaking (Franco-phone) Camerouns (formerly under the French domination) in the

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[72] Nigeria Southern Cameroons. Introducing the Southern Cameoons. Compiled by the Government of Southern Cameroons. Published by the Federal Information Service, Lagos pg. 8.

east and south east; Mamfe Division (of the South West Province of Cameroon) to the southwest. The northern border regions were administrative units of the Bamenda Province namely: the Wum and Nkambe Divisions.

1.5.2 Relief

Human activities of this region have over time been affected by the changes in the relief. Such human activities include: settlement; migration; communication; production; amongst others[73]. The region falls within the Cameroon mountainous system. This system (also known as the Western Highlands), include the following chain of mountains: Mt. Cameroon (Fako), Bamenda, Adamawa, and the Mandara Highlands, even though they are separated from each other by other non-mountainous structures.

Our interest in this system is the re-appearance of the crystalline rocks of the old granite and gneiss of the pre-cambrian era, having a cover of basaltic rocks on most of the surface areas. Moreso, it has higher and extensive mountain peaks with higher altitudes[74]. The system's fracture line begins from the Atlantic Ocean and stretches far into the country. The stretch moves from the south west-North west, linking with the Annobian Island, Sao Tome, Santa Isabel (in the sea); and on land with: mounts

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[73] G.P. Murdock (ed.); Africa, its People and their culture history. 1959 pg 5.

[74] Neba S. Aaron: Modern Geography of the United Republic of Cameroon. Hamilton Printing Co. New York, 1982. pg 14. Also K.M. Buchanan and J.C. Pugh (eds.): Land and Peoples in Nigeria. Hodder and Stoughton, London 1955 pg 20.

Cameroon; Kupe; Muanenguba; Bambotous; Mbam; Nkogam; Mbapit and Mandara. These structures together with other geological forces have contributed to the formation of the rich and cold crater lakes found in the Division, such as lakes Mbi; Bambili; Awing and Oku, which have attracted human activities over time. Such activities have centered around settlement and subsistence agriculture[75].

The altitude of the Division is relatively higher as follows: about 2,436.8m higher than the Mandara of about 1,218.4m; and other surrounding highlands. It is challenged only by the Cameroon mountain of about 4070m high[76]. Its lowest altitude is about 913.8m[77]. So the relief picture is one of much irregularity, which M.G. Bawden and I. Langdale-Brown described in detail in 1958[78].

However, the main ranges of this irregular structure are: the Bamenda mountain Plateau and the Oku Massif found north west of the Division. The Oku massif is higher, and is capped in places by tertiary basalt and trachyte lavas, though with some old granite and gneiss basement rocks[79].

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[75]Aaron N.S. Ibid. Pg 14.

[76]It is also known as the Fako or Buea mountain

[77]K.M. Buchanan and J.C. Pugh (eds.), op.cit 1955 pg 20. Also Robert Eugene and P. Ritzenthaler; Cameroons Village. An ethnography of the Bafut. Order of the Board of Trustees 1962. pg 10; M.G. Bawden and I. Lagdale-Brown (eds.); An Aerial Photographic Reconnaissance of the Present and Possible Land Use in the Bamenda Area, Southern Cameroons (Now Part of the Federal Republic of Cameroon). Dept. of Technical Co- operation, Directorate of Overseas Surveys, Forestry and Land Use. 1962 pg 1-2.

[78]M.G. Bawden, et al (eds.) Ibid. Pg 2.

[79]H. Tyre, "Geology and Landforms in the Highlands of West Cameroon" in S.N. Stuart, et al (eds.); International Council for Bird Preservation, Conservation of Cameroon Montane Forests. Reports of the I.C.B.P. Cameroon Montane Forest Survey. Nov. 1983-April 1984 pg. 16-17.

These features contributed to the high fertility of the land. The fertility increase West of Kimbaw, with bearing from the Oku massif because of the erosional and depositional forces that take place there.

The same irregularity continues in the Momo Division, with some hilly grassslands rising to over 1,827.6m. The tributaries of the Cross River and River Benue have been influenced by this irregularity[80]. In the heart of the Division, runs a rocky ridge (from the north-east to the southwest), which determines the drainage pattern of the River Mezam. Southwards, the ridge is broken by the river Momo which flows south-eastwards and eventually joins the Cross River System[81].

It has been suggested by F.A. Ngenge and others[82], that the Bamenda Plateau structure on the central part of the highlands in particular, has attracted human settlement and socio-economic activities since earliest time. That firstly, the plateau resulted from a split action probably through faulting, in the cretaceous period. Over time, the fertility of the Plateau increased because of sedimentation. It was this fertility that attracted human settlement; while the topography provided security to the settlers.

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[80] D. Thomas, "Vegetation in the Montane Forests of Cameroon.". Ibid; S.M. Sturat et al (eds.) pg 25-26.

[81] See Meta Clan (Bamenda Division), Intelligence Report by V.J. Johnson Assistant Divisional Officer 1935 pg. 8. N.P. 13563 - CSE 1/85/6710, N.A.B.

[82] F.A.Ndenge, "Focus on Mankon Outline Geography" in Yalla Bballa et al (eds.); Focus on Nukwi Mu fo Ndefru III Mankon Cultural Festival, 23rd-31st December, 1984 pg. 9-11.

1.5.3 Climate

According to Neba S. Aaron, the location of Cameroon, north of the equator, gives it all the characteristics of the Inter-Tropical climates. In this region, the climates are highly influenced by other physical environmental forces like: proximity to the sea; continentality; altitude and winds[83]. This was re-inforced by G.P. Murdock that the influence of the equatorial Guinea coastal climate leads to constant high temperatures throughout the year, heavy rainfall, high humidity, and the formation of very dense forests[84].

Like most countries in the Inter-Tropical Zone (I.T.Z.), it is hot with yearly temperatures varying from 20°C to 28°C, and increases as one moves from south northwards. The Division's altitudinal irregularity, together with insolation, cloudiness, precipitation and humidity[85], revolutionize these changes in temperature. The temperature stands at about 20°C largely because of altitude and radiation[86]. A combination of these climatic forces yield an annual average rainfall of about 2,596 cubic millimeters.

Moreover, the tropical type of climate of the Division consists of one wet, and one dry season alternatingly. The rain often comes with intense thunderstorms or line squalls

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[83] N.S. Aaron; op. cit. 1982 pg. 21.

[84] G.P. Murdock; op. cit pg 8-9.

[85] N.S. Aaron: op. cit. 1982 pg 21. Also Backbuin David Nzafas; Republic of Cameroon. Ministry of Agriculture, Divisional Delegation for Agriculture-mezam. Annual Report 1989-1990. pg 2.

[86] M. Tyre. op. cit. pg 19.

which are connected with the high altitudes; instability of the atmosphere at this time of the year; and the orogaphic uplift of the Monsoon air (from the Mt. Cameroon and Coastal region) to the Bamenda Highlands. The instability continues such that the region experiences higher rainfall than the neighbouring lowlands[87].

The seasonal changes in the Division are highly conditioned by the air flow from the north to south. The controlling forces of the air-flow are the Anti-cyclones of the Azores in the northern hemisphere and the Anti-cyclone of St. Helena in the southern hemisphere. These two high pressure areas converge to give the Inter-Tropical Convergence Zone (I.T.C.Z.). The sun's position determines the shifting of the I.T.C.Z. through pressure movements in the centres. When the I.T.C.Z. is in the south (-between November and February), the area experiences dry season. During this time, the north easterly winds (harmattan-heavily laden with dust and reduces insolation significantly), blow mostly hot and dry air picked from the Sahara desert. This period forms the heart of the dry season, but the winds actually start blowing in October till February.

By July or August, the I.T.C.Z. is found northwards above Lake Chad. The effects of the St. Helena anti-cyclones (S.W. Monsoon winds with warm and wet effects) start reaching the area. By September, when the I.T.C.Z.

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[87] Ibid pg 18.

is well entrenched in the north, the entire Division is invaded by the S.W. Monsoon winds; leading to much wetness.

The altitudinal forces cause variations in rainfall, but generally heavy and persistent. However, the regions of Ndop and Mbaw plains are relatively exempted from this heavier rainfall[88]. A close look at the rainfall situation between 1955 and 1958 justified this variation viz: In 1958 the annual mean was about 9,832.2cu.mm, but it approached 24,580.5 cu.mm in the west of the Division with the highest altitudes. On the Bamenda Plataeu region in particular, it was said to have averaged 17.042.48 cu.mm. In 1955, some administrative areas in the lower altitudinal areas had the following annual means: Mbaw-12,290.25 cu.mm; and Ndu-11,962.51 cu.mm. This meant a very distant dry season - between November and March; and the wet season occupied the rest of the period; but mostly between June and October[89].

However, around Babanki Tungaw and neighbouring hilly regions, by 1955, rainfall decreased to about 1,440cu.mm; in Bambalang (Ndop plain) it fell to 1,730 cu.mm. Evapotranspiration in general, was reported in the 1970s to range between 900 cu.mm; and 1,200 cu.mm; with the highest recorded on the Ndop plain, confirming our oral

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[88] Ibid pg 18; N.S. Aaron op. cit 1982 pg 23.

[89] M.G. Mawden, et al. (eds.); op. cit. 1962 pg 3. Also M.B. Gleave and M.F. Thomas "The Bagango Valley. An example of Land Utilization and agricultural practice in the Bamenda Highlands". in Bulletin De L'Institut Foundamental D'Afrique Nore. Serie B. Science Humaines, Tome 30. No. 2. April 1968 pg 656, 658.

information. Throughout the Division, fog is noticed especially during the dry season[90].

1.5.4 Soils

The combined forces of climate, bedrock, topography, living organisms, amongst others have determined the soil nature of this region over time[91]. The soils of the Division is a mixture of forested equatorial and the Azonal types. The Azonal is of recent creation.

A survey carried out in 1953, presented a broad picture of two soil types viz: reddish friable porous clays and sandy clays, about 1524.3m above sea level. The soils are well-drained, strongly leached, and of high humus content. The sandy soil form is derived from the volcanic rocks. These are more fertile than any other predominantly reddish friable porous soils. The sandy clays are derived from the granite complex in particular. However, considerable variations do exist in its depth and quality[92]. These variations have been indepthly quoted by Eden (1957)[93], as constituted of: lava and alluvial deposits. However, his analysis concentrated mostly on the Ndop and Mbaw plains.

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[90] M.N.V.D.A. Etude de FActibilite Pour Passage a 3,000ha de Rizieres dans la Haute-vallee du Noun. Tome 2. Contexte Nationale et milieu Physique. Etude effecue par la S.E.D.A. Yaounde 1976. pg 85-88.

[91] N.S. Aaron. op. cit pg 31-33

[92] M.G. Bawden, et al. (eds.) op. cit pg 5.

[93] Ibid pg 5-6.

In the mid-1970s, a survey carried out by the Upper Nun Valley Development Authority (U.N.V.D.A.) presented a more detailed analysis, because of their discovery of the soils' ferralitic and hydromorphic components. Generally, these soils have been attractive to the livestock industry because of the unique vegetation that have formed on them, even in the dry season. Moreso, under certain climatic conditions and altitudes, the ferralitic formations (humiforous) of the soil were also discovered to be very fertilizing and permeable[94].

Other forms of soils also discernible included the basaltic (formed largely through geologic and physical environmental actions). When these soils are dry, they become powdery with a rich dark chocolate colour; and when wet they appear to swell and inter-lock. These soils were also noted to have generated some vegetation that is rich for pasturization and farming. Next were the granitic soils of the reddish colour containing a high percentage of quartz. This was reported to be more open to erosion.

Particular examples of it were the orchard type bush; and the termite mounds said to be dangerous for the livestock industry[95]. On these basis the soil composition provides a basis for transhumance and the practice of shifting cultivation[96].

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[94] U.N.V.D.A. op. cit pg 63-64.

[95] Cattle Grazing in Cameroons Province 1935-1942 100068 vol. I. CSE 1/85/5079. pg 6-9. N.A.B.

[96] M.B. Gleave and M.F. Thomas op. cit pg 658.

1.5.5 Drainage

The Southern Cameroons is made up of a dense net-work of rivers, that are interrupted by rapids and waterfalls. Some of these water bodies are not permanent because they are small in size; and in the dry season they reduce in size or dry up completely. The water net-work throughout the region represents one of the major drainage systems in the Southern Cameroons. Most of its water drain into the Atlantic Ocean through Rivers Sanaga, Wouri (via its tributaries viz: rivers Nun and Mbam in the French speaking region); and the Cross river in the Nigerian Cross River State.

This drainage system presents a picture of a dendritic pattern eventhough with some radial around the south and western high slopes of mount Oku. A distinct rectangular pattern occurs west of the same watershed in the same granitic area of Oku[97]. Linked to the rivers and streams of the drainage system are the crater lakes of varying sizes. These lakes are located on the hill tops. The hills on which these lakes are found have very steep slopes[98]. The streams (due to the nature of the soils, relief and climatic conditions), are mostly fast running even on the plains. However, they converge at centre points mostly in the valleys. When these convergence occur a series of meanders occur such that the following major

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[97] H. Tyre. op. cit 1984 pg 17.

[98] N.S. Aaron. op. cit pg 34-38; 57. Also M.G. Bawden, et al (eds.); op. cit. pg 4; Yalla Kballa, et al (eds.).

river systems emerge viz: rivers: Bui; Mezam; Momo; Nun; Kimbe; amongst others. On the Ndop plain, the meanders result in seasonal swampiness.

The Bamenda escarpment is the main watershed from where the Mezam river and some of its most important tributaries take their rise. Its river valley is wider and deeper than its tributaries' because of the water volume; speed and the nature of the soil described above. On the other (north eastern) end of the escarpment is the Kimbe river. This river rises in the viccinity of Mt. Oku and flows north to Fonfukka where it joins a river which rises northwest of Shisong and they continue in combintion into river Katsina Ala, into Nigeria. South and east of the Kimbe watersheds occur a linkage between the Kimbe drainage and the Bui river. From the Ndop Plain into river Mbam (via river Nun), the following streams find their way: Sefou, Tantam, Tembou, Monkie and Meyem, Mbeye, Menoun, Chanke Nafoumba and Maouat[99].

In the Momo area, the hilly relief and stony ridges running from the north to the south east, determine the course of the rivers Mezam and Momo (the major drainages). Their watersheds extend through Moghamaw area and eventually join the Cross River System [100]. This drainage system therefore attracts human settlement and other socio-economic activities like agriculture animal husbandry, but greatly hinders the development of water transporation.

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[99] U.N.V.D.A. op. cit pg 92.

[100] See Meta clan (Bamenda Division) Intelligence Report. op. cit 1935. NAB pg 8.

Most of the springs of the Division especially those on the basaltic soils are free from salinity, except those of Babanki-Tungaw, which make the area favourable for cattle grazing[101].

1.5.6 Vegetation

The entire Cameroon has two basic vegetational zones viz: the dense equatorial forest and the tropical grassland. The region under study falls more within the latter. More specifically, it is the Sudan type, eventhough without a clear cut distinction from the equatorial forest. These mixtures have been influenced by the region's soil; climate; relief; and humidity. The diminishing precipitation further northwards leads to near Sudan-Savanna vegetation[102].

The 'Cameroonian type' climatic conditions (identified by Neba S. Aaron for the entire region), has together with other Physical environmental forces (especially the relief), conditioned a situation of vegetational freshness which has been attractive to the agriculture and livestock industries.

It was in this regard that H. Tyre (1984) suggested that the Division's vegetation (which is constituted of the mixed grassland and forest), evolves a uniqueness called "montane vegetation" and consequently the climate.[103] The

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[101] See Cattle grazing in Cameroons Province 1935-1942. Op.cit NAE. pg 9.

[102] N.S. Aaron; op. cit. pg 24, 29-30.

[103] H. Tyre; op.cit pg 15.

mount Oku (over 10,000 hectares wide), is a clear picture of this montane vegetation and resembles the East African Podocarpus montane vegetational type. Most of the plants species of the Bamenda montane area are however unknown in most recent botannical studies[104], but are highly nutritive and medicinal to human beings and livestock.

Other montane forests could be found at plateaus with altitudes of more than 2,000m (but with limited extension); and on the slopes - in narrow galories. It could also be found on the talwegs on the plains in the form of massive forests.

Most of the grass in the entire Division is of the prairie type, but it is often invaded by fern plants and herbs on the alluvium deposits. Raffia and elephant grass growths are also amongst the most common plants in the region. Their appearance have anyway been attributed to the entrenchment of human activities.[105]

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[104]D. W. Thomas; op.cit pg 28-26. Also Backbuin D. Nzafas; Ministry of Agriculture, Provincial Delegation of North west Divisional Delegation of Agriculture, Bui. First Semester Report. 1992/93 pg. 2-3.

[105]Yalla Eballa, et al. (eds.). op. cit pg 12-13. Also U.N.V.D.A. op. cit 1976 Pg 90-91; Great Britain Colonial Office; Report by Her Majesty's Government of the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland to the Trusteeship Council of the U.N.O. on the Administration of the Cameroons under U.K. Trusteeship for the Year 1948. H.M.S.O. London 1949. Pg 280-284.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 The Political Economy of Bamenda Division in the mid-19th century.

2.1 Introduction

A lot has been said and written by some anthropologists and colonial administrators about Bamenda Division in the mid 19th century[1]. The same issues that the earlier writers discussed have attracted some post-independent writers[2]. In most of these secondary studies about this region, the attempts at reconstructing the mid-19th century past have however been inadequate because of the uncritical acceptance of some colonialist perceptions about the indigenes' material and cultural realities. Even a few of the writers who attempted going more indepth into

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[1]See the works of P.M. Kaberry and E.M. Chilver: "Traditional Politics in Nsaw" in Africa Journal of the International African Institute vol. 24, No. 1 London Jan. 1959; "An Outline of the Traditional Political system of Bali-Nyonga Southern Cameroons", in Africa Journal of the International African Institute vol 31 No. 1 Jan. 1961 pg 355-371. "Notes on Nsaw History and Social Categories" in Africa vol. 22 No. 1 London 1952; "Land tenure among the Nsaw of British Cameroons "in Africa vol 20 London Oct. 1950; "From Tribute to tax in a Tikar chiefdom" in Africa vol 30 No. 1 London 1960. Also P.M. Kaberry Women of the Grassfield. A study of the Economic position of women in Bamenda British Cameroons. H.M.S.O. London 1952; E.M. Chilver "Traditional Government in Bafut West Cameroon" in Nigerian Field Vol. 28 No 1; M. McCulloch, "The Tikar" in Daryll Forde, Peoples of the Central Cameroons" London 1954; R. Eugene et al (eds.); Cameroons Village. An ethnography of the Bafut. Order of the Board of Trustees 1962; R.A. Reyher, The Fon and his Hundred Wives; S.B. Smith, Through the British Cameroons. But always as Friends, amongst others.

[2]See J.V. Ngoh, Cameroon 1884-1985. A Hundred Years of History. Navi Group Publications Buea 1987. Also LeVine T.V. From Mandate to Independence. Los Angeles 1964; T. Eyongetah et al (eds.); A History of the Cameroons. Longman Ibadan 1974.

that past remained very eurocentric[3]. Our emphasis in this section of the study is to attempt a reconstruction of that past from a more scientific outlook. This had been done by other (earlier) scholars in other regions of Africa that had some historic links with the people of our region - Hausaland and Borno[4].

Eventhough the colonial writers about Bamenda Division in the mid-19th century were guilty of those conceptual weaknesses mentioned earlier, they still brought out some information which testify that by the end of the 19th century (before the German interlude), the historical developments in this area of Africa had taken the dimension of the formation of states. This process was represented as involving a lot of military warfare and other external factors such as migrations, dynastic rivalries, slave raidings, migrant groups' petty jealousies, and so on. The 'hero civilizateur' conception was dominant throughout their analysis. Apart from that, the impression is given that these 'heros' came in different currents but mostly between the 17th and 19th centuries (the Tikar and Chambaleko migrations respectively). But there is hardly any indepth discussion about the original inhabitants of the areas that these 'aliens' met. Meanwhile in order to

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[3]J.P. Warnier, La sociologie de Bamenda Precolonial (Cameroon) P.h. D (Lettres) thesis, Univ. of Paris X, 1983. The anthropologists were colonialist largely because they did not see the societies as changing. Moreso, they looked at the socieites from the stand point of ethnicity hence they used concepts like 'tribes' and 'natives' in describing them.

[4]See Abdullahi Smith "The Legend of the Seifuwa: A study in the origins of a tradition of Origin"; A. Smith " The early states of Central Sudan"; A. Smith "Some Considerations relating to the Formation of States in Hausaland". all found in A little New Light. Selected Historical writtings of Abdullahi Smith. Abdullahi Smith Centre for Historial Research, Zaria 1987 pg 3-80.

understand the basis of the material, cultural and other economic developments that could be observed in the mid-19th century period, we must go back into that pre-Tikar past. Nevertheless, the scope of our study has limited us to the state of these societies in the mid-19th century. The state of the societies at this time explain to us that a complex system of political, economic, social, cultural and ideological mixtures had since taken place, and was still continuing right to the end of that century and beyond. We shall bring out these issues even though not in depth.

We have focussed our attention on the nature of the societies by the mid-19th century because, it gives us the basis for examining the different processes by which the German and British colonialists used in transforming the region in their interest. Against this background, the political economy of this region at this time was largely determined by the states social, economic and religious systems that had evolved in their processes of state formation.

2.2 The State Systems in mid-19th century Bamenda Division

The State Systems in this region have been explained in the earlier anthropological works from the stand point of ethnicity - either the Tikar or chamba-leko. This method of analysis was derived from the poor understanding of the process of states formation. For example, they largely neglected the nature of the societies before these

Tikar and Chamba groups came in on the one hand, and the influences that these "immigrant" groups exerted on the other. Also, their ethnic analysis is very shallow because it failed to take into consideration the ethnic inter-mixtures in the region; such that the states that emerged cut across the ethnic boundaries that they claimed.

By mid-19th century, large and centralized state systems such as Bafut and Nsaw had already developed amongst the Tikar dominated groups. Amongst the Chamba-leko dominated groups there was Bali-Nyonga. Secondly, smaller but centralized polities had also developed amongst the Tikar dominated groups such as those in the Bamenda Plateau; Ndop Plain; and the Chamba-Leko dominated groups in the neighbourhood of the French Cameroons - Bali-Kumbat and Bali-Gham. Amongst the Widekum groups viz: the Meta (menemo), Moghamaw, Ngie, Widekum and Ngoni (Ngwo) speaking people, the system was less advanced. So most of these people lived in fragmentary communities. The communities were in the form of clans, lineages and families. Nonetheless, amongst the Meta groups some form of political organization was emerging that attempted to bring together some of the different clans and groups under a single authority.

2.3 The Large Centralized Polities

Our analysis of the large centralized political systems is largely derived from the oral traditions, most

of which have been documented by the colonial anthropologists; and our field informants.

2.3.1 The Nsaw

By the late 19th century Nsaw's population was said to be about two thousand[5]. The polity was made up of about fourty five village groups. According to their tradition of origin, around the mid-17th century there was the encroachment into this region of some Tikar groups under their leaders (three of them) who were Princes. The groups were said to have left Rifem (in present day Bankim-French Camerouns). One of these Princes imposed his authority on the people of Kovifem (North East of Nsaw). The Prince later rose to the status of a monarch (Fon). Overtime, these groups engulfed other smaller bands of settlers around Kovifem. But the state system rapidly developed because of the need to resist the attacks that were coming from the Banyo area. These attacks were the hunt for slaves[6]. The clarity of this process is still to be reconstructed[7]. Nevertheless, our interest is more in the

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[5] P.M. Kaberry, op. cit vol. 24 1959. pg 368.

[6] Ibid pg 368. According to M. McCulloch the early Princes separated from the Nbam and Bamum. See M. McCulloch op. cit. pg 23. But he traced the origin of the 'heros' from Ngoundere and Borno. pg 20.

[7] From Kaberry's explanations the encroachment of these Princes to this region immediately led to the formation of the Nsaw state. She did not bring out this process, and later-on she said that Nsaw "prospered, multiplied and spread" over the surrounding area and were joined by small bands of settlers from the north west, south and east of Kovifem. Ibid pg 368. M.McCulloch said further that the bands that joined the to-be Nsaw groups were also of Tikar origin notably Nbaw, Nsungli, Ndop and Babanki. Ibid M. McCulloh. pg 23. Considering the above views it is clear that the descendants of the Nsaw groups (the earliest Princes) at Kovifem were certainly not the first settlers in this region of the Division. Also, they were not even the earliest Tikar groups to have come to this area. The

(continued...)

fact that by the mid-19th century Nsaw had developed into the largest polity in this part of the Division, with a centralized administrative system.

The centralized administrative system according to P.M. Kaberry developed more rapidly in the early 19th century when the Nsaw ruling authorities pursued their military expansionist policies. By this time also the capital of Nsaw had been moved to Kimbaw, in the heart of the polity. Through these wars and other socio-economic activities such as inter-marriages, trade and exchange, hunting and gathering, there was a spread of the authority of the Fon of Nsaw. Many of the groups that voluntarily joined Nsaw or Became allies to Fon-Nsaw (but retained a independent status) were given some status such as M'tar[8].

By the mid-19th century also, the socio-political system of organization had evolved to form three basic ranking systems viz: the Wiri-e-Fon; M'tar; and nshilaf[9]. The groups that were assimilated into the Fon's clan assumed the rank of duiy or distant clansmen. In this regard, three important sub-

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[7](...continued)
problem of dating also arises.

[8]m'tar were descendants of the groups who became voluntary allies of the Fon. The Leaders of m'tar in our period of discussion were lineage heads and they had the right to retain leopard skins, after first presenting the animal to the Fon. They were also under no obligation to give daughters to the Fons, provided that the mothers of these girls were neither from a servant lineage - nshilaf, nor related to the Fon at six generations' remove. See M. McCulloch op. cit pg 38.

[9]Wirin'e-Fon included the agnates and cognates of the Fon down to the sixth generations, together with lineages which had become affiliated to the Fon's clan.For example the Fai-O-Ndzendzef.Nshilafs were of a servant status. Their sons and daughters were of similar status. War captives were all of this status. For more Ibid pg 23, 38.

clans emerged which were largely regarded as being very important because of their role in the council of Elders (vibai)[10].

In the 1880s, Nkar, Oku-noni polities were subjugated by Nsaw. Nsaw also began extending into the Nsungli area and Bamum (though the Bamum defeated them), when the Germans came in 1906[11]. From the conquered polities, the Nsaw ruling authorities received some tributes. This process of expansion of Nsaw was consolidated by the demographic changes that took place in the society which conditioned some of the Fons' kinsmen, leaders of the clans and lineages to extend the sizes of their compounds. Later-on individuals moved out to form new settlements, mostly in the south and south western sections of Kimbaw, thereby putting more claims to lands[12].

By the mid-19th century also, Nsaw's historical experiences had made her to create a military institution for the pursuit of the expansionist policies of the ruling authorities[13]. For this reason tributary relations developed in favour of the Nsaw ruling class and became consolidated by the end of the 19th century[14].

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[10]These were Fai-O-Ndzendzef (from the Tang clan in the Nsungli area);Fai-O-Ndzendzef(from Nkaw)and Fai-O-Luun (from Kiluun).

[11]P.M. Kaberry, op. cit 1959 pg 369.

[12]M. McCulloch, op.cit. pg 23-24.

[13]P.M. Kaberry, op. cit 1959 pg 369-383

[14]Interviews with Pah Kimbaw Patrick; Mallam Yerima in Jakiri. Feb.13th 1993;Yah Casilia, Jakiri Feb.15th, 1993.

class and became consolidated by the end of the 19th century[14].

2.3.2 The Bafut

Bafut as said earlier, was amongst the large centralized state systems in the Tikar dominated region of the Division. The traditions of origin of the state system are varied[15]. But all the versions agreed that the Bafut polity was formed through some influences from some Tikar groups that migrated into this region from the same Mbamkim area. Their migration was of a larger scale than the migration in the Nsaw areas'.

By the mid-19th century, the instituting of a Fon had since taken place. This process as explained by R. Eugene; Pat Ritzenthaler and M. McCulloch, came as a result of a merger of some formerly autonomous village groups[16]. And before the German conquest the polity was made up of the Bambui; Bambili; Babanki (kidjom kitingo); Babanki-Tungaw; Nkwen (Bafreng) and Bafut itself. All these groups that

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[14]Interviews with Pah Kimbaw Patrick; Mallam Yerima in Jakiri. Feb.13th 1993;Yah Casilia, Jakiri Feb.15th, 1993.

[15]There is the version which states tht Bafut and Babanki both claim headship to the clan. That they moved from Ndop via Nsaw, Bikom then to where they are presently. In their movement, they absorbed (through wars) some Nidekum speaking people who had earlier settled in the region. The other more detailed version also states that the people left Ndop via Mbambari then to present day Bafut. For more see Eugene et al (eds); op. cit pg 15 - 17.

[16]For more see R. Eugene et al. op. cit pg 17-18; M. McCulloch, op. cit pg 21.

made up the Bafut polity were also said to -- have migrated from Ndobo and Bamiyam in the French territory[17].

By the mid-19th century the Bafut ruling authorities were said to have been collecting tributes from the subordinate groups[18].

Also an organized system of administration had been developed that was based on wards (quarters). These wards were varied in population and size, but the outlaying ones were more sparsely populated. Mambuh was said to be the largest ward while Bunoh was the smallest. Through the ward heads (who largely represented the different groups that were assimilated by the earlier Tikar groups), the Fon of Bafut could administer the people. The political system of organization in Bafut was said to have been very similar to that of Nsaw[19]. For example the system of stratification and settlement[20].

2.3.3 The Bali-Nyonga

Bali-Nyonga was one of the polities that were formed as a result of the migration into this Division of some Chamba-Leko groups from the Yola (River Faro) area. It is

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[17]Interview with Pah Tamakeuh, Bamunka-Ndop.February 20th 1993. The earliest of these groups in this Division were claimed to be the Babanki and Bafreng.But they were subsequently dominated by the later migrant Tikar groups.

[18]For more see M. McCulloch op. cit pg 22.

[19]E.M. Chilver, op.cit Nigerian Field vol. 28.

[20]For more see R. Eugene et al. (eds.); op.cit pg 21-32; P.M. Kaberry, op.cit 1959 pg 369-382.

to them as Dindin[21]. In about the second half of the eighteenth century they dispersed from Dindin due to conflicts between them and the Batta and secondly the Fulani. Famine was also one of the reasons for their dispersal. This dispersal made them to split into several migratory streams, some moving further south towards the middle Benue region while others moved southeast towards Tibati only to resurface in c.1830 in the Takum area in the middle Benue region due to further splits[22]. This last split made some of the groups to move south eastwards to the Bamenda highlands where they were later known as the Balis.[23] These Balis were said to be very good horsemen, who used bows and arrows in fighting. They entered the Division in the 1820s and by 1835 they were defeated by the Bafu-Fundong in Dschang.

This defeat led to some quarrels and further splits amongst the sons of Gawolbe who had died in the war. Seven groups emerged from that split, each under Gawolbe's son. What later became of the Bali states owe their origins from these seven Princes. The Princes were said to have made

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[21]For more see M. Hamman; The rise and fall of the Emirate of Muri (Hamaruwa) c. 1812 - 1903. Ph. D (History) thesis A. B. U. Zaria, 1983 pg 183-184.Also M.D.W. Jeffreys Afrika Und Obersee Sprache Fulferen.Hamberg 1963 pg 181.

[22]M. Hamman.Ibid. pg. 184.

[23]P.M. Kaberry and H.M. Chilver, op.cit. vol. 31, 1961. pg 356-390. According to these writers complex processes of migrations, dynastic quarrels, wars caused so many splits amongst the Chamba groups in the Adamawa (Tibati) area. Meanwhile in Adamawa region where they were settled, the following groups could be discerned amongst them viz: Chamba-Donga; Chamba-Leko; Chamba-Wom; Chamba-Mumbake and Kolbila. The origin of this grouping could be explained from the fact that the groups that the Chamba leadership from Yola (under Gawolbe) defeated, were assimilated under Gawolbe. Some of the groups that were assimilated included the Kefad near Ngou ndere and Tibati; Buti in Banyo; Tikali and Ti-Gawolbe (meaning Gawolbe's Ba Ti).

numerous attempts at establishing polities in the Bamenda grassland area[24]. Bali-Kumbat (Nep Kolbe) was amongst the earliest of the Bali groups to settle in the Division. Also Bali-Gham (Nep-Gayeba). The Bali-Kumbat were said to have defeated some of the earlier Tikar dominated settlers in the Ndop plain. After that the polity was located on the hills from where they waged wars against the Baba I, Bamessing, Bafanji, Bambalang and Bamali until the end of the 19th century[25]. These defeated Tikar dominated groups were made to pay tributes to the monarch (Fon) of Bali-Kumbat in the form of leopard skins[26].

Another Bali group (Princes) - the Bali-Kontan was said to have conquered three Widekum village communities viz: Baku, Kenyang and Mundum who were living around the area where the present Bali-Nyonga is found. This Bali-Kontan group was again attacked by another Bali-group led by Prince Nyongpasi. He assumed the title of a monarch (Fon) after gaining victory. Later-on, he became known as Fon Fonyonga I because he became the first leader or Fon of the Bali-Nyonga state. These Bali polities then embarked on programs of socio-political development that were very much similar to those of the polities that they met[27]. Indeed the size of Bali-Nyonga was so large that it

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[24]M. McCulloch op.cit. pg 20.

[25]M. McCulloch op. cit. pg 20

[26]For meor see J. C. Drummond-Hay, An Assessment Report on the clans or the Bandop Area in the Bamenda Division of the Cameroons Province. 1929. pg 39 - 51

[27]P.M. Kaberry, et al., op. cit 1961 pg 359-360.

extended as far as Nkwen (Bafreng) and the present day santa regions. Her boundaries were with the Mankon, Bafut and some Widekum groups such as the Menemo (Meta) and Moghamaw. She also shared boundaries with what later became known as the French Camerouns in this part of the region.

The nature of the Bali polities did not differ from each other. The difference was mostly in their sizes and principles of government[28]. Also Bali-Nyonga's development of a different language system - Munga'aka (a mixture of Mubako, some Tikar dominated groups' and Widekum communities languages), from the Mubako of the other Bali groups also explain some of the differences that existed between them. By implication the composition of the large and centralized political system of Bali-Nyonga was also the cause of this difference. It also made her political system more complex but closer to that of the Tikar dominated polities. We shall come to this later.

Just like the Tikar dominated polities, the Balis had fons who were known as Gai or Ga in all the Balis[29]. As we shall see, the system of entitlement (Tita); the government; and so on, were similar[30]. However, unlike the Tikar groups the Balis had not entrenched some institutions

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[28]Interview with Pah Tamakeuh bamunka-Ndop February 20th 1993. Due to the little information which we could gather from this informat, much of our knowledge about the nature of the polities was derived from the information on the Bali-Nyonga (Bani) polity.

[29]Ga or Gai was derived from Mubako.

[30]For more see P.M. Kaberry, et al. op.cit 1961 pg 364-370. Perhaps the only major difference was in the political and cultural procedures.

like the state cults (for the royal ancestors) worship. Also, the military arm of the state was stronger amongst the Balis than in the Tikar dominated polities. Further differences were found in the nature of the state offices; system of hierarchy; the nature of choice of advisers and personal attendants; administration of justice, amongst others. In the Bali-Nyonga polity the fon had more control over these matters[31].

2.4 The Small Centralized Polities

Amongst the Tikar and Chamba-Leko dominated areas of the Division there also existed some smaller but centralized polities. Their process of formation was also of the same pattern as the large centralized polities. So the difference that they had was largely in their sizes. As we shall see, their political institutions were largely similar by the mid-19th century.

2.4.1 The Mbem-Nsungli Groups

Very little information could be gathered about these polities. However, M. McCulloch said that the 'heros' who established these polities were also of Tikar origin. The date and the manner in which this took place were not given. The earliest of these groups established their base below the escarpment in the area formerly known as Ntem. But later on three main groups from the communities went up the plateau and settled there. This settlement soon

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[31]For more see Ibid pg 367-369. Also P.M. Kaberry op.cit 1959 pg 369-382.

developed to be known as wiya, Tang and war (all Nsungli speaking)[32].

By the mid-19th century, these Tikar groups had spread to as far as Mbem and Mbaw areas. The presence of the polity influenced the development of a centralized political system in this region. This was because Nsaw polity was said to have extended to this region and even engulfed parts of the Nsungli groups (bands) which had split off from the Mbwat group in the war polity. The groups that split off and were engulfed by Nsaw included the villages of Nkar and Djottin-Vitum and their off shoots viz: Dom, Din, Mbinon, and Lassin[33].

By the mid-19th century also, the Wiya, War and Tang polities each had a fon, who contested amongst themselves for supremacy. The Wiya polity had spread to include the following village groups: Kawnchep, Kup, Nyar, Nkang, Lu, and Ndu. The Tang polity was made up of: Tala, Binka, Tache (Touche), Taku, Tundip, Sina and Ngapu. Some of the bands that Nsaw subsequently engulfed left from the Tang polity. The war included: Nkambe, Kungi (Kawngi), Mbinsua (Binshua), Njap, Tsup (shup), Ntumbo (Tumbaw), Ndipji and Mbwat. Some bands were also said to have split off from the Mbwat and were engulfed by Nsaw[34].

The constant rivalries and competitions amongst the ruling authorities of the three Nsungli groups made it

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[32] M. McCulloch, op.cit pg. 20.

[33] Ibid pg 21.

[34] Ibid pg 21.

difficult for a large centralized polity to be formed from them which could rival that of Nsaw. So through out the mid-19th century Nsaw was said to have dominated them.

2.4.2 The Ndop Groups

Unlike the Nsungli polities, those of the Ndop plain were larger and more concentrated in their settlement pattern. This settlement pattern could be explained from the fact that they were amongst the earliest Tikar dominated polities to be established in the Division. This region also constituted the major route through which the subsequent Tikar groups penetrated into this Division. Apart from that, the high fertility of the soil in this plain on the one hand; and its relatively good topography on the other, attracted so many of the immigrant groups. Due to these reasons, it was difficult for a large centralized polity to be established from the Tikar ruling groups. Instead, the ruling authorities were in constant rivalries, competitions and wars, for the control of the land[35].

All the polities in this plain region (except the Bali-Kumbat and Bali-Gham) traced their formation from the influence of some Tikar migrant groups from Ndobo[36]. But the process whereby these Tikar groups came in is

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[35]Interviews with Pah Tamakeuh, Bamunka-Ndop, February 20th 1993; Mami Mary Njumoh, Bamunka-Ndop, February 18th 1993; Titoh Pauline Muentoh, Bamunka-Ndop, February 24th 1993.

[36]The name Ndop was derived from Ndobo by the British colonialists.

confusing, and does not form the focus of our discussion[37]. The migration took place in currents and by the mid-19th century the following polities had already been established: Bafanji, Bamessing (Nsei); Bamessi; Bamali; Bambalang; Bamunka; Bamunkumbit, Babungo, Baba I, Bangolan; Bali-Kumbat and Bali-Gham[38]

None of these polities was able to assert its dominance over the others eventhough they lived in constant hostilities[39]. Despite these tensions, the groups could develop for themselves well-organized systems of administration that were very close to those of Nsaw, Bafut and Bali-Nyonga. They developed the institution of a fon on hereditary basis[40]. The Fons had a lot of control in the economy, society and culture of the polities. The nature of centralized administration was such that the fons ruled through the lineage (clan) heads, who were organized in the form of wards or quarters.

It is interesting to note, that by the mid-19th century each of these polities had developed its own language system thereby, explaining the degree of disagreement amongst them. This situation also explained the complexity in their migration, and process of states formation. But J.P. Warnier noted that these language

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[37]See Footnote 35; Interview with Tahmoqohr Baba I-Ndop, June 13th 1993. Each of these informants claimed their various villages as the earliest settlers in the region.

[38]J.C. Drummond-Hay op.cit pg 15-58.

[39]Ibid; M.McCulloch op.cit pg 20.

[40]For more see J.C. Drummond-Hay op.cit pg 117-119.

systems (dialects and vernaculars) were mutually intelligible[41].

2.4.3 The Mankon Groups

Just like the Nsungli polities, little information was given to us about the Mankon polity. However, our informants[42] observed that by the mid-19th century Mankon had risen to the position of a 'confederacy'. The groups that made up this 'confederacy' were organized at the level of chiefdoms which in reality were lineage groups some of whom were part of the Widekum groups. This 'confederal' system of administration could be traced from the establishment of the authority of a Tikar group which subsequently brought under its control the communities which they met. This process also explained the formation of a Palace and the changing of its location to where it is presently[43].

The establishment of this polity also made it easy for the people to resist the pressures from the Bali-Nyonga polity at its neighbourhood. P.M. Kaberry and E.M. Chilver termed this polity in the mid-19th century as a city-state

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[41] J.P. Warnier, op.cit 1983 pg 21-28. Also J.P. Warnier, "Noun-classes, Lexical Stocks, Multi-Lingualism and the history of the Cameroon Grassfields" in Language Society vol. 8. Cambridge Univ. Press London pg 409-423. He termed these language systems as the 'Ring'-based on his linguistic classification. This system excludes the Bamunkumbit (which is a Ngemba lingustic group, Bali-Kumbat which is Mubako); and Bafanji (which is a noun vernacular sub-groups).

[42] Interview with Fon Angafo III Mankon Palace March 10th 1993.

[43] The Mankon traditional council held the view that the Mankon ruling authorities came from the 'East'-Sanyong, passing through Baminyam (Bangante) to where they are presently. Indeed the language system of these groups testify this (Based on J.P. Warnier's classifications see footnote 41).

eventhough they did not describe the nature of it[44]. Within this structure the Tikar groups could exercise their control over the following present day groups: Nsongwa, Chomba, Mbatu,some Santa groups like Akum, Nzong, Bafawchu amongst others. The institution of a Fon was established, who later became known as Pana'h. Subsequently, the political and socio-cultural system developed in line with those of the Tikar dominated polities especially the Bafut. The strength of this polity was measured from the mid-19th century when the people defended themselves against the powerful Bali-Nyonga[45].

2.4.4 The Widekum Groups

The use of the term "Widekum" is derived from the traditions of origin of the people that constituted these communities. So in actual fact Widekum itself was one of the communities. But from their oral traditions most of the polities in this region by the mid-19th century were said to have migrated from Widekum (Tadkon). A complex pattern of fragmentation had also taken place amongst the different groups[46]. The polities of Ngie, Meta (Menemo),

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[44]P.M. Kaberry, et al op.cit 1961 pg 356.Based on our discussion with Fon S.A.N. Angwafo III of Nankon (September 15th 1993), the 'city state' was portrayed as a compact settlement that enclosed the people's contact in a system of moats and river defences found in the territory today, such as the River Mezam drainage system.

[45]T.Eyongetah et al(eds.)op.citpg47.The Bali-Nyonga influences also influenced the present location of the polity.

[46]For more see P.M. Kaberry et al. op.cit 1961 pg 356-357. Also An Assessment Report on the Ngoni and neighbouring villages of the Bamenda Division. op. cit. pg 1-2; Meta clan (Bamenda Division) Intelligence report. 1935. op. cit.

Moghamaw, Ngemba and some others within the Ngoni speaking regions had already been formed.

The polities were more of clans in their settlement patterns. So authority lay in the hands of the clan and lineage heads. It was difficult for these people to develop a centralized administrative system and possibly a Fondom. Instead, the arrival of the Tikar and Chamba-Leko groups conditioned more splits amongst them especially the Meta (Menemo)[47].

Norms of political organization were borrowed from the Tikar groups by these communities, who were said to have lived in forests. Most of them did hunting, gathering and agriculture (mostly the production of palm produce). Crafts manufacturing and music were also well organized amongst these communities[48]. The communities were also said to have been the only purely Bantu-speaking polities in this Division, simply because the Tikar and Chamba-Leko groups did not engulf them into their polities[49]. The parts of these communities that the Tikar and Chamba-Leko groups subjugated differed a bit in their linguistic system, thus they became Bantoid or semi-Bantu.

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[47] Meta clan (Bamenda Division) Intelligence Report Ibi. 1935. Also Interview with Mrs. Fosah Deborah Bamenda, Aug. 17th 1993. The name 'meta' was the way the Tikar groups of Bafut referred to these people. It meant 'people who always disagree' thereby, explaining the pattern of political fragmentation which took place amongst them in the mid-19th century.

[48] For more see J.P. Warnier op.cit 1983, Part I. Also Robert R. July, Pre- colonial Africa. An Economic and Social History. Charles Scribner's Sons. New York, 1973. pg 126-127

[49] Ibid. J.P. Warnier, pg 21-28. Also J.P. Warnier, op.cit. Language Society vol. 8. pg 409-423.

The Chamba-Leko groups' incursions conditioned most of these communities to migrate further into the south and south western forest and hills of the Division (towards Mamfe Division). But team action developed amongst the Menemo and Moghamaw groups against the Bali-Nyongas who always raided them for land[50] and slaves.

In spite of the poor political relations that existed between these communities and the Bali-Nyonga polity in general, much intergration was taking place between them. But most especially between them and the Tikar dominated polities; in terms of trade, religion, inter-marriages and other socio-economic activities. Such as agriculture, hunting, gathering, fishing and crafts manufacturing.

From this brief examination of the states systems by the mid-19th century period, it is clear that the earliest communities in the Division were the Widekum (Bantu-speaking) polities. The Tikar groups' influence on them was earlier, than the Chamba-Leko. All these culminated in the formation of states which by the mid-19th century, were already well-organized save for those in the interior parts of the Widekum communities. On subjugation the Tikar and Chamba-Leko ruling authorities adopted and re-adapted the Bantu-speaking language systems of the various communities under their influence. Accordingly, their material culture transformed to suit the new demands, especially in the mid-

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[50]See Meta clan (Bamenda Division) Intelligence Report. 1935. op.cit. NAE. Also An Assessment Report of Ngoni and Neigbouring villages op.cit. NAE pg. 1-2,13-16; R. Eugene, et al. (eds.) op.cit. pg 9-20; B.N. Ndifontah, op. cit.

19th century when there were complex processes of intergration taking place[51]. The complex processes of intergration were further conditioned by increase in population and migrations. Islam also penetrated this region as a result of the jihads in the Fombina, Benue valley and Bamum regions. This religion was gradually becoming the state religion eventhough a monopoly of the ruling authorities. It was more entrenched in the Tikar dominated polities that were closer to the Bamumland. Through Islam also some state institutions such as retainership (Nchinda, Nchenda, enchindo) were consolidated[52].

The intergration process further led to the development of aristocratic institutions which we shall see later. These institutions formulated laws to take care of procreation, production and discipline. These evolved a system of education which was largely oral and exemplary - in the form of myths, folklores, folktakes, aphorisms, proverbs and so on[53].

To better understand the nature of the states by the mid-19th century, let us examine the nature of social organization and con-trol that the above-mentioned processes of intergration had led to.

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[51]For more see Soh Bejeng Pius, "The Signification and Role of Royal Symbols on Grassfields Politics" in Sohei Nada and Paul N. Eguchi (eds.);Africa, vol. 3, Senri Ethnological Studies vol. 15. National Museum of Ethnology Senri, Osaka Japan 1984.

[52]Ibid. pg. 268

[53]For more see: M. McCulloch op.cit. pg. 20-22. Also L. Todd., "Language options for Education in a multilingual Society Cameroon". in Kris Kennedy (ed.); Language, planning and Language Education. George Allen and Unwin London 1983. pg 161.

2.5 The Nature of Social Organization and Control in Mid-19th Century Bamenda Society

By the mid-19th century the polities of the Bamenda Division were organized under three basic levels of settlement and kin relationships. However, these settlements and kin relationships took a more dominant patrilineal basis. The various levels of the relationships exercised were: the family (household); the lineage (or clan) and the village. The settlements and social control also took this form.

At the first level, each married woman generally had her own house but which she occupied with her daughters and young sons. Under polygynous conditions the husband had a special dwelling of his own. He often shared it with his sons till they reached matu-rity. At maturity the sons took over a vacant hut subsequent to marriage. Authority at the household level was very patriarchal[54] with much emphasis on elderliness.

The next level (lineage or clan) was represented in the form of compounds, having varied sizes. They were larger in the centralized polities like in Nsaw, Bafut and Bali-Nyonga. In Nsaw lineage heads had the status of a sub-Fon. It was a similar arrangement in the Meta, Ngie and Ngoni areas even though there was hardly any supreme monarch in any of them. Each household fell under a lineage or clan[55]. By implication, lineages and clans had

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[54] E.M. Chilver op.cit. Nigerian Field.

[55] M. McCulloch op.cit pg 29. Also P.M. Kaberry op.cit. 1952 pg 10-12.

their heads and this was the highest level of social organization in those Widekum polities[56]. The lineage or clan heads distributed land (largely patrilineally) to the households. In most cases also, these lineage heads had spiritual, judicial and administative powers within the polities, and the state (in the case of the centralized polities) recognized them[57]. But as said earlier, the spiritual role of these lineage heads was not very pronounced in Bali-Nyonga.

The village was the highest level of social organization and settlement. It engulfed several clans or lineages. Villages came under village heads who had different nomenclatures as the dialects and vernaculars of the region varied. For example they were called Tantee in Nsaw, Mue in Baba I Ga in Bali-Nyonga (munga'aka), amongst others. In the smaller polities some villages assumed the sizes of wards found in the larger centralized polities. And the Bafut village in particular was made up of so many wards or quarters called nukuro[58]. The other village heads within the Bafut polity were responsible for the maintenance of law and order; transmission of the Fon's orders and so on. In this regard, they were often assisted by the lineage, clan and family heads[59]. Moreover, the village heads were mostly custodians of the land, but some

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[56] Ibid. P. M. Kaberry.

[57] P.M. Kaberry, op.cit. 1950, pg 311-312.

[58] R. Eugene et al (eds.), op.cit. pg 17-18, 146.

[59] M. McCulloch, op.cit pg 29, 31.

of them often exploited this role to extort labour and other agricultural surpluses from the farmers; even from the women[60].

In the Bamenda Plateau region we saw that some village groups had come together to form the Mankon confederacy having as its capital the Mankon 'city-state'.

Given this nature of settlement or social organization the role of the state could be explained from the stand point of the formation of a ruling authority for its administrative, cultural and socio-economic purposes. Interestingly, in the centralized polities the role of the state in this regard was more entrenched. And it was more complex in the Tikar dominated polities because the fear of the Chamba-Leko invaders and their influence in the region made them to develop stronger institutions, laws, norms and values for social organization and control.

The ruling authority that emerged from this system of organization was very complex because of the system of hierarchy which caused a lot of discrimination in the society to the extent that gender and age were so much emphasized[61]. To become a member of the ruling authority an indigene could inherit a state title or work hard for it. For example in Bafut (and the Tikar dominated polities of the entire Bamenda Division), the ruling authority consisted of the Fon, his family and a nobility (bukum).

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[60] P.M. Kaberry, op.cit 1950 pg 313-323. Also P.M. Kaberry, op.cit 1952.

[61] In Bafut elderliness was represented by the prefix or Ndegha; ta in the name of the persons in Baba I it was Sha'; and this system of respect and edlerliness was common in most of the polities in the Division.

The nobility consisted of some commoners that were raised to this high state rank by virtue of their services to the Fon and the existing bukum[62]. But anyone who was born into the royal family - bahantak (ba'anta' or ba'anta' bongie - children of the Fon's compound) automatically earned him or her a lordship or ladyship title. In Bali-Nyonga the system was similar. All sons of the Fon assumed at birth the title of Tita. But the female children had no such recognition explaining the position of women in that polity. And amongst the Titas, the office of someone who would take care of the royal family affairs also existed. It was known as Tita Sama[63].

Most of the bukum in Bafut were elevated from the rank of retainers (enchinda, ncinda)[64]. Such enchindas were said to have served in that capacity for four to five years during which they assisted the bukum at funerals particularly. After that period they were required to have acquired enough knowledge of the duties and rituals of that institution and the state entirely. Also, they were required to have accumulated the necessary compensations (palm wine, palm oil, plantain), with which they applied to become members of bukum. It was a similar arrangement in Nsaw and the Ndop polities[65].

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[62] R. Eugene, et al. (eds.) op.cit pg 111-112

[63] P.M. Keberry, et al, op.cit 1961 pg 364.

[64] R. Eugene et al, op.cit pg 111.

[65] See P.M. Kaberry, op. cit 1952. Also P.M. Kaberry et al. op.cit 1959; J.C. Drummond-Hay op.cit Para 64-69,180-1

The administrative system was one that produced a pyramidal structure of authority. At the executive level in all the centralized polities the Fonship was made a hereditary title. Succession was patrilineally based even in the Widekum polities. The Fons (monarchs) were called different names in the different language system viz: Fo; Mfon; Mfor; Afon; Mue'h and so on[66]. Fons controlled the overall political, administrative, judicial and religious powers. These functions often gave them some supernatural identity, with much unquestionable authority. Even their manner of dressing signified this[67]. In the Nsaw and Ndop plain polities the monarchs' land rights were only titular.

As said earlier, since succession to Fonship was hereditary, it means that the Fons' had their particular clans or lineages that were regarded as the royal lineage or clan. But due to the rivalries that often came about as a result of succession, the Bafut and entire Tikar dominated polities developed the post of deputies to the Fons. They had powers to act in the absence of the Fons. In Bafut for example, the highest of the vice-Fons was called muma, followed by ndifw[68]. However, these offices were absent in Bali-Nyonga. So also was the absence in Bali-Nyonga of the official hierarchy of councillors for

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[66]We shall prefer calling them Fons as we have been doing all along. We also consider a Fon as higher than a sub-Fon, sub-chief or chief.

[67]For more see Soh Bejeng Pius op.cit pg 265-266. Also P.M. Kaberry op.cit 1950 pg 308, 312-313; P.M. Kaberry op.cit 1952 pg 72-75; M. McCulloch op.cit pg 36-38

[68]R. Eugene et al. op.cit pg 112. Also E.M. Chilver op.cit Nigerian Field

the deliberation of civil affairs which was common in the Tikar dominated polities.[69]

In the Palace (Nted, Ntoh) various forms of stratification existed. We saw earlier that the Princes and Princesses in certain cases were given state (Lordship and Ladyship) titles. Other honourable positions that existed were: the Senior wives of the Fon who were known as Yesum or Yelaa in Nsaw[70]. Other senior positions included the Queen (Fon's) mother (called Yah in Nsaw;Mamfon in Bali-Nyonga; Ganua in Bali-Kumbat Mubakc-speaking Balis; and Ma'hfwe in Baba I)[71].

As authority descended from the Fon, the other powerful institution was the legislative body. This institution was occupied by the nobles, who always offered some form of compensations and gifts to the Fon. Indeed, this body was known as the council of elders. We saw above how one could become a member of it especially when such and individual was from a commoner position. In Bafut it was called bukum. Generally, the institution's role was an advisory one to the Fon. The members of this body were also the members of Kwifon - the most Senior State Secret Society[72]. In Nsaw this institution's members were called vibai and had their leader viz: Fai-O-Ndzendzef[73]. This

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[69] P.M. Kaberry, op.cit 1962. pg 367.

[70] M. McCulloch op.cit pg 36.

[71] P.M. Kaberry, op.cit 1961. pg 365.

[72] R. Eugene et al. (eds.), op.cit pg 112-113.

[73] M. McCulloch op.cit pg 38.

institution was not well established in the Balis because of the powers that the Fon had. But a miniature one existed called Ngu'umba (in Munga'aka or Bali-Nyonga) or Vomjana (in the Muba bako-speaking Balis)[74].

The majority of these Elders were drawn from the clan or lineage heads who in some cases like Nsaw were sub-chiefs. These councillors often controlled the religious judicial and administrative powers in the states and they often used these to either check the execesses of the Fon or in extorting some surpluses from the subjects[75].

The military arm of the state was most pronounced amongst the Balis as we mentioned earlier. Because of their late arrival into this region, the earlier settlers organized resistance against them, and this conditioned the Tikar dominated polities to develop very powerful military associations called manjongs. Even the Widekum polities developed related institutions[76]. The Balis' army was established on cavalry basis. Meanwhile, the manjongs were drawn from the ranks of retainers, or adult-youth in the different wards or quarters of the village groups which constituted each polity[77].

Next to the councillors were the retainers and other minor title holders. Most of them depended on their household efforts, the Palace and other nobles to earn

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[74]P.M. Kaberry, et al. 1961 op.cit 366-370.

[75]Soh Bejeng Pius, op.cit pg 269.

[76]P.M. Kaberry, et al. op.cit 1961, pg 360-363.

[77]Ibid. pg 361.

their living[78]. The minor title holders included officers like the Quarter or Ward heads known as tanukuro in Bafut[79]. Sub-chiefs in Nsaw were amongst this category, but a bit higher because they were members of the Ngwiron societies, (belonging to the councillors)[80]. Amongst the Balis, Quarter heads were directly appointed by the Fon and were called Nkom[81]

A closer look at the manjong- especially amongst the Tikar dominated polities presented an interesting picture. In the absence of any military operation, the members always met and drank palm wine or corn beer, while discussing amongst themselves. These societies each had a leader called tamando in Bafut; laf-mandjong and Ta-mandjong in Nsaw[82]. In the Ndop polities mandjongs were a replacement of missongong - a society of 'grey-beards' who once were defenders of their clans[83]. Unlike the other polities in the entire Division the Ndop states had some women's societies known as Fumbui (for the old women) and

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[78]E.M. Chilver, et al. op. cit. Nigerian Field. pg 17.

[79]R. Eugene, et al. op.cit pg 115.

[80]M. McCulloch, op.cit pg 39-40. The Ye-Ngwirong (mother of Ngwirong) had very few members of the Ngwirong. But the permanent members of the Ye-Ngwirong were: the Fon and the three topmost yibai (or councillors) and atanta.

[81]P.M. Raberry, et al. op.cit 1961. pg 368.

[82]R. Eugene, et al. op.cit pg 115. Also M. McCulloch, op.cit pg 41. The case of Nsaw was more complex because of the nature of its state system. The mandjong had two sections viz: ghan for the north and north eastern village groups and baa for the south and south eastern villages from Kimbaw. Membership was limited to the adult males. Sub-chiefs had their own mandjongs which were ultimately under the authority of the leading houses at Kimbaw.

[83]Related to them were the samba societies which role was purely social; Ngeri - another social society which consisted of the sons of the Fons. In Oku Ngeri was known as Nki. In Babungo it was called Nintai. For more see J.C. Drummond-Hay. op.cit. pg 78-79.

Njongo (for the young women). Many other societies existed[84]. In the Balis, Mandjongs were shaped in the form of Gwe or Ndanji (based on excellence in war). The Mandjongs all had their flagbearers who were called tutuwan in Bali-Nyonga[85]. Whenever the Fon was involved in any social gathering there was always a lot of hierarchy exhibited. So the Fon often used his position to appropriate surpluses like tributes, compensations and gifts from his subjects. Some cases occured when the Fons created sinecural offices and ranks for the purposes of acquiring surpluses. These were said to be most pronounced in Bali-Nyonga especially because the Fon claimed supreme authority which enabled him to appoint as long as he wished. And this was often well exercised because of the relative powerless nature of the legislative body in that polity. Also, the relative absence in the Balis of any formal tribunals for the administration of civil affairs and justice (like it happened amongst the Tikar polities) gave the Fons those powers[86].

Having seen in brief the types of polities that existed in the Division and their nature of social organization and control in the mid-19th century, a brief picture of the economic systems in this region by the same period is necessary.

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[84] Ibid. pg 79-80.

[85] P.M. Kaberry, et al. op. cit 1961. Pg 368.

[86] Ibid. pg 369.

2.6 The Mid-19th Century Economic Systems in Bamenda Division

Our analysis of the mid-19th century economic systems in Bamenda Division is largely concentrated on the period immediately before the German interlude. The systems described below explain the different modes of production of the people which were influenced by the process of states formation[87]. Even though this region might have manifested some uniquenesses from other regions through out Africa, it should not be exaggerated.[88] The modes of production were dependent on the physical environmental features and cultures of the people on the one hand, and the historical experiences of the different groups in the region on the other.

The development of communal living in this region from the 5th century A.D. and the later discovery of iron soon enabled the people to transform their physical environment towards the creation of utilities[89]. By the 19th century the people's productive capacities had developed such that some surpluses were realized.

These surpluses were realized in the agricultural, fishing, crafts manufacturing sectors of the economy of the region and its environs. Correspondingly, trade and exchange had also been generated. The artisans rose to

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[87] Barry Hindess; et al. (eds.); Pre-capitalist modes of production. Routledge and Kegan Paul London. 1975 pg Also K. Marx Capital Vol. I Progress Moscow pg 178.

[88] Barry Hindess; et al. Ibid pg 10-11. Uniquesness because of its semi-Bantu characteristic.

[89] Based on J.P. Warneirs's archaeological evidences. op. cit. 1983 Pg. 10 - 16. Also R. Eugene, et al. (eds) op. cit. Pg. 12.

priviledged positions because of the quest of the ruling authorities to control the trade in crafts amongst other surpluses that were realized in this grassland region.

Given these developments, the socio-economic systems evolved beyond communal hunting and gathering[90]. The agricultural practice that was gaining firm roots developed to be based on shifting cultivation. The rearing of livestock was also increasing because it was needed by the indigenes for subsistence and the purposes of traditional rites and sacrifices. Even the system of trading (long and short distances) had led to the development of some forms of currencies such as cowries, ivory, quills and so on. Nonetheless, these did not breakdown the basis of communal subsistence thereby, explaining the popularity of barter trade and the exchange of gifts. The subsistent socio-economic activities mentioned above correspondingly led to the development of music; systems of communication; art; and belief systems. All these developments were functional on different occasions and in the different spheres of life in the society[91].

In another context, we mentioned earlier that the role of the state in the mid-19th century society of the Division led to the formation of certain institutions in the society like the Retainers. These retainers were needed by the Fons or the Palace for the general services of the Palaces. This institution appeared to have come

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[90] Robert July op.cit pg 126-127.

[91] Ibid. Pg 127-128.

into existence during the process of penetration of this region by the different Tikar and later-on the Chamba-Leko groups. So the retainers by the mid-19th century were largely war captives, and they were regarded as slaves in the Palaces.

But slavery in general was reported to be most entrenched in the centralized Tikar and Chamba-leko dominated polities. This was described by a British colonialist in the Ndop region[92]; that slaves were "... captured in raids and forays and the males were more often children than grown men, the latter being put to death. The female slaves were married... were probably the main cause of the raids, owing to the exogamous characteristics of the clans. The male slaves were the property of the chief who gave them to his followers as rewards. They might be sold and it is said that of old their price was twenty pieces of Munshi cloth"[93]. Slaves were not allowed to enter the compound of the Fons or belong to the Nguumba, kwifon, Ngwirong and other such state societies in the Division. But they could belong to other lower ranked societies.

We could also observe that the international slave trade that had long been going on between Africa and the western world on the one hand, and the establishment of the German plantations in the coastal region of Kamerun in the

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[92]The significance of the Ndop region in explaining this economic system is because it was the melting point of all the groups (Tikar, Chamba-Leko and original Bantu-speaking communities) that were found in this Division.

[93]J.C. Drummond-Hay, op.cit 1961. Pg 361.

later part of the 19th century on the other, also conditioned the practice of slavery by the ruling authorities of this region. Reporting on this, the German traveller in this region (Eugene Zintgraff) said about the slavery system in the mid-19th century; that as a result of the Chamba-Leko (particularly the Bali-Nyonga) influence in the Division, a cavalry army was organized by the state for raiding slaves from the Widekum communities for exchange for guns; gun powder; salt; cloth; etcetera, which were coming from the coastal Cross River (Nigeria) and River Wouri (Douala-Cameroun) regions. In this regard, slave markets were established near Sabe (in Mamfe Division); Bamenjida near Bagham (in the neighourhood of the Division) and the Widekum regions[94]. These therefore constituted some of the collecting centres along the internal slave route net-work across this part of the western grassland. Moreover, colonial reports and our field informants further testified to this[95]

The above slave mode of exploitation notwithstanding, the polities ruling authorities further evolved other modes of surplus appropriation which they controlled. The Fons in particular benefitted most from this system of exploitation. These modes of exploitation existed in the form of compensations, gifts and tributes. The

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[94]P.M. Kaberry, et al. op.cit 1961. Pg 361.

[95]Interviews with: Mami Njumoh Mary Bamunka-Ndop, February 13th 1993 and Pah Tamakeuh, Bamunka-Ndop, February 20th 1993. Also Great Britian colonial office; Reports by His Majesty's Government of Great Britian and Northern Ireland to the League of Nations on the Administration of the Cameroons under British Mandate for the Years 1922-1935. H.M.S.O. London

compensations and gifts were very important during the process of creating and maintaining the ruling authorities in the polities. Most of the compensations and gifts that the Fons collected from the entitled persons were in form of foodstuffs, crafts, livestock or simple currency like cowries and ivory which were amongst the most valued currencies. The administrators and nobles were always said to have sent these gifts to the Fons[96].

Tributes were also sent to the fons by the subjugated clans, lineages or polities. An example of this existed between the relationship of the overall fon of Nsaw and the sub-chiefs or clan heads[97]. It was similar in Bali-Nyonga, Bafut and the Ngoni area. In-lawship was also another source of tribute accumulation for the ruling authorities. The system of tributes was so complex that it led to the creation of some state institutions for that purpose on the one hand, and even generated wars between the states on the other. Similarly, the collection of compensations for the use of royal lands led to rivalries and tensions amongst members of the ruling authorities, especially the Fons against the councils of elders.

These forms of exploitation did not break the bonds of communal living and production. However the communal and other systems of production could be better seen in the way

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[96]Great Britain Colonial Office 1930 HMSO London 1931 pg 39.Also An Assessment Report on the Ngoni and neig-hbouring villages.Bamenda Division. op.cit1930 NAE; M. McCulloch op.cit pg 29-31; Yalla Ibalia et al.(eds.)Focus on Nukwi Nu Fo Ndefru III.1984 pg22-24; R.Eugene et al op.cit pgs106-107;113-115; P.M. Kaberry op.cit 1960 pg.1-19.

[97]P.M. Kaberry et al 1950 Ibid pg 307-323; P.M. Kaberry et al op.cit 1960; M. McCulloch.pg 43

land was owned and controlled, labour was organized, and so on. In all these the state had a lot of influence.

2.6.1 Land Ownership and Control in Mid 19th Century Bamenda Division

We saw above how land was one of the most important reasons for the formation of states in the Division. Even within the states the ruling authorities further struggled to control the land resources. However, land was important for agriculture, hunting, fishing, settlement, crafts manufacturing; amongst others. Due to these reasons, the land tenure system evolved to be fundamentally communal, even though with some royal and tribute holdings.

The colonialists met the land tenure system on a patrilineal basis of control. The land was placed under the household, lineage or clan heads by the state.[98] Each family as a constituent of a lineage (clan) had the right to land. So ownership was transfered to the offsprings on ascriptive basis. This took place largely when the male offspring was getting married and needed land. In this case therefore, land constituted the basic form of property, status and prestige.

However, a slight difference occured in the Ngoni area. Here, land was not divided (on the death of a land owner) equally amongst the sons (offsprings), but based on

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[98] M.B. Gleave et al. "The Bagango Valley. An Example of land utilization and agricultural practice in the Bamenda Highlands" in op. cit. pg 665- 666. Also P.M. Raberry op.cit 1952; M. McCulloch op.cit pg 37-43; R. Eugene et al op.cit pg 21-22; 105-115; P.M. Raberry op.cit. 1959 pg 366-369; P.M. Raberry et al op.cit. 1960.

the number of wives that the deceased land owner had. So a wife with more children was liable not to have more or enough land for herself and the children than that with fewer. So this was the situation with polygynous marriage. This could have accounted for the relatively low population growth that was found in this region, when compared with the Tikar and Chamba-leko dominated areas. However, it was reported by the colonialists that by the time of their incursion, this tenure system amongst the Ngoni was not so rigid[99].

Moreover, the development of a monarchical system of government and social stratification, transformed the basis of land ownership to include other forms of private ownership. In this case, it existed either individually or collectively. Nonetheless, the communal ownership dominated, and all land was in principle, under the control of the Fons, who administered them through their administrative officials like the quarter, ward, or village heads; lineage (clan) heads; Sub-Fons and some entitled nobles of the society. Local laws and customs were developed, prohibiting the sale or pledge of land, but made it possible for easy transfer from one noble to another. Under this arrangement, the right to perform sacrifices to a local god of the earth or other anscestors was also transfered. Only these nobles could own large tracks of

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[99]See An Assessment Report on Ngoni and the Neighbouring villages. Banenda Division op.cit NAE pg 55-56.

land or be designated to do the transfers. Most of the nobles were those who controlled the state power.

Similarly, land could also be distributed to non-lineage members, but only after having first considered the interest of the immediate lineage and dependants to come. In the same way settlement on any land within a polity by an outsider (stranger), was to be permitted by the Fon through his administrative officials.

On land use, the Fon reserved some lands for himself and the royal house for hunting; grazing; water supply; tapping; and farming. The rest of the land was divided amongst the lineages, sub-Fons, quarter heads or other administrative officials for custodian purposes. Some nobles began using their titles and socio-political positions to extort more land from the lineage heads lower title holders or indigenes who did not have it at all. Of all the economic activities, agriculture appeared to have been the most dominant. This enabled the cultivation of some dominant crops, that the colonialists met such as staple crop viz: maize, cocoyams, guinea corn (Sorghum), finger millet, bullrush millet, tubers and roots such as yams, 'rizga' (Coleus dozo), groundnuts (bambara), plantains, etcetera. The women did most of the farming and cultivation, with careful selection of sites. There was also much inter-planting and double-cropping of these crops.[100]

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[100] M.G. Bawden, et al (eds.); An Aerial Photographic Reconnaissance of the present Past and Possible land use in the Bamenda Area, Southern Cameroons. Dept. of Technical Co-operation, Directorate of Overseas Surveys, Forstry and Land Use. London 1962. Pg. 6.

By this period also, grazing land was also reported to be common throughout the Division. This was because of the arrival of some pastoralists and nomads who subsequently settled on the hills and began engaging in some minor transhumance practise. The local people also reared some small stocks of livestocks like sheep, pigs and fowls.[101] These livestocks were used largely for sacrifices; state fines; ceremonies; house-building occasions; honour of special visitors; amongst others.

The land reserved by each lineage as common land had planted on it kola-nuts trees, raffia and or palmtrees, or allowed to be forested with trees and grass for other purposes of subsistence like hunting, building, and collection of firewood for fuel. Such (unplanted) common lands were mostly common in the widekum, Ngie, Ngoni and meta areas,[102] probably because of their relatively lowly populated nature and lag in the development of crafts technology which would have exploited a lot of these resources. Besides that the area was naturally more forested and hilly than the Tikar and Chamba-leko dominated areas. The small groups that inhabited the area concentrated more on hunting and agriculture. This made them noted for palm-oil production, attracting long distance traders form all over the Division.

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[101] Ibid. Pg. 6-7. Also H. Frye "The climate of the Highlands of West Cameroon" in S.N. Stuart et al (eds.): op. cit. 1984 pg 7-8 .

[102] See An Assessment Report of the Ngoniand Neighbouring villages ... op.cit. NAE pg. 16-18; Also P.N. Kaberry op.cit 1952 pg 38-59.

Kola-nut trees predominated in Nsungli, Nsaw and neighbouring polities, while the raffia occupied most of the Tikar dominated polities[103]. Most of the tree tops and forests were reserved as wastelands, open to everyone. They were hardly used for settlement or farming, except during wars, and it influenced the location of some state capitals (palaces) on them. We learned here that this occured mostly in the 19th century because of the Chamba-leko incursions. In most cases, the unsettled land was used for hunting, and from them, grass was obtained for thatching of indigenes house roofs.

The indigenes increasing participation in agriculture developed to the extent that a farming cycle was evolved. This cycle served as a calendar to the people. In this regard, an eight days calendar was followed. This also constituted the basis of counting. The sun, moon, and seasonal changes were used in reinforcing this calendar system. With regard to the farming cycle, it began at the close of the rainy season (November). During this period, the clearing of the bushland and old cornfarms took place. This continued until December. By January, the harvest began for the earliest crops like finger millet and guinea corn. By mid-February, crops like yams were cultivated in anticipation of early rains - before April. After yams, maize followed. So at this level, inter-cropping evolved.[104]

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[103] M. McCulloch, op.cit pg 26

[104] R. Eugene, et al. op.cit. Pg 73-76, 142-143.

This system of farming introduced some considerable tilling especially on the relatively level lands. On the plains of Ndop and Mbaw the Swampy nature of the soil limited the tilling to mere shallow digging of planting holes. In some cases bush-burning was involved. This bush-burning was in two forms: the 'nchanchi' and the so called slash-and-burn technique, in which cultivated land was cleared and burned. The ash in all these forms provided the basis for fertilizer.[105] In view of this system, shifting cultivation was getting very popular throughout the Division.

Similarly, the farming tools were also said to be very rudimentary.[106] So the tilling and digging were hardly deep enough. However, in continuation with the farming cycle, yams weeding began by April and between May and June the later food crops were also weeded. By July the second weeding began. Immediately after that harvesting began. The earliest crop that were harvested was maize which were first stored in the farms to get dried before they were taken to the homes.[107] No fear of theft was entertained because of the decency of most of the communities on the one hand, and the level of self-sufficiency that each household had attained on the other. It was also because of

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[105] P.M. Kaberry, op.cit 1952 pg 38-59.

[106] This should not lead us to P.M Kaberry's conclusions (in her calendar system) that between April and May there was much hunger due to food shortage. It further contradicted with the farming cycle which we have For more Ibid.

[107] M. McCulloch op.cit pg 26. Also R. Eugene, et al. op.cit pg 73-75

some possible sanctions like charms which the state recognized.

After maize harvest the ridges and 'nchanchi' plots were again hoed for the dry season crops like guinea corn, spinach, cow peas, amongst others. Between October and December, the yams and other crops were harvested. So this process continued.[108]

At this juncture, state control over agriculture also constituted another feature of this system of production. This often occured when the Fons were involved. Their involvement came in when they issued some oral permits from December for harvesting to take place. This practice was more particular with the Ndop polities and Nsaw.[109] Similarly, when the rains arrived the Fons performed the same roles before cultivation began. The
Fons also moderated the supernatural beliefs concerning agriculture as described. Meanwhile, the system was continuous such that the indigenes were always engaged in either farm work, or doing harvesting, planting, weeding or tilling and son on. The crops were planted in different periods thereby, leading to some food self-sufficiency for reasons like good harvest, soil fertility and enough rainfall.

The farming cycle also provided for rest days and months, similar to the notion of the traditional Sunday.

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[108] P.M. Kaberry op.cit 1952 pg 60.

[109] Ibid. pg 32-33.

Such days were reserved for sacrifices, ceremonies, visits, trade and exchange and other socio-cultural activities.

In another light since the wastelands were owned by the state, the artisans often exploited their raw materials from there. The search for the raw materials was hardly done on individual basis because most of it was collected on the rest days when so many people were relatively free. However, the state further manifested its control in this sector by requiring that some compensations be paid to the Fon (or palace as it was commonly put) by the craftsman or the custodian of that land, for the raw materials collected.

More compensations also went to the Fons through the custodian nobles of the wastelands because of their private use of them. After any harvest it was expected that some quantity of the foodstuff be taken to these custodians (or directly to the palace or sub-Fons) by the indigenes who were exploiting the lands.

Apart from that, communal huntings were often organized for the Fon (Royal House); and at times for some title holders. These huntings took place also on the wastelands.[110] On individual hunt, any powerful or strange game caught such as lion, tiger, elephant, and so on, was regarded as a property of the palace. In return for that catch, the hunter was honoured with a title. This title conditioned him to always present some gifts to the palace.

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[110] M. McCulloch op.cit pg 27.

From the forgone description of the system of land ownership, control and utilization in the Division in the mid-19th century, it could therefore be said, that the agricultural and crafts manufacturing sectors of the economy occupied most of the indigenes. However, these did not entirely satisfy the indigenes livelihood, hence they involved themselves in other economic activities such as hunting, tapping, fishing and so forth. All these socio-economic activities contributed to the subsistence and exchange systems that emerged in the region. The complex material culture, and society which the colonialists met also had their origins from this basis. Moreso, the ruling authorities also got surpluses from these economic activities.

2.5.6 The Oganization of Labour

The extent to which the people of this Division in the mid-19th century could build a complex material culture; society; and surplus for exchange (or the maintenance of self-sufficiency and subsistence), depended also on their capacity to work. These standards were attained because the people worked both individually and collectively.

Labour was mobilized through various forms of organization and systems of control which were very pronounced in the agricultural, crafts manufacturing, fishing and hunting sectors of the economy.

An important form of labour organization was collective labour which consited of teams made up of

friends, family members, kins or neighbours. It was usually lively and full of singing; with interrupting conversations, jokes and laughter.

A very common feature of labour which emerged was the rotationary system, or 'ndjangi' labour practise. Such a form of labour was hardly paid for. May be the only payment was food. The system required that the work teams would work on the members' farms; or any other economic activity on rotational basis. So the membership and arrangements were largely voluntary and strictly adhered to respectively[111].

That aside, slave labour was also practised. We saw how the slaves evolved in he state systems in the Division. However, slave labour was well-entrenched in the form we described above only in the areas where the Tikar and Chamba-leko groups imposed their dominance[112]. Nevertheless, the position of the slaves in the mid-19th century should not be exaggerated for, considering the mode of acquisition, their number, their treatment, privileges and general material conditions of living in the polities, they were largely regarded as Royal domestic servants, messengers and at times ordinary citizens. These often explain why these slaves hardly constituted a class in the society.

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[111]Interviews with Pah Tamakeuh, Bamunka-Ndop. February 20th 1993; Also Yah Casilia, Jakiri. February 15th 1993.

[112]Soh Bejeng Pius op.cit 1984.

Accordingly, slaves (retainers) were often set free or given titles (for example members of the council of Elders bukum, Ngwirong, Ngumba, etc) when their tenure of service expired. Their roles were often limited to security, defence and some light manual work. Nonetheless, by the time of the German conquest, some organized slavery was practiced in the Division in certain markets[113] in the Ndop area like tahngoh.

Given this system of slavery, we cannot dismiss the possibility of labour exploitation by the ruling authorities who controlled power and wealth in the polities of the Division. As a consequence, some sub-Fons, lineage or clan heads could also have owned slaves in the middle of the 19th century, especially in Nsaw.

On the other hand, in the crafts industries like smithing, weaving, pottery, wood carving and so forth, the communal labour type dominated[114]. This took place in form of guilds. In the guilds, some form of stratification was said to have developed which was based on experience in service. So there were the following relationships; master-servant where the norms of ownership, control, age

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[113] Interview with: Pah Tamakeuh, Ndop February 20th 1993. Also Mami Njumoh Mary, Ndop February 15th 1993.

[114] M. McCulloch, op.cit pg 27. Also R. Eugene, et al. op.cit pg 79, 88-98. Indeed in the entire Tikar dominated polities in general the women were said to have organized their own crafts industries. These industries included basket making (out of raffia palms and cane) pottery; textiles; weaving, dyeing and so on. The men were specialists in wood-carving, iron making, bag and cap weaving. Other men specialized in cup carving (out of buffalo horn). The same men did the smithing out of which knives, kegs, flints and steel fire making sets, razors, nails, hoes (mattocks) and spears were made. The textiles, bags and carved wood were also said to have been well coloured, while the textiles and bags in particular, were well embroidered.

and skill counted. Then there was the servant-servant relationship. In this latter case some specialized duties or functions evolved. Thus there were specialized transporters (carriers who were mostly the apprentices or people with knowledge of crafts manufacturing); and a few suppliers of the raw materials. An apprentice could work with his master on permanent basis. In some cases he inherited the industry on the death of his master, especially when the deceased had no offspring to continue with the profession[115].

In as much as we cannot say whether these forms of labour were cheap or forced (because they operated within the confinement of the socio-economic systems described above), the possibilities of labour exploitation cannot be dismissed. The masters, earlier or more experienced apprentices must have exploited the servants and fresh or less experienced apprentices respectively. Or the carriers must have exploited the producers by giving them a wrong image of the market situation. However, due to the involvement of the ruling authorities and the state in this sector of the economy, crafts manufacturing became very lucrative. The artisans began producing goods that were to the taste of the state and ruling authorities. These ruling officials in turn engaged themselves in accumulating the crafts manufactures especially in the Palaces and Shrines.

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[115] R. Eugene, et al. Ibid. Pg 92-94.

In this regard, the socio-economic systems and activities evolved a system of division of labour and specialization in all the sectors of the economy. We have seen how the crafts industries were organized on this basis. However, in the agricultural sector it was a bit minimal. Division of labour was influenced by age, sex and skill[116]. Moreover, there were other professions that were purposely for the men like tapping, trading, and so on. Threats to farms and crops in the Ngoni and neighbouring forested areas conditioned mostly the men to set up safeguard methods like fencing round the farms[117]. On the other hand, most of the weaving, farming, pottery were done by the women while the smithing and hunting were done by the men. Occasions like the construction of houses involved both sexes and all the age groups. On the basis of age, most of the hard work was done by the middle aged while the young and the elderly (aged) either did the milder and less energetic work, or they depended on the middle aged.

Similary, the control of politics and religion laid principally under the control of the male, particularly those of the ruling structure[118].

2.6.3 Development of Trade

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[116] P.M. Kaberry op. cit. 1952. Also M. McCulloch op.cit pg 26-27.

[117] R. Eugene, et al (eds.); op.cit. Pg 74-76.

[118] J.C. Drummond-Hay op.cit pg 65-79.

We also found out that the development in agriculture had made certain crops to serve as the most principal items of trade. These included palm produce (especially palm oil)[119]; and kolanuts. In this regard they were distributed by each lineage head to the families under him. The subjects and custodians of state lands in turn supplied the Palaces with these. After distributing these to the households and Palace, the rest were exchanged either as gifts or as barter items to other areas in return for what they did not have[120]. It was as a result of this that kolanut trade emerged to be very popular throughout the Division, extending right into Nigeria in Yola, and Ibi. These patterns of exchanges soon evolved a dense net-work of trade (long and short-distances) whereby foodstuffs were at times exchanged for guns, or other iron implements[121].

Due to the factor of trade, certain centres emerged as major commercial centres. These included: Babungo, Babanki-Tungaw, Bafut, Mankon, Bamessing, Widekum, Ngie and the Meta areas[122]. The trading centres in Ndop and the Bamenda Plateau were popular for their crafts manufactures, while those of Ngie, Widekum and Meta were also noted for palm oil. The Nsungli (Ndu) and Nsaw regions were popular for honey and kolanuts. So these specializations promoted

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[119] R. Eugene et al (eds.) op.cit. Pg 82-84. Also An Assessment Report of the Ngoniand Neighbouring village op.cit

[120] Interview with Nami Njumoh Mary Feb. 18th 1993.

[121] Talla Eballa, et al (eds.), op.cit. Pg 16.

[122] R. Eugene, et al (eds.); op.cit Pg. 88-94.

the exchange systems such that the currency trade was fast dominating barter exchange. Even amongst the currencies, cowries and ivory appeard to have been the most valued ones in the Division[123]. The oral traditions even testified that the demand for these currencies in the Division influenced the establishment of village or regional markets[124]. The markets were partitioned on commodity basis[125].

All these developments made the artisans to evolve a system of communicating the values of the society in their craft manufactures such as wood carvings, ceramics, smithed implements, embroideries and textiles[126]. The symbols that were developed were deep-rooted from the ethno-cultural and historical backgrounds of the peoples. So most of them were preserved in the Palaces. Moreover, from the symbols, a system of communication was also developed that was based on signs and drawings. The most common of these were the drum and gong that had linguistic, authority, emergency and diplomatic functions. These were all incorporated into the religious system of the indigenes[127]

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[123]Yalla Eballa, et al. (eds.); op.cit. Pg. 18-20.

[124]Interview with Pah Tamakeuh Feb. 20th 1993. Also Titoh Pauline Meuntoh, Ndop, Feb. 24th 1993.

[125]Ibid. There were sections for the sale of raw grains, kolanuts, salt and palm produce.

[126]See Soh Bejeng Pius, op.cit.

[127]See An Assessment Report of the Ngoni and Neighbouring villages. op.cit MAE Pg 50-51. Also D. Westerman. The African Today and Tomorrow London Pg. 38-41.

2.7 The Role of the State in the mid-19th century Economy of Bamenda Division

From the nature of states systems in the Division which we discussed earlier, the states assumed a strong hold on the economy like they did on the society. The manner in which this control was exercised was through the creation of the states institutions which we mentioned earlier. These institutions included the Palace, council of elders, administrative heads, secret societies and the religious institutions. It therefore implies that since these institutions together formed part of the ruling authorities, their creation was also informed by the economic interests of the state.

Meanwhile, we had underscored the role of the ruling authorities in consolidating their grip on power by evolving some centralized administration mostly in the Tikar dominated polities. Therefore, these centralization of authority (in the Palaces; lineage and clan heads amongst others) by the ruling authorities was because of their desire to control the surpluses that were produced in all the sectors of the economy. Similarly, the process of political fragmentation and decentralization that occured in the Meta, Ngie and other areas of the Division were also in response to the desire by the lineage and clan heads to control the surpluses that accrued from the economic activities in the regions. Against this background, most of the Meta and Moghamaw ruling authorities went into a series of relationships with the

neighbouring Tikar dominated polities like Bafut, and Mankon[128]. Others did the same with the Chamba-leko groups (Bali-Nyonga).

The centralization of power and authority in the Fons made them to become dictatorial in some cases. These powers also made them to assume the overall control over trade items, slaves, tributes andthe communal properties. Above all, they also sought the control of the religious system.

The land rights of the Fons for example, made them to always work in collaboration with the administrative authorities and other nobles. Due to this some intra-authority and inter-personal interests often evolved[129] which made the same authorities to be oppressive.

Apart from that, the Fons' or Palaces' dependence on gifts, tributes and other forms of surpluses, made the Princes and Princesses to be often regarded as lazy. So the Princesses were resented for marriage.

In another light, the state's involvement in the socio-political organization of the land could be seen as a means of satisfying the socio-economic purpose of the ruling authorities on the one hand, and the entire society on the other. This purpose was that of ensuring maximum production that would maintain self-sufficiency and self-

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[128]Discussion with Fon S.A.N. Angwafo II, Mankon, Palace, Sept 15th, 1993. Also Interview with Mrs. Fosah Deborah, Bamenda, August 17th 1993.

[129]U.N.V.D.A., Etude de factibilite Pour Passage a 3,000 ha. de Rizieres dans la haute valle du Noun.Tome 3 milieu Humaine S.E.D.A. Yaounde. 1976 pgs 33-34, 38-39.

reliance. She supported this by ensuring territoriality for the autonomy and sovereignty of the polity. In this regard, the state often controlled the settlement of some kinsmen or military leaders, by sending them to settle in particular strategic angles of the polities. However, this was very common only amongst the Tikar and Chamba-leko dominated areas. This arrangement did not however lead to the demarcation of inter-polity boundaries. These states also provided some diplomatic safeguards which prompted trade, for example the inter-marriages and free movements.

Correspondingly, the other socio-economic activities such as farming, hunting, fishing, tapping, crafts manufacturing also experienced the involvement of the state[130].

Also, in order to maintain some considerable level of subsistence, the states created some laws, norms, beliefs, values on production and distribution which guaranteed some maximum degree of security. These were exemplified in the land tenure system which made everyone entitled to land in principle and practise. So these evolved a society with moral rectitude, respect and concern for others and for society generally.

Another area of the states' involvement was in the institution of marriage. She encouraged polygyny in order to prevent infidelity; and for a high population growth. With a high population, the surpluses for the ruling

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[130]G.P. Murdock; op. cit. 1959 pg 39. Also P.N. Raberry, op.cit. 1952. Pg 3-5.

authorities was also bound to be high. Divorce was hardly ever recognized. By not recognizing divorce on the one hand and also promoting polygynous marriages on the other, the parents-in-law were sure of their gifts amongst others; and fines in cases of infidelity. Moreover, it was a norm that the number of wives that a man had depicted his wealth status, because he was considered to be able to sustain and satisfy his in-laws. And through the wives, he could accumulate or control more agricultural, crafts and other surpluses. This was upheld by the patriachal values of the societies. At the state levels, apart from the fore-gone interests involved in inter-state marriages, the diplomatic ties between the states involved in the marriage were enforced[131]. This consequently integrated the societies further.

We also gathered from the field that the states made some efforts in ecological control[132]. This was prominent in areas of limited land and fertility like the Nsaw and Nsungli areas. Here, in order to maintain a high level of subsistence and the montane environment, local laws and customs were made which strongly discouraged the felling of kola trees for farming. Moreover the states' control over agriculture by offering sacrifices and rites for maximum

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[131] Ibid. P.M. Kaberry, pg 35-36.

[132] Interview with Yah Casilia, Jakiri, Feb 15th 1993. Also Pah Kimbo Patrick and Mal. Yerima Jakiri Feb 13th 1993.

rainfall, vegetation, bumper harvest, etcetera[133a] were all signs of ecological concern. Even in areas like Ngoni and neighbouring regions, the only threat to the ecology was perhaps bush fires because of hunting in the dry season. And the forests were said to be very safe, even to the extent that the colonialists reported that right in the 20th century, the forests had very thick undergrowths[133b]. Similarly, tree felling for building houses was limited in this area compared with the Tikar and Chamba dominated areas. In these latter areas, there were many artisans especially wood carvers, weavers, professional builders whose crafts were proliferating. So they had to over-exploit the ecology than the Ngoni and neghbouring craftsmen. Also, the relatively limited population of the Ngoni areas could have played a role in their low exploitation of the ecological reserves. Moreover, the limited market for palm oil in the Ngoni and environs and their lack of kolanut trees could have limited their exploitation of those tree reserves, meanwhile it was the reverse for the areas like Ngie, Metaland and Widekum (for palms); Nsungli and Nsaw (for kolanuts)[134].

On the basis of the above, we could then conjecture, that ecological safeguards were relatively observed throughout the Division and formed part of the process of

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[133a] See Nsungli Area (Bamenda Division) Intelligence Report CSE 1/85/5569. 1934 NAE para 175.

[133b] Ibid.

[134] See An Assessment Report of the Ngoni and Neighbouring Villages. op.cit NAE

cultural integration amongst the people. The modes of preservation was relatively high because of the limited industrialization in the area.

2.8 The Social Structure of Bamenda Society on the Eve of the German Conquest.

We saw earlier, that in order to build a powerful state the Fons created some institutions in their polities. These institutions were also formed so that the administration of the economy should be easier. Gradually, these institutions conditioned the emergence of a complex system of stratification, which emphasized ranks (hierarchy) and age. Also, the states' intervention in the economy through the collection of tributes, gifts and other forms of compensations, steadily consolidated the exploitation of certain communities or groups of people in the polities. At the same time those who had control of the collections steadily became wealthier. Apart from that, the advances made in the economic activities such as agriculture and crafts manufacturing had also led to the development of some exchange systems, especially long and short distance trading, leading to some form of primitive accumulation.

By the time of the German conquest therefore, a complex system of social stratification had already evolved in the Division.

In the first place the forms of social organization still maintained the form earlier mentioned viz: household (family) lineage, clan and village. However, the kinship ties had become more complex because they involved other aspects of non-kinship relation like associations ('manjongs'); residence; and locality[135]. The result of these was the formation of interest- based groups which brought together people of diverse socio-economic means of accumulation[136]. These included the nulong (for playing, dancing, singing etc) in Bafut, and other mutual aid associations. Most of such non-kinship based groups that emerged were mostly based on residence and locality. In other cases, these associations also emerged through the religious system that was fast strengthening the ideology of ancestral worship. By so doing the demographic, economic, ecological and political changes led to the emergence of many lineages with each having its ancestor that it worshipped. But this did not break the ties of communalism.

This process was very visible in the large centralized polities of Bafut and Nsaw, the decentralized polities of Meta and the Chamba-leko dominated groups. In Nsaw this process was more complex because of the multi-linear

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[135] G.P. Murdock, op.cit. Pg 28. Also, J.C. Drummond-Hay. Op.cit.

[136] Ibid. Pg 28. Also R. Eugene, et al (eds.); op.cit. Pg 112. These latter ethnographers went a bit further in critically interpreting this issue. The meeting was called amaunsw. (amgunsw was the name of the people who all played the instrument for the manjong dance). These associations were mostly visible during weddings, funerals, and other public occasions. They had a high social status.

descents that were absorbed through the process of evolving the large centralized administration; while in Meta it was less complex because of the process of unilinear descent, fragmentation and consequent decentralization that took place.

In these processes the transformations in the socio-economic systems caused the entrenchment in property rights which further influenced the process of social stratification. So the states' involvement in the economy as we saw above, gradually transformed the basis of property (land) ownership from being predominantly collective (communal) to being individual or group[137].

These processes continued to the extent that by the end of the 19th century the social system was so complex with a lot of titles, positions or hierarchies[138]. The ruling authorities evolved to be largely based on certain families with extended kin relationships[139]. But due to the political and economic demands of the Fons, a quasi-democratic system was evolved which brought members of conquered or allied groups and some titled individuals into the ruling class. These categories of title holders were

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[137]This change also involved the transformation from communal lineage and household ownership to ownership based on the nature of the political institutions that had emerged. Some of the new forms of ownership could be termed as coporate which most of the state institutions (like the Fon and the royal house; the council of Elders or other mandjong societies) exhibited.

[138]P.M. Kaberry, et al. op.cit 1961 pgs 31-32, 358-363.

[139]M. McCulloch, op.cit. Pg 37-38. In Nsaw for example, (and the Tikar dominated polities) only the sons of Fon whose mothers were of the n'tar status were eligible for the office of Fon. N'tar were the direct descendants of the ruling house of Nsaw.

appointed by the Fons on the basis of achievement or ascription.

In a nutshell, the ruling classes[140a] consisted of the Fon and the royal house on the one hand; and the nobility (title holders), leaders of Associations (that were interest based) on the other. The nobles were consisted of members of the Council of Elders; titled holders; tribute collectors; administrative and sinecural officials, leaders of the states institutions lineages, clans, quarters (wards) and so on. These were drawn from all the communities (lineages or clans) under the state. Their powers were derived from and supported by the states' traditional legal system. Achievement qualities in this class further included good conduct, loyalty to the state and the community[140b]. To consolidate the position of this class in the different polities, they sought a control of trade in the region, thereby evolving some diplomatic ties amongst themselves on the one hand, and developing some expansionist policies on the other. These were common especially in Ndop, the Bamenda Plateau polities extending to Moghamaw and the Meta areas[141].

[140a] Class is understood in a materialistic sense. For more see V. I. Lenin's definition in Z. Berbeskina, et al. (eds); op. cit. Pg. 283. Also H. Bernstein. "African Peasantries...." op. cit. 1976 Pg. 421 - 443

[140b] M. McCulloch. op. cit. Pg. 29-30. Also R. Eugene, et al (eds.); op.cit. Pg 26-31; Meta clan (Bamenda Division) Intelligence Report. op.cit NAR pg 16-17.

[141] J.C. Drummond-Hay, op.cit.Pg 83-84.This took the form of blood covenants or pacts for the following reasons: trading, friendship, inter-state diplomacy amongst others. It was also said to have been common

Closely linked to these more priviledged groups were the leaders of the associations and members of secret societies. The associations were grouped into age sets and age grades[142]. These bodies were more a representation of kinship ties together with other forms of social groupings that were based on specific interests. Nonetheless in most of these societies the membership was voluntary or prescribed. These age groups were more common and involved mostly the men even though age groups existed amongst the women of Ndop. The age sets were consisted of indigenes that were born within the same period (normally within the range of five years). They had distinctive names which to that society was a group identity[143]. These groupings were very pronounced amongst some Tikar and Chamba-leko dominated polities.

Age grades on its part engulfted the age sets, but were distinguished by the specific functions which they performed, and the status which they occupied in the society especially during a particular period. These societies had their leaders. Maturation for membership was largely based on puberty attainment or marriage. These age grades operated a dense net-work of secret societies. The age grades had particular functions which were the needs of the social system such as social training; defence;

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[142]Interviews with Titoh Pauline Muntoh, Ndop, February 24th 1993. Also Pah Tamakeuh, Ndop, February 20th 1993.

[143]The multiplicity of dialects and vernaculars in this region has limited us from going into all the details such as the names of these features in the different language groups.

government and administration. So they were inter-connected with the state and by implication the ruling system. For their internal control, the system formulated its own ranking system[144].

Furthermore, the artisans also constituted another group of indigenes. However, they were in a privileged position because their power was socio-economically derived. Moreso these powers often overlapped because of some of the artisans' affiliations with the Associations especially those organized on professional basis - for cooperation, or labour. Generally speaking, their high status in society was derived from their use of their hands in technical transformations and creation of works of art.

We saw earlier on the different professions that made up this group. Their role expanded, developed and integrated the society and economy largely through the trading system which their products promoted. Primitive accumulation often took place by this group of indigenes. The accumulation was either in form of domestic crafts itself or currencies. However, since we cannot determine the volume of trade that took place in the Division because of the limited information which we could gather in the field, we could hardly assess the accumulative power of these artisans. Nevertheless, the limitations of barter trade, the changing seasonal, and other environmental

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[144] G.P. Murdock; op.cit. Pg 36. Also Meta clan (Bamenda Division) Intelligence Report. NAE pg 38.

conditions might have limited their profits margin. So their privileges should not be exaggerated.

The proliferation of crafts manufacturing led to the emergence of some praise singers and dancers who glamourized the material achievements of the state and the ruling authorities. They were more common among the Tikar dominated areas. These category of artists also evolved some local games like 'Mankala', toss the rag, in Bafut, tug, etcetera for entertainment purposes[145]. The role of these artists further checked the moral standards of the societies by upholding the values and laws that were formed for those purposes.

These artists were directly linked to the non-title holders who were predominantly farmers (hunters and gatherers). In terms of socio-economic activities, the artisans overlapped with these groups. The areas where they overlapped were in the agricultural and animal husbandry sectors of the economy. At these levels also some members of the ruling class were involved. However, these farmers were mostly those indigenes who had been conditioned to depend on agriculture as their sole means of livelihood. Their access to wealth was limited by the gifts, tributes, compensations barter trading system and other forms of exploitation that they suffered from.

Moreover, the ownership and control of the lucrative trades (kolanuts and palm oil) was not by the farmers. So they were submerged in the system of exchange. Most

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[145] R. Eugene, et al. (eds.); op.cit. Pg 45-52

farmers were not titled so they suffered from the incidence of double exploitation from the ruling authorities; artisans and traders. Nevertheless, because of the subsistent economic activities that the farmers were involved in, their exploitation by the ruling authorities could hardly reach the extent of creating open palavers or sharp economic hardships and class uprisings. So they continued to remain relatively less privileged not because of their socio-economic conditions only, but also their socio-political relations in the system.

The last of the social groups which we could identify were the slaves. Being relatively few and enjoying a good measure of freedom, they did not constitute a class or an over oppressed group. The slaves in the context we identified earlier could still engage in socio-economic activities for their households. Their status was non-hereditary. This was so because of the states' need for population expansion[146] and prevention of revolts.

We also noticed in the field that throughout the entire Division gender discrimination was very much upheld by the end of the 19th century. But this did not form part of the social structure. The female suffered from institutionalized relegation especially by the ruling authorities. They were barred from becoming members of most of the state associations and secret societies,

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[146] P.M. Kaberry, et al op.cit. Pg 361-388.

through a system of taboos[147]. Pregnancy taboos also existed for the women. Indeed the women did most of the farming, domestic duties and some crafts manufacturing[148]. This position of the women was entrenched through the system of polygynous marriage[149]. Nonetheless the position of women should not be exaggerated because of the system of division of labour in the households, and the understanding which often reigned between some couples[150].

2.9 Religious System

Religion has been explained as the philosophy of life, concept of origin and functioning of the universe and how the powers of the supernatural world are to be manipulated to achieve desired ends[151]. The religious system of the indigenes of this Division worked in the above frame-work; and also had a deep cultural undertone that depicted a pattern of doing and perceiving things. These patterns were handed down the generations[152]. The cultural undertone brought together the complex whole of knowledge,

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[147]Great Britain Colonial Office; Reports to the U.N. Trusteeship Committee on the Administration under Britain of the Southern Cameroons for the Year 1954. H.M.S.O. London 1955. Pg 77-78.

[148]Ibid. Also R. Eugene, et al. (eds.) op.cit. Pgs 35, 73-80. Also, P.M. Kaberry, op.cit, 1952.

[149]For example the practice of levirate polgynous marriage on the one hand, and forced or early marriage on the other.

[150]For more see P.M. Kaberry, op.cit. 1952. Indeed this study was entirely based on this gender issue, eventhough the information about the Widekum polities is largely sketchy.

[151]Melville, J. Herskovits; Man and his Works. The Science of Cultural Anthropology. Alfred A Knopf. N.Y. 1970 pg 19.

[152]Ibid. Pg 17.

beliefs, art, morals, laws, customs, values that evolved in the process of civilisation of these communities[153].

We further observed, that the religious norms, values, beliefs, etcetera were similar in the entire communities. The difference could have been in the manner of expression, procedure or sanctions that were given to certain practices. Moreover, the religious system was more entrenched in the large centralized polities of the Division like Nsaw, Bafut, the Balis, and the small centralized polities of Ndop. Incidentally, these belief systems were very entrenched in these states because of the ruling classes' gifts, alliances and tributary relations. So the ruling classes took over a monopoly of its control.

Moreover, the religious system governed all the institutions and state structures, with varying norms and procedures[154]. Through these institutions, the socio-economic activities like agriculture, trading, fishing, hunting and livestock keeping were brought under control[155]

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[153]J.L. Brain 'Witchcraft in Africa. A Hardy Perennial" in Maxwell Owosu (ed.); Colonialism and Change. Essays presented to Lucy Mair.Mouton The Hague Paris 1975 pg 184. Also E.E. Pritchard; Witchcraft, Oracles, andMagic among the Azande. O.U.P. London 1937 pg 9-10; J.C. Drummond-Hay op.cit. Pg 85-116.

[154]An Assessment Report of the Ngoni and Neighbouring villages. op.cit. Pg 52-55.

[155]M. McCulloch, op.cit. Pg 47-48. Also R. Eugene, et al. (eds.); pg 19, 24-131. In Nsaw for example the duty of supervising the general welfare of the people and of supplicating God on their behalf was entrusted to the Fon-Nsaw, the Tawong (High Priest), the Yewong (High Priestess), and Fai-O-Nzendzef (the senior Kabai or councillor). Rites were performed in state shrines like Lawong for this purpose. The Kimbaw ritual took place before new crops were planted, the Kovifem ritual during the dry season before the finger-millet crop was harvested. In the Widekum and Bafut polities similar rituals took place before yams were harvested. Interview with Pah Afundah, Bamenda, Sept. 19th 1993.

Furthermore, the spiritual culture of the religious system appealed very much to cosmology. It was also governed by the concept of the cycle of nature which embodied man's relationship with the earth on the one hand, and the earth and the celestial phenomena on the other. In this regard there were gods and priesthoods of these gods. The gods included the sun, moon, rain (water), and so on[156]. The priests were from the noble class and were incharge of liaison between the people and the gods. Nsaw had priestesses.

Due to the existence of the priesthoods and gods, the different lineages clans and sub-chiefs developed some form of deities where the spiritual rites took place. At the state level (Palaces) these deities also existed together with cults. These institutions also engulfed the secret societies. The lineage, clan and sub-chiefs deities and shrines were subordinate to that of the state. The Fons by virtue of their administrative and spiritual positions performed the state sacrifices and rites in the state deities, and shrines while the lineage, clan head or sub-chiefs did those of their local organization. These Fons worked hand in gloves with other religious controllers who had also emerged like the diviners, sooth sayers and

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[156]M. McCulloch, Ibid. pg 47-48. Amongst the gods was a supreme one called nyooiy in Nsaw; and Nbonga in Nsei- Bamessing. This God was supreme, and it was believed to be both rewarding and retributive. Retribution could be in the form of drought, flood or famine. For these reasons the God was always worshipped, and offered some sacrifices. To communicate with the God, the people used certain sacred plants such as Kang-kang - (which is like Indian corn but with broad deep green leaves) that were believed would attract the God. And they also communicated via their ancestors. For more see J.C. Drummond-Hay op.cit para. 88-89, 90-93.

traditional doctors. With the participation of these diviners and others, the defence; healing; etcetera mechanisms were enforced[157].

From the above set-up, the religious system could therefore be seen as functional to the society thus: maintaining some protection and continuity in livelihood; providing identity; communal unity and close knitness. To the ruling classes, their monopoly control of it consolidated their powers of exploiting the people.[158]

Apart from some of the exploitative pratices of the ruling classes through this religious system, other indigenes used the supernatural powers of the spiritual system to practice witchcraft. Witchcraft was a source of hatred and jealosy. Moreso, the religious system provided for baseless suspicions which often put the indigenes against each other because it was used for the settling of scores[159].

The penetration of this region by Islam was also another feature of the mid-19th century religious system[160]. However, it was not as entreched as the local

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[157]Pg 124-131. Also D. Westermann, op.cit. Pg. 87-89; R. Eugene, et al. (eds.); op.cit. Pg 126-138. Diviners (ngam in Nsaw) were hardly inherited, because it was believed that it was a supernatural gift. They were consulted when children were born regarding the precautions that may be taken to ensure their safety. Since they had the powers to forsee, any evil that they forsaw was channelled to the Fon who then took action.

[158]D. Westermann. Ibid. Pg. 97.

[159]M. McCulloch op.cit. Pg 48-49. Also R. Eugene, et al. (eds.) op.cit. Pg 133-134; J.C. Drummond-Hay, op.cit. Pg. 48-52. Trial of withcraft was through the ordeal-Sass-wood system.

[160]Ibid. M. McCulloch pg 48, R. Eugene, et al. (eds.). Pg 131. But the popularity of Islam should not be exaggerated. Its impact was largely unfelt in the Bafut, Bali-Nyonga and the Widekum polities. So only the Nsaw and Ndop plain polities were affected. This could be explained by their nearness to Bamum land which was largely Islamized.

religion. The inability of Islam to be well-entrenched was further caused by the fact that the ruling classes again hijacked it. This was to satisfy their trading and political interests. Besides that, the lower classes hardly found any difference in the practises of Islam and the local religions because through them the ruling classes' exploitation continued. And it was even serious because the slave raiding that was once common in the region was believed to have come from some Muslim communities such as Bamum in the French territory.

Nevertheless, Islam assumed primordial importance amongst the states because it was used for the diplomatic and trading ties that emerged amongst them on the one hand, and the polities of the environs of the Division such as the Bamumland, northern Nigeria and the Benue valley on the other. It also added more towards the development of the communities material culture even though largely to the interest of the ruling classes.

2.10 Conclusion.

On the whole, the political economy of Bamenda Division in the pre-colonial period as described above could be said to be made of some complex socio-economic and political systems. These systems were well-organized. Land was the basic factor of production. In this regard, the state system evolved some ruling authorities whose desire to control the land and other surpluses in the region led to the development of the following economic activities

which constituted the main sectors of the economy: agriculture, fishing, hunting, crafts manufacturing and some small degree of livestock keeping. Amongst these activities, agriculture and crafts manufacturing accounted for the highest surplus in the economy thereby, generating a dense net-work of trade and other forms of exchange. It also further strengthened the ruling authorities' class position and developed the material culture of the society. Moreso, some states managed the production and distribution of the surpluses from these activities to rise to very powerful political and socio-economic positions in the Division, thereby developing centralized administrations.

These developments were accompanied by the development of an ideological system (religion) which was the melting point of the civilization which the people had attained.

In another light, we saw that the degree of states involvement in the social economy either led to the emergence of a complex system of stratification and material culture, or evolved some forms of slavery, tributory, feudal and simple commodity modes of production without fundamentally crumbling the communal livelihood of the people. Nonetheless, the nature of the states' involvement in the social economy on the one hand and the nature of the socio-economic systems on the other, reveal that a less complex machine-based production system dominated the region, and under the control of the artisans.

Furthermore, this description of the political economy of this region in the mid-19th century also reveal that the systems of production and distribution greatly manifested some weeknesses. In the first place the multiplicity of states in this relatively small geo-political area provided for inter-state competitions and rivalries which rather made each ruling authority to be very conscious of the threats to its administration and territory. In this regard, the authorities concentrated in building up hierarchical institutions having rigid laws, taboos and values that were aimed at maintaining a cohesive society that was under their control. However, this made it difficult for the emergence of either a single or very few large and centralized polities in the Division. The emergence of a single or very few large and centralized polities in the Division could have led to more advancements in the political, economic, social, cultural and ideological systems in the region.

On another note, even though the inter-state competitions prevented the ruling authorities from over-exploiting their subordinates (because of the fear of internal revolt), these competitions made the authorities to concentrate in the accumulation of craft manufactures. Such a system of accumulation weakened the development of trading on currency basis. What prevailed was barter exchange, even though some other precious materials such as quills, cowries and ivory were used.

This system of accumulation (and exchange) consolidated the exploitative position of the ruling authorities and made them to be relatively lazy. These conditions were not favourable enough to have promoted some technical (machine-based) development.

Moreover, the system of production could hardly evolve better working tools, let alone methods of production especially in the agricultural sector where most of the indigenes were concentrated. These weaknesses not withstanding, the administrative centralization was done in a way that the ruling authorities maintained some loose democratic principles which prevented the possibility of sharp squabbles amongst the socila groups and revolts. This was even appreciated by some colonialist writers [161]. The maintenance of the loose democratic principles was geered towards the collection of more surpluses by the ruling authorities.

Even the institutionalization of some forms of polygynous marriages such as levirate, forced, and very early marriage also entertained some weaknesses. These weaknesses culminated in the discrimination of gender, thereby limiting the technological and civilizational changes in the area. Similarly, the type of centralization of administration often made the Fons to be dictatorial and very extortionist[162].

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[161] Ibid. R. Rugene, et al. pg 116.

[162] For more see P.N. Raberry, et al. op.cit. 1959. Pg 370-382.

Furthermore, the dominance of the Palace over all the settlements in the centralized polities weakened the process and spread of civilization. Instead, intra-palace rivalries for power (amongst the councillors and other nobles), and dynastic rivalries (amongst the princes and families-Houses) were promoted. The ouside society often knew about these only when the tensions had gone off hand,[163] So further political fragmentation often took place.

Given the nature of the entire system some divided interests were exhibited by the different ruling authorities and socio-economic groups.

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[163]P.M. Kaberry, et al. op.cit. 1961. Pg 360-361, 365. In Bali-Nyonga for example the Palace was located on the heart of the settled area of the polity. And just like anyother Palace in the Tikar and Chamba-Leko dominated areas, the precincts of the Palace were well defined by making the Fon's retainers and sons to live there. Near - by were clusters of compounds bearing the names of the contingents which had made up the Bali-Nyonga's army from the time of the first Fon-Nyongpasi (Fon Fonyonga I). So these included the Buti, Kefad, Tikali, Won, Ngiaam amongst others. Also common in the Palaces of this Division were the following features an open area in front of which was the centre for all gathering of the people for ceremonial occasions. Markets were organized in these areas. So the Palaces were the centres of politics, commerce, culture and religion. Inside the palaces there was some partitioning on the basis of quarters (wards). Also there were these other sections: The Fons'; bute for the Fons' wives; stores; courtyard; audience chambers; houses for the Fons' war lodges; Princes; secret societies and so on. For more see R. Eugene, et al op.cit. Pg 21-31. In the Ndop plain some Palaces like the Baba I and Bali-Kumbat were located on the hill tops for better security for the ruling authorities. Palaces were less organized amongst the Widekum Polities. (Interview with Pah Afundah Bamenda Sept. 19th 1993).

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 The Establishment of Colonial Authority in Bamenda Division

3.1 Introduction

In the former chapter we discussed the political economy of the Division with focus on the mid-19th century. The mode of organization of production and distribution determined the socio-economic systems that emerged. These systems of production, when compared with the European capitalist system, were undeveloped. So due to this undeveloped nature some considerable weaknesses could be discerned. These weaknesses further affected the make-up of the pre-colonial society especially in some of the sectors like production, health, education, religion, and so on.

In this chapter we shall examine the imposition of colonialism in the area with particular emphasis on the development of British administrative structures and policies designed to subjugate the indigenes' relatively weak socio-economic and political systems. These policies attacked the local systems of production and distribution at their vulnerable ends. British colonial administrative policies sought to erase the structures and influence of German colonial rule which had preceded it in the area. This objective was very significant because the British colonial experience in the Division (from the first World

war) made her to understand that the system of production and distribution which she wanted to establish could not work to her interest, if the one earlier established by the Germans was not erased. Hence, any system of production and distribution that was to be established in the region must receive enough state support. However, before we examine the establishment of colonial authority in the region it is necessary to discuss briefly the European activities in this sphere of southern Cameroons at the end of the 19th century. These activities were significant because they subsequently led to the establishment of the German colonial domination in the Division; to the disadvantage of the British who were also interested in the region.

3.2 European Activities in the Late 19th Century Bamenda Division.

The colonization of the region by the Germans was a consequence of European activities in the coastal region of southern and French Cameroons since the mid-19th century. Before this period the Europeans were involved in exchanging their manufactures for slaves and other raw materials such as palm oil and ivory that came from the interior of the territory. Subsequently, missionary and other travellers were sent to the interior of the southern Cameroons so that they could seek information about the people. These activities were dominated by the British who

earlier on (1845) had established a Baptist missionary centre at Victoria (Limbe) and Douala under Alfred Saker[1].

The German interest in this region especially from the 1870s increased the rivalries and struggles for control of the area between them and the British until the Germans prevailed on the 4th of July 1884[2]. From this coastal region the Germans could go into closer contact with the indigenes especially on their way to the Adamawa which was long famous to the Germans for the goods that came from there, and its ecological importance[3]. The indigenes' middle man roles were gradually being broken as this inward movement of the Germans continued.

Indeed, apart from the commercial interest that the interior revealed to the Germans, plantations had already been established in the 1890sby the German private traders (firms) in the coastal regions. This structure led to labour shortages. Recruits were needed from the interior. Labour was needed for porterage also. Later on the Germans learned that a good deal of the trade of the interior was not flowing to them on the coast and instead went north to

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[1]H.R, Rudin Germans in the Cameroons. 1884-1914. Jonathan Cape Thirty Bedford Square London 1938. Pg 17-20. In the colony of victoria the missionary-in-charge later on established a system of justice that enforced the law by imposition of fines and the application of the whip. The control system in Douala was later on called Court of Equity, which involved the German, British and local authorities.

[2]Ibid pg 22-75. After 1884 more intense rivalries continued between Britain and Germany culminating in the Berlin West African Conference (1884) where Germany was officially recognized by her rivals as the 'owners'of the sphere.

[3]Ibid. Pg 76-77. Information about Adamawa was made available to these Europeans by H. Barth (1850s); G. Rohlfs (1860s to 1870s); Gustave Nachtigal; Flegel (1879, 1882-1883) most of whom were German travellers. But their accounts were based on hear-says and none of them actually visited the Division.

Nigeria to British advantage or south to the advantage of France in the upper-congo region. The Germans redoubled their efforts to get to the interior. After numerous efforts by Nachtigal, knutson, Valdau, Buchner, Hugo Zolter, Governor Soden, Putt kamer krabbles amongst other German travellers/administrators, the Bamenda mountainous interior was reached[4].

Bamenda Division (Western grassfield) became a target from 1887 when the German traveller - Eugene Zintgraft (who had already explored the Rio-del-Rey and Wouri estuaries and mount Cameroon), worked out a scheme for a line of stations running into the interior by way of the high plateau beyond the Cameroon mountain. He thought that an excellent road could be made for trading Caravans through this region, and it would attract local trade to the coast. Based on this plan Zintgraff arrived at Bali-Nyonga in 1889 from Barombi (in the Kumba area, and close to the river Mungo). So the first German station was established at Bali-Nyonga. Immediately, he requested for workers and soldiers for German needs.[5]

At Bali-Nyonga Zintgraff was given support by the German firms-Jantzen and Thormahlen, and Woerman which he was representing. He trained the indigenes (about 2000) in line with European military tactics. His aim was to use

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[4]Ibid. Pg 76-80.

[5]Ibid. Pg 80-81. From Bali-Nyonga Zintgraff travelled to Ibi on the Benue valley. His efforts to penetrate Adamawa were checked by the indigenes.But his plans of establishing an outlet in the Shari, Lake Tchad and Yola regions were never dropped.

this army throughout his journey, but more particularly to capture Adamawa.[6]

Indeed it has been said[7] that before Zintgraff's arrival the Bali-Nyonga army was well organized under Ndajam and Manted (which were military associations or Manjongs in that polity), for the distribution of gun-powder, defence of the state; and satisfy the Fon's political and economic ambition in this part of the grass-land. Zintgraff made this army to be able to use and possess German muskets. In 1891 this army attacked Mankon (Bande), who together with their Bafut allies repelled them. Incidentally the Bangwa, Bafawchu and Bambutu polities that were tributory states to Bali Nyonga attempted unsuccessfuly to split from the Balis.[8]

Accordingly the Bali-Nyonga's association with the Germansincreased the Fon's power. And in 1891 Zintgraff claimed to have secured Fon Galega I of Bali-Nyonga's signature to a treaty which promised him the position of paramountcy in the Bamenda grassland, in return for 'willing acceptance of German over rule'. By 1892 the German station at Bali-Nyonga was abandoned by the Germans leading to the attack of the surrounding widekum polities by the German trained army in Bali-Nyonga. This attack was a success because by 1896 regular contacts were re-

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[6] Ibid. Pg 81.

[7] P.M. Kaberry et al. "An Outline of the Traditional Political System of Bali-Nyonga, Southern Cameroons". op. cit. 1961 pg. 362

[8] Ibid. Pg 362.

established by Zintgraff between the widekum polities and Bali-Nyonga, leading to another agreement between Galega and the plantations companies for the supply of labour.[9]

3.2.1 Zintgraff in Bali-Nyonga.

The defeat and death of Zintgraff in this region came in 1895 when he started exploring the interior of the Division expanding his political and economic contacts with the indigenes. In Bafut for example, his arrival caused some astonishment and confusion amongst the ruling authorities who refused to permit him get what he wanted - labour recruits. The Bafut and Mankon Fondoms teamed up against Zintgraff and in 1895 the crisis resulted in a punitive expedition by Zintgraff. The Bafut Fon's palace was said to have been burnt[10]. But Zintgraff was defeated.

Before 1901 Zintgraff had established the basic conditions for the Germans to penetrate this Division. These conditions were made possible largely because another attack in 1901 under Pavel (a German soldier) was organized against Bafut and Mankon, using reinforcements from Bali-Nyonga and the coastal region. These polities were defeated

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[9] Ibid. Pg 369-370. By 1899 Bali-Nyonga plantation levy reached 1,000 and rose in later years (1901) to 1,700.

[10] R.Eugene et al(eds.).op. cit. 1962.Pg19-20.

and subsequently brought under German rule from Bali-Nyonga[11].

That same year, the Ndop polities also felt the direct German contacts through the Bali-Nyonga interpreters[12]. In the course of establishing a centralized administrative authority under the Germans, Babungo was established as the German base in Ndop and the German presence there led to a complex pattern of migrations[13]. This accounted for the fact that there was not much local resistance against the German penetration en-route to Nsaw-Banyo (Adamawa) on the one hand, and Nsaw-Nsungli-Ibi (in the Benue valley) on the other. The Germans also supported the ruling authorities of the region, which was what conditioned the pattern of migrations and resettlment to take place.

From Ndop the Germans under Pavel arrived at Nsaw (by 1902) enroute to Banyo. Pavel claimed that they were hospitably received, and the Fon of Nsaw was also cooperative. But later-on the Fon's cooperative attitute

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[11]P.M. Kaberry et al. op.cit. Pg 370. Bali-Nyonga offered the Germans reinforcement partly because of their earlier contacts with the Germans; and most immediately because of the succession to the Fondom of Fon Fonyonga II in 1901. Fonyonga's ambition was also related to that of his late father, so when the Germans proclaimed him the paramount Fon of 31 village groups in the Division he felt supreme. For more see R. Eugene et al. (eds.); op.cit. Pg 20.

[12]J.C. Drummond-Hay. op. cit. 1925. Pg 17-18. The Bali-Nyonga interpreters were said to have assumed the authority that the Germans gave the Fon of Bali-Nyonga in this glassland region in naming the polities of the area thus: Papaikum was named as Baba; Mungo became Babungo; Feye became Bafanji; Bitchop became Bamali; Mbaw became Bambalang; Munkaw became Bamunka; Mukong became Bamunkumbit; Nsei became Banessing; Mbonglan became Bangolan. Only Oku was retored as it was. Ibid. Pg 16. This change of name reflected the relationship between the Bali-Nyonga ruling authorities and the Germans which elevated the Fon of Bali-Nyonga as paramount in this part of the grassland, to the German interest.

[13]For example the Bangolan people left Ngofaw in Babungo to where they are presently and Bafanji left Bagam to where they are presently.

changed leading to the attack of Nsaw by the Germans[14]. A German patrol was left behind at Kimbaw to supervise forced labour for the construction of the road designed to link Bamenda with Banyo, and also maintain German political control of the region.

The fall of Nsaw into the Germans' hands meant that the Germans had succeeded in penetrating the entire Division. And though they hardly went very far into the interior of the Widekum polities, their relations with the Bali-Nyonga ruling authorities secured for them that influence at least before 1901[15].

Having secured this territory for the German colonial authorities in the coastal region, by 1901 the Germans began implementing their colonial policies in the Division. The significance of these German policies (as we shall subsequently see), lay in the fact that some continuous patterns in the British conditioned system of production and distribution could be discerned[16]. These patterns

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[14]E.M. Chilver and P.M. Kaberry, "From Tribute to tax in a Tikar Chiefdom". op. cit. 1960. Pg 7-8. According to Chilver and Kaberry, the causes of this crisis are obscure. But the Germans were regarded as a threat to the Nsaw expansionist policy in the Tikar plains and Bamunland.

[15]For more see Ibid. Pg 7; Also B.M. Ndifontah, op. cit.

[16]This does not form our focuss of discussion. The analysis, however, introduces a different perspective in relation to the German and British colonial policies. Our perspective sees the change from the German to British domination as a change in colonizers, but continuity in dominance. This perspective goes beyong some of the notions of the Achievement School, exemplefied by writers like T. Eyongetah and R. Brain, amongst others. See T. Eyongetah et al. (eds.); op. cit. These writers emphasize the differences and similarities of the German and British rule in the Southern Cameroons. This analysis has affected public opinion of today,s Bamenda Division in that the people argue in favour of one of the colonial system or the other. By implication, it re-advocates for a return to colonialism. So the historiography is itself colonialist.

worked together to further subjugate the indigenes so that the transformation process could take place.

3.3 The German Colonial Policies in Bamenda Division c.1901-c.1914

Our analysis of the German colonial policies in this section of the discussion has been limited to an overview of the policies as they affected the entire German Kamerun. The German colonial policies were fully implemented in the Division from 1901 when most of the polities had been subjugated through Bali-Nyonga.

The prevailing view about the Germans is that they were more cruel, harsh, forceful, and so on, than the British colonialists; but yet were greater developers[17]. However, the limitation of this historiography is that it fails to understand the raison d'etre behind the German approach. The Germans were influenced by their readiness to colonize the indigenes of this Division[18]; their experiences in other parts of Kamerun which had earlier felt the impact of German presence (principally the nature

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[17]Based on the information gathered from our informers and a bulk of the secondary works we consulted like: T. Eyongetah and R. Brain. op.cit; J.V. Ngoh, op. cit. Also Le Vine op. cit. 1964; Yalla Eballa et al (eds.); op. cit. 1984; E.M. Chilver et al "Traditional Government in Bafut West Cameroon" in The Nigerian Field vol. 28. No. 1. Pg 21.

[18]The Germans regarded the African as an inferior race. Despite this, they indulged in the scramble for and partition of Africa very late.When they did, they ran short of finance.See J.V Ngoh op.cit. Pg 4. Also L.H. Gann et al (eds.); The Rulers of German Africa 1884-1914. Stanford Univ. Press Stanford California 1977. Pg 1-54.

of resistance)[19]: and the physical environment of the Division[20]

That not withstanding, the financial handicap of the German state on the one hand, and the bourgeois grip of political power in Germany on the other, made the German Government to evolve a system of colonial exploitation based on concessionaires. This system allowed some German traders to administer the colony on commercial basis[21]. These traders (chartered companies and firms) were given administrative rights over the indigenes. They in turn

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[19]These resistances were concentrated between 1890 and 1906 when the Germans were moving into the interior of the grassfield. The Bali-Nyonga nation was the first to experience German presence (1899). From Bali-Nyonga where the resistance was relatively limited, the rest of the Division came under punitive attacks from the Germans. Mankon, Bafut and Nkwen on the Bamenda Plateau experienced these attacks from 1891. Nsaw followed suit between 1905 and 1906. Nsaw resisted for two months (between April and June 1906) but with the assistance of the Bamums, the Germans over-ran them. The Bamums had a long standing conflict with Nsaw. This rivalry was caused by the expansionist policy that the ruling classes evolved so that they could control the trade and surplus in the grassfield. After each resistance, there was widespread hunger, deaths, shortages in labour which were caused by a disruption of the indigenes' system. By 1907, Bali-Nyonga and Menda-Nkwe had been made the German adminsitrative and military headquarters respectively. Sub-stations were established at Babungo, Nsaw which lay along the route to Lake Chad and the boundary with British Nigeria. See B.N. Ndifontah, op.cit; M. McCulloch "The Tikar" in DaryllForde (ed.); op. cit. 1954 pg 22; J.V Ngoh op.cit.Pg 73; P.M. Kaberry et al, op.cit. Pg 7-8; L.H. Gann et al op.cit. Pg 73; L.H. Gann et al "Economic Development in German African Empire 1884-1914" in L.H. Gann et al (eds.); Colonialism in Africa. 1870-1960 vol 4. Cambridge Univ. Press London 1975. Pg 229.

[20]Unlike South West Africa where the Germans practiced settlerist colonialism, the Division proved unfavourable for it. Moreso, settlerism was going to be very expensive to the Germans. However, the montane physical environment was regarded as favourable for not only stock grazing as in South West Africa, but Agriculture, using indigenous labour. The indigenes' population and trade in natural resources and manufactures like ivory, pottery, iron amongst others also attracted the Germans. These had been mentioned in earlier travellers reports like H. Barth in the 1850s; G. Nachtigal in 1869-1873 and Flegel in 1879, 1882-1883. Within six weeks, Bali-Nyonga had fourty houses and a mansion which was contructed for Zintgraff. The Germans then proceeded in establishing an agrarian economy in the Division from Bali-Nyonga. This was designed to divert indigenous trade from British calabar to German Douala. See; L.H. Gann et al. op.cit 1977 pg 20-24; 45. Also P.M. Kaberry et al., op.cit 1961 pg 360; A Calvert; The Cameroons, T. Werner Laurie Ltd. London 1917 pg 4-6; H.R. Rudin, op. cit. pg. 28, 76-77; B.N. Ndifontah; op.cit. Pg 96-97.

[21]H.R. Rudin; Ibid Pg. 111-113, 128. The trader/administrators like Jantzen and Thormahlen; Woerman and other trading Houses in West Africa established a system of syndicalism (which received state support). But this was shortlived because of the political problems in the German Reich.

paid taxes to the colonial government for exploiting the land. These rights conditioned the exploiters to carve out large tracks of land called Geselleschaft fur Nordwest Kamerun that included the Division. The Division then came under the Jantzen and Thormahlen firm; Ramsay and Scholler and other investors who were backed by German Banks[22]. The concessionaires worked together with other voluntary agents like the church (principally the German Basler Mission Society) in the Division. However, the church often attacked the excesses of the exploiters[23]. This dependency relationship between the colonial state and the exploiters made the approach towards colonialism to be harsh. Forced labour, intensified taxation and strict central control were maintained throughout the period of German domination. The duties of the colonial state were reduced to being largely administrative, and the creation of social and infrastructural services.

Nonetheless, the system was hardly successful because of the unprecedented budget deficit on the government. The Gesellschaft fur Nordwest Kamerun always incurred heavy losses. The forced labour policy which the firms established, caused the local authorities (Fons) to become reluctant in assisting the Germans in recruiting labour. Gradually, the concessionaire contracted and by 1910 they

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[22] L.H. Gann et al. op.cit 1975. Also L.H. Gann et al. op.cit. 1977 pg 10-11.

[23] H.R. Rudin. op.cit. Pg 93-94. Also L.H. Gann et al. op.cit 1977 pg 220-230. This system of expolitation also greatly affected the administrative livespan of the Governors in Kamerun because of the influences from the private sector.

concentrated in trade and rubber exploitation. The state then regained most of the administrative duties[24].

From this brief description of the system of exploitation it is clear that the German colonial administration was more interested in promoting trade in German manufactures, as well as exploiting the raw materials of the Division. This also explains why they established in this region some control systems that would divert the internal trade from British Nigeria (Northern Adamawa and Calabar) to Douala. The Germans made use of local footpaths and caravan trade routes for trade. This system meant that the German traders, planters, missionaires and all sorts of immigrants in this territory needed to be protected. All these demands led to a subjugation of the entire grassland of the area through the Fon of Bali-Nyonga[25] who was empowered to enforce the German system of control in this region.

In order to subjugate the indigenes' socio-economic systems, the Germans imposed a system of taxes on the indigenes. This taxation system also led to the introduction of the German currency (Mark) and a money economy in the Division. All taxes and financial dealings had to be in German currency. Meanwhile the currency easily spread because in 1907, payment of tax in kind was banned. However, precious resources like ivory were still

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[24]L.H. Gann et al. op.cit 1975, pg230, 233. Also L.H. Gann et al. op.cit 1977 pg166; B.N. Ndifontah; op.cit pg97

[25]B.N. Ndifontah. op.cit. Pg 97.

accepted as money because the Germans needed the ivory. This new currency suppressed the local cowrie and other forms of currency that the pre-colonial economy had evolved. By 1913 the cowrie was devalued at ten cowrie to a pfennig[26]. The tax per individual kept on rising such that by 1913, it had risen from three to six marks. The Fons were incharge of collection and they in turn received ten percent of it[27]. The local people were forced to enlist in the German colonial service and the plantations for jobs that would earn them money to pay their taxes.[28] Indigenes who failed to pay their taxes were either fined, flogged or imprisoned[29]. By 1914, taxes were paid in a quota system[30]. The police and soldiers were exempted from tax payment. Students were also exempted but some pupils between fourteen and sixteen years

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[26]P.M. Raberry, op.cit. 1960. Pg 98. Also W.M. Bridges; Banso, Reassessment report 1934. Para. 156-158 in Bamenda Archives. By 1913, the different kinds of taxes were: the hut tax (Landes Gesetzaebring); Poll tax (Lexikon). For more see: Raymond L.B. The Native Problem in Africa vol. II. Pg 450; Translation of German Law in the Cameroons. Native Taxation Ordinance 1913. Pg 1-14. CSE 1/86/123 N.A.B.

[27]B. Eugene et al., op.cit pg. 103.

[28]Other forms of taxes were those on hunting, prospecting, sale of liquor, court fines, land and survey registration, health and eductional dues. Tax payers were required to go along with their pass tickets as clearance for free movement. See H.R. Rudin. op.cit Pg 153.

[29]See Translation of German Law in the Cameroons. 1913. op.cit N.A.B. Also B.N Ndifontah, op.cit. Pg 124-125; W.E. Hunt, Assessment Report of Bali Clan op.cit 1925 Para 34 in Bamenda Arhives. By 1914, the rate of taxes throughout the Division varied greatly because of the exigencies of the central administration. Taxes were paid directly in to the German Treasury in Bamenda Station. The hitherto 10% stipend that the collecting Fons had was reduced to 3% while the remaining 7% went to the newly created collectors - the sub-Fons and lineage heads.

[30]This system depended on an assessment of the cash earning opportunities of the people of the area. The administration knew this from the records of employment and traders' licenses which kept on inproving. See. H.R. Rudin, op.cit Pg 341-342.

were often forced to pay taxes. They were often taken away from schools[31] when they did not pay the taxes.

Secondly, the Germans also evolved a land policy by granting rights of exploitation to the concessionaires and the voluntary agents like the church. This was enforced by the Crownland policy (since June 1896), which transfered the ownership and control of the land from the indigenes to the German Kaiser. The indigenes were also not allowed to sell lands to any foreigner without the consent of the Governor. This checked the establishment of plantations in the Division. By so doing, the policy made the indigenes to have some considerable control over their lands[32]. Having imposed their overall control over the land, the state promoted its exploitation by the private sector. The Jantzen and Thormahlen firm concentrated in the exploitation of rubber in the Division and also the establishment of a small scale cash crop economy. The firms in collaboration with the state planned to establish tea, cotton and kola plantations in the Division but failed because of their poor financial situation[33]. The administration established some farms at Bambui, Bali-

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[31] Ibid Pg 396-400; L.H. Gann et al. (eds.). op.cit 1977 Pg 81-82; T. Eyongetech et al. (eds.); op.cit. Pg 84-89. In certain cases, some villages were forced to keep the roads open and free from obstruction as their own tax for that period.

[32] Ibid. Land conflicts errupted amongst the indigenes. The Basler Missionaries often intervened to solve the problems. But by 1909, Governor Seitz imposed a land sales and alienation tax of 5% in case the land was developed, and 10% if otherwise. By 1910, another decree modified the land policy by making it that land could be purchased from the government only when needed for building and not over 3 hectares in size.

[33] A. Calvert. op.cit. Pg. 26-27; 31-33.

Nyonga, Babungo and Nsaw in which some European crops were cultivated for the Germans in the Division. Also, cash crops cultivation by the indigenes was promoted. These included: cotton, kolanuts, shea butter, gum (arabic) and palm trees. Other foodcrops like vegetables, and irish potatoes were also introduced. Animal husbandry was encouraged[34].

The foodcrops were cultivated principally for home consumption. They were specially designed to feed the plantation workers. The common foodcrops included: maize, millet, sweet and irish potatoes, pepper, sorghum, banana, plantains, sesame, tobacco, cassava, fruits, amongst others. The local fallow system dominated and the methods of farming remained predominantly peasant in nature even though the Germans were said to have been great developers[35].

The livestock reserve in this region and the northern Kamerun made the Germans to nurse a plan of constructing a

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[34] Ibid. Pg 20-27; 33. Rubber Specie like 'Kickxia-elastica' (silk rubber) was found and encouraged in Nsaw. Its yield was estimated by Dr. Schlecter and Dr. Owarburg (rubber specialists) at 1½lbs of dry rubber from six years old trees. These supplemented the wild palm trees all over the Division. In Ndop, the Germans could not meet up with their plans of introducing the cultivation of water rice. However, they promoted the cultivation of maize and millet for home consumption and export.

[35] H.R. Rudin. op.cit. Pg 252-253. The Germans often ignored the reports about the Division's development prospects particularly of some cash crops. A clear example was the report on the use of palm oil trees in the Division so that palm production should be greatly encouraged. The British later realized this thus "... it yields the palm oil and kernels of commerce. It gives the native a drink he is very fund of called palm wine, when fermented gives our cooks yeast for bread-making. At the present time there are 3 methods of making palm oil (a) from the fresh fruit (b) from partially fermented fruit (c) from well fermented fruit". See A. Calvert op.cit. Pg 37.

railway to link these livestock and cash crops regions with the coast[36].

The Germans regarded mining as very expensive. In lieu of it, they concentrated in agriculture. However, based on the scale of investigation which they carried out on the mineral deposits in the Division, we could suggest that their interest in mining was equally high. But they could have been hindered also by the topography of the Division which contributed to the poor state of the road and water systems for transporation[37].

The Germans designed a policy of training some indigenes of the Division at victoria and in the Mission and government school on the German agricultural methods. In 1911, a Department of agriculture was created in Buea in charge of agricultural production and distribution. The military post at Bamenda station was made to run a Garden. Each soldier was forced to establish a garden at the garrison. This could enable him raise his own foodcrops. Experimented seeds from the Botannical Gardens in Victoria were distributed to the soldiers and the trained agricultural personnel[38]. The state further established

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[36]A. Calvert Ibid Pg 17-18. The indigenes began raising stocks of goats sheep and fowls for marketing. However, the local cattle specie (even though limited in number), fetched better market in British Nigeria through the Benue River system.

[37]Ibid. pg. 54 - 55, also H. R. Rudin op. cit. pg 275; Yalla Eballa, et al op. cit. Nonetheless, geological Surveys were carried out on the smithing institutions of pre-colonial Babungo; potttery o fBabessi, Bamessing, Mankon, Bafut.

[38]Ibid. Rudin. Pg 153, 252-253. Other Agricultural stations were established at Dschang and Banun in the French territory for the same purpose.

an experimentation farm at Bambui, where she used ploughs for cultivation.

The system of production and distribution that the Germans established also needed a lot of human labour. But due to the lack of funds to engage in industrial or machine production, the state evolved a forced labour policy. The state and the private sector both exploited this policy to their interest. The Germans needed labour for their plantations; personnel services; and other public works. The traders also needed carriers to transport the raw materials from the interior to the coastal ports; and the European manufactures from the ports to the interior. The increased demand for labour led to intensive local resistance. The Germans then resorted to the use of soldiers in getting the labour. This led to a violent means of recruitment which often led to deaths of the indigenes and a distabilization of the society. It is even said that the roads, bridges and housing infrastructures of the Division were constructed by the indigenes through this violent means[39].

Forced labour led to the consolidation of taxation and the money economy. These in turn subordinated the interest of the indigenes to the colonialists. The role of the Fondoms in recruiting labour soon developed into corvee. The Fons used these rights to antagonize some of their subjects and subordinate village heads. In some cases, the

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[39] A. Calvert; op.cit. Pg XIV. Also R. Eugene et al (eds.). op.cit. Pg 69-73; E.M. Chilver, op.cit. vol. 28. Pg 21-22.

Fons were encouraged to extract tributes and illegal fees from their subordinates. The case of the Fon of Bali-Nyonga was most peculiar[40].

Due to the problems caused by forced labour like the decline in population, in 1912, the colonial authorities slackened the labour policy by encouraging peasant agriculture. She also discouraged hired labour. These cosmetic measures however, caused a decline in carrier labour[41]. Nonetheless, the private sector which benefited most from forced labour was put against the state; the Fons against their subjects and the church against the traders and concessionaires[42]. The church was said to have openly criticized the excesses of the private sector. She even petitioned the state and the German parliarment against these companies.

With regard to the administration of the territory, the same problems of finance and inadequate personnel affected the creation of colonial administrative structures in the region. Due to this, the German administration largely became a mixture of civilians and military personnel who became over-zealous for rapid promotion by exercising their skills harshly. At the top of the

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[40] In 1904, Fon Fonyonga II of Bali-Nyonga who had been given supreme authority over all other Fons supplied 1700 labourers to the plantations. By 1912, the census conducted in Bali-Nyonga gave a population of 4000 people. Most of the labourers were recruited through forcefulness. See H.R. Rudin. op.cit pg 322. Also B.N. Ndifontah op.cit Pg. 113' Report by the Bamenda Station Chief: Adametz. May 13th 1913 in Bamenda Archives.

[41] Lord Lugard., op. cit. pg 398

[42] H.R. Rudin Op. Cit. pg 318, 324-327; 328-330. The plantation owners and traders were angry to because the decline in forced labour weakened their authority.

administration was the Governor who ruled through ordinances with no legislative councils. This enabled some of the Governors like Jesko Von Puttkamer to be very dictatorial.

The entire Kamerun was divided into administrative units within the Gesellschafts. The units were called Districts (Besirksamter) under German Residents. The Bamenda area was constituted a District with headquarters at Bali-Nyonga, but by 1911 this was transfered to Bamenda station. The supreme administrative headquarter was at Buea (being transfered from Douala). In Bamenda District, the Fons principally the Fon of Bali-Nyonga was elevated to the rank of a paramount Fon or Vassal in the entire grassland of the region. Another Fon with considerable authority was the Fon of Nsaw. Alien local officials were imposed on the smaller states. The Governor and Resident were also assisted by a District Commissioner created since 1891 by ordinance[43].

The system of administration however evolved to be very centralized and based on decrees which were designed to give more powers to the colonial authorities and the

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[43]Raymond L.B. Op. cit. Pg 448-449. The Fons were to collect and supervise the collection of taxes; supply labour; report disease; maintain the local footpaths; provide hospitality to visiting Europeans etc. The Fon of Bali-Nyonga often went against these and instead raided and exploited his subjects, and also settled old scores with his neighbours and rivals. see B.N. Ndifontah op. cit Pg 108-109. Also, E.M. Chilver, "Paramountay, and protection in Cameroons". in Zintgraff's Explorations in Bamenda. Government printers Buea. 1966 Pg 494-496. Ndifontah misconstrues this system of administration for indirect rule. This was false because on the basis of power relationship the system was direct. For more see: E.M. Chilver; "Native Adminstration in the West central Cameroons. 1902-1954" in K. Robinson, et al (eds); Essays in Imperial Government Blackwell 1963 pg 92-98.

German Kaiser[44]. The Kaiser or the chancellor in Germany personally controlled the courts.

The colonial administrative machinery was supported by a German judiciary system. According to this system, courts were established on racial lines. The whites' court had two stages, none of which ever imprisoned them. The Blacks' courts in which our concern is were also in two stages. The first instance court came under the control of the Fons who rendered judgement according to local customs in defined civil cases. The local courts of second instance were constituted solely by some Fons that were appointed by the colonial government. The government also maintained control over these courts by defining the laws and punishment to be imposed on local defaulters[45]. However, a lot of misuse of power by the adjudicating officers were often reported. These centred around arbitarary arrests, unjustified collection of fines, flogging, etcetera. Soldiers often terrorized the indigenes[46].

In order to enforce the law, the police institution was established. It was made up mostly of Dahomeans and Germans. But these troops ended up terrorizing the indigenes by extorting money from them.

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[44]H.R. Rudin op.cit. Pg 128, 186-187; 188-191; 218-221.

[45]See Translation of German law in the Cameroons, Native Taxation Ordinance, 1913. op.cit. Pg 4. Also Raymond, L.B. op.cit. Vol II. Pg 449.

[46]H.R. Rudin op.cit. Pg 204-206. Also B.N. Ndifontah op.cit. Pg 120-122.

Given this picture of the German colonial policies it could be said that the Germans were on the verge of establishing an agricultural sector in the economy of the Division which largely depended on cash crop production. However, she was prevented from doing this by the outbreak of the first World War, and its aftermath.

Nevertheless, the Germans had made it understood that the indigenes of the Division could be conditioned to be specialized in supplying labour to the colonialists on the one hand, and producing some primary produce that were needed by the European economies on the other. These were going to influence the British colonialists from 1922 when the Division was legally recognized by the League of Nations as a British sphere. By implication also, it was then that the British took over full colonial control over the indigenes. She began to establish a system of production (as we shall see) that was more efficient and closest to her interest.

3.4 The condition of the Division before the British take-over c.1916-c.1922

Following the outbreak of the First World War (1914), the British and French troops attacked Germany in the Division. The Germans were ill-equipped, hence they found it difficult to mount a strong defence. After some considerable German resistance, the British forces penetrated the region. By October 1915 Bali-Nyonga was

attacked by them. By the 22nd of that same month, Bamenda station (Menda-Nkwe) was captured[47].

The capture of Bamenda was attributed to the help of the Bali-Nyonga ruling class whose relations with the Germans had seriously deteriorated. Considering the Bali-Nyonga involvement in the war against the Germans, the Allied troops easily over-ran the territory. The capture of Bali-Nyonga and Bamenda station meant the capture of the entire Division, and a major victory for the Allied troops in the grassland[48]. The British and French then decided to separately occupy the region from c.1916 pending the approval of the other colonial powers[49]. So this finally satisfied their long standing interest in this territory. From this arrangement, we therefore considered the period c.1916-c.1922 as the period before British establishment of full economic and social control over the indigenes of the Division. This was the period during which she implemented the first administration (on trial basis). This administration was heavily backed by the military, such that it could easily be termed a diarchy. The British established this administration without knowing that by 1922, a league of Nations Mandate would be imposed on the region. So when the Mandate came up, it took the British

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[47] G.N. Ndifontah; op.cit. Pg 128-129.

[48] Ibid. The Germans in retaliation ransacked and burnt down the Bali-Nyonga Palace. They then escaped to Rio-Muni (Equatorial Guinea) with colonial documents and other looted materials. For more see: L.H. Gann et al. (eds.); op.cit. 1977. Pg 257; Hunt; Report on the Bali Patrol Bamenda June 1920. Para 4-5 in Bamenda Archives; W.E Hunt; Assessment Report on the Bali Clan 1925. In Bamenda Archives.

[49] Michael Crowder: "West Africa and the 1914-1918 War". In Bulletin de L' Institut Fondmental D'Afrique Noir. Vol. 3. Serie B. Sciences Humaines. IFAN Dakar. 1986. Pg 229.

by surprise. The League formed a Permanent Mandate Commision to serve as an institution that checked and balanced British imperialism in the territory.

Nevertheless, the League of Nations' influence and the unpreparedness of the British colonial administration made it difficult for the colonial officials to cope with the numerous contradictions that the German domination and the world war one on the one hand, and the indigenes' new behaviour on the other had caused in the region. In this regard, the British decided to establish more concrete administrative structures and institutions that would ensure total control of the indigenes and transform in their interest the system of production and distribution in the region from c.1923.

It should further be noted, that at this time the U.S.A. amongst the other capitalist powers had started making her interest in this region known. She came out with the Declaration of the 'No Annexations', 'self determination' and 'open-door' international policies. These pronouncements also came out because the Allies hardly condemned the German colonialism in the territory[50]. The British colonial interests were threatened by these pronouncements, so the British hurriedly established full civilian control over the region by 1923 thereby, de-emphasizing the military nature of the administration. However, this made her to embark on a tighter economic control than ever before.

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[50]Raymond, L.B.; The Native Problem in Africa. Vol. I. Frank cass and Co. Ltd. 1965 pg 53.

In the Division in particular, the problems encountered by the British administration between c.1916 and c.1922 were due to her inability to carve out a clear administrative policy for the region on the one hand, and the nature of the economy and society of the Division as inherited from the Germans on the other. Moreover, the first world war had severely damaged the British economy's financial position.

Meanwhile after the war, the first problem encountered by the British was the kind of administration that was immediately needed to suppress the indigenes. In this case some writers have claimed that an Anglo-French Condominium was established in this region between 1914 and 1916, on military lines. This set the pace for the emergence of the Southern or British Cameroons and the Eastern or French Cameroons and their placement under the League of Nations' and later-on the U.N.O.'s supervision[51].

We could hardly find any evidence of the condominium thesis in our research. Moreover, L. Elango had also differed with the thesis by explaining that though Dobell- a British soldier- was asked to head the Anglo-French administration in this region, on the basis of Finance and personnel the British dominated the French. It was a similar case with authority and military supremacy. These factors often sparked off petty-jealousies between the French and British authorities. Eventually, the

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[51]Some of the Pro-Condominium authors include: LeVine T. Victor, op.cit; Richard Joseph; Radical Nationalism in Cameroon. Social Origins of the U.P.C. Rebellion. The Clarendon Press. Oxford 1977 pg 23-24

administration was split on the basis that each colonial power should administer the region it captured from the Germans[52].

Meanwhile, M. Crowder had earlier on differed with this thesis when he observed that

> "... in each case the Germans were defeated in a pincer movement of superior forces, and their colonies were occupied and administered throughout the war not by a joint Anglo-French Administration... their political unity could have been maintained but in two parts according to the areas which the French and British forces had conquered respectively"[53].

Unfortunately Crowder was too general that the later writers found it convenient enough to interpret the arrangement as a condominium.

With regard to other problems relating to the state and administration of the Division in this period, the British were faced with a situation whereby all the lands were still regarded by the German colonialists as German Crownlands. The British had not yet gained full control over the lands, and the indigenes had hitherto the war also been alienated from their reserves by the Germans. The indigenes complained that lands alloted to them were the worst and very small. For the plantations of the coastal region, the German government had taken care of the supply

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[52]L.Z. Elango: "The Anglo-French Condominium in Cameroon. 1914-1916. The myth and reality". In the International Journal of African Historical Studies. Vol. 18, No. 4 1985. Pg 657. Also J.V. Ngoh. op.cit Pg 80; B.N. Ndifontah op.cit. Pg 130.

[53]Michael Crowder op.cit. Pg 227-229.

of labour to them. So this still served as a threat to the British[54].

In order to solve the immediate problems, the British in 1916 transformed the military administration to a civilian one. But the administration was still heavily backed by the military. A British Resident was stationed at Buea from 1916, for the Southern Cameroons. The entire territory became known as the Cameroons Province. The laws of the then Southern Nigeria were subsequently applied to the region but some major and minor amendments were effected. However, this took firm shape from c.1923. The laws from Southern Nigeria were tantamount to a sequestration of all the German properties in total British ownership and control[55].

Unfortunately for the renascent administration of the Cameroons Province, from 1916 the socio-economic and political contradictions in the Division became more complex than ever. This was caused by the fact that the administration began experiencing serious financial crisis which constantly placed her in a deficit stituation[56]. The deficit situation continued into the 1930s. The deficit

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[54]L.H. Gann et al (eds.); op.cit. Pg 126. Also Raymond L.B. op.cit. Vol. I pg 685-686.

[55]Raymond L.B. op.cit. Vol. I pg 686. In 1916, deficit was reported as 179 and by 1923 it had risen to 809. Note that these debts were carried forward to each new fiscal year. See Great Britain Colonial Office: Reports to the League of Nations on the Administration under Britian of the Southern Cameroons. H.M.S.O. London, 1922-1936.

[56]Ibid Despite the deficit, the administration could manage and survive because she made sure that when the Native treasuries were established in the Division, at least 50% and in some areas 75% of the total tax collected was given to the central administration. This explains the development of a centralized administrative system in the region by the colonialists.

was often attributed by the colonial administators to the fact that the taxation system had not yet been well enforced in the Division especially in the pre-1940s. This financial situation of the administration was further aggravated because of the difficulty in trade revival, caused by the disorganization of the plantation system and international trade by the First World War. Much more serious also was the fact that the cultivation of cash crops in the Division had not yet been well entrenched to have conditioned the indigenes to fully participate in it.

In place of cash crop production there was more local interest in the cultivation of food crops. It was produced under the peasant agricultural system. For this reason, peasant agriculture thrived more than plantation agriculture. This revival of peasant agriculture hardly favoured the new administration because her interest was more in plantation agriculture and the state farms in the Division[57].

Even in the domain of peasant agriculture, its revival should not be exaggerated because the war had created some liquidity shortages in the territory. So this discouraged trade in agricultural goods. By implication the money available for the payment of taxes by the indigenes was also limited. So many of them resorted to resistance

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[57]It should be noted that in the prolonged argument between France and Britain (between 1922-1930) on the boundary, it was the geo-political position of the Division that caused it. Britain had an interest on the German State farms and plantations of the entire territory so much so that she turned down other territorial concessions elsewhere. Britain further wanted to link this region and the plantations of the coast with the Lake Chad so as to channel the peasant produce to Europe. See B.N. Ndifontah; op.cit. Pg 130-131.

against taxes. Nevertheless, the renascent administration effected some early measures that were aimed at trade revival (even in the peasant agricultural goods). These included the removal of the German established customs and trade barriers between this territory and Nigeria. So some long distance trade patterns re-emerged such as the trade with Nigeria. In this regard, the region became opened to the multi-national firms and licensed buyers who left Nigeria and the coastal regions to the Division for trade in the available produce; and the sales of their European manufactures. The state resorted to protecting this system of international trade by determining the prices of the goods to the interest of the firms.

In another light, the new administration could hardly embark on socio-economic development at this early stage not only because of its poor financial situation, but also the nature of the physical environment of the Division. To even understand the Division's montane environment the British needed more funds[58]. This made her to start collaborating more than ever with the missionaries and the multi-national licensed buyers

Even in Britain the financial assistance to the colony was greatly limited because of the war. Moreso because in the other British colonies like Uganda, Egypt, Sudan, Southern Africa, etcetera, rebellions had escalated. These rebellions needed the imperial troops' intervention. As a

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[58]John Hatch; The History of Britain in Africa from the 15th century to the present. Deutsch 1969. Pg 206.

consequence more finance was needed. The impact of these on the Division was that the administrators were left to develop their own means of raising finance. It was as a result of this that the colonialists began introducing their monetization policies on the indigenes. This began with taxation[59] whose impact could only be felt by 1923.

The earliest of the monetary policies that the colonial administration in the Division instituted was targeted against the German currency that was still the medium of exchange in the area. The administration and buyers made the currency (the German Mark) to be in apparent shortage. This shortage caused a situation whereby, even government labour was paid for in barter using salt and tobacco bought from Ikom in South Eastern Nigeria. This liquidity situation was made worse when amidst disorganization and confusion an outburst of influenza in the Division occured in 1918 killing an estimated ten thousand taxable males in the territory. So this further aggravated the labour shortage that had been reported in the Division[60].

Apart from the financial limitations of the colonial government, the collapse of the German administration in the interregnum also affected the state of its socio-economic institutions and structures in the Division. It was reported that in the government (state) farms in the

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[59] P.M. Kaberry and E.M. Chilver. op.cit Vol. 30 1960. Pg 9.

[60] Regarding handing-over notes of Government Farm at Buea from Cpt. W.G. Ambrose to J.G. Maxwell 1919-1920. B. 1963/1919-CSE 3/11/12 NAE.

Division, pasture had either decomposed or was chocked with weeds especially bush growth. plants; ploughs; wagons; etcetera were generally in bad condition. These were caused by the war and the fact that the British administration in the area could not maintain them. Animals in many cases were old or in poor condition (diseased); and the few labourers were idle unless watched. Some of these labourers often took advantage of every opportunity for petty pilfering[61].

In education, the schools were closed since 1914. The ban on the vernacular schools saw the submergence of Lamsaw and Mungaaka as lingua-franca in the Division, especially for elementary instructions. There were no books, shortages or no teachers or even pupils to be taught in any area where school was going on. This educational problem was very acute to the new administration because she needed to establish a system of communication on the one hand[62], and train some elites on the other. In this regard, her control of the indigenes was not effective in the pre-1920s. Moreover, this problem became very fundamental because even in the post-independent era the regimes and researchers faced this impact because the war ravages led to the burning and looting of some of the German colonial

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[61] Ibid.

[62] L. Todd. "Language Options for Education in a Multi-lingual Society" . In Chris Kennedy (ed.); op. cit. 1983. Pg 161-164. Great Britain Colonial Office; Reports for the Year 1925. H.M.S.O. London 1926. Pg 85.

documents and files by the Germans and the British[63]. The destruction was exemplified by the burning of the Bali-Nyonga Palace by the Germans. So very little or no information existed for the British to work on and establish an administrative policy for this region.

Apart from these, our informants complained that some indigenes were tortured (even to death); had their properties destroyed or looted by the Germans and even some British troops on patrol during this period. These increased their resentment of the whiteman, be him of whatever European nation. Structures like the German fort were badly damaged by the Allies.

Amongst the indigenes, a pattern of conflict was emerging. The German-imposed vassalages under the Bali-Nyonga Fondom were breaking away and the nation was disintergrating. The indigenes' crops and settlements suffered from destruction from the conflicting parties. So a general insecurity and uncertainty reigned. Ethnic groups rose up in complex patterns of migration, reclaiming their agricultural lands and areas of settlement which the Germans had confiscated. The indigenes had also abandoned the the maintenance of German roads so they were in bad shape. Bridges were in a horrible state, and did not bother the indigenes because they had resumed using their local footpaths that were considered as shorter and more secured.

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[63]Interview with Mr. Wang Johnson. Provincial Chief of Archives. Bamenda Archives. 15th August 1993.

Even though the war was over, there was no report of arms trafficking which was going on during the war. The indigenes, nonetheless, revived their manufacture of dane guns and it was in high circulation. By 1924, over three thousand flint lock muzzle loading guns were reported in the entire southern Cameroons (mostly in the Division), in possession of the indigenes[64].

For the German assets, there was a struggle between the merchants of the West African Association, the indigenes and the British government for ownership and control of them. The Merchants demanded for public auction in place of tender sale. The government, the British Merchants on the one hand, and the indigenes on the other, were then placed at logger-heads, especially when the British merchants were beginning to be favoured[65]

The most lucrative of these German assests were the plantations and state farms. However, there was a situation of acute labour shortage in them. By 1916, the labour strength was only about 13,000 with volunteer and absentee labourers being 8,800[66]. Despite the wage increase (by the British administration) from 4½d per deim

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[64]Great Britain Colonial Office; Reports for 1825 op.cit. Pg 27. Most of th guns found were manufactured by the indigenes during the war and after. Others were stolen from the soldiers. This increased the tendency of inter-polity rivalries and migrations.

[65]If the indigenes were allowed to own these properties they were to exploit it communally. This meant that the profits would go to the local community. See Enemy Property in the Cameroon and Togoland disposed. SNP 8/3 Acct. No. 22/1920 N.A.K.; Also Association of European Civil Servants in West African Colonies SNP 8/3 Acct. No. 18/1919 N.A.K.; Cameroons Plnatations. Question of the supply of labour for Re... CSE 5/12 N.A.E.

[66]Cameroons Plantations, Questions of the supply of labour. Ibid.

to 6d per deim, the indigenes were not attracted. This led to the importation of labour from Lagos (Nigeria) at 9 pence; and Bamenda Division at 6 pence. The Hausa labourers imported from Nigeria proved inadequate in productivity. High death rates were often recorded amongst the labourers because of the imposed contract labour system[67]. These deaths resulted mostly from pneumonia; diarrhoea and ankylostomiasis. The labourers from the Division died mostly because of flogging which was the impact of the breakdown of the institution of checks and balances in the plantations[68]. The impact of these deaths on the administration was that her financial situation was aggravated because her taxable population kept on reducing especially in the plantation regions. These deaths further discouraged the indigenes from offering their labour to the colonialists. The next alternative to the administration was forceful recruitment of local labour.

Apart from the above problems, the British were also reported to have feared the German influence in the

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[67] Ibid Conservative estimates put the number of deaths at 22 out of 1,100 in 3 months or 8% per annum; and highest among the adult male. This suggested a forced labour situation, amidst very poor socio-economic conditions. These estimates excluded those who died during the recruitment and transportation process. Out of the 8% most were Hausas. The 8% were those who died of ill-health only, therefore, excluding deaths caused by other forces. See Transport carriers on Bamenda station account ... SNP 8/3 Acct. No. 607, 57/1918 NAK. Apart from the deaths caused by illness, some could have been caused by forced labour. Which was staging a come back with the British take-over. A famous incidence of forced labour took place in 1916 when Mr. E.C. Duff a colonial administrator in the Division was transfered to northern Nigeria. He exploited cheap labour by forcing some indigenes to carry him and his property from Bali-Nyonga and Bamenda Station to Northern Nigeria. After paying the carriers; in April 1917, the carriers were later accused by the Resident in Buea of having been over paid by 9.4s.6d pounds. So they were obliged to refund the money.

[68] See Labour for Cameroons Plantations Calprof 5/6/242 NAB. Also, Regarding labour for plantations in the Cameroons Province. B. 1109/16. CSE 3/8/7 N.A.E.; Regarding the collection of poll tax in British Cameroons: c. 78/1916 - CSE 5/11/11. N.A.E.

territory. Some considerable degree of pro-German propaganda was going on in the British northern and southern Cameroons. However, this was shortlived, because it was soon realized to be based on unreliable rumours from some Yoruba and partly educated long distance traders[69] from the Benue regions, Abeokuta and Ibadan. Concrete assurance against pro-Germanism further came up in 1918[70].

Up to this level we have seen that liquidity crisis was the most important set back to the indigenes. Nevertheless, it was made accute when at the inception of the administration, in spite of its economic measures a general commercial depression and economic contraction hit the colonial government. The indigenes began suffering from socio-economic crises like food shortages forced labour exploitation, break-down in medical, health, educational and road infrastructural services. Mortality and morbidity increased. Michael Crowder summerized these thus:

> "... the commercial situation was that of initial shock and dislocation, new adaptation to new overseas market situations in particular, the replacement of Germany by Britain as chief customer and the

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[69] Pro-German Propaganda: SNP 8/3 Acct. No. 593/29/1918 N.A.K.

[70] Ibid. Also, Enemy properties in Cameroon and Togoland disposed of: SNP 8/3 Acct. No 22/1920. N.A.K.; Anti-Islamic German Documents captured in German East Africa relative to ... S.N.P. 8/3 Acct. No. 446 of 180/1916, N.A.K.; German Mark rate of Exchange in the Cameroons: S.N.P. 8/3 Acct. No. 529/120/1917 N.A.K.; Regarding the collection of poll tax in British Cameroons op.cit. Lord F. Lugard recommended in July 1917 that the German Mark be devalued to 7d or 75 centines per pound sterling. He claimed that it was what was obtained in the French territory. The devaluation was effected by 1919 as we shall see in the subsequent chapters. This devaluation also checked the fear that the British had on the Germans in and out of the region.

depression caused by the accute shortage of shipping resulting from German sub-marine activity"[71]

The impact of these contractions which was a general decline in the material conditions of the indigenes further led to the emergence of a new political behaviour in the Division. This behaviour centred around the re-strengthening of some of the local institutions and socio-economic systems of the polities by their ruling classes. The ruling bureaucracies of the polities began struggling to regain their powers that were lost or affected by the German administration. In this struggle, excesses occured like domestic slavery[72].

While states like Nsaw and those of Ndop were regaining their might, the contrary occured in Nsungli area. Here there was political disintegration whereby the Tikar groups (Tang, Ndu amongst others) were breaking off from the Mbwat Suzerainty, hitherto imposed by the Germans[73]. As we mentioned earlier, a similar tendency occured in the Bali-Nyonga German imposed suzerainty, with the vassals rebelling against Fon Fonyonga II, declaring their independence. The rebels included the Bambunji;

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[71]M. Crowder: op.cit. Pg 234. Also A. Calver: op.cit. Pg 41-42. Oil in some European countries like Britain were reported to be too small to have coped with the quantities reported of palm products and other raw materials from German Kamerun. The British government had to establish more Mills at Liverpool; London; Hull; Thames and Frith. British farmers were alerted of the possibility of adapting the use of palm kernel cake, amongst others.

[72]Great Britain colonial office; Reports 1924 op.cit 1925. Pg 24.

[73]See Nsungli Area Bamenda Division. Reassesement Reports. by E.W. Carpenter. E.P. 11337[8] CSE 11/86/5568 NAB. Also J.C. Drummond-HayAsst. D.O. op.cit. Pg 6-23.

Bamenjong and Bamyensi (since 1915), who retired to their orginal settlements. In the same area, the collapse of the Bali-Nyonga suzerainty was encountered with attempts of consolidation and expansion of the Guzang amongst the Moghamaw speaking polities. As a consequence, they provided support to these rebelling polities[74].

It is instructive to note, that the increase in population could also have conditioned these splits amongst the polities, especially in the Bali-Nyonga suzerainty. So most of the British efforts in 1915; 1916; 1920 to bring them back under the initial status-quo had to fail[75]. Only Bossa remained under the Bali-Nyonga. The consequence of this development was the British suspension of the Fon of Bali-Nyonga's 3% stipend on taxes collected from the Moghamaw and Menemo speaking polities that split off. It was replaced with an annual subsidy of 120 pounds and Bali-Nyonga was given the right over landed properties of the freed villages. However, the land problem still existed[76]. In the Ndop plain, the imposition of British administration further prevented the emergence of a large

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[74]B.N. Ndifontah, op.cit. Pg 133. Also W.E. Hunt. Confidential Report E. 22/1920 of 15/12/1920. Bamenda Archive.

[75]Ibid. Pg 133. It is also instructive to note that the increase in population could have caused the splits because of the socio-economic tensions which induced both the land hunger and poor conditions of living from the German era to the post War I period.

[76]The British used this action because the Bali-Nyonga greatly assited them during the World War I with intelligence information. The information facilitated their penetration of the Division and a consequent defeat of the Germans. The Balis also providedthe British with food, carrier transport assistance and showed them the shortest and safest footpaths to the strategic areas of the Division. See W.E. Hunt Confidential Memo on the Bali Area Bamenda. 3/10/1921. Bamenda Archives. W.E. Hunt. Confidential Report No. C$_7$/21 of 10/6/1921. Bamenda Achives.

centralized state that would bring the small numerous polities under its control like the case of Nsaw. However, in the Ngoni area, a centralized state system was emerging amongst the Bamezeng[77].

Moreover, the poor material conditions of the indigenes further made the peasants to be confused and bewildered because the limited cash crops hardly fetched any favourable market returns. In this case, there emerged a reversal of economic values - 'revisionism'. The indigenes retired to their pre-colonial technology, production and trade systems. The markets for their products seriously contracted, causing them to concentrate on food crops production in lieu of cash crops. These were grown largely for subsistence purpose and not for the market. Old trade patterns were revived as we mentioned earlier, especially the trade with neighbouring eastern Nigeria which the Germans had prevented in their days thereby, strengthening their revision. Correspondingly, there was an increase in the migration of Hausa traders in particular, and other cattle graziers (nomads) from Northern Nigeria and Cameroon into the region for trade; pasture and subsequent settlement.

The purchasing power of the indigenes had fallen with barter often replacing trade by currency. In this regard, export trading became concentrated in palm oil, kernels and tobacco that were carried on long distances by the

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[77]J.C. Drummond Hay op.cit. Also; Assessment Report of Ngoni Area 1930. CSE 1/85/3663 NAE.

indigenes to the Nigerian region for exchange for European articles amongst other necessities[78].

The most predominant economic activity remained agriculture for subsistence, and for cash, though haphazardly organized. A few artisans, and formerly German employed indigenes also existed. These socio-economic groups gradually promoted the development of internal trading. However, since the level of proliferation of palm produce trade was relatively low the little surpluses that accrued from food crops production were still exchanged with the plantation zones and within the disorganized internal market. Bali-Nyonga and Nsaw markets remained the largest and most popular markets. Palm oil trade was almost a monopoly of the Ngie and Kaka traders, in the Bali-Nyonga and Nsaw markets respectively. Other indigenous traders began taking theirs to Nkongsamba in French Camerouns, using carriers, on very harsh conditions[79]. Others went as far as Ikom and Calabar via Mamfe; or to Victoria.

Even the Widekum market before 1920 began to develop as another centre of trade especially in palm oil. This made the British to later-on term this region as one of the richest oil belts in the whole of Nigeria and the Cameroons[80]. This trading centre could easily develop because the Germans had connected this region with Bali-

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[78]Great Britain Colonial Office. op.cit. 1925 pg 86.

[79]Drummond-Hay, op.cit. Para. 249-257.

[80]Ibid Para 202-208. Also Great Britain Colonial Office. op.cit. 1925 Pg. 85.

Nyonga by road. However, because the German system of production and distribution was not well entrenched in the Division, this road system could hardly develop the palm oil trade until during this British era. European manufactures entered the Division from the coastal region or Nigeria through this trading zone. But because of the presence of the licensed buyers and oil pressing factories in the French territory at Nkongsamba, the Santa trading outlet began emerging as the most popular trade route in the Division. The outlets in the Nsaw, Nsungli and Nkambe areas were becoming popular in kolanuts trade[81] and in the immigration of the pastoralists and nomads to the Division.

In the central part of the Division (Ndop, Bamenda Plateau and Bali-Nyonga regions) the trade was getting concentrated in food crops. It was so because it was the main bread basket of the Division. The food crops that were cultivated such as maize, guinea corn, plantains and sweet potatoes were exchanged for the palm produce or kolanuts from their respective areas of cultivation[82]. These crops were also exchanged for other crafts. On the contrary, the German-introduced Irish potatoes was getting less popular in Nsaw and the Santa regions because of their low demand and poor means of preservation. In spite of these, the new administration did not give it the economic support which she did to the production of palm produce - by licensing their sales.

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[81] Great Britain Colonial Office Ibid pg 93.

[82] Ibid. pg 93

Even Livestock rearing also continued to form an economic mainstay, conditioned by the physical environmental forces which always attracted nomads from northern Nigeria and French Cameroun. These nomads always ended up settling in the Division. Cattle trade was nonetheless limited because of the transportation and liquidity problems, human and livestock deaths. These deaths were caused by illness, diseases that were encountered by the graziers during the migration process to the Division, and outside to the markets. Bamenda was becoming an important cattle market, even though the war had dislodged the market site[83].

At this juncture, it would be misleading to accept the colonialist claim that the economic set-up between c.1916 and c.1922 produced a favourable condition for the indigenes[84]. Trade and commercial activities, were still inferior and organized on family basis[85]. Apart from the liquidity shortages, purchasing power was so low that barter trade often came. Long distance trade would also not have proved profitable because of the limited quantities of goods that the porters (carriers) could transport. These conditions ended up limiting the indigenes' ability to accumulate some capital.

The indigenes's capacity to accumulate some capital was further limited because some Europeans (Germans

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[83] Ibid pg 94

[84] J.S. Hogendorn; op. cit. 1978.

[85] Great Britain Colonial Office. 1925 op.cit. Pg 91

mostly), and other Africans, especially the soldiers and missionaries who had earlier constituted a market force, had been ousted from the Division during the war. This was consolidated by the new British administration in the Division. The few Europeans that came under the new administration dictated the prices of goods and services to their favour. They exploited cheap and free labour for their domestic purposes; and also expropriated cheap and free food on their early tours all over the Division[86]. In the midst of these conditions, the British maintenance of the German tax at take-over made things worse.

Infant mortality and morbidity rose, because of the spread of diseases during and after the World War I and the inability of the European authorities (of the new administration) to take care of the indigenes' health problems. But more importantly, the indigenes' poor standards of living was also of great concern. Besides, the decline in trade and commerce created an acute shortage of liquidity in the Division. This resulted in a fall in the indigenes' pruchasing power. These explain the indigenes' preference of barter exchange.

3.5 Consolidation of British Colonial Administration in Bamenda Division:

We have emphasized the role of the administration in this process of transformation in the period c. 1916-c.1922. It was therefore from 1923 that the British

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[86] Ibid. Pg 88.

colonial authorities established an administrative policy for the Division. However, the polices were not static but dynamic, with the central objective being that of maintenance of the British presence, law and order. These were the conditions needed for an external oriented economy to be established in the Division.

The British administration in the Division framed its policies in line with the following recommendations of Dr. Walter Busse of the Imperial German Colonial Office

> "... in Cameroon as in other parts where land is being opened up for agriculture, the conditions ofsettlement of the natives; the density of the population; the general standards of civilization; and the capacity of the natives for any particularkind of activity; all play an important role. Anda proportion of the people are inclined towards agriculture, so attention must be paid to the inclinations and needs of the separate races, and lastingto the extent of organization and methods of nativeagriculture ... The German colonial government has laidit down as a principle that native agriculture in thetropical colonies should be allowed to develop freelyside by side with plantations under European control, where-ever this does not interfere with higher intrests.Local conditions will determine how far in each particularregion this or that method of organizing agriculture is tobe preferred. But where-ever climate, soil and condition of settlement do not admit plantation culture, and a nativepopulation capable of production, the government will asa matter of course, encourage native agriculture as muchas possible, and by this means, create an improved economicposition"[87]

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[87] A. Calvert. op.cit. Pg 150-152. This report was of much technical assistance to the British who were in great need of information to guide her frame a policy of colonial exploitation of the Southern Cameroons' resources. These recommendations were based on a misconcepted assessment of Africa as an undeveloping estate thereby, inviting European investments which needed the establishment of a strong Agriculture Department in the Division to persuade the Fon and their subjects to grow cash crops like cotton, kolanuts, fibres, cocoa, coffee and rubber. These colonialists were also interested in promoting research on the problems of tropical medicine and agriculture through the royal Botannical Gardens in Victoria (Limbe). Unfortunately, the ambition hardly succeded because the research schools and centres were controlled from the centre in Britain.

In order to achieve this objective, J. Chamberlain later developed the policy of "Departmental Planning" for the region[88]. This strategy demanded an institutionalization of and subsequent increase in taxation and other economic levies on the indigenes and some European firms, as a means of generating some revenue for the colonial government. These revenues were needed for infrastructural building to serve the socio-economic needs of the population and the colonial exploiters. The success in generating it was attained through the government's collaboration with the private sector - the multinational firms; missionaries and Native Authorities which she regarded as "Voluntary Agents"

We had noted earlier that it was the British prime interest to maintain a supremacy over the indigenes and also check any pro-German propaganda. Between c.1916 and c.1922 these had been followed up through some administrative trials. By 1923 more concrete state structures were established. The function of the state was to co-ordinate the transformation process through its forms of checks on and re-organizations of the state institutions and the Private Sector. In this regard, a colonial bureaucracy was established made up of European and African Staff. The Europeans were at the topmost positions followed by the Africans (Nigerians and Cameroonians).

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[88]Sir Frederick Pedler "British Planning and Private Enterprise in Colonial Africa" in L.H. Gann et al (eds.) op.cit. 1975. Pg 100-102.

Between c.1916 and 1921, the administrative personnel in the Division was very limited and largely military. This staff came under the control of a civil administrator and backed by the mili-tary as seen earlier. The civil administrator was known as the Divisional Officer (D.O.). The ealiest of the D.Os. was G.S. Podevin, who had administrative instructions on the 1st January 1916 to work in close contact with the military regime[89]. Faced with the problems of the indigenes' resistance to the British presence, amongst others, (but most importantly the disintegration of the German structures and imposed authorities like that of the Bali-Nyonga suzerainty), G.S. Podevin devised a repressive method which was characterized by military patrols. He terrorized and forced the indigenes to accept the British presence and state authority. Intelligence, confidential, Assessment and Re-assessment Report missions were sent for the purpose of information collection about the indigenes' modes of production[90]. However, the missions were rendered difficult especially because of the language problem and the death of some of the Fons like those of Bamali, Bali-Kumbat, Bambanki-Tungaw, Bande (Mankon) amongst others. It

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[89] See Telegraphic Instructions for officers serving in the Cameroons 1915-1916 C.S.E. 1/86/131 N.A.E. It emphasized that the region remained "... under the civil administration of Nigeria..." and the civil administrator G.S. Podevin should"... work in complete harmony with the military authorities and assist them in everyway ... also of vital importance and essential that he shall work in harmony with any French he may come in contanct with and there must be no cause of friction ... report as soon as possible and from time to time what he has been able to include under his control ... should use every effort to include as much as possible". These instructions further strengthens our position about the non-existence of a condominium in this region. Also E.M. Chilver, op.cit. 1963. Pg 98-104

[90] These demanded for information on the German and pre-colonial past in respective areas like: ethnology; history; language; geography; taxation; society and economy.

should be noted that the difficulty was accute because the information needed was a monopoly of these ruling authorities[91]. Podevin was gradually accepted not as a result of military conquest, but largely because of the interests the indigenous ruling classes had.

By 1920, the administrative presence had extended to Wum and Kimbaw from the central post of Bamenda station. The border with the French Cameroons received attention and Bagham and its three sub-towns, and the following villages viz: Bamesso, Bamessinge, Babeta, Bati, Bamunkumbo, Baminyam, Bali-Ghashu, Babadju and Bamenjida (with an estimated population of 24,500 people and surface area of 450m^2) were ceded to France as part of the imperialist efforts at imposing an inter-regional boundary between the French and British Cameroons. It also aimed at determining the geographical spread of Bamenda Division. From 1921 till the 1950s, very strict border restrictions to movement in and out of the territories under Britain and France were established. Hence, the indigenes required travelling passports:[92]. The borderline was delimited to pass through Dshang and Bamum-land bordering the Division.

By 1925, the colonial bureaucracy had the following as its ruling class; The Governor (later-on Governor General); Lt. Governor (later-on Field Commissioner); the colonial civil service - field staff of Residents, D.Os., the army

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[91]See Reports for the Cameroons Province 1920. C.S.E. 35/1/45 NAE.

[92]Ibid. Also see Request for Passport before entering French Cameroons 1921.C/71921 - Calprof 5/11/6 1921 N.A.E.

and Police[93]. Overtime, this class grew larger because of the expanding economy and the state's consolidation of its administrative machinery.

3.5.1 The Establishment of Native Authority System of Administration

The colonial state by 1922, began consolidating its grip on the society by enforcing the local government system of administration. This was done through the creation of Native Authority (N.A.) units within the Division. These were established through Ordinances. The first of the Ordinances was the N.A. Ordinance which was enacted in 1915 in Nigeria and extended to the Division in 1916. But it did not take firm root until it was revised in 1925 and 1933[94]. This Ordinance gave powers of Native administration to some Fons in the Division. The functions of these N.As. were to maintain order, appoint some Native Police; prevent committing of offences by the indigenes and themselves. On necessity, the N.As. could arrest the intending offender. Where no recognized Fon existed, the Native Court was gazetted as the N.A. So in some areas, N.As were also Native Courts.

Theoretically, N.A. represented ethnic units that were in existence at the time of the British take-over[95]. In

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[93] J.S. Coleman; Nigeria, Background to Nationalism Univ. of California Press Los Angeles. 1971 pg 45.

[94] Raymond L.B op.cit Vol I pg688-689. Also Great Britain colonial office; Reports for 1924 HMSO London 1925 pg7

[95] See Annual Report on Cameroons Province (1920) by J. Davidson op.cit.

the pre-1949 era the British largely maintained most of the polities as they were even in the mid-19th century Bamenda Division.

Amongst the earliest N.As. that were established in the pre-1923 era was Bali-Nyonga (Ba'ni) N.A. The Germans had once created this region their administrative (District) headquarters. The British ended up reducing the size of this N.A. unit to the position it was in the mid-19th century. By 1924 its Fon was gazetted as the N.A. head on 120 pounds per annum[96].

It should be noted that the British finally reduced the size of this N.A. unit because before c.1922 some of the polities of the Widekum areas which the Bali-Nyonga Fon controlled, had managed to break-away. British efforts at reinstating them under Bali-Nyonga largely failed. Thus the British changed from supporting the Bali-Nyonga ruling authorities thereby conditioning the N.A. unit to be relatively small. The N.A. only expanded to Bali-Gham by 1949[97].

By 1919 the diagreements that the Widekum polities had with the Bali-Nyonga conditioned the British authorities to create the Ngemba N.A., and placed it under the then Fon of Mankon and Fon Mama of Bafawchu[98]. This N.A. included the Mankon, Bapinyi, Bangwa, Santa, Menda-Nkwe and other Ngemba

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[96]Talla Eballa et al. (eds.); op.cit. Pg 26

[97]P.N. Kaberry, et al. op.cit 1961 pg 357.

[98]Great Britain Colonial Office; Reports 1924 op.cit. 1925 pg 14 . Also, P.N. Kaberry et al, op.cit Vol. 30 No. 1. 1960 pg 10.

speaking groups in the region. By implication this was created in order to bring down the authority of Bali-Nyonga. This new structure made these ruling Fons to give the British colonialists their support.

The Bafut N.A. was created by 1922. It contained seven village groups, which before British rule appeared to have been almost autonomous even though they sent tributes to the Fon of Bafut. The village groups included: Bambui; Bambili; Babanki (Kidjom Kitingo); Babanki-Tungaw; Bafreng (Nkwen) and Menda-Nkwe[99]. The British had understood that the Bafut ruling class was hardly in good terms with the Germans. Because the British had dismembered the suzerainty of the Bali-Nyonga Fondom thereby enjoying less popularity there, they decided to recognize the Bafut Fondom as the most powerful in the Division. Afterall the headquarters of the British in the entire Bamenda province (Bamenda Station) was located in the Bafut N.A. So this won the support of the Bafut ruling class and region.

By 1922 also the Nsaw N.A. was created. It came under the Fon of Nsaw and his council of Elders which later assumed the position of an Advisory Council to the N.A.[100] The Nsaw N.A. extended to the Nsungli speaking region. It was made up of mid-19th century Nsaw viz: Nsaw, Mbiami, Nkar, Ndzerem on the one hand, and the conquered chiefdoms

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[99]M. McCulloch; "Tikar" in Daryll Forde; op. cit. International African Institute London 1954 pg 22.

[100]See Nsungli Area Bamenda Division Re-assessment Reports by E.W. Carpenter op.cit. Pg 2-6, 24. Also Nsungli Area (Bamenda Division) Intelligence Report 1934. Pg 7-8. E.P. 11337[A] CSE 1/85/5309. N.A.E.

(seven of them) viz: Dom, Din, Djottin-Vitum, Mbinon Lassin, Nkor and Nser on the other[101]. These were the seven village groups that were long extracted from Nsungli. So the British consolidated the position of Fon-Nsaw by making him the N.A. Head, thereby winning his support. Fon-Nsaw was put under a stipend of 100 pounds a year. The sub-chiefs retained their tax commisions of five per cent that the Germans had established. Their satisfaction with the system could be seen when by 1921 they could collect taxes worth 365 pounds[102].

Before 1923, the Nsungli N.A. had also been created. The same ethnic pattern that the British used in creating the above-mentioned N.As. was applied in this region. So the N.A. was made up of the Wiya groups viz: Kawnchep, Kup, Nyar, Lu and Ndu; the Tang groups viz: Tala, Binka, Tache, (Touche), Taku, Tundip, Sina and Ngapu; and finally the War groups viz: Nkambe, Kungi (Kawngi), Mbinsua (Binshua), Njap, Tsup (shup), Ntumbo (Tumbaw), Ndipji and Mbwat. Ndu was recognized as the leading group in this N.A. unit eventhough this always came under challenge from the other groups[103]. The Fon of Ndu became the N.A. Head.

However, by 1932 due to rivalries and clashes between the three major polities that made up this N.A. unit, separate native administrations and courts were established for them. The heads of the polities were collectively made

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[101] M. McCulloch op.cit. Pg 37.

[102] P.M. Kaberry et al op.cit 1960. Pg 10

[103] M. McCulloch op.cit. Pg 21.

members of the Nsungli native administration. Later-on, each was given its own N.A. and now under the direct supervision of the British D.O. But the resis-tance and intolerance of the indigenes to the colonial administration and taxation made the progress of the administration to be slow[104].

In the Ndop plain, under German rule Babungo was reponsible for collecting taxes from Baba I, Bangolan, Bambalang and Oku (a Nsaw group in the neighbourhood of Baba I and Babungo). The British changed this relationship by establishing an N.A. unit in the entire Ndop (Tikar groups) polities. The N.A. unit was made up of Baba I, Bambalang, Babessi, Bangolan, Bamali, Bamessing, Bafanji, Bamunkumbit including Oku of Nsaw origin and Bali-kumbat of the Chamba-Leko origin. The British transfered the headquarters of colonial administration from Babungo to Bamunka. But the British did not elevate any Fon as supreme over the other as they did in Nsaw, Nsungli, Ngemba and Bafut. Instead, in the N.A. courts' sittings leadership was made to rotate from one Fon to the other[105].

By 1930 the Fons of this N.A. unit were given some stipend largely because the British wanted their participation in the system, especially at a time when the Fons were in constant disagreements. These disagreements made it difficult for the British colonial authority to be entrenched.

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[104] Ibid. Also Annual Reports for the Cameroons Province. op.cit

[105] Ibid. M. McCulloch. Pg 20. Also J.C. Drummond-Hay op.cit. Pg 24-25.

The N.A. Ordinance was accompanied by the Native Court Ordinance which was enacted in Nigeria in 1914, and extended to the Division in 1916. This ordinance was designed for the establishment of native courts and prisons. By 1919, about eighty five cases were tried in the Division, while by 1920, it dropped to fourty three. These cases were all criminal in nature. The courts imposed fines on the criminals as the commonest form of punishment. The state derived revenue through this method[106]. The D.O. always intervened in cases so that state authority remained supreme.

However, British administrative authority could hardly be consolidated before 1922 because the British were not sure of their protectorateship over the region at the expense of Germany as earlier mentioned. But much more important was the fact that soldiers stationed in the Division since take-over in c.1916, were agrieved because of the government's breach of faith with them by failing to pay the following: their allowances and good conduct pay; and gratuities for wounds and non-commissioned missions. State authority was only strengthened from 1925, with the establishment of more N.A. which came through the re-enactment of the British Cameroons administration Ordinance, replacing the German and British military laws with the British Nigerian laws. More native Courts were

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[106] Ibid. Also Reports on Cameroons Province op.cit. CSE 35/1/45. Also Great Britain Colonial Office Reports 1924 op.cit pg 25 pg 20-21. The areas like Mum which strictly speaking were out of Bamenda Division, have been included in these estimates. But a bulk of the cases occured in our Division.

correspondingly established. A court for determining cases between Fons (as a native appeal court) was also established. Accordingly, the patrols of the British administrative officers increased just like there was an increase in the civil service. The laws were beginning to be transformed to suit the realities of the region[107].

The patrols notwithstanding, much lawlessness was still reported in Ngie and Meta areas by 1925. It was such that the Native Courts there were strengthened while assessment was going on in Ndop, Moghamaw and Kom areas. In line with the British legal norms, the courts tried cases like official corruption, extortion of public officers, promotion of 'native' warfare, riot, affray, manslaughter, wounding, assault, slave dealing, stealing, smuggling, indebtedness, lands and matrimonial disputes[108].

Much brute force was applied than ever before, especially in the Ngie and Ngoni areas which before 1935 constituted separate N.A. units. Fons and councillors were imposed in such regions including Meta, Ndop and Nsungli, where small centralized groups existed. The Meta (Menemo) N.A. was formed and it consisted of the small village

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[107]Great Britain Colonial Office; Reports for 1925 HMSO London 1926 pg 19-20, 24-26, 31. Also Great Britain colonial Office Reports for 1926 HMSO London 1927 pg 25-26.

[108]Great Britain Colonial Office 1927. Pg 3. Ibid . Also Great Britain Colonial Office, Reports for 1927 HMSO London 1928 pg 18-21. Great Britain Colonial Office, Reports for 1928 HMSO London 1929 pg 37. The colonialists contradicted themselves in this report which tarnhished their reputation in the League of Nations. R. Kuczynski in Cameroons and Togoland. A Demographic study O.U.P. 1939 observed about these contradictions that the administration claimed satisfcation for example in Ndop and later-on talked of the difficulty of the native councillors to meet except on the occasion of a visit by a political officer. Note however, that the councillors and Fons hardly met because of petty jealousies, rivalries and competitions that existed amongst them which in turn affected the consolidation of British administration.

groups (clans) that were classified as Menemo speaking. By 1930, the Moghamaw N.A. had also been established, owing to the disputes that always took place when the polities that made up this N.A. were either with the Bali-Nyonga or the Menemo. No overall Fon was elevated in any of them as N.A. heads. Instead local councillors were established in them just like it was in the Ndop N.A. unit. Nonetheless, in these N.As., some Fons like Nfawminyen of Menemo and the Fon of Batibo (in the Moghamaw N.A.) could assert some considerable influences[109] over the others.

The British penetration of the Division and consolidation of their administrative structures in the local societies led to a reduction in the crime rate, and reduced resistance to colonial administration. The Native Court Protectorate Ordinance was proclaimed in 1930 amending the previous one[110]. It gave more powers to the civil officers to suspend, reduce, annul or otherwise modify any sentence (save and except a sentence on death) or decision of a native tribunal with some local provisions[111]. This meant a further centralization of judiciary control in the British hands.

In another light, the Native Revenue Ordinance also came along side the Native Court Ordinance. It was enacted for tax collection for the colonial state. The Native

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[109] Meta Clan (Bamenda Division) Intelligence Report op. cit. 1935.

[110] Great Britain Colonial Office, Reports for the Year 1929 HMSO London 1930 pg 44. This implied that more powers were given to the Provincial Court to annul decisions of the Native Courts. The Residents also had more powers over the Provincial and Native Courts.

[111] Raymond L.B. op.cit. Vol. I pg. 693-695.

Administrators were made to collect the taxes. They were nonetheless controlled by the British colonialists.[112] In this above regard, the imposition of the league of Nations mandate on the colony under the British administration by 1922, considerably shifted the British focus towards the generation of revenue. The revenue was needed for the socio-economic plans of the state. For this reason, the N.A. were strengthened and given more financial powers and duties. Such duties included tax collection. Taxes collected increased because of greater efficiency on the part of the collectors[113]. Native treasuries were established for keeping the taxes and other moneys collected. Similarly the colonial government further enforced licensed trading which by 1923 increased her revenue considerably. Other forms of licenses were subsequently established like game and market dues. Customs posts were errected to check the movement of goods and people between the Division and the French mandate.[114] All these policies led to a general suppression of the indigenes. The system placed even the native administrators in a subordinate status to the British colonialists.

By the 1930s the principal N.A. units had been established like the Bafut, Nsaw, Bali-Nyonga (Bani) with their Fons as the Native administrative heads; Meta

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[112] Ibid. Also P.T. Bauer, "British Colonial Africa. Economic Retrospect and Afternath" in L.H. Gann et al. (eds.) op.cit 1975 pg 642.

[113] J.C. Drummond-Hay op.cit. Pg 107-109.

[114] Great Britain Colonial Office, Reports. op.cit. 1927 pg 17. Also Great Britain Colonial Office, Reports op.cit 1928 pg 11.

(menemo); Nsungli; Ngie; Ngoni; with three or four fons, each appointed. Ndop, Ngemba, Moghamaw had only N.A. councils with a number of members[115] even though the Ngemba N.A. was largely controlled by the Fons of Mankon and Bafawchu. However, the Nsaw (Bansaw), Bafut and Bali (Bani) N.A. dominated those in the entire Division because they operated large native treasuries. Meanwhile by 1929 all the N.A. had received warrants for their Native Courts and their native administrations were gazetted. The Native Administrators were taught British notions of law and order by the British administrators.[116] These Native administrations were designed to work in sub-committees. The day-to-day affairs were dealt with by an executive committee of councillors who supported the British administration. This administrative structure was supported by a public service which by 1954, was controlled by Nigerians[117a].

A bulk of the studies on British colonialism in the Southern Cameroons have termed this system of local government as indirect-rule[117b]. The British administrators (as it is implied by those writers), abandoned the German direct-rule (iron) system for the indirect. Also, that the indirect rule was more humane than the direct one[118]. On

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[115] Ibid. Great Britain Colonial Office 1927.

[116] Great Britain Colonial Office, Reports for the Year 1954 HMSO London 1955 pg 27.

[117a] Ibid. Also T. Eyongetah, et al. (eds.) op.cit

[117b] J.V. Ngoh, op.cit. Pg 163-167; T. Eyongetah et al. (eds.) op.cit pg 141-142.

[118] Ibid

the contrary, our findings in this region proved some-thing different. Firstly, M. Perham (amongst others), acknowledged, that the system was in actual fact not thoroughly indirect[119]. So we find the claim that the system was indirect to be very erroneous[120]. Besides, we have seen how the British administrative authorities often interfered with the indigenes' political and economic systems. The interference was most pronounced during the indigenes' resistance to the British administration as we shall see later.

Indirect rule in reality was a term used to blanket the truth about the colonial system. It is therefore colonialist to call the system indirect because Lord Lugard himself noted that the Native administrators often had their rights checked[121a] just like it was in Bamenda Division.

Given this administrative set-up, the indigenes were made to live in constant oppression from the colonial police and court officials. The tax collectors often exploited the peasants. The N.A. system often placed the indigenes against each other, especially on ethnic and political lines. This was most evident in the Nsaw N.A., Ndop and Meta N.A. where the tax collectors and Police

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[119]Lord F. Lugard. op.cit. Pg XXXVI-XLI.

[120]See P.K. Tibenderana; Sokoto Province Under British rule 1903-1939. A.B.U. Press 1988 amongst others.

[121]a. Lord F. Lugard op.cit. Pg 197, 212-213. Such checks included their recruitment of local Police Force. They were also open to court action. For more see Great Britain Colonial Office. Reports for 1935. HMSO London 1936 pg 8, 13-14.

recruits were often reported to be resented by the civilian population.

Furthermore, the colonial administrators also evolved the policy of including the N.A. in the provision of social services. Prior to 1920, not much had been achieved in education, health and public welfare, agriculture, forestry, livestock and public works. With regard to education, no government or voluntary primary school of the sixth standard could be found in the Division, as in the plantations zone[121b]. The N.As. and Missionaries were then given the right over administration, health and education. By 1925, this policy was consolidated by reinstating the German missionary institutions that were hitherto banned from operating in the region. The German Basler and Baptist missionaries then returned to the Division and continued with their missions. They were joined by the French Protestants and the Roman Catholic Missionaries. All of them had their headquarters at the Bamenda Station (Menda-Nkwe)[122].

In the 1930s also, the N.As. were made to work closer with the District heads; traditional authorities and the European staff. Federation was encouraged amongst the N.A. units, but this was short-lived because of the limited funds available to the N.A. for socio-economic development.

[121b]. Great Britain Colonial Office; Reports op.cit 1925 pg 12-14.

[122]Great Britain Colonial Office; Reports 1932 HMSO London 1933 pg 8, 13. Also Forestry Administration of the Cameroons Annual Report 1930. Pg 19. CSE 1/86/235 N.A.E.; Translation of German Law. Native Taxation Ordinance 1913. op.cit; An Assessment Report of Ngoni Area op.cit. Pg 1-2, 12-13; Meta clan (Bamenda Division) Intelligence Report op.cit. 1935. Pg 13-14, 27-29, 37-135.

The strengthening of the N.A. also came through a decentralization of the treasuries from the central control of the Senior Divisional Officer. Nsaw was the first area affected (in 1932). There, the Native administrators were given complete financial responsibilities, but under the overall control of the D.O. Kaka-Ntem of the Nsungli area was also touched and each was granted separate tax collection status. It was a similar arrangement in the Ngie, Ngoni and Meta areas[123]. In Ngoni in particular part of the N.A. unit prefered to indentify themselves with the Ngemba N.A., so they brought their taxes there.

The meta area was in particular interesting because of the recognition of the Fon of Tabi and subsequently, Fon Nfawminyen and Nfawngu as the heads of the N.A. However, rivalries, competitions still prevailed thereby, threatening the system of administration. In 1930 the Fon of Tabi fell prey to the British law and was sentenced to six months imprisonment for attempting to prevent justice on a case of manslaughter. V.P. Mekai anothr clan head in Metaland was also sanctioned for the same crime. The Fon of Tabi lost his N.A. status, while V.P. Mekai was imprisoned for illicit distillation[124]. These created a tense atmosphere that scared the indigenes and helped reduce the crime rate. The N.A. was then split into three major ones with native courts each. In order to ensure

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[123]See Local Police Force in the British Cameroons. CSE 12/1/680 (1927-1936) N.A.B. Also Correspondence relating to Annual Report on Cameroons Province E.J. Arnett, E.P. 1301 IX-CSE 12/1/329; I.M. Buchanan, et al. (eds.); op. cit. 1965 Pg 246.

[124]Meta clan (Bamenda Division) Intelligence Report op.cit.

adequate attendance, three village group councillors were nominated to sit weekly (in rotation) as required, though nothing precluded any other member from sitting in the courts at any time he wished.

Correspondingly, the increased responsibilities of the N.A. and the maintenance of state authority by the British colonialists led to an increase in the number of Police Officers. Some of these came from Nigeria and even the French territory (especially from 1927) as non-commissioned officers (N.C.O.) with training at Enugu[125]. On the other hand, some Fons' attendants in polities like Bali-Nyonga began seizing indigenes' farmlands and property in the name of the Fon. This coincided with the reconstruction of the Bali-Nyonga Palace which was the N.A. headquarters. Tax extortion increased together with forced labour. The Fon was fed with poor and biased advice by certain self-interested N.A. officials such that he ended up antagonising the indigenes and neighbouring polities like Pinyin on issues concerning agriculture[126].

It was only from 1949 that the N.A. Federation system succeeded in maintaining some relative control of the indigenes by the British. During this period the Bafut N.A. largely came under the direct control of the Senior

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[125]Great Britain Colonial Office, Reports op.cit 1928 pg 25.

[126]B.N. Ndifontah, op.cit. Pg 141. Also P.M. Kaberry, et al. op.cit. vol. 30 No 1 1960 pg 11, 14-15. The Bali-Nyonga ruling authorities accused the Pinyin farmers and traders in vegetables of fertilizing their crops with artificial fertilizers to the extent that the crops caused health hazards in human beings. This was the hottest of the crises that had evolved between these people. The Pinyin people resorted to a boycott of the Bali-Nyonga market. In Nsaw there were embezzlement scandals which was possible because of the lumpsum method of tax collection that was adopted.

Divisional Officer (S.D.O.) for this area. His headquarter was found at Menda-Nkwe and it was known as Bamenda Station. This does not mean that the position of the Fon of Bafut was threatened. It remained intact especially because his monthly stipend was maintained, his role in the courts within his N.A. unit remained as powerful as it was. The British further gave him a means of travelling - a vehicle. His Palace was also said to have been reconstructed through British support[127].

According to the new N.A. structure (federated system), there was the North Eastern Federated N.A. units made up of Mbembe, Mfunte, Misaje, Mbem, Mbaw, Tang, Wiya, War of the former Nsungli N.A. units. Then the South Western Federated N.A. units made up of Ngwo (Ngoni), Ngemba, Meta (Menemo), Moghamaw in the Widekum area. Lastly, there was the South Eastern Federated N.A. units made up of the Nsaw, Ndop and Bafut N.A. units; - all of Tikar origin. The Bali-Nyonga (Bani) N.A. was isolated in this system, so she remained alone. Each of these federated N.A. units had a central treasury and council[128] Neither of the Federations nor the N.A. were made to coincide entirely with ethnic boundaries, as it existed in the past. For example the North Eastern Federated N.A. units had Mbem,Mbaw, Wiya, War, and Tang of Tikar ethnic groups together with non-Tikar groups N.A. units such as

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[127] R. Eugene et al. (eds.). op.cit. Pg 12, 18, 30-32, 116.

[128] M. McCulloch, op.cit. Pg 11.

Mbembe, Mfunte and Misaje[129]. This system of federating the N.A. finally satisfied the British policy of centralizing the administration into their hands and undertaking the transformation process in a centralized and planned manner. Under such a system, the S.D.O. exercised supreme administrative and financial control in the Division.

3.6 Indigenous Response to British Authority

It should not be regarded however, that the imposition and consolidation of British administrative structures and policies in Bamenda Division, and the drive at maintaining state authority went on with resistance. The resistance took many forms. In general, the British presence was disliked by most of the indigenes because it frustrated their attempts at reviving their pre-colonial socio-economic systems. These pre-colonial systems had also been badly affected by the World War I, the colonial policies and the great depression. In May 1918, it was reported that the European withdrawal of some of their troops from the Division to Nigeria was much saluted by the indigenes[130]. In 1924, with the remaining withdrawal of the soldiers from Bamenda Station to Abakaliki in Nigeria, rumours spread that the British were leaving[131a]. When the British did not leave finally, the resentment increased.

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[129] Ibid. Pg 11.

[130] Ibid. Also Pre-German Propaganda op.cit.

[131a] Great Britain Colonial Office, Reports op.cit 1927 pg 22-23.

The earliest form of resistance was that against taxes, which necessitated the use of Police Force from 1916[131b] resistance against forced labour (especially for the plantations in the coastal Divisions); and against the native courts, the administration and the missionaries which resulted in an open riot in Nsaw in 1922 and 1923. Hence, constant friction marked the relations between the British and the indigenes.

In the Ngie area, hostilities were rampant against the British Assessment and Intelligence Officers especially in 1925 and 1926[132a]. Some of these officers were attacked by the indigenes. However, the penetration of this region by the missionaries and the forceful approach by the colonial administration later on led to the acceptance of the British.

In other areas of the Division, the indigenes' reactions were mixed. These mixed reactions can be explained by the different levels of interests of the groups and classes involved. It stood clear that the ruling classes who accepted the British authority largely did it as a means to an end. An example of this was the relationship between the Fon of Bali-Nyonga and the Germans, and later on the British. In this relationship, the Bali-Nyonga ruling class always supported the colonialist because they saw this as a means of achieving their long time ambition of subjugating the entire Division

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[131b]. Ibid. Also P.M. Kaberry et al. (eds.); op.cit 1960 pg 10.

[132a]Ibid. Also Great Britain Colonial Office. op.cit. 1927

and grassland polities[132b]. Moreover, the indigenes that were appointed into the Native Administration, especially in large N.As like Nsaw and Bani supported the British. Besides, the frequent petty rivalries amongst the Fons in N.As. like Ndop, Ngoni and Meta easily paved the way for the British to consolidate their authority over them and oppress their indigenes.

The indigenous artisans and traders who had revived from the world war I impact and great depression, certainly did not welcome the British presence. Their resistance was aroused by the subjugating effects of the British trading firms; licensed buyers; the relatively cheap prices for European manufactures. Moreover we saw earlier that the pre-1940 was also an era when the border (trade outlets) to the French territory were often closed thereby, contracting the market for the indigenes' produce.

The peasantry resented the presence most because the British taxes were against them. The recovery measures of the post war II Britain had its heaviest incidence on them. Areas where the British concentrated her administration and socio-economic developments accepted the presence more than those areas that were neglected. These interlocked interests further put the indigenes against each other so much so that with the increased colonial state and church

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[132]b. B.N. Ndifontah, op.cit. Pg 133. This writer was however overtaken by the German historical interpretation such that he viewed the relationship from the angle of power and personality of the Fon of Bali-Nyonga. He therefore, hardly succeeded in going beyond the colonialist intepretation of that past because W.E. Hunt (who even exaggerated Bali-Nyonga's might and authority throughout the grassland) was hardly regarded by him with critical insight. Hence the writer became eurocentric in his interpretation. For more see also W.E. Hunt. Report Supplementary to the Bamenda Divisional Report for 1920. in Confidential Report op.cit 1920. Bamenda Archives.

relationship[133]; Police and Court coercion; and the re-instatement of state authority after the great depression (in the 1930s), it became relatively possible for the British presence to be tolerated.

Despite the policies of law and order and the general tolerance of British authority in the Division, some restlessness could still be recorded in parts of the Division. These were centred in the Nsaw, Ngie (Bassa) Ngoni, areas. The indigenes here were often against christianity or tax payment. The Police often intervened especially between 1921 and the mid 1930s. In the Police interventions, (contrary to the colonialist reports) brutality was high and explained more than anything else the success of the administration in the pre-1940s. As a consequence, the number of police recruits and equipment kept on rising against a defenceless peasantry[134].

With particular reference to the prisons, where those who opposed the British authority were arrested and kept, the condition was one of degradation. Morbidity always increased, with the increasing number of prisoners[135]. It was reported in 1925 that the conditions of prisons was that of extra-ordinarily high deaths in the Bamenda Provincial Prison (particularly between September and

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[133]Great Britain Colonial Office; Reports 1927 op.cit. Pg 56.

[134]Interviews with: Pah Tamankeuh. Ndop Feb. 20th 1993. Also Yah Casilia Jukiri Feb 15th 1993.

[135]By 1924 prison morbidity was reportd to be 6.51 and it rose to 17.8 per thousand in 1925. See Great Britain Colonial Office, Reports op.cit. 1926 pg 61; Britain Colonial Office Reports. op.cit 1928 pg 53; Great Britain Colonial Office Reports op.cit 1929 pg 49; Great Britain Colonial Office Reports op.cit 1930. pg 49.

November), all due to ill-health. Death rate by 1925 almost tripled that of 1924[136]. The death rate continued rising from 1927, 1928 eventhough the colonial authorities constructed a hospital and a permanent latrine to replace the old 'salgas'.

It was still a similar degradation in 1929, and so on. The same morbidity was claimed to be the cause of death up till 1937[137].

In January 1932, the morbidity was aggravated by the outbreak of variolod (small pox) and this continued for several months unarrested. An epidmemic of dysentry then followed suit in July of the same year. So morbidity combined with the general poor and limited health facilities warranted the medical health department to intervene. However, the intervention was only limited to greater cleanliness[138]. Despite these poor living conditions in the prisons, the colonial authorities described them as satisfactory. It should be noted also that inadequate efforts were taken to cure the sick prisoners. Furthermore, sick prisoners were not exempted from imprisonment. Due to this negligence, there was

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[136] Ibid.

[137] Great Britain Colonial Office; Reports for 1933 HMSO London 1934 pg 53-54. We agree here with Kuczynski's argument that supposing this was the case, it would have had an effect only on dysentry spread, but a minimal one only. See: R. Kuczynksi: op.cit. Pg 334-335. The League of Nations Mandate Commission Permanent member Mess Ruppel; Hunt; D. Cameron and Lord Lugard even questioned these colonialist claims on several occasions; and even debunked some of the colonialists' reports.

[138] Ibid.

frequent outbreak of epidemics in the prisons[139]. At this juncture then, had it been the colonial authorities been serious enough in 'civilising' the indigenes, they would have investigated and discovered the root causes of the illnesses and epidemics so that the same diseases would not have been repeating themselves, especially in particular regions.

It was only in 1936 that the administration and medical health care authorities took some cosmetic steps of rebuilding the prison "on modern lines', In 1937 the number of deaths was again higher and the colonialists regarded the conditions as satisfactory[140].

3.7 European Missionaries and Administration of the Society

We have earlier noted that the British colonial authorities were confronted with a lot of difficulties when they took over the administration of this Division from the Germans. In view of these difficulties, they decided to seek assistance from the missionaries (voluntary agents). However, all of them worked towards the same policy of creating a colonial class society and economy that was subordinate to the British society.

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[139]Great Britain Colonial Office; Reports for the Year 1937 HMSO London 1938 pg 48. Small pox, dysentary in 1932. Earlier on (1925), 1927-1935 there was pneumonia. Only in the prisons and not outside.

[140]Great Britain Colonial Office, 1924 op.cit. Pg 30-31. Also Great Britain Colonial Office. 1926 op.cit pg 6

In this regard, the British instituted a policy of liberty for conscience. This policy allowed the various religions to operate in the Division. Such religions included Islam and Christianity. The only religion that was often attacked was the traditional religion. Christainity picked up fully in the Division by 1920. BY 1922, competitions arose with the German missionaries gaining more spheres. Their proliferation in the Division caused them to violate their carved out areas of influence. The colonial authorities on certain occasions came to the direct assistance of these missionaries and vice-versa. Such assistance included instances when the government could not grant any aid to the missions and schools,and decided to open the native treasuries to them[141].

In 1925, the Roman Catholic Mission (R.C.M.) (St Joseph's Society of Mill Hill) established itself in Nsaw. Subsequently, she established sub-stations throughout the Division right to Njinikom. In Bali-Nyonga, the Basler missionaries were busy consolidating their control and were later accompanied by the Missions Evagelique de Paris (Protestants) which extended later to the menemo speaking area of Mbengwi in 1931. Their subsequent spread to Ngie was claimed to be a check against the indegenes "Carnibalism".[142]

These features explained the colonial state and church relationship which was consolidated in 1925 by the Marriage

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[141]Great Britain Colonial Office 1926 Ibid pg 57.

[142]Ibid. pg 58.

Ordinance. This ordinance gave the church the right to conduct marriages amongst the indigenes[143]. By 1926, it was reported in the Bali-Nyonga N.A. that there was a concentration of sixty-five churches, with two thousand one hundred and fifty members and two thousand one hundred catechumens[144]. From 1929, the indigenes were beginning to be used as Pastors (preachers) in the Basler Mission churches. These missions also trained teachers for their schools and administration. The converts often disagreed and even clashed amongst themselves on sectarian lines and principles. The clashes were rampant between the Protestants and Roman Catholics; but this was not as rife as converts against non-converts, which in 1927, led to the promulgation by the Catechists of a church law placing mission compounds independent of the Fons[145].

Until 1931, with the visit of the Governor General to the Southern Cameroons (during which he pledged closer co-operation between missions and Fons), their relationship was marked by tensions and coercion. This visit however, changed the relations and it was reported in 1933 that there was increased church ownership of landed property and good relations between the converts and non-converts. This was as a result of the increased collabaration between the government and church, and above all, the church and the

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[143]Great Britain Colonial Office Reports 1927 op.cit pg 57.

[144]Great Britain Colonial Office Reports 1930 op.cit. Pg 72-73. Also B.N. Ndifontah, op.cit

[145]Great Britain Colonial Office Reports 1934 op.cit. Pg 62-63. However, the clashes between the Protestants and Roman Catholics reigned for long, eventhough the other hardly concretized.

Native authorities. Due to this intense collaboration, the Baptist Mission was allowed to establish at Ndu in 1933[146a], prior to which they had been denied the influence there.

Despite these conflicts and collaborations, the British legal policy still steered clear about the missionaries intervention in the indigenes' values and traditions. In 1919, an event occured in which the British authorities directly intervened against the indigenes values. The event took place in Mankon whereby witchcraft was detected in an indigene using sasswood poison[146b]. This detection was supervised by Fruba who was a Regent to the Mankon Fondom. The British colonial authorities' reaction to this was so hard that Fruba himself was taken to court. Thereafter, the colonial administration maintained a policy of subjugating the traditional belief systems[147a]. Many defaulters of christainity were imprisoned or given other punishments. The converts who defaulted non-converts were said to be hardly punished. These in effect, strenghtened the colonial state and church relationship in the period before 1940. Apart from the rights that the colonial administration gave the

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146a. Ibid.

146b. National Archives Buea. File No. CB/1917/1 pg 27-28. This sasswood it was reported led to the death of all the suspects and on the intervention of the British court, Fruba was sentenced to hanging by the D.O before subsequently informing the Lt. Governor (who alone in principle reserved such rights). The other councillors each were sentenced to 5 years imprisonment with hard labour.The Lt Governor after learning about the hanging became angry but did nothing to the D.O. For more see Yalla Eballa, et al. (eds.) op.cit Pg 26-30.

147a. Ibid.

missionaries over the administration of the society through the church, she also encouraged the Missionaries to invest in the educational and health sectors of the society. These Mission Societies resorted to establishing educational and health insitutions at different levels of training. In the domain of health, these Missionaries ran a series of cottage hospitals, maternities, dispensaries and leprosaria in the Division (at Nsaw, Bafut, Mbengwiand Nkwen) and its environs. They also trained the indigenes so that they should acquire certain professional skills like domestic science. These roles as we shall see, increased in the 1950s. This increase also meant the increase in the churches' landed assets on the one hand, and on the other, the formation of some local elites.

3.8 The Colonial Administrative Phases

From the analysis of the establishment and consolidation of British administrative structures in this region we could distinguish two phases. The first phase being the pre-1946 (particularly between 1922-1945); and the second from 1946 to 1961. The second World War therefore marked a turning point in the establishment and consolidation of British colonial administrative structures in the area[147b]. The first period could be termed the inter-war years, and was characterized by the lack of a

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[147b]. J. Hatch. op.cit. Pg 224. The British embarked on Colonial Central Planning in the post-1945 era because the government's foreign income fell from 9.3% immediately before the war to 2.3% after the war; gross investment income overseas also fell from 8.6% to 4.3% in the same period.In particular, the investment in the U.S.A. was drastically reduced whereas it formed 19% of the total British investment before the war. It furtehr declined to 5.5% ten years later.

state centralized planning mechanism of control. The second was characterized by a more organized and systematic colonial central planning mechanism of control.

The extent to which the structures succeeded should be seen not only from the point of view of their implementation, but also from the contributions of the indigenes in terms of the production of surplus for the British. These indigenes were forced to produce the surplus because they had no other socio-economic option. So through their contribution, the traditional society and economy became fragmented, marking the beginning of their structural underdevelopment. The fragmentation handicapped the indigenes and their tradtional socio-economic systems from competing with the external forces (the British licensed buyers, merchants, local employers, etcetera). This inability to compete further led to the abandoning and spoiling of the traditional and even the colonial structures in the late 1950s.

The colonial administration (in her continuous pursuit of administrative experiments) by 1930, had established some Departments to start implementing its policies. These Departments included Agriculture; forestry; public works; communications; education; public health; finance; post and telegraph, amongst others. These Departments worked in an interdependent manner and were co-ordinated by some Native Authorities who were subordinate to the British. These Native Authorities were given the powers to effect some

local amendments on the policies depending on the realities of their areas, but without departing from the British interest[148a]

The inter-war years were lacking in centralized planning because the colonial authorities pursued a laissez-faire approach towards the process of development. The Laissez-faire was such that much powers were given to the private sector to invest in the economy. However, the private sector in the Division was prevented from investing in plantation agriculture. The sector was also dominated by the Europeans (licensed buyers; missionaries; multi-nationals etcetera). However, both the government (public) and the private sectors that was dominated by the Association of West African Merchant (AWAM) emphasized the need to understand the basis of the economy, society, history, ethnology, amongst others of the indigenes. This understanding made it relatively easy for the colonial policies to operate and develop firm roots in the post 1945 era[148b].

The post war II era on the other hand, saw an intensified and global approach which outlined the capitalist development targets by the administration in blocs of years. So it was a capitalist central planning strategy of colonial development[149a]. It came into effect

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[148a]. K. Nkrumah; Neo-Colonialism the last stage of Imperialism. Heinemann London 1965. Pg xiii.

[148b]. Ibid

[149a]. P.T. Bauer, West African trade. Cambridge 1954 pg 246-259.

because it had been discovered by the colonial authorities that the performance of the economy in the pre-war II era had been relatively poor and slow. Progress in the transformation was also uncordinated, such that the envisaged profits had not been realized.

In the Division, colonial central planning was conceived by the British since the second world war, but in a very small magnitude. From 1946, it became the principal administrative strategy for socio-economic development. This mode of development was more scientific because it envisaged development targets and worked forward to their realization. So in a nutshell, central planning embarked on a system of divide and rule administration with some quasi constitutional provisions between 1923 and 1961. The central administration imposed sectorial break-up of the colonial society into minor and autonomous sub-sectors and units, relying on the British for effective control. This arrangement made the supply of the surplus from this region to Britain to be more regular than before. It also made the indigenes to live within given standards; so it more than checked and balanced their rate of growth and development.

Furthermore this planning system saw an increased involvement of the state together with the voluntary organizations in colonial socio-economic development in the Division. More cumulative efforts were made to obtain information on the geography, history, culture, ethnology and population of the indigenes. Funds for these were

released from the Finance and Development Department of the colonial office for the Eastern Provinces[149b]. This Department was a new institution created because of assistance from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund (C.D.W.F.), and later on the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (I.B.R.D.). The Division's development projects in this second phase were made to be approved from Enugu. This arrangement sparked off some differences between the indigenes of Bamenda Division and the Nigerian administrators at Enugu. The indigenes of the Division resorted to organizing self-help or community development projects on the one hand, while the Native Authorities became more involved in the socio-economic development of the area on the other. Due to this enlarged role, the colonial administration started regionalizing the Native administration. The reason for this was however political, and enshrined in the Richard's contitution (1946).

To that effect, some Native Authorities grew larger than others, for example the Nsaw N.A. which from 1949, (due to her size) was able for her to dominate the South Eastern Federated N.As[150]. This change further affected the political and economic relations amongst the indigenes of those areas, especially the elites. Their differences manifested themselves in the representation of N.As. to the

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[149b]. Ibid. Also J.S. Coleman; op.cit. Pg 81-82. The Association of West African Merchants (AWAM) actually worked out the quotas for its various members and informed the colonial office, which in turn simply issued instructions to the produce control board confirming to the A.W.A.M. formula

[150]P.M. Kaberry et al. op.cit 1960. Pg 14-16.

Eastern Region House of Assembly that this region was under. The Assembly was formed in 1946, as a result of the constitutional developments in British Nigeria and the Cameroons. The process by which this Federated N.A. was formed was such that the elites of the different N.As. that were federated viz: Nsaw, Ndop and Bafut, became involved in antagonisms because of power struggles between the colonially educated elites and the traditional authorities. These struggles were aggravated by the fact that the traditional authorities of the pre-federated N.As. were to assume lower positions-non-statutory advisory ranks[151].

The elites' political and economic relations were further affected because of fiscal issues. Some of the sub-chiefs from the north-west of Nsaw were said to have once refused to hand over their tax rolls to the literate members of the assessment committees; and the superintendent of Native treasuries. They handed them only when the superintendent had understood their motives and instructed the tax clerk to reassure them that the handling of nominal rolls did not convey to the holder the rights and powers of a village head; and that the literate members of the assessment committes remained ordinary citizens of the village with the same traditional obligations to the village head as all other citizens (according to the local laws and customs)[152]. Also, whenever demands for official recognition and executive salaries arose in this new

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[151] Ibid. Pg 16.

[152] Ibid. Pg 16.

(federated) structure, some elites preferred the old N.A. principles to be used[153]. Moreover, the same elites from sub-chiefdoms in the North west of Nsaw were said to have once put up demands for local works and services in the Nsaw Advisory council (which represented the Nsaw N.A.) for the Nsaw elites to take up in the federated council. But in the Federal Council many of these proposals were turned down or postponed for 'technical reasons', in favour of other schemes in the other areas of the federated unit. As a consequence, the elites from some of those north-western chiefdoms refused to attend meetings of the Nsaw Advisory Council, and even demanded secession from Nsaw[154].

The Nsaw Advisory council seemed to have dominated the Federated N.A. council which had its seat at Kimbaw. But with the increasing checks on this influence by the other N.A. representatives in this federated N.A. council, the Nsaw Advisory council was said to have become increasingly dissatisfied especially with the share it received of local government services. The shares it received were hardly ever enough for her demands especially to satisfy the sub-chiefdoms. This crisis was again embarrassing to the Nsaw elites when the Nsaw Advisory council was demoted from executive responsibility to an advisory role in the

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[153] Ibid. Pg 16.

[154] Ibid. Pg 16.

Federated N.A. committee despite her being the largest and wealthiest unit in the federation[155].

3.9 Conclusion

The process of establishment of British authority in Bamenda Division was complex. It involved the military together with the colonial state and the missionaries. These bodies established structures and institutions that changed overtime to suit the British interest; and change the material conditions of the indigenes to the extent that they had to accept the conditions. These administrative structures and institutions were made to have international linkages with the capitalist world as we shall see in the next chapters. The most predominant linkages were the structural changes that were effected in the primary sectors of production such as agriculture and the livestock industry. These changes started manifesting from 1925.

Perhaps at this juncture, it is worth mentioning that from 1922 this region became part of the League of Nation's Mandate System of administration (under Britain), the League hardly maintained any serious system of checks and balances on the British. A Permanent Mandate Commission was formed in the League with its membership still

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[155] Ibid. Pg 16-17. In January 1958 its members walked out of the Federated N.A. council and petitimed the Government for fiscal autonomy and recognition as a separate largely elective, councillor N.A.

dominated by former British colonial administrators such as Lord Lugard and D. Cameron[156].

However, our central concern here is to emphasize that, even though in principle the League of Nations' were to moderate the British approach (so that it should not be as repressive as the Germans' or repugnant to the indigenes), this was hardly enforced. Instead, the British capitalized on the league's weakness and oversight role to establish their colonial socio-economic structures in the Division and exploit the indigenes. To testify this point, Lord Milner Simon (the British author and signatory of the Mandatory system of control) in 1919 observed that

> "it is more than ever necessary that the economic resources of the Empire" (referring to Britian and her colonies) "should be developed to the utmost in view ofthe depletion of raw materials and the financial burdens left by the war. Much of the existing deficiency could beproduced by the tropical colonies if their great potentialresources were adequately developed"[157].

From this observation, the British colonialists felt very confident that they would manage the resources of this Division to their taste and undisturbed by even the League of Nations itself.

At the time of take-over from the Germans, the British were confronted with several problems caused by the Germans and the First World War on the one hand; and the indigenes

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[156]The role of the League of Nations' system in the administration of checks and balances on the colonial authorities is still to be studied. However, a few general studies had been carried on this issue by political scientists viz: LeVine T. Victor op.cit; Beer George Louis; African Question at the Paris Peace Conference. MacMillan, N.Y. 1923; Logan Rayford W.; The Operation of the Mandate System in Africa 1919-1927. The Foundation Publishers Washington. D.C. 1942.

[157]Lord Lugard; op.cit. Pg 498-500.

resistance to British presence on the other. The effects of the first World War in particular were so hard that it took her a long time to establish her presence. Moreso, due to the war and other handicaps she decided to impose a military dictatorship in the Division which the League of Nations later recognized. Hence, she engaged in constructing a local government system that was similar in principles with those of Nigeria.

The new administration opened the economy of the Division to the multi-national firms and churches to establish their control and engage in some infrastructural building such as roads, houses, post and telegraph, schools, hospitals, dispensaries and other public works. These occupied the administrative agents in most of the pre-1940 period.

The establishment and consolidation of British administrative structures in the Division therefore, satisfied her long term interest in this region of Africa given the nature of the European activities in the region before the German interlude. Secondly, these British structures made it possible for any pro-German influence in the Division to be checked. Indeed at the same time that the British were erasing the German colonial policies in the area, they were busy replacing them with theirs. Nevertheless, their ability to entrench their administration through the structures which they created was greatly weakened by the financial deficit the government found itselt in. Not only that, the indigenes

anti-colonial resistance; the great depression and the lack of a clear-cut colonial planning mechanism for the Division constituted part of the problem.

The administrative policy (from their inception as we have demonstrated), generated a lot of contradictions regarding their implementation on the one hand, and the material conditions of the indigenes on the other. The N.A. system hardly proved effective. Instead, it put the clans, polities, Fons and other local personalities against each other. The effect was that the colonialists resorted to administrative re-organizations which further divided the indigenes, especially on political and fiscal lines.

It was only from 1925 that the British started feeling tolerated (because of their efforts at maintaining state authority), that some degree of administrative control could be achieved. And as we shall see in the next chapter, it was then that the colonialists seriously began to embark on the process of socio-economic transformation of the Division. This process targeted certain sectors of the economy of the Division through the colonial land, labour and monetization policies. As a consequence, a system of production and distribution emerged which was geared towards the external (industrialized) nations of Europe.

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CHAPTER FOOR

4. THE IMPACT OF BRITISH COLONIAL LAND AND AGRICULTURAL POLICIES IN BAMENDA DIVISION:

4.1 Introduction:

In the former chapter we discussed the process by which the British imposed their state authority and control in Bamenda Division. These came through the imposition of some administrative structures and institutions on the indigenes. The administration pursued policies which were geared towards establishing a system of production and distribution that would work to the British interest. Amongst the policies were those that affected the ownership and control of land, agriculture, those with regard to taxation and those relating to labour. The impact of these policies on the indigenes' systems of production and distribution was that of subjugation and not total destruction.

In this chapter we shall focus on the land and agricultural policies. It should be noted, that the Germans had laid the basis for transforming the land and agriculture of this Division by imposing some land laws on the indigenes. These laws were accompanied by a system of agricultural practice which worked to their interest because it was guided by some policies. In some earlier

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studies on the German and British colonialism[1] in this region, on the one hand, and also some information gathered from our informants[2] on the other, there is the common practice of comparing and contrasting the German and British colonial approaches in this region. This perspective is in my view not particularly helpful because there was hardly anything fundamentally different in the two systems. Both of them were geared towards evolving a dependent economy by establishing an externally oriented system of production and distribution in the Division[3].

The establishment of a dependent economy in Bamenda Division by the British took place in stages viz: between c. 1916 and c. 1929; 1930 and 1945 and from 1946 onwards (being the period of colonial central planning)[4] Each of these periods was marked by some significant changes in the British approach towards primary production in Nigeria and the Cameroons.

In order to satisfy the British land and agricultural interest in Bamenda Division, the German influence was submerged by transferring and readjusting the land laws

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[1]T. Eyongetah and R. Brain (eds.); op. cit. 1974. Also J.V. Ngoh; op. cit. 1987; Le Vine T. Victor; op. cit. 1964.

[2]Interview with: Yah Casilia, Jakiri, February 15th 1993; Pah Kimbaw Patrick and Yerima, Nsaw February 13th 1993; Titoh Pauline Muentoh, Bamunka-Ndop. February 24th 1993; Pah Tamakeuh, Bamunka-Ndop, February 20th 1993; Mami Njumoh Mary, Bamunka Ndop, February 18th 1993; Pah Afundah, Bamenda, September 19th 1993, Pah Ngang, Mankon-Bamenda, October 7th 1993.

[3]See E.M. Nyiwatumi, "Change and Continuity in the German and British Colonial Policies in Southern Cameroons, c.1884-c.1961. (unpublished). Also, H.R. Rudin; op. cit. 1938; L.H. Gann "Economic Developmnt in Germany's African Empire 1884-1914". in L.H. Gann et al. (eds.) op. cit. 1975; A. Calvert; op. cit. 1917.

[4]See chapter three. For more see G.K. Helleiner; Peasant Agriculture, Government and Economic Growth in Nigeria. Richard D.Irwin, Inc. Homewoods Illinois 1966 pg 1-44.

and agricultural policies of Southern Nigeria to the Southern Cameroons. Due to these transfers, the economy of Bamenda Division was conditioned to develop in like manner to the Nigerian economy. So this made it relatively easy for the British system of production to engage the participation of the indigenes. The botanical gardens and model farms under the control of the Forestry Department of Nigeria largely contributed to these changes. In the Southern Cameroons, the British consolidated these changes by introducing new plants and varieties and distributed the plants to the indigenes in order to promote trade.

The British colonial administration strongly favoured peasant production of export crops. This system of production was consolidated through the extension of the Nigerian Agriculture Department to Bamenda Division and the creation of more demonstration farms. Since peasant production of export crops was geared towards the generation of revenues, the rural economy was left to the 'invisible' hand of the market[5]

The British colonial land laws and agricultural policies in Bamenda Division ended up incorporating the indigenes into the world economy and into a hierarchical system of administration. The incorporation structured economic relations as both external and internal markets expanded especially in the 1940s and 1950s. Improved

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[5]T.G. Forrest. "Agricultural Policies in Nigeria 1900-1978". in Rural Underdevelopment in Nigeria 1900-1980. Department of Political Science Seminar vol. 2 1985 pg 1. For more on the notion of 'invisible' hand see V. Afansayev; Bourgeois Economic Thought 1930s-1970s. Progress Moscow 1983.

transport and communications, labour migrancy and, the growth of urban centres in Southern Cameroons and Nigeria increased spread of commodity production. Commodity production was further consolidated by the monetization of taxation and domestic transactions. These were brought under the influence of the cooperative societies and Marketing Boards.

At this juncture, for a coherent understanding of the impact of the British agricultural policies in Bamenda Division, a vivid analysis of some of the major issues concerning the colonial land laws is necessary. The significance of this centres around the impact of the change from the German crownland policy to the British from c.1916.

4.2 British Land Policies in Bamenda Division:

The importance of land in the transformation to colonial capitalism need not be over-emphasized. In chapter three, we saw that some land had already been taken away from the indigenes during the German era. These lands were mostly used as plantations (in the coastal regions of southern Cameroons) state farms and other German socio-economic infrastructures and institutions. The German missionaries also controlled some of the lands in the Division, particularly the Basler Mission Society.

4.2.1 The German era:

From the onset, the Germans did not want to establish plantation agriculture in Southern Cameroons; and operated

on no coherent land laws. But because of pressures from the German trading firms-Woermann and Jantzen Und Thormahlen from 1885, plantations were established in the coastal area of Bimbia (Isubu- Man-O- War Bay) and Bibundi territories. Ten years later, these plantations spread to the south east, southern and south western slopes of mount Cameroon (Fako)[6].

During these early years of German rule and particularly under the governorship of Von Soden and Eugene Zimmerer, the acquisition of land by the Germans and the general land tenure system in Kamerun were based on no definite system of laws. For example in the case of the Kamerun Land - Und Plantagen - Gesellschaft in (Bimbia), title to ownership was established by direct occupation, which the German Government later acknowledged when the question of title was raised. The West Afrikanishe Pflanzungsgesellschaft Bibundi, on its part, obtained their track of land by purchase from the local chiefs, and there was the inclusion of a clause in the agreement recognizing the rights of the indigenes[7] Later, the Government vested the freehold of the land in the company. This indefinite system of land acquisition and use also operated in Bamenda Division. But unlike the coastal regions, the Germans did not extend their plantations here. A reason for this was the consolidation of missionaries activities in this

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[6]E. Arderner, et al. (eds.); Plantations and Village in the Cameroons. N.I.S.E.R. O.U.P. 1960. Pg 310-311.

[7]Ibid. Pg 331.

region, on the one hand, and the German preference of trade with this interior region on the other.

All the lands that the Germans appropriated in Kamerun were those of interest to them. These lands were defined as crown lands. In areas in Bamenda District like Mankon and Bafut where local resistance was encountered, the lands were appropriated without the consent of the Fons. Meanwhile, through the Fon of Bali-Nyonga, most of the lands in the Bamenda grassfield District were open to German acquisition[8]. Various German individuals then purchased from the government some of the Crownlands which extended to about two to three thousand hectares (five to seven thousand acres) in the plantation zones, at an average price of five Marks per hectare[9].

The poorly defined German Crownland policy also stipulated that all lands bought or acquired by the Germans (planters especially) must be registered with a German Land Registrar (Grundbuch). Accordingly, more crownlands were established to make transactions possible. So this consolidated Bamenda District (Division) (which was part of the Gesselschaft fur Nord West Kamerun), as a sphere of the German traders[10]. Even though Bamenda Division was consolidated into private German hands, peasant production still dominated because of the concessionaires' preference of trade with the indigenes, and labour supply to the

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[8]See chapter three. Pgs. 144-146, 148-149.

[9]E. Ardener, et al. op.cit. Pg 331.

[10]See chapter three. Pg. 149-152

plantations where the German interest was entrenched. Parts of the Crownlands in the Division were used for the establishment of the state farms, German residential quarters, schools amongst others[11].

Some weakness of the German Crownland Policy (especially in the plantation zone) was exhibited when many cases were registered where German individuals founded a company with privately acquired land which was registered in the government land register, and later, it was found that no deed of purchase existed, yet their titles were confirmed[12].

Nevertheless, by 1893, the Crownland Policy was restructured such that, occupation and direct negotiation with the local Fons, Chiefs, and Elders became a typical means of acquiring land titles in Kamerun by the Germans. In this regard, the Deutsche Westafrikanische Handelgesellschaft (D.W.H.) appropriated more than fifty thousand acres of land in the Meme and Ndian Riverian areas, around the Rio-del-Rey without any documented information on the transaction[13].

In 1894 Governor E. Zimmerer began to urge stricter supervision of land transactions and in 1896 an imperial decree was enacted which, with its later interpretations, became the basis of land policy for the remainder of the period of the German protectorate. The decree laid down

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[11]For more see H.R. Rudin. op.cit.

[12]E. Ardener, et al. op.cit pg 331.

[13]Ibid.

the conditions which were in future to rule land transactions between the indigenes and non-indigenes; including the marking of boundaries and the presence at each transaction, which was to take place on the land itself, of an administrative officer, a missionary (as Guardian of the indigenes) and responsible members of the villages concerned, as well as the buyer and seller[14].

It therefore implied, that the new German land laws had introduced the idea of land privatization in Bamenda Division, especially as it had been reserved as a peasant agricultural zone. The villages were conditioned to be sensitive to their new boundaries. But within the villages, the communal lands were still intact since cash crops production was not yet entrenched, and forced labour to the plantations reduced land hunger. Besides that, the Germans' preference of trade with the indigenes of this region instead encouraged peasant commodity production in all the sectors of the economy and not only agriculture.

Similarly, the peasants' right to their holdings was maintained by the 1896 decrees of E. Zimmerer. For this reason, the concessionaires' activities were limited exclusively to trade, while the missionaries engaged in both trading and the planting of export crops on the one hand, and evangelism on the other[15]. The indigenes still

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[14] Ibid. Pg 312. However, we could not lay hands on the German document that carried these land laws, for more indepth analysis.

[15] For more see M.R. Rudin. Op.cit. Also, S.H. Bedermann; "Plantation Agriculture in Victoria Division West Cameroon. A Historical Introduction". In Geography Journal of the Geographical Association vol 51 1966.Pg 353-358.

retained sufficient land for their local use. The decrees also declared all other unoccupied lands as crownlands. Villages' land boundaries were to take into account both present and future needs of the local population, and provision was made for the establishment of land commissions to determine their needs.

Since strictly speaking, the German notion of crownland loosely gave the German crown a protectorateship over the lands, it was the land registration agreements and boundary commissions that consolidated their control of the indigenes. However, the indigenes could also transfer ownership of their holdings in any form of exchange. The land could be sold to private individuals or corporations on condition that the purchaser surveyed the land, and that specific areas were developed within specific periods. The lands could also be leased, in which case there was an obligation to cultivate or otherwise utilize the land, and the lessee had the right to purchase in the German currency[16].

The first land commission was established in the Division in 1902 following the pressures from the Basler missionaries. It should be noted, that the Basler missionaries always frowned at the Laissez-faire attitude of the German administration on land issues[17]. It always protected the rights of the indigenes, thereby explaining the reason for its spread and proliferation in this area on

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[16] E. Ardener, et al (eds.); op.cit. Pg 312-313.

[17] Ibid. Pg 313.

the one hand, and its land rights on the other. From 1903, all land commissions always contained the Basler missionaries.

By 1914, however, the German land policies in the Southern Cameroons had gradually subordinated local interest to those of the concessionaires (traders and planters), especially in the coastal regions. The establishment of inter-village boundaries and their subsequent rearrangements led to a great deal of dislocation of clan life in regions like the Bamenda Plateau; Ndop and Bali-Nyonga. This made it relatively possible for the German authority to be established in the Division[18]. At the outbreak of the first World War, the German land policies were relaxed. The British had to further transform them to suit her interest from c. 1916.

4.2.2 The British era:

After the British took over colonial control of Bamenda Division, Southern Cameroons in c.1916, on the issue of land ownership and control, the German crownland policy was immediately replaced with the British crownland policy. This policy as we shall see, enforced the colonization of more lands in the Division particularly the wastelands, and those on which there were little or no

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[18] In the Ndop region in particular, before the German conquest, polities like Baba-I (Papaikum) was said to have been pursuing an expansionist policy which made her to clash with her neighbours. Similarly was Bali-Kumbat. But the German stopped the inter-polity wars, reinstated some of the weaker villages and chiefs that had beeen driven from their lands (such as Bangolan, Bafanji, Ga Ryaa the grandson of the Bamunkumbit chief who had been driven out by Ga bali of Bali-Kumbat), and demarcated the inter-village boundaries. See J.C. Drummond-Hay. op. cit. 1925 Para: 15-64.

German structures and influence. This land policy took firm roots when the need for colonial socio-economic and infrastructural developments came up, thereby widening the duties and powers of the colonial state, the Native Authorities (N.A.) and their affiliated institutions from 1920. The consequence of this policy was that more indigenes' land were appropriated leading to a reduction in the sizes of their holdings. And, when cash crop cultivation expanded steadily, some degree of landlessness began to be visible amongst the indigenes. However, landlessness should not be exaggerated because the British decided to maintain the agricultural economy of the Division as predominantly peasant based, while they expanded the plantations of the coastal regions[19]. But there was some gradual process of landlessness when the administration established more and expanded the German established farms in the Division. The incidence of the establishment of the farms lay in the fact that, more local labour was needed for the farms. Similarly, the administration failed to introduce total intensive cultivation methods on them and yet she expected very high yields.

In order to get these expected yields, she had to extend the land (thereby, ejecting more indigenes from their holdings) by either reducing the indigenes' holdings,

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[19]Landlessness also steadily rose due to the process of urbanization in the Division. But much more seriously, the deteriorating fertility of the soil as a result of the form of production (especially in the 1950s) which conditioned some form of migrancy-tenant labour migrancy, which had implications of landlessness.

or allowing them with relatively less fertile soils, or holdings in hilly, valley or forested areas. And the indigenes lacked the adequate technology to transform such lands for their local subsistence and cash.

In addition, apart from the state farms that were established or expanded upon, the British prevented severely the development of plantation agriculture in the Division, by either the public or private sector. This limited the landlessness, but restricted the productive capacities of the indigenes, thereby their profit margins.

The British prevented plantation agriculture from being established in the Division by preventing the European firms (the Levers), especially the Germans, from gaining land concessions in the Southern Cameroons in the 1920s. Even though she prevented the Germans and others from investing in the Division, she could not carry out the development herself. This was because she aimed at maintaining the peasant economic activities and technology of the region at a primitive and near static state. Due to this policy, the peasant activities would eventually become submerged and the indigenes would become dependent on the British for development[20].

The British prevention of plantation agriculture in Bamenda Division on the one hand, and their consolidation of peasant commodity production on the other came through the new land laws that were enacted in Southern Cameroons from 1916. The land policies operated against the

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[20] F.B. Binberg, et al. (eds); colonial Development. An Econometric study. 1975 Pg 20

background of economic exploitation of the resources in the British interest.

According to the British Crownland policy that operated inNigeria before 1916, a government could declare all land crown or public land just like what the British did in South and East Africa[21]. Or it could recognize lands held under local customs as private property, only claiming the residual rights in the land for the crown. Again, it may recognize all land in the territory as 'native' land subject to the disposal of the local communities. However, it was difficult to determine what private property was, and this rule was hardly ever enforced largely because the indigenes had no outside government to plead their cause[22].

The Crownland system also prohibited the indigenes from selling land to a European. All titles must come from the government. In the case where land held under local customs were recognized as private property, the indigene could sell the land to a non-European, subject to restrictions which the government could impose. Meanwhile, the government could claim any unoccupied land as crownland. Under the above-mentioned system where the government recognized all land in the territory as 'native' land subject to the disposal of the local communities; the indigenes could similarly sell some to the Europeans. But,

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[21]For more see L.B. Raymond; The Native Problem in Africa Vol. I. Fank Cass and Co. London 1965. Pg 209

[22]M.F. Lindley, The Acquisition and Government of Backward Territory in International Law.London 1926.chap.37.

the government had no land except what it expropriated for public purposes upon payment of compensation.

In Northern Nigeria where the British colonial land laws were first enacted, by 1910, the Emirs had ceded their land rights to the British crown thereby, operating under the crownland system whereby, the colonial government recognized lands held under local customs as private property and only claimed the residual rights in the land for the crown[23]. Given this crownland system, the British promulgated the Land and Native Rights Ordinance in 1910. At take over of Southern Cameroons from the Germans, the British extended the ordinance to Bamenda Division via the Southern Provinces[24].

The Native Land and Right Ordinance (1910) provided that the whole of the lands in the Northern Province of Nigeria, and subsequently Bamenda Division - Southern Cameroons, whether occupied or unoccupied were 'Native' Lands; and all rights over them were placed "under the control, and subject to the disposition of the Governor, and shall be held and administered for the use and common benefit of the natives, and no title to the occupation and use of any such lands shall be valid without the consent of the Governor"[25]. The ordinance therefore wiped out the former distinction between crownlands and 'Native' lands.

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[23]See The Lands Proclamation 1900 Northern Nigeria. Laws of Nigeria 1905 Pg 50. Also Lord F.D. Lugard; Political Memoranda. Pg 350.

[24]Laws of Nigeria 1923. Chapter 85. Also, L.B. Raymond; op.cit. Pg 752.

[25]L.B. Raymond Ibid.

It also limited the expansion of the plantation lands in the coastal regions of Southern Cameroons, and prevented the establishment of any plantation in Bamenda Division.

In as much as all land could be disposed of by the Governor to the indigenes or Europeans, the ordinance provided that in so doing, the Governor must have regard for the local laws and customs. He was also morally bound by the preamble of the Act which said

> "whereas it is expedient that the existing customary rights of the natives ... to use and enjoy the land of the protectorate and the natural fruits there-of in sufficient quantity to enable them to provide for sustenance of themselves and their families should be assured protected and preserved ..."[26].

But as the Governor was the sole judge of whether or not a given alienation conforms to this restriction, the security of the indigenes really became less than when land could be taken from the indigenes only with their consent.

The enactment of the 1910 Nigerian Native Lands and Rights Ordinance discussed above in Southern Cameroons (1916) also implied to a large degree a nationalization of the lands[27]. This situation was good for the British colonial interest in British Cameroons. The goodness lay in the fact that the Germans had established the basis for plantation agriculture in the coastal regions of Southern Cameroons, and peasant agriculture in Bamenda Division. Land nationalization affected the development of peasant

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[26] Ibid.

[27] Laws of Nigeria 1948. Chapter 105.

agriculture even more than plantation agriculture, because, most of the labour in the plantations came from the peasant agricultural zone[28]. It was also good for the plantation zones because of the Enemy Property Ordinance passed by the British (1916) confiscating the German plantations and their placement under the control of the British crown, who steadily resisted plantation agriculture in British Nigeria and consequently, British Cameroons in the pre-1920 period.

Due to the dangers embodied in the Native lands ordinance, it was readjusted in 1918 so that it could relate more closely with what existed in South Eastern Nigeria. Accordingly, the land tenure system became that whereby all lands in the Division belonged to the indigenes except such land that the state took by way of expropriation for 'public purposes'; and for which it in principle paid some compensations as determined by the courts. The same applied to the plantation areas[29]. This new arrangement was also determined by the placement of Southern Cameroons under the administrative jurisdiction of the Southern Provinces.

However, the contradictions in the application of these laws in Southern Nigeria such as: The failure to compensate the indigenes for the 'unoccupied' lands, were also transfered to Southern Cameroons[30]. These

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[28] See Chapter three. Pg. 144-159.

[29] L.B. Raymond, op.cit. Pg 756-758.

[30] Ibid. Unoccupied lands were defined as lands which had not been used for at least 6 months during the preceeding period of 10 years. For more see the Public Lands Acquisition Act 1917 chapter 88. Also Laws. op.cit 1948. Pg 898.

contradictions were consolidated when the 1917 Public Lands Acquisition Act of Southern Nigeria was also extended to Southern Cameroons thereby, readjusting the land tenure in Bamenda Division to suit British interest.

One of the most interesting readjustments that this Act brought about was the qualification that it gave to lands viz: for 'public purposes'. These 'purposes' had the following categories:

> "exclusive government use or for general public use; in connection with sanitary improvements of any kind including reclamations; or in connection with the laying out of any new township or government station; obtaining control over land contiguous to any port; obtaining control over land the value of which will be enhanced by the construction of any railway, road or other public work or convenience about to be undertaken or provided by government; and obtaining control over land required for or in connection with mining purposes"[31]

With these land laws: the Native Land and Rights Act and the Public Lands Acquisition Ordinance 1917, the British colonial government in Bamenda Division was not left with any land to cede to the European companies like the Germans did. Except the plantations of the coastal areas.

In order to strengthen the Public Lands Acquisition Act (1917) thereby claiming ownership over more wastelands in Bamenda Division on the one hand, and further prevent the establishment of plantations by the European (or the emergence of local large scale farmers) on the other, crownlands were extended in 1918 to include all public

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[31] Ibid.

lands that were subject to the control of the British crown; and all lands which had been or could still be acquired. But the lands that had already been recognized by the Land and Native Rights Ordinance were not included in this reform[32].

A bulk of the changes in the Public Lands Acquisition Act 1918 affected mostly the plantation zones. The lands that were confiscated from the Germans and vested in the British crown were not to be sold by the Government but could be leased subject to revisable rent. Agricultural leases were limited to an area of 12,000 acres and a duration of 45 years. The lessee paid some compensations (fixed by the Government) for

> "disturbing the indigene in their use of the land and for cultivating the land"[33].

In Bamenda Division, with the absence of plantations the German properties like the houses, and related infrastructures were sold to some European trading firms like the United African Company U.A.C. on the same agreement above. The companies and lessee paid the rental periodically. The money was in principle to be paid in the Native treasuries. However, this was hardly the case[34].

The Native Lands Acquisition Act (1917) mentioned above also justified the indigenes' claim to their communal lands. Nevertheless, it prevented the indigenes from

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[32] L.B. Raymond. op.cit. Pg 757.

[33] Ibid pg 758.

[34] See E Ardener, et al (eds.) op.cit. Pg 28-33 (Introduction).

selling their land in violation of the local laws, or ignorance of its value. For this reason, no one who was an indigene of Southern Cameroons could acquire any interest in land without the Governor's approval. An 'alien' wishing to lease land from the local communities must, before the execution of the agreement, furnish full particulars to the District Officer. The latter then made inquiries as to the title of the indigene and the reputation of the alien. If the investigation was satisfactory, the officer asked the proposed grantee to deliver to him instruments intended to be executed. They were then transmitted to the Resident who sent them to the Commissioner of lands for the approval of the Governor[35]

Due to this, most of the lands that were sold in Bamenda Division took place in the post-war II era with the emerging urban centre, for commercial and administrative purposes. Such sales were made to the 'strangers' (African indigenes from the coastal regions, French territory) or others not within the communities of Bamenda Division. These Africans came to Bamenda Division as a result of the dismemberment of the German custom barriers; extension and maintenance of the road transport net-work between Bamenda Division and the French territory; coastal plantations and south Eastern Nigerian regions. The earliest of these were the Hausa traders, pastoralist and state employees.

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[35] Ibid. Pg 760. For more See C. K. Meek; Land Tenure and Land Administration in Nigeria and the Cameroons. 1957. Pg 370-378.

In the plantations zone, since the British colonialists were primarily concerned with the prevention of land acquisition by the German firms and in the German model, the application of Native lands Act was weak on the subject of alienation of land to African immigrants[36a]. So the famous Bakweri land problem emerged.[36b]

To the less privileged indigenes, the Native Land Acquisition Act (ordinance) did not only confiscate land ownership right from the Germans thereby re-instating the lands to them, but it reduced their holdings. It was so because it required the indigenes to seek grants of rights of occupancy from the British administration thereby, enforcing the policy of limiting the indigenes' reserves on the one hand, and alienating some of their lands on the other. However, the colonialists maintained the indigenes' rights of transfer of land holdings upon inheritance and death as it existed in the local ways[37].

Since the Native Land and Right Ordinance also gave the colonial government a custodian role over the crownlands, for easy administration, the government manifested some laissez-faire attitude to the local authorities in the exercise of their powers on the landed resources. However, this caused the local authorities to involve themselves in unjust practices which made some

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36_a E. Ardener, et al (eds.); op.cit. Pg 318.

36_b. Ibid. Also T. Eyongetah, et al. (eds). op. cit.

[37]This appropriation system was completed by not applying the other section of the laws of Nigeria dealing with Land Acquisition (1917) by the non-indigenes to the entire Southern Cameroons.

indigenes to loose their lands to others. Moreso, interest groups began emerging amongst the local authorities because of the desire for land. The unjust practices were caused by the influx of the 'stranger' indigenes and non-indigenes, especially the Ibo, Hausa, Bamileke groups, into the Division.

The influx of the 'strangers' further conditioned the communities from the 1930s to adopt a rule to the effect that permission to the 'strangers' to occupy land could be granted only by the Head of the community (Fon or clan head), subject to approval by the Native Court and also by the Resident[38]. These consolidated peasant holdings, and maintained some continuity in the local system of transfer of land titles to blood relatives. These change of titles were duly registered as the Act stipulated.

A tendency that these land laws consolidated in Nigeria and the Cameroons was the drive towards privatization. This had started under the Germans. But the arrival of the British and the consequent and steady cultivation of economic crops on cash basis from the 1920s consolidated this process.

The indigenes' conceptions of communal tenure began changing to being largely individual ownership of soil. Indigenes began selling land to others[39]. Indeed, many land cases were often registered and the result was that

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[38]For more see Lord F. Lugard. Op.cit Memo pg 391.

[39]For a comparison with the Nigerian case see Ibid pg 361; or with the plantation zones see R. Ardener op.cit Pg. 318-323.

clan and family heads sold lands without the consent of their family members[40]. In many cases the courts were kept in ignorance of the real status of the land, and it granted judgements which in effect converted what was formerly communal land into individual holdings, to the detriment of several members of the clans or villages[41].

It was this tendency that made the indigenes, Native Courts and the colonial officials to see the importance of upholding the local land tenure system in the Division from the 1930s. Communal tenures thus dominated the Division during this period. But there was the gradual privatization of communal lands by the Fons, tax collectors, clan or lineage heads and the Local Councilors. Ward or Quarter-Heads did the same.

These very categories of indigenes prevented the non-indigene Africans such as the Ibos, and Hausas (even though to a lesser extent) from acquiring lands (especially in large tracks)[42]. Similarly, those basic amendments in the land laws discussed above caused the N.A. officials to start appropriating more lands for themselves either through purchase or because of their administrative positions. These lands were used by them in the post-1940s for cash crop cultivation and livestock rearing. As a

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[40]Interview with Yah Casilia, Jakiri February 15th 1993. Also, Titoh Pauline Nuentoh Bamunka-Bdop. February 24th 1993.

[41]L.B. Raymond. op.cit. Pg 762.

[42]Ibid. Pg 760-761. Also, Great Britain Colonial Office. Reports to the League of Nations on the Administration under Britain of the Southern Cameroons for the Year 1927. H.M.S.O. London 1928. Pg 5.

consequence, the 'under-privileged' indigenes (with relatively smaller land holdings) were conditioned to start renting lands or even leave their holdings and move out of the Division to the plantations as migrant laborers or elsewhere in the Division and coastal regions of Southern Cameroons as tenant farmers. Others resorted to rendering their services to the colonialists viz: the missionaries and multinational licensed buyers as carriers or other servants.

In the post-war II era, further changes took place in the land situation in the Division as a result of the application of the land laws discussed above. The common change was from communal to family land claims. Women who according to the local laws and customs could not inherit lands, nor could land used by them be inherited by anyone other than a male member of her husband or father's lineage (who might be her son), began changing resulting in the de facto inheritance of land by a daughter. The daughter then passed the land on her son. So her right became profoundly limited to usufruct while she served as a care-taker of the land. However, some of them in the plantations zone were said to have sold the inherited lands[43].

Such a change was consolidated in the Division by the growing financial crises (either liquidity shortages in the pre-1940s or price inflation in post-1940), and the steady

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[43] E. Arderner, et al. (eds.); op.cit. Pg 319. esecially the Bakweri women.

rise in cash crop cultivation and urbanization. Private property followed suit. These gradually weakened the authority of the Fons and their ruling councils, on the one hand, and the 'traditional' system of property ownership and control on the other. Inversely, the position of the N.A. officials, European private employers and the local traders who could accumulate more property relative to others in the society, was strengthened[44].

In the same change process, the colonial state consolidated the position of the Division as an agricultural and livestock production zone by laying down some measures that determined the maximum surface area for local agricultural practices and grazing; and also gave the 'under privileged' indigenes some land compensatory rights and units. This came up in the 1940s when the administration realized the unfavourable nature of application of her pre-war II land laws in the Southern Cameroons, especially at a time when peasant commodity production was getting consolidated. She entrenched the compensations by institutionalizing the idea of the indigenes legal interest on land[45]. But while this made the indigenes to maintain and even expand their land holdings for the sake of cash crops production and livestock rearing, it further consolidated the local authorities' grip on the lands which they had earlier seized or bought from other indigenes. Moreover, it

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[44] L.B. Raymond. Op.cit. Pg 762-763.

[45] Laws. 1948. Op.cit.

facilitated the process of breakdown of the bonds of communal ownership of land, thereby promoting individualism. The entrenchment of property rights.

In as much as the amended Post-war II land laws (concerning land appropriation for public purposes described in principle as being exclusively government or public) were further categorized as reclamations for sanitary improvements; layout of government stations; planning of rural development or settlement schemes; control of land for road and other public works; mining; and so on, plantation agriculture was conclusively limited to the coastal region of Southern Cameroons, while some solutions were attempted towards a resettlement of the displaced Bakweri indigenes. Bamenda Division was consequently consolidated as a peasant agricultural zone.

However, some degree of mechanization of the peasant economy of the Division and the entire southern Cameroons was instituted. Such a change also introduced the practice of small scale mixed farming amongst the indigenes of the Division. The colonial administration intervened more than ever before in peasant commodity production like: determining where and how to farm, what and how to grow and when to perform various agricultural operations.

This post-war II amendment also brought about some degree of changes in technology and scale of peasant commodity production, especially through the cooperative societies which we shall see later and group farming. The purpose of these was

"to secure improvements in agriculture through the application of capital particularly, although not necessarily by mechanism and through more efficient land utilization in relation to topography and soil types"[46a].

Similarly, population, settlement, soil and vegetational surveys were carried out, and integrated effort over a period of ten years (for roads, villages, wells, markets, livestock rearing) also followed suit[46b]. These caused the establishment of the English system and values of land use, freehold or occupancy and transfer in the Division. By so doing, the pattern of transforming the land also varied in that the British and local systems were allowed to co-exist. Correspondingly, the European trading firms with land rights in the Division and Southern Camercons such as the U.A.C. COSTAIN, the Eastern Region Production Development Board, on the one hand, and the Missionaries on the other, effected the new pattern in their spheres of influence even more than the colonial state[47]. The dual system of land use that emerged from this change also led to the introduction of new environmental concerns in the Division.

Furthermore, the colonial state in this period made land resources like minerals come under strict control. This control was enforced by Section 3 of the Mineral

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[46a]. T.G. Forrest. Op.cit. Pg 8-9.

[46b]. Ibid Also laws 1948 Op.cit

[47]E. Ardener, et al. (eds.) op.cit. (Introduction). Also, S.E. Bederman op.cit. The Eastern Region Production Development Board in the 1950s carved out some 5,556 acres of land in Bamenda Province of which 1,124 acres was for coffee production and the rest for cattle grazing. This created more landlessness.

Ordinance and Regulation System, which vested all minerals in the Division in the British crown. Yet throughout the colonial period as we shall see, the British de-emphasized mineral exploitation by both the public and the European companies[48]. And this was because of her bias for plantation and peasant agriculture in Southern Cameroons. Moreover, the Ordinance even prevented the indigenes from exploiting the minerals on industrial basis. Only the blacksmiths, tinkers, wood carvers, joiners, cabinet makers, spinners, weavers, bead makers, potters, embroiderers, amongst others, were permitted to exploit the mineral resources[49]. They could have been tolerated because their technological capacities were still local that over-exploitation could not take place. Also, these artisans did not pose any threat to the British industrialists because they were still organized at the level of crafts, which the British manufactures could easily dominate. Having tolerated these artisans, the colonialists made sure that very little was done in this sector with regards to transferring to them some technical training.

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[48]Great Britain Colonial Office. Reports for the Year 1954. H.M.S.O. London 1955 pg 65. Also Laws. op.cit. 1948.

[49]Laws chapters 93 and 94 Ibid. Also, Supplement to the Laws of Nigeria 1933. Pg 1718-1723. The laws and Regulations affecting minerals have been summarized and dealt with. See Lord Hailey; An African Survey 2nd ---Edition. 1946. Pg 1526-1527 Based on Hailey, a profound effect of these mining regulations in Nigeria and the Cameroons was that they did not determine whether development could be entrusted in the hands of the small prospector or capitalist or to the large financial organization, unlike in Southern Rhodesia where the individual worker was encouraged in various ways including a special fund to engage in mining.

Apart from that, the colonialists did not search for these artisans markets in Europe for the sales of the local craft manufactures as she did for the multi-nationals and even the cash crop farmers in the Division. The little efforts in this regard were made by the missionaries with their limited influence and resources[50].

During the second world war period, the German landed properties were again seized and vested in the British hands, but by 1946 they fell back to the Germans, and later-on in the 1950s the Commonwealth Development Corporation (C.D.C.) owned largely by the British[51]. Apart from projecting the position of agriculture in the colonial economy of the Cameroons, these transfers consolidated plantation agriculture, and the colonialists grip on the 'indigenes' land. This land privatization also affected the indigenes who themselves became more hungry for land. With this land hunger, the Ex-Enemy Ordinance 1946 (which provided for the sale by the Custodian of Enemy property- the British crown, of the Ex-Enemy estates in the British Cameroons to the Government of Nigeria for the use and common benefit of the inhabitants of the Cameroons) was also promulgated. Accordingly, the status of the lands in the Southern Cameroons was further consolidated as Native land thereby preventing the further extension of

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[50] M. Perham (ed.); Mining, Commerce and Finance in Nigeria vol. 11. Faber and Faber Ltd London 1958. Pg 47.

[51] E. Ardnener, et al. (eds.); op.cit (introduction pg 28) 309-324. Also Great Britain Colonial office, Reports op.cit 1955. Pg 7; Great Britain colonial office; Reports for the Year 1950. H.M.S.O. London 1951. Pg 97-98.

plantations and Europeans land rights in the territory. The hitherto German held freeholds were abolished and the government was placed to oversee this.

Nonetheless, this new ordinance, while attempting to solve the land crisis of the Bakwerians in the plantation zones, instead generated more complex contradictions. This centred around the fact that plantation expansion was checked, while immigration of non-Bakwerians in the entire Southern Cameroons, Nigeria and the French territory rose. This rise came against the background of peasant commodity production in Bamenda Division and labour migrancy. On the other hand, the demand for cash and white collar jobs by the Bakwerians conditioned some of them to sell their lands to many of the African immigrant indigenes. Most of these immigrants quickly took to agricultural production on peasant basis more than even the Bakweri farmers[52]. As a consequence, more indigenes of Bamenda Division migrated to the more fertile plantation zones as wage labourers and tenant farmers, most of who later-on became permanent settlers. These migrations to the plantation areas and the sales of land to the immigrants alongside its financial abuses, were due to the fact that land registration rights which the Native Land and Rights Laws provided, were hardly enforced in this region, probably because of the administration's bias for plantation agriculture.

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[52] Ibid. Pg 320-321. It was reported by E. Ardener S. Ardener, and W.A. Warmington in the 1950s about the demand for cash and sales of land by the Bakwerians that one Bakwerian allowed an indigene of Bamenda area to use his land after an initial payment of 5s. and a bottle of kerosene. Ten years after the land lord received further payments of about 1.5s. pounds. At the death of the landlord, the son increased 5s on the rents just for funeral expenses. And this came to be permanent.

In Bamenda Division, the creation of the C.D.C. also prevented the indigenes from having any ownership and control right over the lands on which the state farms were, at a time when they were clamouring for them - the nationalist struggle. Instead, more lands were taken from them (in Santa) in the 1950s[53] and given to the C.D.C. for coffee cultivation and livestock grazing. By implication, the privatization was aimed at strengthening the position of the multi-nationals, thereby consolidating the externally oriented economy of the Division. More migrations were generated and peasant commodity production was consolidated.

At the local level, the privatization process took a dramatic turn in 1951 when the new colonial central planning land policy (plantation and settlement schemes of Nigeria and the Cameroons)[54] gave more control of some lands to the N.A. especially the Fons who were the N.A. Heads[55]. This further consolidated the N.A. Heads'class positions on the one hand, and encouraged them to cultivate more cash crops for the Marketing Boards and the Cooperative Societies on the other. In addition, the Fons began parceling lands to some elites and other traditional authorities through their 'traditional' powers. Unfortunately, most of the Fons did not transform all the lands into agricultural sites. They instead allowed most

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[53]See footnote 49.

of them for either grazing, or to be forested for fuel collection, traditional rites, and so on.

The immigrant tenant farmers in the Division in the 1950s exploited these opportunities to acquire much lands from the Fons and the elites, for settlement or cash crop cultivation. With this tendency, the women were conditioned more than ever before by the local customs to concentrate on the soil and its cultivation, and the men concentrated on the trees and their produce. Theoretically, all land still belonged to the Fons, even though in actuality nearly all lands were in private ownership by the citizens. However, the Fons could still confiscate any land deemed necessary for public use like schools, health care services, infrastructures, agricultural purposes or traditional rites, without compensating the owner[56].

R. Eugene and Pat Ritzenthaler [57]suggested that population increase led to this privatization of hitherto communal lands by the Fons, the traditional administrative authorities and elites, either through the parceling of the raffia palm bushes and hills of various sizes, or through purchase, or confiscation. But it could further be suggested that the consolidation of cash crop production in the Division (particularly palm produce; coffee; bananas; groundnuts, maize and other food crops) on the one hand, and the monetization of the economy on the other also led

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[56]R. Eugene, et al. (eds.); op. cit. Pg 25, 106. Land could also be confiscated from a person who had committed a serious offense.

[57]Ibid.

to privatization process. Meanwhile, concern for the economic survival of the future generation also contributed to the privatization. For this reason, most of the lands that were privatized were left unexploited especially because of labour migrancy to the plantations, education, lack of machine based production means or the physical environmental nature of the lands.

Because of money, lands were hardly parcelled at the close of the 1950s. Instead, they were exchanged largely for cash, or any other precious gift or valuable goods[58]. This was enforced by the fact that, in as much as the plots that were transfered varied in sizes, the crucial determinant of their value became the number of trees that each contained. If the trees were numerous, it would be a smaller plot and value higher. Raffia or oil palm bushes also sold higher than say the grassland hills[59].

Land acquired either through purchase, inheritance or by gift could also be rented during which the owner got one half of the palm wine which had been collected on his land by the tenant. In Bafut for example, some older men in the community owned as many as eight to ten plots of land with 100 to 500 palm trees on each plot. The youngermen would beg to buy one of these plots, which may cost 25 pounds each. The entire plot was then sold. They were hardly broken up into smaller units. When a man bought a plot with a hundred trees, he tapped a half dozen at a time to

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[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid.

see which will give the best produce. He also checked the entire plot for those trees which will give the best palm oil and wine[60].

By the 1950s it was also reported in connection with land privatization in the Division, that the N.A. also made some moves that were geared towards safeguarding some land for the colonial administration. In this regard, they passed some local laws on building amongst others. All the laws were made to work in the British interest. An example of this was the settlement or Residential laws which saw the establishment of Government Residential Areas (G.R.A.)[61] and Rest Houses in the Division.

During this later period of colonial rule, many land problems ensued in the Division because of the contradictions in the land laws and their application. A frequent land problem in the entire Southern Cameroons was land use by migrant tenant farmers. The clash of interest came over the ownership of permanent improvements to the land such as buildings and tree crops. Immigrants were customarily regarded as having a right to any subsistence crop they may grow, but they could not grow any permanent crop. Standing stems of permanent crops always reverted to the land lords after the immigrants had left. Similarly, any house or renovation made in the house. However, immigrants especially in the plantations often violated these laws. Some were said to have sold the new houses and

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[60] Ibid.

[61] Great Britain colonial office, Reports for the Year 149. H.M.S.O. London 1950. Pg. 69.

absconded. Others planted permanent crops and claimed ownership of them at their departure[62]. Most of the permanent tree crops were the palms, kola, coffee, cocoa and rubber which we shall discuss later.

The above contradictions were compounded by the fact that the colonial administration linked its land laws with peasant commodity production. The system of production was based predominantly on the cultivation of cash crops and livestock rearing. These were developed on the basis of what the Germans had laid down in the Division on the one hand, and that of the British in Nigeria, on the other before 1916. Cash crops like cocoa, palms, coffee, castor, groundnuts, banana were promoted. Similarly, kolanuts and cotton were given some (but very limited) state attention in the pre-1940s[63]. These came through the kola tenances ordinance 1935. By so doing, some of the indigenes who had kola trees (farms) had their lands protected, thereby consolidating the privatization process and peasant commodity production.

In the post 1940s as we shall see in the next chapter, the Marketing Boards system and the cooperative societies caused the cultivation of cotton, kolanuts rubber, tobacco and castor to be inferior in the Division. The indigenes thus relinquished their interest in cultivating them except for some susbsistence purposes.

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[62] E. Ardener, et al. (eds.) op.cit. Pg 322.

[63] Great Britain Colonial Office; Reports for 1935. H.M.S.O. London 1936. Pg 5-6. Also, Trusteeship Annual Reports on the Cameroons. op.cit.

4.3 An overview of British Colonial Agricultural Policies c.1900 - c.1960:

Much has been written on the British colonial agricultural policies in the tropical regions[64]. However, our interest here is to bring out some of the major factors in the British colonial sphere of Nigeria and the Cameroons which affected the nature and development of their colonial agricultural policies.

It has been generally acknowledged[65] that these factors led to the emergence of two distinct periods (in the development of British colonial agriculture), that is, the pre-1940s and post-1940 eras. These periods were affected by he corresponding changes in the world political and economic situation. In the pre-1940s events like the first world war; the great depression and the World War two were most outstanding, while the post-1945 was influenced by the colonial central planning efforts. The intention here was to consolidate the basis of the external oriented economy which she had been building up since c.1916.

Between 1900 and 1929, great strides were taken in the development of the export economy. By 1929, export value for Nigeria and the Cameroons had risen more than seven fold; export volume five folds; implying compounded annual growth rates of seven and five and a half percent respectively. Export production in 1929 probably amounted

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[64] See: G.B. Masefield; op. cit. 1972. Also G.B. Masefield; op. cit. 1950; G.K. Helleiner, Peasant agriculture, government and economic growth in Nigeria Richard D.Irwin Homewood 1966; T.G.Forrest op.cit 1982.

[65] Ibid.

to five to seven percent of Gross Domestic Product (G.D.P.). And these were a result of cash crop production, which brought more peasants into contact with the world market[66]. But export production should not be exaggerated because of the demands of subsistence, and the local means of production which limited the quantity produced for export.

The central factor which effected the changes in the export economies of these colonies was the role of the colonial state in collaboration with the colonial office in London. By 1900 when the British Cameroons was still under the Germans, Nigerian colonial government expenditures had amounted to 735,000 pounds, about 40% of export values[67]. But by 1929, with the addition of British Cameroons into Nigeria, total central government expenditures on goods and services amounted to about 6.3 million pounds. A. McPhee explained the increase thus:

> "cohorts of officials, both native and European, housed in modern offices on the coast and in old-fashioned mud Treasuries in the interior, backed up by all the force and soldiers and constables of bateries of artillery, and aided by motorcars and motor-launches"[68].

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[66]G.K. Helleiner. Ibid pg 5-6. Nevertheless, this growth was largely quantitative because the overall structure of the economy altered very little over the period before 1929. Moreso, as we shall see, peasant commodity production had not really picked up in Southern Cameroons except the plantations of the coastal regions.

[67]Ibid. Pg 13. Also, S.H. Frankel; Captial Investment in Africa. O.U.P London 1938. Pg 317. Allan McPhee; The Economic Revolution of British West Africa. Routledge and Sons. Aberdeen. 1926. Pg 215.

[68]Quoted in Ibid G.K. Helleiner. Pg 13. Also, Ibid A. McPhee pg 216. For more on the government expenditures see Lord F. Lugard "Report on lthe Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria. And Administration. 1912-1919" in A.H.M. Kirk Greene; Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria: A documentary Record. Frank Cass & Co. Ltd. London 1968. pg 122-127.

Even though government expenditures rose slightly more than export value between these periods, the expansion of government activities roughly kept pace with that of the value of exports[69].

The methods by which the colonial government maintained this expansion was also through the maintenance of law and order, to the extent that peace and public safety were essential prerequisites for orderly development[70]. The government also needed this law and order for the creation and expansion of her socio-economic services and infrastructures which would link the peasant agricultural zones and the ports. The intention was that of commercialization of peasant produce. The construction of these infrastructures conditioned the colonial state to relate much with the multi-national companies and financial institutions in Europe[71]. It was in this regard that the British colonial government in Nigeria linked Bamenda Division by road with the South-Eastern Nigerian region via Mamfe Division; and the Tiko and Victoria sea ports. With such a change, the hitherto German plans of linking the Kamerun cash crop zones with Tangayika by rail were put to oblivion. Instead[72], the British made several efforts to prevent peasant commodity trading between Bamenda Division

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[69] Ibid.

[70] See chapter three. The impact of this shall be discussed in a later chapter.

[71] Lord F. Lugard op.cit 1968. Para. 10, 67-102; 121-134.

[72] Ibid. Pg 168-171. Also, D.C.D. Peacock "The trans-Cameroon Railyway" in Geography. Jornal of the Geographical Association vol. 51. Sheffield 1966. Pg 55-58; S.H. Bederman; op.cit. 1966 pg 349-360.

and the entire southern Cameroons and the French territory thereby, leading to the development of smuggling.

The government also contributed much in the way of support to the export-import trade and ultimately therefore, to the growth process. It did this by stimulating the spread of a money economy more directly through the introduction of a light and durable currency (to replace the local and German currencies), and through the insistence on payment of the 'new' direct taxes in the British currency rather than in kind. Government also offered wage employment[73]. As said earlier peasant commodity production in Bamenda Division was not entrenched through mining as through agriculture, it was conditioned by the government. Similarly attention was not also paid to modern manufacturing. These unentrenched economic sectors were better developed in Nigeria. And these were results of the nature and extent of the colonial state intervention in the economy of the regions[74].

Agricultural production in particular and peasant commodity exchange in general were also made by the colonial state to come under the infuence of the European trading companies and licensed buyers. And through their influence, the Marketing Board and Cooperative Societies system were established in the entire Nigeria and the Cameroons as we shall examine later.

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[73] G.K. Helleiner, op.cit. Pg 15.

[74] For more on mining see: M. Perham (ed.). Op.cit. Pg 18-19.

That brief discussion of the key factors that affected the development of British colonial agricultural policies would be significant in this study, if only it is related with some particular details about the actuality of the colonial agricultural policies in Nigeria and the Cameroons. This would enrich our understanding of the process of establishing an externally oriented system of production and distribution in Bamenda Division.

We said earlier that in the pre-war II era intervention by the colonial state in the economy of Nigeria and the Cameroons was very limited. In Nigeria, before the 1920s some botanical gardens and model farms under the Forestry Department had been established by the British. They experimented with the introduction of new plants and varieties. The Department also distributed seeds and plants in order to promote trade. Particular efforts were made in the promotion of cash crops cultivation such as rubber, by the peasants and foreign owners of plantations. The Agriculture Department was founded in 1910 in the South (Nigeria) and in 1912 in Northern Nigeria for these purposes. Steadily, the colonial administration began to favour peasant production of export crops and to generate revenues[75]. Correspondingly, the encouragement of export production, led to the development of export trade and a gradual incorporation of the Nigerian peasant producers into the

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[75] T. G. Forrest, Op.cit. Pg 1.

world economy. This was accompanied by a steady monetization of the economy.

These British approaches in Nigeria were similar to the Germans' in Kamerun as discussed earlier[76]. And the British approach was more entrenched in Nigeria than the Germans' in Bamenda Division, largely because of the Germans' interest in plantation agriculture in the coastal regions, on the one hand, and preference of trade with the indigenes of the Division on the other. That notwithstanding, the essence of establishing the state farms in Victoria, Buea, Bambui and Bali-Nyonga[77] by the Germans, was similar to the British in Nigeria. The German taxation and monetization system (which we shall see in chapter six) also assisted in generating an export oriented economy in the Division like the British in Nigeria.

It was therefore the British colonial interest to transform these German influences to suit hers', since she was given the right of economic exploitation and administration of the Cameroons by the League of Nations in 1922. Although there was no coherent colonial agricultural policies in Nigeria by the time of the British take-over of the Cameroons, there were strong views in Nigeria in favour of peasant agricultural production. These views were extended to the Cameroons because of the interest that the European plantation owners in Nigeria had on those in southern Cameroons which were placed under the status of

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[76] See chapter three. Pg. 144 - 148

[77] For more see E. Ardener, et al. (eds.); op.cit. Als H.R. Rudin; op.cit.

Enemy Properties. Even the German plantation owners were also struggling to regain their farms in Victoria and Kumba Divisions.

However, the strong views amongst the British colonialists in favour of peasant agriculture as we shall see, merely consolidated Bamenda Division's position as predominantly an area for peasant commodity production. Peasant agriculture, it was argued, could easily benefit from the scientific administrative methods of agriculture which the Germans and British had established in Kamerun and Nigeria respectively; and other British tropical colonies[78].

Similarly, the expansion of peasant commodity production and the open economy in Bamenda Division Southern Cameroons came under the ideological justification of the extended version of the Dual Mandate[79]. These were laying the basis of a laissez-faire economic policy of colonial development, thus forstering the growth of an externally oriented economy in the Division.

4.4 The British Colonial State and Consolidation Of Peasant Commodity Production in Bamenda Division:

The subsequent dominance of peasant agriculture in Bamenda Division came as a result of some significant factors which went as far back as the German era.

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[78]For more see G.B. Masefield. op.cit. 1972.

[79]See F. Lugard. op. cit. 1965. Also K.E. Robinson; op.cit. 1965; A.G. Hoipkins; An Economic History of West Africa. Longmans London 1973 Chapters 4 and 5; S.B. Saul; "The Economic significance of constructive imperialism" in Journal of Economic History vol. 17, 1957; Alan Pim; The Financial and Economic History of the African Tropical territories. Oxford 1940.

We also mentioned earlier, the ideological justifications given to peasant commodity production and expansion by the British, and the open economy. But much more important to our area of study were the manifestations of these views by the colonial administrators. In the German era, the state and European private sector had preferred plantation agriculture largely because the number of investors were limited and the physical nature of the environment of the Cameroons[80]. But the German state finally accepted the establishment of plantations as a result of intense pressures from the trading firms.

Meanwhile, the Germans also preferred to grow cash crops such as cocoa, palms and rubber in their colonies rather than to purchase them from foreign countries. The German colonialists were also confident that they could grow better quality crops than could the indigenes. On the other hand, the difficulties in penetrating the Bamenda interior, on the one hand, and local resistances on the other, finally discouraged any GErman plans of establishing plantations in the Division[81].

The British also operated some plantations in the Southern region of Nigeria and these were also under the control of the private firms. However, from 1906 the British started changing her policy towards a favour of

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[80] S.H. Bederman. op.cit. Pg 354. By 1890, German traders outnumbered planters in the Kamerun. But these German planters were more engaged in plantation agriculture than in trade because of the fertile volcanic soils of the coastal regions of Kamerun.

[81] Ibid. Pg 354-356. By 1913, there were 58 plantations in the colony, all located around Victoria. The plantations engaged about 17,827 labourers with only 195 non-African planters.

peasant agriculture. The colonial government in 1906, restricted Lever's request for land to plant oil palms and to establish oil mills. In 1920, Lever again demanded freehold concessions for planting and later in 1925, a labour supply guaranteed by the government and the exclusive right of buying and processing fruit from the peasants[82].

But these moves were resisted especially when Governor clifford came out strongly in 1920 against plantation agriculture thus:

> "As further agricultural industries in tropical countries which are mainly for, and exclusively in the hands of the native peasantry (a) Have a firmer root than similar enterprises when owned and managed by Europeans because they are natural growth, not artificial creations, and are self-supporting, as regards labour, while European plantations can only be maintained by some system of organized immigration or by some form of compulsory labour (b) Are incomparably the cheapest instruments for the production of agricultural produce and large scale that have yet been devised; and (c) Are capable of a rapidity of expansion and a progressive increase of output that beggar every record of the past ... for these reasons I am very strongly opposed to any encouragement being given ... to projects for creation of European owned and managed plantations to replace or even supplement agricultural industrties which are already in existence, or which are capable of being developed by peasants"[83].

Governor Clifford's argument did not apply to only cotton growing, but equally applied to palm, rubber or European plantations at large. By so doing, the large reported rubber and kola (local plantation) reserves of

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[82] T.G. Forrest; op.cit. Pg 1.

[83] Ibid pg 2. Also Quoted in L.B. Raymond. Op.cit. Pg 771-775.

Bamenda Division were automatically prevented from being bought and developed into large plantations by the Europeans or the indigenes.

It should further ne noted that experience in plantation style production in other British colonies such as Rhodesia, and South Africa (even those of German Kamerun) had proved that their survival depended upon a regular and adequate supply of immigrant labour[84]. Besides that, at take-over in c.1916 the British were confronted with serious labour shortages and local resistance against plantation labour. Such a resistance was not only in Bamenda Division but in other British colonies as we could understand from Governor Clifford's speech:

> "... estates in the tropics which are dependent for their labour supply upon the local agricultral production always occupy a highly precarious position as they are inevitably exposed to risks. The volume of such a labour force is never a constant factor, but instead is a subject to frequent and violent fluctuations... . Moreoever, labourers of this class, who have an immediate interest in land of their own or of their neighbours situated in the vicinity of the estate, are apt to drift away in platoons, just when their services are most urgently required, in order to weed, sow, or reap their own or their fallows' crops as the season for such work arrives"[85].

Furthermore, the Governor also believed that the cost of production of tropical industries in the hands of the indigenes was cheaper than that of estates owned and managed by Europeans thus:

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[84]The Germans employed labour from Dahomey, Ghana and Nigeria for the plantations. The South African and Rhodesian mines demanded labour from Kenya. See Ibid L.B. Raymond pg 772.

[85]Ibid. Pg 772.

> "To begin with, the extreme simplicity of native agricultural and financial methods makes for cheap production. The whiteman is the most expensive of God's creatures; and his salary, the cost of his passage, the construction and furnishing of his home, the provision of his necessary means of locomotion, etc, etc, all combine to represent a figure that makes an appreciable inroad into the gross earnings of any estate. His whole system of operations too, is elaborate and costly.... The cocoa-farmer of the Gold coast or the groundnut or cotton cultivator of Nigeria knows nothing of these things. His individual holding is comparatively small, and is usually capable of being tilled by himself and the male and female, adult and juvenile, members of his family. If he extends the area of cultivation beyond the capacity of the labour supplied by his immediate 'entourage' he usually employs ... a handful of labourers who are not so much his 'employees' as shareholders in the enterprise ... The owner of the land runs no risk for he stands to gain handsomely if his crop sells well, and to economise proportionately on his labour-bill when prices are bad..."[86].

It should further be noted that British plantation, in pre-1916 West Africa did not perform better than peasant agriculture, in spite of the plantations' high running cost[87]. This poor performance made it easier for the German plantations to dominate the British thereby, causing Germany to dominate trade in the export crops amongst the colonial nations in west Africa[88]. It was partly because of this that in the pre-1920 era there was the struggle by the Lever company to secure plantation expansion and monopoly for the company in Nigeria[89].

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[86] L.B. Raymond. op.cit. Pg 773

[87] T.G. Forrest op.cit. Pg 2.

[88] Ibid.

[89] A.G. Hopkins; op.cit 1973.

In another light, peasant agriculture further triumphed because of the intervention of other colonialists in the League of Nations. In this regard in the 1920s Mr. W.R. Crocker a British colonial administrator and member of the International Labour Organization (I.L.O.) of the League of Nations fought strongly in support of peasant agriculture thus:

> "Agricultural policy in short, should be heavily weighted in favour of African peasant farming as against European plantation, and in favour of subsistence crops rather than export crops. Practice already tends the other way in most colonies and in the future pressure to accentuate that tendency, which has a more immediate economic value but a lesser social value, will increase, particularly with the coming of the promised post-war experts from English cities to 'develop' the colonies. From the economic point of view alone mixed and subsistence farming is normally the only sound farming in the long run; monoculture is notoriously both unsafe and soil-ruining. In Africa the economic side of agricultural policy is only one side; agricultural policy in Africa must be as much concerned with the way of life as with growing food or bringing in money"[90].

Unfortunately, as we shall see below, the recommendations in favour of subsistence agriculture, food crops production amongst others, were largely ignored. Instead, the British went ahead in carrying research on the German agricultural past. In one of the researches, Hanns Vischer pointed out in support of W.R. Crocker that the indigenes' national feeling, his local industry and aptitude for work, were entirely ignored by the German government; and 'higher interests' frequently interferred to retard the development

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[90] W.R. Crocker; On Governing Colonies: Being an Outline of the Real Issues and a comparison of the British, French and Belgian Approach to them. George Allen and Unwin. Ltd. London 1947. Pg 35-36.

of the indigenes' enterprise[91]. But despite that, he still advocated for a direct adoption of the German agricultural system.

Given this advocacy for the German agricultural system, it is therefore interesting because the British agricultural approach in the Cameroons subsequently became fundamentally inter-related with what the Germans had laid down. Africa.

The British like the Germans, upheld the production of 'exotic' cash crops for export to Europe. The production of these crops in Africa would reduce their dependence on America for raw materials, especially as the American Civil War and its aftermath had caused great distress in raw material supplies to Europe. And with the institutionalization of this system of production in Africa G.B. Masefield remarked that with the possible exception of Van der Bosch's 'culture system' in the Netherlands Indies (some sixty years before the brink of the 20th century), peasant production of cash crops for export in the British African colonies alone (from about the brink of the 20th century), was a thing never seen in colonial history[92]. Cash crop cultivation was accompanied with the dangers of mono-culture. Economically, a territory which depended on a single export crop may suffer an economic calamity if the price fell or, if a season was adverse to that particular crop so that yeilds were low.

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[91] A. Calvert. Op.cit. Pg 48-49.

[92] G.B. Masefield. op.cit. 1950. Pg 85; 86-98.

Such dangers were compounded when ever there was a disease or pest attack on the crop. These problems had long been experienced in Ceylon with Coffee, Costa Rica in 1904 with banana; Ceylon again in 1902 with cocoa; Jamaica in 1911 with banana amongst others[93].

The British in particular had long before 1920, gained some experience in dealing with these diseases, as we shall see later. But when the British commenced with agriculture in Southern Cameroons, it was discovered that the experimental works of the botanical gardens were no longer adequate to the new requirements of British industrialization. Besides that, the state of the German farms and related institutions was very bad hence, improvements were carried on them[94].

In these regards, the British sought for efficiency by embarking on experimental works on the farms, on purely agricultural basis. But the system of world trade after the first world war greatly favoured some cash crops such as palm produce thereby, influencing the British cash crops policy in the Division to favour palm produce mostly. There were some major readjustments in the nature of export crops that were produced viz:

4.4.1 Cotton

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[93] Ibid. Pg 116-124. Also, L. Knowles; The Economic Development of the British Overseas Empire, vol. I. Routledge 1928; E.W. Wardlaw: Diseases of Banana. MacMillan, 1935; L.N.H. Larter; Report on banana breeding, Government Printer, Jamaica, 1947; Pest control in Bananas; Pans Manual no.1 (new Edition).Pans 56 Gray's Inn Road, London 1971.

[94] See chapter three. Pg.

Cotton had long been in cultivation in British Nigeria, and it grew in large quantities in Zaria and Kano since the pre-colonial period. It consituted a principal export crop to northern Africa by Caravan[95]. In Bamenda Division this crop also grew wildly, but the Germans did not develop its cultivation on the basis that the British did in Nigeria, even though both colonial powers encouraged its cultivation on peasant basis. The British in Nigeria encouraged its production by attempting some improvements on the quality and market value of the local species before 1916. Through the Agiculture Department, selected seeds were distributed to the indigenes even in the southern region of Nigeria[96]. The British Cotton Growing Association (B.C.G.A.) which had established stations throughout Nigeria and the Cameroons for the naturalization of exotic cottons and the hybridization of American and African varieties before 1920, pioneered this project.

However, this plan largely failed in the Southern region of the territory because of the crops' susceptibility to the attacks by insect pests. Also, the earlier cotton experiments had hardly produced a permanent hybrid which could combine the lint of the best American kind with the hardiness and blight resisting powers of the indigenous cotton[97].

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[95] A.J. Herbertson, et al. (eds.): The Oxford Survey of the British Empire in Africa. vol. III. The Clarendorn Press Oxford 1914. Pg 440.

[96] Ibid.

[97] Ibid. Also, T.G.Forrest. Op.cti. Pg 2.

On the part of the indigenes in Nigeria and the Cameroons, cotton growing, even though annual, when compared with longer lasting crops like palms (and other annual grain food crops), required a high cost of local labour. The high labour was hardly compensated for with high market prices. Moreover, cotton cultivation required extensive plots and the colonial agricultural policies and land laws of the pre-1940s seriously discouraged plantation agriculture, or 'latifundist' agriculture[98]

At last the British colonialist had to abondon the encouragement given to cotton cultivation in Bamenda Division Southern Cameroons because of the poor conditions that surrounded its cultivation, mentioned above. The indigenes on their part, increased their cultivation of food crops and palms as we shall see later. At the same time, they began to increase their participation in other local economic activities for the generation of revenue for taxes and subsistence. Apart from the related problems above, the British could also have realized that any encouragement given to cotton production could have threatened the cultivation of palms which was gaining importance in Europe and amongst the European trading companies from the 1920s; especially because of the industrous nature of the indigenes and; in spite of the indegenes' poorly developed methods and technology of cultivaltion.

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[98] Ibid. A.J. Herbertson, et al. (eds.). Pg. 440-441.

As a result of such an encouragement, the colonial state was required to increase its participation in encouraging the growing of this economic crop by say establishing ginneries in the Division, and improving on the road and transportation net-work to link the area with the coastal regions of Nigeria and the Camercons. These were thought to be very expensive. She could not also allow the European private companies to embark on these because of the labour threats to her economic activities especially plantation agriculture.

Even in the post-war II era, cotton cultivation was hardly encouraged because of the influence of the Marketing Boards, Cooperative Societies and the relative higher profits for coffee and banana which we shall see later.

In this regard, the British concentrated their efforts in encouraging cotton production in more favourable zones in Nigeria -Yorubaland and her other tropical colonies[99]. The indigenes of Bamenda Division still maintained some small quantities of their cotton seeds and farm holdings (especially in Ndop and Bafut N.A.), for the purposes of subsistence and other traditional demands - textile manufacturing, (cloth, thread, caps etcetera). It also served as an important item of trade amongst the groups within Bamenda Province and the larger grassland area, extending as far as to Bamumland, Hausaland and the French territory of northern Cameroons[100].

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[99]Ibid. Pg. 441. Also, G.K. Helleiner. Op.cit: Pg 126-132.

[100]J.C. Drummond-Hay. Op.cit. Para 227-228.

4.4.2 Tobacco:

Tobacco had constituted an important crop in pre-1916 Nigeria and southern Cameroons. In Bamenda Division the Germans had made numerous efforts aimed at encouraging the indigenes to cultivate it for export. She did this through her traders and the missionaries and; in the plantation areas tobacco too was introduced. She experimented on this crop until 1903. In Bamenda Division the German explorers and traders looked for it. Between 1906 and 1907, the Economic Committee of the colonial society became seriously interested in its production and appointed a special group to make a study of it[101]. By 1910, the efforts of the Botanical gardens in Buea and Victoria had led to its successful cultivation in large quantities for cigar manufacturing in Germany. By 1913, trade statistics began to show a very rapid increase in the export volume of tobacco from the Cameroons. The trading company's investment in this crop in Kamerun rose from 400,000 marks in 1910 to 2.6 million Marks by 1913. This investment was only limited by the shortage in labour[102].

Despite these favourable conditions for the cultivation of tobacco in Bamenda Division, the British did not encourage the indigenes to do it. And the rising interest and demand for palms further led to a change of local interest to disfavour tobacco. Meanwhile, any British encouragement given to the indigenes to continue

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[101] For more see H.R. Rudin. Op.cit. Pg 272-273.

[102] Ibid.

cultivating tobacco, would have reduced the British palm produce trading companies' profit margin on the one hand, and threatened the survival of the emerging local livestock industry from the 1920s,(which was of British interest in the Division), on the other. It could also have heightened the ecological crisis in the Division thereby, serving as a threat to the British system of production.

But in the Nigerian Yorubaland experience in the pre-1920s had shown that the crop did better, largely because it was grown in low-lying land near water, and was carefully irrigated. Cow manure, ashes and house sweepings were always applied to it as fertilizers. The climatic conditons of the region made it cheaper for drying to be done (sundrying)[103]. These were conditions that were largely lacking in Bamenda Division (a rainy montane grassland environment)[104] The British therefore preferred the cultivation of tobacco for export in Yourbaland, the plantations in Southern Cameroons and elsewhere in her tropical colonies.

From the German colonial archives, the British also learned of the German plans of cultivating tobacco in Tangayika on plantation basis. The tobacco plantations, as the Germans planned it, would be linked by railway to Bamenda Division and Kamerun at large via: Mbalmayo-Yaounde-Douala-Kumba; and from Mbalmayo through Congo to

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[103] A.J. Herbertson, et al. (eds.); Op.cit. Pg 441-442.

[104] See chapter one. Pg. 35-48.

Tangayika[105]. However, the peasant methods of growing tobacco in Tangayika were found by the British to be more favourable. Similarly, was the ecological situation. It's production was only affected by the "maji-maji' revolt in the World War I period. The Tangayikan tobacco was also of better quality and faced less labour threats like those under plantation agriculture in the Cameroons. So the British from the 1920s embarked on tobacco cultivation in Tangayika on intensive basis around the Tabora District[106]. They also dropped the German railway plans because of territorial and financial interuptions by the French and Belgians in the Cameroons and the Congo regions.

4.43 Rubber:

The existence of rubber in Bamenda Division and Nigeria was long before colonialism. In Nigeria the African silk rubber tree (Funtumia elastica) dominated; especially in the forest zones of the south (with exceptions in the swampy parts), and the northern region of the Benue and Niger Confluence. Another common rubber specie was the Landolphia owariensis which was practically the same distribution as Funtumia elastica[107]. The kickxia - elastica specie was found in Lagos area. This specie later-on became so popular and was called silk-

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105 D.C.D. Peacock; op.cit. 1966. Pg 55-58.

106 For more on the Tangayikan (Tanzanian) tobacco industry see: Jannick Boesen A.T. Mohele, The 'Sucess Story' of Peasant Tobacco Production in Tanzania. The Politiclal Economy of a Commodity producing Peasantry. Scandinavian Institute of African Studies. Uppsala 1979.

107 A.J. Herbertson, et. al. (eds.); op.cit. Pg 443.

rubber. The Germans introduced it in the Kamerun plantations area before 1904. But the high demand for silk-rubber in Europe soon led to its over-exploitation and consequent disappearance in the Lagos area. So by 1906 its exportation had entirely ceased[108].

On the contrary, silk-rubber was found to be highly available in Kamerun, especially in the virgin forests of South Kamerun; the Savannah of South Adamawa; and the Montane areas of Kimbaw and Nsungli lands, all in Bamenda Division. Even the lake Chad region had it. As seen earlier, the Germans under Dr. Schlecter had made some advances in the cultivation of this crop in larger and more qualitative marketable quantities. He proved that 1½lbs of dry rubber could be obtained from 6 years old trees[109]. Kamerun also had the Funtumia elastica species and another one viz: Landolphia Florida. The species of rubber were regarded as the greatest rubber yielding plants in the colonies.

By 1911, rubber marketing in Germany had become very popular. Meanwhile, by 1906 the Botanical gardens in Victoria had made some advancements for better species of rubber. So the Havea brasiliensis specie was discovered to be very favourable for the region, because, like kickxia elastica, it could be grown with less difficulties, and it produced a greater quantity of rubber. The demand for rubber in Germany made the Woermann firm to demand for

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[108] Ibid. Also H.R. Rudin, op.cit. Pg 266-267.

[109] Ibid H.R. Rudin. Also, A. Calvert. Op.cit.

monopoly commercial rights on rubber, but the state refused[110].

Due to the rising demand for rubber in Germany, its production in Bamenda Division increased on peasant basis. And the peasant grown rubber yields were said to be higher in Kamerun than the plantation rubber yields[111]. So the indigenes were taught some simple methods of preparing rubber for marketing. This was because the Germans claimed that the local methods were damaging the trees, and the system of transportation was poor, such that, the indigenes almost neglected this trade.

The British abandoned the encouragement that the Germans had given the indigenes in cultivating this cash crop. They claimed that their financial situation could not permit them to continue with it. Meanwhile, given the availability of rubber in the Division its continuous production would have been more profitable to the British if it was done on peasant basis largely because the Germans had set the pace for it. Instead, the Southern Cameroons plantations took more of the British attention because the basis for intensive production had already been laid by the Germans. Besides that, eventhough peasant rubber production was higher in export volume in the entire Kamerun than plantation rubber production, the British claimed that the quantity available in Bamenda Division, (British Southern Cameroons) was relatively lower than that

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[110] Ibid. H.R. Rudin. Pg 265-267.

[111] Ibid

in the plantations, thereby justifying its abandonment. This partly explained why the British Crown (as custodian of Enemy properties in the Cameroons), was always struggling with the German and other European trading companies for ownership and control of the rubber plantations in Southern Cameroons as seen earlier.

The rubber economy of Bamenda Division was also discouraged further (until its collapse) because of its threats to the supply of labour to the plantations zone for the British; and also its threats to the cultivation of palms[112].

In another light, several problems also affected the rubber economy of the Division. Since the German era, the indigenes employed by the Europeans were often accused of throwing Europeans goods into the huts of those dwelling in the rubber growing areas with a warning that, the pedlar would return at a given time and expect certain amounts of rubber for the goods delivered to the indigenes[113]. For this reason, the indigenes were discouraged in planting and tapping rubber because of the fear of a possible revival of this mode of forceful trading, and preferred palm production. The greatest reason that further made the British to abandon this cash crop after they took-over from the Germans (1920s) was the world crisis in rubber, which arose because of the successful plantations in Sumatra and elsewhere in the far East. This had fatal effects on the

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[112] A. Calvert, op.cit. Pg 28-30.

[113] H.R. Rudin; op.cit pg 267.

Cameroons in that up to 1913, the German traders had still not embarked on quality production, so its market kept on declining because of the impact of the world rubber crisis. However, much more serious to the rubber economy of Bamenda Division was the perpetual poor conditions of its roads, which necessitated the use of porterage labour. The indigenes always resisted it, leading to forced labour and a decline of cash crop production in the Division. The Division's water-ways also, did not favour the transportation of rubber to the ports[114].

In spite of these adverse conditions, discoveries in rubber experimentation in the pre-1920s had brought out the Havea specie as very resistant amongst others. This specie was later concentrated in the plantations by the British, thereby neglecting the interior and its kickxia - elastica species. This neglect and abandonment by the British was bound to adversely affect the indignes because the British reported in favour of Kickxia rubber in the pre-1920s, thus

> "Most of Kickxia plantations (in the Division) are laid out on land which has been cleared of jungle, a process which does not entail a heavy outlay. The expenses including all cost for inspection, tools, labour and co. amounted to about 10 pounds per acre. A fair supply of native labour is available, and the average wage, including board, is about 10 pounds per annum. The cost of the unkeep of the planted areas should not exceed 30s per acre for the first year, 22s.6d per acre for the second year, and 18s.6d, and 10s for the third and fourth years respectively. The estimated inclusive cost of tapping the trees and delivering the produce in Europe should not exceed 1s.3d per 1b. The value of Kickxia rubber, if properly prepared, is

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[114] Ibid. Pg 128. Also, chapter three.

> almost equal to that of the best para rubber (Havea), and it is certainly safe to estimate that it will always fetch within 1s of Para (Havea). These figures compare very favourably with those obtaining in other plantations, and they are given here as an indication that in its rubber export alone the Cameroons territory has a profitable future before it"[115].

Unlike Bamenda Division, other non-physical environmental conditions for growing rubber were more favourable in the coastal regions of Southern Cameroons, and more importantly, Nigeria. In Nigeria in particular, the pre-1930s era had witnessed some major developments in railway and road transporation. The Para rubber (Havea brasiliensis) that was introduced was also doing fine in the wild plantations in Southern Nigeria due to the extension of the railway to that region. Regarding the peasant methods of cultivating and tapping rubber in the pre-1920s Nigeria (Though they were as wasteful and destructive to the rubber trees and vines like in Bamenda Division), the indigenes were faster in realizing their mistakes, and replanting of rubber trees took place in many districts[116]. The British then concentrated their efforts on this cash crop in Southern Camroons only in the plantations to supplement the rubber reserves of the Nigerian regions[117].

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[115] A. Calvert. op.cit. Pg 29.

[116] A.J. Berbertson; et al. (eds.); op.cit. Pg 443.

[117] For more of the efforts see: G.K. Helleiner op.cit Pg 118-126. Also, Allan McPhee. op.cit 1926. Chapter two, for an account on the introduction of new crops in the late 19th century Nigeria. Rubber inclusive.

4.4.4 Rice Cocoa and Coffee:

These cash crops are discussed together because of their relative popularity in the pre-1940s Bamenda Division. Rice and cocoa cultivation in Bamenda Division were shortlived, while from the 1940s, coffee production dominated the cash crops as we shall see.

The Germans had introduced some rice and cocoa cultivation in the Division for marketing. Cocoa did not easily pick up eventhough it was not well dispersed throughout the region. Rice was found in Ndop, and the state farms played a major role in cultivating it.

Rice cultivation was never taken by the indigenes as important as the other cash crops largely because of the fact that it was too labour intensive. Moreso, the specie which could do well in the area was water rice, which needed a lot of transplanting and careful water control[118]

Regarding cocoa, the physical environmental conditions in Bamenda was hardly favourable for its cultivation. Despite this, some stubborn farmers still cultivated it in very small quantities. This was done in the Bali-Kumbat, BamunKumbit, and neighbouring polities to the French territory. However, cocoa was doing well in the plantations of Southern Cameroons such that, its production increased in the following manner: 1890 - 13,328 acres; 1910 - 15,290 acres; 1911 - 17,560 acres and 1912 - 20,438

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[118] A. Calvert, op.cit. Pg 31. Also H.R. Rudin. Op.cit. Pg. 227.

acrea[119]. The indigenes of the plantations region also took to cocoa cultivation on peasant basis.

The British did not encourage cocoa and rice cultivation in Bamenda largely because of the physical environmental conditions of the area. Also, its promotion would have needed some modern technological attention (for drying) amongst others. And this was considered as expensive.

Much more seriously, the cocoa production efforts that the British had made in Nigeria, particularly in the north and north east of Lagos, and the Eastern Nigeria regions of old Calabar and Itu were proving encouraging. And most of the cocoa that was exported in the pre-1930s came from the Lagos region[120]. The cocoa from these regions of Nigeria together with the plantations of southern Cameroons, added on the Ghanian cocoa industry to increase the profits of the British. So the efforts at encouraging cocao farming in Bamenda were hardly enforced[121] And despite the high cost of care; (artificial manuring and diseases control) that the Germans reported about the cocoa in Southern

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[119]A. Calvert Ibid Pg 32

[120]A.J. Herbertson; et al. (eds.) op.cit pg 445. Also S.S. Berry; Cocoa, Custom and Socio-economic change in Rural Western Nigeria. Clarendon Press Oxford 1975.

[121]For more on (and comparison with) the Ghanian cocoa industry see: Polly Hill: Migrant Cocoa Farmers of Southern Ghana. Cambridge 1963. Hill has also done several short studies of African producers and traders, reported in Studies in Rural Capitalism in West Africa: Cambridge 1970; and a detailed survey of a Hausa Village economy Rural Hausa. A Village and a setting. Cambridge 1972. Hill's major theme in all these works centred around the issue of cash crop cultivation, capital formation, migrancy and development. Thes influenced her to be neoclassical in her analysis- vent for surplus. Her application of this vent for surplus' hypothesis has been subjected to critical analysis by S.S. Berry Ibid. and C.M. Elliot "Agriculture and Economic Development in Africa: Theory and experience 1880-1914". in E.L. Jones, et al. (eds.); Agrarian Change and Economic Development. London 1969. Pg 145-147.

Cameroons, the British made more efforts to increase its productivity[122].

Coffee on its part, assumed great importance in Bamenda Division from the post war II era. However, the Germans were just about to embark on coffee cultivation on plantation basis when the world war one broke out, as it was reported thus:

> "regarding the cultivation of coffee, the greatest hopes were raised in the first years of occupation of the colony. The Cameroon mountains resemble in every respect the Island of Sao Thome and Fernando Po where in 1884, a flourishing coffee cultivation existed. Nothing was much natural than the expectation that a fresh impetus would be given to coffee cultivation on the mainland, but these hopes were not fulfilled, and now scarcely any coffee plantations are to be found[123].

Even though the British from 1916 did not embark on this cash crop cultivation consequently the indigenes, the fact that the crop grew wildly in the territory made the British not to drop their interest in it. During this era, the ban that the Germans had placed on the importation of coffee plants (especially the disinfected ones) from the American was uplifted[124].

4.4.5 Kolanuts:

Kolanuts had formed part of the long distance trade between Bamenda, the French territory and Nigeria in the

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[122] A calvert; opcit. Pg 32. Also, H.R. Rudin op cit. Pg 261-265

[123] Ibid.

[124] Ibid. Also. M.B. Gleave and M.F. Thomas. "The Bagango Velley. And Example of land utilization and agricultural practice in the Bamenda Highlands". in Bulletin de L'Institut Fondmental D' Afrique Noire. Serie B. Science Humaine. vol. 30. No. 2. IFAN Dakar April 1968.

pre-colonial period[125]. In Bamenda it was concentrated in the Nsaw and Nsungli highlands. The quality was also said to be very high. Throughout German Kamerun its cultivation was also reported to be high. And by 1905 it had become a popular article for plantation production. The discovery of Kola in Bamumland and Bamenda Division led to its exportation in larger quantities, although its total value was very small in comparison with rubber, cocoa and palm produce[126]. Much of the kolanuts still went to the Hausaland in Nigeria during the German era, in spite of the Ghanian and Yorubaland supplies. Bamenda kola was highly valued in the Hausaland because it served the economic and socio-cultural purposes that betel-nuts did in Asia[127].

The British abandoned kolanuts trade in the pre-1920s Bamenda largely because of its uneconomic nature to the British economy. But much more particular about the Bamenda kola economy was this report by British experts:

> "The planting of kolanuts was undertaken very energetically ... The experimental cultivation in the gardens of Victoria have produced no palpable result. The trees flourished and bore fruit, but it was entirely consumed by worms. The natives, on the other hand, cultivate this tree in great extent in the forest land and especially in Kimbaw highland"[128].

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[125] See chapter two. Pg. 107-108.

[126] H.R. Rudin. op.cit. Pg 274.

[127] A.J. Herbertson; et al (eds.). op.cit. Pg 445. Also, J.S. Hogendorn, op. cit. 1978.

[128] A. Calvert. op.cit. Pg 33.

By implication, only Bamenda could cultivate all the kola that the British could have needed in southern Cameroons. And this was going to be expensive, time consuming and threatening to the local economy (subsistence) on the one hand, and the other cash crops - rubber but especially palms, on the other. In other areas of British West Africa - Nigeria and Ghana, kola could also be obtained by the British, and possibly in larger quantities than those in Bamenda which were already under the threats of total destruction in the pre-1940s, because of the rise in palm trade[129].

4.4.6 Palm Produce:

Its existence in Nigeria and the Cameroons goes far beyond the colonial period. Its importance as an article for export in Bamenda largely came as a result of the German rule, though it consituted one of the long distance trade items in pre-colonial Bamenda grassland regions, as we saw in chapter two.

Under the Germans, oil palm ranked second or third in value amongst the exports of the Cameroons. Indeed palm produce was one of the crops that made Consul Hewett (the British administrator) in 1882 to encourage the British government to establish its control over the Cameroons. Most of the palm oil in the German era came from the

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[129]For more on Kola production i: Nigeria see: C. Beer; The Politics of Peasant Groups in Western Nigeria. Ibadan 1976. In the pre-1920s Kola did better than cocoa which this region later became famous for. Kola was favoured by the indigenes than cocoa. This change to kola led to the decline of the Agege Planters Union (a cooperative society that was formed as a result of cocoa cultivation and marketing.

interior of Kamerun. However, it was very lowly priced (about one eigth the price charged on the coast)[130]. So local interests in palm produce was not very high compared with say kola or rubber. However, the rising demand for palm produce by the German traders in the coastal regions conditioned the indigenes of Bamenda to plant more palms, eventhough most of the trees grew wildly. Palm production also suffered from a number of problems viz: local methods of getting the kernels and especially the indigenes' practice of cutting down palm trees to make their wine, resulting in destruction of trees and low productivity.

The local technology of oil extraction was relatively undeveloped and it wasted much labour and other related raw materials. BY 1912, the German state had laid down the basis for peasant palm oil and kernel production in Bamenda and most of the interior of Kamerun. The Botanical Gardens in Victoria experimented with the colony's many varieties of palm trees to see which was best suited for the territory. Hybrid seeds were distributed to the indigenes of the territory through the German Agriculture Department and the State Farms at Bambui[131]. During the same period, the large amount of palm produce that was exported to Germany was said to have come from the peasant holdings rather than the plantations. The value rose thus: from 2,337,000 marks in 1891 to 6,028,538 marks in 1912[132].

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[130] H.R. Rudin. op.cit. Pg 258-259.

[131] Ibid. Pg 259-260.

[132] Ibid. Pg 261.

Despite this rise in value, the indigenes were often said to have refused transporting the produce to the German factory for fear of being forced to work in the plantation or construction of railway.

The British were very interested in palm production such that it had formed part of the coastal trade especially in the pre-1920s. This British interest conditioned the indigenes of the Southern Nigerian region to grow more of it, except around the dense forest region of the Oban Hills[133]. British interest in this produce kept on rising in the pre-1930s, so both plantation and peasant palm produce were needed. The indigenes of Bamenda consequently increased their palm holdings. They preferred palms to most of the cash crops largely because it provided their local needs such as rubbing oil, fuel, wine, cash, cooking oil. The palms' cotton was scrapped from the outside of the branches and used for stuffing pillows and mattresses, as well as the tinder for flint and steel; Brooms were fashioned from the frond midribs; rope was made from its branches; needles and thread were made from the midrib of the leaves, the ends being sharpened and then hardened in the fire with a long thread of the midrib still attached. This was used in mending clothing. In addition, the oil palm yielded its branches and stems for house building, although it was not as well suited for this purpose as the raffia palm. Most fencing was fashioned from the base of the oil palm. The spurs fond at the base

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[133] A.J. Herbertson, et al. (eds.); op.cit. Pg 442-443. Also, G.K. Helleiner; op.cit.

of the leaves were used to extract jiggers from the feet; and the trunk of the mature tree was used as wood for door and window frames[134].

As we shall see, the activities of the cooperative societies and Marketing Boards in the post war two era led to the indigenes' increased production of palm oil and kernels. This was followed by the rising monetization of the Division leading to a price inflationary situation. But palm production was often affected by the emergence of coffee and banana production[135].

4.4.7 The Case For Food Crops Production

We saw in the former chapter, the recommendations of Walter Busse of the Imperial German Office on the agricultural potentials of the German colonies. We have also seen how the Germans and British cash crop policy led to the introduction of certain export crops in Bamenda Division, and how the British from 1916, began abandoning some, and promoting others, mostly the palm produce. Palms had some relative importance in the subsistence and export economy of the Division. The relatively good prices in the pre-1939 and post-1947 eras further entrenched the cultivation of palms[136].

As seen above also, the earliest of the foods crops that the Germans introduced was rice. The German

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[134] R. Eugene; et al. (eds.); op.cit. Pg 83-84.

[135] G.K. Helleiner; op.cit. Pg 91-97.

[136] Ibid. Pg 103-107.

Agriculture Department through the state farms and the Victoria Botanical Gardens further encouraged the cultivation of food crops such as Manioc, plantain and groundnuts. Vanilla pepper, nutmeg, cinnamon amongst other food crops were introduced in Victoria Division and they reached Bamenda Division through the local traders and Europeans. Vanilla pepper was often destroyed by blight. Pepper cloves and cinnamon all furnished excellent productions[137].

The British agricultural policies concerning food crop production in tropical Africa also centred around the introduction of 'exotic' species and hybrids for revenue generation . The colonialists explained this thus:

> "... the main problem of health in Africa is nutrition .... . Give the average African enough to eat and he develops an astonishing strength of resistance to disease ... Poverty will be lessened through a certain amount of industrial development ... but the most effective approach will be through agriculture"[138].

This approach to colonial agriculture was hardly adhered to in totality in Bamenda Division. No industrial development took place in agriculture eventhough the food crops species were introduced.

In order to 'increase the quantity, vary and balance the kind of food for the indigenes, the British further introduced some hybrid spcecies of yams, maize, cassava,

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[137] A. Calvert; op.cit. Pg 33. Also, H.R. Rudin op.cit. Pg 276-277.

[138] W.R. Crocker; op.cit. Pg 32.

sweet potatoes, groundnuts, bananas, Guinea corn, beans amongst others just like she had done in India and Nigeria[139]. These new varieties of food crops further made the indigenes to reduce the sizes of their kola, cotton and rubber holdings for their cultivation. But from the 1930s, the expansion of transhumance practice began causing some reductions in the output of the food crops, and increasing farmer/grazier conflicts. We shall examine this in the next chapter. However, throughout most of the pre-1940s, the indigenes concentrated in cultivating the cereals and tubers, while fruit crops were added unto them in the post-1940 era. Vegetables also attracted the indigenes' attention especially because they served as complementary foodstuffs to the grain and tuber crops. The cultivation of these food crops steadily rose during the great depression period, because of the liquidity shortages.

Amongst the food crops, groundnuts also appeared to have been very popular though only in the later half of the colonial period. This was because of the laxity of the pre-1940 Agriculture Department in promoting it. The Department was highly understaffed, and concentrated most of its groundnut efforts in the northern Nigerian region. The agriculture officers were also said to have spent more time on isolated experimental stations in Nigeria and had less contact set up to conduct rotation experiments to find systems of permanent cultivation which would maintain soil

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[139]See A.J. Herbertson; et al. (eds.); op.cit. Pg 436-437. Also, G.B. Masefield; op.cit 1950; C.Dudgeon; The Agricultural and Forest Products of British West Africa 1911; N.W. Thomas; The Ibo-speaking Peoples of Nigeria 1913. J.S. Hogendorn; op.cit; A. McPhee; op.cit.

fertility[140]. Groundnut needed to be done on mixed farming basis. But the topography of Bamenda hardly warranted extension works such as that which existed in the northern Nigerian regions of Kano and Zaria. When some miniature mixed farming methods were began in the Division in the 1930s the N.A. officials controlled it. The Bambui state farms passed on the methods of cultivation and varieties of the crop through the demonstration farms in Bali-Nyonga, Ndop (Babungo) and Nsaw. The Victoria Botanical gardens pursued more experimentation on the crops.

By the 1940s groundnut cultivation was said to be winning the indigenes' interest largely because it was used for subsistence and as a source of generating revenue[141]. The reasons for this were also related to the immigration of the Hausa grain traders to the Division, some of who settled and did farming, local trading, butchering; or cattle rearing[142].

Hausa immigration and the expansion of the livestock industry consolidated the cultivation of other grain crops such as maize and vegetables. Groundnut cultivation in the pre-1940s should not be exaggerated because we were

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[140] T.G. Forrest. op.cit. Pg 2-3.

[141] J.C. Drummond-Hay. op.cit. Pg 100-104. Several studies have been carried on the indigenes' response to the cultivation of crops. These centre around the demand for cash, and other economic incentives such as good prices; innovations and so on. Fore more see: G.K. Helleiner; op.cit Pg 58-75. Also, B.F. Johnson. The staple food economies of Western Tropical Africa. Standord: Food Research Institute, Stanford Univ. Press. 1959. Pg 25-26. But technical innovations should not be exaggerated in the Division.

[142] J.C. Drummond-Hay. Ibid.

informed[143] that its cultivation was mostly for the market and little for home consumption. Meanwhile, at home, the local 'egusi' (pumkin) crop for staple subsistence was relatively more important. Besides that, the poor transportation system in the Division alwalys limited the quantities of groundnuts that were carried all over the Province right down to the plantations for sale, thereby reducing the peasants' input in the crop. Even in the post-1940s, coffee, palm and banana cultivation also reduced the quantity of groundnuts produced.

4.5 British Colonial System of Exchange and Distribution in the Division:

The British also developed the ambition of channelling the surpluses that came out of the system of production which she established in the Division, to Britain. So the reason for the establishment of a system of exchange was that the British needed a transfer of the profits of peasant commodity production from this region to Europe[144].

The Germans shared the same interest as we saw earlier[145a] As a consequence of this, a system of currency was instituted in the Division which was directly related to the British pound sterling. To make this workable, we

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[143]Interviews with Fah Casilia, Jakiri-Nsaw, Feb. 15th, 1993. Also Pah Tamakeuh, Bamunka-Ndop, Feb. 20th 1993; Mami Njumoh Mary Bamunka-Ndop, Feb. 24th, 1993

[144]This conceptual frame-work has been exploited by ealier writers like: Walter Rodney; How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, op. cit. 1972 amongst others.

[145a]See chapter three - the German colonial policies.

shall see ahead how from 1916, the British administrative authorities in Nigeria and the Cameroons, on the one hand, collaborated with their French counterparts in the French territory on the other, to do away with all hithero forms of currency that existed in the Division[145]. In this case, the German Mark was devalued and soon withdrawn from circulation. Then the local cowrie, quill, ivory, bronze (and other metal currencies) amongst others were submerged. All these took place before 1925.

Then the British maintained the policy of limiting the amount of pound sterling in circulation in the Division in the pre-1940s. This created a condition of perpetual liquidity shortage which caused the indigenes to often resort to barter trade, or increase the volume of their export produce. But generally, the local produce were made to ber very cheap for the European licensed buyers to buy in bulk. In the post 1940, the policy changed to that of inflation, thereby limiting the indigenes' ability to develop or accumulate some capital[145c].

The currency operations in the Division warranted the establishment of financial institutions which the colonialists did by creating a post office savings bank in Bamenda in the 1930s. But they prevented the creation of an organized international banking system in the region. Accordingly, all these were ideologically justified by the free market economic interest, which caused her to allow

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145b See chapter six. Pg. 410-412.

145c For more on the British colonial currency system see M. Perham op. cit.

some multi-national firms to operate in the area as licensed buyers of cash crops and livestock produce of the indigenes[145d] . From mid-1930 onwards, the colonialists then sought to consolidate the system of exchange (particularly cash crops production) by instituting a system of cooperative societies in the Division.

4. 6. The Multi-national buyers and agricultural transformation.

We have seen above how the structures and policies of transforming the agricultural sector were introduced by the colonial state. The agriculture sector was also brought under the influence of the multi-national firms and licensed buyers in the Division,. We also mentioned above that these firms, licensed buyers and some other colonial powers were prevented from investing in the Division even though they financed some of the agricultural (export crops production) programmes . However, in lieu of the investment rights, those foreign agents were given buying and selling rights in the Division. They were also encouraged to go into links with the indigenous agriculturists, traditional authorities and so on, so that they could evolve some monopoly rights over the local people in the spheres of trade and manufacturing.

The Multi-nationals were needed by the colonialist because the first world war had created food shortages in

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[145d] For more on the Multi-national buyers and Licenced agents viz COSTAIN, U. A. C., etc, see Ibid.

Britain such that there was the need for colonial supplies. Secondly, the colonial system of exploitation in West Africa had acknowledged the primordial importance of these agents in the process of domination of the colonized on the one hand, and the strengthening of the private sector in Europe on the other. In this regard, the Germans had made use of this through their concessionary system of exploitation. All these reasons could have influenced the renascent British administration in the pre 1920s, to adopt as one of its most immediate policies, the opening of the economy of the Division to the U.A.C. and other licensed buyers. We also saw earlier how she did this by dismantling the German custom barriers and laws between this Division and British Nigeria. She consolidated this by allowing the boarder with French Cameroons open until in the 1920s when this changed. In effect the presence of these agents especially in the pre-1920s greatly contributed to bringing to a halt the indigenes' revival of their local socio-economic systems of production and distribution. Beyond that, these agencies could also have contributed towards the indigenes' change of attitude to favour the cultivation of cash crops. Amongst one of the means by which they caused the change in attitude was that the agents caused some liquidity shortages in the Division through their high prices for the European manufactures.

The world war I shortages in Britain which subsequently sent these agents to the Division, also caused the colonial state to start promoting the cultivaion of

cash crops in the Division for a consequent exportation to Europe. The colonial state was conditioned to collaborate with the Multinationals so that this purpose could be realized. Thus, by the middle of the 1920s, the Agriculture and later-on the Veterinary Departments were established in the Division to take care of understanding the local agricultural techniques; adopt; and develop some colonial trial methods,[146] thereby fulfilling the British interest.

Unfortunately, by 1929 the financial situation of the colonial state was bad such that this program became slow and almost stagnant. Besides that, it was further affected by the great depression in that the indigenes' non-chalant attitude towards cash crop cultivation in the Division was revived. Nevertheless, in the mid-1940s and the 1950s, the state's financial situation improved considerably because of the colonial central planning methods. Meanwhile, the great depression had caused the state to promulgate some colonial development Acts which made available some funds (loans) for socio-economic (largely agricultural) development in Southern Cameroons. These measures partly accounted for the survival of colonial agriculture during the great depression. Accordingly, the gradual success of the measures accounted for the improvements that were

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[146] P. Pedler "British Planning and Private Enterprise in colonial Africa". in L.H. Gann et al. (eds.); op.cit Pg 114-117.

realised in colonial agriculture from the 1940s[147]. The loans were to be paid back (in 10 years), while the colonial government was expected to bear part of the expenditure and express the ability to meet the annual charges resulting from these capital investments[148]. This therefore killed any prospect of the indigenes' self-reliance and self-sufficiency.

By 1944, the colonial office published "The Planning of Social and Economic Development in the colonial Empire"[149]. This publication was later related to the U.N.O.'s set goals (in 1948) that were found in the Manual on Economic Development Projects. These publications emphasized the stimulation of the private sector to the interest of the Europeans, such that, it neglected the indigenes' agricultural economy[150].

Meanwhile, the recommendations mentioned above caused the colonial government in 1948 to enforce agriculture by promulgating the Agriculture Ordinance mentioned earlier.

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[147]Great Britain colonial office; Reports 1925. op.cit 1925. Pg 7. Also, Great Britain colonial office; Reports 1927, op.cit. 1928 pg 96. The scheme leased the sum of 1 million yearly for development in the colonies. However, mostly the British subjects were employed to make use of the funds. Moreover, it claimed that the British 'cheap food' policy during the great depression era contradicted with the aim of this fund by making it difficult for the Empire Marketing Board principles of the early 1930s to succeed. And though by 1930 the interest in agricultural development in the colonies grew than ever before, it was later-on frustrated by the lack of an overall British protective policy for it. Hence peasant agriculturists in the Division suffered from the crises that evolved from this weakness. Fore more see F. Pedler op.cit.

[148]For more on the loans see Wilfred A. Ndongko; Planning and Economic Development in a Federal State. The case of Cameroon. Uppsalar.

[149]F. Pedler, op.cit. The publication claimed to have made the indigenes 'healthier, weathier and wiser'. But from the poor material conditions of the indigenes during the period of the great depression on the one hand, and price inflation of the post-1940s on the other, those claims were erroneous.

[150]Ibid.

But apart from making the pupils and students involved in colonial agriculture, the ordinance provided for the grading of produce and the marketing, storage and export of prouduce[151]. This caused a major leap forward in the cash crop economy of Bamenda. Incidentally the indigenes' interest in growing coffee (that was lately introduced), and banana (relatively lower) increased. And as we shall see in the next chapters, this partly contributed to the boom in coffee and later-on banana production in the Division. The Cooperative Societies and Marketing Boards consolidated this expansion.

On another note, the recommendations above further consolidated and provided a leap forward in the colonial agricultural policies of British Nigeria and the Cameroons since the pre-war II period.

Also, with the establishment of the Agriculture Department in the Division (through an extension of that in Nigeria) in 1925, a year after, the indigenes' economic change was reported to be favouring food crops production and crafts manufacturing in Bamenda thus: in the Calabar Agriculture exhibition, Bamenda Division received the first prize of 10 pounds for groundnuts production; Bakossi (in Kumba Division) came first in tobacco production; Victoria came first in trade canoes production and Babanki-Tungaw

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[151]Great Britain colonial office; Reports 1949. op.cit. Also; Great Britain colonial office; Reports 1950 op.cit. Pg 76-77.

(in Bamenda Division) came second in carving[152] - chair making.

As said earlier groundnuts production (and the palms) were high because of their obvious advantages in the local and export economy of Bamenda. But crafts manufacturing explain to us that import subsitution (importation of European manufactures) had not yet taken firm root. This largely came up in the post-1940.

Similarly, in the area of peasant agricultural production very little changes were recorded in cash crops production in the pre-1940s. Nonetheless, palm production was fast becoming peasant based. Areas like the Ngoni, Meta, Ngie and Widekum began to increase their palm holdings. Also, palm trees spread from these regions through Bafut to Ndop N.A. This spread led to the destruction of raffia palm bushes and other forested or uncultivated areas for palm trees. The immediate surroundings of residents (compounds) or their food crop farms were planted with palm trees[153].

In the 1950s, the state emabarked on a scheme of massive control of crop types, so that coffee, palms, castor (to a very low extent) and banana should increase in terms of productivity, and for export. She also introduced some food crop species which included tubers, plantains,

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[152]Great Britain colonial office; Reports 1927 op.cit. 1928.

[153]Nsungli Area Intelligence Report. by E.W. Carpenter. op.cit. Also, Nsungli Area Bamenda Division. Re-assessment Report. op.cit. Meta Clan (Bamenda Division) Intelligence Report by J.V. Johnson. op.cit.; J.C. Drummond-Hay op.cit.; An Assessment Report on the Ngoni and Neighbouring villages of Bamenda Division. op.cit.; R. Eugene; et al. (eds.). op.cit. Pg 80-82.

pulses, gourds, greens and sugar cane in large marketable quantities[154]. Maize (zea maize) evolved as the most popular staple food together with cocoyams (achis). Guinea corn (Sorghum vulgare) also became popular, but over time the demands of its cultivation: like the need for guards against birds, etcetera, reduced its popularity.

Bullrush millet (Pennisetum typhiodeum) and finger millet (Eleusine corocana) also became popular especially in Nsawland. Also, cocoyams (Colocosia antiquorum); yams (Dioscorea dumetorum) and the local white carrot (Coleus dozo) were still largely grown. Between October and February (dry season) sweet potatoes(Ipomoea batatas) was popular. The German introduced irish potatoes regained its popularity and its cultivation extended throughout the Division, except the forest area of Meta; Moghamaw, Ngie, Ngoni and Widekum, where the palm trees were concentrated. Cassava (Manihot utilissima) also assumed some considerable importance, especially in the Ndop and Ngemba N.A. because of its relatively easy method -of cultivation; and its being a primordial raw material for gari. Gari became a principal food in the Division especially in the cassava growing areas[155]. The missionaries encouraged the cultivation of the crops, especially because of the growing

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[154]P.M. Kaberry, op. cit. 1952, Pg 20. Also, M. McCulloch op.cit Pg 26. Also G.K. Helleiner; op.cit Pg 60-71; Eastern Region Marketing Board; First Annual Report, Pg 26 and Third Annual Report, Pg 15.

[155]P.M. Kaberry. Ibid. Important pulses like dwarf beans, lima beans and sword beans; pigeons and cowpeas were also introduced, in the form of hybridization, since they existed before in the region.

cash economy[156], and the impending food shortages that export crop cultivation and some poor weather conditions caused in the post war II years.

These food crops were accompanied by fruits such as plums, avocado pears, mangoes, guava, banana, pumkins, pepper amongst others. In the late 1940s, a growing interest in the indigenes' cultivation of cabbages, paw-paws, soya beans grape fruits, oranges, pineapples, tomatoes was also reported[157]. Sugar cane was mostly grown at Ndop and in the Ngemba N.A. such that, by 1948 it was also reported to be very popular in the markets.

Realizing the expansion of colonial agriculture under the control of the multi-nationals via the Agriculture Department, the state sought an improvement of its financial situation; and also satisfy the interest of the Marketing Boards. This was also geared towards, consolidating the private sector through the Cooperative Societies. She did this by introducing coffee which we earlier made mention of. Coffee was introduced in the late 1940s (1947) but its impact took firm shape from the mid-1950s onwards. Rice was also re-introduced, but its cultivation was minimal because it hardly formed one of the crops of the Marketing Boards system. It was also difficult to cultivate. The old existing cash crops like

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[156]Great Britain colonil office; Annual Reports on Nigeria 1947. H.M.S.O. London pg 8-9. Other food crops such as okro (Hibiscus esculeutus); egusi (Lagenaria vulgaris); groundnuts (Arachis hypogea); bambara groundnuts (Voandzeia subterranea) etcetera, also formed part of this system. Fore more see P.M. Kaberry. op.cit. 1952.

[157]Great Britian colonial office; Annual Reports on Nigeria. 1948. H.M.S.O. London 1949. Pg 35-41. Also R. Eugene; et al. (eds.); op.cit. 76-78, 98-99.

palm oil and kernels; castor and groundnuts were made to attain qualitative heights especially after the poor harvest of 1948[158a].

The specie of coffee that the Agriculture Department introduced was the arabica type. It was first experimented in the state farms and when found to be doing very well, its seedlings were distributed to the local farmers. The Agriculture Department established some coffee nurseries in the state farms and the N.A., units for this purpose. Later-on, the presence of the Cooperative Societies in liaison with the Marketing Boards and the colonial state, entrenched the cultivation and marketing of coffee in the Division, whose impact we shall examine in some detail in the next chapter.

However, coffee was receptive to the local communities largely becasue of the favourable physical environmental conditions of the Division specially termed by M.B. Gleave and M.F. Thomas as the 'Bagango Valley'. In terms of rainfall, soil, vegetation and temperature, the Division was very suitable for the cultivation of the crop[158b]. In terms of cash returns (though this was largely realized by the indigenes only from the mid-1950s, since it took about five years for the newly planted coffee seedlings to get to maturation and start producing the seeds for subsequent

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158a. Great Britain colonial office. Ibid Pg 41. Also File No. NW/Vb/a 1955/. B. 3204. Bamenda Archives. Pg 7.

158b. Great Britain colonial office. Ibid Also, M.B. Gleave; et al. op.cit 1968. Pg 565. Also, M.G. Bawden; et al (eds.); An aerial photographic Reconnisance of the present and possible land use in the Bamenda area, southern Cameroons. Dept. of Technical co-operation... 1961.

ripening, harvesting and marketing), the multinationals' Marketing Boards passed through the Cooperative Societies to offer favourable prices for the harvests. This price situation was consolidated by the Marketing Boards' price stabilization system. Coffee production also provided a source of income to the indigenes through labour migrancy (from the high lava plateau areas to the plains of Ndop, and low lying areas of the Ngemba, Nsaw, Nsungli, Moghamaw, Meta and Bafut N.A.) which it conditioned. Movement of population was also from the highland areas of the Division to the foot and slopes of these highlands and the Bamenda escarpment.

On another note, coffee cultivation diversified the indigenes' economic ventures thereby, reducing the migrancy to the plantations for jobs and trade. And, as we shall see in the next chapter, the migrancy still continued, but in a different form and for more complex reasons.

The men were largely said to own the economic trees (palms and), while the women largely owned the food crops. While the food crops were mostly cultivated on annual basis thereby, always engaging the women; the men were required to work in their coffee farms largely when it was time for harvesting or clearing of the farm (as weeding), or any new plots for the growing of new seedlings. For this reason, most of the men had more time for other socio-cultural, economic and political activities than the women. But during harvesting, the women were also needed, and they

suspended all other economic activities until this was through.

Moreover, coffee was inter-planted with other cash crops notably cassava, yams, sweet potatoes, irish potatoes, and tomatoes in lesser quantities. In the Ngemba, Meta, Moghamaw, and Ndop N.A., coffee was inter-planted with banana and plantain plants[158c].

The poor palm and groundnuts harvest mentioned-above, was caused by poor weather conditions, and this inversely affected the production of food crops.

The state's introduction of coffee made her to discourage the cultivation of kolanuts especially because it did not form part of the Marketing Boards system. Thus Nsaw and Nsungli areas were most affected and most of the kolanut farmers abandoned it for either coffee cultivation or became migrant labourers to the plantations.

With regard to the training of personnel, the state also began using ex-servicemen for farm management in the late 1940s. Through them, the new farming techniques were diffused to the local population. The Bambui farms benefited from this introduction. The state also began employing standard six boys from the Mission schools to sustain the farms for maintenance purposes. More farm surveys were planned and carried out with experimentation on local and introduced species especially in the Nsaw area with poor physical environmental conditions for food crops cultivation. The swampy lands of Ndop plain (especially

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[158c]. Ibid. M.B. Gleave; et al. Pg 676-680.

between Bambalang an Bamali) were investigated for drainage. Fibre reserves were found there and reported to be quantitative and qualitative enough for export.[159]

4.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have seen in some detail how the British colonial authorities attempted transforming the indigenes' land tenure and the system of agricultural practise in Bamenda Division through some land laws and agricultural policies. These laws and policies began having great impacts in the society from 1920. The agricultural policies were consolidated by the establishment of some structures and institutions such as the mult-national lecensed buyers and cooperative societies which exercised extensive control over the sectors of the colonial economy of the Division. These institutions were made to work together with the state through the Agriculture Department as we have discussed in the the next chapter. All these structures introduced new changes (problems) in the local economy.

However, while the change gradually took place in periods viz; pre-1940s and post-1940, it was not very successful because of the colonialists' interest of making the indigenes of the Division to be dependent on them, therefore questioning the 'civilizing' claims of the colonialists.

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[159] See Footnote 158a. Also, M. McCulloch, op. cit., pg. 42

It was realized by the British colonialists that in order to obtain the profits that they neededm the German land laws and agricultural policies had to be changed to suit their interest. Secondly, the process of agricultural transformation could be easily handled by them if the German achievements in primary production was maintained and further developed to suit the increasing surplus demands of the British ruling classes. Thus a process of channge and continuity in the agricultural policies was observed. And these changes were consolidated by making the Division (and entire Southern Cameroons) to come under the agricultural administration of Nigeria. In this regard, a system of cash crop production was embarked upon. Priority was given to some crops thatn others, thereby leading to a steady decline in and cultivation of the less or unpromoted crops. The encouraged crops steadily became popular that they were regarded by the indigenes as means of generating cash in order to meet up with the increasing monetization of the economy of southern Cameroons.

The changes that the British introduced in this sector of the economy of the Division further culminated in making the Division a peasant agricultural zone, while the southern coastal region was reserved largely for the plantations. The changes influenced a system of labour migrancy to emerge in the Division. Accordingly, peasant commodity production was consolidated with agricultural production engaging most of the indigenes. And as we shall see in the next chapter, the new system of production thtat

emerged (even though peasant based), was highly dependent on the British and European private sector for growth and development.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE BRITISH COLONIAL SYSTEM OF PRODUCTION IN BAMENDA DIVISION

5.1 Introduction

We saw earlier[1] how the pre-colonial economic systems developed to the extent that agriculture and crafts manufacturing emerged to be the sectors that most of the indigenes were engaged in. Agriculture developed on subsistence basis with its method of cultivation involving the use of rudimentary implements, locally bred species of crops and shifting method of cultivation. The system of production and distribution in these sectors were further affected by the nature of social and political organization. However, due to self-reliance in these systems of production and distribution, the Germans could not completely disintegrate them.

The Germans and later-on the British sought d disintegration of the local self reliant system through their land laws and agricultural policies examined earlier. In this chapter, we shall focus on the type of system of production and distribution that evolved in the Division due to those colonial land laws and agricultural policies. our attention would be placed more on the agricultural, animal husbandry and forestry sectors of the economy of the

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[1] See chapter two. Pg. 94-102.

Division. This is because they were regarded by the British as primary to the colonial economy. They were also the sectors that affected the lives of the majority of the people.

These sectors of the colonial economy of the Division were controlled by the state on the one hand, and the private sector on the other. The private sector consisted mostly of the indigenes whose productive capacities came under regulation by the agricultural policies. Of course, these policies entrenched institutions like the Agriculture Department (which ran a series of state farms in the Division), cooperative societies and multinational licensed buyers. Through the Agriculture Department most particularly, cash and export crops production was strengthened, with agriculture emerging as the most dominant sector in the economy of the Division.

British interest in agricultural commodity production correspondingly led to the relative neglect of the other sectors of the economy viz; animal husbandry, fishery and mining. In this regard, primary contradictions developed in the system of production in the Division. The contradictions were consolidated by the colonial state through the Agriculture and Veterinary Department, and the result was the steady consolidation of dependent relations amongst the producers on the one hand, and between the producers and the European imperialists on the other.

Cash crop in particular and peasant commodity production and exportation in general, were affected by the

great depression. The incidence being an increase in the export output, despite falls in real producer prices in order to sustain the farmers incomes and meet their tax requirements. Export crops production was also affected by the establishment of cooperatives and Marketing Boards. And these also affected the production of food crops; while commodity production at large led to the gradual breakdown of the rural economy. Similarly, production in the different periods of colonial expansion simultaneously affected the other sectors of the economy of Bamenda Division such as: livestock rearing, fisheries and mining.

In the post-war II period when the colonial state's intervention in the economy of Nigeria and the Cameroons increased, the cooperative societies and Marketing Boards in the Division assumed more control over peasant commodity production thereby, strengthening the private sector. And these were all extended versions of the Dual Mandate[2]. However, as examined below, the incoherent nature of the British colonial agricultural policies and land laws created more contradictions in the changing economy of the Division thereby, affecting peasant commodity production and distribution[3].

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[2]For more see: K.E. Robinson; The dilemnas of Trusteeship: Aspects of British colonial policy between the wars. The Reid Lectures delivered at Acadia Univ. 1963. O.U.P. London 1965.

[3]For more on the British colonial agricultural policies see: G.B. Masefield; op. cit. Also G.B. Masefield op. cit. 1972

5.2 The German Antecedent

When the Germans took over the region they had just started embarking on a systematic introduction of primary commodity production at the peasant level in the Division for export, when the first world war broke out and drove them away[4]. The establishment of plantations in the coastal zone by the German planters made them to encourage cash crop production and trade in Bamenda Division, and between this region and the plantations region than ever before. At first the Germans thought of establishing some plantations that would cultivate some export crops such as tea, cotton and kola in the Division. But their lack of funds crippled these plans. The state then decided to encourage the indigenes to cultivate the export crops named earlier by buying the crops, and taking them to the coastal regions through caravan transportation systems. Amongst the cash crops such as rubber, kolanuts, gum, (arabic), shea butter, palms and cotton, kola nuts performed best not only because of its predominance since the pre-colonial era, but largely because the Germans reported that in the Kimbaw highlands much kola was found and the specie was very high yielding. The same comment was made about the rubber in the same area.

Rubber could have followed kola in importance largely because of its qualitative specie (silk-rubber or kicxia-elastica), and it extended up to the region south of the Adamawa Plateau. Its yield was estimated by Dr. Schlecter

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[4]A. Calvert; op.cit. Pg 206-27; 31-33. Also, H.R. Rudin; op.cit. 269-274.

and Dr. O. Warbung at 1½lbs of dry rubber from 6 years old trees[5].

Kola and rubber were followed closely by palm produce that the indigenes cultivated wildly. Palm production in the Division was affected by the palm plantations of the coastal regions. So also was the demand for palm plantation in the Division. And the demand for oil palm in this Division by the German traders was reduced. Moreover, the labour that could have been used in cultivating more of these export crops (especially palms that was becoming popular because it could do well any where in the Division) had been transformed into porterage, or transfered to the plantations. So these conditions, together with the poor technique of cultivating palms (and the other cash crops), limited the yields on the one hand, and made palms to be cultivated largely for subsistence on the other.

The popularity of kola should not be exaggerated anyway because, it became popular only by 1905. This was the year that the Economic Committee of the colonial society in Germany decided to send experts into the colony (Kamerun) to investigate on the possibilities of its production in large scale, so that it could be used in Germany. Up to this period, kola formed the most important commodity amongst the indigenes, thereby attracting some long distance trading. Most of the trading was through barter[6]

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[5]A. Calvert Ibid.

[6]N.R. Rudin op.cit.

Meanwhile, in Ndop, the Germans had some prospects of cultivating water rice but this was abandoned because they were financially handicapped. In place of the rice, the Germans encouraged some food crops cultivation for export such as maize and millet. But these were hardly achieved because of the poor road net-work linking the region and the coastal ports on the one hand, the German firms' preferrence of trade and the importance of these food crops to the subsistence economy of the Division on the other.

5.3 The British Strengthening of Export production in the Division

Until 1922 when the British took-over full socio-economic control of the Division, the indigenes' interest in exports crops cultivation was very minimal because of the world war I and the reversal of values that emerged in the local economy[7]. Due to the above conditions, and most importantly the fact that, the British administration in the Cameroons was encountering a series of problems in the pre-1920s the colonialists (after promulgating the crownland policy) by 1923, decided to adopt some policies as discussed in the former chapter, centered around peasant commodity production. The policies were targeted mostly to the agricultural and livestock sectors and the rural industries of the Division. These economic activities did not only involve the bulk of the local population, but conserved the technology of the indigenes.

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[7] See chapter three. Pg. 160-161, 165-168.

On this basis, it was the interest of the British colonialists to create some export oriented conditions in the local economy. This process was seen to culminate in the formation of some local classes that would produce and sell parts of the produce in the internal and international markets. In this regard, infrastructural services and amenities like roads, warehouses, rest houses, markets, stalls, post and telegraph and banking services were established to sustain production and distribution. However, our focus would be more on the primary sectors of the economy of Bamenda Division viz: agriculture, livestock rearing and mining.

The British began to establish their system of production in the early 1920s by adopting the following changes: firstly, the state maintained the German state farms in the Division and followed it up by establishing a series of demonstration farms of various sizes in the area. She developed the state farms side-by-side with the peasants. Then, she also carved out some forest reserves which gave rise to some ecological concerns in the Division. Peasant agricultural farms and forest reserves then existed in the form of holdings of various sizes.

In the livestock industry, the state focussed her attention on animal husbandry, thereby neglecting fishery as we shall see. But most of the state's involvement in this sector of the economy came up in the post-1940s. Meanwhile, the local livestock industry was limited to mere transhumance practice. The state maintained the German

achievements[8] but went further to establish some cattle ranches and using the cattle for agricultural production in the state farms. The increasing state concern in agriculture caused her to neglect the other sectors of the economy such as mining and crafts manufacturing.

At colonization, the Germans saw the prospects of a livestock industry in the Division. Some few nomads and pastoralist were often found grazing their cattle in this region. But this was not so often. Moreover, some indigenes reared some local species of fowls and goats. These livestock survived healthily because of the environmental situation of the Division. The Germans became aware of this, and more especially because the region was tse-tse fly free. However, due to the limited financial resources of the German state on the one hand and the low interest that the private sector had on this economic activity on the other, their participation in it was minimal. The indigenes were merely encouraged to rear some livestock[9]. It further appeared that the Germans rather targeted the cattle in Northern Nigeria and central Plateau regions of Kamerun and she planned to construct a railway from the central plateau region to the coast, and established the Pittoa animal farm. Cattle was regarded as a source of hides for the German home industries.

Nonetheless, the small scale (peasant) livestock industry that emerged amongst the indigenes depended

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[8] A. Calvert, op.cit. Pg 17-18.

[9] Ibid.

largely on the plantation population for the marketing of meat. Indeed, the Germans performed relatively poorly in this sector because the specie of cattle that could be found in Kamerun was the dwarf and humped cattle; and these were hardly found within Bamenda Division. In this regard the livestock industry in this region was very inferior. This inferiority was further caused by the fact that most of the cattle that the Germans bred could be found only in the plantations zone[10]. Apart from that, the cattle found in the Northern Kamerun and Nigerian regions were often exported through the bush roads and the Benue river system into Nigeria, to the detriment of the German colonialists. The Germans' attempts at eliminating this trade (such as the imposition of very strict customs polices like high export duties and the construction of customs barriers along the border with British Nigeria), largely failed, and further prevented the immigration of graziers into Bamenda Division[11].

As we shall see below this system of production which the British adopted hardly sufficed the indigenes because it created inadequacies in the distribution of the surpluses that accrued from the production of the limited primary goods on the one hand, and the sales of the European manufactures in the Division on the other. Amongst the inadequacies was the food crisis situation which was caused by both the production and distribution of

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[10] Ibid.

[11] H.R. Rudin, op.cit.

food in the Division. The crises manifested itself in the form of famines, diseases, pests, food shortages, poor diet, amongst others. During the periods when these problems were acute, the colonial administ-ration could harldy substitute the indigenes' means of living.

5.3.1 Agriculture:

The British colonialists maintained agriculture as the largest economic activity of the indigenes of the Division. The process whereby this sector was developed was determined by the British colonial policies on agricultural practice in the tropical regions of Africa and Asia discussed in the former chapter[12]. In the first place, the British favoured peasant agriculture like the Germans did. Then they decided also to run series of state farms that were placed under the Agriculture Department. The peasant farm holdings represented the local private sector in the Division. The missionaries were also involved in this process of production eventhough at a minimal level. However, the agriculture Department in the Division came under direct control from (South-eatern) Nigeria.

5.4 The Agriculture Department and Consolidation of a Dependent peasant Economy in Bamenda Division:

In as much as British colonial agricultural policies favoured the cultivation of export crops on the one hand, and some food crops on the other (for both subsistence and

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[12] See chapter four. Pg. 246-253.

revenue generation), these were to be achieved through some state involvement. The Germans had laid the basis for this state involvement by establishing some state farms in Victoria (Botanical gardens); Buea and Bambui. These farms came under the control of an Agriculture Department which was established in 1911 and it was controlled by some agriculture staff - European and Africans[13].

The British on their part, had long before 1916 understood the importance of the Agriculture Department in colonial agriculture. In India, the Agriculture Department was responsible for the development of peasant commodity production. Through the Departmant also, ploughs were introduced for the cultivation of cash crops[14]. From India, the British colonial administrators sent O.T. Faulkner in 1921 to Nigeria to take care of colonial agriculture for Nigeria and the Cameroons. As Director of the Agriculture Department (which was created on his arrival), his function was to study the indigenous agricultural practice so that some changes could be introduced in them to suit the British interest[15].

This Department was needed by the British because of the British ignorance of the fundamental problems of both the local farmer and the European advisers. Beyond that, the tropical conditions in Africa were realized to have

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[13]Interviews with Yah Casilia, Jakiri-Nsaw, February 15th, 1993, Also; Pah Tamakeuh, Bamunka-Ndop February 20th 1993; Mami Njumoh Mary Bamunka-Ndop February 24th 1993.

[14]G.B. Masefield; op.cit. 1950. Pg 66.

[15]...

differed in certain areas from those in India where the British were already well experienced.

The Agriculture Department designed some other policies that were associated with colonial agriculture in Nigeria and the Cameroons. These included soil erosion and conservation and the maintenance of soil fertility[16]. But these policies could hardly be entrenched because the local cultivator had no idea of the implications of the colonial agricultural methods of cultivation, on the one hand, and he was handicapped from evolving better and self-sustainable methods of the practice on the other. He always relied for the maintenance of fertility on local practice of shifting agriculture[17]. The Europeans were also ignorant in their application of the European scientific methods to tropical agronomy[18].

The agriculture Department also laid down some measures with regards to insect control. From experience in the other colonial spheres, locust was discovered to be the most harmful threat to colonial crops. These insects were found in huge swarms in the middle Niger in French West Africa; the desert areas bordering the Red Sea, Northern Rhodesia and Tangayika. But the control of these insects and related pests, always brought about financial problems. Solutions to attacks by locusts were often slow.

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[16] Ibid. Pgs: 75-85, 110-116.

[17] For more see: H.A. Tempany; The Practice of Soil Conservation in the British Colonial Empire. Commonwealth Bureau of Soil Science. Technical Communications no 45. 1949.

[18] G.B. Masefield. op.cit. 1950. Pg 88-89.

Due to this much damages were often reported. For example in Kenya between 1928 and 1932; Tangayika in 1929; Nigeria in 1930 which led to severe famine and the importation of grain to prevent the spread of the incidence of famine[19]. However, some local efforts were always made by the N.A. and the local communities. State attention in controlling these insects only increased in the post war II era. During such occasions campaigns were made against the pest. However, we shall come back to this issue subsequently.

The functions of the Agriculture Department was explained by W.R. Crocker thus:

> "the African is a good and intelligent farmer, but his battle against unfertile soil, erosion, water (too much or too little), and pests can and must be helped by all the resources of modern science. He will accept this help once its utility is demonstrated to him. Among the changes that are urgently required are the providing of water supply, the study and control of locusts and plant diseases, the redistributing of population, the planting of belts of woods, major programs against erosion, programs for regenerating soil fertility and the use of better seeds ... They will neccessitate an augmentation of the Agricultural related services such as Forestry and Veterinary Science which are all far from being big enough in all African colonies"[20].

These were confirmed in Bamenda Division by R. Eugene and Pat Ritzenthaler in the post war II era[21].

The Agriculture Department that was established in Nigeria took control of agricultural dvelopment in the

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[19] Ibid. Pg 125-131. Fore more on the Nigerian case see: Umar Bappa. op. cit. 1988, Chapter five and six.

[20] W.R. Crocker, op.cit. Pg 31-33.

[21] R. Eugene, et al. (eds.); op.cit. Pg 73-74.

Cameroons. In this regard, to meet the new requirements of the British, the German farms were maintained. The Department was said to have embarked on some agricultural methods that had once been adopted by the Germans (in 1900) in Togoland, on the one hand, and Nigeria on the other. Early attempts were made by the Department in the 1920s on the extension of cotton cultivation so that it could become the standard for agricultural experimentation in British Cameroons[22]. But the scheme collapsed because of the emergence of palm trade and the relatively poor environmental conditions in the Division. The British hardly dropped their interest in cotton. And based on the strong arguments of Lord S. Milner and Governor H. Clifford it was promoted in the Nigerian territory[23] on peasant basis by the Agriculture Department. Regarding the method of cultivation in the state farms (under the control of the Department) Governor Clifford argued that

> "... Of course, ... European methods of cultivation - at any rate when the crops in question are not of a kind that has long been indigenous to the country in which they are grown - are vastly superior to those which a tropical rural population can ordinarily be persuaded to adopt; and also that the produce of European estates is generally of much high quality and is far better prepared for market than is the case with most native-grown crops... "[24].

This was strengthened in 1922 by Lord Milner Simon, thus

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[22] A. Calvert; op.cit. Pg 45-50

[23] L. B. Raymond; op.cit. Pg 773-774.

[24] Quoted in Ibid.

> "... Similar crops should be kept as far as local circumstances permit, exclusively in the hands of the native population, European intervension being confined of the provision of technical instructions, the planning and carrying out of irrigation schemes, the purchase of native grown agricultural produce, and the preparations for the market by ginning, etcetera of crops which require to be so prepared by machinery"[25].

But the rise of palm production in the 1920s as we shall see, was hardly accompanied by the establishemnt of handpresses and other mechanical instruments for oil extraction in Bamenda. However, the same Department controlled the growing of palm species in the region.

The Native Authorities in the Division and the entire South Eastern Nigerian area were made by the Department to control palm production for quality and quantity output. Some system of inspecting was instituted by these authorities (for the Agriculture Department) like it happened in Sierra Leone. The Department made recommendations in the mid-1920s for the government to give the local private sector mill operating rights and guarantee for some years[26]. These efforts contributed to the indigenes' increasing interest in palm production in the pre-1940s

The introduction of groundnuts in Bamenda in the 1920s was also as a result of the role of the Agriculture Department. Some system of improving the quality of the crop took place by 1930 through hybridization. In the absence of an official grading market, the European traders

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[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid. Pg 775-776

were made to pay the same price for high and poor grade groundnuts in the pre-war II era. The colonialists also planned limiting the time of the buying season to prevent the indigenes from pulling the groundnut crops before they were ripe[27].

We saw earlier that the cultivation of export crops was faced with some problems of diseases attack. This came as a result of the earlier experiences (in this domain), by the British in other tropical colonies. Disease attacks on cash crops had taken place in Ceylon (a cocoa canker called phytopthora faberi which by 1908, 98% of the cocoa trees were infected). And panama disease on banana in Costa Rica in 1904. Other diseases affected the cocoa industry in Ghana; coffee and tobacco in Tanzania and Uganda amongst others[28]. The Agriculture Department in Nigeria and the Cameroons was made to adopt some of the methods of fighting against these

5.4.1 The State Farms:

The state farms in Bamenda Division and the entire Southern Cameroons came under the control of the Agriculture Department. Through these farms, some experimentation and demonstration works were carried on the varieties, hybrid species of plants and the methods of farming.

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[27] Ibid. Pg 776.

[28] G.B. Masefield. op.cit. 1950. Pg 116-124.. Also, L.K nowles; The Economic Development of the British Overseas Empire Vol. I Routledge 1928.

In other British tropical colonies such as India, this structure had been established, through which peasant farming with annual crops took place. In the Indian farms also, the plough and cultivation of cash crops were already known. Systems of agriculture had been worked out which did maintain soil fertility, although at a low level. These techniques were transfered to Nigeria and the Cameroons in 1921 through O.T. Faulkner, with similar intensions. But much more importantly, the study of indigenous agriculture[29].

Earlier on[30] we stated that the Germans approached the issue of colonial agricultural practice by establishing some state farms at Buea and Victoria (in the plantations zone); and Bambui in Bamenda Division and the surrounding montane grassland area. While the state farms in the plantations zone encouraged colonial agriculture on plantation and peasant bases, that in Bambui encouraged it on peasant basis. The Agriculture Department established in 1911 also took care of these farms. However, the Bambui farms depended largely on the Victoria Botanical Gardens. The Agriculture Department also operated an Experimental Institute of Agriculture at Victoria for the entire Southern Cameroons. This Institution also related with the Buea and Bambui farms on questions relating to organization, while the Victoria Institute

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[29]Masefield. Pg 66. Ibid

[30]See chapter three. Pg. 144-147

continued to undertake the technical training and scientific investigation[31].

Special but small experimental gardens were also created in the larger administrative stations of the interior - Pittoa and Kuti, all part of the northern grassland region. They were placed under the management of a European farmer or gardeners[32].

Similarly, in the pre-1916 Nigeria, the Agriculture Department had also been established in the Southern region in 1910 and in the Northern region in 1912[33]. These Departments performed similar functions until in 1921 when O.T. Faulkner was made the overall Director of the Agriculture Department for Nigeria and the Cameroons.

Realising the similarities between the German and British colonial agricultural policies and methods in the two regions, the German state farms in the Cameroons were reinstated by the British administrators. Of course, it was easier and cheaper to continue along the German path, with some slight adjustments. Because the Germans had done a lot to see that the local agricultural system be underdeveloped by making it dependent on their 'scientific methods'[34], the British merely extended the size of the

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[31] Ibid. Also A. Calvert op.cit. Pg 50.

[32] Ibid.

[33] T. G. Forrest; op.cit. Pg 1.

[34] Fore more on the German notion of 'Scientific exploitation' see chapter three. Also, A. Calvert; op.cit. Pgs 50-53; H.R. Rudin; op.cit. Pgs 153-155; 252-253. This system was highly directed by an Institution that the Germans created in Germany called the Colonial Society. This society had other Europeans (non-Germans) as members, even British. It also took care of colonial exploitation.

(continued...)

Bambui farms. More demonstration farms were established in Bambui, Babungo, Nsaw and Bali-Nyonga. As a consequence, European staffing for the control of the farms increased. Similarly, the number of indigenes needed to work on the farms increased.. These were attempts at obtaining some efficiency in this process of agricultural underdevelopment.

However, the British were said to have concentrated more on the Bambui, Babungo and Nsaw (Kimbaw) farms[35]. The missionaries in Nsaw also involved themselves in the agricultural methods in these farms[36]. The promulgation of the Agriculture Ordinance in 1948 consolidated the introduction of hybrid crop species in the farms. The Ordinance also introduced agriculture in the school curriculum and brought all forms of education in the Southern Cameroons under the control of a Board which enforced the new curriculum. The new curriculum merely enforced the control of diseases and pest; improvement of the quality of plants and crops; combating of soil erosion,

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[34](...continued)
the Society was also said to have trained some Germans through a system of seminars. These trainees were forced to go to the colonies. This system received enough state support. The officers who had acquired the skills were made local agricultural superintendents in Kamerun. They supervised the process of colonial agriculture, and kept in touch with the experimentation farms, and gave minute by minute reports on the success of the changes.

[35]Interviews with: Yah Casilia, Jakiri.February 15th 1993. Also, Pah Tamakeu, Bamunka-Ndop. February 23rd 1993.

[36]Great Britian colonial office: Report for 1927. H.M.S.O. London 1928. Pg 96. Also, Great Britian colonial office; Reports for 1928. H.M.S.O. London 1929. Para 321; Great Britian colonial office; Reports for 1929 H.M.S.O. London 1930. Pg 96; Great Britian colonial office; Reports for 1931. H.M.S.O. London 1932. Pg 83.

inspection and grading of produce amongst others[37]. Due to this ordinance, the schools were made to always work in close links with these farms.

A Senior Agriculture Officer was also stationed at the Bamenda Station for these purposes. He was assisted by a chain of agriculture assistants[38]. By the mid-1950s when the Eastern Regional Production Board established extensive schemes for the semi-mechanical extraction of palm oil, and coffee processing in the South Eastern region of Nigeria and the Cameroons, coffee was introduced by the officer on semi-plantation (estate) basis in Santa[39].

Meanwhile, cocoa had been introduced in the 1930s to compete with palm produce and kolanuts that were peasant based, but this failed. Cotton was even the earliest of these cash crops to be experimented on the farms especially in Bali-Nyonga (largely by the missionaries); and like cocoa, it failed. The introduction of coffee certainly led to a decline in the cultivation of some other food crops.

The state farms appeared to have survived also because of the efforts that the Agriculture Department made in the experimentation and demonstration of some food crops. These included cassava (manioc); yams and cocoyams species; legumes such as cowpea, pigeon pea and lima beans, pepper, fruits such as mangoes, pears, banana and plantains, and

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[37]Great Britain colonial office; Reports for 1949. H.M.S.O. London 1950. 76-77. Also, Annual Reports on Cameroons Province 1920. by J. Davidson CSE 35/1/45 N.A.K., Trusteeship Annual Report on the Cameroons op.cit.

[38]Ibid.

[39]Great Britian colonial office; Reports for 1953. H.M.S.O. London. 1954. Pg 46.

vegetables. Other tubers like some sweet potatoes species were introduced[40]. These were targeted to raise the indigenes' interest in the 'hybrids'. By implication, they would be cultivated for both subsistence and cash.

Several linkages also existed between the state farms in the Division and those of the plantation zone largely because these regions shared so many ecological similarities[41]. These similarities were consolidated in the 1950s through the role of the C.D.C. (Cameroon Development Corporation) owned by the Commonwealth Development Corporation (C.D.C.). In addition to the corporation's plantations and their associated processing plants, in Southern Cameroons, the corporation was up to 1957, also engaged in the extraction of timber (from its estates and farms), mainly for internal use-in housebuilding and furniture making, from some of its undeveloped lands. It also ran some dairy farms and market gardens. The dairy in Bamenda was established in Jakiri, while gardens were found in nearly all the N.A. and Bamenda Station[42]. The products from these farms were marketed, and some were supplied to the European staff. These products were mostly milk, butter, meat, vegetables and fruits[43].

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[40]Great Britain colonial office; Reports 1949. op.cit. 1950. Pg 35-41.

[41]For more see E. Ardener; et al. (eds.); op.cit. Pg 1-22 Introduction.

[42]Ibid. Pg 7.

[43]Ibid

The top-ranking staff of these farms were housed by the state. In Bambui; Menda-Nkwe; and Nsaw some school and health facilities were provided for the employees and their families. The workers also performed ancilliary services such as the maintenance and repair of the institutions' houses, roads, motor transport, 'machines' amongst others[44]. The workers in these farms were made up of indigenes from the different ethnic groups in the southern Cameroons, eventhough a bulk of the unskilled workers in the Bamenda Farms came from the Division[45].

Such unskilled workers often lived in areas that were far from the farms. They had a free choice of housing where they were, and they often paid rents to the landlords. However, a difference existed here with the farms in the plantations zone. The C.D.C. created camps for the workers eventhough a worker was free to rent a house out of the camp[46].

The investigations that were carried in the farms were influenced by the teachings of the Cambridge Schools of Agriculture on the historical evolution of European farming. Bush burning and shifting cultivation were considered undesirable and the intensive method of cultivation was often encouraged in Bambui. Emphasis was also on green manure, while livestock waste (especially cow

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[44] Ibid. Pg 8.

[45] Ibid. Pg. 169.

[46] T. G. Forrest; op. cit. pg. 3

dung) were often recommended. Fodder crops and mixed farming were encouraged.[47]

The agricultural methods that the state farms in the Division demonstrated were enforced in the 1950s by a law, whereby, the women were no longer allowed to burn their farm (ridge) mounds. But the law was not vigorously enforced[48]. The Agriculture Inspector recommended that the grass should be allowed to decompose as compost and form manure instead of being burnt to ashes. Offenders of this law were either warned or asked to pay fines of about 2 pounds[49].

From the activities of the state farmers, a kind of mixed farming developed among the indigenes. While agriculture developed in line with livestock rearing, the women specialized in the farming while the men took the livestock rearing. The pre-1940s mixed cropping practise of putting into each hillock or ridge a variety of crops like maize, groundnuts, cocoyams, beans, sweet potatoes began disappearing in the mid-1950s. The women did some considerable single crop agriculture, by planting an entire field with a particular food crop-corn, groundnuts, cocoayams and so on[50]. Crop rotation was also practiced, by putting in say groundnuts this year, corn the next year, beans the third year and so on. But this should not be

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[47] T.G. Forrest; op.cit. Pg 3.

[48] B. Eugene; et al. (eds.); op.cit. Pg 74-75

[49] Ibid. Pg 75.

[50] Ibid. Pg 75-76.

exaggerated because even though single cropping began emerging as a form of farming (as evidenced in the Bafut area with the planting of raffia palms in particular plots)[51] it hardly formed the local basis of farming.

The use of machine-based technology in the state farms was greatly limited. So the farms themselves could hardly satisfy the indigenes' desire for agricultural machines. The mechanical labour used in the farms was very limited[52]. By the 1950s ploughs were used in the Bambui farms.

It is important to note that these farms in the Division also related very much with the Botanical Gardens in Victoria.

5.4.2 Peasant Agricultural Production:

Our use of the concept 'peasant' all along is a bit flexible. We have not strictly conceptualized peasants in their class dimension but in terms of the method of production. In this regard, there were some indigenes - elites and N.A. officials who used the same methods of production as the peasants. And peasant methods of production in our context had some major areas of departure from the state farms eventhough the state farms largely influenced the changes in peasant agricultural practices.

The Germans as we saw in chapter three lay the basis for the development of peasant agriculture in the Division. This was through their monetization policies, land laws

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[51] Ibid. Pg 76; 82.

[52] Trusteeship Annual Report on the Cameroons; op.cit.

agricultural and labour policies. The consequent establishment of the system of agricultural experimentation in Kamerun led to major changes in the Division, particularly in the areas where the Germans had their base viz: Bali-Nyonga, Bafut, Mankon, Nkwen, Menda-Nkwe, Gwofon, Babungo and Kimbaw. The yields of the crops that were encouraged were hardly high because the Germans maintained the local system of agriculture which was predominantly peasant in nature. The farming implements remained rudimentary. Above all, the Germans' approach ended up underdeveloping the indigenes' agricultural system because it pinned them down to the cultivation of their local and cash crops, European food crops or, the practice of trade with the Germans. Then the Germans determined the rate at which the crops could be exchanged for money. At the end, the indigenes were made to cultivate largely for subsistence with their little surpluses exchanged mostly in the plantations zone, and along the caravan route from the north of Kamerun via this Division to the coastal parts of Douala, Tiko and Victoria. The border with British Nigeria was blocked[53].

The British continued with this system so that it could suit her own interest. The agricultural policies analysed in the former chapter consolidated this. Peasant production in this sector developed firm roots by the mid-1930s when the system of cash crop cultivation was being entrenched in the Division through palm production, the

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[53] A Calvert; op.cit. Pg 37-40. Also, H.R. Rudin. op.cit. Pg 259-261.

extension of the sphere of the marketing Boards and cooperative societies. Moreover, the British further conditioned peasant agriculturists to develop by abandoning forced labour to the plantations for porterage as we shall see in the next chapter. Forced labour was becoming uneconomical to her domination, and her administration was coming under intense criticism in the 1920s, especially from the Permanent Mandate Commission of the League of Nations.

Besides preventing the Germans and other Europeans from investing in the Division, the British also adopted a cautious policy towards technical changes. This was why when the Division was made to depend largely on cash crops and livestock production in the post-war II period, the peasants were still largely left with their local agricultural and livestock methods. Even in the plantations of the coastal region and peasant agricultural areas, mechanization of labour was absent. So the British depended on the indigenes' local communal efforts for the high yields.

These labour could easily be obtained because of the degree of landlessness that the land laws and agricultural policies had caused as we saw earlier.

However, with the growing landlessness of the indigenes, the high yields needed by the British in the Division could hardly be obtained in the first period of the British domination (pre-1940s) because the indigenes were largely disinterested in cultivating the cash crops

that were being promoted. Many of them preferred migrating to the plantations. This lack of interest moved together with the indigenes' lack of the technical knowledge and methods; and improved species for raising their production heights respectively.

It therefore meant that any surplus or increased productivity that was attained, was largely not as a result of better or improved cultivation methods, but the extra efforts of the peasantry and increase in acreage of land cultivated[54].

Peasant agriculture in the Division was structurally linked with plantation agriculture of the coastal areas of southern Cameroons on the one hand, and the state farms in the Division and elsewhere in the Cameroons and Nigeria on the other. The most common linkages were: labour and the type and specie of crops cultivated, amongst others. All these eventually evolved a primary relationship with the manufacturing sector in Britain and Europe.

The series of inter-linkages also contributed to the process of class formations which made the British to evolve a policy of preventing the evolution of a strong local entrepreneural class to assist in any possible indigenous development. The classes were also formed largely because of the marketing activities of the cooperative societies and marketing boards in the 1940s and 1950s and other market operations in which the indigenes participated.

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[54] T.B. Binberg; et al. (eds.); op.cit. Pg 20.

The peasants were made to purchase or get free-of-charge, some hybrid plant species and seeds (from the Agriculture Department through the agriculture staff or the state farms), and cultivate on their farm holdings. In terms of the indigenes' techniques of cultivation, the methods of peasant production remained very local with their dependence on the archaic implements. Their farm holdings were usually varied in sizes and scattered all over the Division[55].

It was also a common practice for the peasants' holdings to be divided into portions. Some for cash crops like coffee (in the 1950s); and others for food crops. But cash crops like palms and castor were scattered all over the farm holdings, and they were said to have been on the increase from the 1940s. Plots which were designed for food crops cultivation were exploited through the local shifting cultivation method of farming. In certain instances organic manure was prepared and used in order to obtain high yields. Due to this, peasant agricultural production created some basic linkages with the other sectors of the colonial economy of the Division.

The introduction of the hybrid plants and seeds in the local -economy through the states farms conditioned some changes in the peasant agricultural practice. In the 1950s, R. Eugene and Pat Ritzenthaler observed in Bafut that since the crops like maize, beans, groundnuts and

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[55] M.B. Gleave; et al. (eds.); op.cit. Pg 20.

sweet potatoes provided two harvest a year, the peasant farmers began to plant three or four different plots of land with each of these crops;

> "staggering the crops and the planting so that they can be harvested at different periods. Women who devote all their time to agriculture may operate as many as half a dozen farms'[56].

It is obvious from this observation that the demands for cash were rising, causing the peasants to cultivate more lands and particular food crops. It might also explain the deteriorating ecological situation of the peasant holdings, necessitating them to exploit new lands.

In the same way, the introduction of some crops like banana in the 1950s, because of its subsistence and cash importance, conditioned the peasant farmers to develop a farming culture whereby, the men and women both participated in its cultivation. While the men dug out the suckers and brought them to the prepared fields which they had cleared, the women composted the cleared fields. They both did the planting, but after that the women took care of them, and did most of the weeding. The men trimmed off the dead branches once the plant was high enough. When the banana was ripe, the men cut them down except for a variety known as "woman's banana" usually smaller and used in preparing a local dish called "achu" or 'taro'[57].

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[56] R. Eugene; et al. (eds.); op.cit. Pg 76.

[57] Ibid.

5.5 Animal Husbandry:

The British colonialists in the Division also emphasized on livestock production. It was particularly so because all attempts to introduce European cattle into Southern Nigeria in the pre-1930s proved futile owing to losses by redwater[58] Besides that, livestock production was also regarded as another source of revenue for the colonial government. The British animal husbandry sector was expanded in lines with the German achievements in Kamerun[59]. Even though the Germans laid the basis for this sector, their concern in the Division was very minimal. But in the German station at Buea and Dschang some breeding of the Allgau Bulls and also some attempts at cross-breeding the Allgau Bulls with the local humped cows was reported. Drought cattle was obtained from the cross-breeding system. The Germans did breeding largely for the European consumption and (hides) for export. The indigenes were trained in these breeding stations on how to use cattle for farming.

However, the British approach was broader and more indepth such that, the indigenes soon picked up livestock rearing, especially cattle rearing on cash basis. Moreover, the British approach caused the immigration of a lot of pastoralists and nomads into the Division thereby,

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[58] G.B. Masefield; op.cit 1950. Pg 132. Fore more see: F. Fraser DArling; Animal Breeding in the British Empire. Imperial Bureau of Animal Genetics. 1934.

[59] A. Calvert op.cit. Pg 50-52.

generating a system of transhumance which we shall see later[60].

Animal husbandry in the pre-1940s was much limited. Cattle was hardly found amongst the local communities except owned by some Fons in the Ndop, Nsaw and Nsungli N.A. But the Fulani pastoralists were reported in 1925 to be moving about in the hills during the wet season and some down (in the dry season) to the rich grasses of the swamps. Some were taken to the phosphate springs in Babungo; the salty springs of Babanki Tungaw, or the Nsaw and Nsungli highlands[61].

Goats and long-haired sheep were abundantly present in the communities especially in te Ndop N.A. By 1925, goats were counted to be 3,519 while sheep were 891 in the Ndop N.A. But these figures were conservative because of the suspicions that the indigenes had on the assessment officers. Horses were also found but mostly owned by the Fons. Pigs were the highest numbered livestock (about 1,240 in Ndop N.A.). However, pigs could not increase more than this because they were detested for the damage which they did to the crops. Ducks and fowls were reported to be in great quantities by same year. These were often bought from Ibi in Nigeria[62].

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[60] Great Britian colonial office; Reports 1953 op.cit. Pg 47-49. For a contrast with other African experiences such as Kenya and Uganda in Livestock rearing see G.B. Masefield op.cit. 1950. Pg 140-142. Also R.C. Wood. Cattle in the Tropics. Government Printer Trinidad 1934.

[61] J.C. Drummond-Hay; op.cit. Pg 99-100.

[62] Ibid. Pg 100.

The improvement in a cattle population by selective breeding from the local stock was the target of the British in this sector. This implied that some experimental work should be done in the stations. These were to be achieved by the British placement of the inherited German Veterinary Department in Bamenda (for the Southern Cameroons) under the Nigerian Veterinary Department, which by 1923 was conducting some research work on trypanosomiasis. This research was placed under the sleeping sickness Branch of the Medical Department as human trypanosomiasis in Nigeria was graver than the animal type[63].

By 1953, the livestock industry in Bamenda Province was reported to have expanded to the extent that the record of the number of cattle was 237,000; sheep - 110,000; goats - 120,000. The cattle specie was the local (red) specie owned mostly by the pastoralists. Similarly, the price of meat per 1b was said to range between 1s. to 1s.6d. ON top of that the Jakiri livestock centre that was established in the 1940s was said to have been producing butter and milk estimated at 20,0001b per annum[64].

Nevertheless, these expansions should not overwhelm us because, the indigenes hardly enjoyed from these due to the rising price of meat on the one hand, while most (if not all) of the hides were exported, on the other. Explaining this change, the colonialists further reported that the rising price of meat and export of hides made the skin

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[63]G.B. Masefield, op.cit. Pg 139.

[64]Great Britain colonial Office, Reports 1953 op.cit. Pg 47-49.

industry to start declining by 1953 such that, the number of cattle slaughtered in the abattoirs that the state opened dropped. This drop did not mean that the indigenes' interest in this industry had dropped. Rather it dropped largely because of the growing nature of the private sector in the Division, thereby causing some of the indigenes to turn to butchers, suspenders and driers of the skins using local methodsby themselves[65]. After that, they sold them to the European agents or at Jakiri from where it was exported to Europe or sold in the plantations area[66].

Furthermore, by 1954, the rearing of pigs also became more popular than ever before. Its number was put at 13,000 in the entire Bamenda Province. This number was said to be more than the total number that was reared in the entire plantations zone. This pattern of expansion in pigs in the Division was said to be the same as that for other species of livestock in the Division. The least number of livestock were the donkeys and horses. This was because their economic value to the indigenes were relatively lower, and they did not form part of the West Cameroon meat scheme in the 1950s[67].

Nevertheless, it was also reported that due to the expansion in the 1950s cattle breeding dominated the animal husbandry sector. However, some of the cattle together

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[65] Ibid.

[66] For more see M.B. Gleave; "West Cameroon Meat Scheme". in Geography. Journal of the Geographical Association. Vol. 56 part 2. Sheffield 1966.

[67] Ibid

with the other livestock were exported live. So it further reduced the quantity of meat available (as food) to the indigenes. This further shifted the indigenes' taste to concentrate on pork, which from the mid-1950s was said to be declining in number due to diseases, local resentment because of its destructive nature to the crops and the spread of Islam. Islam spread because of the immigration of the muslim Hausa and Fulani into the Division from Nigeria. The poultry industry was largely neglected. But the expanding trend also caused the indigenes to keep more for their subsistence, cash and traditional practices[68].

With regard to the breeding of livestock species, the British did some advances in Southern Cameroons for the purpose of facilitating production. At take-over, the British inherited from the Germans the Allgau bulls; drought cattle and cumberland short-horn bulls. She later-on discovered that the local cattle species produced less milk. The cumberland short-horn bulls that were concentrated in the plantations zone were extended to the Division in the 1920s for the purpose of agriculture (farming). This largely failed because of the little attention that was paid to it. In addition to this she introduced the boar pig specie particularly the black coloured one which was regarded as resistant to the harsh sunshine in the Division. Mules were also introduced by

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[68]Great Britain Colonial Office; Report 1950. op.cit. Pg 219-220.

1930[69]. These contributed to the expansion of the livestock industry.

Earlier on, we saw the claims of the colonialists on the introduction of the breeding species to improve on the nutritive quality of the indigenes' diet and to widen the sphere of peasant production. However, we have demonstrated that they were largely to boost the British export trades in the Division, and entrench the indigenes' dependence on the western technology and market[70]. It was also geared towards feeding the white population especially with their increasing population in the region.

The livestock industry in the Division and entire southern Cameroons was protected and regulated by disease control; protection of the farm provisions; and the preservation of wild animals ordinances. Through the ordinances the livestock species developed to be sources of meat, butter, hides and bones for subsistence and cash amongst the Europeans and the indiges. Nevertheless, modern (secondary) processing was hardly embarked upon, even though we saw earlier that livestock rearing developed on cash basis, thereby causing an expansion of this sector. And, though the sheep in the Division was long-haired, the British did not like it. So it prevented them from transforming this sector on modern industrial lines.

The implementation of the disease control ordinance in Nigeria and the Cameroons led to some relative success in

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[69] Ibid. Also, The Forestry Manual. N.A.E. Pg. 628-640; L.B. Raymond; op.cit. Pg. 759-760.

[70] See M.B. Gleave; op.cit. 1950 Pg 137-138.

fighting against some diseases like rinderpest. But it was reported in 1948 that this caused more problems that were hardly arrested, thus:

> "This low death rate following the introduction of natural rinderpest, which is so commonly noted to-day, is consequent upon our past immunization efforts, but unfortunately, it is having a progressively adverse effect on the numbers of stock submitted for immunization at the various immunization camps, for the African memory is a notoriously short one and to-day few of the older men and fewer, if any, of the younger, appreciate the seriousness of rinderpest as an epizootic disease ..."[71].

On this note, this sector remained very underdeveloped especially when compared with the agricultural sector.

5.5.1 The Jakiri Livestock Farm:

The rising importance of animal husbandry to the post-war II state and economy of the Division also made the colonial authorities to develop the policy of owning and operating its own livestock industry (farm), while the indigenes owned and operated theirs on peasant basis, like it happened with agriculture. Thus the state established a livestock industry (farm) in Jakiri (Nsawland) in 1947[72]. This scheme was run jointly by the Agriculture and Veterinary Departments in the Division. In the Farm, improved bull of the Agriculture Department was cross bred with Fulani-owned cows, brought in by the efforts of the Veterinary Department[73].

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[71]Quoted in G.B. Masefield op.cit. 1950 pg 137-138.

[72]Great Britain colonial office; Reports for the Year 1947. H.M.S.O. London 1948 Pg 54.

[73]Great Britain colonial office; Reports 1954 op.cit. Pg 61

Meanwhile, at creation the Jakiri farm received some financial support from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund (C.D.W.F.). The fund was in principle to assist the breeding of improved species of bulls and pigs for distribution to local breeders. It was also for the purpose of colonial agriculture.

But the establishment of the Jakiri farm soon affected the situation of the Bambui farms. In the same year of creation-1947, an Agriculture officer was stationed inthe Bambui experimental station, assisted by African staff and field overseers. The two demonstration farms that were established were made to have six extension workers with duties being the collection of information on farming matters and giving advice and assistance to farmers. Farmers from long distances were encouraged to visit the demonstration farms so as to obtain knowledge of the improved methods of agriculture and to obtain planting material of the new crop considered suitable for the Division[74].

Drought cattle that were bred in Jakiri were sent to the Bambui and other state farms. Hence at Babungo, a small farm settlement was established in 1954 for the purpose of expanding colonial agriculture. The settlers, after leaving school spent 10 months at the provincial farm (Bambui). At each settlement, there were 10 of them, each provided with 4 acres of arable land, 2 of coffee, a vegatable garden, fuel trees, a house and 2 in-calf cows.

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[74]Great Britian Colonial Office; Reports 1947. op.cit. Pg 53-54.

The arable land was cultivated with implements supplied by the Agriculture Department. The farmers were paid some wages[75].

Through the Jakiri farm, local salt, potash and dried fish were ditributed by the Veterinary Department to the livestock rearers. Cattle control posts were also established and made to give free inoculations to all trade cattle being exported to the plantations zone and the French territory[76]

But the state largely determined their control especially with regard to grazing, slaughtering, health care and marketing. What obtained of the state's performance in this sector was also not very different from agriculture. In this direction she manifested her concern mostly in cattle ranching. The reasons for this were obvious viz: for the ruling classes' immediate food (meat, butter and milk) demands; and ploughs for the state farms on the one hand, and hides or life cattle for export on the other[77].

All the cross-breeding took place in Jakiri whose capacity was reported to be unable to contain the rate at which cattle rearing was expanding in the Division in the 1950s. Jakiri bred mostly Drought cattle and other species for meat, milk for the Europeans and export[78a]. As we shall

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[75] Great Britain Colonial Office; Reports 1954. op.cit. Pg 62.

[76] Ibid. Pg 53.

[77] Trusteeship Annual Reporlt on the Cameroons Province. op.cit.

[78a]. Ibid.

see, most of the cattle that was exported were reared by the indigenes using their local methods and, through transhumance their number greatly increased for the Europeans to buy and export. The low capacity of the Jakriri livestock centre, poor state financing[78b] on the one hand, and the states under-utilization of the lowly capacitated Jakiri farm for largely cattle (particularly the Drought and milk yielding species) breeding on the other, could not have been enough to transform this sector and agriculture to modern industrial lines. As we shall see below also, the state's poor emphasis on the cattle industry further made her to neglect fishery. It was gaining roots amongst the indigenes because of the monetization of the economy. Production of these were based on the peasant techniques. Horses and pigs that later-on became popular in the Division were also neglected by the state. Even the Mules which the state introduced were abandoned because horses attracted the indigenes most and they were easier and cheaper to obtain than the Mules. Nonetheless, it appeared as if the state neglected these other livestock categories more because of their relatively less profit yielding nature and the captial intensive nature of the project.

Despite the poor performance of the state in this sector she managed to raise the indigenes' interest in rearing more livestock through her monetization policies which we shall discuss in next chapter. Apart from the

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[78b]. 220b see chapter three. Pg.156-159.

pastoralists, the N.A. Officials and other elites of the Division began rearing herds of livestock eventhough these were mostly the Fulani red-humped (and other local) species.

5.6 Fishery:

The indigenes of Bamenda Division had engaged in fishing since the pre-colonial period. In chapter two we saw how by the 19th century fishing had evolved to constitute one of the most important socio-economic activities of the indigenes. Its growing importance was mostly felt in the Ndop area where a division of labour evolved which conditioned mostly the women to engage in it. However, the importance of fishing could not be exaggerated because agriculture and crafts manufacturing were the most dominant occupations. The Germans neglected this sector and due to the nature of their system of production and distribution in the Division, less attention was paid by the indigenes to it. Fishing amongst the indigenes assumed the same position as tapping and hunting amongst others.

However, the British colonialist manifested some interest in fishery in the mid-1950s especially due to the ecological position of the Division in southern Cameroons. But the British interest was very limited and shortlived, because of their interest in agriculture and animal husbandry. These areas of emphasis fetched her more markets and profits.

In Ndop plain where the colonialists' inshore fishery interest was most strongly manifested, mostly the Mbonga (ethmaloza) and mud fish species were found to be common. These species to the British were of little economic value. So by 1957, she had abandoned the plans she had in this sector[79]. The indigenes then continued the exploitation using their local method and for subsistence and trade. As R. Eugene and Pat Ritzenthaler reported about Bafut in the late 1950s thus,

> "Dried fish on spits, brought in from other areas are commonly seen in the market and used in soups and stews. Some fishing is done in the small streams by young boys and women. Boys will take cylindrical fish traps ... to the streams, hold the open end under a rock where a fish may be hiding, then jar the rock so that the fish swims into the basket ..."[80].

5.7 Forestry and Land Conservation:

The agricultural and animal husbandry systems of production discussed above, made the British colonialists to evolve a quasi-environmental policy which limited itself to the creation of forest reserves. It also touched on issues like mode of grazing and farming.

The forestry system that the colonialists established in Bamenda was part of the overall British colonial policy on land-soil conservation[81], which had direct links with the colonial agricultural policies and practices. With

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[79] Federal Nigeria; Annual Reports 1957. Federal Information service Lagos. Pg 59. Also M. McCulloch; "The Tikar" in Daryll Forde (ed.); op. cit., 1945 pg. 25 International

[80] R. Eugene; et al. (eds.); op.cit. Pg 84-85.

[81] See G. B. Masefield; op.cit. Pg 75-85.

particular regard to the British forestry policy in pre-1916 Nigeria, it did not permit the government to claim the forest as public property. In principle, whenever the government wished to create a reserve it attempted some negotiated agreements with the local communities. The communities then granted the Government the right to establish a forest reserve upon its lands. If the government authorized forest produce to be taken from the land, and if the indigenes recognized such produce to be the property of an individual or family[82], royalties were supposed to be paid to such individuals or family. Of the royalties that were paid to the landowners, about 1/3 was in principle to be distributed amongst the actual occupiers of the land most immediately concerned. The remaining two thirds went to the native treasury[83].

If a European wished to cut forest produce-say Mahogany, he was to first of all make an agreement with the local community concerned, stipulating the royalty he would pay in return for the right to cut the wood[84]

The need for soil conservation due to the extension of the sahara desert to the Divison made the Forestry Department of Nigeria through the Forestry Officers in Southern Cameroons to develop the means of preventing that extension by creating forest reserves in this predominantly grassland area. They were also aimed at preserving water

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[82] L.B. Raymond. op.cit. Pg 758. Also, The Forestry Manual op.cit Pg 891-892.

[83] Ibid.

[84] Ibid.

supply in the area. The reserves also related to the fact that the indigenes' agricultural practices had led to the clearing of much land for their crops-palms and other cash crops. And the local method of cultivation - shifting cultivation compounded the problem[85]. In Nsaw and Nsungli areas, the rubber and kola 'plantations' were steadily being transformed into food and cash crop farms. In the Ngie, Ndop, Meta, Moghamaw and Ngoni areas palms and raffia crops were reported to be on a steady increase in the 1920s and 1930s[86]. In the 1950s the introduction of coffee and banana further led to soil deterioration[87].

Meanwhile, the Germans like the British, had no elaborate environmental policy for our region. However, their trade in rubber, palms and kola definitely protected these trees to the detriment of others. They attempted to protect the elephants from wantom destruction for ivory. In 1906 all trade in ivory was reduced to 5kg maximum weight. By 1907 it was further reduced to 2kg. Nonetheless, all these decreases were hardly enforced.

At take-over in 1916, the British realized that the Germans had hardly established a forestry policy. But timber was being exported from Kamerun. This rose to the

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[85] Ibid. Also; Forestry Administration of the Cameroons Annual Report. 1930. CSE 1/86/235. N.A.B.

[86] See J.C. Drummlnd-Hay op.cit. Also, An Assessment Report of the Ngoni and Neighbouring Villages of Bamenda Division (Cameroons Province) op.cit. Meta Clan (Bamenda Division) Intelligence Report by J.V. Johnson 1935. op cit. Nsungli Area Intelligence Report by E.W. Carpenter. op. cit. Nsungli Area Bamenda Division Re-assessment Report. by E.W. Carpenter 1934. op. cit.

[87] See M.B. Gleave; et al. (eds.); op.cit. Also, Great Britain Colonial Office; Reports 1954 op.cit. Pg 61-62; R. Eugene; (eds.); op.cit. Pg 73-86.

extent that by 1909 timber was valued at 8,500 pounds and by 1912 it quadrupled to 35,000 pounds. But these were limited to the coastal zone which had a railway system of transportation[88]. For the fact that southern Cameroon became part of the Southern Provinces from 1916, the Nigerian Forestry Ordinance (examined above) was passed in Southern Cameroons. But it was enforced that any local community that failed to reach an agreement on reserve creation, the government had right to to go ahead and create it. The ordinance established the office of a Forestry Officer under a European Officer. He worked with some local staff. He also recruited some reserve settlement officers who conducted investigations to determine the nature of the indigenes' rights on land.[89a] The Fons were informed that any individuals or communities claiming rights in the land should make them known to the settlement officers[89b].

On the other hand, the Forestry Ordinance also made provision for the N.A. to create forest reserves where and when they considered it necessary. The Native Courts were made to enforce this ordinance. On the establishment of the reserves forest guards were appointed by the N.A. Given this reserve right, the Fons preferred this arrangement more than the government reserves which merely

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88 A. Calvert; op.cit. Pg 47.

89 a. Great Britain colonial office: Reports 1954 Op.cit Pg 61-62.

89 b. The Forestry Manual op.cit. Pg 628, 640. Also, L.B. Raymond. op.cit. Pg 759.

reduced their powers to the signing of agreements for the establishment of government reserves[90].

However, Forest reserves further reduced the land available to the indigenes for cultivation. And it was also obvious that this situation could have reduced food crops cultivation. Landlessness could also have resulted from it.

Where the government found it difficult to establish a forest reserve, she adopted a half-way measure which prohibited the indigenes from cutting any 'protected' trees, except upon the payment of high royalties. To effect this the N.A. in Bamenda took care of the establishment of forest reserves. They also employed forest guards for the reserves[91].

The state also extended the conservating measures to her farms by adopting and demonstrating the methods in them. This function was placed under the Agriculture Department and the schools which owned farms in the Division. Moreover, due to the topography of the Division and its effects on agriculture, contour ridging was always recommended[92]. By 1927, the Forestry Department that had been established in the Division in the early 1920s was reinforced with a forestry officer. His purpose was to

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[90] Discussion with Fon S.A.N. Anguafo III Mankon Palace. September 15th 1993.

[91] Great Britain Colonial Office Report 1927. op.cit Pg 96. Also, Great Britain colonial office Reports for 1928. H.M.S.O. London. 1929. Para 321; Great Britain colonial Office, Report 1929. op.cit. Pg 96.

[92] Cattle Grazing in Cameroons Province. 1935-1942 Vol. I. 10068 - CSE 1/85/5079; N.A.E.

examine the forest reserves[93]. Measures of fire protection, bunding and prevention of grazing were adopted[94].

By 1933, the forestry officer had already marked out fuel reserves for the peasants, and these reserves provided triple values: fuel (firewood source-sold or consumed domestically); simple material for building; and minor forest products for food, medicine, woodcarving, canoe manufacturing, amongst others. The reserves also provided some animal protein because of the game they attracted and protected. By 1954, the policy evolved a forest estate system under another forest officer. Hunting; fishing; collection of fuel; and building of stocks constituted some of the exploitatory rights that the government gave to the local population with regard to these forests.

5.8 Mining:

One of the reasons that peasant agriculture and livestock rearing became the most predominant economic activities in the the Division was the absence of colonial mining in the cameroons. Meanwhile, by the 1930s tin mining was already going on in the Nigerian area (Jos plateau) on colonial basis. And, even though mineral (tin) mining in the domestic economy of Nigeria was relatively less income generating as compared to agriculture, the

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[93] Ibid.

[94] Great Britain Colonial office; Reports 1927. op.cit. Pg 105-106, Also, Great Britain colonial office; Reports 1953. op.cit. pg 18.

British still gained a lot from the mining companies[95]. But the British mining interest in the Division (just like in most of West Africa) was influenced by the fortuitious geological fact that known and commercially exploitable deposits were not distributed profusely through out West Africa. In the 1930s, the British further came in contact with the iron and diamonds in Sierra Leone and she concentrated on exploiting it through her expartriate firms[96]. All these limited the British colonial mining policies in Bamenda Division and Southern Cameroons.

That notwithstanding, the Mineral Legislation of 1902 British Nigeria (amended in 1916 - Mineral Ordinance) gave the indigenes of Bamenda the permission to exploit the local minerals on peasant basis[97].

As we saw in chapter three, the Germans showed some interest in mining. However, the poor financial situation of the state made her not to embark on a full scale mining like she did with plantat-ion agriculture. She also prevented the trading firms from embarking on it, because of her demands for labour in the plantations.

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[95]In 1936 a year of moderate prosperity, Nigeria exported mineral valued at 2,124,213 pounds and was therefore fourth in importance among the mineral producing British colonies in Africa. She was surpassed by Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Gold Coast whose mineral exports were valued relatively at 5,094,000 pounds; 4,422,000 and 4,248,000 respectively. The Nigerian minerals constituted 14% of her total exports in 1936. For more see M. Perham (ed.); op.cit; Pg 1; 10-12. Also Lord F. Lugard; Reports. op.cit 1968. Para 127-140; Pg 128, 203; L.B. Raymond, op.cit. Pg 763-765; A.J. Herbertson; et al. (eds.); op.cit. Pg 445.

[96]A.G. Hopkins; op.cit. 1973 Pg 213.

[97]For more on the Mineral legislation and its implications in the colonies see: Laws op.cit 1948 chapter 93 and 94. Also M. Perham, (ed.). op.cit Pg 6; Lord Hailey; An African Survey 2nd Edition 1946. Pg 1526.

The Germans' interest in mining were justified by the plans which she had in extending the Southern railway system to the Division and up to Lake Tchad. Then from Mbalmayo to Tangayika seen earlier. Even the investigations which she carried out in the pre-1914 era on the state of the geology of Kamerun further justify this. But the outbreak of the first world war was therefore a threat to this interest.

From the German investigations possibilities of mineral deposits in the Division were reported. These were made up mostly of large basaltic materials; brown and red mass of iron ore (especially the hill-slopes in the neighbourhood of Bali-Nyonga and Bamenda Plateau). Metallic iron, manganese, phosphorus, amongst others were found to be present in them in varying quantities. Even the volcanic evolutions produced some quartz veins containing some amounts of pyrite and arseno-pyrite, useful for the German industries. Clays and limestone were also found to be suitable for industrial production[98].

Just like the Germans[99], the British did not place enough emphasis on mining. Perhaps if the Germans had embarked on mining even on a small scale basis, the British

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[98] H.R. Rudin, op.cit. Pg 275. Also, A. Calvert; op.cit. Pg 54-55; Yalla Eballa; et al (eds.) op. cit. 1985. Pg 15. Indeed, when the Germans built the Bamenda Station, they opened a brick industry around the present day Ntamulung area in Nankon. Fon Ndefru III of Nankon, using the Ntaw clay deposit; started a brick and tile industry and the bricks produced were used and could still be seen in the palace building today. Meanwhile, the German brick and tile making industry produced all the bricks that the Germans used in building the Bamenda Fort and all the government residential areas with. The Missionaries also benefited from it. But the British abandoned this project.

[99] Ibid.

would have given this sector some due consideration as she did with agriculture amongst others.

However, the shortage in iron and steel products in the entire colony and Britain during the Second World War period made the colonial authorities in 1941 to start looking for areas in the Division where they could obtain the raw materials for the manufacture of iron[100]. It should be noted here that during the pre-war II era the British (and even the Germans) had concentrated only in investigating on the geological formation of the region. Moreover, the second world war further experienced some shortages in the supply of agricultural tools in the Division at a time when mechanical supply hardly came from Britain. The crisis was sharp because cash crop production had increased thereby causing even the local agricultural tools to be in high demand amongst the indigenes, but the local manufacturers' supply was limited. Their limited ability to satisfy the demand was informed by their relatively undeveloped technologies. Besides that, their manufactures were limited in efficiency. So this introduced another angle to the problem - which was not only the burning need of the iron ore in Britain but the technological methods of transforming the ore in the Division. The demands for the technical methods of

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[100]The shortage in mining products in Britain was caused by the fall of Malaya from the Allied forces. This led to an increase in the demand for tin in Nigeria. This increase in demand then caused the British to investigate on the mineral deposits in the Division. Tin in Nigeria, (because of the high demand and its exhaustibility), became more expensive. So iron ore was regarded as a close substitute consequently, leading to the investigations in Bamenda. See M. Perham (ed.) op.cit pg 34-35.

transforming ore was even higher in the Division because of the presence of the Marketing Boards and Cooperative Societies. These institutions whose impact we shall see later, caused some changes in family labour especially because of the break-down in rural society, labour migrancy and food crisis.

At any rate, the state's Public Works Department was given the responsibility of surveying the Oku local metallurgical industries. At the end of the assignment she recommended that the Oku, Babungo, Menda-Nkwe, Kaja, Bikom, Weh and Bum metallurgical sites be exploited for the manufacture of hoes, axes and matchets[101]. Unfortunately these recommendations were soon neglected and abandoned by the state. And yet the colonial authorities expected higher agricultural outputs from the indigenes.

It should also be noted at this juncture, that the influences of the Multi-national firms like U.A.C., COSTAIN, licensed buyers and Cooperatives or Marketing Boards also caused the abandonment of those recommendations. The reason was obvious - so that these agencies could do the supplies from areas in Europe where the cost prices were cheaper. Secondly, the colonialists might have seen that the establishment of a mining industry in the Division for the recommended purposes would have demanded the intervention of the private agencies at least financially which they were against. Thirdly, mining

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[101]File No. 744 1940-1955. Bamenda Archives. The Oku type iron ore was Kesae and Irghak. Its exploitation could not be easily bulky and well-coordinated because of the lack of the state's genuine committment on the one hand, and the indigenes local restrictions on the other.

could have involved much land and labour that would have threatened migrant labour consequently, plantation agriculture, and the surpluses that accrued to the colonialists from it. Besides that, mining could have introduced some level of industrial development to the local people a thing which colonial development prevented. All these ended up that the private sector in the Division was rendered very weak on the one hand, and the Division (and entire province) very rural on the other.

5.9 The Dependent system of Production and Development of Primary contradictions in the Division.

5.9.1 Livestock rearing

Most of the state's intervention in the livestock industry came up in the post war II era. Thus from 1940, livestock production in the Division experienced some major changes through the veterinary Department which was created in the Division in the early 1930s.

By 1947 the Department embarked on a large scale program for a general expansion of the livestock industry in the Division. Amongst some of these programs were the minor researches that were carried in Britain and Nigeria (Vom) on the treatment of animal diseases. The method of treatment was mostly the use of prophylactics and little immunization of livestock species. Provisions were also made for general investigation work and economic surveys with a view towards raising the standards of haying; drying

of hides and skins for export. Much of this work was supposed to be technical but it was replaced with human labour from the communities. By 1947 the exportation of hides and skins from the Division was reported to be very high.[102]

This post-war II period also witnessed an increased migration of cattle rearers into the Division. The indigenes interest in the livestock industry was also said to have risen. Accordingly, the state further established control measures against diseases, and from 1948 she further established some measures on the slaughtering and transportation of life cattle to and from the Division on the one hand, and within the Division on the other. Goats; pigs; and sheep rearing were reported to be on an increase in the Division but they were slaughtered in the local methods. The consumption of these animals was higher than cattle because they were easily kept by the indigenes for subsistence. Also, unlike cattle there were no large scale movements of those animals in the Division for meat. Moreover, the trade in pork was recognized thereby, reducing the indigenes demand for meat.

Nevertheless, diseases were still rampant and they took away the lives of many livestock, cattle in particular. Due to this, quarantine restrictions were imposed and intensified in the mid-1950s. The restrictions prevented the movement of livestock to and from the disease

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[102]Great Britian Colonial Office; Annual Reports on Nigeria 1949 H.M.S.O. London. 1950 Pg. 48-49 in K. I. L.

affected regions of the territory. Also, some prophylactic inoculations were introduced but these could merely reduce and not eradicate the diseases or their incidence. Chronic disease like bovine, pleuro pneumonia amongst others could hardly be checked by the colonial authorities. Instead, the state resorted to compulsory slaughtering of the infected cattle. In addition, the state carried out some few vaccination campaigns in order to reduce the incidence of bacteria in the soil and not the cattle. All these were hardly succeessful because of poor staffing, limited equipment, drugs, hygiene, care and technical staff etcetera.

On the other hand, horses were reported to be increasing in number especially because they were used as a means of transportation mostly by the cattle owners; graziers; pastoralists and Hausa traders[103]. Some traditional (N.A.) authorities began owning horses. Horses further replaced (to a lower extent) carrier labour; but many of the long distance traders were also said to have owned them.

In view of the above changes, the Veterinary Department in 1954 was assisted by the N.A. The N.A's. were made to supervise the cattle trails and control grazing especially in Jakiri where the state operated its cattle ranch. This new function explains why the N.A.

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[103]Great Britain colonial office; Annual Reports on Nigeria 1950. H.M.S.O. London 1951. Pg 44-45. Also, Federal Nigeria; Annual Reports op.cit. 1957. Pg 72; Great Britain colonial office; Annual Reports on Nigeria 1951. H.M.S.O. London 1952 pg 1-3. Great Britain colonial office; Annual Reports on Nigeria 1953. H.M.S.O. London 1954. Pg 47-49.

owned horses. From 1951 cross-breeding became popular in the Division, especially at Jakiri[104] The state focused its breeding methods on cattle with very little efforts on horses and donkeys for the purposes of transportation.

Nonetheless, this sector further faced some contradictions. Firstly, most of the state's concerns in the pre-1950s was on cattle and pigs to the neglect of other livestocks. Secondly, there were very little or no changes in the preservation techniques. For example, dairy product at Jakiri (which could have introduced more advanced production methods) was left at its crude stage. It could not even compete with the one at Vom in Nigeria but instead depended on it for drugs and staff[105]. Besides that, the butter and milk that were produced at Jakiri from 1953 were limited in supply such that only the European staff, some N.A. and elites consumed them. In addition, the local poultry industry was always reported in the 1950s to be attacked by diseases like: tuberculosis; heart water (Rikottsia); black water; New Castle; Haemorrhagic Septicaemia; trypanosomiasis [106]etcetera. The state did almost nothing in treating these cases.

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[104]Interview with Dr. Akwa Holy A.B.U., Zaria. December 3rd 1994. The Zebu cattle of local origin was crossbred with some introduced species like the quarter-bred Montbelliard and some species from the Adamawa region. It proved very successful and productive. And it is even said that, the local species of cattle in the Division by the 1950s, if properly slected and cross-bred, would surpass the European species because the local bulls were very huge; resistant, and the region was tse-tse free. The British did not embark on this because they wanted to underdevelop this sector of the colonial economy of Bamenda.

[105]G.B. Masefield. op.cit 1950. Pg. 134-139.

[106]Great Britain colonial office; Reports 1954. op.cit 1955. Pg 62-63.

The above contradictions caused the peasant rearers to begin disposing of some barren famale cattle; surplus bulls; and bullocks for cash. They needed these cash to pay their taxes and treat the sick livestock amongst others.

In 1954 the F.A.O. pasture teams visited the Division. On their advice, the Veterinary Department began demonstrating a close rotation of grazing using stone walls. They introduced some Kikuyu grass with marked success. The close rotation grazing system was consolidated due to the Kikuyu grass[107]. However, all these innovations were limited to the state sector only thereby, reducing the change process, and the fundamental contradictions continued.

5.9.2 The Evolution of Transhumance and Farmer - Grazier Conflict:

We have seen above, the contributions of the colonial state in raising an animal husbandry sector in the economy of the Division. Since the state paid much of her attention in encouraging livestock rearing for cash, cattle rearers from other livestock areas in the British Cameroons; Nigeria and the French territory were often stimulated to come to this region, at least for pasturization. Even the indigenes themselves developed the habit of rearing cattle and other livestocks. These culminated in an increase in the settling of nomads and

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[107] P.M. Kaberry. "From Tribute to tax in a Tikar chiefdom" op. cit. 1960. Pg 19.

pastoralists in the Division. However, amongst these settlers were the Fulani groups who often complained of harassment, maltreatment and injustices from the local population. It continued until in 1940 when Ardo Sabga and some supporters began advocating for a Fulani Native Court. They complained that even in the local courts where they were found, they were often asked to pay fines twice for the same crops that their cattle destroyed.

It is significant to note that the damages caused by the pastoralists' cattle was conditioned by the emergence of a system of transhumance in the Division. This system of transhumance sew the seed of discord between the farmers and graziers in not only this Division but the entire province.

The system of transhumance was described in Fulbe by the colonialists in 1930s as 'Rume denya' (in reality 'Rumde-nya). This developed as a result of the nature of pasturization in the Division. The transhumance was such that in the wet season, the pastoralists who had settled in the Division developed the custom of selecting a hill or site for the construction of huts; and where the 'Rume denya' encampments would be established. Round the huts (within the encampments) at night their cattle stayed. The soil began to be enriched with manure from the cattle dung. In the beginning of the dry season the pastoralist moved away to the valleys, slopes or far away areas with their cattle. The local farmers then rushed into these encapments and appropriated the lands for farms. Trouble

set in when on returning in the other wet season, the pastoralists could not re-occupy these lands and they had to seek new pasture sites which were getting limited. This process repeated itself until there began to emerge clashes between these graziers and the farmers. Some graziers were said to have allowed their cattle to destroy the farmers' crops especially those along the slopes and in the valleys. Open fights always broke out where deaths were recorded. In most of the courts, the graziers were asked to pay for the destructions even though they might have already compensated the farmers for them.

Enraged by this problem, the pastoralists teamed up under Ardo Sabga in 1935 and their case went through successfully. The state attempted some cosmetic solutions to this problem between 1935 and 1942 by establishing some recognized 'Fulani' lands in the 'Rume denya' areas using pillar marks. She also established a hospital at Shisong (Nsaw)[108]. to take care of the health problems of the increasing population of the surrounding grazing regions. On the Bench of each Native Court, an Ardo was appointed through selection by the Fulani community to represent them. In this regard, exclusive pastoralists' settlement areas like today's Sabga village began to attract most of the graziers[109].

These reforms however, hardly retained all the pastoralists within the Division, or stopped the

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[108] Cattle Grazing in Cameroons Province. 10068 vol. I. CSE 1/85/5079 1935-1942. N.A.E.

[109] Ibid.

farmer/grazier conflict. Meanwhile, the consequence of settling the pastoralists in particular areas in the Division encouraged over-grazing which eventually destroyed the gamba grass cover of the area leaving only its tuft remains. Moreso, the hills and vegetation lining Bamenda Station and Santa (into the French territory) began deteriorating because of over-grazing. Besides that, the pastoralists were often caught by the local population and accused of trespass.

Other important areas where transhmance went on were the Ndop plain (upper Nun basin) that was said to be rich in granitic soils. Also the plains of Misaje; Bum and Fungom in the western outskirts of the Division. Fodder and water were reported to be available in these areas in considerable proportions. In the dry seasons, therefore, these regions attracted the graziers from all over the Province; northern Cameroons and the French territory. The Ndop plain in particular haboured the largest herds of graziers during this season[110].

It was also realized by the colonialists that transhumance in the Division; while enriching the soil, further led to land hunger (because of the land enclosure movement that ensued) on the one hand; and migration of the pastoralists out of the Division (thereby reducing the revenue that could have gone to the colonial administration through Jangli collections) on the other. But the administration was handicapped in all respects in putting

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[110]Interview with Hallam Audu Umarou. Ntamulung-Bamenda. August 10th 1993.

an end to trans humance. So its related problems continued especially the farmer/grazier conflict and some of the pastoralists left the Division. That notwithstanding, cattle rearing increased because the local population especially the N.A. and the Fons had taken to it.

5.9.3 Forestry:

It was not until 1927 that the colonial government became concerned with forestry and land conservation in the Division[111]. Meanwhile, we saw in chapter one that the Division's physical enviornment (montane grassland) had been attractive to human activities from earliest times. Over the years, agriculture together with other economic activities evolved because of man's activities in the region thereby, forming the various pre-colonial socio-economic systems of production that we came across. It was the same pattern during the German interlude and the British. With these influences, the environemt was steadily decaying. But the British approach made things worse so the colonial state decided to embark on some quasi-re-afforestation schemes.

The re-afforestation began with a survey of the entire territory which in 1930 reported that:

> "... in this Division the few areas of bush remaining are so small and scattered and so much cut into by farming that it was impossible to

[111]Great Britain colonial office; Reports 1931. op.cit 1932. Pg 4,19. These revealed the extent to which the British colonial agricultural policies had ravaged the ecology of the Division.

> reserve large areas without including numerous farms and a great deal of grassland"[112].

It was a similar situation in Wum; Fungom and Kom areas which were outside the Division[113], but much more particular of Mbembe, Nsungli and Nsaw mostly within the Division[114].

The abstract above explained so many things about the colonial economy, but most significantly, the environmental problem caused by the colonial system of production in the Division, which centred around cash crops production and subsistence. Nevertheless, in spite of the problems, the colonialists' conservatory measures were limited to the prevention of the population from the indiscriminate felling of 'valuable' species of trees by gradually applying the forestry regulations that were enacted. A few artificial regeneration methods were also made at Menda-Nkwe, Bamessing and Kimbaw areas. These methods involved the importation of nursed seeds from Onitsha (Nigeria) in the 1940s, but unfortunately, most of the plants and seeds dried off because of long-seasoned dryness that occured in the 1948-1949 season[115]. In addition, by 1950, the state embarked on reserves creation for household subsistence and public use[116]. The earliest reserves created in 1932 and

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[112] Ibid. Also, Forestry Administration in the Cameroons. Annual Reports 1930. Pg 12-16.

[113] Ibid.

[114] Ibid. Also Great Britain colonial office; Reports 1933. op.cit 1934. Pg 80-81.

[115] For more see; P.M. Kaberry; op.cit 1960 pg 12. Also, Great Britain colonial office; Reports 1949. op.cit.

[116] Ibid. Also, Yalla Eballa; et al. (eds.); op.cit. Pg 12-14.

1933 were at Bafawchu (10.3 sq. miles large). However, the process of establishment of the reserves was often delayed due to the conservator's constant neglect of his duties. Moreso, the game laws were hardly enforced so that game reserves in the Division like Chimpanzee, gorilla; hippopotamus, lion, elephant, tiger, leopard, amongst others were threatened with extinction by the peasants[117]. Besides, the Department also suffered from staffing problems which made them to rely on the N.A. The N.A. in turn employed very unskilled staff for the duties of this Department.

The great depression and second world war increased the threats on the ecology because of the destruction of the forests; and the hunting of games by the peasants in search for: fuel reserves, farmlands, pasture for grazing their cattle (and other livestock), and meat for food.

Furthermore, the methods; techniques, tools of farming and land conservation in the pre-1940s remained profoundly rudimentary. This caused the indigenes to resort to local (archaic) means of increasing their productivity such as the exploitation and burning of new sites for farming amongst others. Accordingly, land shortage was getting aggravated because the deteriorating ecology caused more

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[117] Ibid. Also Great Britian Colonial Office. Reports 1933 op.cit. 1934. Pg 81.

cattle graziers to migrate into the Division[118], in spite of the odds.

It should also be noted that the colonial policies of conservation were highly contradictory. This was evidenced in 1933 when the colonial government imposed a duty on timber which hitherto came from Nigeria through the ports of southern Cameroons[119]. It reduced the importation of timber, but instead conditioned the indigenes to turn to the local reserves for timber. So, while the state's revenue rose, the ecology of the Division and Southern Cameroons was degenerating. Above all, her colonial agricultural policies were fundamentally antithetical to the ecology of our region.

Furthermore, the indigenes' farms and the forests were often attacked by locusts (especially in the late 1920s and 1930s). It was most serious in 1930 and 1931. This always adversely affected the peasants who became despaired by the little state intervention to assist them. Their solution to such crisis was the further exploitation of the ecological reserves. The locust attack was horrible for kolanut cultivators especially because of blight that

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[118] Ibid. Pg 81-82. Further land conservatory efforts were still limited to the creation of reserves in 1933 thus: In Oku (26 sq. miles). Ngoni (81 sq. miles); Ngie (9 sq. miles); Western Ngie (16 sq. miles); Bambuluwe or Awing (24sq. miles); Bafawchu (10sq. miles); Fang (10 sq. miles) and northern Fungon (396 sq. miles). In addition, the fuel reserves at Mankon and Nsaw (whose total surface area was still less than a square mile) were added to with more trees. Similarly, in Kom, Wum and Mbembes thereby, raising the surface area from 9.12 acres to 145.41 acres in the Province.

[119] Ibid. Pg 81-82.

attacked the kola trees. The demand for their kolanuts fell[120], hence their income.

Despite the creation of the forest reserves and the adverse conditions caused by the locust, the indigenes still managed to survive by raising their stocks of cattle, goats, sheep, pigs, fowls, amongst others. They depended on these whenever they were in need of cash or their farms were invaded by locusts or any other pests. So by 1940 the livestock rearing situation of the Division had risen to the extent that the D.O. of Bamenda reported that cattle rearing was getting concentrated between Kimbaw and Jakiri (where some Hausa and Fulani settlers were also found); and between Jakiri and Babessi. Gradually this was extending into the heart of the Division[121].

5.10 The Cooperative Movement:

The entrenchment of the British colonial agricultural policies examined earlier, consequently, led to a steady increase in cash crops cultivation by the indigenes of Southern Cameroons. By so doing, peasant commodity production expanded, accompanied by a growth in the concentration and penetration of merchant capital in the area. To consolidate this change, the Agriculture Department of Nigeria and the Cameroons brought up a scheme which sought to improve upon the quality of firstly cocoa,

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[120] Ibid. Also, Correspondence from the D.O. Bamenda Division, June 29th 1940 to the Senior REsident Cameroons Province Buea. Jagali Collection Bamenda Division, No. 37/vol. III/255. Bamenda Archives.

[121] Ibid. Also, P. M. Kaberry. op. cit. 1952. Pg 19.

and secondly, the other cash crops in the territories. Meanwhile, local agricultural societies (Ndjangi Groups) had been proliferating in agricultural production, thereby, causing some conflict in the produce trade[122].

In the Nigerian region in 1922, cocoa fermenting societies were established. These soc ieties later became marketing societies and, together with other agricultural societies, were loosely supervised by the Agricultural Department until 1931. The Co-operative Societies Ordinance was passed in 1935 and hence forth, state recognition of the societies and financial assistance depended on registration[123].

A major reason for the Cooperative Ordinance was the presence of African buyers who could ally with national groups (local agricultural societies; etcetera) against the growing concentration of foreign capital in the produce trade. A similar pattern had occured in the Gold Coast (where the earliest cooperatives in British West Africa were established in 1927) as a response from the Governor to demands by the Accra intelligentsia and commercial interests for an Agricultural Bank and a reduction in the margins of foreign merchants[124].

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[122] T.G. Forrest. op.cit. Pg 4. These Societies were concentrated in the South Western region of Nigeria where cocoa was produced. Fore more see: S.S. Berry: op.cit 1975.

[123] Ibid.

[124] Ibid. Also C. Beer; op. cit., Ibadan 1976. Pg 20-22., A.G. Hopkins; "Economic Aspects of Political Movements in Nigeria and the Gold Coast 1918-1939" in Journal of African History vol. 7 No. 1. 1966. Pg 133-152.

By 1935, C.F. Strikland a former Registrar of Co-operative Societies in India was invited in Nigeria and the Cameroons to investigate the colony and report on the potential of cooperatives, and make recommendations as to their future development. Strikland was noted for his strong views in favour of cooperatives in African Societies, so he recommended the establishment of cooperatives based on the Tangayikan experience. By implication the societies were to have a legal right to exist. The law also regulated their formation and growth. He also recommended that the societies should not be restricted to agricultural pursuits but should rather be invoked whenever practical conditions seemed favourable to the development of societies[125]. By 1935 Strikland's recommendations were passed into law, thereby giving the cooperative movement in Southern Cameroons the nature it adoped as examined below. However, by that same year he reported that

> "the societies except in the Cameroons are large and widespread. The accounts are roughly kept, though irregularities of a serious nature have been rare; trader-farmers hold an inconveniently strong position in several of the associations; and the initiative has rested in all but one o r more associations with the agriculture officer"[126].

As we shall see below, it was a similar experience in Bamenda Division in the 1950s.

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[125] C. Beer Ibid Pg. 22-23. For more on the recommendations see C.F. Strikland; Cooperative for Africa. O.U.P. London 1933.

[126] C.F. Strikland; Cooperatives in Nigeria. Pg 5. Para 5. Also Quoted in C. Beer. Ibid. Pg. 23.

5.10.1 The Establishment of Cooperative Societies in Bamenda Division:

Cooperative Societies in the Southern Cameroons was therefore, part of the private initiatives that the colonial state supported and encouraged from 1935. By 1957 the movement had spread in Bamenda Division in several forms. By so doing it strengthened the private sector in the Division[127]. The aim of these societies did not separate from the British interest of entrenching the money economy in the colony through cash crop production and income savings, thereby consolidating the external oriented economy which she had been constructing in the Division since 1916. By implication, Cooperative Societies were directly linked with the system of production and distribution of the British colonialists in this area.

By 1939 the objectives of these societies were to encourage and facilitate thrift by providing means whereby:

> "... savings could be regular and may receive reasonable interest without risk and without being removed from the control of the members; enable members obtain loans for genuinely useful or necessary object at reasonable interests and with easy terms of repayment; teach members to live on their incomes and to make sensible provisions for their future; supply certain other financial facilities such as special terms of insurance and the purchase of provisions; and to

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[127]As at 1953, when Southern Cameroon became autonomous of the Nigerian administration, the movement was a small one, consisting of 38 societies with 2,228 members. In 1959 there were 141 societies with 10,002 members with the introduction of banana production on cash basis by the C.D.C, the societies' production of the fruit in 1953 totalled 9480 stems. In 1959, they were handling all the non-plantation production, estimated at one and a half million stems in the entire southern Cameroons. For coffee (both Arabica from Bamenda and Robusta from Kumba, Manfe and Victoria Divsions), the movement by 1959, handled over 50 percent of the crop, amount in 1958-1959 to approxi-mately 700 tons of the Arabica variety and 500 tons of Robusta coffee. Fore more see J.H. Jennings "The Cooperative Movement in Southern Cameroons" in Geogrpahy Journal of the Geographical Asscciation vol. 56. Sheffied 1959 pg 208.

> discourage snobbery and teach the lesson that amongst civilized people, a man is not judged by the amount of money he spends or the display he makes, but by the qualities of his character as envinced in less spectacular ways"[128].

It should also be noted that the movement was transported from the South Eastern Nigerian region. It made its first touch in the Division in the 1940s after having been entrenched in Kumba and Victoria Divisions where there was cash crops production (especially cocoa) on both plantation and peasant basis.

In the Division as elsewhere in the Southern Cameroons, the Cooperative Societies developed into two forms viz: the salary earners' Cooperative (thrift and loan); and the Cooperative Credit (or cooperation and thrift) societies. However, these societies were intertwined in objectives, function and membership. So the difference was largely institutional. The societies further served the purposes of facilitating colonial central planning especially through the institutional break-down. Beyond that, they encouraged the growth of a dependent local private sector by promoting the production of crops for cash.

Nevertheless, their concentration on cash crops made them to neglect the domain of livestock and fisheries just like the colonial state did.

The Salary Earners' Cooperative Societies:

The Salary Earners' Societies brought together the local employees (civil servants) of the colonial civil

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[128] Cooperative thrift and Savings Societies. File no. DBA 1897. Bamenda Archives. Pg 12.

service and N.A. on the one hand; and some peasant agriculturists who were able to meet the terms of borrowing from the socieites on the other. In large stations such as the emerging Bamenda urban area, the provincial authorities and N.A. formed separate societies while in the smaller stations they could combine as a joint society.

With a close look at these societies some areas of conflict could be discerned viz: their membership criteria; and secondly their loaning system. On the former, the movement always emphasized on the character of the individuals before admission. So by-laws were laid down for this purpose by the societies in the Division[129]. The implication this had was that it gave room for scores settling amongst the indigenes thereby, promoting some local tensions and conflicts.

Much more importanly, the loaning system claimed to promote some primitive accumulation amongst the members by dictating the terms of saving. The societies dictated that the members' monthly contributions were deducted on their payment vouchers. The rate of their salaries deducted was 10%[130]. This system of deduction therefore, created the link between this sector and the financial institutions, which made it possible for the indigenes to be more dependent on the British administration on the one hand, and the ability of the financial institutions (and colonial administration) to check the capital accumulative

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[129] Ibid. Pg 11-12, 49-60.

[130] Ibid. Pg 3-6.

capacities of the indigenes on the other. It was even stated that even though the societies loaned money, they always warned and discouraged their members from applying for loans. In line with this warning, restrictions (of not more than 70 percent borrow) were placed on an individual's savings. A limited maximum was also fixed so as to facilitate repayment of the loan in instalments. Interests were also paid on the loans.

The corroding effect of this loaning scheme on the indigenes' ability to accumulate capital cannot be over-emphasized. The loans went a long way towards the enforcement of the British pound sterling tender; introduction of capitalistic values amongst the indigenes; and promoted the export oriented economy of the Division. Besides that, the capacity of the indigenes (even the emerging local middle class) to develop capital and other productive forces for alternative development also came under the colonial administrative control. The method of disposing profits explained the problem of capital accumulation better thus:

> "... out of annual profit of the society, there shall be set aside 25% to the reserve fund until such a time as the society may be exempted from this provision by order of the Registrar. Out of the remainder, the society may pay such dividend on ordinary contributions as may seem justifiable; the balance may be carried forward to the next year or added to the reserve fund. In no case shall the dividend on ordinary contributions exceed 10%"[131].

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[131] Ibid. Pg 59-60.

The reserve fund was indivisible and no one was entitled to any specified share of it.

Given the forgone evidence, it was obvious that the indigenes employed by these societies were largely of the semi-skilled labour category, and were exempted from the important post of management. By so doing, the indigenes were prevented from developing a mastery of the use and control of the money economy which these institutions formed part of. The unlimited liability status of these societies was a further threat to the indigenes' savings.

Nonetheless, in order to attract more indigenes of the private sector into this system of risk taking, the interest rate of the thrift was made slightly higher than those of the post office bank which was the only colonial banking institution in the Division.

The Cooperative Credit (Cooperation and thrift) Societies:

The Cooperative Credit societies on their part were formed for the non-salaried or indignes not employed by the colonial administration. It brought together most farmers and members from all other peasant economic activities. In terms of organization it was similiar to the cooperative thrift and loan societies, but it differed in that it bound its members to much more definite obligations in matters of thrift than the loan societies. In order to grow, it carried out massive conscientization and propagandist movements in the villages (especially amongst the

peasants); and soon it developed local, regional and international agents and bodies for its purposes.

It also organised the marketing of colonial cash crops like cocoa, palm produce and other food crops like: fruits and vegetables. These crops were exchanged for cash to either the licensed buyers (including the Marketing Boards) who took them to the coastal regions of Tiko and Victoria (in the Southern Cameroons) or Calabar (in Nigeria); or the local European population. Some of these Cooperative Credit Societies often took the food crops to the plantation areas for marketing, where they competed with the small indepedent peasant farmers in that region, and others from elsewhere.

The creation of this institution in the Division was informed by the demands of the second world war such as the anxiety of the British Merchants to ship the colonial produce to Europe through the British government, in fear of the German war boats. The first credit society appeared in the Division on 3rd September 1942, under a cooperative Inspector - Mr. S. Ndi. Mr Ndi organized some other elites of the Division with whom he worked in committees. Later in the 1950s, these committee members became elected. Through this new cooperative Inspector some managerial structures were errected in the area.

Problems and Prospects of the Cooperative Societies From 1940:

Both types of Cooperative Society (Credit and Salaries) were protected by the cooperative societies ordinance number 35 of 1935. However, in the pre-1950s they were characterized by disorganization to the extent that the salary earners' thrift and loan society of the Division was made to be dependent on the Kumba Branch, until its later separation in 1944.

The peak of the disorganization in the movements (especially the Cooperative Credit Society) was reached when a certain Mr. Ordoh (then Headmaster of Bamenda Government School and formerly of the Ahoada Cooperative in South Eastern Nigeria), was voted in as the honorary secretary. Due to inter-personal greivances amongst the officers (especially concerning the handling of funds), the members became discouraged and even hardly held meetings to discuss their progress. Membership, therefore decreased. Later-on, the members began withdrawing from the ordinary contributions on grounds of poor accountability; and Mr. Ordoh's general negligence of duty[132]. Moreover, the institution was (apart from being controlled by Nigerians mostly), required to train their managerial personnel in the established cooperative schools at Oke and Ibadan in Nigeria. Even though these were village schools, the sponsorship was considered by the indigenes of the Division to be very expensive, so it limited the number often sent for managerial training. As a consequence, the movements' spread was limited.

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[132] Ibid. Pg 118.

Apart from the disorganization that these societies suffered from in the pre-1950, the second world war also adversely affected their spread in that the war conditions were characterized by a high cost of living for the indigenes of the Division due to rising prices of imports[133]. Furthermore, during the war the colonial government developed a policy of paying separation allowances to the wives and relatives of the soldiers from the Division. This caused an increase in the index of revenue in the Division. However, because of the problems of rising cost of living and disorganization of (and corruption within) the cooperative thrift societies, these money were either carelessly spent, embezzled or went back to the Multi-national Merchants.

Nonetheless by 1944 some attempts were made to solve the problem of disorganization. The Cooperative Credit Societies had their regional headquarters established in Bamenda (Menda-Nkwe) with branch headquarters at Kimbaw - in the Roman Catholic Mission (R.C.M.) school premises. Preparations were going on toward establishing one in Ndop N.A. - at Bamunka. It was the same in the Bafut and Mankon

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[133] C. Beer, op.cit. Pg. 24-26. These price inflations were caused by the activities of the European traders. The Association of West African Merchants (A.W.A.M.). The same stress in the growth of cooperatives was witnessed in Nigeria. In 1937 a major political crisis that contributed to this was the so called "cocoa Pool" whereby, the A.W.A.M. attempted to systematize restrictive practices on the cocoa trade, in an effort to eliminate all competition between the members. The indigenes resisted it leading to the intervention of the colonial authorities. A commission was set up to investigate the matter but its major recommendation that the government should support the cooperatives to export directly, rather than through the commercial shippers (A.W.A.M.) was not adhered to. The wartime schemes were originally concerned with cocoa but by 1942 they were extended to cover all other cash crops. And A.W.A.M.'s monopoly was consolidated thereby, adversely affecting the spread of cooperatives.

N.A's. In all these areas, the missionaries (R.C.M. school) teachers were at the forefront of organizing them[134].

By 1945, the number of these societies in the entire southern cameroons had risen to 24 with membership of 1,812[135]. The societies always celebrated the Centenary Day since it started in Totlane Rochdale in the U.K. (1844). On such days representatives left the Division for Lagos.

The loaning scheme of the salary thrift societies began proliferating from 1947 because of a somewhat disappointing harvest for some cash crops like cocoa and coffee. As a consequence, the farmers applied for more loans to continue with the production process. This increase in the demand for loans continued until 1949 when it further rose because the status and functions of the Credit Societies were raised and enlarged respectively. Correspondingly, their loaning policy was relaxed so that more indigenes were attracted. Besides that the new status and functions of the credit societies made it easier for them to market their produce. However, these changes were hardly radical in the Division because they affected mostly the production of cocoa which did not perform well in the Division as explained above.

By 1950, the Credit Societies were given more administrative autonomy but still left under the Eastern Nigerian region. This meant that they could only export

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[134]Co-operative thrift and savings societies. op.cit Pg. 141.

[135]Ibid. Pg 146.

through the Eastern Nigerian region Apex Society which limited their profit margin. Nevertheless, the societies were made to receive subsidies from the Marketing Board in Nigeria, and through the same Board the societies were made to sell their produce to the outside world.

These administratative arrangements also conditioned the formation of more local credit societies on the bases of age, sex, occupations and social status, thereby linking with (and transforming) the basis and principles of the traditional social systems. The most common local social system that this change affected was the 'ndjangi' practice which was transformed from being based on labour or socio-cultural activities (as it existed in the pre-colonial period described in chapter two) to being monetary even though not strictly[136].

In the same change process credit societies split into producers and Marketing units. The producers units concentrated in the production of cash crops while the Marketing units concentrated in the sales of European imports. All these units increased their demand for and importation of European manufactures which began to include some canned foodstuffs and implements for farming[137]. The farming implements included the hand milling machines purposely for the women to grind maize for staple subsistence. From 1950, the second generation plan was

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[136]Joint Interveiw with: Titoh Pauline Muentoh, Mme. Esther K. Bamunka-Ndop, June 17th 1993.

[137]Great Britain colonial office; Reports Nigeria 1947 op.cit. Pg 46. Also, Great Britain colonial office; Reports Nigeria. 1948. op.cit 1949. Pg 56-57; Co-operative thrift and savings societies op.cit. Pg 146.

issued by the state aimed at a five-year leap in these importations. By 1952 the Agriculture Department began implementing the other provisions of the plan on the Bambui farms like: the increased use of technical labour. She installed some coffee hullers in the Division, but mostly in the 'Abakwa' Market in the Bamenda urban area. This attracted customers from all over the Division. These were done in collaboration with the cooperative (credit) societies.

The running cost of the hullers was borne by the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund (C.D.W.F.); with other assistance from the International Bank For Reconstruction and Development (I.B.R.D.)[138]. In line with these installations the roads were given some attention by the state. The Credit Societies and some private individuals in the Division began owning wagons which transported these produce and people to and from the Bamenda urban area, and outside the Division on the one hand, to either the coastal regions or the Eastern Nigerian region on the other.

The above international connections no doubt strengthened the private sector in the Division, but the colonial central control system was not relinquished so the growth of the private sector was still checked by the state. Moreover, the international connections which mostly affected the producers' units caused some economic growth in the mid-1950s such that the producers units were

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[138] F. Pedler, op.cit. Pg 120.

almost displacing the marketing units which were more widely spread in the Southern Cameroons. This economic growth was short-lived because of the fact that the Division was agrarian based (mostly producers' units) on the one hand; and the laissez-faire economic policy of the colonial government was hardly allowed to operate in full gear in the region (thereby affecting the marketing units) on the other. So the local private sector (that was controlled by the Marketing Boards which bought all the produce of the cooperative producers' and marketing units) came under strict state supervision.

The economic growth was short-lived further because more of the producers' units in the Division also concentrated on food crop cultivation for cash, which the Marketing Boards were not concerned with. So this reduced their profit margin on the one hand, and limited their rate of turn-over on the other. However, some relative economic growth could be attained because any adverse physical environmental conditions that affected the export crops in the Division, was compensated for by their incomes from the sales of food crops. Our informants emphasized these factors and also the fact that the demand for food crops were on a constant increase in the 1950s, in order to feed the increasing population in the Division and the plantations. More lands were also required for cultivation

of the food crops, thereby creating more conflicts with the graziers[139].

The increase in food crops production for cash and economic growth did not however mean a reduction in the export crops cultivation. Instead coffee and palm produce emerged as those that occupied the indigenes most. Nonetheless, the indigenes' profits were checked by the Marketing Boards as we shall see later.

The only degenerating producers' units were the crafts, because their market in the U.K was on a decline[140]. Crafts manufacturing in the Division correspondingly became economically inferior and the indigenes neglected it. Many of the craftsmen transformed into peasant farmers or migrated to the Bamenda urban area where they became traders (retailers), wage labourers or they continued with their occupation, but dependent on the limited irregular market in the area. Similarly, the Marketing Units developed some retailing outlets in the urban area in the mid-1950s[141]. They also met with stiff competitions from other retailing units on individual or partnership basis[142].

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[139]Interviews with Pah Ngang Mankon-Bamenda, October 7th 1993. Also Titoh Pauline Muentoh, Bamunka-Ndop February 24th 1993; Pah Tamakeuh, Bamunka-Ndop. February 20th 1993; Mallam Audu Umarou, Ntamulung-Bamenda. August. 10th 1993.

[140]Great Britain colonial Office; Reports Nigeria 1950 op.cit 1951 pg 52-53.

[141]Ibid.

[142]Trusteeship Annual Report on the Cameroons. 1951. op.cit.

The next central planning targets from 1955-1960[143] coincided with the granting of a quasi-federal status for southern Cameroons. This plan hardly relieved the Marketing units from their unfavourable position[144]. Instead the plan promoted the cultivation of coffee more than palm produce in the Division[145].

The expansion of the Cooperative Societies and cash crop production in the mid-1950s created many land problems. Apart from the clashes between the farmers and graziers seen earlier, other crucial land problems erupted such as the dispute which involved one Mr. Johnny Kpumia against the members of the committee of the Bamenda Cooperative Produce Marketing Society Nkwen in 1956. Mr. Kpumia's land was appropriated for the construction of the institution's offices and no compensation was given him for the land because of the colonial administration's intrusion into the matter[146]. Meanwhile in the Ndop N.A., the land problem was rife. A famous case of reference was the Bangolan Coffee Credit Society's relations with the Fon of Bangolan in 1958. This problem went beyond land to personality clashes between this Fon and the credit society's president. The Fon was angry with the society

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[143]P. Pedler, op.cit. Pg 120.

[144]Co-operative Societies Provincial Correspondence 1935-1958. File no. B.6 27/vol. 2. Bamenda Archives.

[145]Great Britain colonial office. Reports 1954. op.cit. 1955. Pg 49. Also, M.B. Gleave; et al. (eds.). op.cit. Pg 363-365; Federal Nigeria, Annual Reports. op.cit. 1957. Pg 58-59.

[146]Co-operative Societies Provincial Correspondence 1935-1958. op.cit. Also, Cooperative thrift and savings socieies. op.cit.

for having taken his land for their use without his permit amongst others. On the intervention of the colonial administrators, the Fon's Supervisory control over the Cooperative Society was withdrawn in 1959[147].

Therefore, by 1961 cooperatives had been firmly established in the Division and this characterized the impact of the Cooperative Movement in Bamenda Division[148]. Through these societies, peasant commodity production especially cash crops production was consolidated. The private sector in the Division also grew but remained dependent on the multi-national licensed buyers and the colonial authorities.

5.11 The Marketing Boards:

The second world war created some conditions that led to the increased demand for cash crops in Europe. The British Merchants became anxious to control the trade in these cash crops. So as noted earlier, they urged their home government to assume the responsibility of shipping their produce to Europe in fear of the German war boats. Meanwhile, during this war the British purchasing firms and their middlemen on the one hand, and the peasants of Bamenda Division on the other hand, found themselves in a corporate crisis that was caused by their conflicting

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[147]Cooperative thrift and savings societies. Ibid. Pg 3.

[148]Interview with Mallam Audu Umarou, Ntamulung-Bamenda. August 10th 1993.

interests[149]. The crisis ended up with a triumph of the peasants in the Division and entire territory because they later on received a lot of profits from their produce. These profits came in form of advanced payments, which would have gone to the local middlemen[150]. The British firms then started demanding for the Marketing Boards which would establish some control measures on the local producers and check the amount of profits that accrued to the peasant producers[151].

At this juncture, it appeared that the formation of the Marketing Boards was informed by many conditions. But the extension of these Boards' influence to the Division in the post-1940s was largely determined by the second world war. In this connection O. Oculi suggested that the formation of the Marketing Boards in the post-1940s was also because of the fear of the possible re-entry of the indigenes and non-British firms in the business of produce

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[149]See footnote 133. Summarily, the crisis was over the control of export trade. The A.W.A.M. and the peasant producers through their cooperatives and local middlemen struggled for this control. A.W.A.M. attempted to systematize restrictive practices on the cocoa trade mentioned earlier, so as to eliminate all competition. By 1944, the Cooperative Department's objectives succeeded because of the colonial government's further intervention. See C. Beer; op.cit. Pg 25-26. From this struggle, the price stabilization, regularization of payment system emerged though with low official prices for a start.

[150]Great Britain colonial office; Reports Nigeria 1950 op.cit. 1951 pg 31-32. Also, O. Oculi; The Political economy of Malnutrition. A.B.U., Press Zaria 1987. Pg 289.

[151]This demand succeeded because of the creation of a produce control Board which represented their interest. This was an added advantage because their markets for produce were secured, the initial low producers' prices favoured them and they received the backing of the British and colonial governments. This backing came in the form of the creation of an Advisory Committee on cocoa control in London having more of their representatives there (and in British west Africa-Ghana Nigeria), than the cooperatives; government; and other producers' unions. See C. Beer op.cit. Pg 26.

purchasing[152]. It was then clear that the British in collaboration with the colonialists desired a reversal of opportunities, values and more security so as to establish a monopoly in their favour. This monopoly would also send away the non-syndicated firms from America.

Before the establishment of the Boards in the Southern Cameroons, they had long been existing in Nigeria. So they were merely extended to the Southern Cameroons and made to be interdependent with the Cooperative Societies, and other independent farmers. They came in the following periods: the Nigerian cocoa marketing Board in 1947; Nigerian Palm Produce Marketing Boards in 1949; Nigerian groundnut Marketing Boards in 1949 and the Nigerian cotton Marketing Boards in 1949. They were independent of each other, but had the same objectives viz: to ensure orderly marketing; ensure improvement in the quality of produce; maintain stable prices for the producers; provide funds for research in the producing industry; and finance schemes for the economic benefit of the people in the areas of production. The institutions were also linked with the West African Produce Control Board and the Nigerian Produce Marketing Company Ltd. in London.

The Boards that had their influences felt in the Division were the coffee, palm produce, cotton and groundnut Marketing Boards. They worked hand in gloves with the multi-national licensed buyers in the Division.

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[152] O. Oculi; op.cit 1987. Pg 29. Also, R.A. Oluwasani; Agriculture and Nigerian Economic Development. O.U.P. Ibadan 1966. Pg 152

In addition, they had direct links with the Cooperative Credits Societies in the region. In this regard, the Cameroons Cooperative Exporters Society Ltd. could accumulate some capital for the purchase of vehicles in order to facilitate the transportation of its produce[153]. So these Boards' role ended up eliminating the local middlemen in the Division.

However, the reality of the Marketing Boards system had been brought out as amongst others, avoiding violent reactions during sharp price declines[154]. This pertained mostly to the Boards price stabilization policy. Also, that real competition was shifted from among the peasants to the licensed buyers who could not only dictate prices, but penetrated and mastered the interior of the region for more favourable prices and better quality produce[155]. All these totally made it difficult for the peasants (even the Coopertive Credit Societies and their Apex bodies) to become licensed buyers, especially if the conditions for becoming a licensed buyer were considered[156]. So it does

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[153]Federal Nigeria; Reports 1957. op.cit. 1958 Pg 92.

[154]O. Oculi; Op.cit. 1987. Pg 31-32.

[155]Ibid. Pg 33-35. Also, Great Britain colonial office; Reports Nigeria. 1947. op.cit. 1948. Pg 3-4.

[156]In order to become a licensed buyer for cocoa the indigene must "... be in a position to purchase at least 0.25% of an average crop (250 tons out of 100,000 tons); have an intial buying capital of his own of at least 5,000 pounds; produce a 'suitable banker's reference' or a guarantee acceptable to the Board; show that he could provide both at up country and at a port, storage facilities for a substantial part of his produce". For palm produce it was similar thus: the indigene was to "have a minimum of 4,000 pounds, satisfy the Board that he will be able to make arrangements to secure the necessary transport by road, rail, and water to ensure the smooth and regular evacuation of produce by approved routes". For groundnuts prospective agents were to "show an initial capital of 10,000 pound with evidence from a banker that he had the money and a capacity to pruchase at least

(continued...)

not just suffice to measure the success of the Marketing Boards and Cooperative Societies in terms of the forced savings schemes which they consolidated in the Division. These were merely immediate conclusions that did not explain the great surplus question in the relationship between the indigenous producers and the European purchasers[157]. Moreover, the system was a check to any possible radical transformation of the colonial economy and society towards modern lines because of its being extortionist on the one side, and prevention of modern industrial manufacturing from being established in the Division on the other.

5.12 Conclusion:

The British interest of making the indigenes of Bamenda Division to be dependent on them for development was achieved largely through the system of production which she established in the region. The system itself largely determined by the colonial agricultural policies. By making the Division a peasant agricultural zone while the coastal regions of Southern Cameroons became a plantation agricultural zone, British colonial rule created a lot of changes in the local economy. These changes were

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[156](...continued)
500 tons of produce" For more see: O. Oculi, op.cit. 1987. Pg 33. Also. O Oluwasanmi; op.cit. Pg 161-163. These conditons speak for themselves the systematic elimination of the indigenes from being agents. And especially Bamenda Division which had no railway and its roads were in constantly bad shape consequently, its transportation system.

[157]This is implied in the historiography of J.S. Hogendorn, op.cit. 1987. Also Ailan McPhee. op.cit 1926; S.H. Frankel; op.cit 1938 amongst others.

consolidated by the government by making efforts in underdeveloping the mining and manufacturing sectors of the Division, while agriculture, animal husbandry and the other sectors of production where the British manifested some interest, were never transformed to modern methods of development. The little changes that the British injected in the sectors of interest to her were targeted towards a generation of surplus profits because some relative increase in production was necessary to achieve this. Steady surpluses were generated largely in the post-war two era due to the introduction of colonial central planning method of development. It was then that the cooperative societies were established in the Division, and made to relate with the Marketing Boards. At the end of the day, the local private sector was given some support so that it could grow and strengthen the system of production, distribution and exchange in the territory to the British interest. Local participation in the colonial economy relatively increased. And as we shall see in the next chapter, the participation was consolidated by the British taxation (monetization) and labour policies. Most of the participation centred around cash crop production without neglecting their subsistence.

Within the new system of production and distribution, the peasant producers were unable to compete effectively despite the emergence of new trading and commercial trends

within the local economy[158]. Thus it was very difficult for any indigene to rise to very rich positions and consequently, a capitalist class. The new trends instead helped them to satisfy the demands of taxation, health and other demands of the colonial state on the one side, and subsistence on the other. It was the frustrations of this new system of production that caused some peasant producers to parcel or sell their lands and become migrant carriers and labourers in the plantations[159] as we shall examine in the next chapter.

In another light, since the new system of production especially agriculture, transformed the land tenure from communal (family, lineage, clan, village), to individual, thereby making it a major determinant of wealth[160], the indigenes' lack of modern machine labour to transform the land with, stagnated the productive capacity of the land itself. So in absolute terms, very limited produce was obtained from the land, and the profits from these limited produce largely went to the Multi-national buyers and Marketing Boards controllers in Europe. Even with livestock production the same contradictions occured. This industry was reduced to mere transhumance practice giving rise to land conflicts and environmental crisis. This was

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[158] O. Oculi; op.cit. 1987. Pg 85. He argued amongst others, that the system, instead of mobilizing these earnings for the peasant farmers, stood for a systematic 'mobilizing out-of-reach' of the farming families especially the peasants' incomes that were of urgent necessity to them.

[159] Interview with Moh M.T. Muenyi, Bamunka-Ndop. October 11th 1993.

[160] P.M. Kaberry; op.cit 1952. Pg 45-46. Also, L.B. Raymond; op.cit. Vol. I. Pg 760-761; Lord F. Lugard; op.cit. 1965 Pgs. 284-292; 295-298.

why by the 1940s P.M. Kaberry reported that the peasants (in Nsaw in particular) resorted to borrowing in order to sustain themselves[161]. Borrowing represented just part of the declining socio-economic conditions of the indigenes in this new system.

CHAPTER SIX

THE IMPACT OF BRITISH LABOUR AND TAXATION POLICIES IN BAMENDA DIVISION:

6.1 Introduction:

The colonial administration that was established in the Division introduced some labour and taxation policies that would enable it to consolidate its grip on the economy and society. These policies had a dialectical link with the land policies discussed in the former chapter. All these policies came together and at the same time. In chapter three we saw that between c.1916 and c.1922 the British colonial administration encountered a series of political and economic problems in the Division in particular and the entire territory in general. The central problem was the lack of finance to carry out her programs. Apart from that the administration had not entrenched itself well in the Division to the extent of generating the needed finance from the local population.

Meanwhile, in the midst of this financial problem labour shortages were reported to be serious in the plantations and in the Division. This shortage was due to the indigenes' reluctance to render their labour services to the colonial administration even against the background of wage increases. The shortage became acute because the colonialists needed labour for the state farms in the Division, public works (such as the maintenance and

creation of new structures for the envisioned system of production and distribution), and domestic duties. So these considerations were at the fore-front in the evolution of the labour policies in the region and they did not differ from those of the Germans during their interlude.

Moreover, the war situation had broken down the German administration such that the indigenes saw it as an end to forced labour and made efforts at revising their traditional socio-economic and political systems. This revival meant that any attempt by the British at recruiting local labour especially forcefully was bound to be seriously resisted. But as we shall see, the colonial administration having failed to mobilize the labour they needed by increasing the wages,resorted to forced labour especially between.1916-c.1921. This seriously interfered with village or rural life and prosperity[1]. The nature of this forced labour was derived from the coercive (military) system of administration at that time. This system on the one hand, permitted the colonialists to use the military for the recruitment of local labour forcefully and particularly those who resisted the British presence openly as discussed in chapter three. On the other hand, some Fons (particularly the Fons of Bali-Nyonga whose vassal powers that were imposed by the Germans were recognized by

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[1] Cameroons Plantations. Questions of Supply of Labour... op. cit. N.A.E. The state resorted to recruiting labour from Ghana, Nigeria and French Cameroons. But this largely failed in the pre-1920s. Also See Edwin Ardener, et al. (eds.); op. cit. 1960. Pg 3-7, 34, 38-41, 46, 48-55

the British authorities) in the pre-1920 era, were given the responsibility of recruiting local labour for the plantations amongst others, just like the Germans did.

6.2 The Evolution of British Labour Policies in Bamenda Division:

We saw in chapter three how difficult it was for the British to acquire local labour from Bamenda Division to the plantations which led to the imposition of forced labour on the indigenes. The indigenes resisted plantation labour largely because of its impact on them during the German era[2]. The indigenes had started revising their 'traditional' economic systems when the British took-over colonial rule of the region. The indigenes preferred trading in food and other local crops and and the emergent flourishing trade in palm oil between the Division and the French territory on the one hand, and British Nigeria on the other, consolidated their resistance. Peasants' earnings from food crops were more encouraging than wage labouring. With food crop production family labour could easily be employed and land was relatively more abundant in the Division than in the plantation zones. The few wage labourers preferred working on off-seasonal basis - when

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[2]See chapter three Pg. 139-141, 147-149.

their crops did not require continuous attention[3]. Even the local staff population was reported to be very small[4].

In order to entrench forced labour, the early local administrators were given stipulated numbers of labourers to supply to the British[5]. The labourers that were supplied were considered as working on contract basis. Under such an arrangement each labourer returned to his home when his work period expired. This form of contract should however, not be exaggerated. It was very short-lived[6]. So gradually, the indigenes offered their labour on free will basis[7]. This change in the labour policy also came against the background of reports that since the military and Fons were involved in the recruitment, much terror and coercion was involved[8].

It was in 1920 that the Native Labour Ordinance came up by which the indigenes were required to perform certain

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[3]Lord F.D. Lugard, "Report o the Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria" in A.H.M. Kirk Greene; Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria: A Documentary Record. Frank Cass and Co. Ltd. London 1968. Pg 121-122.

[4]Ibid. Pg 169-171.

[5]Cameroons Plantation. Question of supply of labour re... op.cit. Also Lord F.D. Lugard. Ibid. Pg 121.

[6]Ibid. because even though the colonial authorities exerted some pressure on the Fons in the first instance - especially during the construction of the local roads, when the indigenes began to realize that they were regularly paid (unlike during the Germans), given facilities for purchasing food and other requirements, and allowed to return at the proper season to sow or reap their fields, pressure on the Fons and contracts became less and less necessary.

[7]This 'contract' labour was regarded by the colonialists as 'political labour' just like it existed in British Nigeria. For more Ibid.

[8]Great Britain colonial office; Reports to the League of Nations on the Administration under Britain of the Southern Cameroons for the Year 1924. op. cit. 1925. Pg 24-26.

paid labour services to the British colonial administration[9]. This was also the period when the British (as we shall see), had started enacting their monetization (taxation) policies in the southern Cameroons. She also wanted to attract local interest in labour (especially for the purpose of colonial administration). Wage labour was also needed so that more indigenes could engage in carrier transportation within and outside the Division. The wages would also encourage the indigenes to engage in peasant commodity production (most particularly cash crop production) just like the Germans did. The paid labour was mostly designed for works of public nature (mostly during the construction of infrastructures), and also permitting the indigenes to seek outside employment when they were not engaged in work in their own farms. This in principle abandoned forced labour for voluntary wage labour. No age limit was placed on the labour,so child labour was recognized[10]. The role of the N.A. in recruitment was maintained but reduced to recruitment of unskilled and juvenile labourers[11a]. The number of indigenes recruited to work in the plantations alone steadily rose from 1920 until 1945[11]. This rise in recruitment was explained by the indigenes as being conditioned by the following factors:

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[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid. Also E. Ardener, et al. (eds.); op.cit. Pg 21, 142, 148; Laws of Nigeria, 1948. Regulation No. 35(g) under section 246 of the Labour Code Ordinance.

[11]a Ibid.

[11]b Ibid Also see chapter six ahead pg 468 and footnote 162.

Firstly, family and ethnic connexions in the Division. But family connexions seemed to have accounted for the rise more than the ethnic. The indigenes were recruited either because of unemployment; advice from another relative or friend working in the plantations or the centres of colonial administration (within the Division). Secondly, recruitment of the indigenes also came through the private sector - the plantation owners, or missionaries. In this case, it took the form of random selection, advice to the indigene by the local administrative authorities - headman or overseer, amongst others[12]. However, it was further reported that in the entire southern Cameroons, job opportunities were relatively more available in the plantation zone than within Bamenda Province. So these opportunities attracted many indigenes from Bamenda Division. But very few of them could provide the skilled labour that was required[13].

These changes further implied that the indigenes had to choose where and for whom to work. This lay down the basis for labour migrancy in the Division and the entire British Cameroons. Some indigenes even moved to the plantations with their families[14].

Even though the Native Labour Ordinance effected those changes in the Division in the pre-1940s the Division still

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[12] E. Ardener, et al. (eds.) Ibid Pg. 38-50.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Lord. F.D. Lugard; op. cit. 1965 Pg 391-393. Also L.B. Raymond; op. cit. 1965. Pg 685-686.

maintained and served the purpose of mass production of crops for subsistence, and some amount of export crops which we shall see later. The principal export crop was oil palm, whose demand in Europe began to rise steadily from the mid-1920s[15].

The establishment of the Public works Department in the Division by the mid-1920s conditioned some degree of collaboration amongst the Departments to make the impact of the labour ordinance felt. The Public Works Department (P.W.D.) cut across the government and private sectors in the Division. Indeed, it collaborated closely with the trading companies, Missionaries, and N.A. on issues concerning labour within the Division and outside-recruitment of unskilled labour, making available information on job opportunities, payment of wages to the indigenes, construction of roads and other related infrastructures for both sectors, and so on[16]. So it engaged most of the colonial labour in the Division.

The local demands of the P.W.D. made the indigenes to play the dual functions of looking after their fields in crucial seasons, without abandoning their services to the colonialists[17]. These increased roles involved some degree of compulsion that was not conditioned by coercion as before but, by the indigene's economic conditions and

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[15]For more on the Native Labour Ordinance, see E. Ardener, et al (eds.); op.cit. Pg 135-136, 143-144, 148, 149, 151, 263, 274.

[16]Ibid. Pgs. 26, 33, 46, 234, 281, 411, 414.

[17]Lord. F.D. Lugard. op.cit 1965. Pg. 397-398.

psychology. This compulsion was consolidated by the monetization policies (taxation) which we shall come to later.

The Roads and Rivers Ordinance (1923) amended in 1926 further consolidated the compulsion because the N.A.s' powers were further increased by making them to enforce the provisions of the Ordinance[18]. Under the Ordinance, the Governor could direct that any road or river should be kept clean by the native authority. The N.A. could require all able-bodied indigenes under its jurisdiction to work on such road or river for not more than eight days. Moreover, while in practice the government obliged the native authorities to keep up only minor roads, it had the power, under the ordinance, to place the maintenance of the entire road system of the territory upon the N.A., by means of a system of compulsory and unpaid labour. In the entire southern Cameroons and the Eastern Province of Nigeria where direct taxation had not yet been imposed by this time, this labour was used not only for road maintenance but also for construction purposes. The government hardly exercised any control to see that the labour burden was evenly distributed[19]. Instead, the compulsion was

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[18] L.B. Raymond. op.cit Pg 657-658. Also Laws of Nigeria. 1923. Chapter 107. Eventhough this ordinance was replaced in 1927, it represented the first appearance of community labour which was placed at eighth-days work in any area in the Division.

[19] Ibid. Eventhough L.B. Raymond claimed that compulsory labour (under the Roads and rivers ordinance) was not applicable to British Cameroons because of its mandate status, our informants complained of compulsory labour especially during the construction of the feeder roads system in the Division (especially the Menda-Nkwe-Bali-Nyonga 'A' trunk road) in the 1920s. So practically, there was compulsory labour in existence in the Division. Interviews with Yah Casilia, Jakiri February 15th 1993. Also Pah Tamakeuh, Bamunka-Ndop. February 20th 1993. Discussion with Fon S.A.N. Angwafo III

(continued...)

interpreted as 'political labour', for construction purposes. The N.A. and the P.W.D. used it in order to consolidate their grip on the society. These labour laws were also enforced by the Labour Department through a system of inspection of work done on the one hand, and the workers present during working periods on the other. They claimed that the reason was to ensure improved industrial relations[20].

By 1932, the labour policies were amended by redressing the position of women in night employment. Child labour was also reconsidered by fixing a minimum age for labour. Nonetheless, we should note that these were caused by the agitations of the local population through the labour unions that had started emerging in the late 1920s[21]. Most of the agitations came up in the late 1930s, and were concentrated in the plantations and Nigerian regions where the labour unions and some other youths' activities and socio-economic and cultural associations were entrenched. The peak of the strikes was witnessed in 1945, when the poor socio- economic conditions of the indigenes (particularly the labourers) was met with poor physical environmental conditions, leading to a massive strike organized by the trade unions. It was well-

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[19](...continued)
Kankon Palace September 15th 1993. The impact of this compulsion on the one hand, and the pressure from the League of Nations on the other, might have caused the repeal of the Ordinance in 1927 in British Nigeria.

[20]L.B. Raymond. op.cit. Pg 658-9.

[21]Great Britain colonial office; Reports for the Year 1932. H.M.S.O. London 1933 Pg. 5. However, there was a laxity in the enforcement of this law.

organized and well-co-ordinated throughout British Nigeria and the Cameroons[22]. Similar strikes took place in 1949 though not prolonged. But by 1953, the number of trades disputes swelled more than ever before. Between 1950 and 1954, the total number of strikes in the entire Southern Cameroons was twenty six with 1951 recording the lowest - (four); 1953 and 1954- (five each); and the highest in 1950 - (six). Of these strikes, the agrarian sector witnessed the highest - (six) and in 1952. The least was in 1951 - (two). Industry, transport and trade recorded only - (three) and between 1950 - (two) and 1951 - (one). The public service had only - (two) viz: 1950 - (one) and 1951 - (one)[23].

In addition to the above labour reforms enacted in 1932, these series of strikes also earned for the workers some improvements on their conditions of work, employment, essential services and their safety, health and welfare, accommodation and housing, water supply, food fuel, amongst others, all enshrined in the amended labour code ordinance 1953[24].

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[22]Great Britain Colonial Office; Nigerian Annual Reports for the Northern, Southern Provinces and Colony. 1945. Government Printer Lagos. Pg 36.

[23]Great Britain colonial office 1954; Nigerian annual Reports for 1953. H.M.S.O. London 1954. Pg 17-19. But most of these strikes were concentrated in the plantations and they resulted in some looting.

[24]Ibid. for more on the Labour Code Ordinance. See Laws on Nigeria 1948. Op.cit.

The strikes were largely non-violent and of a sit-down form, with some protests and brief demonstrations[25].

All these contradictions that the labour policy brought about had their base in the Native labour laws of the 1920s. The laws permitted the employment of labour by the private sector (which was dominated by the Europeans), and the government. However, the government policy as stated, was opposed to coercion in any form, even for works of such urgency and importance to the territory such as roads, railways and so on. But, the authorities hardly enforced this policy. Instead, they encouraged the private employers to make conditions of service attractive so as to secure the labourers they needed. This led to labour abuses such as inferior wages and poor working conditions. Surprisingly, Lord F.D. Lugard supported this situation when he observed that

> "An employer who pays more than the standard wage does an injury to the development of the country. Labour will be secured only by kind and fair treatment, decent hutmens, the entire absence of blows and rough usage, and the facilities already described. Secondly, the employer must recognize that employment in agriculture, and the collection of saleable produce are more lucrative than wages. Probably the peasant who grows groundnuts can earn double what he could get as a labourer for wages, and congenial to him. He can, moreover, employ his women and children in his field and add to his earnings. Land is abundant and the class which prefers daily wages is not large... It is advisable therefore that the employer should introduce power plant, and

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[25]Great Britain colonial office; Reports by Her Majesty's Government in the U.K. and Northern Ireland to the Trusteeship Council of the U.N. on the Administration of the Cameroons under U.K. Trusteeship for the Year 1954. H.M.S.O. London 1955. Pg 236-237.

labour-saying machinery to as large an extent as possible"[26].

It was in the light of the labour contradictions that the trades union ordinance (1938); the trades disputes (arbitration and inquiry) ordinance (1941); the workmen's compensation ordinance (1941-1945); and the labour code ordinance (1945 and 1950) were all promulgated[27]. The trades union ordinance made it possible for the indigenes to form labour organizations through which their greivances against their working conditions could be channeled. However, at formation the labour problems started centring around the unsatisfactory activities of the trade union organizations on the one hand, and shortage of skilled labourers leading to gross exploitation of unskilled labourers on the other.

The labour code ordinance (1950) amendment made an attempt in solving the problem of gross exploitation which was done mostly by the N.A. or any of such authorities - the P.W.D. and private sector- for particular jobs like construction and maintenance of buildings used for communal purposes including markets (but excluding 'juju' houses and places of worship); sanitary measures, construction and maintenance of local roads, town or village fences, communal wells, etcetera[28]. But the Governor-General still

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[26]Lord F.D. Lugard. Op.cit 1968. Pg 121 Para. 107.

[27]Great Britain Colonial Office; Reports for 1954 op.cit. Pg. 86-90. For a detailed outline of these ordinances see "Application of International Labour Conventions Application non-metropolitan territories of International Labour Conventions" in Ibid Pg. 137-141.

[28]Ibid. Pg 85.

had the right (at certain defined moments of emergency) to exact labour from anyone, even on forced basis.

In line with the trades disputes (Arbitration and inquiry) ordinance (1941), labour problems were often solved through visits to the state establishments by labour officers. During such occasions, complains were launched by the trade unions, groups of workers or individuals and after that, the formation of consultative committees took place. This was followed by the appointment of labour and personnel managers in large industrial establishments thereby, bringing the private sector under government control[29].

The meaning of these labour ordinances was that the labour situation became worse in the 1950s. And this was because the labour laws were hardly enforced. This relaxation in enforcing the laws took place from 1947 with the repeal of the forced labour ordinance that hitherto placed a ban on forced labour. Before its repeal, only the state was permitted to engage labour by force-for transportation especially. So at that level still, forced labour continued. That notwithstanding, the private sector was hardly checked to ensure that they did not engage any indigene to work by force. It was because of this that the

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[29] Ibid. Pg 89-90 of the trade unions that existed in Southern Cameroons, the following had branches in Bamenda Division: Post and Telegraphs linesmen union of Nigeria and the Cameroons with their head office in Lagos; Union of Postal Workers (also affiliated with that in Nigeria); Public Utility Technical and General Workers' Union (and affiliated to the All-Nigeria Trade Union Federation); Cameroons Motor Transport Union (Employers' Association); Cameroonian Union of Local Administrative Staff (affiliated with the Nigerian and head office in Lagos); Medical and Health Department Workers' Union (an affiliate of that in Nigeria); Ibid. Pg 142.

N.A. often embarked on forced labour which they continued after the forced labour ordinance was repealed in 1947[30]. It should be noted that (as discussed in chapters three and four), the post 1940 (post war II era) was one of colonial central planning. So, much local labour was needed by the colonialists-government and the private sectors.

The labour demands of the post-war II era on the one hand, and the repeal of the forced labour ordinance on the other (all in response to the expanding economy), made the colonial authorities to evolve a policy of community development. They placed this under the N.A.[31]. This policy often required the participation of every indigene in the construction of the schools, hospitals, dispensaries, maternities, rest houses, ware houses, offices, and state residential quarters, markets, churches, roads, and so on, in the Division. By implication, the Public Works Department was relieved of some of its functions. Steadily, community development evolved to be another form of forced labour that was different from the type which the Germans established[32] on the one hand, and that which the British colonialists in the pre-1920s adopted for their plantations on the other.

Excesses were often recorded during this period mostly in the form of child labour (under 18 years). The

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[30]Great Britain Colonial Office; Reports for the Year 1947. H.M.S.O. London 1948 Pg. 21-23. Also Great Britain Colonial office Reports for 1953. H.M.S.O. London. 1954. Pg 18.

[31]Great Britain colonial office. Reports 1953. Ibid. Pg 11-12; 85, 89-90, 232-233.

[32]Great Britain Colonial Office; Annual Reports on Nigeria 1947. H.M.S.O. London. Pg. 13, 38-39, 78, 88. Also, Great Britain Colonial Office; Report Nigeria 1950. op.cit. Pg 77-78.

privilege given to women was not often respected. The salary scaling system was very discriminatory and hardly reflected the state's emphasis on certificate qualifications or skill, but instead on the nature of job. Hence, the white employees occupied the most important and top ranking positions in the colonial service, and were the most highly paid. Also indigenes employed in Departments such as administration were better paid than those employed in say the agriculture department[33].

By 1954, the most dominant form of labour that had evolved was contract labour which was often cheap for the employers because they dictated the terms of the arrangement. The indigenes always had no alternative because their conditions of living had already been rendered poor and dependent on the British by the monetization policies of the colonialists. One of the means by which the employers dictated the terms was the emphasis which they and the state placed on certificate qualifications for certain jobs thereby, creating and consolidating differences between colonial skilled and unskilled labour. Moreover, the state also maintained a conservative policy of employing only a small portion of both skilled and unskilled labour in the Division. The private sector did the same. This was because they wanted the local private sector in the Division to be weak thereby, causing labour migrancy to the plantations. Beyond that, they wanted the cultivation of crops and rearing of

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[33]See footnote 31 above.

livestock for cash by the local population. Considering the state's conservative labour policy,the Missionaries embarked on employing the indigenes for their socio-economic and religious services. And this arrangement made the missionaries to be more accepted by the indigenes of the Division than even the colonial state. Missionaries activities proliferated (as we saw in chapter three), particularly the Basler and Roman Catholic Missions.

By 1957, wage labour on certificate basis was further consolidated by the wages Boards Ordinance. The indigenes more than ever before saw the need for colonial education.

The changes in the colonial labour laws effected by the British administration in Southern Cameroons steadily led to the collapse of slave labour. The Native courts were instructed from the 1920s by the administration to check slave labour. It should be noted here that since the establishment of British rule in Northern Nigeria, by 1901 the British placed a ban on slavery. This anti-slavery law was also extended to the Southern Provinces, from where it reached the Bamenda Division - by 1920. The monetization policies - introduction of currency and the payment of individual labour were significant measures that the British embarked upon so as to enforce the ban. By 1920, the ban was consolidated by transferring to the Division, the Southern Provinces slavery ordinance which decreed the emancipation of all persons "heretofore or hereafter born in or brought into" the territory under British colonial

rule[34]. But though slavery was not rampant in the Division[35], it significantly led to a decline in retainership - nchindaship. And this invariably affected the local institutions such as the authority of the Fons and the Palace[36]. On the other hand, more labour was made available for the cultivation of cash crops, the plantations and porterage. So the collapse of slave labour and other new changes (especially the certification of labour from the 1930s), introduced voluntary labour on permanent basis. This permanent labour ensured the continuity in the process of entrenching the British presence[37].

The less privileged indigenes were free to offer their labour to the state, N.A., missionaries and other private employers. But much more importantly, they were conditioned to engage in commodity production (agriculture, livestock rearing, crafts manufacturing) more than ever before, largely on cash basis. Many indigenes who had cultivated some tobacco, cotton, rubber amongst others during the German interlude, were now conditioned to use their labour in cutting these crops down together with

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[34]Lord F.D. Lugard. op.cit. 1968. Pg 120-121.

[35]See chapter two Pg.91-93,103-104,121-122.

[36]Discussion with Fon S.A.N. Angwafo III Mankon Palace, September 15th 1993. Also Pah Tamakeuh, Bamunka-Ndop. February 20th 1993.

[37]Great Britain Colonial Office; Reports 1924 op.cit. Pg 24. The crumble of slave labour and the introduction of voluntary labour on permanent basis frustrated the aims of some local authorities (Fons, or traditional councillors or custodians of 'traditional' states' lands) who could have nursed ambitionsof developing into extensive agriculturists or livestock rearers, especially at a time when the changes in the land policies favoured them. See chapter four.

other hitherto unexploited bushes, forests, hills, valleys for the planting of palms (trees and raffia) whose demand was high during this period.

When slave labour started declining it was reported by 1925 that most of the carriers in the plantations came from Bamenda Division[38]. This also meant the evolution of labour migrancy. In this regard, the P.W.D. in the Division attempted reducing this early migrancy by engaging some of the indigenes from 1925 in renovation works on the bungalows; and the maintenance of the Bamenda-Mamfe road right up to where it met with the Kumba-Mamfe road (Bachuo Akagbe), and then subsequently made to link with the Calabar-Enugu road system in Nigeria. Due to this, it was reported that the 11 miles portion of the road from Bamenda to Bali-Nyonga (the first part of it) was completed by 1925. This speed of the work was due to the fact that communal labour was used, and the bridges were done by the local Artisans[39]. Permanent workers at this juncture were taken to be the local artisans and they were paid monthly. The N.A. later on began recruiting some of the labour on permanent basis. This was because of the construction of the feeder roads to link with the trunk road system within

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[38]Great Britain Colonial Office; Reports for 1925. H.M.S.O. London 1926. Pg 47. The fact that the number of carriers had fallen from the 1924 figures was indicative that porterage labour was too hard on the indigenes. But because they were forced into it, they had to accept it. It is also indicative that the drop could have been influenced by the indigenes' growing interest in cash crops (palms) production. For more, see chapter six ahead, footnote 162.

[39]Great Britain colonial office; Reports 1925. Op.cit. Pg 48-49. It was said that labourers worked without food. The stubborn ones were fined, imprisoned or had their wages deducted. Some were flogged while others were dismissed from the Public Works Department. See also; K.M. Buchanan et al. (eds.); op. cit. 1955 Pg 220-221.

and outside the Division. This began in 1927. With their construction it facilitated the tour of the Europeans into the interior of the Province[40]. The trunk road system in the Division was designed to link Bamenda to Nsaw Via Bambui and Ndop; then from Bamenda to Bafut into Wum Division; from Bamenda Bali-Nyonga then to Mamfe; and from Bamenda to the French territory via Santa. However, these were accomplished only by the 1940s[41].

During the great depression period local wage labour hardly increased in supply. However, its exploitation by the private sector increased, because of a massive redundancy that occurred from 1929. On the other hand, the N.As. were saddled with heavy work load in spite of the depression and their meagre financial reserves[42]. In this regard, the N.A. suspended labour on the trunk roads and instead focused on the construction of rest houses for the European staff. The N.A. exploited communal labour for this purpose. Every N.A. was made to have a rest house. Accordingly, with the increasing use of communal labour the feeder roads were later extended to the Meta, Ngie and Ngoni areas so as to limit the emigration of the graziers from the Division. It was also aimed at raising the

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[40]Great Britain colonial office; Reports for the Year 1927. H.M.S.O. London 1928. Pg 102.

[41]Great Britain colonial office; Reports for the Year 1929. H.M.S.O. London 1930. Pg 69-70, 105-106. Also op. cit.

[42]Great Britain Colonial Office; Reports for the Year 1931. H.M.S.O. London 1932. Pg 51, 88-89. Also Great Britain colonial office; Reports for the Year 1933. H.M.S.O. Londonon 1934. Pg 84.

indigenes' interest in livestock rearing[43] on the one hand, and facilitate carrier labour on the other.

By the 1940s the state again became the highest employer of permanent local labour. Accordingly, private local labour employers could be talked of mostly among the artisans[44]. Furthermore, the state strengthened its role as the highest employer of labour in the 1950s by instituting a salary system based on age, department, skill and working hours. Women were still given some preferential treatment[45]. However, all these were largely theoretical[46]. These changes were enshrined in the labour code (amendment) ordinance of 1950. The code also restructured the communal labour law by authorizing the N.A. and other government bodies to engage the village communities or quarters (wards) in works of public nature.

The emergence of the state as the largest employer of local labour was hardly absolute. Really, there was some generally encouraging salaries which attracted the indigenes and these were consolidated by the above-mentioned labour reforms. But the salaries were taken away by the price inflation and stringent taxation from 1953 which we shall see below. This situation made the employees of the public sector (skilled and unskilled) to engage more and more in the cultivation of cash crops

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[43] Op. cit. Pg. 9.

[44] Great Britain colonial office; Annual Reports Nigeria 1948, H.M.S.O. London pg 18-20

[45] Great Britain Colonial Office; Reports Nigeria 1950 op.cit pg 9-10

[46] Great Britain colonial office; Reports Nigeria 1953 op.cit. Pg 11-12, 85- 89-90.

(coffee, palm produce and banana), food crops and other peasant commodity activities - crafts manufacturing, livestock rearing, hunting, and so on. Commercialization of peasant produce particularly the agrarian produce was gaining roots. It was also said that such employees together with petty-traders and small scale farmers (of the local private sector) ran some small scale gardens, separate from their coffee, palm, banana or other farms with local crops of subsistence. And these were targeted to supplement their living conditions. It was further rendered possible because these recent labour laws had shortened the working hours per day and week[47].

The non-literate and unskilled indigenes often found it difficult during this period to find employment of their liking so most of them either resorted to agrarian practices, livestock rearing, fishing, tapping, and so on, or became apprentices to the crafts manufacturers. Others became migrant labourers, tenant farmers or wage labourers in the plantation zone.

With particular regard to the P.W.D., the 1950 era was one of construction of more state infrastructures using communal and wage labour. The infrastructures included buildings, roads maintenance and drainage. Expenditure and much labour went to the trunk and feeder roads systems.

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[47] Ibid. Also P.M. Kaberry, op. cit. 1952 the section on her budgets. Indeed, but for a transport supervisor (with 20 pounds 1s 9½d), no other category of worker earned up to 19 pounds 1s 0½d per week with working hours being 34-47 hours per week. The least paid transport worker had 3 pounds 10s. 11½d per month under 39-50 hours per week (in the case of an under 18 non-apprenticed worker). This contrasted with an average of 2 pounds for the same category of worker in the other sectors

Innovations to the roads included culverting and bridging. Some wells were dug especially in the Ndop N.A. and drilling operations and equipment were established there. The trunk roads that received state attention were the Bamenda-Mamfe-Calabar (as an attachment of the Oyo-Benin-Bamenda road) and the Bamenda-Mamfe-Kumba-Victoria trunk road systems. This attention actually began in 1947, and was designed to channel the peasant agrarian produce from the Division to the sea ports of Victoria and Calabar for export to Europe[48]. The necessity for this was enforced by the presence of the Cooperative Societies and Produce Marketing Boards in the Southern Cameroons and the Nigerian territory discussed in the former chapter.

Even the Bamenda ring-road system was given more attention than ever before, and it linked all the Divisions that constituted the Bamenda Province viz: Bamenda, Wum and Nkambe Divisions. The reason being that of encouraging peasant commodity production and the exportation of the coffee, oil palm, kernel and banana from the Division to Europe. Through the same roads, the European firms and licensed buyers could import some European manufactures that the indigenes needed for cash crop production and subsistence. These conditions were also regarded as means by which the local private sector could be maintained and

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[48]Great Britain Colonial Office. Reports Nigeria. 1947 op.cit pg 13, 38-39, 78, 88. Also Great Britain colonial office; Reports Nigeria 1950 op.cit. pg 77-78. In the Kimbaw area of this road system, some Bitumen was applied on the road. This was because the area was fast emerging as a rivalric urban centre to Bamenda town and the indigenes were greatly engaged in cash crop cultivation such as coffee and kola. The nature of the roads was 10-14 feet wide verges, grossly inadequate for average traffic.

made dependent on the European private sector and the colonial administration. The P.W.D. depended on the N.A. for the construction and maintenance of these roads. The N.A. on its part exploited the indigenes on cheap and mostly communal labour basis. Plans of linking the Southern and Northern Cameroons (via Bamenda Division) and eventually the Benue Province and Jos by road, were hardly realized throughout the colonial period[49]. But by 1954 the ring-road from which the former would have emerged was completed by the N.As. From the Bamenda Station the road was also made to link with the French territory via Santa[50]. However, the colonial government did not show much interest in this section of the road system so the P.W.D. single-handedly did it. The road was also designed not to carry heavy export produce. This issue is interesting because despite the fact that this road was nearer the coast than the Bali-Nyonga-Mamfe-Calabar or the Bali-Nyonga-Mamfe-Kumba-Victoria road systems, the fact that it led to the French territory made the British to discourage export trade via it. On the contrary, the indigenes who cultivated cash and food crops in the Santa region on the one hand and the C.D.C. on the other, were conditioned to transport them to Bamenda town for subsequent export through the British colonial sea ports in

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[49] Ibid. Pg 81 Also, Federal Nigeria op. cit. Pg 104; Great Britian Colonial Office; Reports for 1954. op.cit. Pg 68, 223.

[50] Ibid. Also op. cit. 1951.

> "... it brought home to the British Officers the real difficulties of the native chiefs and land owners in meeting their obligations, and maintaining their position in the face of a decreasing supply of labour, due to the cessation in the supply of slaves, and the large number who have asserted their freedom. The ... taxation aims at providing sufficient income for the ruling classes, derived from a fair and moderate tax upon the peasantry, thus enabling the farmer to maintain their position without recourse to slave-raiding and extortion... In my view this reform was imperative and vital to the maintenance of the whole social system, and the preservation of the whole fabric of native administration, which otherwise seemed in danger of collapse"[52].

However, due to the British conception that the indigenes were not civilized enough for income tax imposition, most of their taxes were indirect. Taxes were imposed on the Districts and villages, and the Fons were made to collect them through their traditional authorities like the lineage and clan heads[53]. Meanwhile in the early period of the British domination (1916-1920), tax collection was done together with census by the British colonialists. On such occasions they were backed by the West African Frontier Force (W.A.F.F.) and later-on Police Officers. Through the system of census they evolved the "Native Assessment" taxation system. This system provided that the wealth of each village community was assessed and a tax per person was imposed on that community[54].

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[52] Lord F.D. Lugard; Memorandum on taxation. Pg 804.

[53] Z.K.A. Bonat; The Colonial Phase of the Underdevelopment of Zaria Province 1902-1945. M.A. (History) thesis A.B.U., Zaria 1985. Also Nsu'li Area, Re-assessment Report 1934. E.P. 11337-CSE 1/86/5568 op. cit. Meta Clan Intelligence Report 1935 op.cit

[54] Z.K.A. Bonat Ibid.

Cameroon and Nigeria. Very limited amount of produce went through the French territory.

Given these roads construction, the demand for local labour by the colonial state steadily rose. And the most common form of mobilizing the labour was through wage labour and on communal basis[51].

6.3 The Evolution of British Taxation Policies in Bamenda Division:

The colonial administration in the Division designed its taxation (monetization) policies in order to control the socio-economic lives of the indigenes, especially at a time when the latter were reviving their traditional socio-economic systems. Taxes were at first regarded as a conditioning factor on the indigenes to supply their labour to the plantations. The taxes would also cause a decline in slavery, and the tributes that the traditional political system upheld for their survival. However, it soon became the principal means by which the colonial state generated revenue especially for its socio-economic development programs in the period up to 1940. This role played by the taxes was strengthened by the fact that at take-over from the Germans the British were short of finance to engage in the transformation of this region towards colonial capitalism. Lord Lugard clearly summarized the taxation policy thus:

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[51] Great Britain Colonial Office; Reports Nigeria 1947. op.cit. Pg 13, 38-39.

Nonetheless this assessment system came in stages. Firstly, when the British took over control of the Division, their earliest taxes were collected in the German currency - the Mark, because many of the indigenes were in possession of it. Moreso, the new administration had not yet introduced the British currency in the Division. However, the currency in which the taxes were collected together with the mode of collection made it difficult for efficiency to be attained in the amount of taxes collected. It should be noted that the system of collection did not depart from the German type. So the earliest tax was the annual poll tax and the Fons were made to collect it[55]. The process by which the British colonialists took over control of the taxation system began with the devaluation of the German Mark to the value of six Marks to seven pence (when the initial rate of poll tax was six Marks equivalent to three shillings six pence), and later again the tax was raised from three shillings six pence (or six Marks) to one pound. This meant that more of the Marks were required by the indigenes to pay their taxes. Gradually the Mark was withdrawn from circulation and the indigenes' financial reserves were brought back to a starting position. Similarly, the above changes implied that the German Mark and the British pound sterling were accepted as legal tenders at this stage. But this systematically changed by 1923 in favour of the British pound sterling because of the withdrawal of the Mark from circulation by the British

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[55] R. Eugene, et al. (eds.); op. cit. 1962. Pg 103.

colonial authorities[56]. The use of pound sterling then began diverting local trade from the French territory towards Nigeria.

After imposing the pound sterling on the indigenes, the German poll tax system was still made applicable for some time. However, it was restructured in that, instead of only the Fons being incharge of its collection in the British currency, they were made to collect it through their clan and lineage heads. So some indirect system of class interest was evolving so that efficiency could be attained. This new system further went deep because each male indigene of over 18 years (except for old and infirm lepers) were required to pay the new poll tax. So from the lineage and clan heads the taxes went to the Fon who were also required in principle to account for the collection. The Fons in this context were the N.A. heads. Native treasuries were established for these taxes, but only the British colonialists could give the permit to the N.A. to use them for any purpose[57]. Some Fons on their part went beyond to impose a palm oil tax on their subjects, and their collection was made in the month of March. Failure to pay it was met with a fine of 2 shillings[58]. Therefore this commodity tax represented the earliest form o indirect taxation on the indigene. And it had bee

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[56] Ibid. Pg 103. Also Translation of German law. Native Taxation Ordinance 1913. C 1/86/123. N.A.E.

[57] R. Eugene et al. (eds.) Ibid

[58] Ibid. Pg 104-105.

conditioned by the fact that the tribute supplies of the Fons had been hampered by the new taxation system.

In continuation with the British take-over and their monetization policies and operations, the colonialists began by 1920 to embark on studying the social economy of the Division with a view to evolving a comprehensive revenue policy. The revenue policy was expected to have a direct link with the system of production and exchange which they envisoned for the Division. In this regard, permanent taxation was arrived at. This was because permanent taxation was realized to be a means of engaging the indigenes in the colonial forms of production such as cash crops cultivation, livestock rearing, labour for the plantations and carrier labour for the public and private sectors of the economy of the Southern Cameroons. The permanent taxation was then enforced by a system of regular collection and also a steady increase per individual was designed in line with the policy of preventing the possibility of any meaningful capital accumulation by an indigene to take place. This system of extorting the local people further contributed to the liquidity crisis that emerged in the Division, thereby rendering the indigenes poor. The liquidity crisis reigned throughout the pre-war II era[59].

In order to consolidate the system of permanent taxation, the Native revenue and Customs Ordinance were enacted. These instituted on the local people the notion

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[59]John Hatch; op. cit. 1969. Pg 209

of income tax. The Ordinance also created provisions for permanent tax collectors who were paid salaries for their duties[60]. Even though the tax collecting role of the lineage and clan heads or Fons was threatened by the permanent tax collectors, the threat was short-lived. Most of these traditional authorities were transformed into permanent tax collectors, thereby consolidating their extortionist practices as we shall examine below.

Given the new notion of income tax we could at this juncture, consider the system of poll tax collection that the British instituted between 1916 and 1920 as the first stage of the income tax. This tax was also direct. Nevertheless as mentioned earlier, most of the taxes that were imposed on the indigenes of the Division were indirect. The dichotomy between direct and indirect taxation took place only by 1928. Direct taxation emphasized the incomes of the employees[61], while the indirect taxes emphasized the movement of produce and European manufactures in and out of the Division[62].

In line with the new direct income tax that was imposed on the indigenes through the Native Assessment system seen above, the local permanent tax collectors later on evolved the lumpsum and flat rate modes of collection. These modes as we shall examine below, were attempts at

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[60] An Assessment Report of the Ngoni and Neighbouring villages of Bamenda Division. op.cit. 694-697.

[61] Great Britain colonial office; Reports 1954. Op.cit. Pg 39.

[62] Lord F.D. Lugard; Op.cit 1965. Pg 240-241. The forms of indirect taxes were: tolls; vehicle, dogs, bicycle licences, market dues, rents advalorems etcetera.

arriving at efficiency so that the revenue that accrued to the colonial state could increase in line with the increasing population and expanding economy. According to the system the N.A. (acting for the political officers), were given fixed targets to collect, and rights of assessing the wealth of the indigenes so that individual sums could be determined. Receipts and discs were given to those who paid their taxes[63]. This system finally created a departure (in mode of collection) from the German past. However, the system later on evolved a corporate system of selfish interest between the tax collectors and the N.A. heads, thereby promoting embezzlements, falsification of amounts of taxes collected, together with other corrupt practices. All these were reported by the colonialists[64].

The flat rate mode largely became widespread only in the 1950s. According to it, a flat rate of tax was imposed on every taxable indigene, but the minimum was 4 shillings. This was later on called the Resident Assessment system since the Residents were the ones who did the census and assessments and imposed the flat amounts on the taxable indigenes. Since this system was widespread in the 1950s when liquidity shortages (of the pre-1940s) had changed to a price inflation situation in the Division, the collectors were made to be accurate in their collection. The accuracy was also enforced by extending the road

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[63] Annual Reports on the Cameroons Province 1921 by M.C. Duncan. CSE 12/1/328. Pg 1-2. N.A.E. Also, Great Britain Colonial Office; Reports 1950 Op.cit Pg 27.

[64] Interview with Titoh Pauline Nuentoh, Bamunka-Ndop. February 24th 1993. Also Meta Clan (Bamenda Division) Intelligence Report op.cit.

infrastructures and social amenities into all the corners of the Division. In addition, the D.O. was always furnished (by the N.A. committees) with a list of ascertainable incomes. In the 1950s the lists always justified that the money collected was greater than the flat rate that was imposed[65].

Furthermore, more taxation ordinances were enacted in the 1950s in order to consolidate the revenue system. Such included the sale of produce (taxation) ordinance (1953) providing funds for the regions to build up a regional reserve with which they could initiate development programs. The stamp duties (amendment) ordinance that was extended to the town councils and local authorities amongst others[66], was also introduced by the mid-1950s. This latter ordinance consolidated the N.A.'s collection of duties like the market dues from the local people. It also consolidated the post and telegraphic Department in the Division. All these also represented the new forms of indirect taxation.

The post-war II taxation targets were largely economically conditioned because the state needed more revenue to expand the economy of the Division by providing more socio-economic amenities thereby, facilitating the movement of labour; cultivation and distribution of food for cash; livestock rearing for cash and the sales of

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[65]Great Britain Colonial Office; Reports Nigeria. 1950. op.cit Pg 24-26.

[66]Great Britain colonial office; Reports 1953 op.cit. Pg 85. Also Great Britain Colonial Office. Reports 1954 op.cit Pg. 42-43.

European manufactures. Beyond these the colonialists wanted to check the expansion of the local private sector in the Division.

6.3.1 The Impact of the transformation from the German to the British taxation systems in Bamenda Division:

As discussed in chapter three, the British encountered a lot of socio-economic and financial problems in Bamenda Division immediately they took-over colonial rule from the Germans. The financial crisis made the colonial authorities to embark on tax collection from the indigenes based on the German currency and method. The earliest tax that was collected came up in 1917. In Nsaw for example about 1,820 tax-disks were issued to the taxable males[67].

By 1922 the British had replaced the German taxation system with their N.A. assessment system, and as said earlier, the Fons were designated for this business. Their participation was ensured by giving them some stipends. The earliest amount of the stipend known, to us was 10 pounds. And in areas where there were sub-Fons like Nsaw, their own was 5%[68] of the tax collected.

It should be noted that before 1917 when the first taxes were collected in the Division by the British colonial authorities, the Revenue Ordinance (1906) of

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[67] P. M. Kaberry; and E. M. Chilver; "From Tribute to tax in a Tikar chiefdom" op. cit vol. 30 No. 1 London.

[68] Ibid. Pg 10.

British Nigeria was applied to the whole of the southern Cameroons[69]. According to it the Native administrations which were created were to establish treasuries. These treasuries took care of the revenue of the local communities designated as N.A. units. The taxes were used in supporting the N.A.. Before taxes were collected from the indigenes, the British administrative officers carried out some tax assessments in the Division. In the assessment process, they realized that the German nominal poll tax had been no more than a mere district quota. This realization came up in 1921 when the total proposed tax of the district was more than doubled after a rough and ready population count which revealed deficiencies of the very census. During the assessment exercise, some main features of the polities were also described so as to ease the British penetration and establishment of colonial authority[70].

By 1925, it was realized by the British that the pre-1921 taxation system had over-estimated the authority of some village heads especially in Nsaw. The role of the traditional councilors was hardly ever taken into consideration. It was due to this that the assessment officer was quoted as saying concerning the local institutions thus:

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[69]See chapter three. Fore more see L.B. Raymond op.cit Vol. I Pg 694. For a comparison with the Northern Nigerian case see P.K. Tibenderana; Sokoto Province under British rule 1903-1939. A.B.U. Press Zaria 1988. Pg 103-113.

[70]P.M. Kaberry, et. al. (eds.); op.cit. Pg 10.

> "with existing efficient institutions, the only suggestions that may be offered for the future are that the institutions should at all costs be maintained, that the council should be given a sufficient remuneration and encouragement to ensure, its continuance and that the departments of police and revenue (Ngwerong and Manjongs) should be embodied as far as possible in the native administration"[71].

The incorporation of the Ngwerong and Mandjongs into the taxation system in Nsaw for example, was met with some challenges from the Roman Catholic Missionaries who were busy recruiting a high proportion of their active members from runaway retainers, royals, and men repatriated after service with the German forces on interment in Fernando Po. These recruits were regarded with high prestige because they had travelled relatively widely. Such category of indigenes were said to have always alienated themselves from the traditional political system[72]. The British administrators were always not comfortable whenever these challenges came up because they affected their colonial interest especially as they sought to preserve the local institutions in line with the N.A. system of administration.

The colonial administrators also regarded the christians as bad tax payers. Their exclusion from Manjong and their removal from their compounds to learn christian doctrines or avoid persecution must have made tax collection difficult. And this problem continued because of the steady rise in the number of converts which in Nsaw

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[71] Quoted in Ibid Pg. 10

[72] See chapter two. Pg. Also, Ibid. Pg 10-11

alone numbered about 620 by 1922. Their rising numbers made them to easily resist the messengers of ngwerong with derision and on occasion with arms. Because of this, the Fons independently took action to put ngwerong's police functions into the background by transforming some of their retainers into 'dogaris' (in Hausa style), an innovation welcomed by the colonialists as "the germ of a N.A. police"[73]. Dogaris were used in forcing the indigenes to pay their taxes.

From 1926 when the lumpsum assessment[74] system was introduced, it was proposed to replace the nominal poll tax that the Germans had established. The village heads and council of Elders were told the full amount to be collected and the average incidence per male adult, and left to apportion it at their discretion. The tax was to be collected in the name of the Fons (where Fons existed) and clan heads (like in the Meta and Ngoni areas). The N.A. officials wholly carried out the operations. The village and District heads (Fons) were given tax commissions which did not exceed 25% of the tax received. And the taxes were generally audited. The workability of this lumpsum system was reported in 1927. And It was realized to serve as a method of political education. It was also praised for penetrating the local societies right to the smallest unit

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[73]P.M. Raberry, et al. Ibid Pg. 11.

[74]For more on the lumpsum assessment system in the northern Nigeria region where it developed see: F.D. Lugard op.cit. 1965. Also C.L. Temple; Native Races and their rulers 2nd edition London. 1968; N. Perham, Native Administration in Nigeria London 1937; C.J.W. Orr, The making of Northern Nigerian. 1911.

of 'traditional administration' being the compound. In the compounds, the bachelors were made to pay a tax of 1 Mark and man a with three wives paid 8 marks[75].

Nevertheless, the christians and emergent local traders were still said to have undermined this system by insisting on payment at the average rate for the districts (N.A. Units). They argued that the system did not depart from the German (1911) system save that it relied on better census figures instead of the memories and tallystic of the Manjong officers and placed responsibility for collection firmly on the lineage heads, whose compounds were assessed in Manjong meetings. But the colonial authorities approved the system and it dominated throughout the pre-1940s[76].

Meanwhile, the lumpsum system had established the compound assessment system of taxation[77]. Compounds were placed under the lineage heads, who were also regarded as the owners of the economic trees (kola, palms and so on). The lineage heads were also precluded from wage labour and trafficking in the market places by their rank and responsibilities. So their principal source of cash were the economic trees and other landed resources. The kola for example were marketed by their dependants or friends. Thus any slump in kola prices hit them very hard.

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[75] P.M. Kaberry et al. op.cit 1960. Pg 11.

[76] Ibid. Pg. 12.

[77] Based on the Nsaw and Nsungli (for example) it empahsized on 'family size' and number of kola trees because kola trade was very high and a main economic activity in these areas of the Division. Kola trade increased after the abolition in 1923 of traders' license which the Germans had imposed in 1904. It also increased because of the removal of the German custom barriers between the Cameroons and Nigeria. See chapter three.

Incidentally, the economic disasters in the 1930s like the locust invasions in 1930 and 1931[78] greatly affected them. Kola prices had by 1932 fallen from 5s. a 100 nuts in 1924 to 1s. a 100 nuts. Correspondingly, tax receipts also fell and authority was given for the remission of part of the Nsaw quota[79]. The burdens caused by the method of compound assessment made the lineage heads in Nsaw to refuse to be responsible for the tax of their sons and dependants, and had to demand for a return to the flat rate of the German era and pre-1920[80].

In return, some of the Fons like that of Nsaw without consulting the Divisional officer (D.O.) changed the system of tax collection by instructing everybody to pay their tax directly to the Manjong officers, who then went to Bamenda for their disks with their membership tallysticks. At this juncture, the corrupt practices of the manjongs was realized. The Manjong officers hardly treated the disks as receipts. They instead handed them out in the club houses and to the christians before collection of taxes began. So the tax disks in places like Nsaw became wa or manjong mandates as the assessment officer was quoted viz:

> By delegating the Fai's duties to the manjong society, the Fon from his view point was assured of its support in enforcing payment by defaulters ... Fellow manjong members would at once come forward and offer to lend a defaulter the money, inside manjong Houses, the amount being paid at

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[78] See chapter four.

[79] P.M. Kaberry, et al. op.cit 1960. pg 12. In 1924, with the fall in tax collection the Fon of Nsaw organized convoys of kola to Ibi, 200 miles away where nuts prices reached 3s to 5s a hundred.

[80] Ibid

> once to the tamanjong and the debtor would never attempt to deny the debts subsequently"[81].

Such a system of abuses led to the fall in the tax collected in Nsaw from 1932 thereby, warranting another reassessment in 1933 to see whether the flat rate or lumpsum was more efficient.

The Assessment officer's proposals worked within the framework of Governor Cameron's policy on taxation - the understanding of the nature of the traditional political system especially the functioning of the councils of Elders and Lineage heads[82]

Meanwhile, the tension between the christians and 'pegans' (converts and non-converts) from the 1930s, demanded the removal of the manjongs from the leading role. The issue of disks by manjongs as mandatory tokens were also stopped. Some elementary system of receipts was recommended. The lineage heads were to continue to collect the taxes on the basis of assessments made jointly by manjong officers, the lineage heads and N.A. staff. After that, they reported the defaulters to the manjongs, and accompanied them to the District Officer. Furthermore, tax scales were reduced to be based on visible wealth, and the compound heads were made to call for the assistance of the court clerk whenever they needed them. In summary, these reforms merely fortified the authority of the manjong officers and lineage heads in the business of assessment

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[81] Quoted in Ibid. Pg 12-13.

[82] Ibid. Pg 13.

and enforcement, especially as they were made to work in collaboration with the court clerks, Native courts and their messengers and the paid N.A. police[83].

In the 1930s also, the colonial authorities started re-introducing the flat rate assessment system in the Division. According to this new system of flat rate, while the lineage heads continued to collect taxes from their dependants, the manjong officers, in view of the christian susceptibilities, were only to be the treasurers. Certain village, clan, lineage heads and other individuals were designated to collect the taxes. This was instituted by the Resident and it formed part of the Resident Assessment System (just like it existed in the Eastern Nigerian region).

P.M. Kaberry and E.M. Chilver observed that this new form of Resident Assessment (flat rate) was vague[84], for example the emphasis made by the Residents on "properly constituted village heads" as collectors and commissioners. However, it should be noted that through this system of assessment, the jangali (cattle tax) was imposed. It stood at 10% in the Division. So areas where cattle rearing was gaining firm roots such as the Nsungli, Nsaw, Ndop and Ngemba N.A. were much affected. And as examined in chapter four, this was the period when cattle rearing on the one hand, and the livestock industry on the other, were

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[83] W.M. Bridges; Banso Re-assessment Report 1934. Para 170. Also meta Clan (Bamenda Divsion) Intelligence Report 1935. op.cit. Nsungli Area, Bamenda Division Reassessment Report. 1934. op.cit.

[84] P.M. Kaberry, et al. op.cit Pg 13-14.

experiencing some expansion in the Division, thereby becoming an economic mainstay of some of the indigenes[85].

The vagueness observed by Kaberry and Chilver could be well explained in the case of Nsaw. Here, the system made it difficult for the new financial council to meet because there was the problem of membership. The "properly constituted village heads" in Nsaw was interpreted to include the atantee (heads of Nsaw village proper)[86] while others applied it to the sub-chiefs and the Fon[87]. Because of this vagueness and confusion, it was said that the Fon of Nsaw and his agents should collect 10% direct tax commission instead of 5% that the system recommended.

Jangali tax in this early period in Nsaw was hardly enforced until 1937. But as we shall see ahead, it steadily rose in the 1950s and adopted a series of linkages with the other sectors (and economic activities) of the economy of the Division. This came against the background of the system of transhumance practice that emerged. That notwithstanding, by 1937 also the colonial authorities conducted some investigations in the Division which revealed that the system led to extortions and embezzlements by the christian traders who had been brought into the tax collecting system, and also the treasury

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[85] op. cit.

[86] See chapter two Pg. 80-88.

[87] P.M. Kaberry et al. op.cit 1960. Pg 14.

scribes[88]. It was also realized that the embezzlement was conditioned by the Fons' incorporation of the retainers and other tax collectors on unpaid basis. Regarding the imprisoned retainers who collected taxes in Nsaw, it was also realized that they were conditioned not to give evidence largely because of the local customs and values that still prevailed. The customs and values made them to respect the Fons and also preferred to die in place of the Fons[89].

Other corrupt practices of the Fons and their tax collectors and commissioners (in the lumpsum and flat rate systems) were also reported. In Nsaw again, the British tax made the Fons from 1923 to abandon nshwi (gifts) which were hitherto given to them by the sub-chiefs. In place of nshwi the sub-chiefs paid the Fon some tax. This payment was hardly done the way the other commoner indigenes did. Instead, the Fon withheld the 5% tax commission due to the sub-chiefs. The sub-chiefs in turn did not protest their 5% commission because they realized that they no more paid nshwi to the Fon, and the commission represented the tributes which they used to give to the Palace as a form of allegiance to the Fon's authority[90].

In the 1950s the allegiance of the sub-chiefs, retainers and other collectors to the Fons collapsed when

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[88] Ibid.; Pg 14. In Nsaw the money that was embezzled amounted to 160 pounds eventhough it was difficult to prove it. The collectors were imprisoned on the charge of embezzling tax-commissions

[89] Ibid.

[90] Ibid.

nshwi was again abolished by the colonial authorities. The sub-chiefs then received their 5% tax-commissions directly from the Native treasuries. This happened because of the intervention of the colonial authorities - the Resident, in line with the administration's attempts at maintaining some expansion in the economy on the one hand, and liquidity circulation on the other.

The next attempt at doing away with the lumpsum system in the Division came up in 1946, when the sliding scale (that existed in the South Eastern Nigerian region) was introduced. According to this system, tax demands were issued on each village giving the quota as the flat rate multiplied by the number of tax payers in it. The touring officers went round explaining this system to the indigenes. The system also made it that individual liabilities and payments were recorded and that rolls were to be regularly revised[91]. However, this did not overcome the diffidence of the lineage heads. Tax collectors began to slow down; but in 1948 the local councillors preferred being taxed at a flat rate at the top level of the sliding scale.

Regarding the tax-commissions that the system enforced (to be paid to the sub-chiefs), the councillors in the N.A. like Nsaw and Ndop cautioned the sub-chiefs and lineage heads respectively, to obey the Fons as before. In this regard, respect of the Fons' authority that the initial form of flat rate had reduced, was reinstated, and their

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[91] Ibid. Pg 15.

relationship with the traditional councils, sub-chiefs and lineage heads was also reinforced. This new norm was very welcomed in Nsaw such that the councillors later enforced it that, the sub-chiefs, should in addition to sharing with the Fon, the obligations of all Nsaw in the matter of royal animals amongst others must supply corn, and guinea corn to the Palace. By implication, this was a resumption of nshwi because of the tax-commissions[92] that the sliding scale taxation system had enforced.

At this juncture, it is clearly evidenced that the system of taxation (as part of the British monetization policies) was steadily being consolidated because of the administrations' drive towards efficiency in collection. The principal forms of taxation therefore included: the annual poll tax which was put at 1 pound (in the mid-1950s) paid by every male adult the most important being the income tax paid to the Federal Government; and the palm oil tax paid annually to the Fon. It consisted of a small amount of oil collected from each compound. In Bafut it was collected once a year in each quarter (ward) by the mbabo secret society. This was similar in the Tikar dominated policies[93]. Jangali Tax was also another widespread form of taxation (paid to the colonial authorities by the cattle rearers).

With these taxes, the money economy of the Division was entrenched especially because of the commoditization of

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[92] Ibid.

[93] R. Eugene, et al. (eds.); op.cit. Pg 102-105.

primary production and the expanding population. From 1917 when the British began imposing their colonial monetization policies in the Division, there was a steady expansion in the indigenes economic activities. The expansion affected all the sectors of the economy as we saw in chapter four. The trend was towards peasant commodity production with agriculture forming the base of the economy. The same process affected livestock rearing, crafts manufacturing and other trading activities (long and short distance). Labour migrancy also emerged as another major socio-economic change as we shall see below. Instead of the family, (compound, lineage, clan, ward, quarter) heads, the youths of the communities became involved in some economic activities for cash. The most common avenue for generating the cash as discussed below, was the cultivation of exports crops. In the pre-1940s, palm produce occupied the indigenes most, while in the post-1940, coffee and banana were added to them. All these moved together with other food crops viz: grains, tubers and vegetables.

Further changes which consolidated the monetization of the economy and consequently production came up in 1957, when the southern Cameroons was separated from the south Eastern Province of Nigeria, and given a regional status. These changes on the political scene made the N.A. to be saddled with the heavy responsibilities of socio-economic development. Since they could hardly cope with these responsibilities especially because they were not empowered to evolve another form of direct tax, they began exploiting

communal labour in the form of community development schemes. Moreso, the burden conditioned them to depend heavily on the village improvement funds which we shall see later. Furthermore, the N.A. also maintained closer ties with the cooperative societies especially because N.A. officials had also become cash crop producers. The central government on its part assumed more control over the taxes[94], eventhough they received financial assistance such as loans, and aids of many forms from the International donor Institutions like the I.B.R.D.; W.H.O.; F.A.O., U.N.I.C.E.F. and the British colonial Development and Welfare Fund (C.D.W.F.) amongst others.

6.3.2 Taxation and the system of production:

We are here referring to the indigenes' ability to produce the crops, livestock, fish, crafts etcetera for cash and engage in some primitive accumulation in the Division especially with the changing nature of the colonial land, labour, taxation and other policies which surrounded the system of production and distribution.

Scholars like J.S. Hogendorn[95] claimed that colonialism introduced a 'vent for surplus' for the indigenes of Africa. However, we could not find any objectivity in this claim in our region. Instead what we realized was that the British system of production created very unfavorable conditions for the indigenes in the

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[94]File No. D.B.A. 2652 D. 1958-1959. Bamenda Archives

[95]J.S. Hogendorn; op. cit. Ibadan 1978.

Division such that their hitherto self-sufficiency was broken. In this regard, these indigenes had no other alternative than to engage in producing the surplus required by the British.

There is no doubt that the pattern of changes following the imposition of taxes in the Division was such that it made the indigenes to become very money conscious, thereby engaging more and more in the cultivation of crops and rearing of livestock for cash on the one hand, and participating in other socio-economic activities like porterage, hunting, fishing, crafts manufacturing, etcetera for cash on the other. It was also true that these changes assumed maximum proportions in the post-war II era in Bamenda Division because of the formation and expansion of the cooperative societies and the marketing Boards systems on the one hand, and a global expansion of the colonial socio-economic and infrastructural services, thereby facilitating the production and distribution of primary produce on the other.

However, a more objective assessment of the colonial changes and experience especially with regard to the central planning measures from the 1940s, reveals that the indigenes were totally submerged in the system of international trade (distribution) with Europe. In the same manner, they were relegated in the system of domestic trade by the multi-nationals and licensed buyers. So most of them were reduced to being primary producers of the items of the international trade viz: export crops,

livestock etc. Others were transformed into petty traders, retailers, migrant labourers and long distance traders. These local traders retailed the European manufactures that the multi-nationals and licensed buyers brought into the Division. That aside, the production of export crops and monetization of the economy also caused the production of food crops to be geared for cash. This was so because tax levies kept on rising, there was price inflation (in the 1950s) and other social services like education and health care also became very expensive. In this regard, seasonal food shortages began to be reported in certain areas of the Division like Nsaw, because most of the food crops that were cultivated was taken to the market for cash. Also, part of the labour force had migrated to more productive areas or economic activities in Southern Cameroons. This introduced the marketing of foodstuffs as another main trade item.

To begin with the relations of trade, in order to consolidate the submergence of the indigenes in the system of international trade, the state recognized the Division as a U.A.C. and COSTAIN West Africa Limited Zone. The U.A.C.[96] was the earliest multi-national firm in this region. She began by purchasing the palm produce and selling European manufactures since the period before the 1920s. By the post-1940s its influence had broadened to

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[96] Elections Southern House of Assembly 1956. File No. NW/VC.d 1956/1. Bamenda Archives. Also P.T. Bauer; "British Colonial Africa. Economic Retrospect and Aftermath". in L.H. Gann et al (eds.); op. cit. Vol. 4. Cambridge London 1975. Pg 163-164; M. Perham; Mining Commerce and Finance in Nigeria. Vol. I.

the extent that she supplied most of the European manufactures and office equipment to the state strictly on cash basis. In return, she bought the local produce. By implication she worked closely with the cooperative societies and the Marketing Boards. COSTAIN supplied mostly the equipment for building and civil engineering and strictly on contract basis. By implication, she worked closely with the Public Works Department and N.A. Moreover, its role further relegated to the background the local artisans who were always used for the construction of the bridges in the Division's roads[97].

Apart from the relegation of the indigenes from international trade by the multi-nationals and licensed buyers, the Cooperative and Marketing Boards cheated the indigenes and transferred most of the profits to Europe as we saw in the former chapter. By so doing the local producers could not raise any hard currency to boost their standards of living with, or even strengthen the local private sector by importing mechanical labour. The cooperatives in particular influenced some short-lived

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[97]Elections Southern House of Assembly 1956. Ibid. Also, Elections Southern House of Assembly 1951. Detailed arrangements Bamenda East (3a). File No. NW/VC/d 1959/2, Bamenda Archives. P.T. Bauer Ibid. and M. Perham Ibid have observed amongst others that in the entire Nigeria and the Cameroons, by the late 1930s, the U.A.C. controlled more than 40% of the import-Export trade and as late as 1949 it handled 34% of commercial merchandise into the region and purchased on behalf of Nigeria Marketing Boards 43% of all non-mineral exports. Moreover, together with five other old established European firms they organized the Association of West African merchants (A.W.A.M.) through which they occasionally made import agreements and allocated export quotas. In 1949, the six firms in AWAM handled 66% of imports and nearly 70% of the exports. Until recently, most of the firms were engaged in intensive retail and semi-wholesale trade at widely dispersed up-country stations. In addition AWAM firms largely owned land controlled European Banking and shipping facilities. For more see J.S. Coleman; Nigeria Background to Nationalism. California, Los Angeles 1971 Pg 80-81. Also P.T. Bauer; West African Trade Cambridge London 1954 pg 107-108; 180-191; 145-155, 246-259; William N.M. Geary; Nigeria Under British rule. London 1927 Pg 191; Government Printers Lagos; Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Conditional Sales. H.M.S.O. London 1948.

economic growth in the Division. This growth took the form of petty-trading and retailing amidst price inflation in the Division. At this juncture it could be said, that the local commercial activities that emerged in the Division's emerging urban centres (such as kimbaw, Bamunka, Bamenda, Bali-Nyonga, Bafut) and in some particular areas along the trunk or feeder roads system in the 1940s and 1950s were in response to the cooperatives' marketing boards' activities, rising taxes and price inflation. These further mean that the demand for cash was steadily rising, and this was further reflected through the sales of foodstuffs even by the women, while the men hawked some European manufactures from one village to the other during the traditional market days[98].

It could further be said that one of the factors that caused the tax collectors to become corrupt and extortionist was the behavior of the economy - from liquidity shortages in the pre-1940s to price inflation in the post-1940s. So they developed the habit of always squeezing what they could from the peasants and sharing it with the N.A. heads. This was probably why the tax collectors were the most resented category of citizens

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[98]Interviews with: Tahmogohr, Baba I-Ndop. June 13th 1993. Also Hallam Audu Umaroa, Ntamulung-Nankon, August 10th 1993.

especially by the peasants[99]. Lord F. Lugard even confirmed this in the Nigerian set up[100].

The climax of this system of extortion was reached in the mid 1950s when the colonialists imposed the village Improvement Funds on the indigenes.

6.3.3 The Village Improvement Funds:

The cooperative societies and the marketing Boards examined in chapter five had caused more indigenes to participate more than ever before in peasant commodity production in the Division by the 1950s. This was visible at the level of commerce discussed above. By implication, the indigenes ability to accumulate some capital had increased. However, the colonialists decided to check this ability by establishing the village improvement funds in 1956. The opportunity that made her to embark on this occurred after she had attempted solving the farmer-grazier conflict in the Division. The Fund's statement of policy read thus:

> "the integration of the Fulani into the local community and their participation in common life. The desire of the better classes of Fulani cattle owners to be regarded as a welcome stranger is evidenced by the offer to pay a cash contribution to community labour development work in lieu of personal labour. They wish to enjoy the social benefits of the local people, at the same time to respect the traditional codes of behaviour, to make their contribution towards

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[99] Interviews with Yah Casilia, Jakiri-February 15th 1993; Pah Tamakeuh, Bamunka-Ndop, February 20th 1993. Indeed, these informants complained that most of the tax collectors often acted as spies, informers, procurers and accredited agents for their employers. Also, that the N.A. Heads often went beyond their areas of jurisdiction for tax collection.

[100] Lord F.D. Lugard; op.cit. 1965. pg 240-241.

> social and economic progress and to encourage eventually the spirit of tolerance, of their respective and conflicting interest ... The object of this fund is to prove to the peasantry the economic value of the Fulani, ... to this fund shall be paid a proportion (say 10% minimum = 6d per head of cattle) of the jangali and deposited in the name of the village in the Native treasury. This action on the part of the N.A. would be executive and form part of the Native treasury estimates..."[101].

The application of this policy was reshaped in 1957 to involve the creation of a very large number of separate deposit accounts in each Native treasury, and it inevitably entailed a great increase in the volume of works for the already harassed N.A. staff.

However, the creation of this fund was extortionist because the colonial authorities contributed nothing to it. It instead consolidated their escapist tendencies from socio-economic development. Besides that, it seemed as if the colonial authorities had been looking for this opportunity to come. So when it did they never hesitated, and had to extend extortion to include the pastoralists. By so doing the taxation system was entrenched (particularly the jangali tax) which raised the state's revenue. Furthermore, with the consolidation of this (jangali) tax, the pastoralists came under double extortion: through the income tax system and jangali tax. Needless to mention the exploitation that they were having from the local communities' ruling authorities.

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[101] Cooperative Societies. Provincial Correspondences. File no. B.627/vol. 2. Bamenda Archives. Also Cooperative thrift and savings societies. File no. D.B.A. 1897. Bamenda Archives.

It could be summarized, that this Fund was designed by the colonialists to affect the distribution of the local communities' incomes for socio-economic growth. And what spurred the colonialists was the emergence of some few relatively rich peasant farmers in the Division as a result of the livestock production, cooperative movement and marketing Boards. So the fund was a continuation of the British policy of preventing the emergence of a strong financial class in the Division on the one hand, and also limiting the capital accumulative capacities of the entire local population on the other. Nonetheless, the institution raised some Ardos to high administrative statuses in the N.A. system of administration, thereby winning their support for the colonial system. These Ardos enforced the financial collections[102].

In another light, the frustration that the indigenes got from the system of production and distribution (particularly the system of accumulation), made them to evolve their own savings system popularly called 'ndjangi'. In chapter five we saw how the system of production conditioned this institution to transform from being predominantly socio-cultural to being largely socio-economic. In this regard, it was a continuation of the same change process. According to this new value the small money that local individuals (mostly the commercialists) could realize at the end of each day was accumulated and brought together on periodic basis as agreed by the members

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[102]Interview with Mallam Audu Umarou. Ntamulung Mankon-Bamenda. August 10th 1993.

of a 'ndjangi' group. It could be daily, weekly or monthly. A savings system was developed whereby the financial collections during each meeting was given to the members on the following basis: rotatingly, on emergency demand by a member whose turn had either passed or was yet to come and on lending basis[103]. The 'ndjangi' societies that triumphed were mostly those in the urban areas having their membership made up of largely the elites and wage labourers.

Nonetheless, the extent of proliferation of 'ndjangi' societies cannot be accurately assessed. However, the economic changes in the Division and plantation zones affected them. For example we were informed that some members could hardly honour their financial contributions, or repay in time the loans which they collected[104]. So the strength of the institution should not be exaggerated[105]. W. Warmington mentioned that some of these 'ndjangi' societies (mostly in the plantations zone) evolved some welfarian or philanthropic practices such as assisting some

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[103] P.M. Kaberry, op.cit. 1952 pg 120. Also R. Eugene, et al. (eds.); op.cit. Pg 102-103. Interviews with Mallam Audu Umarou. Ibid.; Yah Casilia, Jakiri February 15th 1993; Moh M.T. Nuenyi, Bamunka-Ndop. October 11th 1993; Titoh Pauline Nuentoh, Bamunka Ndop, February 24th 1993.

[104] Interviews with: Tahmoghor, Baba I-Ndop. June 13th 1993. Also Yah Casilia Jakiri, February 15th 1993.

[105] W.A.Warmington; "Savings and Indebtedness Amongst Cameroons Plantation Workers" in Daryl Forde, et al. (eds.); Africa Journal of the International African Institute vol. 28 No. 2. O.U.P. London 1958. Pg 331-333. Warmington called these ndjangi institutions as X-mass clubs or banks. We hardly saw them as such because: firstly, they did not operate only during the X-mass season. Secondly, in terms of aim, function and operation of the system they largely departed from those of the capitalistic banking institutions like the Banks or Post office savings bank that was operated in the Division from Menda-Nkwe. However, some linkages existed between these institutions and the European colonial banks in Southern Cameroons, since the laters' prime function was to encourage the necessary conditions for the indigenes to save money. Fore more on the nature of the local banking system in Bamenda Division see also R. Eugene let al. (eds.); op.cit 102-103.

indigenes with finance for the purpose of education[106]. Most of the unmarried men used this forum to save money for their bride's requirements and payment of taxes[107].

As a result of the economic changes and impoverishment, indebtedness was reported to be widespread in the Division and plantations where some indigenes of the Division were employed in the 1950s. W.A. Warmington further observed, that either an indigene was indebted to any of such 'ndjangi' associations, the European banks or post office bank on the one hand, or to another indigene on the other. A bulk of the debts were in form of short-term credit accounts which were to be settled at the end of the month when pay was drawn. This pertained mostly to the state employees[108]. For a peasant farmer, his debts could only be cleared after he had sold his produce to the cooperative societies, Marketing Boards', Licensed buyers or Multi-national firms, on the one hand, or after accumulating some money by retailing some of his food crops. So his was largely seasonal. Nevertheless, very few of the indigenes could clear their debts[109]. On these basis also, it could further be said that the commercial

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[106]Interview with Fon S.A.N. Angwafo III. Mankon Palace, March 10th 1993. Also R. Eugene et al. (eds.); Ibid. Pg 102-103. R. Eugene and P. Ritzenthaler reported about the entire saving capacity of the indigenes in the 1950s thus: "There is a modern Bank in Bamenda... but only a few use it, chiefly because few... have a money surplus. The husband controls the money and may save up for a gun, a sewing machine for his wife, or keep some aside for use in the event of a funeral or wedding, but the family is more often faced with money shortage than a surplus".

[107]Interview with Tahmogohr, Baba I-Ndop, June 13th 1993.

[108]W.A. Warmington; op.cit. Pg 337-342.

[109]Ibid

activities of the indigenes were geared towards the settling of their debts, after having paid their taxes. Any more surplus went for school fees, hospital dues, the village improvement fund,payment to the parents of his proposed wife, and so on. Moreover, it was further reported that social tension and conflicts evolved between debtors and creditors, or husband and wives in the Division and plantations because of indebtedness[110].

6.4 Indigenous Production of Cash Crops:

In chapters four and five we examined the nature and impact of British land laws and agricultural policies in Bamenda Division - Southern Cameroons. Through the land laws, the Division became predominantly peasant based. The agricultural policies steadily led to the cultivation of some crops by the indigenes for export. In this section of the study, our focus would be on the role played by the British monetization (especially taxation) policies in influencing the cash crop economy of the Division. Meanwhile, in the earlier part of this chapter we examined the changing nature of the taxation system with a view to showing how efficiency was sought. The impact of these changes on the one hand, and the general nature of the economy (from liquidity crisis in the pre-1940s to price-inflation in the post-1940) on the other, was that more and more indigenes took to cash crop cultivation.

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[110] Ibid. For more see: E. Ardener, et al(eds.); op.cit. 1960. Pgs 52,58,119, 125-127, 146-148, 154-155,161,181-182

From the 1920s cash crops production in the Division was fast becoming peasant based. Areas like Nsungli, Meta, Ngie, Ngoni and Widekum which were rich in palm produce since the German era evolved long distance trading as another economic mainstay because of the increasing demand for cash in the Division. The Nsungli indigenes in particular became popular traders in the Division and some evolved to middlemen positions by buying from the peasant producers and selling to the European traders at Nsaw or Bali-Nyonga. Also, they bought goods from the Nsaw Central Market and retailed to everyone in the N.A. Most of what the middlemen bought were European manufactures like utensils and textiles. Some of these traders teamed up with the Nsaw long distance and other immigrant Hausa traders, and traded as far as Ibi, Takum, Gashaka or Yola in Nigeria[111]. The principal good they traded in was kolanuts which in terms of quantity, that produced in the Ndu area at this time rivaled that of Nsaw. But with regards quality those of the Nsaw area were of a higher grade[112].

New trading centres also evolved because of the increasing demand for cash by the indigenes. In the trading centres mostly the new crops or crops species were sold. Other local crops were also sold in the 1940s. These new markets operated on the traditional weekly market

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[111]Interview with Mallam Audu Umarou, Ntamulung-Nankon August 10th 1993.

[112]Great Britain Colonial Office; Reports for 1927 op.cit Pg 90. Also Great Britain colonial office; Reports 1928. op.cit. Para 321; Great Britain Colonial Office; Reports 1929 op.cit. Pg 96

basis. In the interior areas like Bamesse in the Ngoni (Ngaw) area, the pattern was similar. The chief articles on sale here were the local crafts, raw foodstuffs, amongst others. Long distance traders from the Bali-Nyonga area were attracted, so also were the British themselves[113]. Other splinter markets also developed in the Ngie and Widekum areas. These were even reported to have evolved as early as 1923[114].

An interesting change which was also observed by the colonialists was that the emergence of the these trade patterns conditioned the long distance traders from the eastern region of Bamenda Division to abandon their hitherto dependence on palm oil supply on the Bamum and Dschang areas (in the French territory), and moved to the interior of the Division for this produce. It was attributed to the border restrictions; but most importantly, the supplies in these new areas were cheaper and of better quality. Hence traders from the French territory also explored these new markets especially between 1926 and 1929. Due to this new pattern of trade, the Bali-Nyonga, Kimbaw, Bafut and Ndu markets were fast gaining reputation throughout the Division[115]. Their dominance also popularized trade in salt and tobacco.

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[113]Interview with: Pah Ngang mankon, October 7th 1993. Also Pah Afundah, Bamenda September 19th 1993.

[114]Great Britain Colonial Office; Reports for 1931. H.M.S.O. London 1932. Pg. 2.

[115]R. Eugene, et al. (eds.); op.cit pg 98-102. Also, J.C. Drummond-Hay; op.cit Para. 215-263.

6.4.1 The Development of palm produce trade in the pre-1940s:

We have seen above the emergence of palm oil trade in the interior parts of Bamenda Division. The produce conditioned long distance traders from the eastern region of the Division - Bamum, Dschang in the French territory to the Meta, and Ngie areas. It therefore stood clear that palm oil and kernel production were much favoured by the indigenes from the 1920s. Similarly, the British colonialists needed it. The British needed it because of the demands of their post-war I (recovery) industries[116]. The indigenes demanded it for their subsistence and to survive the changing monetization condition in the Division-liquidity shortage. But the European demand for palm produce was said to have been higher than the indigenes could supply, largely because of the presence of the multi-national licensed buyers mentioned earlier. For this reason, more of the indigenes took to the cultivation of more palm trees for subsequent trade with the buyers. The other cash crops (such as cotton, rubber and to a lesser extent kola) were given little attention, and consequently abandoned for palms because the indigenes believed that, so long as they retained the tree and the

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[116]For more see: E.M. Chilver; "Native Administration in the British West Cameroon". in K. Robinson, et al (eds.); Essays in Imperial Government Blackwell London. 1963. Also P.T. Bauer, op.cit; John Hatch, op.cit.

fruit, their time-honoured oil business would never be taken away from them[117].

Palm oil trade rose rapidly because it was needed in Europe for so many purposes. It was no longer a monopoly of the soap-makers or the chandler. When palm oil was deodorized by hydrogen it was useful for the manufacture of nitro-glycerine explosives. The exploiters of novelties in metal polishes also needed it[118]. It was also needed for tin plating.

Throughout most of the post-war I era, British efforts were centred on research aimed at improving on the quality and quantity of palm produce. New uses of palm produce were also discovered by the indigenes as it was reported thus:

> "It yields the palm oil and kernels of commerce. It gives the native drink he is very fond of ... which when fermented, gives our (the British) cooks yeast for bread-making. The shells of the nuts are used by blacksmiths as fuel, as they give off great heat ..."[119].

The post-war one conditions such as the suspension of German trade and plantation palm production also conditioned the planters of palms in Nigeria to look for new sources of palm produce in Southern Cameroons. The multi-national licensed buyers travelled as far as to Bamenda Division to purchase the palm produce, thereby

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[117]Interviews with: Yah Casilia, Jakiri, February 15th 1993; Pah Tamakeuh, Bamunka-Ndop, February 20th 1993; Mrs. Fosah Deborah, Bamenda, August 17th, 1993.

[118]A. Calvert, op. cit. London 1917. Pg 34. Also see G.K. Helleiner; op. cit. 1966 Pg 96-103.

[119]A. Calvert Ibid. Pg 37. Also chapter three pg.

reducing the quantities that the indigenes took to Nigeria and the French territory[120].

Meanwhile, the British demand for palm produce from the Cameroons increased from the British take-over because experimental stations were established in Britain to investigate on palm kernel cake food production. In an article published in The Field on "Palm Kernel Cake", Mr. F.J. Lloyed, pointed out that

> "... a really good cake made from this product is now available in this country - (Britain). The nutrients in palm kernel cake are quite exceptionally digestible ... Owing to its pleasant taste, its great digestibility and the way in which cattle thrive on it, no cake fetches so high a price... It increases the yield of milk, improves the quality as regards butter fat, so that it is especially valuable for winter feeding ... Though mainly used in Germany for dairy cattle,... it has also been given with satisfactory results to steers, sheep and pigs"[121].

On the part of the multi-national traders such as the U.A.C., Elders and Fyffes, Lever Brothers Ltd. etcetera, they preferred palm produce trade in the Cameroons also because of the favourable prices that they got for the produce in Europe. In Hamburg for example, the average value of the kernels ranged from 18 pounds 2s to 19 pounds 2s per ton (since June 1914); the value in Liverpool ranged from 17 pounds 17s to 18 pounds 18s. per ton (since July

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[120] Ibid. Pg 40-41.

[121] Ibid. Pg 43. It should be noted that the German trade in palm produce from Kamerun in the pre-war I era was a thing that the British envied. And this was clearly brought out by Mr. R.E. Denett (a British colonial Forestry administrator in Nigeria) in an article titled "The War, British and German trade in Nigeria". According to him, the Germans in Kamerun were better in palm produce trade than the British. He demonstrated this statistically. So at take-over from the Germans, the British sought to not only alter this balance to her favour, but to prevent the Germans from the trade and make the best out of the produce which they got from the Cameroons.

same year). These prices remained relatively favourable over time[122]. But up till the 1930s, the licensed buyers' profits were alarmingly high because of the price and liquidity situation of the Division which was reported in 1925 thus:

> "Palm oil and camwood are also made the object of trading journeys ... and the trader makes a very fair profit ... kernels and groundnuts are taken to Nkongsamba a journey of 6 or 7 days where they are either sold in the market in order to get marks to buy goods at the factory, or taken direct to the factories. A one man's loads of kernels was being bought by the factories for 15 marks or 7/6, and the same amount of groundnuts for 10 marks or 5/-. Whilst groundnuts are a product of the Bandop area, kernels are bought in Nchani, or exchanged for other goods. As a very fair estimate it may be said that 5 pound a year is an average income for the trader who spends his time in this pursuit alone. However, but few of the traders make a whole time job of it, and the average man only goes on a trading journey with some definite object in view such as to get enough money to pay his bride price or to buy some coveted object"[123].

In the Division also, it should be noted that 'very fair profit' that the indigenes made from palm oil trade was taken away from them by the colonialists in the form of taxes. Reporting on this in Ndop N.A. J.C. Drummond-Hay had this to say

> "The Bamunka palm oil maker produces in six days 3/- worth of palm oil and 1/- worth of kernels. If he works for the 270 days a year his earnings should be 9 pounds ...From the foregoing, it will be seen that the Bandop are a comparatively rich people for the Bamenda Division and it is processed that the new rate of taxation should be 4/- per adult male, an increase of 6d on previous taxation. This amount is approximately 4% of the

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[122] Ibid Pg. 44. Also L.B. Raymond; op.cit. Pg. 767-768.

[123] J.C. Drummond-Hay. op.cit Para 266

gross income of the adult male, and there should be no difficulty in paying it..."[124].

In another light, palm produce trade rose further because the licensed buyers substituted cocoa-nut oil with palm kernel oil, for the manufacture of soap, candles and the preparation of edible fats such as margarine, cooking fats, chocolate and vegetable 'butters'. Correspondingly, palm kernels became very high in demand. For example when the value of palm kernels was 17 pound to 18 pounds per ton in Britain, the cost of cocoanut was very expensive - 40 pound per ton and scarce. It was mostly obtainable from Ceylon[125].

In the 1920s when the Ex-enemy ordinance that the British government had passed was repealed, the Germans staged a come back into this trade. The U.S.A. also increased her demand for palm produce. The export duties that the British had imposed on the German trade with her colonies were also relinquished. Accordingly, German purchases of palm produce from Nigeria and the Cameroons increased from 8,389 tons in 1922 to 103,184 tons in 1925 in comparison with 145,783 tons in 1911 (Kamerun largely)[126]. British purchases also rose from 22,885 tons in 1911 (Nigeria largely) to 209,117 tons in 1919 (Nigeria and Southern Cameroons)[127].

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[124] Ibid. Para 259.

[125] A. Calvert, op.cit. Pg. 45

[126] L.B. Raymond, op.cit. Pg 767.

[127] Ibid.

Interestingly, the German re-entrance in the trade in palms caused a drop in the British purchase, which by 1925 stood at 158,112 tons (for Nigeria and the Cameroons)[128]. This German impact was also felt in Bamenda Division in that the indigenes increased their cultivation of palms, and preferred to sell them in the French territory - at Nkongsamba which the German traders preferred[129]. It was also this German re-entrance in palm produce trade that conditioned the British multi-national traders in West Africa to struggle for the introduction of European plantation system in Nigeria and an extension of those in Southern Cameroons as mentioned in chapter four.This plantation system would enable them to establish a monopoly in palm produce trade in West Africa from 1918[130].

Meanwhile, these factors conditioned the colonial government from the mid-1920s to start encouraging palm production and trade in the Division through the South Eastern Nigerian Province. She sponsored attempts aimed at improving yields per tree as explained thus:

> "The ideal towards which we must work is to replace the present wild oil palm bush with properly planned and maintained plantations owned by the local people. For the most part the wild oil palm bush contains old and uneconomic trees of poor stock, and owing to intensive farming beneath the trees natural regeneration is not taking place. The time is not far distant when the existing wild palms will become

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[128] Ibid.

[129] J.C. Drummond-Hay. op.cit. Para 228.

[130] See chapter four. Fore more see L.B. Raymond, op.cit. Pg 770-771. Also Association of European civil servants in West African Colonies Communication from ... SNP 8/3 Acct. No. 671/18/1919 N.A.K.; Enemy Properties in Cameroons and Togoland disposed of .... op. cit.

> unproductive, and economic disaster will result unless local people can be persuaded to establish village plantations of which the Board's proposed small plantations would be the perfect model"[131].

New techniques were developed and introduced in the post war II era such as the screw-type hand-press which substituted the oil factory at Nkongsamba. But up to the 1950s, the local methods of extracting the kernels and oil from the palm nuts dominated in the Division[132].

6.4.2 Coffee production and trade in the post war II period:

In chapters four and five we saw how coffee was introduced by the British in Bamenda Division, and the indigenes' favourable response to its cultivation. In the 1940s both the British colonialists and the indigenes found coffee to be a favourable export crop. Its cultivation as seen earlier, was greatly encouraged by the cooperative societies, the Marketing Boards and the state farmers[133]. Coffee production and trade moved hand in hand with palm production and trade that had long been in existence in the Division. Given the fact that palm production was regarded by the indigenes as a source of cash and subsistence, the introduction of coffee would not have involved the

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[131] Quoted in G.K. Helleiner, op.cit. Pg 99, 101.

[132] J.C. Drummond-Hay. op.cit. Para 228. Also R. Eugene et al op.cit. Pg 82-84.

[133] See chapter four. it was realized that rainfall in the Division averaged about 106 inches and in the dry season it was relatively high - 14.2 inches. Its distribution between November and March made it favourable for flowering of the arabica coffee to take place between January and March. See M.B. Gleave, and M.P. Thomas; "The Bagango Valley. An Example of land utilization and agricultural Pracitaice in the Bamenda Highlands". in op. cit. Vol. 30, No. 2, April 1968. Pg 656.

indigenes more in its cultivation than the palm. Coffee cultivation consequently increased largely because of the presence of the Cooperative societies and Marketing Boards on the one hand, and the increasing price inflation and the indigenes' demand for cash on the other .

With the introduction of coffee in 1947, its consolidation took place from 1957 right into the post-independence period, as seen in the table below[134]:

Estimated Coffee Out-put from Bamenda, 1947 - 1962.

Season	Co-operative Marketing (tons)	Out-put (tons)
1947-1948	N.D	14
1950-1951	18	N.D
1954-1955	100	100 +
1956-1957	275	463
1957-1958	134	1,062
1958-1959	516	1,265
1959-1960	N.D	1,689
1961-1962	N.D	3,500

Key

N.D = no data

From 1957 as it could be observed on the table, there was a drastic rise in the 'indigenes' output of coffee. Hitherto, palm trade dominated the region. But with the increasing demand for cash by the indigenes for the purpose of taxes, school fees, hospital fees, welfarian activities, market dues and other licenses, the purchase of European manufactures - utensils, textiles, iron products etc tools

[134]Extracted from Ibid. Pg 678.

and so on, - coffee cultivation was regarded as an avenue to generate the money for those needs.

While coffee cultivation engaged the men mostly, food crop cultivation became a responsibility of the women, who also did it for subsistence and for cash[135].

The indigenes were further attracted into coffee production and trade because the Cooperative Societies in liaison with the Marketing Boards controlled the marketing structure. This was done by improving on the communications both within and outside the Division. Most of the coffee went through Mamfe to the Nigerian region of Calabar, and the ports of Victoria and Tiko in Southern Cameroons. Some small quantities were still smuggled through Santa to the French territory. The cash returns from coffee were said to be high[136].

Coffee production and trade further affected the livestock industry. Even though there was a marked increase in the indigenes' concern in cattle, pigs, goats and sheep rearing, when compared with coffee production the balance favoured coffee. This dominance of coffee over the livestock industry could be explained not only from the more favourable cash returns that came from coffee trade, but also because cattle grazing was met with the farmer/grazier conflict. Also, it was difficult for one man to be both grazier and coffee farmer. So most of the indigenes who owned cattle were either the Fons, N.A.

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[135] Ibid. Pg 678-679

[136] Ibid Pg. 680.

employees or other elites of the colonial society. The indigenes employed herdsmen - gainako - who were either Fulani or from the local community, but put under training by a Fulani herdsman. These conditions made the Fulani to dominate the livestock industry (principally as cattle rearers). The indigenes of the local community concentrated in keeping small stocks of goats, pigs, fowls, sheep and donkey[137].

Cash crop cultivation and livestock rearing further contributed to the increasing land hunger in the Division. Most of the cattle graziers limited their spheres only on the hill tops and in the interior of the Division and province - Nkambe and Wum Divisions. The practice of transhumance was consolidated in this post-war II period of the colonial economy. After the harvesting of the food crops and coffee the graziers came down the hills to the valleys. Areas like the Ndop, Nsaw, Ngemba and Meta lands were invaded by them.

Besides that, the demand for cash by the indigenes had caused them to change their farming cycle, thereby further limiting the amount of land for grazing. According to the new farming cycle, some dry season crops were also cultivated thus: from October Vegetables, and legumes amongst others. And yams were planted from February[138].

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[137] Ibid. Pg. 660.

[138] Backbuin, D.N. Republic of Cameroon Ministry of Agriculture. Divisional Delegation for Agriculute - Mezam. Annual Report 1989-1990. Also Ministry of Agriculture. Provincial Delegation of the North West. Divisional Delegation of Agriculture, Bui. First Semester Report 1992-1993; P.M. Kaberry; op.cit 1952(her budgets),Pg.157-213.

So dry season grazing effectively took place between early December and late February. In this regard, the livestock industry suffered in the interest of cash crop (coffee palms and grains) production.

These land conditions contributed to the labour migrancy situation in the Division, especially in the post war II era, when more lands were hardly available for food crops cultivation and livestock rearing, and with the labour intensive nature of agriculture (particularly coffee production). Most of the youths resented these economic activities. A lot of them preferred petty trading to cash crop cultivation.

6.4.3 Banana Production and Trade in the Post War II Period:

Apart from coffee and palm produce trade that the monetization policies of the British influenced the indigenes of the Division to engage in, banana also emerged in this period as another source of income.

In chapters four and five we saw the processes by which the export variety was introduced - through the C.D.C. With the plantations in the coastal areas of Southern Cameroons its trade became very lucrative. The indigenes rapidly took to its cultivation because of the advantages which it had regarding their subsistence. It could also be inter-planted with coffee and the palms or even other food crops[139].

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[139] See chapter five. Also M.B. Gleave et al. op.cit

Trade in banana proliferated largely because of the cooperative societies (especially those that were concentrated in the plantations zone)[140]. However, the spread of Panama and Sigatoka diseases in the Southern Cameroons reduced its cultivation in the Division to being largely for local subsistence and trade in the local markets. The incidence of the diseases also made the indigenes to prefer coffee, palm and grain production for export[141]. Besides that, the land laws and system of production in the Division[142] generally, prevented the indigenes from establishing banana (or even coffee) plantations that could have fetched such plantation owners more cash, given the proliferation of the Co-operative activities.

6.5 The Development of Labour Migrancy:

Labour was regarded by the British colonialists as the life wire of the system of production and distribution which they established in the Division. We saw earlier in this chapter how the economic policies affected the institution of slave labour and feudalist exploitations. We also saw how as a consequence of the policies, forced labour soon emerged. Later on labour became voluntary from which permanent labour was employed. In all these stages,

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[140] See chapters four and five.

[141] J.H. Jennings "The Co-operative Movement in the Southern Cameroons" in Geography Journal of the Geographical Association vol. XLIV Sheffield 1959. Pg 208.

[142] Chapters four and five.

wage labour was getting entrenched, especially with the imposition of taxes on the indigenes. Taxes entrenched wage labour either in individual or collective (communal) forms. Due to tax increases more labour was released by the indigenes. So it came to pass labour and taxation moved together in separably.

On the other hand, the introduction of export crops through the colonial land laws and agricultural policies as examined in chapter four was affected by the monetization (taxation) policies of the British colonialists. The result was that export crops production began attracting the inidigenes, thus the development of labour migrancy to the areas where the cash crops could be better produced. For example, the plantation migrant indigenes were largely influenced by the demand for cash.

The impact of the monetizatlion policieswhich we mentioned earlier in this chapter was also the weakening of household production so that a condition of migrancy was created[143a]. But the incidence of this house hold production was transferred onto the peasant, some of whom had already become 'landless' as a result of the changes that the crownland and Native Land Acquisition policies caused.[143b] There often arose some degree of misunderstanding amongst such weakened households or

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[143a]. Lord F.D. Lugard, op.cit 1963. Pg 407-408.

[143b]. Tension set in when a peasant's household was based on a polygynous marital status. The tension often arose when the family or lineage head found it difficult to meet up with the traditional responsibilities of equal distribution of assets to meet the needs of the different wives and children, or at times the lineage respectively. .

lineage members, and most seriously when the household or lineage head was a successor (heir) to his deceased parent. Even half brothers also nursed these misunderstandings[144]. With these misunderstandings the families or lineages soon split off and the condition of migrancy was consolidated.

6.5.1 Factors Responsible for the Process of Migration:

A lot of studies have been carried on the causes of labour migrancy in Africa. These factors include: political, economic, social, cultural and religious[145a]. These studies made use of the concepts of 'pull' and 'push' factors of migrancy. And two principal forms of migrancy were identified viz: rural-rural and rural-urban migrations, both sharing similar push and pull factors. However, we shall differ a bit in our approach because of the limitations of our scope of study[145b].

In Bamenda Division, the colonial policies influenced the indigenes to experience all these forms of migration. In a nutshell, the migration took place between the Division and the French territory, Nigeria, the plantation zone and other Divisions in Bamenda Province. But our

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[144]Discussion with Fon S.A.N. Angwafo III Mankon Palace September 15th 1993. Also, Pah Tamakeuh Bamunka-Ndop February 20th 1993. Mme. Esther K., Ndop. September 9th 1993.

[145]a. For more see: E.G. Ravenstein; "The laws of migration" in Journal of the Royal Statistical Society. Vol. 2 1989. Also S.A. Stouffer; "Intervening opportunities: A Theory Relating Mobility and distance". in American Sociological Review vol. 5 1940. Pg 845-867; R.C. Taylor, "Migration and Motivation: A study of determinants and Types". in J.A. Jackson (ed.); Migration. Cambridge 1969; R.K. Udo, "The migrant tenant farmer of Eastern Nigeria". in Africa, vol. 34 1964. Pg 326-339; R.K. Udo, "A study of rural-rural migrations in Nigeria" in Nigeria Magazine no. 103 1970 amongst others.

[145]b. For a detailed approach on this theme see E. Arderner, et al. op.cit

interest in this study would be limited to migration within the Division and more to the plantations. In these forms of migration, there were those indigenes who were influenced by the demand for farmlands for the cultivation of crops (for cash and subsistence); and those who were conditioned by the demand for fiscal cash (wages) to enable them earn a living and satisfy the increasing financial demands of the colonial economy. The migrants within the Division and outside for farmlands were described by R.K. Udo as tenant farmers; and the others as wage labourers[146a].

The movement therefore affected all the sectors of the economy, thereby involving the forms of movement which, from the pre-colonial systems of production was geared towards the production of food for the family or lineage crafts amongst others for trade. We saw in the second chapter of this study how this was organized in the pre-colonial era. Its manner of surplus and wealth distribution was less exploitative. The colonial system of production in the Division[146b] evolved another system of labour which was over-exploitative. This was because of the more difficult socio-economic conditions that the new

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146a. R.K. Udo; The migrant tenant farmers of Nigeria. African Univ. Press Lagos. 1975. Also Paul Landis; Rural Life in Proces. New York 1948. Farm tenancy was defined by P. Landis (based on the American and Nigerian experiences) as a condition where some indigenes (villages and hamlets own more land than they could farm given the available labour force and the equipment at their disposal, whereas many others have very little or no land to cultivate and are therefore obliged to migrate to rent land. But strictly speaking, this could not be totally appliclable to our area of study because of the relatively little landlessness that the land laws and agricultural polices caused. Farm tenancy in Bamenda Division should therefore not be exaggerated. But it assumed a large proportion in the plantation zones and the French territory. For more see E. Ardener et al. op.cit.

146b. See chapter five Pg.

system produced, thereby necessitating migrancy to occur. We saw these conditions in the colonial administrative and economic policies viz: land, labour and taxation policies. Within these conditions, the same family unit of labour began producing food for the family on the one hand, and for export on the other. And yet the same primary factor of production[146c] was used for that dual purpose.

Secondly, the frustrations that the peasant producers got from the process of production (in the farms, commercial activities, livestock, rearing, fishing and crafts production) caused more of them to begin moving from their family farm to the plantations; or become carriers within the Division and the plantations zones; or become wage labourers with the Public Works Department. These indigenes performed those activities while thinking about subsistence, same as those who moved to the emerging urban areas[147]. These patterns of movement soon caused a sharp contradiction between labour for food and labour for export. It was very sharp because of the established state sectors in the Division, the plantations at the coastal region and the cultivation of crops and rearing of livestock for cash. By implication it was also the degree of monetization of the economy that made the contradiction to be very sharp.

[146c]. Based on the increasing demand for land for more economic activities, the increase in population amongst others, the farm sized were fast reducing (especially for the peasant farmers). The degenerating environmental condition which we discussed in chapter five further influenced the process of migration because of declining farm yields.

[147]O. Oculi, Op. cit. 1987

Apart from the above factors there were also the financial demands of soico-economic goods and amenities like European articles, education, health, post and telegraph, amongst others. All these were at the public sector level. At the level of the private sector, the contradictions were also convulsive viz: the liquidity shortage, the post-war II price inflation and the expanding private sector of the Division under the control of the foreign agents (who bought the produce and supplied the European manufactures), the exploitations of the local transporters and commercialization and the impact of the Cooperative Societies.

The above patterns and conditions aside, the political conditions in the entire territory and the French sphere in particular, further influenced this migrancy. In this case the labour units (in larger numbers), by attempting to question the excesses of colonialism came under political repression. So the labour units resorted to migrating out of those regions (especially from the French territory) into the Division, where they subsequently engaged in crops cultivation; livestock rearing for cash; commerce and[148a] politics. This was predominant in the 1950s when the nationalist struggle for independence of the entire

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148a. For more see J.V. Ngoh: op. cit. 1987. Also R. Joseph; Radical Nationalism in Cameroon. Social Origins of the U.P.C. Rebellion. The clerendorn Press Oxford. 1977. The immigrants from the French territory came to Bamenda Division in search for political assylum. Sebsequently, they became active in the independence struggle by forming political assoications and parties that fought hard for the unification of the French and British Cameroons, independence and self-government. The threat that they posed to the British colonial rule in this region further led to their ban by 1957, but before that their political impact had already been well established. The ban made most of them to engage in livestock keeping, agriculture (cash crop farming) and trade.

Cameroons had led to the formation of political parties like the U.P.C., K.U.N.C., O.K., and K.N.D.P.

Going deeper into the colonial system we find that the distabilization of family labour in the Division began right from c.1916 when the colonial administrators began entrenching their presence in the Division[148b]. By 1920, forced labour had taken a coercive approach, thereby enforcing the crack in household labour. However, since cash crop production had not yet been entrenched in the Division, the crack was not enough to have conditioned a steady movement of labour to the plantations. It was from the early 1920s that the movement started being steady because of the activities of the Multi-nationals which had caused some liquidity shortage. In addition, this was the period when the colonialists imposed some terror on the indigenes because of the British attempts at maintaining state authority in the territory. Many of the indigenes became carriers or plantation labourers. In the post-war II era, the process of migrancy was more subtle because of the improved conditions of service, roads, transportation and the commercial monopoly of the Marketing Boards and Cooperative Societies in the Division. These post-war II conditions made labour migrancy more popular because of the low wages that were offered for the socio-economic services that were available. Moreover, these services were more in supply especially in the plantations.

[148b]. See chapter three pg.

As said earlier, the terrorizing approaches during the first period of labour migrancy referred to the efforts which the state used in maintaining state authority. This was particularly from the mid 1920s, and they were intensified during the great depression years. During this period we saw that because of the role of the multi-nationals, nearly all the forms of labour staged a come back viz: forced labour, voluntary labour, communal labour, amongst others. These labour forms did not also respect certain conventional limitations like age, sex, skill, and so on. Also, acute shortages were reported in the domain of skilled labour (for the health, educational and public works departments, amongst others). The Ordinances that were passed to check the excesses of labour exploitation were hardly enforced.

As a consequence of the terrorizing means of exploiting local labour, by 1925 it was reported that about 9,398 carriers were used in the Division either for public services or porterage to and from the coastal zones[149]. The question then arises on where these came from before being used in the Division. The response to this is that these carriers were mostly the 'landless' peasants or indigenes of the families and lineages of the Division who needed money to pay their taxes and other revenues to the N.A. Amongst these landless, some came from broken homes because the labour and taxation policies created some

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[149]Great Britain Colonial Office; Reports 1925. op.cit. Pg 47.

misunderstandings amongst polygynous homes which we mentioned earlier.

Reporting further on the extent of labour migrancy that was conditioned by the administration's political, land and other economic policies in the Division the colonialists said:

> "... further north, in Mamfe and Bamenda Divisions, many of the more primitive tribes are taking up with vigour the trade in palm kernels and palm oil. These are carried by human transport either west ward to the factory on the Cross River at Mamfe or eastward to the factories in the French railway at Nkongsamba. The labour of transport is very heavy, as the roads are hilly and stony. At the factories the European buyers have to deal with each headload separately, and purchases it from its owner and transporter. But this is only the beginning and change will appear as soon as motor roads can be built and African middlemen and agents of the firms can buy from the producer on the spot and save his long journey to the factory ..."[150].

This abstract raises many issues, but our concern is that it qualifies the former figures given by the administrative reports on the migrancy situation in the Division as largely conservative. Indeed trade was getting more organized to have involved so many indigenes as carriers. And this is reported in the abstract that each licensed buyer had streams of carriers behind him, further explaining the extent to which the private employers exploited the administrative situation to exploit labour. On the part of the local population, the colonial conditions had made them so frustrated and desperate that they accepted to work for the employers on any terms,

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[150] Ibid.

simply because of their increasing need for money for subsistence, tax payment school fees, health care etc.

Failure to pay the taxes resulted in brutality or imprisonment by the N.A.

Moreover, the abstract further explains the reasons for migrancy out of the Division viz: trade, and transportation of produce from the Division to either the coastal regions of British Nigeria and Southern Cameroons, or the French territory. And from every indication this direction of migrancy was the most horrendous and yet the main direction of movement. Furthermore, the abstract testifies to the fact that very limited socio-economic pull factors were in the Division which could have contained the population and prevented the migrancy outside it. This lack of pull factors was part of the colonialists' policy of maintaining the Division as an agricultural and livestock based zone on the one hand, and using the indigenes as the main source of labour for her plantations on the other. Most of the migrant labourers from the Division were also said to have been engaged in the construction of the roads linking the plantation and coastal urban area viz: Tiko and Buea, and the plantation farms[151], while and those of the Division were abandoned.

In 1926 it was further reported that of a total of about 1,698 (total number of labourers in the plantations), most of them came from Bamenda Province, and in particular

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[151] Ibid.

Bamenda Division viz: Bali-Nyonga-1,471 migrants - a distance of at least 170 miles away.

Meanwhile coming back to the Division, the number of migrant labourers had also increased immensely to over 4,181, but these were only carriers[152]. By implication there were more migrant labourers (carriers) in Bamenda Division than the total number of labourers in the plantations.

This migrancy situation also alarmed the colonial authorities who reported about the Division thus:

> "... The development of a wide trade in produce for export will indirectly bring about a change of the most vital character in the moral and social welfare of the present heavy burden of manual labour. It has been stated in earlier reports that the agricultural work of growing all the foodstuffs required by the households falls upon the women in all the tribes of the territory... But we are not convinced that there will be any positive change in the moral and social welfare of the natives because of the fundamental absence of roads ...[153].

The same report confirmed that these changes had deplorable effects on the population by depriving the infants of adequate care and nutrition[154]. However, based on the abstract our earlier position that migrancy was also caused by the development of trading (long and short distance) is justified. The trading was also influenced by the monopoly

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[152]Great Britain Colonial Office; Reports for the year 1926 H.M.S.O. London 1927. Pg. 49. This increase contrasted with the following figures for the other Divisions: Victoria - 1,09; Kumba-1,911; Mamfe-1,752. Note however that Bamenda Division at this time extended throughout what later became Wum and Nkambe Divisions. But a bulk of the population concentrated within our scope of the Division. For more see E. Ardener, et al. (eds.); op.cit.

[153]Great Britian colonial office; Reports 1925 op.cit. Pg. 85-86.

[154]Ibid.

control of the region by the licensed buyers. The abstract also solidifies our position that cash crop cultivation and livestock rearing had not been well entrenched in the Division by this time.

We also realized that the indigenes struggled in vain to resist labour migrancy. The failure was because the resistance affected only a particular sex group - the females. The resistance was explained thus:

> "the influence of christianity and education tends to effect a change, but it is a very slow one, and the reluctance of the parents to permit their daughters to go to school is ascribed to a fear that the educated girl will not take kindly to farm work"[155a].

From every indication if an indigene did not engage in porterage migrancy, he became a farmer or attended school. So parents resisted the migrancy by promoting subsistence agriculture, and preferred the females to do it. But by not preferring the males to participate in farming, it further led to the crumbling of household labour, thereby creating more conditions for labour migrancy[155b]. These obviously succeeded because of the cash crops that were later-on introduced.

This behaviour does not in anyway explain that the indigenes had not yet seen the vitality of colonial education. The increases in the enrolment figures in

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[155a]. Ibid. Pg 86

[155b]. Household labour easily reduced because the male children who most often were more energetic for farm work were exempted from it. So the lablour capacity of the house reduced, consequently the productivity. These conditions affected the income of the households influencing them to further engage in cash crop production or labour migrancy as tenant farmers or to the plantations as traders.

schools testifies to this[156]. But as observed too, there was a similar pattern of irregularity and absenteeism in the general school attendance (both boys and girls eventhough it was particular amongst the girls). This absenteeism was attributed to labour migrancy. So we are made to understand the socio-economic effects of labour migrancy at least at the family level. In continuation with the effects, it could be suggested that parents must have preferred only the males to attend school because of the financial constrains which labour migrancy had placed the families in. Secondly, the parents could not give adequate care and nutrition to their offsprings because of labour migrancy, thereby further threatening household subsistence. And it could also have been due to this inadequate care and nutrition that the females were preferred for the domestic and subsistence activities thereby causing them to forgo education.

From 1929, the great depression aggravated the conditions of living, thereby further increasing labour migrancy. The depression caused a layoff of so many indigenes by the employment sectors that by 1933 the situation was reported thus:

> "... On the effects of the depression which was hardest in Bamenda and Mamfe as obvious ... the fall in price of the produce unaccompanied by a fall in price of the imports because of domestic problems and tight administrative controls... The redundancy of clerks and unskilled workmen

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[156] See Great Britain Colonial Office; Reports from 1924-1930. op.cit Based on these reports (especially in the appendices), despite the economic hardships, there was steady increase in enrolment. So while colonial education remained important, the indigenes' economic situation affected their ability to go to school.

> continued with the demand for unskilled labour experiencing a steady position because of the expansion in the market for banana at the coast. Consequently, the migrancy increased from the Division"[157].

This is very explicit about the despair and general bewilderment that the depression conditions caused on the indigenes who migrated to the coastal regions in search for unskilled job opportunities in order to earn money. On the other hand, the private employers must have used this opportunity to exploit enough cheap labour as in the early 1920s. Accordingly, the N.A. encouraged this condition by exploiting cheap labour and at the same time encouraging porterage labour on contract basis[158].

We mentioned earlier that labour migrancy in the 1940s and 1950s was more organized and systematic whether in the Division or outside it. A major change was that generally, the number of carriers had reduced alarmingly. But within the Division, this reduction only came in the 1950s. The continuous porterage before the 1950s was caused by the poor situation of the roads, the high transportation cost, limited socio-economic pull factors (especially in the private sector) in the Division and the generally low material conditions of the indigenes that price inflation had caused.

However, with the entrenchment of cash crops production and the rearing of livestock for cash in the 1950s carrier labour greatly reduced. Moreover, the

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[157] Great Britain Colonial Office; Reports 1933. op.cit. Pg 48-49

[158] Ibid. Pg 62

colonial authorities expanded the trunk (ring) road system and neglected the feeder ones. These roads expansion was done in close collaboration with the private sector controlled by the COSTAIN West Africa Ltd[159].

As cash crop and livestock production were entrenched in the mid 1950s, migrancy in the Division further reduced. During this period some relatively big and rich farmers emerged. They employed some of the landless and unemployed indigenes to work on their farms. In addition, the Cooperative and Marketing Boards had injected some money and other cash crops into the economy of the Division which influenced more indigenes to settle-down and concentrate on farming and livestock production[160]. Accordingly, a category of migrant peasants emerged known as the farming-job seekers. Meanwhile, as seen in chapter five, in the area of cattle rearing transhumance had declined because of the development of settlement sites for the pastoralists. The settlement further caused the establishment of the village development fund. As a consequence, many of the settled pastoralists began participating in agriculture and trade.

The reduction in labour migrancy in the Division during this period should however not be exaggerated. In absolute terms only porterage labour reduced considerably.

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[159]Great Britain Colonial Office; Nigeria Annual Reports for the Provinces and Colony.1945 op.cit. Pg 31-32, 36. The roads were extended to link the major collecting centres viz: Kimbaw, Ndu, Bamunka,Bambui, Bafut, Bali-Nyonga and Bamenda. With these, carrier migrancy was drastically reduced.

[160]Interviews with Fon S.A.N. Angwafo III Mankon Palace. March 10th 1993. Also Mch M.T. Nuenyi, Bamunka-Ndop. October 11th 1993.

The population increase, price inflation, increasing monetization of the economy and the break-down of rural social economy as we shall see later, all contributed to movements to the Bamenda urban area and thus to rural exodus. Migrancy to the plantations hardly ever reduced absolutely. It merely changed to being intermittent and seasonal[161]. And by 1954 it was reported that by ethnic composition the number of migrant labourers from the Division to the plantations were about 5,687 workers. Of these, those from Bafut alone were the highest - 830 workers; followed by Bali-Nyonga - 630 workers; then Bamenda - 553 workers[162]. The rest came from Nsaw and the Meta regions.

Another noticeable feature of this second phase of labour migrancy was the migration of indigenes from different regions of the Division and outside the Division with different linguistic systems (dialects) to converge in particular N.A. within the Division. These immigrants caused the emergence of new values especially at the linguistic level, and revived some crumbling occupations especially in the crafts industries. The Bamenda Plateau region and the Ndop plain were the most favoured areas to

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[161]Interview with Tahmogohr, Baba I-Ndop. June 13th 1993.

[162]Great Britain colonial office; Annual Report on the C.D.C. for the Year 1954. This was confirmed by Pah Tahmogohr Ibid. Note however, that, Bamenda (in figures) is used in fluid terms to depict amongst others: Nkwen, Mankon, Menda-Nkwe, Banja, Akum, Mbatu, Chomba, Nsongwa amongst others. Further ambiguities included the statistical taking process which made the figures to be gross estimates. Bali is ambiguous because it does not specify which of the Balis. Baba also. Then the separation of Kimbaw from Bansaw. Moreover, figures were given for Ndop and at the same time those for Bafanji, Baba I, Babessi were given meanwhile they were all parts of Ndop N.A. For more on these ambiguities in the plantation zones see E. Ardener et al op.cit.

the migrants. The occupations like weaving, textile manufacturing and the manufacture of dane guns amongst others began reviving, though not to a great extent. Correspondingly, the Youths of these areas where population was converging became influenced by the demand for money and other values that emerged as a result of urban growth, and moved to the plantations for jobs, thereby abandoning the reviving crafts manufacturing industries. It ended up that these crafts manufacturers could not expand their production. Moreover, many of the plantation workers were realized to have come from either the Ndop N.A., Meta or the Ngemba speaking regions that were noted for the crafts revival. Accordingly, the Ndop, Bali-Nyonga and Nsaw labour migrants soon developed interest in trading and other commercial activities in the plantation areas and the Division itself. Women's interest in petty-trading also began to develop.

The Ndop region in particular attracted more population (after the Bamenda urban area) largely because of its agricultural and grazing potentials. So the agriculturists and livestock rearers were mostly attracted. This movement intensified the transhumance practice in the region especially in the mid-1950s. The increasing concentration of graziers in this region made others to move outside and concentrate in the Pinyin, Baba II, Bafawchu, Bali-Nyonga etcetera regions at the top of the

Bamenda escarpment. The interest in livestock production in these areas focused on cattle rearing[163].

6.5.2 The Impact of Labour Migrancy:

The impact of labour migrancy on the peasants capacity to accumulate capital cannot be over-emphasized. Labour migrancy made them to divert considerable and valuable time and labour resources that could have been used in producing more cash crops and paying more attention to their livestock for more returns. Those who were left to cultivate the cash crops could not also produce maximum surplus; and developed heavily for the sales of their non-export produce on the relatively low European and Nigerian population in the Division. These categories of people should have been those with a higher purchasing power. Furthermore, the constant migration of cattle out of the Division especially because of the farmer-grazier crisis limited the profits that could have accrued to the indigenes of the region because the cattle owners often sold their cattle and spent the money outside the Division.

Migrant labourers to the plantations were often regarded in high esteem especially when it came to marriage. Correspondingly, plantation labourers from the

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[163] Republic of Cameroon. U.N.V.D.A. op. cit. Tome 1. 1976. Pg 2, 22. Also U.N.V.D.A, Tome 3: op. cit. 1976. Pg 26-28, Great Britain colonial office 1948. J.M. McCulloch, Veterinary Officer. Grazing Improvement in Bamenda Division of the Cameroons Under U.K. Trusteeship. H.M.S.O. London 1949 Pg 280-284.

Division were required to pay high bride prices[164]. But in reality these plantation workers were on low wages[165a].

Ecologically, labour migrancy (migration of pastoralists) provided favourable conditions for agriculture, particularly through transhumance and shifting cultivation. But seasonally, these migrationss promoted over-grazing and bush fire burning respectively[165b]. Bush-fires drove away the game reserves in the Division and even destroyed some crop species as mentioned earlier. With regard to these conditions, considerable movement of graziers between the Division and the French territory and Nigeria for better farm lands or pasture sites were also reported in the 1950s. But when this livestock migration reduced in the mid-1950s, the migrant cattle graziers had already concentrated themselves in the Division such that the aggregate value of herds also rose to about 1½ million pounds in prices[166]. In another light, over-grazing limited the indigenes' farming operations and exposed the lands to erosional and other chemo-physical forces of denudation.

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[164]Interviews with Titoh Pauline. Muentoh and Mome. Esther K. Bamunka-Ndop June 17th 1993.

[165]a. In 1925, carrier work in the plantations was paid for a day - 9d with load, and 4d without load. It concided with tax increases amongst the revenue collections of the state. See Great Britain Colonial Office; Reports 1925; op.cit Pg 47., 102.

[165]b. Over-grazing usually occured in the areas Santa, Sagba and Jakiri which attracted most of the pastoralists in the dry season. During this season, the pastoralists often set fire on the dry grass so that new growths could come out before the end of that season. The overgrazing and bush burning affected the practice of shifting cultivation.

[166]Great Britain lcolonial office; Reports 1954; op.cit. Pg 5.

As we shall see later in this study, labour migrancy further contributed to the formation of classes in Bamenda Division. But most of the migrants were of the lower classes viz traders, pastoralists wage labourers, peasant and so on.

6.6 The Break-down of the Rural Economy:

The labour and taxation policies discussed so far affected the state of the rural economy in several ways some of which we shall now consider.

In the second chapter of this study we observed the extent of development of the handicraft industries in Bamenda Division in relationship with the other sectors of the pre-colonial economy. These included Smithing, weaving, dyeing, pottery, leather works, wood carving, embroidering and so on. With the steady introduction of the British currency and free market policies on the one hand, and the production of cash crops and new species of livestock on the other, the peasants in the Division could no longer maintain their original professions or even practice mixed farming. We also saw the introduction of cash crops and livestock species through a process whereby, the crafts manufacturing sector was neglected and abandoned. These changes led to a technical stagnation in this sector especially because of the replacement of the crafts with European manufactures which were cheaper. The European articles changed the values of the local people by making them to regard the local crafts as inferior. The

local demand for the crafts fell, and many indigenes preferred engaging in agriculture or any other economic activities that could yield them more cash for their taxes, subsistence and purchase of the European articles.

Meanwhile, taxes were imposed on the indigenes' domestic handicrafts, livestock, the potential value of fallow farms and economic trees in the name of land and cattle or jangali tax[167]. This contrasted with the pre-colonial taxes that were levied on the products of labour in the form of tributes. By implication, the colonial taxes were levied on potential income. In addition to taxation, was the part played by labour migrancy on the break-down of the rural economy.

All these processes led to the forceful involvement of the artisans, household or lineage heads, and other offsprings of these categories of indigenes in search for money from all sorts of occupations. In this regard, we saw earlier in this chapter how these categories of indigenes began by transforming into carriers, labourers in the plantations[168], public work labourers and so on. In another light, we also explained in chapter four how landlessness evolved. The landless peasants on their part found it difficult learning the local crafts to become professionals because the crafts were becoming less profitable at a time when the economy was getting highly

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[167]P.M. Kaberry et al. op.cit. 1960. Also R. Eugene let al. op.cit; Z.K.A. Bonat op.cit Pg 366.

[168]Z.K.A. Bonat Ibid. Also E. Ardener, et al. (eds.); op.cit

monetized. Moreover, the colonialists did not give any profound (state or private) encouragement to the crafts manufacturing sector as they did with agriculture and livestock production. So the sector experienced a decline, leading to labour migrancy.

Furthermore, due to these changes, labour was fast becoming expensive and was changing from being collective to individual for money to pay the rising colonial taxes, prices of goods and services,(subsistence) on the one hand, and also satisfy the socio-economic needs of the expanding colonial economic institutions like education, health amongst others on the other. So labour exploitation was increasing. Under these conditions also, the artisans who could have resisted this process of break-down in the periods of the great depression (with its acute liquidity shortage) and the 1950's (with its price inflation) by diversifying their sources of income to say-agriculture, soon abandoned their crafts. This abandonment was also caused by the fact that labour supply was reducing and the implements that the artisans used in their industries were getting very expensive for them to buy. This impact developed because the implements were manufactured in Europe, or had some linkages with European manufactured goods.

In another dimension, explaining this process of rural break-down in the Division, M.B. Gleave and M.F. Thomas have placed it on cash crops production in the late 1950s and early 1960s. They observed amongst others, that

families split up because of the demands of cash crops, and land pressures[169]. However we have also been informed, that the monetization policies (taxes) led to land parcelization which affected some lineages and clans because lineage heads parcelled family lands, while Fons and clan heads parcelled communal lands to the immigrant strangers in the Division, tax collectors or other elites. These parcelled lands were often transferred into grazing grounds or cash crop farms by the elites. Accordingly, the land reserves of certain families, lineages and clans steadily became limited and could not contain the new demands of the families and peoples involved[170]. The artisans wound up production, and these changes resulted in migrancy out of the rural areas. The changes further prevented the return of the migrants to continue with the old production patterns or generate new ones whenever they returned.

We have been further informed that, in the rural areas due to the land pressures that cash crops production caused, the indigenes began to reduce the concentration of their families in particular compounds by scattering their offsprings (middle aged) to the farming areas that came under threats of occupation. In this regard export crops cultivation increased such that coffee and palms

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[169] N.B. Gleave, et al. op.cit

[170] Interviews with: Pah Tamakeuh, Bamunka-Ndop, February 20th 1993. Also Yah Casilia, Jakiri. February 15th 1993.

dominated[171]. So the increase in cash crop cultivation, land pressures, spread of settlements and population growth further reduced each peasant's holdings. On the small farm holdings the peasant made maximum utilization by over cultivating it so that he could end up selling some of the harvest for meaningful profits. The result was that the land gradually became less fertile because there was no manure for him to enrich the soil with. Besides that, the limited surface area of the land made him not to be able to practice shifting cultivation. At the end of the day, the peasant's output gradually reduced. So also was his income. The peasant could no longer cope with the changing economic situation and either moved out of this region in search for more land or he transformed into a migrant farming-job seeker and other means of obtaining wages in order to supplement his rising cost of living. In some cases the a peasant came in conflict with a grazier or another indigene who claimed ownership of it[172]. In this case some land struggles ensued or the peasant transformed again into a migrant labourer to the plantation either intermittently or seasonally. If these could not materialize there was the likelihood that the peasant could steal.

These changes were most acute in the 1950s because of the systematic and organized labour migrancy. At that

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[171]Interviews with: Titoh Pauline Meuntoh, Bamunka Ndop, February 24th 1993. Nami Njumoh Mary, Bamunka-Ndop February 18th 1993; Yah Casilia Ibid

[172]Ibid. Also, M.B. Gleave et al., op.cit.

time the European manufactures had finally out-competed the craft manufactures. Most of the artisans and frustrated farmers then migrated to the Bamenda urban area where they developed into barbers, carpenters, brick-layers, builders, shoe-menders, butchers, tailors amongst others. But most of them were said to have taken these at first on part-time basis[173].

In this regard, we were further informed, that some of the peasant farmers who migrated to the urban centres became frustrated because they could not have the employment which they were looking for, or the wages they got from their jobs were too meagre to sustain their cost of living. Due to this, some of them began acquiring new skills in the crafts that were in demand in town, or they became apprentices in the services that the private sector dominated by the European multi-national traders and the missionaries employed. These services included technical labour like motor repairing. Those who remained as artisans increased their demand for and dependence on European finished goods like iron and steel products, textiles, aluminum, leather works, etcetera. In this regard, most of them often produced and sold at a loss because of the limited market (despite the low prices of the crafts); and the high cost of the European implements which they used in manufacturing the crafts. Even the local traders who moved from one village market to the other no longer preferred the products of these local

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[173]Discussion with Fon S.A.N. Angwafo III Mankon Palace. September 15th 1993.

manufacturers because of the fallen local demand for them even in the rural areas.

In response to the above condition, the craftsmen in the urban centres further developed the habit of migrating from one rural market to the other[174]. In each of these markets they had their shades where they did some repair services like tailoring; shoe-mending; smithing; yarning; weaving[175]; or they occupied themselves with the production of more crafts when they had nothing doing.

Given the above changes in the 1950s, it would not be an over-statement to suggest that subsistence itself was threatened. This threat was compounded by the presence of the cooperative societies and Marketing Boards on the one hand, and price inflation on the other. These forces monetized the economy and contributed to reduction in food crop cultivation and the little that was cultivated could not suffice the population. Moreso, food crop cultivation also came under the demand for cash. Thus in the 1950s, some peasants were said to have started purchasing raw foodstuffs, while the wives of some of the elites were engaged in hawking cooked food to the public works labourers, and in the Markets. Restaurant services were gradually developing in these areas[176]. Some of the

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[174]Interview with Titoh Pauline Muentoh, Bamunka-Ndop. February 24th 1993. Her late husband was a renown blacksmith in the Ndop N.A. He was noted for the manufacture of dane guns. So his wife could recount to us some of the experiences of her late husband.

[175]Interview with Mallam Audu Umarou, Ntamulung Mankon. August 10th 1993.

[176]As mentioned in chapter four, rivalric relations broke out between the Bali-Nyonga vegetable traders and those of Pinyin. This was also because of the monetization of the economy

craftsmen began selling their crafts and labour in order to get raw foodstuffs especially vegetables from the peasant farmers. We saw this in chapter five as being very common in Pinyin and Bali-Nyonga. They also needed other food-stuffs like grains and livestock. So the hitherto independence of the peasant producer was broken.

As part of the impact of transhumance on subsistence, we were also informed, that due to the economic conditions the pastoralist had to descend from the hills with some of their cattle to the cattle markets at Jakiri, Ndop, and Bamenda to sell. After selling these cattle they bought some raw foodstuffs like cereals (maize), and salt[177]. In this way the pastoralists were getting more and more integrated with the local people. Subsequently, they could share so many values in common like culture, religion (Islam), trade, politics and other socio-economic activities. Even some pastoralist in the Ndop area developed some farming habits, while some indigenes also became cattle rearers and herdsmen. This caused a considerable reduction in the farmer-grazier conflicts, and much interpendence evolved between the communities, thereby leading to increased settling of the pastoralist in the region[178]. From these process, the breakdown of the rural social economy satisfied the British policy of creating a

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[177]Interviews with: Fon S.A.N. Angwafo III, Mankon Palace, march 10th 1993, Also Moh M.T. Muenyi, Bamunka-Ndop, October 11th 1993. Some of the pastoralists often honoured the Fons with cattle. In return, they received favours like social recognition as indigenes of the Fons' village, or they got lands.

[178]This area is today known as Hausa Quarters Bamunka-Ndop.

system of dependence of the local population on the European[179].

6.7 Food Crises:

In chapter two we saw how the pre-colonial systems of production led to food self-sufficiency situation in the communities of Bamenda Division. In the German era this sufficiency came under threats because of the nature of the German system of production in the Division. However, the threats did not lead to a food crisis situation because of their approach towards primary production and duration of their colonial exploitation in the region. But under the British the food problem steadily manifested itself because of the following reasons: the system of administration which was terrorizing in the pre-1930s; the land, labour and taxation policies that led to the break-down of the rural economy, and subsistence that was threatened by the cooperatives and Marketing Boards.

In another light, we also saw in chapter five how the British system of production and distribution led to some profound changes in the economic and social activities of the indigenes of the Division. The changes were leading to under-development because throughout the period of British

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[179]Sir Allan McPhee. The Economic Revolution in British West Africa. Pg 9. quoted in Z.K.A. Bonat op.cit pg 398. Sir Allan McPhee was quoted as having said that "... the West Africans if left to themselves rely on the products of their own fields, and woods, excepting for such articles as salt and iron. They can feed themselves with their their yams and millet, and rice and groundnuts. They can cloth themselves with home-gown and home manufactured cotton, with grass or with skins. They can errect their own dwellings with branches and grasses and mud collected on the spot. They can gather fuel from the surrounding woods. They can make their rough utensils from local clay, and their crude implements of wood or imported iron".And these were threats to the British manufacturing industies.

domination, the approach at colonial exploitation did not go deep enough in transforming the economy towards industrialization. The state neglected certain food producing sectors of the economy like fisheries. And in the sectors that she put some emphasis on, the attempts were either poorly conceived, or she adopted half measures at changing their production basis. An example was the animal husbandry sector in which until the second world war, the colonial state's intervention was limited to cattle rearing for export. Similarly, agricultural production and distribution was uncoordinated. These were further compounded by the type of laissez-faire policies of economic development, which caused a domination of the market by the multi-nationals leading to a siphoning of the little profits that accrued to the indigenes or the state[180]. The contradiction that these conditions produced lay in the declining material conditions of the indigenes and the form of food crises that developed in the Division.

6.7.1 The Process of Emergence and Nature of the Crises:

The U.N.O. made its first official alarm about the food crises situation in sub-Saharan Africa (Bamenda Division inclusive) in 1958. This crises persisted up to 1987 when another alarm came up. By 1987 Cameroon was still reported to be importing food on emergency and

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[180] Between c.1916 and the second World War period, the colonial state was reported to be in constant deficit. See Great Britain Colonial Office; Reports to the League of Nations for the Years 1921-1939.

commercial bases. But at the level of production the nation was said to be performing relatively well with an average emergency food aid (as a percentage of total food production) being 1%; and the average of the commercial food imports (as a percentage of food production) being 18%. However, this was about the production of food only, and in the post-independence period when some relative reversal of values had taken place. In the colonial era as we shall see, the story was different. But during that period and the post-independence era the U.N.O. reports always hammered on the food consumption and distribution problem in which she talked of shortages in protein and certain vitamins and minerals in the diet of the indigenes of this area. Marvin P. Miracle attempted an analysis of this problem in the colonial period-1950s; while Victor Lavy amongst others took it over in the 1990s[181].

It stood clear that the crises went beyond Miracle's notion of seasonal hunger that was largely conditioned by the physical environmental changes on the one hand, and Lavy's emphasis on the post-independence era on the other. In Bamenda Division the root of the crises lay in the colonial era and embedded the production, distribution and consumption of food. So it embodied the entire colonial system of production and distribution which produced a major departure from the pre-colonial past that we

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[181]Marvin P. Miracle, "Seasonal Hunger. A Vague concept and Unexploited problem" in Bulletin de L'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique niore vol. 23, no. 1 IFAN Dakar 1961 Pg 273-274. Meanwhile earlier on in the 1949 the F.A.O. had merely identified the problem; also Victor Lavy; "Alleviating Transitory Food crises in sub-Saharan Africa; International Altruism and Trade" in R. Kanbur (ed.); The World Bank Economic Review vol. 6. no. 1 Jan. 1992 pg 125-138.

described in chapter two as relatively self-sufficient in food and self-reliant in development. So the incorporation of this region into the world economy (with unequal relationships) actually caused on underdevelopment of the primary sectors of production especially with respect to food production[182].

Looking at the terrorizing nature of the administration in the pre-1930s, as observed earlier, conditions of labour migrancy were created (carrier labour); and later-on some liquidity crisis. These contradictions made the state to introduce some cash crops. In this regard, the Multi-national firms and other capitalist donor institutions were attracted. The effect was that these primary sectors and the production of cash crops became more export oriented as explained earlier in this chapter. The multi-nationals' investments always passed through the Eastern Nigerian region (Enugu) in the form of grants-in-Aid and Loans. In this process, there was a steady rise in cash crops production which in the 1950s, coffee and palm produce were the most dominant ones in the Division. This same process led to the systematic submergence of other cash crops like groundnuts, cotton, cocoa, castor and kolanuts on the one hand,and food crops in general on the other. The local food crops were the most badly hit by these policies. The bad road conditions

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[182] Ibid P. Miracle Pg. 275-282. His analysis hardly went beyond the physiclal environmental deterministic point of view viz - diseases, epidemics, etcetera on the one hand; and Malthusianism on the other. He also failed to see the contributions of the colonial policies to this problem. So he remained colonialists in his historiography. lavy instead ran away from the root causes of the problem and focussed on the post-independent situation using some neo-classical analysis.

of the pre-1940s consolidated carrier labour, and in the post-1940s when the roads were better labour migrancy increased as shown earlier.

The gradual food shortages and exportation of crops led to the introduction of European consumerist food crops such as fruit crops and other species of crops which were gradually produced on cash basis because of the increasing monetization of the economy. All these programs did not really emphasize on food crop production in the manner in which export crops were emphasized. And much more serious, these happened to the utter neglect of the local food crops such as cereals, legumes, etcetera leading to their gradual elimination. The introduced food and cash crops later demanded the introduction of European production and maintenance techniques; fertilizing systems for higher output. It was a similar process with the livestock industry. But these European methods were very expensive for the indigenes. So they depended on their local methods which could not contain food and export crop production.

Accordingly, the problem became acute when labour migrancy that evolved in the Division transferred the capacity to produce those new species of crops and livestock from this region to other areas out of the Division. At times the labour migrants could hardly settle permanently in order to produce.

At another level, when the state introduced the state farms and technicians to experiment on and demonstrate to the indigenes these new crops, their methods of

cultivation, and conservation of the ecology, the efforts were limited only to the state sector. Even at that level, the number of state farms were insufficient for the increasing population of the Division. So peasant production still dominated in the Division. In this regard a complete modernization of the production of food crops in particular and the agricultural sector in general was not achieved.

Similarly, the distribution of the seedlings (hybrids) to the peasant producers (or the private sector) was too limited and often done on commercial basis[183]. O. Oculi suggested here, that if we can pre-suppose that some farmers neglected all the hibrids and new methods or that the hybrids and methods were accepted because they were beneficial to the peasant farmers (hence they were happy to receive them), then it would not have yielded them the expected profits because of the presence, function and policies of the Cooperative Societies, Marketing Boards[184], and Multi-national companies. That not withstanding, we could also suggest that the liquidity crises viz: shortage in the pre-war II era and inflation in the post-war II era must also have added to the farmers' disappointment. There was also the problem of distribution which was another dimension of the crisis.

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[183] O. Oculi; "Dependent Food Policy in Nigeria 1975-1979", also Tom Forrest "Agricultural Policies in Nigeria 1900-1978". in Publiclation of the Department of Politiclal Science, A.B.U., Zaria; op. cit. vol. 2. 1985. Pg 1-21.

[184] Ibid O. Oculi; also Ibid Tom Forrest Pg. 1-2

The production and distribution problem did not end there. The monopoly of the distribution system by the multi-national firms made most of the surplus produced by the peasants to be taken out of the Division to either the plantations or Europe. So what remained within the Division was not substantial enough to have enabled the state or even the private sector to embark on secondary transformation of the produce to finished consumerist products in the Division. Apart from that, the cash demands made some patterns of local distribution to emerge which we saw in chapter five. These patterns took most of the food outside the Division, thereby limiting the amount available for household consumption. All these were determined by the fact that the state encouraged the multi-nationals to invest in the process of licensed buying and the sales of European manufactures, while she enacted some other policies that determined the indigenes' production heights. So by this, the peasant producers were relegated to the background in the distribution process and by the middle of 1950, subsistence production was almost being destroyed.

Apart from the production of crops, the indigenes who could have preferred diverting their resources from cash crops production to say livestock rearing or local food crop production were not compensated for with the high incomes earned from the production of export crops on the one hand, and cattle rearing on the other. The incomes of the peasant producers was limited by the multi-nation-

als,Marketing Boards and the colonial state's taxation policies. Furthermore, these limited incomes of the peasants affected their purchasing power, especially those who could have needed the local food crops and livestock like pigs, goats, sheep and chickens which state policy did not support.

The seriousness of this problem could be measured at the level of consumption of food by the local people. The colonial system conditioned the indigenes to live on cereals, starchy roots, plantains and pulses meaning that any dramatic alteration in their rates of production directly affected the indigenes. The protein of pulses have been found to be two times that of wheat, three times that of cassava[185]. Moreover, "their riboflavin content is five times greater than most cereals, their thiamine content ten times greater"[186]. It has been observed that:

> "Cereals (notably maize, guinea corn, millet, and rice) and starchy roots (notably yams, cassava, sweet potatoes) and plantains are poor in vitamins and minerals and contain protein that are of lower quality than the proteins from milk, eggs, pork meat, liver, fish etc. The milling process of maize (for example), removes the pericarp and the germ which contains the best protein, the vitamins and the little mineral available in it and other cereals, while some like guinea corn loose most of their minerals and vitamins as a result of faulty methods of cooking. Tubers generally contain little protein and much water and are poor in minerals and vitamins. Cassava for example is a bad food when used as the main source of carbohydrate and its

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[185] O. Oculi; op.cit. 1987. To him further, if the peasants were not forced into cultivating these crops, it would have led to a mitigation of the cash crop production and a consequent development of local storage and transformatory techniques because of the rising surpluses that would have been caused by competition in their production.

[186] Ibid. Pg 9.

> distribution corresponds with the incidence of a curious disease characterized by white patches at the angles of the mouth and sore tongues. The eyes become sensitive to strong light and if the condition is allowed to persist, a permanent damage may be done to the eye and partial blindness results"[187].

Similarly, egg production which the state could have supported so that it could supplement the cattle and other livestock that were reared largely for export, was subsistent. Moreover, the colonial government also did nothing to goats, sheep and pig rearing (like she did with cattle-in Jakiri) to encourage their production. Even the livestock rearers were further handicapped from mobilizing their internal savings for further investment or the practice of mixed farming. And this was aggravated by the farmer-grazier conflict. Furthermore, it could be suggested, that if there was any consumption of meat by the indigenes, it would have been minimal because mostly cattle was encouraged by the state thereby, largely neglecting pig, goat and other livestock. And most of the cattle was produced for cash thereby, even reducing the one available for home consumption.

Given all these limitations of the colonial food situation in the Division, in the 1930s the food crisis further deteriorated because there were reports of the outbreak of acute shortages in food supply and yields. The low yields were aggravated by the extra-ordinary locust

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[187] Ibid Pg 16-17.

plagues[188]. Apart from that, Kaberry made an important observation about Nsaw which our informant's confirmed as general in the Division, that between May and July in the 1940s and early 1950s she had some chats with the men who complained bitterly of hunger that was caused by the shortage of food. This shortage was related to labour migrancy, social tensions within the families, and a general fall in the production of food crops[189]. All these were caused by the colonial conditions. The locust invasions and food shortages further affected the livestock industry.

As a summary to the food crisis it was reported in 1954 that of the entire land in Bamenda Province: 47.5% was under fallow; 16.5% under grazing and 22.1% under waste crops. So only 13.9% was under regular cultivation of both the food and export crops. This land was also subject to degradation. Moreover, of the land under food crops cultivated: 46.5% went for guinea corn including late masakwa and maize, 19% for cassava; 11.5% for cocoyams; 0.3% for groundnuts and the rest 22.7% for other crops[190].

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[188]Great Britain Colonial Office. Reports for 1947. op.cit pgs. 17; 130-131; 153-154; also Reports for 1949 op.cit pg 121-122; 132; also Reports for 1930 HMSO London 1931 pg 4-5.; P.M. Kaberryet al, op.cit. 1960; also R.Kucynski; op. cit. 1939 pg 289. Note the contradictory information that the colonial officials gave to the permanent mandate commission on the extent of the locust destruction. P.M. Kaberry and E.M. Chilver gave a contrary and more objective report about it because they visited these areas where the destruction took place.

[189]P.M. Kaberry op.cit 1952. pg 70-71; also Interviews with: Yah Casilia: Pah Tamakeuh; Titoh Pauline Muentoh. During these shortages situations (especially that caused by locust invasion or poor rainfall) the colonial state was said to have done nothing. Only the N.As managed to check the locust crisis. Food shortage intensified the long distance migrancy-for grains from the French territory. More of the local crops were destroyed by the locusts.

[190]Great Britain Colonial office, 1954 op.cit Pg 215-217; also Reports for 1947 op.cit Pg 47; 65; also Reports for 1948 op.cit. Pg 280-281; also Reports for 1950 op.cit. Pg 61.

On this basis it implies that mostly starchy food was consumed by the indigenes and at independence in 1961, the food crisis was well entrenched in the Division at the levels of production, distribution and consumption.

6.8 Conclusion:

Our analysis in this chapter has attempted to show the evolution of the British colonial labour and taxation policies in Bamenda Division. In this process, we explained that colonial labour and taxation were directly related to each other on the one hand, and the other policies of the entire colonial system of production and distribution in the Division on the other. In the process of entrenching these policies in the region, the structural and institutional changes which we discussed in chapters four and five created a structural and institutional dependence of the formerly self-sufficient economies and societies of the Division on the British system of production and distribution. When this dependence emerged, labour migrancy consolidated it by causing the break-down of family labour, rural economy and so on. This migrancy consolidated the linkages between the Division and the plantation zone amongst others.

The labour migrancy and breakdown of the rural economy which were amongst some of the profound changes that took place in the Division, were also affected by the indigenes' demand for cash which the colonial monetization policies caused. From the imposition of British colonial rule in

c.1916, the indigenes' cultivation of crops for cash steadily increased such that in the post-war II era, coffee, palm and banana production represented the most dominant export crops. This local response led to the abandonment of the German introduced export crops mentioned in chapter four. From these changes it could be summarized that the indigenes' increasing participation in the colonial economy was largely as a result of the changing colonial socio-economic and administrative policies that we have examined.

Beyond these changes, the monetization of the expanding social economy, production of crops and livestock for cash amongst others, ended up in a food crisis situation. These changes also limited the indigenes' ability to accumulate capital to enable them adopt a new strategy of development. Even their ability to revive the local patterns of development were also rendered very difficult.

CHAPTER SEVEN

7.0 THE IMPACT OF COLONIAL POLICIES ON THE SOCIETY OF BAMENDA DIVISION.

7.1 Introduction

In the former chapters we dwelled mostly on the impact of colonial policies on the economy of Bamenda Division. However these colonial policies particularly the system of production and distribution also created an impact on the social structures and values of the colonial society. Our emphasis in this chapter would be on the nature of social order that emerged as a result of the colonial policies. In such an analysis, so many complex issues are involved, but we shall limit ourselves to some specific features of the social order which are of key significance in understanding the kind of society that existed in the post-independent Bamenda Division. The social order centred around the maintenance of law and order; the creation of social services like health and educational institutions by the colonial administration. These changes further affected the nature of organization of the society beginning with the family unit and including the formation of classes in the Division.

7.2 The Maintenance of Law and Order In Bamenda Division

The British like the Germans saw the survival of colonialism in Bamenda Division as dependent on the maintenance of law and order in the society.[1] To achieve this, structures were imposed on the indigenes like the British judiciary and legal system. This system necessitated the establishment of courts; the military; police; and prisons of different categories. The British and German Judiciary system were similar in function[2], but different in their manner of operation because the British introduced what became known as the local government (N.A.) system of administration. This system incorporated (in a subordinate and dependent manner) the local legal practice. This gave rise to the notion of Native courts. From 1916 the Division fell under the Eastern section of the southern provinces of Nigerian legal operations. The

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[1]See chapter three; also Raymond L.B.; op. cit. Frank Cass and Co. Ltd. London 1965 pg. 308, 448-449. Also L.H. Gann, et al (eds.); op. cit. Stanford Univ. Press California 1977 Pg 81-84; H.R. Rudin; op. cot. 1938 pg 198-206; Ndifontah B.N.; op. cit. pg. 120-122; W.E. Hunt Confidential Report No. 2$_2$/21, Bamenda 10/6/21 in Bamenda Archives; Translation of the Kamerun law on the administration and jurisdiction over the natives (1896-1902). Pg 3-4. In 1891, a German District Commissioner's office was created for Kamerun. His powers were defined by an ordinance. These powers were modified in 1896 thereby legalizing flogging in the courts. Women were not supposed to be flogged but this was hardly ahered to until in 1907 when D. Denberg rose to power in Germany. The courts were said to have operated on legal procedures that were both criminal and civil or penal. Their various forms of punishment ranged from flogging, fining, imprisonment with hard labour, to chaining and death. Repeated neglect under contract by employees or laziness were also punished by the German courts. We saw in chapter three how this legal system brought about a lot of excesses such that it was a very remorseful institution to the indigenes.

[2]Translation of the Kamerun Law on the Administration of Jusice and Jurisdiction over the natives (1896-1902). op.cit. In tems of the categories of punishment, they both shared the following types: hanging, corporal punishment, deportation amongst others. The Provincial and Native Courts Ordinance (1914) of British Nigeria were amended in 1933; the criminal procedure ordinances of British Nigeria was also amended in 1933; the criminal code ordinance of British Nigeria was amended in 1933 and instituted in the entire Southern Cameroons. But the supreme court ordinance which had been operating in British Nigeria was only made applicable to the Southern Cameroon in 1945. A Provincial Court and Many Native Courts operated in the Division.

provincial court was made to have jurisdiction over all the indigenes and non-indigenes of the Division. The Governor was served monthly with a list of the cases tried by the provincial courts[3]. The Resident of the province was made the president of the provincial court and the D.O. became Commissioners of the native courts in the Division. These bodies however had limits placed on their powers of sactioning criminals.

The Native courts constituted of local judges who could use either Islamic, customary or English rules drawn up by the court or Fon and approved by the Governor. The courts were graded,[4] However, no grades 'A' and 'B' courts existed in the Division and entire Southern Cameroons. The Resident authorized them and they were approved by the Governor. Each court had a clerk who kept records of the proceedings in English.[5] Some of the local courts had to translate some basic ordinances and laws into their dialects and vernaculars, especially those related to slavery; vaccination; possession of fire arms or imported

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[3]L.B. Raymond. op. cit. Vol. I. Frank Cass Ltd. 1965. Pg 649-651.

[4]Ibid. Pgs 649-652; 689-690, Also Lord Lugard; op. cit. London1965 pg 536; Great Britian Colonial office Reports to the League of Nations ... for 1924 HMSO London 1925 pg 19; Great Britian Colonial Office; Reports for the year 1925 op. cit. 1926 pg 18. Four grades of this court system existed Grade 'A'- Judicial council an ethnic council found in the larger local polities. It had full judicial powers in criminal and civil cases and needed the Governor's confirmation before passing death sentences. Grade 'B' couts had powers over civil actions where the debt or demand did not exceed 50 pounds. In criminal cases where the offence was punished by not more than 2 years imprisonment, it could not exceed 24 lashes or a fine of 50 pounds or its equivalence in local custom law. Grade 'C' courts had civil jurisdiction where claim did not exceed 10 pounds; and criminal jurisdiction where the punishment did not exceed six months imprisonment or a fine of 10 pounds. Grade 'D' courts had no civil jurisdiction of more than 5 pounds; and for criminal jurisdiction of up to 3 months it could not exceed 12 lashes or 5 pounds fine.

[5]Ibid

spirits; forestry regulations; and so on. These courts could also enact by-laws on their local administration and preserves.[6]

The legal policies further centralized the system as observed by Lord Lugard thus;

> "In countries of great sizes like the African dependencies and India, it is obviously unavoidable that judicial and executive power should be exercised by the same officer, and that some of the officers who exercised small judicial powers should not possess recognized legal qualifications. The seperation of these functions would seem un-natural to the primitive African, since they are combined in his own rulers and a system which involved the delay caused by reference, even in minor cases would be detested."[7]

The other forms of court which were non-existent in the Division but equally applicable on the indigenes included: the west African Appeal court which was above the supreme court. There was also the Juvenille court for the young persons which was established in Calabar and Port Harcourt (Nigeria) for the entire Southern Cameroons.[8]

From 1952, Buea had a Chief Magistrate for the Southern Cameroons, thereby relinquishing the dependence on

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[6]Lugard op.cit. Pg 557-558; also Great Britian Colonial Office; Reports for 1925 op.cit pg 25-28.

[7]Ibid Lugard. Pg 539. Also Great Britian Colonial Office; Reports 1924 op.cit pg 18; Great Britian Colonial Office;Report by Her Majesty Government in the U.K and Northern Ireland to the Trusteeship Council of the U.N.O. on the Administration of the Cameroons under the U.K. Trusteeship for the Year 1954. op. cit. 1955 pg 34. Lugard's perception about the local customs was based on a eurocentric misunderstanding of the realities of it. In the same dimension the colonial administrators misunderstanding the local customs and termed them as 'repugnant' see Reports of 1924, pg 18. However,these were some of the ways which these colonialists used in order to justify their presence in the Division. But Lugard's observations in the abstract clearly goes a long way to justify our position about the so calleld indirect rule system in the Division.

[8]Ibid Reports 1954 pg 21.

Nigeria. Then also the Division and province had a magistrate whose powers also extended to Ossidinge (Mamfe) Division. The court holdings took place either at Nsaw or Bamenda station.

A convict prison was established in Bamenda station and another in Buea. They were administered by a prison superintendent and Director respectively. Local prisons staff (warders and wadresses and so on) were employed to take care of the prisoners. The Native courts on their part established local cells which were ran by the N.A. and the central government[9].

7.2.1 The Military

The German administration operated a military fortress in the Division[10]. This was stationed in the Bamenda station Fortress. Even though it was not a permanent military institution, the soldiers were frequently on patrol missions in the German sphere of this grassfield region. So for most of the time the Fortress was used for storing amunition that were used on the patrol missions; forced labour recruitment, prevention and quelling of anti-

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[9] Ibid. Pg 101-103. Also Great Britian Colonial Office op. cit. HMSO London 1951 Pg 69-70; Lugard op.cit. pg 561-565.

[10] See chapter three; Also it was due to the tough local resistance to the German institutions that the Germans decided to depend on the Dahomeans and Hausas to constitute its local soldiers. This does not mean that the indigenes of the Division did not form part of this institution. They did butlike we said earlier, theywere put in subordinate ranks. However, the low salary position of the local (African) soldiers often made them to terrorize the indigenes whenever they were on patrol missions. They often exorted money and food from the peasants. these Black soldiers were often said to have extorted the local drink from the indigenes such that the state resorted to promulgating the liquor ordinance which banned the sale of liquor to any coloured member of the police or the troops. Even the sale of liquor to a relative of a Black soldier was also banned except such a relative presented a written permit from a white superior. Interview with Pah Tamakeuh Ndop, Feb. 20th 1993.

colonial resistance from the indigenes. The British on their part also did not establish a permanent military base in the Division. However, the military dictatorship which she imposed on the indigenes operated a militia which was a branch of the British Imperial defence force in Nigeria (Abakaliki).

The troops were needed mostly in the pre-1920s for the same purposes that the Germans needed them during their period of domination. But much more importantly the British needed the military to prevent any pro-German movement or sentiment amongst the local people; and then to secure and protect the border between this Division (the entire British Cameroons) and the French teritory. So the military dictatorship of the first stage of British colonial administration in the Division operated on the basis of the British military law[11].

From January to December 1924 the double company of the Nigerian Regiment that was established in the Division under the diarchy was transfered to Abakaliki (Nigeria) and the old German Fotress was transformed into a government primary school. This of course was because the civilian government had already entrenched itself in the Division and this was recognized by the Milner Simon Accord that the League of Nations came out with in 1922. But the military

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[11]As exhibited in chapter three, little is known about the administrationof the pre-1920s era. Their influence was limited to the maintenance of law and order; collection of taxes and the evolution of a border between the British and French Cameroons. However, our informant - Nah Castlia emphasized on the terror operations of of this administration. See also E.M. Chilver; "Native Administration in the West Central Cameroons 1902-1954" in Kenneth Robinson and Frederick Madden; Essays in IMperial Government. Blackwell 1963. Pg 98-102.

was always present when needed. The military was composed mainly of Nigerian recruits probably because its main base was in Nigeria, or because of the fear of acquainting the indigenes of the Division with British military techniques which could subsequuently boomerang on the British administrators in the area. Also it might have been because the British needed alot of local labour from this Division for the plantations,therefore recruiting the indigenes into the army would reduce the supply of that labour.

7.2.2 The Police

The police institution was established immediately after the military had relinquished their grip over the Division. For most of the time, the police played the role of the military-defence and maintenance of internal security, law and order. However, though the military had left the Divison, not all the military laws were scrapped during the civilian take-over. The police was under the command of the British Commissioner for the Southern Cameroons. The Commissioner embarked on recruiting some Nigerians for the top ranking posts and the indigenes for the bulk of the subordinate ranks. But subsequently some few indigenes rose to high ranks such as the police inspector and superintendent[12].

The police in the Cameroons was regarded through out the colonial period as part of the Nigerian police So the officers were found throughout the territory. In 1950 when

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[12]Great Britain Colonial Office; Reports 1924 op.cit. 1925 p 31-32.

sub-stations were established at Buea and Bamenda police officers were trained yearly for six months in the police college at Enugu-Nigeria.

The expansion of the colonial society and economy especially in terms of the population and the socio-economic activities, services and amenities led to the expansion and increase in the activities of the police and the entire judiciary sytem. In this regard, the steady rising cost of living especially in the post War II years influenced the crime rate in the Division and also entrenched the legal system[13]. Accordingly, police oppressions increased with, at times, the use of both the Nigerian Regiments and the French Cameroon Police (for 'emergency' purposes, and along the borders) by the British authorities. These operations were rife during the nationalist struggle in the 1950s (particularly during the re-unification of the two territories). A striking evidence of such appressions occured from 1953, during which 'malcontent' -activities were reported along the frontier especially around Santa and Ndop N.A. The activities almost engulfed the entire Ndop extending to the major road sides. Here waylays and ambushes were often reported by the indigenes. Some '<u>Gainako</u>' or urban pastoralists (who had lost their cattle and land as a result of the break-down of the rural social economy, taxation, farmer/grazier conflict, and so on); and other specialists in robbery

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[13]Great Britian Colonial Office; Annual Reports Nigeria 1947 <u>op. cit</u> 1948. Pg 71-72. Also Great Britian Colonial Office; Reports 1950, <u>op.cit</u>. 1951 Pg 82-83.

organized themselves for this purpose. Meanwhile, Police searches led to no success.

From 1953 police search intensified causing the colonial administration to place the Division in a police state[14]. At this jucture it appeared the colonial administration exaggerated the situation in order to intensify political repression of the indigenes who were involved in the nationalist struggle. This continued into 1955 with the ban of the U.P.C. party in the French territory, and the British colonialists also manifested solidarity with the French by doing same in the Division and entire territory two years later (1957). The British further placed the Division under the state of alert instead of checking the crime rate and looking into the root causes of the crimes. After that the authorities then diverted into political victimization, violence and intimidation of the indigenes. In this regard, their activities concentrated on interventions in quelling strikes and protests by the indigenes[15].

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[14]Cameroon Unification Movement. Anglo-French Discussion Pg 98-99. File No. NW/Va/a 1951/1 in Bamenda Archives.

[15]Great Britian Colonial Office; Reports 1954 op.cit. pg 74-75. Also Federal Information Service Federal Nigeria Colonial Reports 1957. op. cit. 1958 pg 159; A.S. Ngwana; The Cameroon Democratic Party. First Five Years. Pg 16-17; Jing Thomas "Did Britain Sacrifice the Independence of southern Cameroons for a cure of cummunism in French Cameroons?" in CAMPOST No. 173 July 20-26th 1993; Nantang Jua "Anglophones on the Anglophone Problem. Ahidjo was never in favour of re-unification" in CAMPOST no 173 July 1993; Political Parties in cameroon. Political Meetings File No. NW/vb/a 1955/1 in Bamenda Archives. J.V. Ngoh; op. cit. Buea 1987. Pg 144-150; Ngam Chia; Political Power and Elections in Cameroon. Pg 44-48.

7.2.3 Prison conditions in the 1950s

The repressive situation above was also reflected in the prisons and cells in the Division. Most of the prisoners were sanctioned for political rather than criminal offences such that even the rate of women imprisoned also increased. The criminal cases were centred around offences against property or persons[16].

At this juncture, it is worthwhile digressing a little to look at the nature of crimes committed by the indigenes. The most common crime was stealing. Others included: assault; murder; etcetera. Our inquiry into the rising crime rate in the Division in the 1950s further explained the reasons for the waylays and ambushes of the Gainako and others. In a nutshell, we were informed that the Gainako activities were directly related to the dibilitating socio-economic conditions that the peasants of the Division found themselves in. But above all, the new socio-economic system placed more emphasis on property and money, thereby breaking the norms and values of the indigenes' communal living. To the practitioners stealing was thought would raise their standards of living, consequently their social

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[16]Great Britian Colonial Office; Reports Nigeria 1947 op.cit. Pg 67; 72. Also interview with Mallam Audu Umarou Ntanulung Bamenda, August 10th 1993. He said that the women that were imprisoned were mostly on charges of child stealing, theft on farms or markets. They could have also been caused by the price inflation and poor socio-economic conditions of the indigenes.

status[17]. And the colonialists claim of recovering most of the stolen articles was highly exaggeratived[18].

Meanwhile, the rising crime rate by 1950 also led to more imprisonments and poor prisons conditions. The nationalist leaders and trusteeship commissions strongly criticized the prison conditions and it led to the introduction of some cosmetic reforms between 1948-1950[19]. These reforms were hardly extended onto the prisoners who had already been affected by the bad living conditions in the prisons. Moreover, the reforms centred mostly on the prison workers[20]. On the prisoners living conditions, the changes included the creation of social amenities like football, filmshow and literacy campaigns. On the other hand, there was the enforcement of discipline by re-enforcing corporal punishment in 1948. Extra-mural work was also imposed on the prisoners[21]. Contrary to the colonialist claims that the prisons conditions were better, causing the prisoners to be of good behaviour, we were informed that it was largely because of the enforcement of discipline in the prisons[22] that the prisoners manifested the good behaviour.

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[17] Ibid. Also Interview with Moh. M.T. Muenyi, Bamunka-Ndop. October 11th 1993.

[18] Great Britain Colonial Office; Reports Nigeria 1947. op.cit. Pg 67-72; Also Interviews with Mallam Audu Umarou Ntamulung-Bamenda, August 10th 1993; also Tahmogohr Baba I-Ndop June 13th 1993. who observed that most of the properties that were recovered were hardly returned to the right owners.

[19] Great Britian Colonial Office; Reports Nigeria 1950 op.cit Pg 69-70.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Interview with Mr. Ade Patrick, Bamenda. September 25th 1993.

Moreover, the prisoners who were taken from the Division to Buea (especially those on extra-mural labour basis) were taken to the state farms to work under hard and forced labour conditions.

7.3 The Colonial Administration and Public Health

The British, unlike the Germans, embarked on a wider approach at solving the health problems of the local populations in the Division[23]. Health concern to the Germans came as a result of the reports that the local population was decreasing because of certain epidemics. However, the German health policy was hardly targeted towards the eradication of diseases. If we compare the concern that the Germans manifested in agriculture with that of public health, then we shall see that almost nothing was done to alleviate the poor health conditions of the indigenes. This little concern that the Germans manifested was partly influenced by the fact that the European (German) population in the territory was relatively small, and did not require much medical attention. Moreover, the small few Germans in Kamerun were on frequent leave trips to Europe[24].

On the other hand, it was obvious that the forced labour policy increased the health hazards in the territory. These hazards demanded the establishment of more health care institutions in the territory and investigation

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[23] H.R. Rudin; op.cit Pg 346-352.

[24] Ibid.

on the disease and epidemic situation just like it happened with agriculture. But these hardly took place in Bamenda Division and was very minimal in the entire Kamerun[25]. Common diseases that the colonial authorities often reported included Malaria, black water fever, small pox, leprosy, dysentry, filariasis, beri-beri, tuberculosis, pneumonia, numerous skin diseases, tumours and yellow fever. Also, infant mortality was very high especially with the forced labour that they embarked upon on the one hand, and the polygynous practises of the indegenes on the other.

The Germans intervened in solving these crises only in 1913 and 1914 when the war broke out. But the intervention was very cosmetic because it was targeted against the exploitation of female labour for porterage and not finding appropriate cures to the diseases. The state advocated for more care to be given to the local labourers especially through the decongestion of the plantation settlements. These, however ignited conflicts between the state and the private employers (concessionares) such that the state measures were hardly respected, and she could not enforce it either[26].

The tensions between the plantation owners and other German emploiters of forced labour made the state to give more powers to the missionaries to take care of the health problem of the society. However, the missionaries' resources were so limited that they mostly concentrated on

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[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

fighting mostly sleeping sickness which was fast encroaching on the Division. But their limited staff and equipment limited their success. Moreover, the medical doctors were mostly seen only when the military officers were on tour[27].

The British on their part, had a longer experience in the Cameroons. Because of this, there was greater participation in this sector of the colonial society by the missionaries and the N.A. However, their health policy was limited to the creation of health institutions like cottage hospitals, dispensaries and maternities where general health services were rendered to the indigenes. This sector also saw the exchange of personnel and collaboration with the authorities of the French territory and Spanish Equatorial Guinea.

Disturbed by financial handicaps, the administration had to depend on assistance from the British state and other philanthropic organizations at the international level like the U.N.O. (through its affiliates viz: the F.A.O., W.H.O., U.N.I.C.E.F., etcetera), and the local population (the 'ndjangi' societies' assistances and other socio-cultural and ethnic associations that were concentrated in the Division and the plantations zones). The U.N.O. donated money, equipment and personnel to assist in the operations[28].

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[27] Ibid.

[28] Great Britain Colonial Office; Annual Reports Nigeria op. cit. 1934. Pg 72-73. Also R. Eugene et al. (eds.) op. cit. London 1962. pg 102-103.

The British colonialists' conception of health problems was limited to sanitation and hygiene, and general welfare of the indigenes. This was related to the colonialist intention of maintaining a certain degree of disease control in the Division so that some degree of healthiness and survival could be maintained amongst the indigenes. This would go a long way to supply adequate labour and food crops to the plantations, thereby maintaining the system of production, distribution, and administration which she had established in the territory.

In order to consolidate the health policy, the colonialists sought for collaboration with the educational sector by imposing on the institutions' curriculum sanitation and hygine. The sanitation and hygienic matters included good water supply, waste disposal, good food preservation, etcetera. The health officials were given training in Nigeria[29]. The Officials included certificate nurses, midwives amongst others. But certificate nurses were trained at Tiko and Victoria (Limbe). Only certificate midwives were trained in the Division (at Shisong-Nsaw) by the Missionaries' Maternities and hospital. Sanitary Inspectors were trained at Aba (Nigeria), and the rest of the technical medical professions were also trained in Nigeria.

A Medical Department was established in the Division in the mid-1950s to take care of medical concerns. The

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[29] Ibid Reports Pg 96.

diseases which this department tackled included those which persisted since the German era[30]

The methods adopted by the state to combat most of these diseases were very cosmetic because their policy here was limited to preventive medication which was not even adhered to strictly. These methods included vaccination campaigns, and limited medical research and training programs. The liquor, alcohol and drug ordinance was promulgated in this respect. It prohibited the Division from consuming or selling narcotics[31].

7.3.1 The Establishment of Leprosaria:

Leprosy was reported to be high in the Division. It attracted a lot of colonial concern because it threatened her labour supply and taxation. By implication it was a threat to her system of production because it was highly contagious. Due to this threat, the colonial authorities established some settlement camps (Leprosariums) for the lepers in the Division and its environs. And she later on transfered this responsibility to the N.A. and the missionaries.

These leper administrators further decided to make the in-mates to be productive so as to ensure the survival of the colonial economy. In this wise skills training in

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[30]See chapter three, and others like Venereal diseases (said to have been brought into the Division by the white soldiers during the World War I; and the numerous patrols).

[31]Great Britain Colonial Office; Reports to the League of nations... for the Year 1924. op. cit. 1925. Pg 40.

local handicrafts were acquired by the lepers, while some of the in-mates were taken as public works labourers. The earliest leper settlements were established in 1929 and 1931 when the health situation in the Division was most alarming because of the great depression.

The leprosaria were found in Nsaw, and Bali-Nyonga. The one at Bali-Nyonga was owned by the Basler Missionaries. Another was later on established at Mbingo (Kom) by the Baptist Missionaries. The N.A. supplied these leprosaria with equipment and took care of other general running costs[32]. The N.A. administered the leprosaria together with her dispensaries at Tali, Bali-Kumbat, Bamunka, Bali-Nyonga, Batibo, Nsaw, Bafut, Mbengui amongst others. The lepers received about 1d a day for subsistence from these N.A's. They were also given land for farming. By 1933, another leprosarium was established at Nkwen (Bamenda) which by 1942 was reported to have 94 inmates (33 men and 61 women) against 16 inmates in Nsaw. A majority of the inmates were self-supporting through the means earlier mentioned[33].

However, because of the second world war, the government reduced the assistance that she had been rendering to the lepers. Hence this caused a general decline in their socio-economic conditions. The cured inmates began prefering to stay in the settlement campus

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[32]Great Britain Colonial Office; Reports... for 1926 op. cit. 1927. Pg 83.

[33]Great Britain colonial office; Reports for 1929 op. cit. 1930 Pg 80, Also Great Britain Colonial Office; Reports for 1929 op. cit. 1932 Pg 80; Gret Britain Colonial Office; Reports 1933. op. cit 1934.

and offering their labour to the public works department, missionaries or N.A. for some incomes. Others continued with the manufacture of crafts for the market. But other new problems arose like shortages in accommodation. These cured inmates were then forced to leave the campus for their homes[34].

In the post War II era, some major changes were caried in this institution. This was largely intraining of specialist staff at Uzuakoli (Ogoja Province-Nigeria) settlement under the American Baptist mission's sponsorship. As a consequence, there was growing unpopularity, boycott and crumbling of the state owned (N.A. ran) Leprosaria.

However, these efforts helped to maintain some measure of success in gradually eradicating leprosy in the Division. This was complemented by the establishment of a Provincial and Divisional. Welfare and Leprosy Boards respectively, which coordinated the activities of the health institutions. They also organized field units and surveys in the Division and worked in collaboration with the French authorities across the frontier[35].

The survival of the public health institution was supported by a number of ordinances viz: the midwives

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[34]Extract from S.P., 8826 by W.H. Peackock. D.D.H.S. February 1933 Pg 2 in Lepper Settlements in Cameroons Province (1932-1946).8871/vol.I-CSE 1/85/4669. NAE. Also Great Britain Colonial Office; Reports 1933.Pg 74-76 Ibid.

[35]Ibid "Extensive Survey of Leprosy in the Cameroons province and a plan for the control of the disease. 19th November 1946" Pg. 2. Also Great Britian colonial office; Annual Reports Nigeria 1947 op.cit. Pg 53-55; Great Britian colonial office; Annual Reports Nigeria 1948. op. cit. 1949. Pg 10-13; Great Britian Colonial Office; Annual Reports Nigeria 1950. op. cit.
1951. Pg 57-62.

ordinance 1931 which certificated and registered their training[36]; the Medical Practitioners and Dentists Ordinance 1933 (licencing the practice)[37]; the Nurses Registration Ordinance and Hospital Regulations of 1951 in line with the midwifery practice. It introduced medical charges for the services rendered to the indigenes.

The Narcotics Ordinance (1935) revealed certain basic realities. It was imposed only on the Division and Mamfe because they supplied most of the labour to the plantations. It did not apply to Northern Cameroons because the indigenes' Islamic religion had already forbiden it. Furthermore, the Division was the bread-basket of the Southern Cameroons. So without this ordinance, some local values would have been cracked and the system of production distabilized against the British interest. The ordinance further caused the maintenance of trade in local liquor (palm wine, corn beer etcetera) which were not as alcoholic as the European spirits thereby generating some relative economic vibrancy in the Division which often diverted some of the peasants attention from political affairs. Moreover, the local liquor was less expensive and of less health hazards[38].

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[36]Great Britain Colonial Office; Reports 1954 op.cit. Pg 93-94.

[37]Ibid. Also Great Britain colonial office; 1933 op.cit pg 74

[38]Interview with Titoh Pauline Muentoh and Mme-Esther K. Banumka-Ndop. June 17th 1993.

7.3.2 The Hospitals and Dispensaries:

We have earlier mentioned that colonial health policy was not targeted towards an eradication of diseases, epidemics and so on. But due to its importance in the system of production in the Division, it became a concern to the colonialists in 1920 when a Medical/sanitary officer was sent to the Division[39]. Till 1924 its personnel was relatively unsatisfactory[40].

The administration also escaped from its responsibilities in this domain. By 1928, only two hospitals had been established in the Division and they were reported to be to be inadequate in accommodating the patients. The staff was also inadequate; equipment was limited; and the management was very poor. The N.A. on whom most of the responsibilities were transfered could do little more than establishing local dispensaries. Their programs were limited in principle mostly to mass anti-epidemic campaigns than the actual process of treating the affected indigenes; and experimenting in the Division on the diseases[41]. Most of the diseases detected were hardly ever cured by the hospital staff.

The worst of the earliest threats to the hospital officials occured in Bambui and by 1927 it was reported to

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[39] Reports for the Cameroons Province 1920. op. cit.

[40] Victoria Division had 8 personnels; Buea = 9; Kumba = 15; Mamfe = 3 and Bamenda = 3. See Great Britian Colonial Office; 1924 op.cit.

[41] Ibid. Pg 40-42. Also Great Britian colonial office; 1925 op.cit. Pg 77-78; Great Britain colonial office; 1926 op.cit. Pg. 79-81; Great Britian Colonial Office; Reports for 1927. op. cit. 1928. Pg 69-75.

be alarming because of so many deaths that were recorded. Later on in Nsaw, cases of epilepsy and influenza were reported to be alarming. Other equally alarming diseases included: trypanosomiasis, yaws, malaria, leprosy tuberculosis, filariasis, ankylostomiasis helminthiasis and the venereal diseases (ghonorroea and syphillis). Due to the inadequate (prophylatic) attention that the state rendered to the Hospitals and Dispensaries for treatment of the diseases amongst other problems, the indigenes reverted to their local methods of treatment that were also cheaper[42]. This probably explained why the Hospitals and Dispensaries were at times so unpopular to the indigenes. Diseases and their incidence spread widely in the Division because of the labour migrancy and transhumance.

Besides that, the personnels that were trained from 1925 in Nigeria were very low in efficiency; inadequate in number; and could only be seen on service when they accompanied the political officers on tours, or were employed for and by the political officer. So there was either a monopoly of control of these few personnel by the minority colonial ruling classes or the personnels exercised much laxity in their job because of the poorly organized system.

Meanwhile sanitation was always neglected by the medical officials. Whenever they implemented any sanitation program it was limited to demonstrations by the

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[42]Interview with Titoh Pauline Nuentoh, Bamunka-Ndop February 24th 1993. Also Yah Casilia, Jakiri, February 15th 1993; Mme Esther K. Bamunka-Ndop, September 9th, 1993.

medical teams on tour, instead of providing the necessary structures and equipment to the local people to use. The peasants in turn could hardly repeat the methods because such tours in the pre-1950s were not frequent. So sanitation problems like drainage, housing, road cleaning, drugs shortages, dirty water supply were always reported. And during the depression the N.A. even neglected the impact of these inadequacies which lay in the high rate of infant mortality always recorded. In an interview by a colonial assessment officer in the Moghamaw and Ngemba speaking N.As. in 1926 he observed thus

> "in the Ngemba area, the average number of children born to each married woman was 6.4 ... Moghamaw it was 4.4. Of the total children, 27% in Ngemba died in their first year and 28% in the next few years, making a loss in early years of 55% of the children. In the Moghamaw area, the figures were 29% in the first year and 32% in the next few years making a total of 61% in early years"[43].

A similar pattern was observed in Ndop (Kawle, Tshati, Chingong, Babessi, Baba I) area[44]. So the health measures of both the hospitals and dispensaries staff boiled down to failure especially because of the strategy of treating mostly through out-door services (out-patients) and mostly

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[43]Great Britain Colonial Office; 1929; op.cit Pg 87 And yet the colonial administration expressed satisfaction in their reports to the league.

[44]Ibid. 1929.

when the medical officers or teams were on tour[45]. Also, because of the lack of competent nutritional system for the newly born babies and their breast feeding mothers, the babies were vulnerable to diseases. The mothers on their part could hardly give enough attention to their babies because of the exigencies of cash on them.

In this regard then, we can assert that the major interest that the colonialists manifested in this domain was the training of a limited number of staff or personnels who formed part of the local ruling elite in Bamenda Division. Also they were interested in treating lepers largely for economic reasons and this gradually reduced this endemic disease. And this success was largely because of the involvement of the missionaries and the N.A. who along with the administration, established some cottage hospitals and dispensaries especially by 1950; and depended on the U.N.O. for the supply of drugs[46].

7.4 Social Organization and the Emergent Values:

Despite the changes in the colonial society, the smallest unit of social organization still remained the family. However, some profound changes also affected the structure and values of the family which G.K. Nukunya

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[45]Great Britain Colonial Office; 1926. op.cit. Pg 82.

[46]"Extract from B.P. 8826. Inspection Notes by the Director of Medical Services Bamenda Division. T. Simpson (M.O.). 4th January 1938. Pg 111-112 in Lepper Settlements in Cameroons Province. op.cit. Also Great Britian Colonial Office; 1933. op.cit. Pg 72-73, 76-80.

described at a general level[47]. In Bamenda Division, the monetization policies steadily disposed the family towards individualism. Much freedom of the family from the Lineage or clan levels of control was exhibited because of the individualized wellbeing that cash crop cultivation, livestock production, labour migrancy, trade, and others had generated. Economic wellbeing was gradually changing from being dependent on the cooperation of the family, kinsmen and neighbours. Instead, it depended on the freedom and individualism of the family, decrease in polygyny or care taken in contracting it amongst others.

The change towards individualism led to the collapse of social and family bonds and the cohesion of the society. We also gathered that in the emergent Bamenda urban area, kinship system was also gradually becoming unnecessary for one's economic well-being.[48]

We therefore realized that the exigencies of money further caused families, husbands and wives parents and offsprings to be in seperation for some considerable periods. This always happened with the consolidation of migrant labour.

It therefore implied that the new value of individualism generated that of independence amongst the neolocal family units; lineages; clans; and polities.

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[47]G.K. Nukunya; "The family and Social Change" in Owosu Maxwell; Colonialism and Change. Mouton the Hague Paris. 1957 Pg 165-166.

[48]Interview with Mallam Audu Umarou, Bamenda, August 10th 1993. Also Mme. Esther Kiagha Bmunka-Ndop September 9th 1993; Titoh Pauline Muenthoh, Ndop June 17th 1993.

Other local institutions which these values affected was marriage. We observed in the field that the pattern was towards individualism leading to increasing celibacy. The exigencies of money caused many men not to get married, or to do it very late. The girls suffered from this same problem but their own was compounded by colonial education. An educated[49] girl fetched a higher bride wealth and at the same time stood the risk of not getting a partner. Accordingly, most of such girls emphasized on their right to choosing a partner, in which case they often prefered the colonial educated elites[50]. They also emphasized on certificated marriage. The impact of female celibacy and the demand for money generated the practice of prostitution. This was common in the Bamenda urban centre (old town).

The colonialists discouraged polygyny which led to a considerable decrease in its contraction. This process was even fast because of the monetization of the economy, colonial education, and the role the missionaries played through the converts. The colonial educated girls often preferred monogamous marriages because it would lead to easy sponsoring of their offsprings and good social (family) relations. So they often resisted getting married against their will. In lieu of this, some of the partners eloped and these were often reported. However, the

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[49]Literate in the real sense.

[50]Interview with Mme. Esther K. Ndop. September 9th 1993.

colonialists especially the missionaries often intervened by legalizing the marriage and the parents followed suit[51].

In the post war II era it was a common practice for the elites of the division to display some expenditure during wedding. At the same time bride services and gifts were met with great resistance while cash was fast replacing the services[52]. Some villages like Bafut was observed by R. Eugene and Pat Ritzenthaler in the 1950s to have fixed their money gifts while others like Nsaw left it open for the families or individuals of the family to decide on personal contact basis[53]. A similar value also developed in Ndop and the Meta[54]. Moreover polygamous forms of marriage like sorrorate and levirate were becoming very unpopular because of the socio-economic tensions that often arose on the one hand, and individualism on the other[55].

We also observed that divorce was hardly embraced by the societies. Many women preferred having the cover of being a wife than taking her matrimonial problems outside her home except within the lineage or to the Palace. In this case the values of the palace or lineage heads were

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[51] Interview with Moh M. T. Muenyi, Bamunka-Ndop, October 11th 1993.

[52] R. Eugene, et al (eds.); op.cit. Pg 5.

[53] Interviews with Yah Casilia-Jakiri, February 15th 1993. Also Mami Njumoh Mary, Bamunka-Ndop. February 16th 1993.

[54] R. Eugene, et al. (eds.); op.cit. Pg 54.

[55] Interview with Mrs. Fosah Deborah, Bamenda, August 17th, 1993.

centred around maintaining the marriage[56]. The colonial reports further testified this[57]. Accordingly, even though colonialism in the division hijacked the procedure of marriage contraction from the traditional authorities to the church, we realized that very often in reality the traditional values prevailed, especially because they came first.

It was reported by J.S. Schmidt in the 1930s from his survey of the Bamessing (Nsei in Ndop N.A.) that youngmen often engaged in labour migrancy particularly to the coast to look for money to pay the gifts amongst others to the families of the girls to whom they wanted to get married[58]. So this explained the extent to which this social institution had been transformed by money and individualism.

7.5 The Emergence of Classes in Bamenda Division:

Man's existence in society has always been characterized by forms of stratification. Over time these stratifications develop into classes as K. Marx and F. Engels amongst others have pointed out[59]. In the process of production the development in the forces of production

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[56] Ibid. Also, Mami Njumoh Mary, Bamunka-Ndop. February 18th 1993; Yah Casilia, Jakiri, Februalry 15th 1993; Pah Tamakeuh, Bamunka-Ndop, February 20th 1993.

[57] R. Eugene, et al. (eds.); op.cit. Pg 56-61.

[58] M. McCulloch; "The Tikar", in Daryll Forde (ed.); op. cit., London 1954 Pg 46.

[59] F. Englels; "The Origin of the Family, Private proterty and the state" in K. Marx et al. (eds.); Pre-capitalist socio-economic Formations. Moscow 1979. Pg 410. Also K. Marx "Economic manuscripts of 1857-1859" in Ibid. Pg 110.

correspondingly affect the relations within that community. This eventually leads to the formation of classes. It was exactly the case with the colonial experience in our Division, because of the British colonial system of production and distribution that was established. The picture of the class structure became more complex than before[60]. However, our interest in this analysis is to show the process through which the classes in the Division emerged and how these classes maintained their socio-economic positions. From this, some major patterns of changes, domination, and interests could be discerned.

In the former chapters we discussed the colonial policies in relation to the establishment of structures and institutions; and the impact these had on the economy and society of Bamenda Division. The impact centred around the emergence of new forms of changes in the social economy on the one hand and a consolidation of some old processes on the other, but geared towards new interests and directions.

The proceses by which the class systems emerged took two principlal phases viz: the pre-1946 and the post-1946 eras respectively. This was conditioned by several factors but most particularly the colonial central planning earlier mentioned. The German and British colonialists both entertained the idea of a class society in the Division

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[60] Z. Berbeshkina, et al (eds.); op. cit. Progress Moscow 1985. Pg 283. V.I. Lenin in the materialist framework defined classes as "large groups of people differing from each other by the place they occupy in the historically determined system of social production, by their relations (in most cases fixed and formulated in law) to the means of production, by their role in the social oganization of labour, and consequently by the dimensions of the share of social wealth of which they dispose and mode of acquiring it".

eventhough their class structures might have differed because of their colonial approaches and duration of stay in the Division[61]. They all targeted their class systems against the pre-colonial ones in the Division. However, the British went more indepth in consolidating the pre-colonial class system through their so called 'indirect rule' system of administration. Lord Lugard explained the policy thus:

> "the essential of the system was that the local chiefs constituted an integral part of the machinery of the administration. There are two sets of rulers-British and native, working either separately or in cooperation, but a single government in which the native chiefs have well-defined duties and an acknowledged status equality with British officials. Their duties should never conflict and should overlap as little as possible. they should be complementary to each other, and the chief himself must understand that he has no right to place and power unless he renders his proper services to the state"[62]

This abstract is very explicit about the British class policy especially with regard to the pre-colonial ruling system in the Division. However, this explanation given by Lugard actually explained only the socio-political part of the formation. Other classes equally emerged that were formed as a result of the socio-economic changes that took

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[61] F. Lugard. op.cit 1965 Pg 203. Also P.M. Kaberry et al op.cit 1960. Pg 10.

[62] F. Lugard Ibid. Also L.H Gann et al op.cit Pg 84. Even though the German colonialists were very racist in their approach towards colonialism, they still saw the survival of their interest in Kamerun as based on the creation of a subordinate privileged class. We saw in chapter three how an administrative structure was erected under the paramouncy of the Fon of Bali-Nyonga. However, the expansion of the social economy (both private and public sectors) led to the recruit-ment of more local personnel who were often over-worked even though they were placed on annual salaries.The earliest form of this class included:the local ruling (administrative authorities), the police, army and court recruits, interpreters, clerks, scouts, and other colonially educated agricultural technicians. The educated were trained in the government and missionary schools.By 1911, the number of educated elites throughout Kamerun were 833 Africans.

place in the region from the inception of the British administration's monetization policies and system of production. Nevertheless, from both angles, money and the system of production and distribution created some inter-relatedness which created a system of inequalities amongst the indigenes[63].

The Processes of Formation:

Our major concern in this area would be the identification of the different classes and going into the colonial system to show their origins. Moreover, we are concerned only with the class systems that evolved amongst the indigenes of the Division. With this perspective, our emphasis on the description of the different classes would be very minimal. The various classes were the elites, petit-bourgeois and the peasants. Each of these classes contained different social categories that explained their origins.

7.6 The Elite Class:

The elite class was made up of so many social categories. The N.A. system of administration; the missionaries; colonial education; and cash crop and livestock production were the bedrock of the formation of this class. The different processes which give rise to the elite class categories are examined below.

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[63]J.S. Coleman; Nigeria, Background to Nationalism. Los Angeles 1971. Pg 155.

7.6.1 The N.A. Officials:

The N.A. employees came into existence since the early 1920s when the British colonialists evolved the local government system of administration in the Division. We have seen in chapter three the policies (and ordinances) that governed their functioning. However, they were concerned with social control in their areas of jurisdiction through the maintenance of colonial law and order which warranted the use of the local Fons; colonial (N.A.) Police; Courts and prisons. So it was subordinate to the colonial state as Lord Lugard explained[64]. These N.A. Officials also employed labour into the colonial bureaucracy. In this regard they greatly participated in the colonial affairs.

At the time of the British take-over the Germans had been operating directly through a coercive administraion that largely came under the control of the fon of Bali-Nyonga. The Germans had also recruited and trained some indigenes on their principles and had sought to maintain the class positions of the local ruling authorities (Fons) vis-a-vis the ordinary people. The earliest British attempt at erecting a bureaucracy in the Division came up in 1916 when it was reported that

> "On January 1, 1916, G.S. Podevin crossed the Divisional boundary into Bamenda from Calabar, calling the 'big men' as he trekked to the Station, examining their chiefs books recording their former tax liabilities, and the considerable number of men away with the German forces as carriers and soldiers. His first tasks

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[64] Lord F. Lugard op.cit. Pg 203; also footnote 59 above.

> were the formation of an intelligence bureau and the selection of informants, interpreters and messengers to repare the gap in information arising out of the disappearance of the German station records, the uselessness of the military intelligence handbook and the failure of General Cunliffe's Moslem agents to collect any information of value ..."[65].

Therefore the earliest recruits into the British colonial service were made up of messengers, interpreters and the Fons amongst others. Through these indigenes the British colonialists could penetrate the Division during their military and political patrols, in order to enforce law and order; collect taxes and seek information about the pre-1916 past. Through the Fons, some indigenes of the traditional ruling class system were incorporated into this bureaucracy. These included some clan and lineage heads and the tax collectors that the Fons appointed. These local ruling authorities were among the earliest indigenes to use the British currency. So through their relations with the British political officials and the taxation exercises they began enhancing their economic positions. Their relations with the British political officials enabled them to extort money from the people although this was sometimes disguised as gifts[66]. Through these same officials the licensed buyers from the 1920s had contact with the interior trading sites[67].

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[65] E.M. Chilver, op.cit 1963. Pg 99.

[66] Ibid. Pgs 100-101; also R. Eugene et al (eds.). op.cit 1954.

[67] Interview with: Yah Caslila Jakiri, Feb. 15th 1993; Mr. Kimbaw Patrick and Yerima, Jakiri, February 13th 1993.

Ealier on[68], we discussed the role of the Bali-Nyonga ruling authorities in the British (Allied) victory over the Germans in this Division. In compensation for this assistance, many of the officials of the ruling class were incorporated into the British colonial administration, and the Bali-Nyonga 'Empire' that the Germans imposed was given some administrative support to prevent it from crumbling. So the position of the Fon of Bali-Nyonga was strengthened.

By 1925 the British law and order apparatus had been well-established in the Division through the creation of the N.A. units; Departments; and some socio-economic services. So the class was errected all over the Division and given powers over education, public works, public health, posts and telegraph amongst others. Gradually the elites became made up of the N.A. Officials, teachers, agents, interpreters, messengers, clerks, servants to the European officers, missionary employees, N.A. Policemen, employees of the departments amongst others. By 1930 many other converts and literate indigenes were incorporated into the class. These were incorporated either by the public or the private sectors.

It is worthwhile mentioning that the great depression greatly stagnated the growth of segments of this group like the messengers, interpreters and agents, amongst others, while other indigenes were prevented from coming in. This stagnation was caused by the reduction instaff levels which was carried out by the public and private sectors. But up

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[68]See chapter three., pg. 151-153

till the 1940s most recruitments came under the N.A. system. Meanwhile from 1922, Governor H. Clifford evolved the policy of federating the various autonomous Fondoms by bringing them under one chairman or another Fon thereby, consolidating the position of the N.A. class[69]. The rationale here was to centralize the administration through the creation of bigger N.A. units and by implication broadening the bureaucracy. This explainedthe emergence of some Fondoms like that of Nsaw Ngoni, Nyen, Bafut, Mankon amongst others to very influencial ranks as that of Bali-Nyonga (Bani). Under Governor D. Cameron in the 1930s, this was consolidated because of the numerous researches which his administration carried on the indigenes history, social anthropology, ethnography, government, and so on[70].

In line with the federation policy, Districts were established under Fons and N.A. officials were appointed. The areas (like Ngoni, Meta, Ngie) that came under the direct administration of the British official in Bamenda Station witnessed slow rate of development in the formation of N.A. officials because most of the duties were performed by the British.

Another area which the N.A. and other elites used in raising their class status was in the production of livestock and cash crops. We discussed the process by

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[69]Lord Lugard op.cit 1965. Pg 203-204 also M.Y. Mangvwat; A history of class formation in the Plateau Province. Ph.D. (History) Thesis A.B.U. Zaria 1984 Pg 78-80.

[70]Ibid. M.Y. Mangvwat Pg 86.

which cash crops were introduced in the Division[71]. Through these introductions the N.A. and other elites could use their political and economic positions to seize lands or purchase them from the peasants. So they became big landlords but the colonialists prevented them from evolving into 'latifundist' type cash farmers. This elite category was further strengthened by the labour migrancy which made them to hold firm their lands or purchase more. Apart from that, control of the cooperative societies was dominated by them. The creation of the village development funds also came under their control. In the domain of livestock production they extorted money from the jangali collections on the one hand, and through court injustices that were reported by the pastoralists on the other[72]. By the 1950s so many of these elites had related with the settled pastoralists to the extent that they too owned cattle.

In the 1950s also, the administrative structure remained the same as it was in the pre-1940s. It was merely enlarged in line with the growing social economy and population. More local institutions were created (like the new N.A. units; the settled 'Fulani' N.A.; local courts) and more money was pumped into the economy of the Division especially by the Marketing Boards and Multi-national licensed buyers and traders. The N.A. were given more functions that were largely socio-economic in nature such as the maintenance of sanitation; markets; protection of

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[71]See chapters four and five

[72]See chapter six pg.

particular trades and the licensing of bicycles. They also controlled public works of various degrees[73].

The Richard's Constitution of the late 1940s gave the indigenes some degree of representation through the Legislative Councils[74]. By 1955 the new provisions of these constitutions widened the N.A. class by leading to the election of some officials into the Legislative system[75]. At the local government level,the previous arrangement which placed power under recognized authorities of the village council (making it difficult for the Fons and their traditional ruling class to have full control and even the N.A. to function smoothly), was transformed by the House of Assembly in 1949. The Assembly evolved the local government system of administration called counties and further segmented it into districts and local councils with increased powers and revenues. This came under the Eastern Provinces' Local Government Ordinance (1950)[76].

The granting to Southern Cameroons of a self-governing status in 1957 consolidated the N.A. class' position because they began clamouring for regional self-government

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[73]Great Britain colonial Office; 1950 op.cit. ;Pg 103-104.

[74]Ibid. Pg 123-124. Also Richard Sklar; Nigeria, Political Parties. Power in an Emergent African Nation. Princeton Univ. Press Ne Jersey, 1963 Pg 18.

[75]File No. 3204, NW/vb/a in Bamenda Archives. Also Elections Southern Cameroons House of Assembly NW/vc/d 1955/1 Bamenda Archives; Elections Southern House of Assembly. NW/vc/d 1955/2 in Bamenda Archives; Federal Elections 1951 Detailed Arrangements Bamenda East (a). NW/vc/d 1959/2 in Bamenda Archives.

[76]Great Britian Colonial Office 1950 op.cit. Pg 3-4. Also Annual Report Nigeria 1955 op. cit. 1954 pg 9.

which they had been agitating for since 1948[77]. An example here was the hitherto marginalized Nsaw Advisory Council which from January 1958 began petitioning the government for fiscal autonomy and recognition as a separate but largely elective N.A. under the perpetual Presidency of the Fon. It received enough support from both the converts and non-converts[78].

However, the zenith of the rise of the N.A. elites was reached with the formation of the Southern Cameroons House of chiefs (SCHC) since 1954. Eventhough it was formed then, their impact in the society was most strongly felt from 1957 with the new regional status of southern Cameroons. Some of the Fons like Fon Galega II of Bali-Nyonga; The Fons of: Bafut, Mankon, Babungo, Nsaw, Nyen, Batibo, Ndu, amongst others became very poltically out-spoken. They also highly influenced the out-come of the political events in the Division[79].

7.6.2 The Missionary Employees:

The formation of the elite class also came about as a result of the activities of the European Missionaries in

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[77] Ibid Great Britain Colonial office; (1955) Pg. 9. Also Great Britain colonial office; Reports Nigeria 1947 op.cit. Pg 55-64; Great Britain colonial office; Reports Nigeria 1948 op.cit. Pg 76-79; Great Britain colonial office; 1954 op.cit. Pg 20; P.M. Kaberry et al. "From Tribute to Tax in a Tikar Chiefdom" in Africa vol. 30 No. 1 op. cit. 1960. Pg 16.

[78] P.M. Kaberry Pg. 16. Ibid.

[79] J.V. Ngoh. op.cit. Pg 190-193. Also C.Y.L. Bamenda Branch NW/vc/b 1951 in Bamenda Archives; Bongfen Chem-Lang hee, "Southern Cameroons Traditional Authorities and the Nationalist Movement 1953-1961" in Afrika Zamani Revue d'histoire Africaine No. 14 and 15. Younde 1984.

the Division. As said ealier[80], the German state's inability to cope with the social problems of the indigenes made her to give the missionaries more authority in the socio-economic system, this resulted in a process of class formation. In this process, the missionaries were milder in their approach towards transforming the region into dependent economy and society. The milder approach of the missionaries made her to expand her control in the Division. Thus from Bali-Nyonga where they were based, it was possible for them to establish interior centres viz: Menda-Nkwe, Bagam (Bali-Gham), Bangwa, Babungo, Bafut, Mbengwi, Ndu and Nsaw. But in all these regions, the Mememo speaking regions were said to have produced more converts and school pupils who then constituted part of the elites[81].

By the 20th November 1908, the first 32 converts were said to have been baptized in Bali-Nyonga. In 1909, 39 including four women followed suit, and by 1914 the magnificent red-brick church at Bali-Nyonga was completed[82]. Correspondingly, large tracks of land were surrendered to the missionaries where-ever they were established. The state became aware of the churches' influence and passed through them to put watchful eyes on the local social system - values and customs. For example she enforced the taxationsystem partly because she wanted

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[80] See also chapter three, pg.

[81] B.N. Ndifontah op.cit. Pg 114.

[82] Ibid.

to break the insitution of marriage and polygyny in particular. The missionaries were made to enforce this state policy by their open condemnation of polygyny. However, the Germans were said to have been very interested in converting many women in the Division and training them as teachers[83].

During the British colonial rule, a similar arrangement took place[84]. And due to the expansion of the missionaries' evangelical activities in the Division, the participation of more indigenes was also experienced.

Amongst the administrative rights that the missionaries were given by the British were the following: education, public health, public works, trade and industry. These were all areas where the missionaries had their influence during the German era. The most influencial missionaries society then was the Basler Missionaries. Others included the Roman Catholic, American Baptists amongst others[85]. Although secularism was allowed by the Germans, neglect was exhibited on Islam on the one hand, and contempt manifested on the local (traditional) religion on the other[86]. Under the British it was a similar pattern but for the fact that Islam gained some status in the Division because of the livestock economy which introduced

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[83]H.R. Rudin; op.cit. APg 297-303, 361-367. Also P.M. Kaberry et al op.cit. 1952. Pg 7.

[84]See chapter three, pg.

[85]Ibid.

[86]Great Britian colonial office; Reports 1954 op.cit. ptg 77.

and eventually settled the nomads and pastoralists in some N.A. areas.

By 1920, a gradual decline of the Basler Mission society was witnessed, while the American Presbyterians (who just came under the British domination) and the Roman Catholics greatly proliferated[87].

The Baslers and German Baptist were prevented from gaining more influence because of the British Enemy property ordinance which sent them out of the Division until it was revoked by 1922. After their return, the British gave them the rights over education, health, administration amongst others. Henceforth the administration exercised some discrimination between the Baslers in the Division and the other missionaries. The principal area of discrimination was in the financial assistance that the administration gave to the Mission Schools[88].

Due to the British administrative discrimination, bloc politics was generated amongst the societies. The Presbyterians and the Baslers merged to produce the Protestants and it later-on incorporated the German Baptists. They evolved an agreement of joint ownership and exchange of assets in the Division. This led to the opening of the Cameroon Protestant College (C.P.C.) Bali in 1949; after having established (in 1940) a Catechist Training Centre there. The Centre was later transfered to

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[87] Ibid.

[88] Great Britain Colonial office; Reports 1927-1930 H.M.S.O. London. op.cit.

Bafut and out of the Division to Nyasosso in Kumba Division (1952). There it was transformed into a full-fledged Theological College[89].

Similarly, a Girls School started in Bali-Nyonga by Miss Hummel (a German) was later-on transfered to Mbengwi, and later-on to Bafut in 1937. It was moved again to Bamenda by Miss Lina Weber and converted into a Women Teachers' Training College[90].

Meanwhile, the Roman Catholics concentrated in Nsaw more than anywhere else in the Division[91]. Intense competitions characterized the relations between these two christian blocs. These competitions and functions of the missionaries in the Division was noted by P.M. Kaberry in the late 1940s and early 1950s[92].

That not withstanding, it also explained the extent to which they could convert many indigenes, while absorbing them into the administrative system of the church; and institutions viz: the schools, dispensaries and hospitals. And Kaberry (on her research in this region in the 1940s and 1950s) made use of the services of the missionaries viz: interpreters; shelter; road infrastructure; intelligence information and food. She also made use of some elites that were trained by the Missionaries[93].

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[89] Ndifontah B.N. op.cit. Pg 116.

[90] Ibid.

[91] P.M. Kaberry, op.cit. 1960. Pg 10.

[92] Ibid.

[93] Ibid.

Most of the christains (converts) were colonially educated (literate) such that they formed part of the elite class. A reinforcement of secularism in the 1950s contributed towards an increase in the number of employees by the Missionaries and these were largely converts. The reason for this increase in employees was the missionaries' fear of the spread of Islam in the Division in the 1940s and 1950s. So they resorted to recruiting many indigenes into their services putting them on salary basis. It also informed their establishment of the health and educational institutions in the Division. Despite the consolidation of christianity it could be suggested that Islam still regained its status in the Division which threatened the christians because of the following reasons: the pastoralists' encroachment and settlement in the Division; the livestock (cattle) production which was dominated by these pastoralists and was also of socio-economic interest to the indigenes; the trading role of the muslim traders from Nigeria and the French territory in the Division; and the presence of the sultanate of Foumban (Bamumland) in the French territory. Most of the polities' ruling authorities together with some N.A. officials revived their Islamic practices and used the religion to integrate themselves with the settled pastoralists. They also used it in trading in Bamumland in the French territory. Others moved

as far as to Nigeria (Yola and Kano) for trade and education[94].

With the revival and consolidation of Islam through the establishment of Alkali courts in areas where the pastoralists were settled more elites were formed. Through the courts some elites (Islamized indigenes mostly) were employed to control them. By 1960 Islam and the elites it had trained consolidated themselves in the Division with the formation the Muslim Congress (M.C.) Party which fought to no avail against the re-unification of the French and British Cameroons. The Islamized indigenes and elites associated themselves with the muslims in the so called "Hausa quarters" in the urban centres[95].

Accordingly, the christian sects continued to train more elites in their churches, schools and health institutions. By 1945 P.M. Kaberry reported about this in Nsaw; that there was a Roman Catholic Mission in the charge of European Priests, at Shisong (some two miles from Kimbaw); a maternity clinic ran by the Nun's at the convent; and the mission had its school at Shishong and a smaller one in Kimbaw. Also in Nsaw, the Basler Missionhad a school in the charge of an African headmaster; a hospital and a dispensary with an African dispenser; a U.A.C. store and a large market. Also, there were Rest-Houses owned and

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[94]Interviews with: Tahmogohr Baba I, June 13th 1993; Mallam Audu Umarou Bamenda, August 10th 1993; The Baba I, Nsaw amongst other polities ruling classes were famous for the revival of Islam because of trade purposes.

[95]Federal Elections 1951. Detailed Arrangements Bamenda East (a). op.cit. Also Political parties in the Southern Cameroons Political Meetings. Pg 114-116. File No. 3204 NW/vb/a 1951. Bamenda Archives.

controlled by the government and the missionaries[96]. Christian missions had also extended as far as Ngoni, Ngie and Meta but thesewere mostly the protestants. These demanded an increase in elite training.

The expansion of the missionaries and formation of elites was accompanied by their accumulation of landed property. On the lands, they errected Houses for their visiting evangelists, staff, and churches. In these structures and centres they promoted the production of the local handicrafts. This was done by instituting Domestic Science training programs (especially in Ndop and Nsaw) for the female elites and converts[97].

The proliferation of christian missions in the Division contributed to one of the deepest disturbances amongst the indigenes[98]. There were differences amongst the converts and non-converts which was most rife in Nsaw[99]. Then the Christian converts against the muslims. But this was hardly as sharp as the former.

7.6.3 The Colonial educated elite:

The formation of the colonial educated elites owed its origins in the establishement of educational institutions

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[96]P.M. Kaberry, op.cit 1952 pg. viii-ix.

[97]Ibid. Pg 79.

[98]Ndifontah B.N. op.cit. Pg 116. Also D. Westermann; op. cit. 3rd Edition Dawson and Pall Mall lLtd. London 1969. Pg 89-90.

[99]P.M. Kaberry; ;"Traditional Politics in Nsaw" in op.cit. London 1969.

in the Division, and Nigeria[100]. However, there were fewer educational institutions in our Division than the plantation region. So this affected the speed which the formation of this class took, and its size. Colonial education was weternized and capitalistic in ideology. It was also uncritical and propagated westernization by its make-belief that the 'modernization' process of the British was the best direction towards development.

By so doing it consolidated technological and ideological dependency of the indigenes on the British.

Colonial education was also designed to break-through the local values of the indigenes. This crack would eventually transform the world outlook of the colonially educated towards westernization[101].

The Germans had started the process of training the indigenes to become the elites of the local society[102]. Their education centred around trade and crafts manufacturing[103]. For this reason, they evolved on educational policy for Kamerun. This policy established a system whereby some training was given to some indigenes which qualified them to fit in the colonial services.

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[100] J.F.A. Ajayi; Christian Missions in Nigeria the Making of a New Elite. Logman 1965. Also S.F. Graham; Goverment and Mission Education in Northern Nigeria. Ibadan 1966; E.A. Ayandele; The Missionary Impact in Modern Nigeria 1842-1914. All Quoted in M.Y. Mangvwat op.cit. Pg 108.

[101] J.S. Coleman; op.cit. Pg 129. Also M.Y. Mangvwat op.cit. Pg 108-200.

[102] See chapter three. Also P.M. Kaberry; op.cit. 1959 pg 7; H.R. Rudin op.cit. Pg 368-381; A. Calvert. op.cit. Pg 579. Since the German system of exploitlation concentrated much on agriculture and trade.

[103] Ibid.

Most of the training was given by the missionaries who were allowed to own schools together with the state. The policy created two types of schools viz: that for the Europeans and those for the Africans. The African schools used the Vernacular Mungaaka of the Bali-Nyonga and Lam-saw of the Nsaw for pedagogy. These language systems were also popular because they were used by the missionaries for evangelization. In 1915 some Bible stories were said to have been translated into Mungaaka[104].

The African schools were of two stages viz: the elementary and the higher stages. In terms of the categories of training, the following existed: the grammar, industrial and practical categories were found only at the higher state. By implication, the lower stage was just for language and christian training. Most higher stage teachers were whites, while most lower stage teachers were Blacks (Africans). The courses were designed to train loyal citizens who would come out as clerks having good command of the vernacular and the German language systems. The Germans also emphasized on the teaching of the German history from 1870[105].

The schools for practical work trained the girls for domestic work, laundry, farming, while the boys recieved instructions in carpentary, cabinet making, smithing,boot-making, tailoring, printing and book-binding. At completion of course every pupil was expected to serve the

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[104] Ibid.

[105] A. Calvert Ibid. Also H.R. Rudin Ibid.

colonial government for at least two years after which they could join the private sector[106].

Apart from the trade and manufacturing training schools, we saw earlier, Germans also made some attempts in training local agricultural technicians[107]. A bulk of the schools were located out of the Division - Dschang, Pittoa and Kuti-in this Western grassland area. While the state emphasized on training local agricultural techniques, the missionaries went beyond in training others in brick-making, bridge-making and building. The schools opened weekly on five to six days based on the Western Calendar system, with instructions of twenty to thirty five hours per week. The pupils paid fees even though by 1910 the state started giving grants to the mission schools especially for them to pay their salaries. The Basler mission was said to have had the highest amount always but yet she collected school fees[108].

The formation of elites through the German colonial educational system could have experienced a drastic expansion from 1910 when the state made schools obligatory to all Black children, but for the first world war which broke out four years later. This was because the program was enforced by its being put into law whereby, any defaulters were fined or flogged. The law further

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[106] Ibid.

[107] See chapter three and four. Also L.H. Gann et al (eds.) op.cit. Pg 169; E.M. Raberry op.cit. 1952. Pg 7.

[108] A Calvert op.cit Pg 59-61. Also M.R. Rudin op.cit.

submerged the vernacular system of instructing the pupils and replaced it with the German language. The police was permitted to penetrate the schools at any time to enforce these laws[109].

These changes implied that the state was moving towards a centralized system of education which enforced the detribalization process in Kamerun. These moves were halted by the out-break of the world war one which caused the schools to be closed and a reversal of values to occur amongst the indigenes as we saw in chapter three. However, the Germans had already laid the basis for the formation of a colonial elite class in the Division.

The British began framing her educational policy as early as 1916. By implication she started training the indigenes (together with the German trained elites) to become British educated elites in 1916. This was when the German Fortress in Bamenda Station was transformed into a primary school. Her primary interest here was the formation of character and habits of discipline, rather than the mere acquisition of a certain amount of book-learning or technical skill. This training would qualify the indigenes as clerks amongst others.

The government also cooperated with the missionaries and N.A. in training these elites. As a result of this, there were N.A. Schools and Missionaries schools existing together with the government schools. But all of them

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[109] Ibid.

operated under the same government policies[110]. The government intervened by centralizing the control of the schools under the education Department[111].

All the schools were opened to the indigenes irrespective of age, sex and religion. But the teaching of religion was made compulsory. The Mission and N.A. schools often charged fees that kept on increasing over time thereby causing many pupils to drop out[112].

The secondary schools which were very few in the Division operated on a six years program which was designed to provide the basis for education. This would fit the students for responsibility and provide the groundwork for training. Most of the indigenes had to travel to the plantations region or Nigeria for post primary school and professional training.

The trained teachers were of two categories viz: the elementary and the teachers higher elementary categories. The former level of training could be acquired in the Division at Batibo and Bambui. Then the higher elementary training was acquired at Kumba and Nigeria. Teachers were provided with the necessary faculties to run school farms.

By 1947 mass literacy campaigns were carried out in the Division. This took the form of adult and community

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[110]Lord F. Lugard, op.cit. Pgs 431, 440-441. Also Great Britain Colonial Office; 1954. op.cit. Pg 104-105.

[111]Great Britain Colonial Office 1954 Ibid 1954. Pg 107-108.

[112]Especially during the great depression.

education[113]. The secondary school leavers were trained to become primary school teachers and junior workers such as clerks and interpreters[114]. Subjects like history were made to be taught "from the point of view of showing what England was in the past, what England has done for liberty and civilization, for invention, for industry, and for the spiritual moral and material welfare of mankind"[115].

The girls were trained mostly for domestic purposes viz: child welfare, domestic science, dress-making, millinery, market gardening, poultry farming, type writing, amongst others. Technical and trade schools were also established.

The British colonialists also developed the policy of preventing the elites of this Division and Southern Cameroons from acquiring University education. So she did not establish any University in the territory. Elites from the Division had to travel to Nigeria on Scholarship basis especially in the 1950s in order to acquire University degrees[116].

Generally the quality of the elites that were trained by the colonialists was poor, especially the teaching staff. Their training was inadequate. Their ranking system included: assistant teachers without certificate;

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[113]Great Britian colonial office; 1954 op.cit. Pg 118-119. Also Lord Lugard op.cit. Pg 444.

[114]Lugard Ibid. Pg 452. Also Great Britain colonial office 1924 op.cit. Pg 39-40.

[115]Lugard, Ibid.

[116]J.V. Ngoh; op.cit. 1987 Pg 172-173. Also Great Britain colonial office; 1929 op.cit. Pg 74-76; Great Britian colonial office; 1931 op.cit Pg. 62-63; 68-69.

second and first year pupil teachers. By 1924 the missions were reported to posses more teachers than the government[117].

Due to the poor material conditions in the 1920s and 1930s (because of limited state financial assistances and liquidity shortages on the part of the indigenes), the N.A. schools began declining. The enrolment and attendance levels also fell considerably[118].

From the 1940s the colonially educated elites became active in politics by forming some political associations and subsequently political parties like the Cameroon Youth League (CYL)[119]. Their class position was thereby consolidated.

7.7 The Most Exploited Classes

The socio-economic conditions in the Division largely contributed to the formation of some categories of indigenes whom we have termed the most exploited classes. These classes were the most exploited because of the exploitative activities of the British colonialists on the one hand, and the local elites on the other. These exploitative activities included: forced labour

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[117]Gret Britain Colonial Office; 1924; op.cit. Pg 38.

[118]Great Britain Colonial office; 1926, op.cit. Pg 72-73. Also Great Britain colonial office; 1927, op.cit. ;Pg 55-58; Great Britian colonialoffice; 1929 op.cit. Pg 74-76; Great Britian colonial office; 1931 op.cit. Pg 62-63; 68-69; Great Britain colonial office; 1934 op.cit Pg 54-61.

[119]C.Y.L. Bamenda Branch. op.cit. Also K.P.P. Head Quarter Buea. NW/vk/1947/1. Bamenda Archives.

recruitment, the collection and extortion of taxes, land appropriation by the elites, and so on.

Moreover, in the former chapters we saw how the colonial policies caused a decline in slavery and the elimination of the rural artisans thereby causing a break down in rural life. These policies further led to landlessness of some of the indigenes and labour migrancy. However, due to the British hypocritical policy of maintaining the local ruling institutions and at the same time submerging their political and economic powers over the indigenes, the decline of slavery was gradual. And in most cases slaves were used in the palaces as Royal servants. This new status of the slaves in the Division made it possible for them to be employed by the public works Department or N.A. They could also engage in the cultivation of crops and the production of livestock for the market. Nonetheless, the processes mentioned above contributed in producing the petit bourgeois labourers class and the peasantry in the Division. These classes are our major concern.

7.7.1 The Petit Bourgeois.

We saw in the former chapters[120a] how the multinational firms and licensed buyers dominated the system of distribution in the Division. Their role multiplied in the post 1940s because of the establishment of the cooperatives and Marketing Boards. Indeed the reason

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[120a] See chapters four and five.

the informed the establishment of the cooperative societies[120b] was related to the emergence of the class. Cooperatives led to some primitive accumulation consequently, the rise of some petit-bourgeois. This class members were petit-bourgeois largely because they depended on the system of peasant commodity production and labour migrancy for their capital. By implication, they also depended on the British purchasers and employers for their profits. Very few of them employed local labour. Since the activities of the firms were related to the introduction of money in the Division; the production of cash crops on the one hand and the exploitation of the labour of the local people on the other, the production of cash crops became related to the firms' influence to form a small commercial class that was dependent on the licensed buyers. This class often engaged in migrant labouring or porterage to the plantations and back. Accordingly, they engaged in other long distance trading activities within and outside the Division. Their role in the pre-war II era was very influencial because of the constant liquidity shortages that was reported in the Division. So they contributed in injecting more liquidity into the Division.

During the great depression and whenever the border restrictions were lightened up many of these commercialists transformed into smugglers. During such occasions some of them were even said to have practised some slavery. These

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[120b] See the 1939 statement of policy regarding the cooperative societies in chapter five, footnote 128, pg.

slaves were some indigenes that were obtained in the Division and used for the purpose of transporting the market articles of the commercialists. However, this practice was common only in the 1930s. So through these trading means these categories of labourers could manage and accumulate some money for the construction of their houses payment of taxes, purchase of land, textiles, pay the bride price of their wives, or even stalls in the market centres. After doing these, they then settled down for the cultivation of crops or rearing of livestocks for cash.

Meanwhile we also saw that the establishment of the British administration also led to the opening of a Public Works Department in the Division. This Departments' function was related to the establishment of the necessary infrastructures and socio-economic amenities needed by the administration for its system of production and distribution to go on smoothly. In this regard, the Department engaged in recruiting local labour either through the Fons or other N.A. Officials. By 1930 its employees were said to be considerably high even though the great depression had caused her to lay off so many labourers. Moreover, the Department decided to introduce some wages to the labour and other services that she needed. From this she soon employed some indigenes on permanent basis. These workers of the P. W. D., especially those on temporal basis also constituted another category of this class. It was so because while rendering their

services to the colonialists, they also engaged in peasant commodity production, trading and seasonal labour migrancy.

Initially (in the pre-1920s), the indigenes of the Division were said to have resisted wage labour (for the plantations). This caused the Department to increase the wages she offered. But this also failed. The Department then resorted to forceful recruitment. This process of forceful recuitment reduced by the mid-1920s because of the taxes which she had imposed on the indigenes of the Division. Moreover, the role of the multi-national licensed buyers had caused some liquidity shortages at a time when the indigenes needed money for their taxes. As a result of the liquidity shortages the indigenes voluntarily offered their services to the Public Works Department and N.A. on wage basis. With this, they could do some primitive accumulation.

The socio-economic (class) position of the petit-bourgeois especially those voluntary employees who later on became permanent workers with this Department. Most of these employees' labour was unskilled or semi-skilled, so the Department exploited it on very cheap basis. By the 1930s the great depression caused the redundancy of many of these labourers. Many of the lay offs either transformed into migrant labourers; commercialists; livestock rearers; or cash crop cultivators. This slump greatly widened the gap between these wage labourers and inter-related class categories on the one hand, and the elites on the other. It was further reported that due to the depression and the

liquidity crisis barter trade was re-introduced in the Division, so this greatly contributed to widen that class gap[121].

Furthermore the lay off of workers by the Department led to an increase in the cultivators for cash. These new cultivators merged with the peasants who had been rendered landless by the impact of the colonial land policies on the one hand, and the hitherto commercialists who had settled to produce cash crops on the other. This merger produced another category of this labourers class. But a new system of linkage began developing between these cultivators for cash with the long distance commercialists; carriers and livestock rearers. The reason for the merger was for the sales of the produce in the new market sites in Nigeria and the French territory[122]. However, their profits margin must have been very low (thereby reducing their incomes), because they still had to pay their taxes, amongst the other exigencies of the economy.

Nevertheless the size of the petit-bourgeois class especially the wage labourers category certainly increased in the post-war II period because of the expansion of the colonial economy. During this period we also saw in the former chapter how labour migrancy assumed a steady increase because of the improved migrancy conditions. But the size of this class should not be over-exaggerated because the colonialists hardly embarked on mining, or

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[121] Ibid. Also Great Britain colonial office. Reports for the Years 1929-1933 HMSO London.

[122] J. Hatch; op. cit. 1969 Pg 211. Also P.M. Kaberry op.cit. 1952. Pg. 21-22.

fishery, nor did they transform the local crafts industries into modern industrial manufacturing industries. Instead this neglect caused many labourers of this class to either engage in cash crops cultivation; livestock rearing (which the colonialists promoted), or they engaged in fisheries and crafts manufacturing in order to raise the cash necessary for their survival. It was for this reason that it was difficult for one to find an indigene who was solely dependent on wage labour thereby being a wage labourer in totality.

By the mid-1950s most of the categories of this class were concentrated in the Bamenda urban area. Other migrant labourers and political activists of the UPC party from the French territory merged with the labourers in Bamenda to form a radical nationalist political front under the UPC party and its affiliated associations; and one Kamerun (O.K.) and fought for the independence of the Cameroons.

In another development, other categories of this class like the migrant labourers; the commercialists; the cash crop farmers; crafts manufacturers amongst others transformed into businessmen. They were dependent on the European consumerist suppliers on the one hand, and the peasants on the other for provisional articles and raw food-stuffs for sale. Some of them opened small retail business units like stalls. Others became involved in the cooperatives as producers or distributors of their goods. Accordingly, the use of lorry transport by the cooperatives

facilitated their economic activities and also introduced another category of wage labourers (petit-bourgeois).

By the end of the 1950s, some hitherto wage labourers, commercialists, peasants, N.A. and other elites, cash farmers and the new businessmen transformed into landlords. They did this by selling parts of their lands and engaging in other socio-economic activities in order to accumulate capital. The accumulated capital was used in building houses which were put on rents or used as mini-hotels. In the latter case, the owners (landlords) employed some cheap labour. These landlords also engaged in the process of accumulating capital by continuing with their retailing and cash crop business activities. In another light, some local artisants migrated from the rural societies and either continued with their professions in the Bamenda urban area, or they changed to other professions such as barbing, shoe mending, weaving, tailoring, carpentering, building, etcetera. These new soio-economic categories combined with the landlords, elites, amongst others, to form the urban rich.

7.7.2 The Peasantry

The peasants are here understood in a materialist sense[123]. The system of production and distribution put them at cross-roads between the local and modern systems of cultivation and livelihood. In this regard, they came under

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[123] J.S. Saul let al; "African Peasantries" in Teodo Shanin (ed). Peasant and Peasant Societies. Penguin Books England 1971 Pg 107.

the dominance of the elites on the one hand, and the multi-national companies and licensed buyers on the other.

The peasants evolved through the processes of landlessness; labour migrancy; cash crop cultivation; livestock rearing; local trade and commerce and the break-down in rural society and economy, which have all been expalained above. These means of acquiring cash were frustrated for the peasants by the colonial taxes and other monetization policies and changes in the Division. As a result of these the peasants had to engage in other local socio-economic activities such as fishing, hunting, tapping of palm wine; crafts manufacturing amongst others to enable them survive the poor material conditions in the Division.

Moreover, the peasants were eliminated from the colonial bureaucracy,[124] and in most cases they were out of the traditional ruling system. However, the introduction of the cooperatives societies and Marketing Board from the 1930s and 1940s respectively, led to the emergence of some categories of rich peasants. They were rich because they evolved into small scale producers (with a relatively simple non-industrial technology); could accumulate some money in the 'ndjangi' or cooperative societies and transform into landlords. Other rich peasants evolved through the systems of trade and exchange-(long and short

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[124] Ibid. Pg 134. Also Raymond fifth; "Capital Savings and Credit in Peasant Societies. A Viewpoint from Economic Anthropology" in Raymond Firth et al (eds); Capital, Saving and Credit in Peasant Societies. Studies for Asia Oceania, the Caribbean and Middle America. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. London 1964 Pg 17. However we observed in the field that to be qualified as a peasant the family with its farm units still formed the basic influence in the indigenes' social organization and major source of livelihood. This does not dispute the fact that some of the values like Kinship were changing.

distance trade), through which they could accumulate some capital and survive the changing material conditions in the Division.

However, the colonial system of production made it difficult for even the rich peasants farmers of the 1940s and 1950s to develop mixed farming that could have raised their socio-economic conditions (or farming technology) and probably cause a radical transformation in the colonial economy in their interest. Similarly, they could hardly specialize in particular economic activities. In such conditions it was further difficult even for this class category to be able to develop within its ranks some indigenous category of rich 'latifundist' farmers. So their degree of capital accumulation should not be exaggerated.

Accordingly, the peasant farmers and rearers always found it difficult to expand to 'bourgeoisie' positions in the Division because of the presence of the state farms. This was evidenced by P.M.Kaberry's studies in Nsaw amongst other areas in the Divison in the 1940s and early 1950s[125]. She observed that the socio-economic pressures and competitions that the state farms generated in the Division were always to the peasants' disadvantage no matter the degree of fertility of a peasants strip of land; or the training that a peasant could have received from the state farms. This was compounded by the fact that amongst the state farms in the Division fundamental differences existed

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[125] P.M. Kaberry op.cit. 1952. ;pg 105-111.

in their technological methods which consequently affected their yields[126].

7.8 Conclusion.

In this chapter our emphasis has been on the impact of colonial policies on the society of Bamenda Division. In view of the so many complex issues involved in this discussion, we have limited our examination on the nature of social order that prevailed in the Division in the colonial period. The nature of social order centred around the maintenance of law and order (peace) in the region so that the British system of production and distribution discussed in the earlier chapters could operate well. Law and order were needed for the creation of colonial social institutions viz: health and education. And these culminated in changing the basis of the local socio-political system on the one hand, and the emergence of new social values on the other. The maintenance of law and order therefore was very significant in explaining the process by which the indigenes became acquiesced with the British, and participated in the colonial system of production. The establishment of prisons as part of the colonial judiciary system, and the dibilitating conditions of the prisoners largely explain this assertion.

Also, the maintenance of law and order, creation of social institutions to support the British system of

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[126]Agriculture Department Bambui "Planned Landuse and some Guestimates" No. 585.13: 1946; Annual Report Bambui 1947. The state farms in Babungo had higher yields than those in Bali-Nyonga and Nsaw because of differences in both the soil and technological methods.

production in the Division finally led to the formation of classes amongst the local population. However, because of the complex nature of the classes, we have paid more attention to describing a few of them, showing the socio-economic and political differentiations amongst them. We have also identified the different processes that led to the formation of the classes which we all tied to the British system of production and distribution on the one hand, and their colonial approach which centred on changing the basis of the society from what the Germans had established to suit the British interest, on the other.

7.9 General Conclusion.

This study on the impact of British imperialism on Bamenda Division between C.1916 and 1961 has very much answered some of the burning contemporary questions of development. These questions relate to the nature of the land, labour and capital of the indigenes of the Division to enable them engage in production. It also goes beyond mere identifying the British approach towards development in this region, but relates the processes by which the factors of production were rendered underdeveloped so that the indigenes should become dependent on the British and other external powers viz: Germany, U.S.A. for their basic developments and livelihood. So British development of this Division was to ease her process of exploiting the area.

More particularly, we have explained the reason why the indegenes of the Division evolved into various classes (elites wage labourers; peasants amongst others) that differed from the type of classes that existed in the pre-1900 Bamenda Division. These new classes constituted the back-bone of the colonialists profits and surpluses.

In another light, the study has attemped to clear some fallacies about the indigenes' dual system of production today. These fallacies have affected the development strategies of the post-independence regimes resulting in a continuous dependency of the local society on the external societies without much regard to the unequal relationships that govern the dependency patterns. Moreover, the unequal

terms embodied in the dependency have made it difficult for the post-independence regimes to provide a new course that is fundamental for developing the society and economy.

We have explained this whole process by delving into the pre-colonial era (in chapters one and two) where we brought out some of the basic features of the political economy of Bamenda Division from earliest time. However, we concentrated on some of the basic features of the mid 19th century such as the nature of political systems in the Division, the social organization, economic systems, system of social stratification amongst others. The areas of considerable weakness in terms of production and distribution were also examined in some detail. These weaknesses were exhibited in some of the sectors such as agriculture; crafts manufacturing and particularly in terms of the means and organization of production. The weaknesses created a condition of vulnerability which the Germans passed through, and later on the British effected the changes which the Germans started. In effecting the changes the British generated others to her interest.

The British took over from the Germans as explained in chapter three; and established her system of production and distribution in line with some major policies which hardly departed fundamentally from the German policies. In this regard, the British colonialists established more plantations in the coastal region (outside our Division) state farms, and other socio-economic structures, institutions, and infrastructures in the Division, to

enable her exploit the resources of the area. As a consequence, the new system of producing the surplus she needed affected the indigenes' land, labour and financial systems of organization. Through the crownland, forced labour, wage labour, and taxation policies, there was some degree of landlessness, labour migrancy, the development of transhumance and farmer-grazier conflict, breakdown in rural economy, emergence of food crisis, the establishment of and decline in the educational and health institutions; and also the creation of infrastructures (roads especially) amongst others. All these were discussed in chapters four, five, six and seven.

Furthermore, it was because of these that the local people became dependent on the British for development, and their means of livelihood. And the British provided these means by introducing some crop species and promoting the rearing of livestock for cash. But she indirectly withdrew the profits from the indigenes through the monetization policies on the one hand, and the presence of the multi-national licensed buyers and suppliers of European manufactures, the cooperative Societies, the Marketing Boards and the post office savings Bank on the other.

Some earlier writers[127] have claimed that African economic development owe its origins from the Western economic forces and ideas. But that these were not imposed upon unwilling and protesting peoples. That even though there were at first instances of a strong and instinctive

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[127] J.S. Coleman op.cit. Pg 63, Also J.S. Hogendon op.cit.

resistance to new ideas and techniques, once they were found to be useful the ordinary African accepted them with alacrity. Finally, that the acceptance and stimulus was due to the utility, attractiveness, and prestige-giving qualities of imported European goods. Our investigations in this study have revealed some fallacies in this claim.

It is true that the indigenes engaged themselves in economic activities of higher magnitude during British colonial rule than in the pre-colonial era. But their participation in the process of colonial economic development was hardly stimulated by their 'willingness' and 'acceptance' of the new system. Instead, the new system of colonialism created some political, social and economic conditions that were largley unfavourable to the indigenes who then resorted to participating in various peasant economic activities (peasant commodity production) so as to earn a living. These political conditions were highlighted upon in chapter three. They centred around the process of change and continuity in colonial rule of the Germans and the British. The British consolidated this process through the establishment of N.A. units and a colonial bureaucracy that made the indigenes divided on the basis of class interests which were all subordinate to the British.

In chapter four the economic conditions were examined. They centred around the process of consolidating Bamenda Division as a peasant agricultural zone while maintaining the plantations of the coastal region. This approach though not different from the Germans', partly explained the dual

system of production in the economy of Southern Cameroons. It also evolved some patterns of relationships in the entire territory, especially with the expansion of the colonial economy. The colonial approach towards development as examined in chapter four revealed that two distinctive periods existed in understanding its nature. There was the pre-war II and post-war II eras. These epochs were determined by the degree of participation of the colonial state in this process of change. The periods also explained the changing relationship between the colonial state and the private sector in the Division. Thus the first period was influenced by an unplanned and laissez-faire approach towards colonial development, while it was the opposite during the second era. By implication, the trend towards establishing some profound features of dependency of the local economy of the Division on the British was revealed. The dependency was enhanced because of the weaknesses that the local economic forces had been conditioned to experience from the German era.

From this examination, we also conclude that while there were no fundamental differences between the German and the British colonial policies of development in this region, the British approach went deeper in entrenching the British interest, thereby expanding the economy and society of the region. The British expanded the economy of the region by extending their pre- c.1916 system of economic exploitation in Nigeria (particularly the Eastern Provinces) to the Southern Cameroons, with some other

readjustments - caused by the German influence, and some local realities of the Division.

As we have seen also, contrary to the claims of the above-mentioned writers amongst others, the industrious (hard working) nature of the indigenes of Bamenda Division on the one hand, and the inability of the British colonial administration to establish a colonial central planning system of economic exploitation in the pre-1940s on the other, made the indigenes to prefer practising their long standing subsistence economic activities more than the new demands-cash crops. The indigenes' interest in cash crops cultivation was limited to the limits that the British had established through her development policies on the one hand, and the multi-national licensed buyers on the other. So it centred around palm production. But, the increasing participation of the indigenes in the new economic trends took place with the consolidation of colonial taxation and labour policies which were the core of the colonial monetization process. And by the post war II era, peasant commodity production increased largely in the agricultural sector of the economy. Local participation kept on increasing with the changing colonial conditions that centred around the demand for cash, the maintenance of state authority (law and order), the expanding activities of the European traders, marketing Boards and cooperative societies, which were all institutions that the colonial governments established so as to consolidate peasant commodity production for export. Through this very process,

more export crops were introduced in the post war II era viz: coffee and banana. The indigenes further responded favourably to the production of these crops because of the liquidity crisis viz: price inflation.

Agriculture remained the most predominant economic activity of the indigenes and was closely followed by livestock rearing. Fishing, crafts manufacturing, trade amongst other economic activities also witnessed some increasing degree of local participation. And as we said earlier, they were largely determined by the colonial policies of development and system of production. Other food crops (both hybrid and local ones) also engaged the indigenes, who cultivated them for subsistence and cash.

These sectors of colonial development (as part of the British system of production and distribution), also ended up establishing a local private sector which was weak and dependent on the colonial government and the European private sector. By so doing, it partly expalained the process of underdevelopment of Bamenda Divison. The local private sector concentrated in the production of European export and some food crops and livestock for cash, and largely depended on the European buyers for marketing of their produce. Colonial economic development through the British approach, also failed in transforming the economy of the Division towards industrial manufacturing, just because of the British interest of maintaining the region dependent on them for manufactured goods.

Finally, the British system of production and distribution led to class differentiations amongst the local population, which we identified as: the elites and the most exploited classes. These class positions highly determined the nature of the nationalist struggle in Bamenda Division. The different classes, because of the divided interests amongst them also expressed the dependent interests in the process of colonial development. The elites sought for greater participation in colonial affairs, thereby maintaining the colonial system of production and distribution and its unequal relationships. The most exploited classes also depended on the system of production and distribution for the cash which they needed for survival. And because of the colonial system of law and order, they further depended on the elites (the colonial bureaucrats) for the policies of development.

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List of Informants

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Fon S.A.N. Angwafo III; Mankon Palace. March 10th 1993. (Interview). About 69 years old.

Fon S.A.N. Angwafo III; Mankon Palace. September 15th 1993 (Discussion - Conversation).

Yah Casilia; Jakiri - Bui Division. February 15th 1993. (Interview). About 105 years old.

Pah Kimbaw Patrick; Jakiri Municipal Administrator. Jakiri Bui Division. February 13th 1993. (Interview). About 60 years.

Councilor Yerima; Jakiri, Bui Division. February 13th 1993. (Interview). About 58 years.

Mami Mary Njumoh; Bamunka Ndop. Ngoketunjia Division. February 18th 1993 (Interview). About 80 years.

Pah Tamakeuh; Kake Quarter Bamunka-Ndop. Ngoketunjia Division. February 20th 1993. (Interview). About 100 years.

Tahmoghohr; Traditional Councilor, Baba I-Ndop. Ngoketunjia Division. June 13th 1993. (Interview). About 58 years.

Titoh Pauline Muentoh; Abakwa, Bamunka Ndop. Febraury 24th 1993 (Interview). About 85 years.

Mrs. Fosah Deborah; Mankon-Bamenda town. August 17th 1993 (Interview). About 55 years.

Titoh Pauline Muentoh and Mme. Esther Kiagha; Bamunka Ndop. June 17th 1993. (Joint Interview).

Mallam Audu Umarou; Ntamulung, Bamenda town. August 10th 1993. (Interview). About 80 years.

Mr. Wallang; Chief Archivist, Bamenda Archives. Provincial Delegation of Information North West-Bamenda Station. August 7th 1993. (Interview). About 49 years.

Mr. Backbuin Nzafas; Agriculture technician. Divisional Hospital. Delegation for Agriculture Bui Kimbaw February 17th 1993. (Interview). About 38 years.

Mme. Esther Kiagha; Health Officer, Ngoketunjia Divisional Hospital. Bamunka-Ndop. September 9th 1993. (Interview). About 45 years.

Pah Afundah; Ngwo-Njikwa sub-Division (Momo) September 19th 1993 (Interviewed in Bamenda town). About 80 years.

Pah Ngang; Teacher (Rtd.) NACHO Quarter Bamenda town. October 7th 1993. (Interview). About 90 years.

Mr. Ade Patrick; Civil Administrator (Rtd) Bamenda town. October 10th 1993. (Interview). About 60 years.

Moh Muenyi, M.T.; Municipal Administrator Ndop Rural Council. Ngoketunjia Division. October 11th 1993 (Interview). About 50 years.

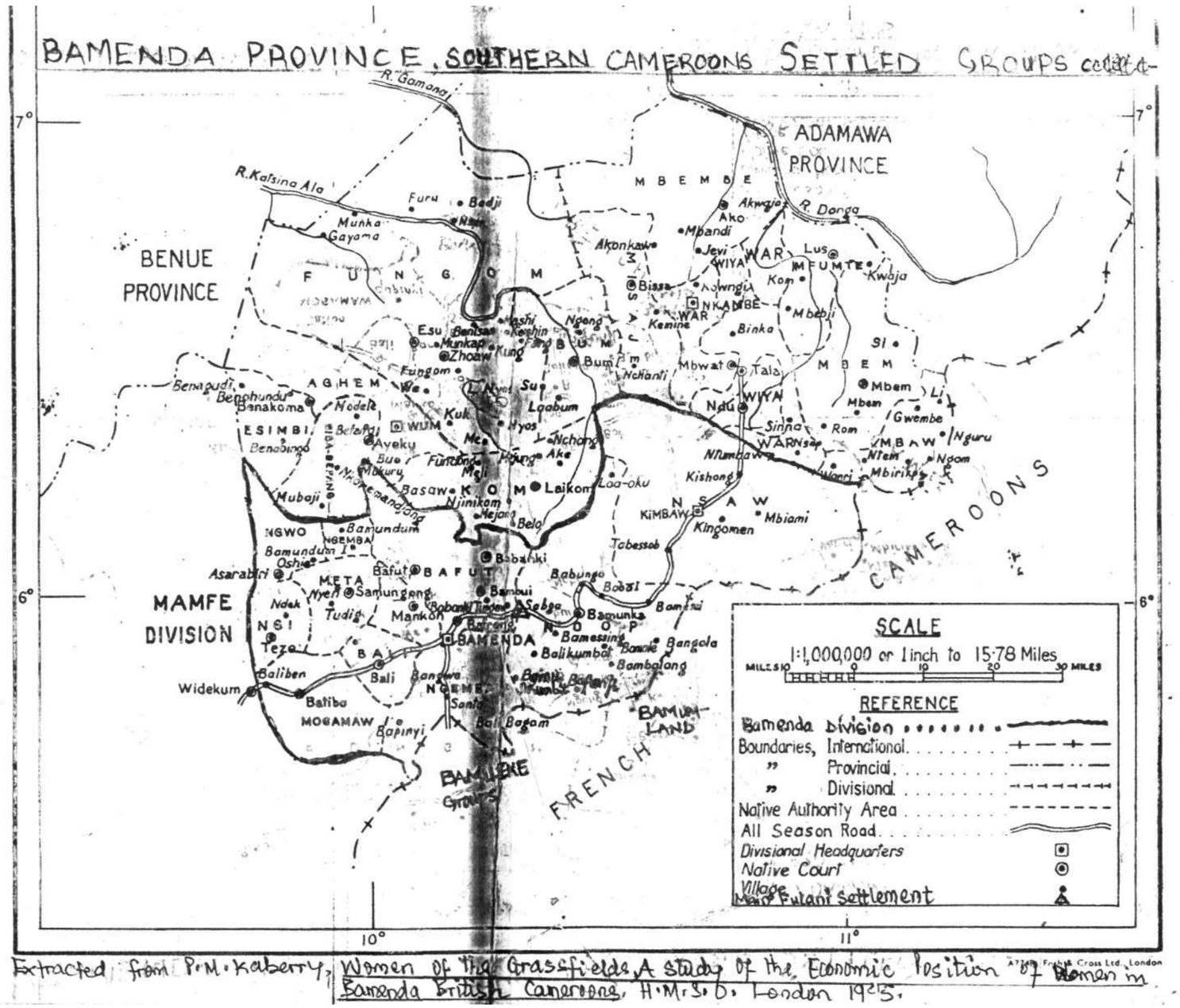
Dr. C.G. Tabukum; Vet. Doctor. Small Mankon Bamenda town. December 19th, 1993. (Conversation). About 35 years.

Moh Charles Forchu; Commercialist, Yaounde. January 3rd 1994 (Interview). About 45 years.

Dr. Akwa Holy; Vet. Doctor. Zaria. December 3rd 1994 (Interview). About 27 years.

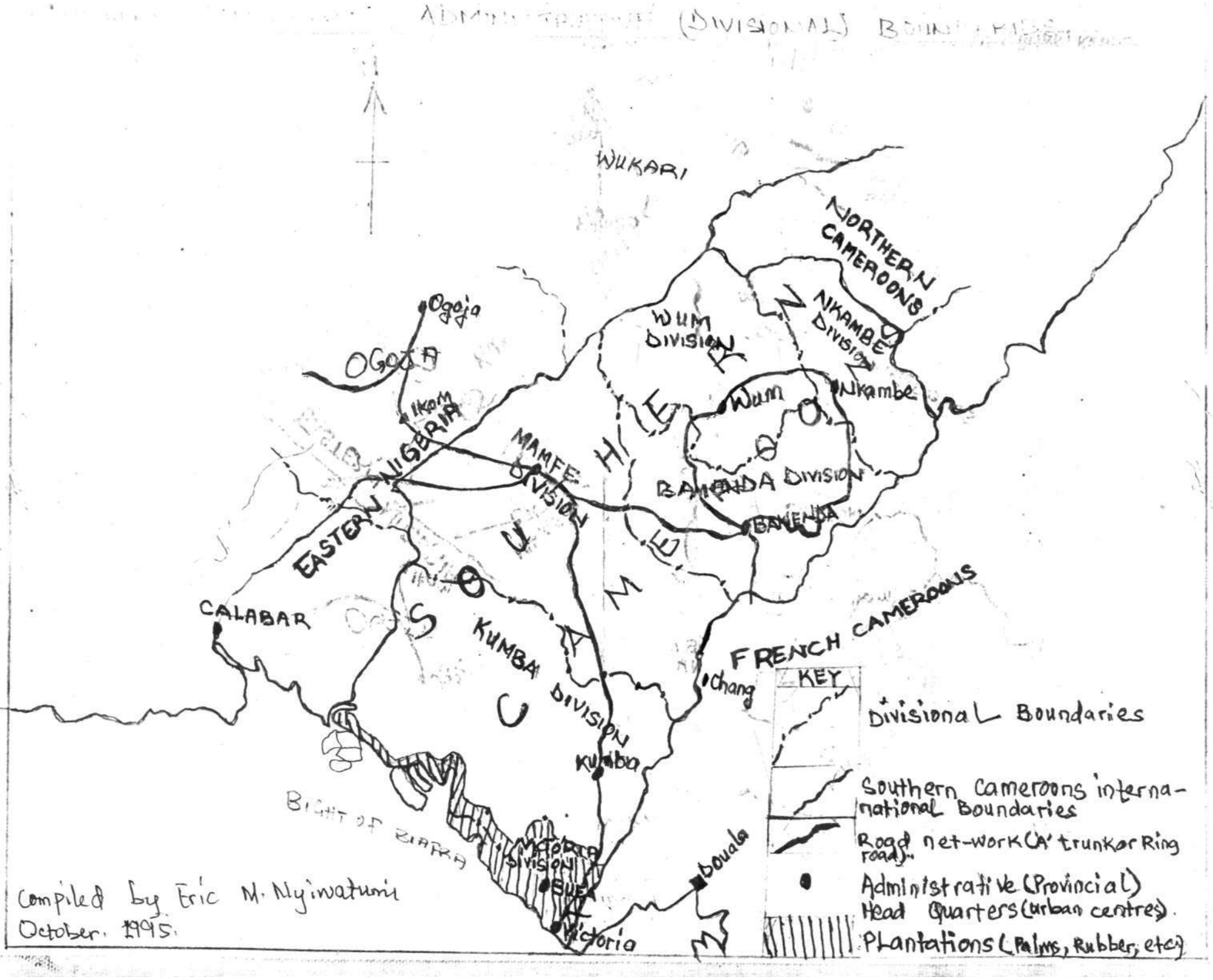
Group Discussions (conversations) in Ndop (Bamunka), Kimbaw and Bamenda town. Between February and December, 1993.

BAMENDA PROVINCE, SOUTHERN CAMEROONS SETTLED GROUPS



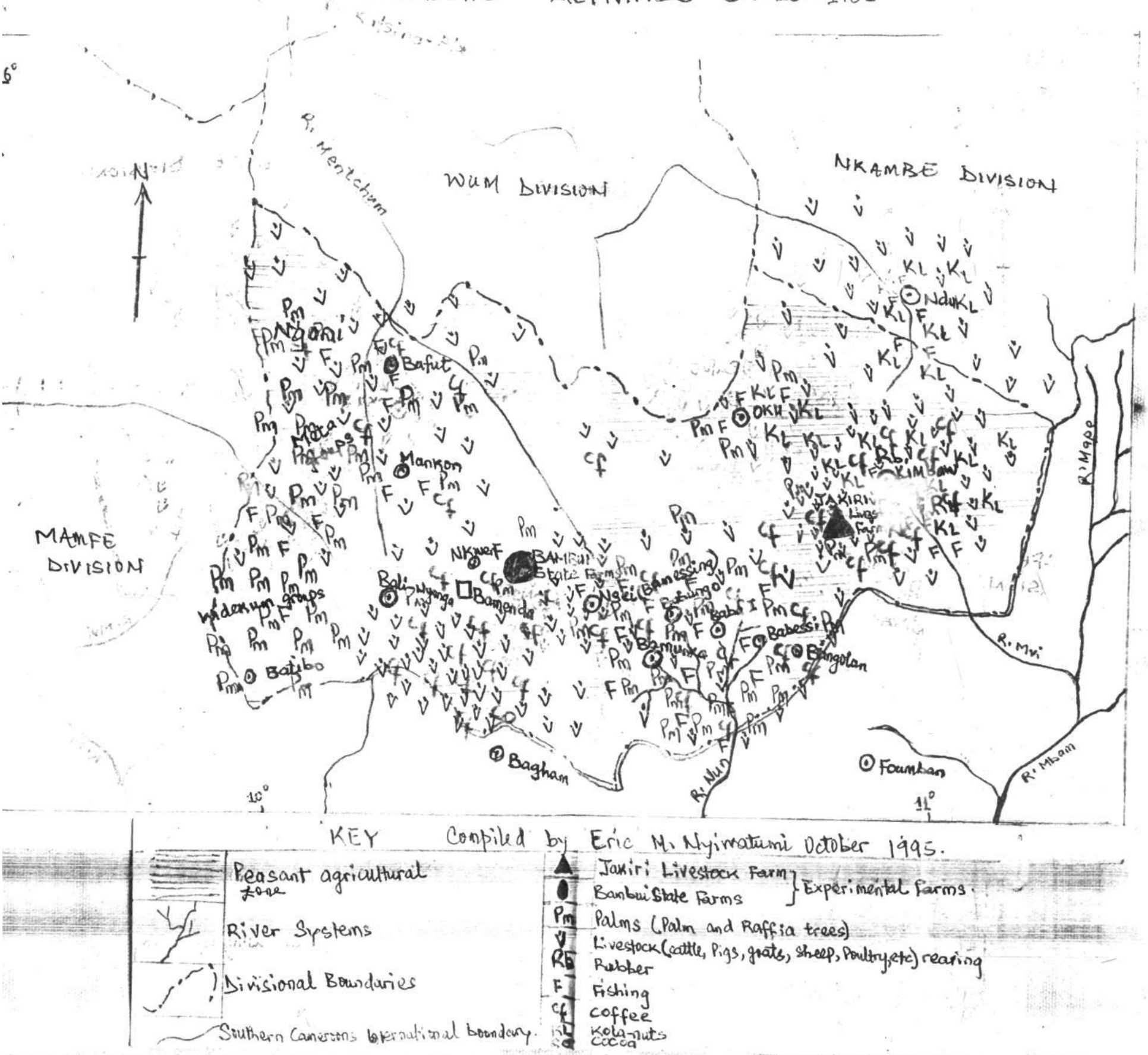
Extracted from P.M. Kaberry, Women of the Grassfields, A study of the Economic Position of Women in Bamenda British Cameroons, H.M.S.O. London 1945.

ADMINISTRATIVE (DIVISIONAL) BOUNDARIES



Compiled by Eric M. Nyinatumi
October. 1995.

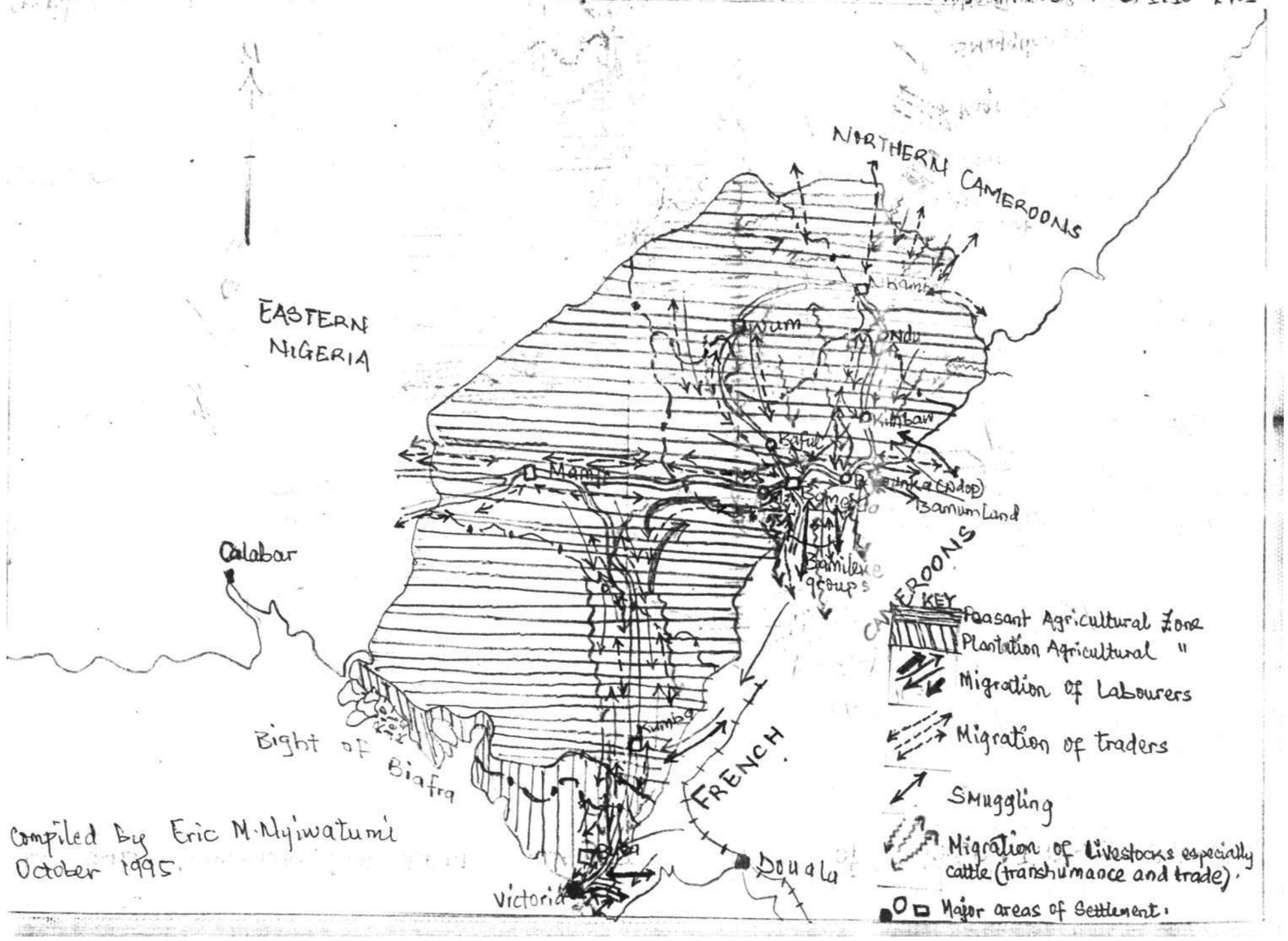
BAMENDA DIVISION
ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES c.1916-1961



KEY Compiled by Eric M. Nyiratumi October 1995.

- Peasant agricultural zone
- River Systems
- Divisional Boundaries
- Southern Cameroons International boundary
- Jakiri Livestock Farm } Experimental Farms.
- Bambui State Farms
- Pm Palms (Palm and Raffia trees)
- Livestock (cattle, Pigs, goats, sheep, Poultry, etc) rearing
- Rb Rubber
- F Fishing
- cf coffee
- kl Kola-nuts
- Cocoa

BAMENDA DIVISION, SOUTHERN CAMEROONS: FORMS OF MIGRATION c.1916-1961



Compiled By Eric M. Mjiwatumi
October 1995.