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**MARGUI - WANDALA DIVISION: (North Cameroon) :**

**An Annotated Bibliography**

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M A R G U I - W A N D A L A    D I V I S I O N

(NORTH CAMEROON)

AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

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## A WORD OF INTRODUCTION

This annotated bibliography falls actually into three parts. The first part gives a general summary of central themes the various authors covered in their individual works. The second part handles each work, and gives a brief annotation. The third part, very brief, contains those works which ~~could~~ were out of our reach for annotation. We do recognise that there are many more works or documents on the Margui-Wandala which are unknown to us.

We hope this effort shall contribute to the task of rural transformation and development of the Cameroon mountain populations. Those involved in bring modern structures to the Mandara peoples may find this humble effort a basic and rudimentary guide, though it is not without its defects. We wish to thank the USAID/Yaounde for making the realisation of this bibliography possible.

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## Historical Background

The history of the peoples of the Margui-Wandala Division is rather one of the villages, and ethnic groups that compose it. One can only fully appreciate the different dynamic processes now by reviewing the historical background of the major ethnic groups.

Wandala (Mandara). Their history is characterised by upheavals, conflicts and wars. The Mandara fought a series of wars with the Bornu empire, an islamic state. Mandara kingdom was a pagan state which was finally converted to islam in the early part of the 18th century during the reign of Bukar Adji, the 24th ruler. It can be said that the islamisation process of the peoples of the region was intensified under the inspiring influence of Ousman dan Fodio, following the Peul infiltration. Using the Peul as a strong force on which to rely on Ousman dan Fodio carried out his islamisation process. The immediate cause of war between the Wandala and Foulbe was the Foulbé attack on the Guiziga, a Wandala tributary. This led to Wandala intervention.

The Wandala suffered casualties, and were defeated by the more superior and better organised forces of the Foulbé. One of the consequences of this war was the reduction of the territorial units to just a few (Bogo, Petté, Mindif, Maroua, Binder). By mid-19th century, the Foulbé had become an arch enemy of the Wandala. Also the populations was driven to the mountains from the plains. The Mandara kingdom, founded in the 15th century began to undergo socio-political upheavals, ethnic segmentation, fusions and disintegration.

The Mandara Case: The mountains of Mandara constitute plateaux and massifs lying between Nigeria and the Cameroons with the highest peak recording 1500 m. Today, more than 30,000 people live in these mountains. These were the populations generally called by the Foulbé as KLEDI. Population density here is high (30 - 200 inhabitants/km<sup>2</sup>). When these figures are viewed in relation to the difficult natural conditions existing here, an explanation becomes all the more demanding.

The Mandara Mountains had an indigenous populations which have assimilated or integrated into other ethnic groups. These populations were certainly small units in numerical value.

Thus the populations actually occupying the area is a composition of 'alien' ethnic groupings. One reason for this is that the Mandara Mountains have served for more than a century as a refuge a defense ground to those populations escaping slave raids, and the domination of bigger and more dynamic political units, notably the Moslem empires that emerged in North Cameroon (Bornu, Mandara, Baguirmi, Foulbé). These populations, consequently, have to a very great extent been isolated from other populations occupying North Cameroon over long periods. These mountain people have remained uninfluenced by the great current of change. They have become hostile to the external world, a conception that has gone far to determine government apprehension of their life style, and has orientated the policy adopted by government here. However, following a period of peace, some of the mountain peoples have slowly began to abandon their refuge, a departure that has led to the gradual transformation of their society.

#### Populations and Ethnic groups of the Mandara Mountains

On a relatively broad scale, the populations of North Cameroon fall into two categories, if religious affiliation is a determinant; they are the moslem populations and the pagan or kirdi population. The Moslem include all those groups that share islam as the common denominator. It is true that Islam, once adopted, tends to suppress previous ways. A converted moslem is supposed to abandon his own traditional ways and adopt the moslem way of life. Most ethnic groups the Foulbé mode of life and dressing, the Foulbé being the most influential group among the moslems of the North. The Moslem constitute an influential and dynamic minority. Their main activities include animal rearing, trading, (of late) administration; they show a repugnance to agriculture. The real Foulbé take the pastoral life as a vocation. Other nomad groups are the Bororo, Peul and Choa Arabs. In short we can say that the moslem ethnic groups of this region include the Wandala, Kotoko, Arabs, and the Bournouam. All these populations live in the plain. The Wandala were converted to islam in 1715.

The second group are the KIRDI ('pagans') who live in the mountains (Mandara) especially in the Margui-Wandala division. The 'KIRDI' are a composition of 15 ethnic groups. The Natakam

(amongst whom the Mafa are the most important, hence they are very often termed Mafa) constitute one of the biggest 'kirdi' ethnic groups. The others include the Mofu, Guiziga, Kapsiki, Mouktele, Mada, Hina, Daba, Ouldeme, Goudé, Fali, Bana, Guidar, Mousgoum as well as the Gemjek-Zoulgo (a transitional group between Mofou and Mandara). There are many more ethnic units in the Mandara mountains, but the ones mentioned here are the most important. Some of these ethnic groups not mentioned above are usually sub-units of the ones mentioned. The Matakam group five clans amongst which the Mafa are the most important.

All these ethnic groups live in the Mandara mountains and are generally termed KIRDI by the moslem people. The term kirdi does not only mean for the Foulbé people without God or faith, but more important, it means a backward people. Hence the repugnance this term provokes among the mountain peoples who are educated. The educated 'kirdi' resent the term. On the whole the Mandara mountains are occupied by the 'kirdi' (animists). Much of what we shall say later shall be about these mountain peoples.

### Social Structure

Populations here have a rather complex social structure with a variety of kinship ties. What is called a massif is usually a village. Villages are not built entirely on kinship ties or relations. The village is very often an amalgamation of many patrilineal groupings of different origins. This is because one ethnic group may be scattered over many villages. For example, the Mada number about 10.000 (1968 census). They are found in over 12 different villages. A village usually has several lineages. Residence is patrilocal and descent is certainly patrilineal.

The ethnic group is acephalous or segmentary. In each massif there is always a ruling lineage with a hereditary chief. A village may have also priests whose functions are not hereditary. Some lineages have religious power which depending on the situation are to an extent may be considered indispensable to the smooth running of the community taken as a unit. Class distinction is absent but there are some caste characteristics. The Mafa black-

smiths are distinguished from the rest of the society.

The social structure presents rudimentary political as well as religious organisation. There are no age groups with well defined social status. Division of labour, even though at a less complex state and existing essentially in household work, and agriculture is made according to sexes. The members of each sex are usually initiated or introduced to the tasks the society attributes to them. Each person becomes more or less well accustomed to his or her duty before the age necessary to take up such an activity is attained. The girls of Mafa blacksmiths become potters, but they start learning the trade at the age of 8. A young man remains with his parents until he marries. Certain clans following their professional activity remain strictly endogamous, marrying only within the group. When they no longer exercise these activities, the Mafa, for example can marry from any other ethnic group, because then, he can no longer be looked upon as impure.

Kinship structure: Fundamentally four levels can be designated. The Matakam offer a typical example: the Gay, Gudar, Guale, the ethnic unit. The GAY is the elementary family which is fundamental in the socio-economic level. It is the nucleus of each village. It is usually made up of the husband and wife and their children (unmarried children). The GUDAR is the major lineage. It is a composition of many GUY. The members of the GUDAR effectively know themselves, and they are linked to a known ancestor. The GUALE is the clan which is the maximum extension of the lineage. It groups together all the offsprings of a real or fictive common ancestor. It is a composition of agnates, and usually exogamy is the rule here between members of the clan living in the same village. The tribe or the ethnic group unites several clans. Each tribe has its KEDA (strangers) who have immigrated and who live on land which is not that of their ancestor. Kinship terms are apparently both descriptive and classificatory. The kinship system appears to have sudanese type of kinship terminology.

Habitation: Habitation developed under certain conditions. Houses were built and served more for refuge than for any other thing else. The mountain people generally show a detest for level areas and valleys. Homesteads are spread on personal land, and the houses are round in shape and have conical roofs which are usually made of grass. Each Gay (Mafa) or Saré is a composition of a number of houses welded one against the other. The hut at the entrance communicates with the vestibule hut or the first wife's hut in which her granary is built. The man's granary opens into the kitchen. Opposite the entrance may be constructed a store for corn or a large granary or son's hut. In the rear, a cow shelter is attached to the man's hut while a goat's shelter is attached to the wife's hut but both are protected from the rear by some independent buildings especially those of other wives and sons.

Each household is a strong in the system of defence of the 'montagnard', hence each of them is in itself a real fortification, usually dark inside to paralyse the sight of any attackers and thieves etc. There is usually a high spiky wall that protects the rear of the 'saré' (Ay, pl. Gay), and it also encloses the entrance. No unit is independent, and most of the huts are constructed on a stone-work.

Marriage: Among the mountain dwellers, the marital age for girls is around 15 years meanwhile boys may marry a little older, about 19 years of age. Exogamy seems to be the guiding rule for choice of spouses. Three levels of the choice of spouses can be distinguished: Firstly, parents can choose wives for their sons. Usually the young man is expected to accept the choice. The bride may never know who her future husband is, until the day she is brought to his home. Usually parents may tell their son who his future wife may be, and he is permitted to make occasional gifts to her without declaring his intentions. Usually a prospective bride may turn down the father's choice, and probably run away with a lover. Secondly, partners may freely choose themselves without any prior approval of their parents. The young man may inform his father later especially when he needs presents to offer to his bride's family. Thirdly, there is also wife stealing or secondary marriages. A person may steal a woman, and marry her.

In secondary marriages, a woman can go off to another man, thus abandoning her marital home. Her first husband may never demand her return nor threaten her lover, nor demand bridewealth as long as she has not had a child with that lover. Bridewealth seems to confer on any marital union its legality. In some ethnic groups bridewealth is paid only after the birth of the first child. Usually some groups will not demand the return of bridewealth after a divorce, if a child was born of the union. Among the Mada, the bridewealth include three to five goats, some cloth, 2000 to 5000F, some jars of beers, and some labour. There is a lot of festivity on the day the bride is brought to her husband's home.

Religious Beliefs: The mountain peoples have often been termed animists. Animism is basically a belief in ancestral cult, and in the soul and in an after life. All the massifs practise ancestral cult. The ancestors are believed to be part of the present life and they influence human actions, consequently, they are the object of individual and collective worship. The existence of God is their profound belief. God is known among the Mada as JEGLA. There are priests assigned to perform religious functions who are in most cases not hereditary.

Some villages are considered as religious centres. Goudoul used to play a primordial role in the rituals against locust. It was also a religious centre for sacrifices against panthers, sterility of women, sickness and small-pox. It is probably for this that Goudoul has been termed by some authors as the Mecca of the 'pagan or kirdi' people.

One of the characteristics of their beliefs is their 'attirance pour les hauteurs'. For the mountain people the peak of every massif is a sacred place where periodical sacrifices are offered. The traditional chief who wields both political and religious power or authority, is the intermediary between the community and the ancestral world or the gods who live at the summit. The exercise of power or authority is linked with the occupation of high places. Thus, 'les haut quartiers' are areas usually inhabited by chiefly clans or superior clans, and the 'bas quartiers' by inferior clans. This is one of the reasons why the people resent lowlands, the policy of resettlement in the plain, does not seem appealing to most mountain peoples.

### Political Organisation

Macro-political analysis shows that ethnic groups here are not organised in a statelike way. An ethnic group may be scattered over many massifs. One is likely to find more than one ethnic group in a massif. The principle of complementarity between groups is evident; there is division of tasks and obligations; some ethnic groups perform specific tasks. The massif or village is a political territorial unit with a chief who is generally a member of the eminent clan. He belongs to the clan that first occupied the land or founded the village. Apparently each massif is independent. The chief's authority is symbolic and in many cases he wields little or no power over the other clans which are virtually autonomous and have their own mechanisms of political control. In some massifs certain clans are totally excluded from village politics. For example, the Mafa blacksmiths constitute a caste or a clan, and in most Mafa massifs, they are not allowed to exercise any political influence. They work on iron, make pots, bury the dead, cure diseases. They are looked upon as impure, and they are therefore excluded from the political leadership.

The chief has a magico-religious role to play. He is the link between God and humans. He is attributed the power of retaining the waters above his massif through the manipulation of 'pierres de pluie'. The control of these stones of rain is associated with political power. During periods of draught, it is the chief who is looked upon to bring down rain.

Each massif is an independent unit, and its inhabitants remained faithful only to it. This situation seemed to have changed with the coming of the French colonial administration, and today the Cameroon administration. During the French colonial administration, heads of ethnic groups were created. For example a representative of the Sultan among the Mada was chosen. This representative was a Mandara who resided in the plain. It was only later on that a Mada was chosen to replace him following the intransigence and minor conflicts that resulted from such actions. With independence, the Mandara Mountains came to be placed within the jurisdiction of a prefect of the Margui-Wandala division. The mountain people still see this as a foubé domination, aided by

the government. The problem is to make the peoples of the Mandara mountain to accept the new administrative structures headed by the prefect without any remorse.

### Education

The importance of education is self-evident even in the traditional society, because it is through education that the values of any society are passed on to younger generations. The transmission of knowledge can be achieved through the process of enculturation or through formal education. During the early part of colonial administration, koranic schools had more preponderance over the modern schools. Western style education was both watched with distrust by moslems and 'pagan' populations. In general, the formal education of the western world was readily accepted by the peoples of the other provinces of Cameroon, especially, Western, Littoral, and Centre-South, North-West and Southwest, than it was in the North. The Cameroon government has progressively improved the formal educational process in the North in general and in the Margui-Wandala Division in particular. In comparison with other divisions of the North, Margui-Wandala division has a low level of scholarisation. One can explain this at two levels: The region is a difficult one, that is of a mountainous nature; secondly, the society has not been adequately open to the outside world. The schools are seen as part of the whole political, economic, religious institutions created by the colonial administration. Some groups, for example, the Matakam have resisted formal education, and probably this explains their relative stability in traditions and openness to social change.

For some time now, children have continued to receive informal education which used to start at an early age. Children were socialised, and enculturated in the values, and most of them adopt or take up their fathers' or mothers' professions. The children of the Iron-workers among the Mafa start learning how to make iron tools and clay pots almost at the age of eight years old. They become more attached to their traditional ways at infancy, so much so that a departure from that implies a strong external influence, which is coming as more schools are being made available to the children of these mountain peoples.

## AGRICULTURE

Pedology: Numerous pedological studies have been undertaken in North Cameroon especially in the Margui-Wandala division. All the studies so far carried out can be situated at two levels: firstly those undertaken in farmer's farms irrespective of the place, and secondly those observed in agricultural extension units or centres. Most of these researches have been carried out by either researchers of ORSTOM or ONAREST, as well as some from the Ministry of Agriculture. In almost all the cases studied, soil samples have been subjected to laboratory analysis and tests.

The objective of this exercise has been to determine those areas which are fit for resettlement programmes. The Margui-Wandala mountains are facing a rural overpopulation in the mountains. Some massifs are already overcrowded demographically, and there is an indication that the annual increase is around 2% to 2.5%. In order to resettle the people in the plain, it has been necessary to find out suitable agricultural plains. The Pedological studies should indicate where there is good soil for agriculture. The areas already studied and which are serving as resettlement areas, are between Meme and Makilingai. Some pilot villages includes Tokombere, Ganze, Quefet, Djeuerenz, Mineo, and Koza plain.

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Pedological studies have revealed that the geological structure is of the metamorphic rocks as well as some ancient eruptive rocks. There exists a variety of soils thus making it possible for a variety of crops to be planted. The different soil types include clay, granite, sandy soils, alluvial soils and gravels. Another type of soil called HARDE by the Foulbé is the soil whose vegetation is poor and it has a low level of permeability. The main problems faced are: in some areas the soil is being over-exploited, and there has been a reduction in the capacity of the soil to hold organic waters. There is also soil erosion, and soil potentialities are reduced. Recommendations: Fallowing is essential where possible otherwise, manuring must be employed. Trees should be planted to check water evaporation; dams may also help; overexploitation must be avoided; action must be taken at all levels.

### Land Tenure

Land belongs to families, and it is distributed among its members. There are slight variations in land tenure among the Mondra mountain peoples. Among the Matakam and Mofoou people tend to conserve the lands around the GAY. Land is generally distributed to the children without distinction in age or birth. The heir to the father normally inherits the GAY and the land around it. The other children are given or buy land elsewhere. Among the Ouldeme and Hodogray the land tenure system avoids conflicts. The village or massif is usually divided into portions which belong to the heads of the exploiting units (the family). They can cultivate the land, sell it, loan it or dispose of it to other members of the unit. When a young man marries his father gives him land on which to build, and that land becomes his. If he wants to acquire more he can only buy it or loan it from from one else. In the olden days land was purchased through barter. A person could buy land by giving goats, fowls or hoes in exchange. Today, one can rent land out for 100 to 1000 frs a year, or one can purchase a piece of land for 500F to 7000Frs. In Magoumaz, the land belongs to an individual who can sell it or lend it out. In most massifs, no stranger can acquire land

In the resettlement areas, a clear land tenure policy has to be adopted. On the plains most of the land belongs to the moslems. A policy must be adopted to permit people descending to acquire sufficient land on which to build and farm. Probably, such a policy will be easily adopted with the new 1974 land law.

### Agricultural Production

The cultivation of crops is carried out on a very rough and rocky soils. The relationship between the natural milieu, social and historical realities (refuge, defence, and overpopulation) have led to an agriculture of auto-subsistence in most massifs. The agricultural techniques are rather rudimentary. Farming is carried out on terraces. These terraces are erected along the mountain slopes supported by stone walls. Agricultural activities are very intensive, and fallowing is generally practised. The farm lands near the houses are fully exploited and well cared for. These are manured with animal and household refuse. The

crops usually planted include millet, maize, melon, tobacco and tomatoes.

The farms which are far way from the GAY are hardly fertilized, and usually cash crops are planted on them. The agricultural calendar last for at least three months, and this takes place in the rainy season. The dry season is considered an idle period because during this period, no major agricultural activity takes place. It is during this period that most mountain dwellers migrate to the plain in search of cash labour. They may assist the Foulbe farmers in the picking of cotton.

There is some 'élevage de case' which is undertaken in the mountains. The mountain-dwellers practise some livestock keeping, and the animals they rear include goats, sheep, and cattle. During the rainy season or during the planting seasons the animals are locked up from destroying the crops and fed twice a day. In the dry season, they are left to roam about.

Livestock keeping plays a role of prestige. They are also kept for socio-religious purposes; that is, they are used for sacrifices and funerals; they are also used for the payment of bridewealth and for curative ends. Among the Mafa, each family must keep a cow which is usually raised for three years and slaughtered during the cow feast. Livestock brings in some revenue to the farmers, and some authors have estimated it to be between 1000F to 6,000 Frs per annum per family.

In the plains, animal rearing is carried out more at a commercial scale mostly by Foulbe and Bororos. Some families own herds and herds of cattle and goats. But the rearing of cattle at a commercial level is determined by the availability of grazing land.

In the mountains there is a traditional elaborate system of grain storage. Each family constructs large granaries. Sometimes these granaries are built outside the GAY or SARE, and in this case some rooms inside the compound will be used for the storage of grain. Usually other foodstuffs are preserved. Down in the plain, the size of the granary is generally reduced. The underlying cause is the degree with which foodstuffs are farmed by a given family. The higher the degree of food production the more is the propensity to construct stores. Also the market

system may also promote conservation. A family may sell off some of its production for money to pay tax, and to use later. In the mountains where auto-subsistence determines production, and the difficult nature of the areas do not allow access to the market system, there is a tendency for people to construct large granaries.

In the plains where there are termites which can destroy the granaries and the stores, people tend to construct small ones. In the mountains grain conserved can last for years. In the plains the family tends to store just what it needs during the season, and the rest is sold.

Modern Agricultural techniques: These are mostly employed by agro-pastoral firms. The most important among them being the CFDT (Compagnie Française pour le Développement de textiles). The CFDT is now known as SODECOTON. There is also SEMNORD (Semeries du Nord). The main crops cultivated include cotton, groundnuts (peanuts) and rice. The investment figures for each are relatively high, and the output contributes much to the Cameroon economy. Oil is produced from cotton (DIANAOR) as well as from groundnuts (ABEIA). The cotton produced by SODECOTON is used by CICAM for the production of cloth.

Agro-industrial farming has had deep incidence on traditional agriculture. Since the introduction of cotton in the North in 1950, it has competed with groundnuts and millet, drawing the financial or commercial value of the latter down. The introduction of a new species of millet which can only grow well on certain soils (karals) has led to the foubé's stiffening of their land tenure. They are unwilling to give land to other ethnic groups to settle in the plain. The foubé are occupied with the cultivation of the high yielding millet to the detriment of other ethnic groups who cannot acquire enough 'karals'. This has led to the foubé domination of the agricultural production in the plain. They grow the new species of millet and own cattle. There are mostly the foubé who own cow-driven ploughs used in the cultivation of cotton. They have cotton estates in the plains and most of their labour comes from the mountains. The mountain-dwellers descend seasonally to work in the cotton estates of foubé.

They constitute the main labour force of the foubé farmers. The mountain-dwellers do not only seek jobs in the farms, but they also pick up such professions as houseboys or servants, night-watch, petty trading, etc. The Margui-Mandala division is largely agricultural, and farming takes place only in the rainy season. During the dry season people migrate to the plains in search of jobs, and sometimes, they do not return when the season is over.

#### MIGRATION AND RESETTLEMENT

There are two types of migration: internal and external. Internal migration is when people move from one massif to another within a determined territorial limit of an ethnic group. External migration is when people move out of their ethnic territorial boundaries. In the internal migration the immigrant does not have any major socio-psychological problems. If a person migrate to a massif of his ethnic group, he can speak the language and even participate in the religious rites of that massif. He may even acquire land and integrate himself better but when he dies he must be taken back and buried in the massif of origin.

More socio-psychological problems are involved in external migration. The immigration is considered as a stranger. He may not acquire land nor participate in certain religious rites. He may not know the language, and he may remain a marginal character because of his incapacity to integrate totally. We have seasonal or temporal migration when the mountain people descend to the plain during the dry season and return to the mountains when the rains come. Some people migrate definitively. A family may move to the plain and resettle there, or it may move to a new massif. All types of migrations have their various causes & consequences. Some people migrate in order to run away from an autocratic mountain chief. Some people migrate because there is shortage of farmland in their massif, or the poor soil produces insufficient food. Children isolated after the death of their father may migrate. Witchcraft of fraternal conflicts, as well as overpopulation can lead people to migrate. Draught or the desire to earn money to pay taxes can lead some to abandon their massifs. Seasonal migration can lead some mountain dwellers to descend because of the modern conditions, especially the easy

access to water. The fact that there is relative peace and understanding between the Foulbé and the 'Kirdi' can be considered as an incentive for the mountain-dwellers to descend. Besides, it is the official government policy to resettle the mountain people in the plains. These resettlement areas will regroup people for the easy provision of modern utilities and services.

Migration waves have brought people to the plains (Meme, Mora), Maroua, Mokolo, Garoua, Ngaoundere, Yaounde, Douala and even Ndjamena (Tchad). Both men and women migrate but more men travel out of their massifs than the women. People who migrate are usually young people (ages of 18 to 35 years).

Consequences: Most immigration still remain faithful to their traditions, especially to their religious practices. When some immigrants of the Mafa tribe were interviewed in some resettlement centres (Garoua, Maroua, Mokolo and Mora), it was found that 85% of the family heads still practised their traditional religion. 8% had become moslem, and 7% said they had no religion. One of the problems migrants faced is isolation, especially when they move to areas where there are few people of their ethnic background. Those who have settled among moslems, may be led by their isolation to the adoption of islam. Some of them who work in numbers in foulbé farmers may react against islam, and continue to revive their traditions in a marginal way.

Resettlement: How can one convince the mountain people to descend? This problem was a major one also for the French colonial officers. The French found that it was difficult to administer people locked up in the mountains. They approached the problem at three levels or phases. Firstly, they used the foulbé to repress troubles in certain massifs in the Mandara mountains. Secondly there was a reduction of foulbé authority after the people had been regrouped together, and chiefs appointed that were of the area. Thirdly, the French created cantons for those people who had already descended. These cantons were not controlled by moslems. After independence the Cameroon government followed up the policy of 'descent'. The descent was made obligatory. In 1963 police action was taken to force people to descend to the plains, an action which led to a conflict between the police

and the mountain-dwellers. This probably led to a modification of policy. Today, people are encouraged to descend. The government has created resettlement centres. Some para-public bodies are also engaged in this resettlement process. In 1968 the I.C.R.D (International Centre for Rural Development) organised a programme to resettle 4.000 people in the Doulo-Ganay plain. The dominant ethnic group resettled was the Mada tribe. Most of those resettled were young people. Each was given 2 to 4 plots and all were encouraged to undertake agriculture. The government has created some resettlement centres such as those of Linani, Kossa, Doulo, Djounde and Makalingai. In these centres, the young people take up agriculture and there are agricultural experts to teach them the various techniques. Those who graduate from Civic centres are given basic means( financial and material) to return to the soil.

These resettlement areas suffer from some defects: The grants and land are often given late, that is, these are not granted when the youth expect them. The young people do not seem to have any cooperative spirits, so much so that the establishment of co-operatives among these young people is surely doomed to failure. They tend to work in small domestic units. There seems to be an irrational use of FONADER loans; there is also lack of agricultural facilities, and there exists inadequate training for the farmers. There is no dialogue between the private and the public sectors. Probably these inadequacies have contributed to the people's continuous desire to return to the mountains. People are still certainly attached to their traditions and beliefs. This has had a major effect on the policy of descent to the plain.

The Problem of Water: Little researches have been carried out on water resources in the Mandara mountains. The problem of water is an acute one. The Mandara mountains have floods in the rainy season, and draughts in the dry season. During the rainy season small streams may swell up or water can be collected directly from the rain. The rainy season unfortunately last only for at least three months. During the dry season the problem of water becomes a crucial one. The women have to trek 4 to 14 kilometres to fetch water. This is an all round trip. This leads to a general state of fatigue among women, thus diminishing sleeping hours.

Household conflicts might arise since men take the presence of water in the home for granted.

In such a situation rainmakers should have a high social status among ethnic groups that have sacrificial rites that are performed to call for rain. These rites may be performed just before the beginning of the planting season. These rites are also meant to promote good harvest. Among the Aofou, the political power is more or less linked with the 'production of water'. The chief of every Massif is believed to have the power to retain the waters not only above his Massif but also above the adjacent massifs. He has a politico-religious tasks linked with the manipulation of 'pierres de pluie'. The provision of water is certainly a crucial one, and those who live in the plains have their needs partially satisfied. However, several measures have been taken to solve the problem of water provision.

1. Wells, dug either by individuals or groups are found. People with wells have property right over waters of their wells. Wells are locked up, and even water from them is sold. Thus in Mogobe young people move around in 'pousse-pousse' or truck selling water in cans. 2. The construction of dams by certain villages is rare. There is a dam at Mokolo as well as in Bouvar which have been constructed by the government. <sup>36</sup> Of late the USAID has proposed to construct 47 dams at different sites in this difficult region to help solve the water problem. The project is a commendable effort which seeks to bring clean and healthy water to the people. However, certain recommendations ought to be made in relationship to the transformation of water structures.

- a) Any proposed site which falls on ancestral or sacrificial ground, a slight re-allocation should be made (K. Mona/Tshala).
- b) for the construction of the dams local labour should be recruited within the confines of the villages concerned, and the labour must be paid. c) Voluntary labour especially for cleaning, and maintaining the dams should be the task of the villages that benefit from the dam. The reservoir should be fenced off from animals. C) health campaigns should be organised and the local people instructed on the basic sanitary rules. One important recommendation which we must make here is the

care sociological analysis of the people's attitude towards water. We feel that before the dams are built, more studies should be made on what we may call 'the sociology of water'. What are the people's concept about any type of water? Streams, lakes, rivers, rain water, etc. What are the different uses of water? Are there any religious taboos attached to some types of water? It may be people may never use the dams because lakes are seen as the residence of the gods? Can women fetch water at all sources? Shall be important for the people to perform rituals at the new dams in order to exorcise the new water source? We therefore recommend strongly that a careful study of the people's perception of water be made.

### CONCLUSION

The main problem here has been and still is, is the fate of the 'montagnard' in the Mandara mountains. People who have been forced by historical vicissitudes to take refuge in the Mandara mountains. For a long time they have remained cut off from the outside world and therefore from the great currents of change. The mountain-dwellers have survived under harsh conditions, and have adapted so well to the natural environment. One must admit that these ethnic groups's persistence to live in isolated areas, and cut off from the current of change, has posed serious problems of conscience to the modern Cameroon administration which is doing everything possible to have the people in the plains. In the plain they will enjoy the benefits of the modern administration. They will have easy access to the essential services, and contribute their quota to the development of the Cameroon nation.

The problem of organised descent is rejected by some quarters. These people fear that this may lead to total disintegration of ethnic groups, and these may create more social problems than solving. The so-called 'depaysage' will certainly lead to the lost of the socio-cultural values. The transplantation of peoples by force may have serious consequences especially if this is done without a well founded studies on the socio-ecological implications. Those who maintain the above view

feel that the present or existing socio-economic structures in the mountains, especially agriculture should be modernised, and that if people have to migrate, they should do that on their own. It must be noted that Cameroon is not the only country with a mountain population. Nowhere have people been forced to abandon their ancestral mountain homes; they have either done so on their own or they have remained in the mountains while change has been initiated in the socio-economic spheres.

Certain factors are already making the people to migrate to the plain. Overpopulation of the massifs, lack of farmland, poor agricultural returns and water problems are some of the factors that are leading the people out of the mountain niches. The police action of 1963 was certainly not successful because shortly after that people began to return to the mountains. The burning of houses, the destruction of property etc did not make the policy work. The moderate policy of encouraging the young to descend has more chances of success than the previous police action. The winds of change are bound to make the young drift to resettlement areas. Even the current Civic Service for Participation in National Development should pay more attention to youths coming from the mountain region, and they should be provided with land, money and equipment early enough to return to the soil. Only the youth may break the myth of the mountains. One finds that there is a general tendency among those who live in resettlement camps to return to the mountains. This desire to return may indicate a clear weakness in the resettlement schemes, or prior fundamental studies were not done.

On the whole emphasis should be laid on the fact that a good knowledge as to the real appropriate policy to adopt, where corresponding advantages and weaknesses are balanced to determine the appropriate policy or programme. It is still more or less rudimentary. Interaction of policies for such programmes is very much recommended if not necessary. Priorities should be identified, a catalogue of insights and potentials should be outlined, and a long term advantageous results reached. If resettlement is considered a priority, then all the relevant issues must be well identified. It has been noted that

there is a general trend among the older people to return to the mountains. The young people who constitute the human potentials of tomorrow, any resettlement programme should be orientated towards the recruitment of more young people, then one must watch out that this resettlement of individuals be a personal option. Will such a policy not leave the old people to die in the mountains without the care of their own children? If youth are fully enculturated in the traditions and values of their societies, they may never neglect their parents who have opted to stay in the mountains. It may be that youth may gradually convince their parents that the plains which are devoid of ancestral protection are but former ancestral homes abandoned several years ago under foubé invasion. These same young people may convince their parents that it is time to enjoy the fruits of an independent Cameroon elsewhere than in the mountains of their forefathers.

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- BARRAL, H et ALLAIRE : Atlas Régional Mandara-Logone,  
ORSTOM, YAOUNDE - 1967.

- It is a cartographic representation of the different ethnic groups of the Margui-Wandala and Logone-Charl divisions.

- Dictionnaire des villages du Margui-Wandala is an annex to this volume. (ORSTOM)

VAN BEEK, W.E.A. : LES KAPSIKI :

Contribution de la recherche ethnologique à  
l'histoire des civilisations du Cameroun, Colloque  
International du CNRS, Paris, 24-28 Sept. 1973

- The author gathered the data between feb. 1972 and august 1973. The Kapsiki of North Cameroon and the Higi of Nigeria are considered to be of the same ethnic origin. The Kapsiki occupy an area between Nigeria and Cameroon (10.25' and 10.45' latitude North and 13.17' and 13.43' longitude East). The Kapsiki in Cameroon number 25 000 persons and the Nigerian Higi number 70 000. It is difficult to talk of the Kapsiki as an ethnic group in real terms. Each village is autonomous and enjoys little or no relationship with others, but they are distinguished by special marks. The history of the kapsiki is more a synthesis of the history of the different villages. There is absence of a general tradition that unites the villages. Little or nothing has been written about them. Only an administrative report gives some information about their implantation in the area (Lavengne 1942). From traditions collected in the area, the kapsiki can be divided into groups. One group constitute 16 villages and are believed to have come from the west. The second group is a composition of 18 villages whose traditions point to the east. The villages of group one do not have a common ancestral origin. These villages include Sena Gall, Roumsiki, Sena Komde, Simike, Futu-do, Tiri, Futu-Les, Roufta, Sedakoutou, Sir, Kila, Gouava, Kortchi, Mbecho, Dera, Liri and Rhaou. The villages of the second group are of Goudoul origin, and these include Sukuru, Oula, Gulak, Baza, Kamale, Goura, Za, Amsa, Nkafa, Tluzuku, Kuber Shosho, Tuku, Kall, or Skuf, Bwakar, Vi, Xore.

The populations here engage in the cultivation of yellow millet, red millet, maize, beans, groundnuts (peanuts). Most of these crops are of long standing, while crops like potatoes, manioc and Mouskura (a type of millet) are all of recent introduction.

The marketing system among the kapsiki is of recent origin. Earlier commerce was limited to small products and only the Natron, usually mixed with tobacco was used in the payment of bride-price. The Kole (kaduno) group did much of the trading. Other articles which were introduced into the market system were pearl stones, cowries, pepper, and plants of the Indigofera family and the lichen. To the north iron constituted the wealth of the kapsiki. It was shaped in form of bars etc and used as money or as a mean of exchange.

#### An evaluation of oral traditions

/go Through linguistic and genealogies some facts have emerged. Their genealogies do not/beyond eleven generations, and each village seems to have its own genealogical tree. It is now almost certain that most of the kapsiki villages were already implanted where they are today by the 19th century. They must have reached the region by the 18th century. Some indices seem to indicate that the Kapsiki have lived in the region longer than the genealogies seem to portray. Each village has its own cultural system, cyclical rites, etc and conformity between villages depends on geographical proximity. Most of the villages have identical origin and similar dialects.

Many researchers have turned to Goudoul as the place of origin of Higi-kapsiki peoples. Some villages which are not kapsiki also claim a Goudoul origin. Why? Goudoul is an important ritual centre for the kapsiki and according to the chief of Goudoul, he plays an important role in the ritual sacrifice against locust. Goudoul is known as the Mecca of the pagan people. It is the centre of numerous sacrifices against panthers, sterility of women, sickness, especially smallpox. The people say they are descendants of Goudoul because of the ritual importance of that village. In fact, all those who claim a descendant from Goudoul are usually not related. What of the SUKURU origin? The claims seem to correspond to the role Sukuru played in the control of iron. Sukuru and Oula were the centres of iron mining in kapsiki country, and the Sukuru controlled the making of iron used in rituals. The sukuru blacksmiths or sukuru itself has constituted a prestigious ancestral home for some groups.

BOULET J. : Etude de Zones d'accueil dans six cantons de l'Arrondissement de Mora, Yaoundé

The resettlement zone (zone d'accueil) had two conditions - physical and human. The physical conditions are the agronomical quality of the soil and the existence of permanent water points. The human conditions are the existence of free land (terre libre) and the desire to settle with a sense of competition among the cattle rearers. LIMANI canton is the largest of the six cantons. It is in the plain with a population of 4229. The density is related to the good soils. The dominant groups are the Bornouam (farmers) and the Choa Arabs (animal rearers). Most of Limani is made up of poor soils, and the area is drained by only one river - Maye Ngassaoue; KOSSA Canton : It covers an area of 285 km<sup>2</sup> (1966 census). The main ethnic groups are Mousgoum, Bornouam, Foulbe and Arabs. On the pedological level, Kossa can readily accept human settlement. The Eastern part is subjected to seasonal floods. There is crop-rotation. Animal rearing is important here and creates relatively no problems because the land is still vast. It is a zone apt for population resettlement.

DOULA Canton : It has an area of 121 km<sup>2</sup> with a population of 3199 (1966 census). There are ten ethnic groups here but the most important are the Mandara followed by Arabs and Bornouam. The soil is fertile and crop rotation is practised. Animal rearing has little importance and no conflicts have been recorded between the farmers and animal breeders. This canton provides optimum capacity for the resettlement of populations. It can handle at least 257 families.

DJOUNDE Canton : It has an area of 127 Km<sup>2</sup> with a population of 2716 (1966 census). This canton groups ten ethnic groups, and the most important being the Mandara and the Mada. The soil here is not good for agriculture. Numerous rivers drain the area. In certain villages the problem of water is acute. Crops rotation and fallowing are practised. Although animal breeding is important; it does not serve as a source of conflict between the farmers and animal breeders. This canton has a capacity of accepting 364 new families.

MAKALINGAI Canton : It covers an area of 176 Km<sup>2</sup> with a population of 9443. 14 ethnic groups occupy this area. There is fertile soil and the canton is well drained.

Crop rotation is rather a general agriculture practice, and land is not left to fallow for three years. Animal rearing is not intense because grazing land is rare. This canton plays the role of the 'zone d'accueil' and the returns are rather good. The canton is near the level of saturation, even though it can still take 780 new household heads. It may be concluded that Kossa offers very good conditions d'accueil, and Doula and Djounde cantons offer rather average possibilities. Maddeme and Limani offer rather none and finally Makalinga is already near saturation.

BOULET J. MAGOUMAZ : Etude d'un Terroir de Montagne en Pays Mafa,  
ORSTOM, Yaoundé, 1971

Part one of this work presents the Mandara mountains and its massifs. The second part concentrates on Magoumaz which is being exploited for agriculture while adapting certain agricultural techniques. There is fight against erosion which is carried out through the terraces along the slopes ; crop rotation and manuring is also being practised. The agricultural season starts in May. June, July, August and September are months for heavy agricultural activities. Harvest takes place in October to December. Land is owned by individuals. It can be used by the farmer himself or sold out or lend out. Only strangers cannot acquire land, in MAGOUMAZ. Yield per hectare for peanut is 1 094 kg and 601 kg for millet and average productivity of labour per hour on millet is 433.30 grammes. The Mafa food is poor in protein, and the basic food stuff consumed are dwarf beans and peanuts. There is a low level of monetary revenue.

The modernisation of agriculture here is bound to meet with many basic obstacles. The other varieties of millet could be tried in the mountains and the swampy areas could be used in the dry season for cultivation, since it is a season when most people are idle. Not all the massifs are overpopulated, and they will not be in the near future. Massive exodus could create problems. The promotion of the descent of mountain dwellers should be accompanied by the existence of labour facilities in the resettlement area.

BOUTRAIS J. : La colonisation des plaines par les montagnards au Nord-Cameroun, Mont Mandara, ORSTOM, PARIS, 1973 pp. 277.

The study was made in the northern part of the Mandara Mountains. It shows opposition between the moslem in the plain and the pagans in the mountains. The population density is 200 inhabitants per KM<sup>2</sup>. The mountain people have over populated the area while the plain remains sparsely occupied.

The mountain dwellers cultivate on terraces and occupy small huts dispersed on the mountain slopes. They do not have a strong ethnic sentiment. The only unifying factor is the language. There is no political unit of importance among them. Ethnographic groups that were studied were the Mafa, Mineo, Moukteie, Podoko, Mora, Meri, Gemjek, Mbeme, Ouideme, Mada, Zoulgo, Douvamgne, Wozoum, Mofou, Molko Ouvza etc.

The moslems live in the plain. They are the Mandara, Bornoum, Kamauri and Foulbe. Now virtually half the people who used to live in the mountains now live in the plains. Areas in the plain that have received them are the Koza plain, Mora plain, Meri plain and the Mofou plain.

Since 1963 there has been a movement back to the mountains. It is the major problem of the administration to convince the people to stay in the plain or to encourage others to descend. The French colonial administration tried to realise this policy in three phases : there was military action to repress troubles in the massifs and they used the Foulbe in this exercise. The second phase consisted in the reduction of Foulbe authority, and the regrouping of the mountain peoples. The third phase was characterised by a trial descent to the plain and the creation of cantons controlled by non-moslems. Since independence, Cameroon authorities have made it virtually obligatory the descent. This policy has been in force since 1963.

The question is : Why do people want to go back to the Mountains ? The Psycho-sociological reasons are that the people still love the mountains ; their ancestral soil. The people in the plain steal both cattle and women from the mountain people. The mountains are still regarded as ancestral and fit for family and individual worship.

The economic reason is that the land for cultivation does not suit them and the search for termites is not possible. There is an insufficiency of accommodation, work is different from their former way of life. They do not like cotton cultivation.

There are also factors which favour the descent : the mountains are overpopulated ; the soil is poor in content, and there is need to procure money to pay taxes. The moslem who used to be hostile to them may have changed. Since colonization there has been a gradual movement of people to certain zones in the plain. Agricultural extension services have been placed at the disposal of those who live in the plain. Consequences of living in the plain also include : the modification of the countryside ; population density in the plain has increased, peanuts are being replaced by cotton, and there is the co-existence of ethnic groups in the plain.

BOUTRAIS Jean : Une enquête agricole sur un périmètre de colonisation Nord-Cameroun, ORSTOM, Yaoundé, 1971

Interviews were carried out in Doula-Ganay, north-east of Mora where the soil is fertile. It is the perimeter of mountain dwellers migration. In 1968 the International Centre for Rural Development carried out a programme of settling 4000 people in the Doula-Ganay area. In January-May of 1969 interviews covering the following areas were carried : the handled-crops cultivated the preceding years, the crops grown in the year following, and the methods used in the acquisition of land (purchase, loan, etc), and the total cost of the sales of cotton harvested. The results showed that the resettlement of the mountain dwellers in the Doula-Ganay plain was recent (2 to 6 years old). The Mada ethnic groups were the most numerous. Most of the resettled population were young people. In the plain these young people had 2 to 4 plots of land while in the mountains they could handle 10 to 15 plots. There is a biennial crop rotation, cotton-millet, in the plain. Peanut cultivation is being replaced by cotton cultivation. A hectare produces 300 to 1200 kg of cotton. There is the absence of rural modernisation of the mountain dwellers.

The fundamental problem is their descent and the source of feeding. It has been noted that when the mountain dwellers are resettled in the plain they do not evolve as it is expected.

Some still remain attached to the cultivation of their traditional crop -millet. The agricultural policy does not promote commercial crops.

BOUTRAIS Jean : Compétition foncière et développement au Nord-Cameroun  
La plaine du Nord, ONAREST, Yaoundé, 1976.

The author proposes a legislation on land tenure in the resettlement areas in the plains. There must be rules to guide the attribution of land to all on equal basis. Also the introduction of cotton in 1950 led to its competition with millet and peanuts. Peanuts have lost their commercial value. Millet is suffering the same fate. Traditional millet has been replaced by another species which is then monopolised by the Foulbe. The introduction of a cash crop like cotton has led to social differentiation. Fertile lands are being used for the cultivation of cash crops, and that has influenced the growth of traditional crops. The new system recruits a category of agricultural paid assistants from among the mountain peoples.

BOUTRAIS Jean : Aspect Géographique de l'installation des Montagnards en plaine du Nord-Cameroun, ORSTOM, YAOUNDE 1968

It handles the old problem of the descent of the mountain peoples, and the role of colonial administration in this exercise. It handles the consequences of the descent which have been raised in subsequent articles.

CLAISSE, J. et COMBEAU et M. Curis : Rapport de Tournée de la Région comprise entre Meme et Makilingal, ORSTOM, 1954

The authors were asked by the chief of the Margul-Wandala region to undertake a prospective study of a section of the valley of Mangafe. This was to look for other soils that could serve the same purpose. The region looks like a wash-basin with a flat bottom bordered to the North-West and South by granite massifs on which debris coming from the other massifs have plated the borders. In the centre one finds a large extension of sandy soils related to the sands that have been largely developed in the East, of an Aeolian origin. To the centre from the west to the East the Mangafe Mayo (river Mangafe) has deposited its alluvial soils.

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Types of soils found here are : coluvians, kara. (north) sandy soils, alluvial soils of Mangafe mayo. Soils of these types which may be considered as the most fertile for the whole region have a rate of occupation that is very near saturation and it is not possible to make them support population growth. Hydrologically, almost all the village waters are found some few metres underground. The actual sites occupied are rich in soil structure. They seem to possess high returns in millet, unfertile soil having been automatically excluded. The equilibrium has been attained, all other zones available here are totally improper for the implantation of a record of colonisation (casier de colonisation p. 3).

N.B. : The purpose of the study was to determine the fertility of the soil which would permit establishment of a resettlement in Maroua-Mora between Meme and Dogba.

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COMBEAU, A. CURIS, M. CLAISSE, G. : Les sols de la plaine de KOZA-MOZOGO Yaoundé ORSTOM, 1954

The Koza-Mozogo zone is situated in the Mangui-Wandala division about 20 km north of Mokolo on the road to Mora. It is really an extension of this mountainous area of the vast Tchadian plain where Mount Mozogo is at the centre. The study sought to determine the nature of the soil. Most of the massifs of the mountains are overpopulated, and each massif shows a tendency to increase. It is necessary to find a solution to this demographic problem. The authors looked at the problem from a pedological view point. Fertile and unoccupied land must be found to resettle the people. Three types of soil were found:

1°- Clay sandy soil which from their chemical constitution can be considered as rather rich. These soils are found in the centre of the plain, and can support the cultivation of peanuts and cotton.  
2°- Clay soil is found almost everywhere in North Cameroon. This is as rich as the first in chemical contents or properties. Soils of this type are exceptionally good for the cultivation of cotton, and excellent results can be obtained in the dry season. Peanuts cannot do well here.

3°- Gravel type of soil or sandy soil can be found over the alluvians of the Mayo Mahaoua. Peanuts will do well in this type of soil. All these soils have certain potentials which could be very profitable if exploited for agriculture.

But their conservation as well as their improvement should be given priority because the present state of things cannot support an increase population.

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CLAISSE, CURIS, M. MARTIN, D : Etudes Pédologiques des villages Pilotes du Margul-Wandala, Yaoundé, ORSTOM 1954 pp:10

The authors studied the soil structure of five villages in the Margul-Wandala division from 1955 to 1957. The five villages studied were Tokombero, Ganze, Quefet-Djeverenz, Canton Minco, and the agricultural station of Guotale. The climate conditions are tropical with two seasons : dry season from October to April and rainy season from May to September. The geological structure here reveals that the zone is one of metamorphic rocks (anatoxites) or of the ancient eruptive rocks (granites syntectoniques anciens). It may be noted that the soils are hardly ever "en place" because they are frequently formed on colluvians and alluvians which have made a rather short distance from their place of origin to where they actually are. All soil samples collected were subjected to laboratory analysis in the IRCAM Lab under the supervision of Mr. J. SUSINI. Results : TOKOMBERE : the soils are adapted to different food crops - millet in the rainy season as well as groundnut and cotton. The soil has a high percentage of mineral reserve but they are subject to erosion. GANZE : It is an alluvial zone with a drainage that is incomplete. The remedy is to facilitate drainage during the rainy season. GUEFET-DJEVERENG The soil lacks phosphorus. It is very rocky. Their "mise en valeur" has to maintain their present potentiality in organic contents and control erosion. MINEO Canton : It is a unique interesting zone with alluvio-sandy soils towards the north, north-west from the Guetale-Garoua road to Gokoro hamlets and to the limit of Mezogo forest reserve. GUETALE Agricultural station : In the Northern part the soil is sandy and there are deposits of tropical black clay. To the extreme north are the alealine soils with certain regions containing soils with excess sodium.

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GUINGNET, Michel : "Les MADA : Contribution à l'étude des populations du Nord-Cameroun", Bull. de l'IFAN, Dakar, Séries B. N° 3 - 1968- pp. 1062 - 1145.

The author spent a couple of years among the Mada, that is between 1956 and 1961. The work is a faithful representation of the rites and sacrifices in which the author took part... as a "témoignage" apporté à la cause Kirdi. Its habitat is not different from its neighbouring ethnic groups. All the houses a Mada family lives, is built on a stone. They are circular and have pointed roofs. The door is 1m 80cm from the ground. Each family member has his hut but the huts are built collectively. The Mada generally go about naked except on feast days, market days etc while the women wear the ORTU, ie a long thin leather strip (80-100cm) of goat or cow skin and a "cache-sexe. Young girls/rather charming clothings, ie ropes on which pearls of different colours are attached. Tied around the loins it covers the pubis and descends mid-way through the thighs. This dress is abandoned at first birth of a child. Like most Kirdi the Mada wear armbands, finger rings and ear rings both male and female.

Economic life : The Mada cultivate millet their basic food crop. The family is an economic unit. When a young Mada reaches the age required, he is given a hoe and seeds and some family land. The women work on family land and owns some plants. The quantity of food consumed by a Mada may be considered to be insufficient but he is not underfed. Peanut is the second major crop grown. Cotton and tobacco are also grown. Millet which is the major food crop is planted as soon as the first rains start. The farms are usually burned and fertilized with animal and human manure. The cultivation of millet demands much care, and rituals which are associated with the rains and millet. From May to December millet is planted, hoed and dressed a second time, pruned, cut, beaten and sifted and garnered. Animal breeding is of some importance, especially for socio-religious purposes. These animals include fowls, goats and cow. Each family breeds ; animals are used for sacrificial ends.

Each Mada village has its own iron workers who make tools such as matches, lances etc. Big Jars made of clay are also produced for fetching water. These Jars are made by women. Baskets are made. Little hunting is done by young people.

Outside the planting and harvesting seasons, the Mada spent the rest of their time in musical instrument fabrication and dancing. They have markets in which they sell some of their crops. Other markets exist in the neighbouring Kirdi villages as well as in Foulbe villages. The Warba, Mora Meme and Takoumbere markets hold regularly. Beans, tobacco, pipes and pots are usually sold. Hardly does one find millet sold. Most of the commerce is done by the Mandara retailers. Mada expenditure per head per market day may amount to 50 F.

Social Organisation : The Mada number 10 000 (1968) and live in 12 independent villages. The basic structure is the patrilineal family. The twelve villages make up a total of 35 quarters. Their civilisation comes near to that of the patriarchal cultivators of the paleo-sudanese group. The social structure here offers a rudimentary political and religious organisation. Until recently the headship of quarters was hereditary. They believe in the existence of God the creator - Jegla, and their ancestors are believed to be always living. Class distinction is absent, and there is no limitation in the passage from one age group to another. Each family head shares out land to each of his grown up children without taking into account age and birth right. A young man remains with his family until he is married and then constructs his own "sarré". There is division of labour according to sexes. The first ancestor of the Mada is said to have reached their present site in search of lost cattle from Matakam country. His five children later gave rise to the five lineages of the Mada ethnic groups. At first there was no organised political leadership ; it is only with the regular meetings of lineage heads that leadership emerged and the leaders had religious power. During the French administration there was the representative of sultan for the Mada massifs who was a Mandara with residence in the plain. In 1945 when the french administration saw that such a representation was no longer necessary and useful, a certain KAWAYE, the actual chief of the Mada was chosen.

MIGRATION : Many people are moving out of the Mada country into the plain where the Foulbe and Mandara can be found. This is for several reasons. Some people detest the autocracy of the chief. Kawaye, there is also the absence or shortage of farmland on the massif ; the plain is less difficult for cultivation ; water can be found in the plain.

The state of peace between the Kirdi and moslem following the activities of the colonial administration, have also led to people descending into the plain. Today, the Mada are found in Mora, Meme, Maroua. Once they settled in the plain they only return to the mountains on important occasions. In the plain the Mada finds himself isolated especially if he is not converted to Islam. They become servants to Mandara cotton farmers, and joins his brethren who are faced with a problem of the "survival"; they remain marginal.

MARRIAGE : Two types of marriages exist : parents can take the initiative to choose spouses for their children. The youth must submit. Partners can freely choose without having had any prior discussion with their parents. In the first case, a girl does not know who her husband would be until the day she is led to the man's house. The young man may be told who his wife might be, and he is free to make her gifts without giving any indication of marriage.

Sometimes a girl may refuse the father's choice and run to her own lover. In the second case, the young people only inform their parents of their intention to marry at the last moment, especially when the boy needs presents from his father to give to his girl's relatives. If young people make a free choice, the bride wealth may only be paid after the birth of the first child. Bride-price usually consists of 3 to 5 goats, some cloth, 2000 to 5000 F, five big jar of beer, as well as labour. There is big festivity to conclude the marriage.

The Mada civilisation is bound to disappear for several reasons : economic and social imperatives, external elements (judicial and economic institutions or organisation) ; external influence of christian missionaries, (catholic and protestants) ; and the Cameroon politics of "descente en plaine des Kirdi!"

N.B. : The work is a good ethnographic survey, although it has its classic exotism of the earlier day ethnologist.

GARDI RENE : KIRDI parmi les peuplades palennes des monts et des marais du Nord Cameroun, Paris, 1957; pp. 27

The work has 86 photographs with footnotes to each photograph. North Cameroon is inhabited by two major populations entirely different from one another.

a) - The Foulbe, moslems who penetrated the area in the 17th century and chased the Kirdi from their fertile plains and drove them into the marshes and mountains. They settled in distinct hamlets and became small animal breeders and gardeners, and became moslems.

b) - The Kirdi. They are darker than the lighter skin foulbe. The Kirdi chiefs governs like a feudal chief of the middle ages, and has many wives, and extorts tributes from his subjects. Today the kirdi work on foulbe lands in conditions near servitude, and conforming to social organisation of the area. The official language is fulani. The kirdi are much more healthier than the foulbe moslems and no venereal diseases have been found among them, and the population density is high, 60h per km<sup>2</sup>.

In the absence of external influence the kirdi are still faithful to their traditions, and have a patriarchal family structure. Even Moslem invasion failed to modify their culture. Even the whites failed he during the short period of colonization. However, there is no hope for the future.

The kirdi isolation has been due to two factors :

a)- It is a difficult region climatically and physically. They occupy a mountainous region, rocky, and rain is usually absent especially in the dry season, and there are floods even in the rainy season.

b)- the Kirdi remain for the most part in the mountains, and travel out a little especially to markets. They eat fish and millet, and some vegetables and wild fruits, and some animal produce. Their menu is surprisingly made up of a good variety. They build and roof (thatch) after every rainy season. They make pots and other materials (cloth) and mine some iron. The kirdi have different languages and a variety of cultures. They also have different myths of origin.

N.B. : The book is a collection of photographs made on three visits to kirdi country by the author in 1952, 1953, 1955. The pictures show much of what the kirdi were in the precolonial setting, playing the tam-tam, using the bow and arrow, etc. The work is contribution to Cameroon studies, and efforts of conservation. It is also superficial

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GENEST, Serge : La transmission des connaissances chez les forgerons Mafa Nord-Cameroon - Université Laval Québec 1976 p 288

The author notes the general absence of any elaborate anthropological studies on the system of education. Such an analysis could lead to a better understanding of a given society. It can show its mechanisms and how they work. This also helps in the observation of the dynamism of relationships between generations, which is a fundamental principle in the life of a society.

The author is preoccupied here with the educational system among the Mafa, that is the process of the acquisition and transmission of knowledge, ie norms, values, techniques through which social relationship prevailing in a given period and in a specific or particular society are reproduced. His conclusions are derived from fieldwork carried out in this region (with the assistance of an elaborate questionnaire). The first chapter deals with research methods. He was in the area between august 1972 and march 1974.

The most important ethnic groups of the Northern Cameroon are the Foulbe, Wandala or Mandara, Kotoko and Arabs. the Mafa (Matakam), guiziga, Mofou, Kapsiki, Hina, Daba, Goudé, Fall, Guidar, Moundang, Toupouri, Massa and Mousgoum. The first three are moslem by religion.

The Mafa number about 135 000 persons. They constitute the most numerous group in the mountains. The land is stony, and agriculture demands much human investment. The system of terraces on the mountain slopes help in soil preservation. Sorgho is the principal crop grown.

The Mafa system of kinship is patrilineal, and residence is patrilocal. Exogamy promotes clan alliances. Sons succeed their fathers.

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The youngest son usually inherits the GAY (the family enclosure) at the death of the father. The eldest son usually inherits the father's sacrificial pots, bow and arrow, ceremonial cap, as well as the quiver. The authority is passed on to the eldest son. The younger children and the women receive nothing.

The economic system is essentially supported by sorgho. Cotton and peanuts which were introduced barely recently is becoming a cash crop and helps the Mafa to pay their taxes.

The political structures lacks both a hierarchy and centralisation. The role of the chief is relatively weak. He is usually a member of the lineage that founded the village. During the colonial period the chief got more powers because he became an agent of the new powers. Today they are largely under the control of modern administrators.

Mafa society is basically socially differentiated : man-woman ; old-young ; landowner-landless ; Iron-worker ; non-iron-worker. The Iron-worker class seems to be very important group — endogamic in nature. They carry out specific activities which include divination burying of the dead, curing of diseases, and the making of iron tools and clay pots. We find a dialectical situation among the Mafa. There is this ambivalence in Mafa society. The Iron-workers are Mafa but they are both respected and feared, honoured, dreaded and envied. They constitute part of the group yet different from the group.

#### TRANSMISSION OF KNOWLEDGE

Among the Mafa all children are initiated into the principal values of their society at a tender age. Children of blacksmiths are later taught the profession of their parents. The knowledge of iron extraction and its transformation into various tools is always a closely guarded secret, transmitted only to their children. Their endogamic nature does permit this easy maintenance of jealous knowledge within the group. The blacksmiths are also mediators between man and unknown. They play the role of priest and healer.

N.B. : The work is good in terms of general knowledge about the Mafa; but is more comprehensible if one reads PODLEWSKI's work "Les forgerons Mafa, description and evolution, (1965)

HALLAIRE A. : Hogogway (Cameroun Nord) : Un village de Montagne en bordure de plaine, ORSTOM PARIS 1971, p. 85

Hogogway is a village essentially inhabited by the OULDEMES (6500 persons) - an endogamous group. For a long time the village has been overpopulated (191 inhabitants per km<sup>2</sup>). The village of the OULDEMES have not been influenced and as a consequence, they have remained attached to their traditions. The village cultivates mountain lands and areas at the foot of the mountain. Their soil is rich in mineral reserves ; poor organic matter, and it has a weak capacity of retaining moisture.

A variety of plants are cultivated . Millet, notably sorgho is associated with dwarf beans. Millet occupies a greater part of the farm land. For the Ouldemes man's relation with the nature is established through the intermediary of the supernatural power. Work will be futile if not accompanied by agrarian rites. They have rain-makers who perform these rites. Each member of a family accomplishes an agricultural task : men and women, young and old participate. Animal breeding and artisanat are done. The Ouldeme come down sometimes to the plain to work for the Mandara for pay.

Generally the Ouldeme lives in poverty, at the mercy of sickness and poor harvest. More and more changes are being introduced into their lives. Some are finally descending to the plain following the administrative process. They are used to the money economy and they have a lot of contacts with other ethnic groups. To help them more meaningfully, conditions for emigration to the plain must be made more favourable.

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HALLAIRE A. : Les Monts du Mandara au Nord de Mokolo et Plaine de Mora, ORSTOM , YAOUNDE 1965

The ethnographic card of the region presents 14 ethnic groups and some moslem elements (Foulbe, Mandara, Bornouam). Most of the Kirdi are occupy the mountain zone. In Mokolo sub-division, the Mafa (sometimes called Matakam) dominate. In Mora sub-division there/some ethnic groups : Mora, Vame, Mbreme, Ouldeme, Mada, Zoulgo, and Gemjek, and Mouyenge. The households are scattered on the mountain side with villages on the plain. The foulbe canton of Mokolo has a dense population (87 per km<sup>2</sup> for Mokolo cantons, 116 km<sup>2</sup> for Mora).

AGRICULTURE

Millet represents the most important crop food. It is cultivated mostly in the rainy seasons. The Eastern part grows millet once a year and the western part practises biennial crop-rotation (sorgho-millet). There are many varieties of millet. Peanuts are a commercial crop even though sales are carried out without the control of the administration. The demand is among the Foulbe traders from Maroua and Garoua. Other crops included dwarf beans, guinea sorrel, gombo, sesame, galingale, tobacco, cocoyams and rice. Crops of recent introduction include cotton, sweet, potatoes and fruit trees such as bananas and mangoes).

THE MORA PLAIN : Here the dominant ethnic group are the Mandara, Bornouam, Arabs, Foulbe, Gamergou and Mourgoum in descending order of importance. Immigration to the plain seems to be administratively or politically as well as economically motivated. Mora plain is not only rich but it is unoccupied. Millet represents here also a major food crop. Cotton is an industrial crop. Since cotton demands fertile soil, it is mostly cultivated on river banks where alluvial deposits can be found. The cultivation of cotton is undertaken by C.F.D.T. (replaced today by SODECOTON). Cow drawn ploughs have been introduced in the cultivation of cotton. Many rich farmers (Mandara and Bornouam) have ploughs. Labour for cotton cultivation is recruited from the mountain population. The average farmer still uses the family as a production unit. Cotton is farmed in rotation. Other crops in the area are peanuts, onions, pepper, manioc, rice and sweet potatoes.

PROBLEM : The Mora plain may still accept immigrant population but there are signs of overpopulation. It is now for one to start thinking of the capacity "d'accueil" in the neighbouring plains. The creation of industries for the making of oil, weaving etc which could employ labour lying here idle, may be one of the appropriate solutions.

HALLAIRE A. : Marchés et Commerce au Nord des Monts Mandara Nord-Cameroun in Gahiers ORSTOM, Série Sc. Humaines, Vol. IX N° 3, 1972, pp. 259 -285.

Markets in North Cameroon are places of all sorts of transactions and commercial dealings : sale of cotton and groundnuts for exportation, diffusion of manufactured articles, sale of agricultural products, artisanal objects, animal products and fish. .... / ....

Forty six markets were studied : markets among the Matakam mountain dwellers and markets in the eastern massifs, and markets in the plains. In the mountains markets are found in places where there is population concentration. In the eastern massifs, the markets are found at the feet of the mountains. In the plains the markets are found in the villages of moslem farmers. In some areas the small markets are disorganised.

The ethnic distribution of traders shows that the Mandara are numerous followed by the Foulbe. The things sold include peanuts, beans, millet, potatoes, taro, tobacco, and animal products. There is demand of fish, salt, clothes among the "pagan" population. The Matakam economy is locked up in itself but they make important exchanges with the peoples of the eastern massifs and with the moslem of the Mora plain.

Market attendance varies with the season. Markets holding in the rain attract relatively people coming from distant places but they do not last long. The atmosphere of bazaar, that prevails in the dry season disappears during the rainy season. Little beer and meat is consumed, and people are more preoccupied with sales. This is also because the rainy season is a period of intense agricultural activity, and few people can spare time. Besides, certain areas are completely hemmed in by bad roads, and few of the markets remain accessible.

Supply is generally maintained by a small number of traders specialised in the sales of peanuts and imported goods. Some traders carry out trade as a secondary activity. The moslems tend to be more commercially minded than the "pagan" peoples of the mountains. The moslem buy off the agricultural products of the pagan peoples and export them. In the plain, millet is predominant and it is sold as far as Tchad. Onion and pepper are sold in Garoua and Maroua, while skins and hides are either sold in Maroua or they are exported to Nigeria.

N.B.: It is quite a good study of the market system in this mountain region.

HALLAIRE A. : Problèmes de développement au Nord des Monts Mandara  
 In Cahiers ORSTOM, Série Sc. Humaine, Vol. XIII 1976

In relation to the plains of North Cameroon, the Mandara mountains are economically deserted and humanly backward. There is a low level of-scolarisation, periodic food scarcity, and poor feeding. The region extends over 200 km into the Nigerian border. Population density is high. What are the causes of this situation? The traditional agrarian system. Few crops are cultivated. Millet is the most important. Farming is practised on terraces. There is crop rotation but no fallowing. Plots of land near the houses are manured with wood ash, kitchen refuse and grass buried in the soil.

The North of the Mandara mountains is an overpopulated zone (today 200 inhab. km<sup>2</sup>). This is linked with system of agriculture practised. The permanency of crops and farming in terraces force people to occupy the land totally. It is this occupation that permits the mountain dwellers to defend themselves against wild animals or those animals that can destroy their crops. The agricultural tasks are limited entirely to the first two months of the rainy season. Because they are hemmed in in the mountains they are convinced of the excellence of their agricultural techniques, and consequently refuse to change - descend to the plain, or farming in lines.

INNOVATION AND NEW SITUATION IN THE MOUNTAINS : Today many changes are taking place. The fact that they are forced to pay taxes, they are obliged to cultivate cash crops, eg peanuts or to descend to the plain to work. Most of them go to school, and are exposed to Islam and christianity, etc. The mountain dwellers know the use of money. The questioning of their own ways of life is due to their openness to the outside world. It must be noted that not all mountain dwellers have reacted in the same way. Certain massifs have remained locked up. OUPAY is an example.

FOR AN ORIGINAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT : Total desertion of the mountains looks dangerous meanwhile maintaining the traditional situation is less welcome. Could a third possibility be opened : the introduction of crops that could be sold easily and adapted to particular conditions found in the mountains. This may be possible in relationship to physical and human conditions. On the physical level it has been observed that farming on terraces produces often good soils in the mountains, the vegetation, the climate and altitude here all offer the possibility of modernised agriculture.

the human level, it has been noticed that mountain dwellers are tenacious and ingenious workers. "With its mountain dwellers, Cameroon owns a human type that made Europe rich in the last centuries, a type that is rarely found in Africa.

SUGGESTIONS : In order to make this third possibility workable; it is necessary to maintain the system of farming in terraces and favour the development of recent secondary crops : potatoes, taro, tobacco etc. cultivated during the second half of the rainy season when the farmers are almost idle. Other plants could be tried out : manioc, soja dwarf, beans, and garden farming could be introduced in the wet zones down the Mayo (river). Fruit trees could also be introduced : mangoes, grape fruits, citron, etc, and finally commercial crops like arabica.

HALLAIRE A. : L'habitat d'une Montagne Refuge : Les Monts Mandara-  
In Etudes Scientifiques, Sept. Dec. 1975, pp. 17-24

The mountainous regions of Africa contribute to the diversification of the habitat. From the plain to the mountains, there exists modifications, not only of the difference in habitat but also of civilisations. The mountains have a sahelo-sudanese civilisation throughout northern area : Dogon, Kable (Togo), Kirdi (Mandara), Hadjeray (Tchad). These areas have high population density, appropriate agriculture, animistic religion, and different political organisations within limited space. There is also a pulverisation in numerous ethnic groups.

This similarity stems from the fact that the mountains have served as a refuge, a defensive ground to these populations, escaping from slaves raiders, and the domination of bigger groups ) empires. Isolated over long periods they became more hostile to external worlds. They were-cut off from great currents - for example Islam. Following a period of peace the mountain peoples began to leave their refuge, and this has led to the gradual transformation of their society. A. LEBEUF asserts this of the Hadjeray of Tchad who have abandoned their mountainous regions after the peace with others.

THE MANDARA CASE

The Mandara mountains constitute plateaux and massifs lying between Nigeria and the Cameroons with highest peak being 1500 m. More than 300 000 people lived in the Mandara Mountains - the so-called Kirdi. To the south of Mokolo the population density is between 15 to 50 inhabitant per km<sup>2</sup>. The Northern part served as a refuge for the fleeing population from the Bornu, Mandara and Baguirmi and Foulbe raids. More than 200 000 inhabitants live with a population density of 60 to 200 per km<sup>2</sup>. They are divided into 15 ethnic groups but the Matakam are the most important : (120 000 inhabitants).

GAY or house varies from one ethnic group to another but all of them are built on the same model. The GAY is a collection of huts virtually closed up with an entrance. The walls of the house are built of stones and spikes are mounted to prevent people from climbing into the GAY. The roof is made of millet stems, and the construction can last for several generations unlike the plain where termites constitute a problem. The GAY also represents an element of prestige and has also a religious significance. Its inauguration is marked with a ritual. THE GAY of the Mandara responds the necessity of defence against thieves and enemies.

Every GAY is separated from each other over a distance of 15 km. The farms surround the GAY. The GAY has usually a granary, a house for fowls and cows, a drying unit for crops harvested and a place for pounding millet. Among the Matakam and Mofu, land laws have as a primary ideal to conserve the dimension of those farm lands that are near the GAY. The second characteristic of the GAY is its ~~settlement~~ ~~pour les hauteurs~~. The peak of every massif is a sacred place where sacrifices are periodically offered. The traditional chief is the intermediary between the community and GOD who lives on the summit. The exercise of power or authority is linked with the occupation of high places - thus "haut quartier" are areas occupied by clans of pre-eminent status, and "bas quartiers" for inferior clans. This explains why the mountain dwellers do not at times descend to the plain to live there. Since each massif has its own kinship group, religious leaders, social hierarchy, each desires to maintain its identity and social cohesion. Therefore the movement towards the plain proposed by the administration has its particular problems. This means in practical terms the dislocation of societies, and the destruction of that social cohesion.

The mountain dwellers would prefer to occupy the land immediately close to its main massif in the plain. An utopic solution could be to modernise the agriculture in the mountains, and we can talk of direct relationship between the mountain dweller and his physical milieu.

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HURAUULT J. "Quelques aspects de la structure sociale des montagnards Kirdi du Nord Cameroun" In Bul. de l'IFAN. Tome XX Série B.N° 1-2 1958

Two populations (Bana and Kapsiki) are found in the high mountain, 50 km south of Mokolo. The study was carried out on two missions in 1954 and 1955. The principal aim was to propose solution to the representation of the 'peuplement' in the most general sense (le village, cultures etc.) The Bana and Kapsiki are geographically neighbouring groups, and speak languages that are very near to each other, hence the differences in customs as may be observed among them are rather those of detail. Very often many villages claim a unique name (tribe or race) but this correspond generally to a linguistic entity rather than a political one.

As far as the social structure is concerned, it may be said that the populations have a complex one with different kinds of kinship ties. Villages are not entirely built on kinship ties. The village is usually a composition of many patrilineal groups of different origins. Usually the ruling lineage has a hereditary chief. There are many priests whose functions are not inherited. The principle of complementarity is the political axiom. Some lineages have religious powers which are indispensable to the smooth running of the community taken as a unit. The power of each group is partial and insufficient for the needs of the community.

The lineages or groups in a village live a symbiotic existence. The chief has both political functions as well as religious, but he still relies on the spontaneity of each member of the group. Each lineage has its own ancestral cult and ceremonies. Villages could go into war if the chiefs so willed it. The division of the villages into quarters seems to have no influence on the social and religious life of the lineages. Each group constitute a significant whole only inside the limits of its land. These groups will disintegrate if administrative action was taken to settle them along the road.

It is more meaningful if the administration divided the area as they are now, than to resort to artificial procedures of grouping them together.

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JUILLERAT Bernard : Les bases de l'organisation sociale chez les Mouktele (Nord Cameroun, Structures Lignagères et mariage, Institut d'ethnologie, Paris ORSTOM 1971, pp. 271

This is the first ethnographic work on this people. It was carried out in 1966 and 1967. For a long time the Mouktele had a distrust for strangers, and that had made it pretty difficult for any one to carry out some studies there.

Mouktele occupy the northern part of the plateau of the central massif, and this massif separates it from the Ngassaobé plain. Their neighbours are the Podoko, Mada, Ouldeme, Zoulgo and Mandara.

J.C. Froelich (1968) The Mouktele arrived their present territory and found the Hadoay, Plata, Minam, Adzur, Makdaza, Hadao occupying it.

The Mouktele seem to be a composition of several ethnic groups that formed a unit after occupying the territory. Their major lineages are Mafa (Matakam and Majeuri (Comprising ten groups). where the Mouktele are today dates back to the 18th century. During the colonial period a road was built in 1948 which made the region more accessible. Disputes, brawls and the use of traditional arms were frequent among the Mouktele. Removed to the mountains, efforts were made to have them descend to the plain, but these efforts have not been all that successful, even though the promotion of cotton production in the plain did not attract all of them to the plain. There is a general trend among some Mouktele to descend to the plain, and although the youth are still basically traditional, yet most of them travel to Maroua, Banki, Bame, Maiduguri (Nigeria) and this fact may lead to a change.

ECONOMY : The people use simple agro-techniques for agricultural productions; They use the hoe. Terraces supported by stone walls are used for the planting of crops. Agricultural activities are highly intensive without any fallow land.

Animal dung is used in gardening near the houses where tobacco, maize, melon, tomatoes are usually cultivated.

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According to genealogical evidence the immigrant population reached here about 150 years ago. Of the 20 ethnic groups more than ten claim to have come from MAJEWI situated in the Mokolo region. These migration took place probably between 1650 and 1800, and overpopulation of the massifs and socio-familial conflicts must have motivated these migrations.

The period between the implantation of immigrant groups and today is marked by the muslim domination. The mandara served as a buffer and consequently protected mouktele and their neighbours against "Bornu attacks". The Islamic influence in this area is rather weak. The french administration imposed monetary taxation and undertook the politics "de la descente en plaine". This way to help in the cultivation of cotton in the plain.

They have the same language and local sport (wrestling). The basic fundamental unit is the family whose head is the BABGAI. Clans groups many families with a male ancestor. The clans are exogamous and each dominating clan provide the leadership of the massif. The clan head can choose any member of the family to assume his duties. Mafa are generally farmers and only 3 to 5% do not practice agriculture. They perform other activities such as blacksmithing.

Besides doing his smithing work, blacksmiths also inhumes dead persons. As such he has a social distance between himself and others who are not of the blacksmithing profession. He is impure and stained because he buries the dead. This is why they constitute an endogamous group. It seems that blacksmiths among the Mafa, Mofou, Daba, Kapsiki bury also the dead. Where a family itself buries its dead, this endogamous group disappears, and therefore in this case blacksmiths can marry outside their group. The mafa blacksmiths make pots. Pots usually represent the dead or ancestors. Today the making of pots does not represent a unique religious function, and only the women carry out this function - pottery. The pots are made out of clay, and there are 60 varieties of pots, and these can be placed into six categories ; religious, magical, technical, domestic, drinks and different usages. Blacksmiths may be considered here as the pivot of Mafa civilisation because the blacksmiths performs all the other functions except agriculture, and political leadership. Because the blacksmiths is both respected and rejected, he is ambivalent in Mafa society.



Dams were designed to provide water all the year round for man and animals in the entire Mandara mountains. What problems related to water are the people of this region facing and what is the relevancy and social impact of the proposed project? The problem of water in this region is acute during the dry season. December to May and especially in February, periods during which people have to walk 4 to 14 kms round trip to fetch water. It is generally true that the size of each family. Each family determines the amount of water it consumes but in the dry season, animals too must drink water fetched for them by their owners. Water is fetched twice a day during the rainy season but four times in the dry season. Blacksmiths and potters carry water seven times during the dry season. Both professions demand much water. Fetching water is entirely a women's responsibility throughout the region as well as fetching wood. The physical and psychological impact of this is that there results among the women a general state of fatigue, diminishing sleeping hours, and this affects the time involved in the care of children, as well as in the preparation of food, thus creating tension in the household, as well as among women. Despite the institutionalised organisation of an orderly placing of jars according to arrival at the source of water, quarrels leading to breaking, fighting and stealing of jars have been reported often especially when a woman attempts to exploit her personality in relation to other women.

It has been noticed that some of the Mandara ethnic groups (Mofu, Douvangan, Dorum, Mafa) show a higher level of health awareness than other ethnic groups since they resort to natural filtration of their water before consumption. The campaign of health officer aimed at encouraging people to use disinfectants in their water before consumption has failed.

Water may be considered as one of the elements of social dynamism of the Mandara mountain ethnic groups. It has been reported that it is not only overpopulation that is leading people to descend to the plain, women are pressuring for this descent because of increasing problems in fetching water in the mountains. We may also invoke the attraction of modern living, and the government policy since 1963 has been to see the people descend to the plain. This descent implied immense socio-economic as well as religious changes, especially the introduction of a now indispensable cash crop.

What are the effects that this might have in relation to water ? In certain exceptional cases, it has led to the construction of dams. Individuals have collectively dug wells, and this is a common feature. Under such circumstances there exists the possibility of property rights of water (the locking of wells) and the commercialisation of water, especially among the Mogode where water is sold by "pousse-pousse" (boys in cans). This started seven years ago. The consequence of all this, is to reinforce the need for permanent and easy accessibility of water which explains the unanimous enthusiasm of villagers related to the construction of dams. Of the 47 dams sites proposed by the project, 21 were visited with the purpose of finding whether socio-economic and religious displacement problems would arise from the construction of the dams. p. 61. The following recommendations may be a key to the problem.

Should any construction site fall in the very heart of an ancestral religious altar, a slight relocation of the site should be considered. Participation by the villagers in the construction should be paid for and should take place during the dry season i.e. when people are idle. Labour should be hired within the confines of the villages concerned as this may have psychological implications of greater local identification with the reservoir. Voluntary routine labour for cleaning, maintaining the dam should be arranged by the local authorities, and a watchman should be paid. Health campaigns should be organised accordingly especially with the assistance of nursing students in the local centres meanwhile each reservoir should be fenced off. Wells (with pulley, nylon and iron bucket) should be created where they are more profitable than dams. They should however be kept very clean.

In this way the project would have attained its goal ; viz to diminish the distance for fetching water and to make that water more accessible and healthier.

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LESSELINGUE P. et BOUTRAIS, M.M. : Aspects psycho-sociaux du phénomène de Desserrement des Montagnards au Nord Cameroun  
L'exemple du périmètre d'extension agricole de Moklo,  
 Yaoundé, ORSTOM, 1968, Convention N° 924, 75, 108, E 105

The object of the study was twofold : to establish a monography of an agricultural record of north cameroon, and proceed to understanding the zones where operations of rural modernisation takes places or zones of reception for migrants. The central theme was to evaluate farmer's attitudes towards development operations especially, the changing of the habitat and the transformation of the farming system and mode of life which are the consequences of this project. Moklo is a zone d'accueil created by SEMNORD (Sémerle du Nord) in 1968. The Moklo perimeter of agricultural extension is situated about 30 km from Maroun, 70 kms from Mokolo and 6 km from Makelingal, the capital of Mora Sub-Division.

THE DESCENT OF THE MOUNTAIN DWELLERS TO MOKIO : Before 1958 the descent reasons were tied down to demographic pressure in the mountains. In 1958 the Moklo agricultural extension was created by SEMNORD. In 1963 police action was taken to force the people to descend. Today sporadic descent especially elements that have undergone evolution (children of school age) are descending. The people who were forced to descend settled in the south at the foot of Mt Molkoa. The desire to go back is due to the saturation of the unit. Among those who descended were people between the ages of 35 and 50 years of age and who were deeply rooted in their traditions. Their desire to return to the mountains was always there. The reasons for this return to the mountains were : to join their parents, living and dead in the mountains ; to remain in their old GAY - stones ; to evade thieves and termites which destroyed most of their harvest in the plain as well as their houses. They wished also to return for religious reason. Thus people between 50 and 60 years were less favourable to the descent than people between 30 and 40 years of age. Those who descended had a negative attitude towards "réception structures" such as schools, medical and health care. 94 % claimed they knew the "chef de poste" of SEMNORD while 98 % said they had received no aid from him. As far as schools were concerned, 30 to 70 pupils (8 girls) attended the Moklo school. Each parent nursed ambition for his child.



The author shows that cotton cultivation was introduced in 1951 and it has known a general progression since until 1969 when there was a fall in production. The causes of this fall have been outlined as follows : the dissatisfaction of farmers has been discouraged by poor harvest. This poor harvest has been caused by poor climatic conditions. The stagnation of the prices paid to farmers has also discouraged them.

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MARTIN, D : Problèmes d'utilisation des sols au Nord Cameroun  
Yaoundé, ORSTOM IRCAM, 1960 - pp. 180-195

This work is a synthesis of numerous pedological exercises carried out in North Cameroon in the divisions of Diamaré, Margul-Wandala, Mayo-Danai, and in the Sub-Division of Guider. The first part of the study deals with the physical and chemical properties of the soils that are found here. The second part deals with soil cultivation; labour, the gaining-back of the Harde, and the fight against erosion.

1)- Soil cultivation : The soils here are of various kinds. Only millet, the principal crops which has many varieties grows here successfully. The only problem lies with groundnuts and cotton, the cash crops of the area. Peanuts are more resistant to draught and much less demanding in water than cotton. Thus rainfall figures range between 1000 to 7000 mm for the North Cameroon, and therefore satisfies the peanut farming. Peanuts prefer sandy soils and presents few problems in harvest times. Cotton on the other hand demands well-drained soils and does not suffer from floods like the soils of Kaele-Lam region which are very apt for cotton cultivation.

2)- Labour : The soil may gather a greater quantity of water, and water so gathered, may penetrate easily into the lower regions of the soil which are less permeable. The airing of the soil provokes an increase of its biological activity. In tropical climate conditions labour repeated each year without taking precautions of inadapted soils, under the influence of a proliferation of biological activity in the soils could have the following consequences :

a) a degradation of the structure of the soil which may occasion a reduction in the degree of permeability and the appearance of the phenomena of erosion.

b) much reduction in the capacity of the soil to hold organic water.

.... / ....



History : It seems that the Matakam occupied the plain long before the Foulbe invasion which led to their escape into the mountains. Four villages of the Matakam were created by people escaping the invasion. The villages of Douvar and Roua are original. The kingdom of the Mandara was founded about the XV century, and its history is full of incidence of conflicts with the southern dwellers. The Bornu also were interested in the area for slaves. The Mandara took to Islam in 1715. Their history is full of socio-political upheavals, ethnic segmentation fusions and disintegration.

Demography : Three important groups can be found in the North Cameroon. a) the pagans of the mountains amongst whom are the Matakam, have a high rate in population growth, and people tend to have many children. b) the pagans of the plain who have a modest fertility rate, and the Islamised people with weak fertility rate. Hence demographic progressivity is in inverse proportion to proximity with Islam, and demographic disequilibrium could only grow to the detriment of moslems. The Matakam have a population of 116 000 with 78 per km<sup>2</sup>. The dense population is found in Douvar. The age structure also shows that Matakam population is a young one. It is a dynamic population. The birth rate is 68 per 1000 as to death rate of 42 per 1000. Infant mortality is high : 167 per 1000. Annual growth is 2% constant. The population should double itself in 35 years. There is internal migration from high density areas to less dense areas. Also people leave the Matakam country. The Matakam are found in the Margui-Wandala Division with headquarters at Mokole. In 1967 the Matakam were distributed in four homogeneous cantons : 1. Matakam-Sud (43 villages, 1962) Moskota (17 villages); Koza with 13 villages and Gaboua with 7 villages. Of the 80 villages of the four cantons, 58 are found exclusively in the mountains, 12 are partly on the Mokolo plateau, 7 are partly in the mountains and partly in the plain, and 3 are entirely in the plain and having a population of about 2000 inhabitants.

The dynamism of the Matakam has certain consequences, namely the loss of the most important factor of production, land and the descent to the plain shall not be due to the attraction of Islam but rather to demographic pressure.

Matakam village : Each Matakam village is a community of clans, or kinship groups.

Some abandoned their sites for several reasons : clivage between blacksmiths and non-blacksmiths, exogamic rules and cianic Incest ta-boos, people ran away from authority they could not accept or tolerate. Some abandoned because the soil was not fertile. Each village was auto-nomous and well demarcated from its neighbour.

Kinship Organisation : Four levels can be designated :

- 1)- G+DBULOM : They are permanent units which permits the differentiation of members of the same lineage group in function of their generation. They are neither age groups nor minor lineages but participate in both simultaneously. The Gidbulom literally means "Yam head" a common ancestor of all individuals of the fourth generation.
- 2)- GAY or household. It is the fundamental socio-economic unit, and the nucleus of each villages society. It is composed of the parents and their children who are not yet married. The word GAY also refers to the household in which the family lives.
- 3)- GUALI : This is the clan. It is the maximum extension of the lineage group. It groups together all the offsprings (living and dead) of a real ancestor. it is a group of agnates. Strict exogamy exist between clans living in the same village. There are also clan taboos. There is also ancestral cult among the Matakam.
- 4)- GADAR : This is a major lineage, and many GAY constitute it. All members of the GODAR effectively know themselves.

The village society : There are also some other groups in a Matakam village which are not based on kinship but on professional orientation.

- 1) KEDA, they are individuals who come from other villages to live on land that is not of their ancestors. They can be driven away. They can participate in the religious and political activities of their new village. When they die, their lineage men come and take them away and bury them in their village of origin.
- 2)- NGWALDA or blacksmiths. They constitute an endogamic group. Residence is virilocal and descent is patrilineal.

Economy : They have an economy of auto-subsistence. They are forced to find their means of subsistence within their territory. The relationship between the natural milieu, social and historical realities have led to an agriculture of domestic auto-subsistence in every village framework. Each group produces that which it needs.









Some villages fall under her apanage : Maguirari, Moukdene, DJIive. She confers the administration of these to her dignatories. The queen-mother plays more of a moral than a political role.

All servants attached to the palace are slaves and they are grouped into many categories, following the nature of the task they are called to undertake. The Eunuchs of the palace - WASALHA (sg WASALE) occupy a more important position or title amongst the servants and even amongst the dignatories of the court in general.

The wandala courts counts 78 titles. These titles are divided into different categories. There are eighty of them (Malumba, Alamaha, Kurwaya, Wakiya-na-dafa, Wakiya-na-idaba, Barbaratia, Makajika, Galipaha).

#### The life of the State

The TLIKSE has a council of advisers composed of his dignatories. This council is known as the NAKUNIRE and it meets during or before the four great annual feasts. It also sits during the enthronement of the King. Apart from his NAKUNIRE the TLIKSE can hold restricted meetings with those he invites. The king holds private talks with any of his nobles. Specific terms are used by the court dignatories as a sign of respect towards the king, for example GALA-TLIKSE.

The Bayt-al-mal, the public treasury receives revenue in the name of the Tlikse, and the revenue consist of grain, butter, milk. Much of this is used within his private household and the rest is used in public entertainment. Taxes are also paid into his treasury - artisanal and commercial, custom duties, revenue from royal lands, and war booty.

Besides the chiefs and governors of provinces who assist the Tlikse there are also clan and lineage heads who control persons dispersed throughout the kingdom. The Wandala kingdom has many clans most of which are nomadic, especially the chouwa and the Foulbe. There are four provinces ruled by four governors, and these four provinces are Kambourwa, Leme, Madawaya and Kumshe. Villages are ruled by chiefs chosen by the Tlikse.

Among the wandala the TLIKSE chooses his heir to the throne (always one of his sons) before his death. However, this choice was made known only to a few of the most respected nobles as any leakage was likely to result in an armed conflict between his children. One of the great noble ALAMAHA reserved the right to sanction the will of the late TLIKSE. He could nominate the new TLIKSE before announcing the death of the old TLIKSE who took the oath of office, sometimes in a public rite.

THE ROYAL SPOUSES : (Hiraha) The new TLIKSE takes over all goods and persons of the old TLIKSE, and marries the widows of the deceased TLIKSE (Levirat). This only happened when it was fraternal succession. In most cases, all the wives of the deceased TLIKSE who had had any sexual relationship were given to the court dignitaries, and all those who had not were married by the new TLIKSE. The new TLIKSE then designated the GUMSU (the favourite and first wife of the palace). He married a KRAWA on whom he conferred the title of NUHUNGI (the first queen of the Wandala) who becomes one of the four legitimate wives. The rest become concubines.

The mother of the new TLIKSE becomes the queen-mother - MAGIRA. The children of his concubines, however remain his legitimate children. All the wives of the TLIKSE are either legitimate or concubines, of free or servile conditions. They have the right to the title of a queen - hille (pl. biraha). The princes take the name of UPSELE (pl. upseleho) and princesses, Nuha (pl. nuhaha). Each princess stays in the palace until she marries and they are generally married to people who are materially well off. The princes stay with their mothers, and less still in the queen's dwelling quarters. They continue to stay in the palace in the quarters built for them. They eat in common, generally prepared by one of the mothers. They received a Koranic education while in the palace and a marabout is usually designated to that effect. They are also a quarter in town and later may receive an appointment to rule any particular status, rank or privilege.

THE MAGIRA, (the queen-mother) occupies an important place in the palace. She also has a number of dignitaries around her : IGZOFA, KOLA, TLUKBNE, and TLAVUNJE. Their functions are limited to the interior of the palace of the queen-mother and by the measure of competence accorded them by the TLIKSE.

In 1974 the farmers doubled and tripled the hectares for red and white millet as well as for potatoes. The hectares reserved for peanuts were quadrupled and the crop last year was a source of wealth for the farmers of this division. "Peanuts constitute real diamond in the division, especially in the 1973/74 financial year. In order to absorb the jobless there was an attempt to ruralise the development of certain zones : Mora, Ouro-Guedtode and Mada. The report then asks the government to help in the sales of onion.

SOCIAL AFFAIRS : Education : the secondary school at Mokolo should be elevated to a high school for the Margui-Wandala division. There is also a private college : the Mokolo Teachers' training school. Government and private primary schools are implanted everywhere in the division.

Health : There are 33 health centres in the Division. There are also four hospitals (two public and two private). The private hospitals are at Koza and Tokombere. There is also a preventive medicine centre. The health services are more or less developed in the division.

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MOHAMADOU Eldridge : Le Royaume de Wandala ou Mandzra au 19<sup>e</sup> siècle  
ONAREST, Bamenda, Cameroun 1975.

Formation of the Kingdom

The progressive integration of clans and cities gave birth to a central authority, that of TLIKSE (chef de la cité). The first tradition faces the question of kinship between Gamergou (a kanuri denomination) or Moulgura and the Wandala. Evidence seems clear on this aspect : viz the Wandala constitute at the origin a Gamergou clan whose evolution was unique relative to the ethnic groups as a whole. Language (ancient mulgura) similarities and tribal taboos exist between the Wandala and Gamergou.

The second tradition studies the history of the GREA, one of the most important cities termed "saw" of the region. This city was overwhelmed and integrated by a rival city - Krawa during the reign of TLI-Grea and this forms the original nucleus of the future wandala. In spite of their Islamisation Grea are still traditionally religi-magical in belief and this is reflected in three occasional cults. Demand for water from the gods ; fight against sterility and the acquisition of fertility, and finally cults for the purpose of exorcism.

see / see

The Tlikse had an army. The word UNWA means both army and war. There was no permanent minister of war but the Tlikse chose a commander in chief only in times of war. The Wandala army was divided into two distinct bodies - cavalry and the infantry. The cavalry man used a sword, a shield and a dagger. There was also a military band to accompany the army into war.

#### The Wandala and their Neighbours

The Wandala kingdom seems to have attained maximum expansion in late 18th century and 19th century. The foulbe invasion reduced its frontiers to the south (Mayo-Mangawe). The Wandala do agree today that their Tlikse paid tribute at one time to Bornu but never was Wandala a province of Bornu, as Kotoko principalities were. Until the reign of May Boukar Adji (1731-1753) or that of May Boukar Adjama (1789-1845) a large portion of the Kotoko kingdom in the Logone-Birni principality paid tribute to Wandala and was partly ruled by TLAGAMA in the name of Tlikse. To the East Tchidi was situated inside Wandala. Two wars brought Wandala against Logone-Birni, but the Wandala lost the first and won the second.

Between Mazra to the North and Flanga to the south the Logone constitutes a natural boundary between the respective spheres of influence of Wandala and Bagulrmi. In spite of this natural boundary, the Wandala fought a war against Bagulrmi during the reign of May Bladi (1771-1789) or May Boukar Adjama (1789-1845).

Of the four major Foulbe groups that established in the Adamawa only the Ferobe established contacts with the Wandala. The foulbe are said to have entered north Cameroon after migrating from Mali. Once in the North, they co-existed with the local population until hostilities between the foulbe and Guisiga (a Wandala tributary). Wandala had to intervene, and fought against the foulbe. The Wandala suffered casualties under the superior organisation of the foulbe army by Sehou Ousman Dan Fodio. This led to the reduction of Wandala to few territorial units such as Bogo, Petté, Mindif, Maroua, Binder. By mid-19th century the foulbe had become for the Wandala and arch enemy par excellence. The relationship between Wandala and Foulbe remained stiff until recently. Friendship only developed between the Wandala and the Foulbe when the Tlikse was destituted by the French administration and sent to Maroua, in exile, and even to Garoua, Ngaoundere.

N.B. : It is a good Ethnohistorical work which gives one an inside into the dynamic process that has taken place over the past hundred years between the Wandala and their neighbours, and how they handled newcomers.

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N'GUIONZA Charles Emm : Le Nord-Cameroun - Université Fédérale du Cameroun . E.N.S. 1972.

The work is basically a general one with some interesting facts about the Margui-Wandala region. It touches the physical human, economic geographical aspects which appear in the works of the authors presented in this bibliography.

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NOTES AFRICAINES : 'Notes sur les Poteries Kapsiki', In Bul. d'Information et de correspondance de l'Institut français d'Afrique Noire. N° 70, 1956.

The name of the author does not figure in the article. It seems that while shooting a film in Kapsiki country, the author or authors were the host of a village "SIR", some 30 km south of Mokolo. During the harvest feast he realised the importance of blacksmith and potters, and the role they play in the economy and religious life of the Kirdi. The data does not seem to be complete since it was collected during the rainy season, a period during which potters do not work. In the village "SIR" iron workers and their women stayed in special quarters situated to the north of the village. The iron worker is envied and dreaded and is also a sorcerer and diviner and healer. His activity consists in making tools and arms for farming and hunting. They constitute an endogamous group. The wife of a blacksmith makes pots. She learns the trade while she is very young (about 8 years). They dressed differently from other Kapsiki women. Pots are made between November and February, and they are made of clay, and some are decorated depending on what purpose they are called to serve. The making of one pot is a whole process lasting for five days. It is on the 6th day that the pot is smoked over fire after certain sacrificial rites have been performed.

Most of the pots are for domestic use. Those reserved for men for the preparation of souce and meat are usually not touched by women.

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In this region it is the man who cooks meats and distributes it his wives. The pots reserved for women are used in the preparation of sauce, millet balls, millet beer (m'bal). Some pots are used for ancestral cult which protects the household. This consists in the pouring of libation of millet beer, and in the sacrifice of a fowl or goat. The blood is thrown on a sacred pot which represents the ancestors. Most decorated pots are reserved for religious ends.

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CENTRE GEOGRAPHIQUE NATIONAL (CGN) ; CENTRE DES SCIENCES ECO. ET SOC.  
ONAREST/CGN/CSES -

Le Nord-Cameroun : Bilan de dix ans des recherches

Vol. 4 : Tr. et Doc., ISH N° 16 - p. 337 - 1977

This work is basically a summary of research efforts carried out in North Cameroon over the past ten years. Certain portions of it deal with the Margul-Wandala Division, our area of concern.

The Mandara mountains are separated into two unequal parts between Cameroon and Nigeria. Rainfall figures in this region record 975 mm (Mokolo) and probably higher figures are recorded at the summit of the Kapsiki region. The Mandara mountains extend from the north to the south over a distance of 150 km and 50 km wide. The culminating point - Mount Oupay to the north of Mokolo. is approximately 1 500m but most of the massifs are situated between 1000 and 1200m.

The slopes can be examined in three levels :

a) - The internal plateaux : they occupy the centre of the edifice often cut in by the hills and rocky pegs. These plateaux have an average altitude of 750m extreme north, 800m around Mokolo, 900 to 1000 in the Kapsiki region, falls back to 800, towards Bourha and rises again to about 900m near Doumo in the extreme south.

The vegetation is of the sudanese type and probably reflects humid climate conditions existing here. The Mokolo plateau is of a lower altitude. Notwithstanding the apparent uniformity of the morphological framework of the internal plateau, the sum total of natural factors on which land tenure depends, vary with the level of the plateau.

b)- The border mountains : they have uneven mountain relief surrounding the central plateau, almost completely. The altitude of these mountains provokes climatic modifications which affects the soil. The natural vegetation of the area would therefore be clear forest following climatic conditions recorded here.

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The principal mountains in the region are situated between the Mokole plateau and the Koza plain. Here we find the vast volcanic edifice of Zouelva. The organic waters here are abundant, the chemical properties are good representing remarkable conditions for agriculture. The Mora massifs situated south of Mora itself represent a mountain water-strip. A serie of massifs, each having a name of an ethnic or origin, takes over from the Mora massifs.

c)- Massifs ; Island : these are isolated massifs dominating the feet of these mountains. These vary in altitude. Some correspond to the rocky intrusion that have resisted erosion ; others are relief reduals ; finally others mark a late episode of the orogenesis of the region as a whole. These massifs present similar conditions of occupation relative to the mountain zone of the Mandara mountains.

### Populations

MANDARA OR WANDARE : (13 500 persons)

They represent 15% of the population situated mostly in the old kingdom of Mandara, Kelrawa, Doula, Mora, to the eastern base of the Mandara mountains, right to Mayo, Mangafe and the centres of Meme Tokombere and Makolingay. There are about 1500 of them in Maroua. Nowhere are they found as a homogeneous group but they control those regions that are equally inhabited by the "palens" (pagan populations). The cultural difference between Bourmouan and Manjara is rather weak.

The Mandara have a rich and loaded historical background. The Mandara kingdom enjoyed and exercised suzerainty over the Diamaré plain (inhabited by the Guiziga, Zoumayo) and probably the mountain massif, south of Mora, right to Koza. There are conflicting versions as regards their traditions of origin. However, most researchers agree that the Wandala kingdom was founded in the 16th century. Some maintain that the Wandala were a conquering aristocracy which broke from an existing ethnic background, - MAYO. The Mandara acknowledge kinship relations with the Mora "pagans" of the adjacent massif, as well as with the Podoko. Sometimes they are given a TAMAGHERE (TOBOU) origin, and are held to have come from Ouaddai.

Another source holds that five men (Gaya, Riga, Dounoma and their two sons or servants) came from the east (Yemen), passed by Baguirmi and left one son or servant behind as chief, then went ahead to Bornu or to Gazergouma where the second son in turn became chief. The remaining three continued to Mora region.

To the east of the town of FOUGAOUA, a woman was ruling over the pagans. Gaya married her and the Wandala were born from this union. The offspring of Gaya lived at Keraoua (1st capital of Mandara kingdom). The second capital was uouia, founded in late 18th century. The present sultan is the offspring of the Gaya dynasty. The 19th century was marked by conflict or resistance against Peul Expansion. Today, the Matakam control only the hilly part of the present sub-division of Mora. They lost suzerainty over the Diamaré plain to the advantage of the Foulbe in the 19th century.

#### The MAFA or MATAKAM

The hide, the Mabass or Margul, the Mines, the Ndare and Guelebda could rightly be classified into the same ethnic group - Mafa or Matakam. They are over 91 000 persons. There are no sharp differences between the ethnic groups. The Matakam presently occupy the greater part of the Mandara Mountains -Koza and Mozogo plains, and the plateaux south and west of Mokolo.

The Mofou come second in numerical volume after the Matakam (42 500 1974 census). Those of the Wazang, Douroum and Douangar cantons occupy part of the mountain. The Mofou of present Mokong and Zidim cantons as well as those scattered in the Diamaré plain are people of the plateau and plain. The Mofou are a transitional ethnic group between those of the mountains and those of the plain. They occupy the eastern border of the Mandara mountains between Meri north and south. In 1964 the Mofou were 42 100, and 17 600 were mountain dwellers. 19 300 of them in Mokolo sub-division occupy the valley and the foot of the mountain. 3 200 were scattered in Diamaré between the Mofou to the west, and Tsanaga to the south. Maroua and Mogazang to the east and Mogazang Douvanger to the North have 2 000 Mofou, especially in the town of Maroua.

The Mofou are of the same Sudanese origin as the Mafa. Presently blood ties and linguistic similarities can be recorded in both groups. The 17th century was characterised among the Mofou by great structural migrations. The Mofou became mixed up with the Mafa, and some Mofou continued to the south and by "métissage" with the autochthonous, gave birth to new ethnic groups : Kapsiki and the Bana. To the east, Mofou occupied part of Diamaré much bigger than the actual area they now occupy. The notion of Mofou is in itself rather poorly defined, linking Mofou as far as kinship is concerned with Gulzigo, thus the Mofou are the result of successively diverse contributions spaced out over periods that led to its fusion.

Demographic growth is 1% annually as against 1.54% for the Mafa. Expansion is mostly towards the Diamaré plain.

THE MBOKOU have a population of 4000. They occupy Mery and the mountainous border of Mandara mountains. They often call themselves Mofou but the six clans forming the Mbokou are of different origins. Mahal clan owes its origin to Ourza. Murro to Mofou, Maya to Doulo, Tchebek to a woman who came from the region of Mora, Madagar to Mada.

THE GEMJEK -ZOULGO The Mada, the Ouldeme, the Vamembemme and the Mara occupy the eastern mountainous border of the Mandara mounts. Meri to the south and Mora to the north, the Podoko, occupy the mountain between the Mouktele and the Mora, represent a population of 37 000.

The Zoulgo-Gemjek are a transitional ethnic group between the Mofou mafa and mandara and are held to result from the "métissage" between Mofou, Mafa and Guiziga. The Mora may be assimilated to the Gamergou.

Meanwhile the Podoko should be the descendants of the Sao who were heavily influenced in the 16 century by the Wandala. The Mada are said to have come from the West, precisely from the region of Roua and are partly of Mofou or Mafa origin.

The Mada are authentic mountain dwellers. Their homesteads are spread on personal land and the houses are conical or have curved projections. The Mafa detest level areas and valleys. The Mafa "Gay" constituted of a number of huts or houses are welded one against the other. A hut at the entry communicates with a vestibule hut or the first wife's hut in which her granary is built. The man's granary opens into the kitchen. A cow shelter is built attached to the man's hut and a goat's shelter to the first wife's hut, but both are protected from the rear by independent buildings, for examples, those of other wives or children. Opposite the entrance a store for corn or a large granary is usually found. Son's huts may also be found at the entrance into the compound.

THE "AY" MOFOU is a stronghold in their system of defence. Each Mofou "ay" is in itself a fortification, a high spiky wall protecting the back of the "AY" and encloses the entrance. One gets into the "ay" through a gate-hut which leads into a line of huts, one leading to the other. Rather no unit is independent. The entrance hut which serves as the armoury is the Resthouse for the family head. It opens into another hut - common to all women - extending into the granaries in which the kitchen of every wife opens. The stores are common in Mofou architecture. They are not just broken in any order.

This volume handles the different types of migration and their consequences. It analyses also some agricultural and economic activities of the Northern peoples. Although it is a general work summarising research efforts over the past ten years, the pertinent section on migration shows the socio-psychological problems involved in forced to descend into the plain. The movement of people from one overpopulated massif to a less populated one can be called internal migration whose socio-psychological problems are not serious since the migrant is not a stranger in the new massif. He can acquire land; participate in religious rites, and he can speak the language. When a migrant moves out of his own tribal territorial limits either temporarily or seasonally, he is bound to have some major problems. For example, a pagan who moves to the plains during the dry season to work in the cotton estates of Moslem or Foulbe lords, and in the rainy season, they move back to the mountains to cultivate their millet and other crops. Young people also travel out to Maroua, Garoua, Ndjamena, and they usually become traders, servants etc. They will stay away for a couple of years before returning to the mountains either to settle there or return to the towns.

Before the colonial era, migration was virtually forbidden among most tribes. Both the colonial and present Cameroon administration favour the descent to the plain, and this was made at one time obligatory. This led to massive movement of people to the plain. This descent had no tangible economic results.

The policy of the descent has led to the overpopulation of some plains, the people must be taught new techniques of cultivation of new crops which have been introduced; a new land tenure policy must lead to a fair distribution of land; this will certainly lead to conflict since Foulbe land owners might not like to lose their right to control large areas of land. People also tend to regroup into tribes, and villages in the plain may become ethnically homogenous. Minority groups will have high possibility of conflicts (pagan/Moslem). Migrations settled tend to be hostile to the in-coming ones. Everything must be done to ease off tension, and to promote intertribal socialisation. Most of the mountain peoples practise agriculture. They grow millet, peanuts, keep livestock. In the plain, cash crops such as cotton are promoted, and the owners of cotton estates employ seasonal labour from the mountains.



PODLEWSKI, A : Enquête sur l'émigration des Mafa hors du Pays  
Matakam IRCAM - Yaoundé, 1961

Matakam country has a population of 105 000 with a growth rate of 2%. The zones where there is intense emigration are the Foulbe cantons of GAWAR and Zamaï, and Mandara. The people move out to Maroua, Garoua, Ngaoundéré, Yaoundé and Douala. Both men and women emigrate, women accompany their husbands. The male population predominates. Most people who emigrate are married. The reasons for emigration are ; insufficient food availability ; children become isolated after the death of their parents ; children die frequently in the family ; disagreement among brothers after the death of a father. The Mafa migrant chooses his residence before emigrating especially where his friends or relatives are already living in the cities. Most of those who migrate feel that their conditions after migration are better off than those they had before in their Matakam country.

The process of detribalisation is slow because the people who migrate still preserve the traditions and religion of their ancestors. Of the chiefs interviewed, 85% still hold on to the traditional religion. 8% have become moslems, while 7% profess no religion. Demographic growth continues after migration for fertility figures remain high amongst the women (8 children per woman). Death rate remains high (40 per 1000) and the growth still remains at 2%.

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PODLEWSKI A.M. "Les forgerons Mafa : Description et évolution d'un  
 Groupe endogame" IRCAM, S.H. N° 9 April 1965 pp. 55

The aim of the author was to understand the role of blacksmiths in a traditional civilisation threatened by change. The blacksmiths have no alliance with non-iron workers, and thus constitute a caste. The article tries to analyse the role of iron-workers in Mafa society and survey the demographic dynamism of this endogamic group.

They occupy 1 500KM2 to the north of the Mandara mountains. They are numbered among the 110 000 Mafa. Like all Mafa, they share the common cultural traits or elements : same agricultural practises, traditional feasts, breeding animals, carrying out iron work, and pottery. Death rate (sample of 1724 with 56 death in 12 months). The death rate among blacksmiths is 32 per 1000 , and among the Mafa in general it is 42 per 1000.

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The difference between the birth and death rates gives the natural growth for Mafa Blacksmiths of 3% in 26 years, and the annual growth is 1% per 1000. For all Mafa the natural growth is 1.6%. The Mafa blacksmiths represents a practical stationary group, the equilibrium, being the result of the falling fertility rate which should lead in the long run to the blacksmiths being wiped out. The natural evolution will make all carry out the tasks formerly shouldered by the blacksmiths here destroying the absolute endogamy. This may lead to inter-marriage and a new numerical growth in new societal structures.

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PROVINCE DU NORD, DEPARTEMENT DE MARGUI-WANDALA DE MOKOLO

Rapport de synthèse des travaux du comité départemental de développement du Département de Margui-Wandala : 1er et 2 mars 1979.

The obstacles on the way of the realisation of production projects outlined in the 4th year development plan are of two natures : natural and artificial. The poor rainfall during the 1st three years of the execution of the plan was 8.29.6mm per year. There was also lack of personnel, technical material and transportation in the different services that are concerned with production. During the year 1976/77 and 1978 a fall in the production of sorgum and millet was registered. This fall was due to the destructive appearance of caterpillars in the production zone of sorgum. Also draught later contributed. On the contrary peanuts production rose during these years due to high prices offered by local traders (110F to 12F a kilo of peanuts). During the 1978/79 financial year potatoes production fell also because of caterpillars. Concerning cotton, the cultivation area has been greatly reduced. The SODECOTON orientates its development towards the intensification of cotton cultivation to increase productivity.

**SOCIAL AFFAIRS :** Difficulties were encountered in the execution of the 4th year development plan. This was due to programmation at the level of buildings and drugs.

**INFRASTRUCTURE :** Mokolo has 421 km of a road of which 61km are tarred. of the 421 206 are classified in category "B" and 215 in "C".

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PONTABRY, P et WEBER Jacques : Contribution à l'étude des problèmes économiques de la santé au Nord Cameroun, Université de Grenoble 2, 1970

The book is the result of fieldwork carried by the authors in collaboration with some people. The objective of the exercise was to produce an inventory of the needs of North Cameroon in the domain of health, and to see the means disposed for solving the problems. The authors sought to determine the influence demographic growth or situation can have on health programmes. They wanted also to see the relationship between health, agriculture and training ; this could constitute the basis for a regional programme of development.

The fieldwork was carried out in five divisions of North Cameroon (with except Adamaoua). Margui-Wandala division was also a centre of interest because the mountain populations figure also in the study. The study arrives at the conclusion that the health problems of the North Cameroon have been solved more or less. The authors indicated that there are 14 hospitals, 88 health centres (39 state, 28 communal, and 21 private) and 6 leprosy centres. The most important thing in the study was to find out the main causes of some diseases and the people's attitude towards illnesses. It could be that the government programmes might not have succeeded because the people's attitude was not taken into account. To get good returns it is necessary to take into account psychological and sociological incidence of the populations.



REMY, Gérard : De la montagne à la plaine : aspects et problèmes d'un mouvement de colonisation au Nord-Cameroun, in "Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines", VOL. XII - 3 - N° 47 1972

In this article the author affirms that the Mandara mountains have a sudanese type of climate which has short period of rain, and the soil is relatively fertile. Almost every patch of land in the mountains is occupied and exploited for agriculture. There is a high population density (200 inhabitants per km<sup>2</sup>). Since 1963 there has been a policy to force the people to descend from the mountains to the plains. The policy did not work well. Today the need for money has pushed people to migrate temporarily in search of paid labour. The author proposes the development of intensive agriculture in the plains which should produce high yield ; the mountain should not be totally abandoned following the policy of obligatory descent ; mountain areas which could be put into use should be further developed.

SADOU, YAYA : La C.F.D.T. - SODECOTON et le développement agricole au Nord-Cameroun, Memoire de Licence, Université Yaoundé 1975

Cotton has been cultivated in North Cameroon for a long time, and seems to have introduced under the influence of Islam. The first species was cultivated with rudimentary tools until 1928 when "Société Nord-Cameroun et Tchad pour le coton", was created in Garoua. The aim of the society was to encourage the cultivation of indigenous cotton, and to promote its sales in Cameroon and Tchad, and to build a factory for shelling. By 1930, 350 hectares were already under cultivation with a production capacity of 700 kg per ha. The yield was low and the techniques of cultivation were still rudimentary ; the creation of a new organism, SODECOTON in July 1974 was meant to modernise and perfect the traditional methods of the cultivation of cotton, and to introduce some crops that could be cultivated in rotation with cotton.

It can be said that although climatic conditions are not always favourable cotton is cultivated with good results in all the divisions of the North Cameroon with the exception of the Adamawa. SODECOTON has a number of factories for shelling (Kaele, Garoua, Tourboro, Mora, Maroua, Guider). There are also oil factories for the extraction of oil from cotton in Kaele and Maroua. CICAM was created to handle the textile section.

SODECOTON has encountered a number of problems. Cotton was imposed on many farmers who had hitherto known only food crop production. The problems emerge from this fact.

1) Nature of the soil : cotton needs fertile and permeable soils. Not all the areas have fertile soils. This implies the use of fertilizers which means increased investments. Only farmers with much land can leave some to fallow. They are relatively few. Therefore pedological demands remain an obstacle.

2) Technical problems : cows can be used to draw the plough but few farmers can afford. SODECOTON tried to give out ploughs on long term basis but failed. Most farmers lend ploughs and consequently start production late in the year. There is also a traditional belief that using the plough the backs of ancestors would be wounded, thus calling on misfortune. Farmers also complain of prices of fertilizers and insecticides.

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3) Commercial problem : SODECOTON has a monopoly of marketing cotton, and the prices are fixed every year by government. From 1952 to 1969 there has been no change in prices. This discourages the farmers especially when they compare cotton prices with those of food crops.

4) Transportation : There is lack of transport facilities. This has an effect on production.

5) Occasional draught : probably the water resources projects may solve this problem in the future.

Observation : A chapter on land tenure should have shown one how the SODECOTON acquired the land for the farmers. This is lacking in the work.

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STECK, Benjamin : "Mokolo dans ses relations avec le milieu rural environnant" In Cahiers ORSTOM, Série Sciences Humaines VOL. IX N°3 - Paris, 1972, pp. 286-308

The Mandara mountains is shared by Cameroon and Nigeria, and in this region an agrarian civilisation was born in very difficult natural conditions, and it has a difficult history. The creation and the development of Mokolo resulted from the will of a recent political power, first the Foulbe and secondly the French, and finally the Cameroonians, aiming at controlling an area locked up in itself. From 1910 to 1920 Hama Yadji's military post was created there. He was the Lamido of Mezagali. French administration made Mokolo an administrative and military base serving in the pacification of the mountain dwellers. In 1930 the French built a prison, a school, a health centre, and some administrative structures. In 1934 Mokolo market was created. The Cameroon Government has finally elaborated and extended these structures in order to promote the descent of the people from the mountains.

Mokolo was created for three reasons :

a) Pacification : This explains the peopling of the border massifs and the co-habitation between all the ethnic groups in the town.

b) Over-population of the mountains was brought by migration movements from the plain, the peopling of the zones at the mountains foot, around Mokolo was welcomed.

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c) Attraction of people to town. The existence of a town with all the advantages, eg markets, etc explains not only the development of the town itself but also of the massifs and neighbouring mountain areas.

Mokolo had then a population of 5500 inhabitants of various ethnic origins, but most of these peoples were from Mokolo Sub-Division. Mokolo town has an ethnic group variety. The most important are the Matakam (essentially Mafa), 40% of the total population, and the Foulbe constitute 16%, then the Kapsiki, Hilde, Mabas, Mofou, Choa, Moundang Guiziga, Mandara, Toupouri, Kotoko, Hausa, Arabes, and finally Ewondo and Bamileke. The mountain people predominate the population of Mokolo town, but only the moslems control the actual life of the town.

The region is basically agricultural which is undertaken by 60% of the population. The Mafa, Kapsiki, Hilde and Mofou have remained predominately agricultural. Few moslems participate in cultivation. In Mokolo the administration takes up 25% of the active population of the town, but posts of command are in the hands of the moslems. Other activities include Artisanat (10%), Transmort (6%), Commerce (6%). There are also houseboys, marabouts and Koran teachers. This depicts the relationship between the town and its spatial demographic growth is noticeable. New houses are built, and the different quarters are increasing. There are certain areas for christians and people from the south (Cameroon). There are actually three quarters : Lamorde, Taoungo, Nassarao.

Mokolo and Agriculture : 80% of farmers in Mokolo work in plots situated 10km around the town. Some own farms 5km from town. There seems to be some relationship between the ethnic groups and the location of the farms. 25% of the farmers in the town exploit two farms in different places, often one very far from another. 88% of Mokolo farmers own farms in areas other than their village of origin. The land on the plateau around Mokolo is for the most part, empty and uncultivated. Can different ethnic groups come to Mokolo and cultivate this land ? The answer can be found in the role of Mokolo in controlling the mountain dwellers, that is their descent into the plain. The contact between different farmers of different ethnic groups can promote exchange in techniques and goods. The farmers could offer temporal employment.

The Mokolo market constitute also an element of transformation of the town for it attracts populations because it has an area of influence of 20km, and aspect which seems to integrate the town to its neighbourhood.

The market handles wood, millet, peanuts, potatoes, animal products, fruits, vegetables, sugar cane, artisanal products and beans (dwarf). The market permits exchange between the different massifs that are usually far apart from one another (circa 40km). The locally produced goods are sold in order to obtain goods brought in from Garoua Maroua and Nigeria. The market then constitute a meeting-place for ethnic groups bordering Mokolo .It has become an indispensable place for the rural areas.

As an administrative centre, It is likely to grow into an only large urban centre in the Mandara mountains, and this shall only be achieved if the actual infrastructural problems are solved.

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VINCENT, Jeane-Françoise : Quelques éléments d'histoire des Mofu, Montagnards du Nord-Cameroun, Paris 1973.  
Colloque International du CNRS.

The name Mofu used currently today dates back to about 60 years ago and it is accepted by them today. According to the 1966/67 census there were 55 000 Mofu in the Margui-Wandala Division and Diamaré. There are two groups : 38 000 to the North scattered over 11 massifs, and 16 000 to the south found in 16 massifs (Gudur). This distinction is accepted by the people who even object to any kinship ties with each other. They have identical cultural traits ; household types, customs, pottery. They are separated by two rivers the Sanaga and the Kallao. The Mofu cover a territory of over 500km.

Islamic states and Mofu : The powerful and secular state of Bornu was situated near the Mofou. The Mandara started off as a pagan kingdom, hence the Bornu conquest of Mandara, but Mandara was of Bukar ACJI, the 24th ruler. Ousman Dan Fodio religious war had great consequences for Mandara. After the war (1821) Mandara and Bornu were allied, and united by a treaty but but Bornu was much a superior state and Mandara paid tribute to Bornu (100 slaves, annually which looked more a gift than tribute. Other states paid 200 slaves to Mandara. The relationship between Mandara and Kerdil was affected by the existence of slavery. Mandara wanted slaves for herself and to pay tribute.

These were taken from the plain of Kirdi and Mosgo (Musgum) situated east of the Mandara (actual Yagoua). Mountain dwellers recognised Mandara suzerainty and materialised this by paying tribute - leopard skin, honey and slaves which they had looted from other villages. The Mandara kingdom in the 19th century extended from the banks of late Tchad to the summit of Mindif. It-subjugated about 15 tribes : Podoko, Mora, Uideme, Vame-Uran, Hulla, Mouktele, Mada, Zoulgo, Gamjek, Urza, Muyenke, Moulura, Mouklo, Mbokou. Mandara had direct control over the mountain dwellers near Mora and even those that stayed in the isolated massifs between Mora and Maroua. Therefore one or two (Mokuro-Mokyo and Mboko) of the 11 Mofu massif were under Mandara control and jurisdiction. The Giziga depended on the Mandara. The history of Bornu and Mandara and Giziga is a result of a confrontation between them and the peul in the 19th century.

PEULS : When Ousman Dan Fodio opted for a religious war, he invited Peuls situated everywhere to fight. In North Cameroon, the peuls appeared through the progressive submissive infiltration of nomad families in the 18th century. The Feroobe Peuls presently in Maroua penetrated the area from the North. Where the Peuls were in minority they submitted to local populations but once they became higher numerically they would want to be masters. When the peul chased away the Giziga from Maroua, they were still pagans and could not have been motivated by a religious war. They adopted Islam later. Once they became Moslem they began to fight the mountain dwellers. The Peul union threatened the Mandara kingdom. This explains why aided by Bornu Mandara attacked the peuls many times in the 19th century, however, a frontier was fixed by Moddibo Adama to the north of Maroua. An Egyptian adventurer RABAH overthrew the empire of Bornu after assassinating its ruler. The Mandara kingdom suffered from the British action from Sokoto. The Germans also carried out punitive actions in the area, and destituted the Lamido of Maroua. They met strong resistance. German domination was short-lived, and their relationship with the peuls was always hostile but fought for them against the British and French in 1914 to sept. 1916.

MOFU TRADITIONS /- Only the major genealogies group to the 8th generation. Hardly do people remember their place of origin. There are traditions which show clan segmentation and migrations. Their myths usually have no historical reference but seem to justify the working of their systems.



VINCENT, Jeanne Françoise : "Divination et possession chez les Mofou, montagnard du Nord Cameroun, In Journal de la Société des Africanistes, Tome XLI N° 1 - 1971

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VINCENT, Jeanne Françoise : Le chef et la pluie chez les Mofu, Montagnard du Cameroun, Contribution à l'étude des Formes du pouvoir politique, S.I.N. Biblio. I.S.H.B. 1739

The author shows here that the Mofu are one of the ethnic groups in the Mandara mountains whose political power has a magical aspect. Each chief of the Mofu massifs is attributed the power of attracting and retaining not only the waters above his own massif but also that of the neighbouring massifs. The Mofu occupy certain areas in the Diamare plain. The annual rainfall is 600/700 to 850/950. The volume of water is sufficient. Millet is Mofu basic food, and cotton and groundnuts are recently introduced cash crops. There are 11 massifs with a population of 40000 Mofu broken into three groups. The first include Zoulgo, Gemjek, Meri, Mboko (16 000 persons) and Molkure, Tsere, Mikiri, Duguror (11 000 pers.) These two groups speak 6 languages. The third group is made up of Duvangar, Dur and Wazan Massif, with a population of 13 000 persons. It is more homogenous. The social and religious systems are superposed from one massif to another. The Mofu enjoy a transitional position between other mountain dwellers (Mada, Muyan, Moutele, Ouldeme, Podoko to the north Matakam (Mafa) to the west and Gudur to the south. Their neighbours to the plain are the Giziga (55 000) and Peuhl (270 000) with whom a warlike relationship has existed. The Mofu massifs had relations with Mandara empire : commerce and conquest. Mofu massifs do not have an identical political organization as such. In 8 massifs the authority is in the hands of quarter heads. The other three massifs have only one chief. The fundamental trait to all Mofu massifs is that political power is linked with water which is controlled by the manipulation of stones. They are some chiefs who give rain and others who prevent rainfall. From their myths, the control of 'pierres de pluie' is directly linked with the exercise of power. Each chief must have them. The power over rain is not considered strictly beneficial but during draughts a chief is held responsible. There is ambiguity in the exercise of power, especially that it is tied up with water, and thus there is much room left for one to contest the power.

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LIST OF BOOKS AND ARTICLES THAT ARE NOT AVAILABLE FOR ANNOTATION

- BARRETEAU : Recueil de littérature orale chez les Motu, Gudur : Population du Nord-Cameroun  
Cahiers ORSTOM Série S.H. XIII - N° 2. 1976
  
- 1°- COSTE : 1923 - Renseignements sur le Mandara, rapport dactylographié des archives départementales de Mora.
  
- 2°- LAUWE (P.H. de) 1937 - Pierres et Poteries sacrées du Mandara, Journ. Soc. des Afric.
  
- 3°- NOUCHET (J) 1947 à 1958 - Prospection ethnologique sommaire de quelques massifs du Mandara, Bull. de la Soc. D'Etudes Camerounaises 17-18, 19-20, 21-22, 21-22 bis, 55.
  
- 4°- VOSSART (J) 1952 - Histoire du Sultanat de Mandara, Province de l'Empire du Bornou, Etudes Camerounaises 35-36 (4), 19-52, cartes.
  
- 5°- LEBEUF (J.P.) - Rodinson (M) 1956 - L'origine et les souverains du Mandara, Bull. IFAN, série B. 1-2, 227-255.
  
- 6°- LEMBEZAT : Muktele ; un clan montagnard du Nord-Cameroun  
Coutumes, rites, croyances, PARIS 1952
  
- 7°- MARTIN (D) 1963 - Problème de la conservation des sols au Nord-Cameroun, Bull. de la chambre d'Agriculture.
  
- 8°- PODLEWSKI (A) 1966 - La dynamique des principales populations du Nord-Cameroun, ORSTOM, Série Scas Humaines, Vol. IV 194 p.
  
- 9°- PNUD, 1975 - Enquête sur les eaux souterraines et développement Pilote au Nord-Cameroun.
  
- 10°- WORLD BANK 1977 - Cameroon Appraisal of a Rural Development Fund Project, report n° 1476- CM.
  
- 11. KORDASS Adelheid/Annett Mary, Enquête Mandara, SIL Yaounde, 1977.  
This is a linguistic study of the whole region of how many persons can understand the Mandara language besides their own.