

A Historical Thought to the Cameroon Grassfields' Traditions of Magic, Warfare and Peace

Mark Bolak Funteh

Ph.D., Senior Lecturer of History, University of Maroua, Cameroon.

email: mfunteh@yahoo.com

Abstract

The acquisition of new ammunitions, sophisticated weapons, increase in army population, negotiation for and establishment of new allies have been the several scholarly popular explanations on the constant declaration and sustenance of war in most societies. But in recent times, new knowledge about the motivation behind the occurrence and prolonging of war in most traditional African societies has been sought. This has led to a school which propounds magic as a war driving factor. This essay falls in line with this approach. In Cameroon, combatants often testified possession of an inspiring element that drove them to and kept their interest at "confidence" during war situations, and that the heroism of an army was qualified in terms of its mystical connotation. Before, during and after war, diplomats, war agents and combatants as a whole, depended so much on the utilisation of mysterious means to wage and fight war. This was in pursued and sustenance of victory over an enemy. Peace makers also depended on magic to prevent conflict or settle them when they occurred. This essay, written on the bases of published, archival and oral data, examines the mechanism of magic employed by Cameroon Grassfields in addressing issues related to war, that is, prior to, for the duration of and following the escalation of war. It argues that the presence and practice of magic encouraged the people to go to war, sustained their interest and confidence at war and also helped them in the attempt to prevent and/or resolve conflicts. It also argues that the restoration and use of these local techniques could still be useful in

managing and resolving conflicts, especially intra and inter-communal conflict.

Keywords:

Thought; traditions; magic; warfare; peace; Cameroon Grass fields

Introduction

Hostility and serenity those contrary conditions of mankind, are however alike in one important characteristic, that both are aspects of a society's relations with other societies. They are linked, too, by an intermediate zone in which the tension caused by the interaction of societies is mitigated towards one end of the scale of their relations by peaceful tendencies while towards the other end it is exacerbated by influences aggressive to peace. War frequently occurred among the people of the Cameroon Grassfields.¹

The word "war" is an interpretative term whose meaning has rarely been critically examined by scholars of the region. They distinguish three patterns of war, namely skirmishes, raids and warfare. Meanwhile skirmishes and raids were private banditry where a few profiteering persons attacked and robbed traders and travellers, warfare was a more formalized

¹The appellation Grassfields was introduced by the Germans to refer to this region that comprises a multiplicity of linguistically diverse political communities with varying modes of centralisation of powers, which correlated inversely with population densities. Today, the region extends from the highlands of the North-West Region to the West Region. While the North West Region represents what is also known as the Bamenda or Western Grassfields, the West region represents the Eastern Grassfields.

form of conflict. In this paper, war or warfare is taken to imply that formalized form of conflict characterized by open hostilities between groups, chiefdoms or villages. Skirmishes, raids and even campaigns were not wars, but incidents comprised within a war or warfare.² A war might, though rarely, be decided by a single battle, but that battle was something less than the total state of hostility within which it took place. Among this group of people, there existed a formality about war which varied according to the sophistication of the protagonist, conferred a degree of legality; it was for example a condition recognized by the inter-chiefdom laws. Apart from the case of the complete collapse of one of the contestants, a war, even when undeclared must end up by agreements, more or less formal, between the belligerents to make peace or at least to observe an armistice; exceptionally, it might die away through their exhaustion or inertia.

Most chiefdoms during the pre-colonial period appeared to have concerned themselves with the justification of global conflict warfare. Any conflict that led to the spilling of blood was to be avoided because of the supernatural impact such an act, especially if it involved kith and kin. The spilling of blood without a just cause was believed to bring a polluting effect on the society and caused misfortune or supernatural danger (Dillon, 1973:458; Dillon, 1980: 658). Bloody conflicts between kiths and kins were to be avoided affirms Nkwi. Conflicts were permitted among kinship related groups as long as

lethal weapons were not used, and these types of conflicts had dialectical variations. In Modele it was referred to as *indeum*, in Nwa as *njeg njang*, in Mankon as *doelam*, in Bali as *oewumbang*, in Meta as *echwap* and in Kom as *su lenghadum* (Nkwi, 1987:6). Consequently, warfare was seen as a violent, often bloody conflict between two non-related groups, and even if it involved kinship related groups, like the Bamun-Nso wars of the 1880s, ritual purifications were required to remove the supernatural danger and misfortune that accompanied such occurrences. But the value of such a limitation to war episodes dwindled into oblivion as time passed by determined by a series of intervening variables.

When war occurred, the belligerents did not only apply physical efforts, but also supernatural exertions. Before, during and after war expeditions, engagement of high-level magical performances to prepare, fight, defeat and maintain triumph over enemies was an essential doing of the people. The popular belief and recital of mystic straightforwardly pushed the people to war, which according to them the use of magic was a synonym of victory. It was very common for comparatively weaker chiefdoms to wage and confront stronger ones in wars, due to their dependence on the aid of this mysterious force to triumph. This brings to mind the incident in the late 1970s when Nwa waged a war against the war lords of Mbem following the former's foolhardy attempt of seizing Sitok from the latter (Funteh, 2005: 65). This magic phenomenon was perhaps the propellant of the occurrence and re-emergence of the numerous conflicts the region experienced. It registered the highest rate of intra and inter-communal conflicts in Cameroon.

A basic cause of the Grassfields wars was the desire of the most prevalent vigorous societies for territorial expansion and to exercise a measure of physical control over their neighbours (Nkwi, 1987:6). According to Vansina, wars of conquest were not meant to annihilate

²The application of this word "war" or "warfare" to Grassfields hostilities involves no difficulty in comprehension, though some of the dialects of the region are even less precise than English in their usage of the term or what must due duty to it. In some dialects, a single word can imply a war, battle, raid or just skirmish. It is certainly due to the unprecised nature of dialectic reference and usage of the word that influence the colonial authorities (Germans and the British) and the writers of the region's history to often use such limited terms as raids, skirmishes, expeditions or campaigns to describe the people's wars.

enemies rather they were means of annexing weak kingdoms by stronger ones (Vansina, 1962:328). The quest for expansion accounted for the Bambili-Babanki Tongwo, Bali Nyonga-Chomba and Bali-Kumbat-Bafanji set of wars since the pre-colonial period.

The acquisition of wealth was an ambition of equal, or nearly equal, importance to that of power over other people. This might entail the occupation of farmland, and thus was bound up with territorial expansion. Another common aim was the exaction from conquered tribute, which in suitable circumstances was preferred though akin to the taking of booty. Access to trade and control of trade routes were similarly strong motives for war, especially during the pre-colonial era. Trade rivalries were a principal source of hostility between the chiefdoms of Mbaw Plain and Mfumte, and their expansion to the north towards Mbem was an important objective for their wars during the colonial period.³ Other, and cruder, motive for war was the plunder of moveable property and, of far greater importance the taking of captives, says Fanso. He posits that “[...] the first people to be enslaved in the Grassfields were war-captives or prisoners. This incident propelled the occurrence of further wars, since it yielded great dividend to warring and strong chiefdoms.” (Fanso, 1989: 67).

The importance to be attached to the capture of slave material as a cause of Grassfields and African wars as a whole is a topic of considerable interest for historians. The abolitionists of the eighteenth century all placed great stress on the connexion between slave trade and the incidence of war. Turney-High, a modern sociologist, asserts that in Africa “serious farming, a fortune geography, and a teeming population produced slavery, and slavery meant war.” (As cited by McCulloch, 1957:179). Njeuma supports this view and adds that the dependence of

the supply of the larger horses used by the Calvary of Emirates of Yola and Adamawa of Nigeria and Cameroon respectively in the nineteenth century was upon the slaves of the Fulbe raids of the Grassfields. Under Islamic rules of war, the enslavement of captives was permitted, and the capture of “pagans” as slaves material became a prime object of the Muslim wars (Njeuma, 1978: 50-56). The raids carried out by the Islamic state of Adamawa against the less sophisticated Mbembe, Yamba and Wimbun communities prior to German annexation of Cameroon in 1884 reaped a rich harvest of slaves, and the conclusion that in such cases religion furnished only a pretext for the wars can not be resisted (Funteh, 2003:12).

Furthermore, the succession questions, the refusal to pay tributes, non performance of mortuary rites, the maltreatment of messengers on diplomatic assignment, and sometimes the refusal to offer princesses for marriage and poaching sometimes provoked disputes (Funteh and Gormo, 2009: 91). These problems were aggravated under the German and British colonial periods when colonial authorities introduced the tax system and some communities were obliged to pay via others which they sometimes resented. Also, the territorial and administrative division of the region and the classification of chiefs into various categories by the colonial masters added to sources of conflict. Moreover, the confusion caused by the nationalisation of all the lands in the country by the government of Cameroon did not improved situations (Bungfang, 2000: 2).

War and peace decisions were the responsibility of the war council consisted of the *kwifon*, diviners, and warriors of reference, over which the *fon* presided (Chilver and Kaberry, 1966: 16-19). They made individually and collectively efforts in assembling mystical contributions in the face of confrontations. Nonetheless, conflict prevention, conflict management and peace building were likewise “never

³ Nwa District Administrative Archives (NDAA), ANW 141, Administration Nwa: Minutes and Yamba Agenda of Clan Council, 1975, pp. 3-7.

forgotten features” in their mystical proceedings.

Diplo-magic preventive tradition

The term “diplo-magic” practice is a coinage representing the use of paranormal forces to influence a diplomatic duty. This was a familiar action of the people before war. As earlier highlighted, the pronouncement of peace and war was the task of the war council. It consulted the ancestral spirits, performed war rituals and prepared diplomats and warriors with negotiating and war charms respectively. Whatever, war was declared only on the account of an abortive employ of exhaustive peaceful negotiations. In the search for peace, or better still, in the face of preventive diplomacy where dialogue became an ultimate weapon, the use of mystics was essential. As a matter of fact, solutions to inter-chiefdom crises were mostly influenced by the diplomatic role the chief and/or his envoys played. In a situation where the permanent resident envoy or foreign representative (*nkum lacks*’ among the Mfumte) of a chiefdom in another was involved, he went to his host after receiving orders and a “talking charm” (*ngeup-chow* among the Yamba) from the war council, and tried to negotiate for peace. A day to the peace mission, he tied around his neck three different charms and performed a peace ritual. The first charm represented luck, the second stood for wisdom in speech and the third for fluency and eloquence. On the day of the mission, he chewed three leaves of the king plant (*ngarr nkum*), each representing the charms, spate the juice onto his palms with which he rubbed his faced and repeated the peace rituals. The *ngarr nkum* was considered to be a lubricant of verbal skills during the negotiation phase. This exercise was purported to bring a break through in case of a deadlock during the peace negotiations. But in situations where no official of this kind existed, the chief used “shuttle” diplomats⁴ to carry on the

⁴“Shuttle” diplomats or traditional diplomats were generally assigned to discuss peace initiatives with

task. In such circumstances, an emissary (*n-go n-top*, Bamileke) was used (Bah, 1994:14).

The envoy carried along the traditional peace tree, *nkeng*, as a symbol of desiring peace and an invitation to the negotiating table. Two days before the *nkeng* was handed to the emissary for the mission by the chief, like among the Mbaw chiefdoms, he lived only on the concoction of certain traditional herbs, *'zu njepnoh*, prepared by the palace priest. This was known as *ka'zuzu-zu*, traditional fasting. He consumed the concoction six times daily, but ten times on the day he had to meet with the enemy chief. During the *ka'zuzu-zu*, he was perturbed from engaging in any romance or entanglement of any sort with a woman (which was believed to wane the powers of the concoction). All these were supposed to reinforce his charisma in the process of convincing the enemy chief to abandon the idea of war against his people.⁵

Oral tradition among the Yamba’ holds that it was not uncommon for the chief to execute such a mission himself. Along side the *ka'zuzu-zu*, he performed specific lycanthropic rituals which enabled him at night to transform into an insect or animal,⁶ went into the enemy’s palace and

others chiefdoms. Though the status of those chosen to carry out diplomatic duties varied from one chiefdom to the other, they were mostly princes or warriors. Diplomats carried credentials or badges in such form as a buffalo tail, baton, staff and spear, which differentiated them from other village notables. Also, they wore special clothing and enjoyed certain privileges and immunities. In the practise of diplomacy, these envoys required some immunity, like protection against arbitrary detention. Any violation of this immunity was punishable. Another category of diplomats was the resident representatives maintained in foreign chiefdoms to maintain good relationship with their chiefdoms. These diplomats occupied the centre stage in establishing treaties with other neighbouring communities.

⁵ National Archives Buea (NAB), AC/1, EHF Gorges, An Intelligence Report on the Kaka-Ntem Area of the Bamenda Division of the Cameroons Province, 1932, p. 3.

⁶ The act of transforming from a human to an insect or an animal is called lycanthropy. Lycanthropy was not a detestable practice. Consequently, it was not

applied a little quantity of the 'zu *njepnoh* on the chief's lips (*yukchu-nkum*) that positively influenced his decisions for peace whenever it was discussed. This act was performed especially by weaker chiefdoms and when a deadlock was envisaged.⁷ Harcomt records that the strong Ntem and Kut communities hardly successfully went to war with the weak Sabongari chiefdom despite their deep land differences, all due to the latter's valorisation and frequent employ of the *ka'zuzu-zu*, 'zu *njepnoh* and the *yukchu-nkum*.⁸ Conversely, Carpenter sees the reluctance of these chiefdoms to declare war against one another not conditioned by any of these, but by Sabongari's economic value. He says; "...they all depend highly on one another for trade and commercial interactions, and so would hardly give up Sabongari's economic potentials for anything else."⁹

Treaties or pact-signing characterised Grassfields preventive diplomacy particularly in the pre-colonial times. Treaties often curbed under

punishable by the law and customs of the land. Two types of the act consist of quasi or soul lycanthropy and complete or body lycanthropy. With the former, it was believed that an individual could allow his soul to leave him when either in a trance or asleep and through some mystical means transform his shape totally into that of any desired animal and appear to particular people. However, the person's actual body was rarely transformed. This was the old men who wished not to harm others, but used it as means of notifying their beloved ones of their death which occurred shortly after. But with the latter, the person, both the body and soul are said to transform into a moveable or immovable thing. This was done by war lords. This was common among the people of the northern part of the Grassfields, particularly, the Wimbams, Nso', Yamba', Mbaw, Mfumte, Mbembe, Dumbo and Mesaje.

⁷ Interview with Samuel Ngweim, 58 years, Chief of Mbem, Mbem, 12 June 2007.

⁸ National Archives Buea (NAB), AC/7, HN Harcomt, An Intelligence Report on the Makka or Tasa Cult in the Bamenda Division of the Cameroons Province, 1938, p.4.

⁹ National Archives Buea (NAB), AC/4, FW Carpenter, An Intelligence Report on the Kaka-Ntem Area of the Bamenda Division of the Cameroons Province, 1938, p.4.

paranatural influences, were signed as a way of winning the friendship of perennially hostile groups, especially to end border disputes. The binding nature of treaties was enforced by the swearing of oaths. Amongst many of the ethnic groups of the Grassfields, oaths entailed the annual killing of a slave and/or animal, followed by the preparation of sacred, mystical emblems and potions and the mingling and consumption of the blood by both parties as the years evolved. This act was believed to possess a mysterious war preventive grip over the parties involved. For example, due to the perennially hostile relations between Mankon and Bafut, both chiefdoms took a decision to terminate their long-standing differences. After prolonged negotiations between the two sovereigns in 1889 both chiefdoms finally signed a non-aggression pact on the Bafut-Mankon border, marked by the performance of rituals and the burial of a live dog and two slaves, one from each party. They swore never to fight each other, promised to live in perfect peace and agreed never to abrogate the pact by signing another with other chiefdoms (Fobizi, 1996:22).

An important issue about non-aggressions pact was their sacred characters. The sacrifices and oath-taking meant that once the treaties had been concluded, they had to be respected to the letter by both parties without which, it was believed, a spell or misfortune would befall the violator. But, the magical strength of the rituals and beliefs surrounding such pacts were weakened and less binding in the mist of the following intervening variables: first, with the death of the *fons* who signed the treaty, their successors, especially the warring types, hardly respected them; second, the changing political situations (balance of power) in the region forced *fons* to abrogate such treaties for new ones with other communities. For instance, in 1901 following the growing strength of Nkwen, Mankon abrogated the pact with Bafut and entered into an alliance with Nkwen and

Bali-Kumbat (Nkwi, 1987: 22). All of them agreed to mutually defend and protect each other. This explains why the Bafut and Mankon resumed their hostile relations during the colonial and post-colonial periods. Nonetheless, the spirituality of such treaties made chiefdoms sometimes turned their enemies into friends; easing hostility between them for at least a while.

Magico-war practice

War was declared when peace negotiations failed, and even so, the people believed strongly in the intervention of supernatural forces to prepare, fight and manipulate chances of war in their favour. This conforms to Robert Smith's observation of warfare in the pre-colonial West Africa. According to him, though indigenous religion, like ideological generally, was only exceptionally of importance as a political force in pre-colonial West Africa, appeal to supernatural was prominent at every stage in warfare (Smith, 1976:48-49). The supernatural forces in this sense were the ancestors and spirits of the land, often reached through diviners. Priestly diviners were almost always consulted before a decision to declare war was taken, although as Barbot remarks, "they were unlikely to advise its prosecution unless there was an apparent preponderance of strength over the putative enemy." (As cited by Nkwi, 1987: 112). But, the devices employed during the process of divination by the diviner of the Grassfields were very much determined by the nature of each case he had to do with.

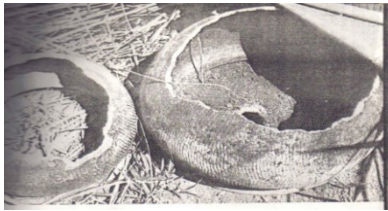
The most common devices involved the casting of palm kernels, bones, pebbles, kola nuts and small sticks of particular shape on the ground and after which the position of these elements-believed to have been placed by the ancestors-were interpreted and advice given. This device was called *sortilege*. Augury and *haruspication* were also interpreting methods of the diviners. While the former method was interpreting circumstances from the movement of a

dying fowl hung upside down, suspended from a raffia pole and a leaf tied to the body, the latter involved the interpretation of elements (through divine guidance) found in the intestine and other organs of a deceased person. However, the most popular of these methods of divination throughout region was the *ngam* method (Gebauer, 1964:35-36). This method centred on a set of leaf-cards with standard symbols (made from the stiff flat leaves of the African plum tree *ntugam* and the black hairy spider (*ngam*, *ngama*). Following a participatory observation of David Yekoh in his act of divination, it was gathered that the Yamba' believe that the leaves and the spider each possessed magical powers, and when joined they perfectly inexplicably related to decipher prospective situations. Consequently, messages from this combination were taken seriously.¹⁰ During the act of divination, the spider's nest was found, a large clay pot without the bottom was covered over its entrance (see plate 1) and the leaf cards carefully put around its hole (see plate 2) so that, whenever it came out in search of food, it moved upon the cards (see plate 3). The position of each card touched by the spider was interpreted. Yekoh sustains that if the message was "victory", no body could dissuade the people from going to war; they prepared to and/or fought. But if it was "defeat", no amount of encouragement to fight could make them do so, except their supplications for divine intercession were convincible made.¹¹

Plate 1. A spider enclosure

¹⁰ It was from a participatory observation of David Yekoh (60 years, diviner, in Nwa) on 28 June 2007, in the act of divination that inspired us to carry out further research on magical traditions among the Grassfields and to write this paper.

¹¹ Interview with Jonathan Yakong, 80 years, Warrior of Mbem, Mbem, 29 June 2008.



Source: Paul Gebauer (1964), *Spider Divination in Cameroon*, Milwaukee, North American Press, p.43.

Note: The spider enclosure is a broken bottomless clay pot covered over its entrance.

Plate 2.

Leaf cards around the spider's entrance

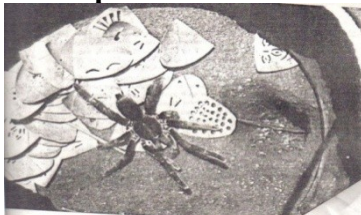


Source: Paul Gebauer, *Spider Divination in Cameroon* (Milwaukee: North American Press, 1964), p. 44.

Note: The leaf cards were carefully put around its hole so that, whenever the spider came out in search of food, it moved upon them.

Plate 3.

Spider in action



Source: Paul Gebauer, *Spider Divination in Cameroon* (Milwaukee: North American Press, 1964), p. 45.

Note: The position of each card touched by the spider was interpreted by the diviner.

Gebauer says that before waging and fighting a war, the gods of the land had to be consulted and prayed to so as to release the mystical powers the people needed for victory. The *fons* did so through their sacrifices made and libations performed to the ancestors in the palace

shrines (Gebauer, 1964:35-36). Mair substantiates this by saying that each palace had its own shrine, a circle of stones enclosed by sacred grasses and overshadowed by a sacred tree, where the chief performed his duties on behalf of his people (Mair, 1978: 34). Among the Ntumbé of the Nkambe Plateau, the chief held one of the stones from the place of prayer (shrine) in his right hand, spread chaffs of chewed *ngunna* on the left palm and prayed. In Mbem, Mfe, Sih, Ntong and Ntim villages, the war priest rubbed the stone with the *ngunna* concoction and a black chicken's blood and hit the stone on the ground, telling the gods the village's desire. Part of concoction was preserved and applied on the warriors' foreheads as they went to the battle front.¹² This was believed to activate the gods' sympathy and prompt action in their favour.¹³ In fact, these concoction and prayers often amplified the villages' as well as warriors' appetite to declare and fight wars as they bravely trusted in them and their implications.

The declaration of war was done in a particular manner, and only when the warriors and their weapons were greatly fortified, the fortification being the employing of mystical elements. Warriors, in most chiefdoms were known since they constituted the members of the military clubs¹⁴ (*soh* among Yamba', Mbaw and

¹²Interview with Shey Daniel Abu, 72, warrior of Ntumbé, Ntumbé, 16 March 2009; interview with B.K. Voh, Chief of Nwa, 61 years, Nwa, 30 June 2008.

¹³Interview with Chief Ngwiem; interview with Shey.

¹⁴These military clubs were organised in a uniform manner in this region, also based on age. Each club was presided over by a senior warrior who was assisted by young men chosen from around the chiefdom following their wittiness, smartness and/or physical fitness (strong and well-built). Nkwi says that those chosen from among traders and travellers were often used as vanguards, guides and spies (*ngvve*). They usually constituted the military intelligence network, and spoke several languages (see Nkwi, 1987: 112-113). But the trend of colonial and post colonial inter-community conflicts in the region, like Kom-Mujang conflict of the 1904, Bamendankwe-Banjah conflict of 1989, put women,

Mfunte, *mfulu* among Wimbumbas, *badmfon* in Bali Nyonga, *isagwe* in Bum, and *ndo-kifeng* in Kom) and were the best fighting men in the village, and their weapons ranged from natural in-built devices to artificial man-made arms.¹⁵ In the nineteenth century, projectile, shock and defence weapons had been developed. According to Smith, the variety of Grassfields weapons definitely depicted the level of technological achievement and was certainly an index of the people's art and culture (Smith, 1979:88-89). The projectile weapon (spears, arrows, stones and guns) were those which could cause damage from an emitting source. Spears and other iron weapons, produced in the various local industries that had grown in the nineteenth century, had a differential impact on the pattern of warfare and increased the casualty toll. The gun, mostly the ordinary flint-lock muzzle type, was introduced into the region by the mid-nineteenth century by the Fulbe and German authorities. Guns were effectively used in pitch battles with the combined efforts of spearmen (Warner, 1980:15). The shock weapons (clubs, sticks and daggers) were used for close range fighting and were meant principally to inflict pains and weaken the enemy. The defence weapons included shields, war medicine, trenches and walls. Warriors used shields¹⁶ to protect themselves from flying volleys of spears (Mieod, 1925:11; Warner, 1975:419).

During the Fulbe raids of the region, the use of horses by the Moslems was of great value. These were heavy and large horses from Adamawa, and the riders were armed primarily with heavy thrusting

particularly old menopausal women (*anlu* and *takenbeng*), at the forefront of war as great and fearless warriors (see Awasom, 2005:1-13).

¹⁵ National Archives Buea (NAB), W.M. Bridges, Reassessment Report on Bansa District, Bamenda Division of the Cameroons Province, 1934, pp. 32-33.

¹⁶ A typical Grassfields shield was usually rectangular in shape, 22 inches long and 10 inches broad and slightly curved in the centre. It was made mostly of buffalo skin.

spears or lances, and usually also with swords. Such force terrified the foe – especially an army of pagan foot warriors. Light Calvary, riding the smaller indigenous ponies and armed primarily with light throwing spears were in patrol, skirmishes and flank actions; on occasion they also took part in frontal engagements. This was the situation of the German colonial period when Bali subjugated Meta villages in war (Warner, 1975:419). The proliferation of small arms nowadays in the sub region has given a new dimension to warfare and death toll. In fact, contemporary conflicts, especially inter-tribal wars and multi-party conflicts of the region have witnessed the entrance of new weapons into the scene, like semi-automatic rifles, the female genitals and the *nika* (a traditional mystical instrument).

All the same, when it was certain that they were to fight a war, the Grassfields people prepared their warriors and weapons. Such preparation was marked by the practice of magic as earlier highlighted. Spies, like among the Ngong, drank the *gungu* (a fortifying concoction) given to them by the war priest to enable them transform into the desired insect-mosquitoes, flies or prey mantises - and at the same time be invisible during the process of accomplishing the assignment of burying war charms in an enemy country. The charm was said to weaken the enemy and its charms during the fight.¹⁷ Hawkesworth adds that before the Grassfields warriors moved off to the battle front, the general rule was that sacrifices were made to the war god or war standard, and weapons were smeared with magical potions; the Mbem, Kwak, Gwembe and Gom priests like those of the Bambili, Babanki-Tungwo, Baba and Babungo, rubbed an ornament (*mnjii* among the Wimbumbas) on their warriors' bodies to render them valiant, swift,

¹⁷ Interview with Daniel Lacfeh, 76 years, Warrior of Ngong, Ngong, 12 February 2009; interview with Jonathan Binda, 52 years, Prince of the Ngong, Ngong, 12 February 2009.

flexible, brawny, target elicit and sometimes “invisible” during battle.¹⁸

Among the Nso', for instance, the war charms were produced by the *ngali* (*ngashiib*). Before a war, the Nso warriors waited in the palace, the *ngali* was invited and gave them protective charms he had prepared including the *menkan*, consisting of a piece of dark wood cut from a special tree (possibly ebony) (Kaberry, 1950:308). The *menkan* was believed to protect them from any fatal accidents, stray arrows or bullets, and rendered them invisible at the battle front. It also brought them good luck, rendered them apt enough not to miss a target when shooting. At their departure to the battle front, virgin girls of the chief's family fetched consecrated water for the chief who drank and gave some to the warriors. The consumption of the water was purported to strengthen and renew the powers of the *menkan* if their enemy turned out very strong (Schmidt, 1940:225-226). Charms and amulets were also in demand by both pagan and Muslim soldiers, usually stitched onto the garments worn in the battle, and sometimes affixed on their horses' necks, in the region. The worth of the charms ranged from shielding the warrior from spears, swords and dagger cuts, bullets, and rendering them imperceptible in battle. Moslems were favourite providers of various kinds of charms for this purpose, among others, to pagan warriors such as those in Sabga, Ntumbe, Nwa, Mbaw, Sih and Yang areas.¹⁹

In fact, the formal declaration of war was part of the military ethics. Prior declarations, both sides were permitted to send women, children and elders to safety. The date, time and place were usually pre-arranged by the envoys of both groups. In

Kom, Nkwi and Chilver (Nkwi, 1987: 113; Chilver, 1966:11) state that it was customary to send two bundles, one of ashes, the other of camwood to the enemy chief. If the enemy chief chose the bundle of ashes, he opted for war and therefore the date and time were arranged. They maintain that the ruler of Kom sent a bundle of ashes to the German officer Adamezt in 1904 when the officer demanded that labour and food be sent to the military station in Bamenda. The Germans mounted a punitive expedition on Kom, which lasted until January 1905. Sometimes rods were used in the declaration of war. In 1889, four chiefs allied to Bafut and Mankon sent four rods to Bali-Nyonga as sign of war. Soon as the formal declaration was made, fighting could start at dawn, and usually at the blast of a royal ivory horn.

The warriors were led into the battle front by scouts or flag bearers (*tutuwan* in Bali-Nyonga). When fighting started, it could last for a couple of hours before the warriors retired to their respective settlements to resume the following day if there was no clear-cut winner. It could continue for a couple of days. During the battle, each group tried to inflict as many casualties on the opponents as possible, out power them, reach the settlement and take women and children captives (Warner, 1975:413). But with recent ethnic disputes in the region, the defiling of this war ethics was common as the surprising of enemies at unanticipated areas became a manifold dividend-war strategy of warriors. This is exemplified by the ethnic disputes between the Bambili and Babanki Tungwo (1993-94), Bali-Nyonga and Ngyen-Mboh (1996), Bali-Nyonga and Chomba (1996 and 1998), Bali-Kumbat and Bafanji (1999, 2000 and 2003), Bali Nyunga and Bawok (2007) (Funteh, 2005: 22-22).

Even during war, magic was also exercised by both men and women involved. Among the Yamba and Wimbun groups, it was common to consult the *ngam* to know the happenings in the battle

¹⁸ National Archives Buea (NAB), Ab/3, E.G. Hawkesworth, Assessment Report on the Bamenda Division, 1926, p. 9. The *mjii* was similar to the *ngunna* in the Mbem, Mfe, Sih, Ntong and Ntim villages.

¹⁹National Archives Buea (NAB), Cb/1, Bamenda Division, Bamenda District (including Kentu) Report on Miscellaneous, 1916, p. 9.

field. In a situation when they were losing the battle, a college of war magicians, *nganjep, nto-bang* (Bamileke) were rallied to perform certain miracles. They could cause heavy wind to blow or rain to fall on the battle field. J. Seiber in his own words:

These magicians were capable enough to bring down heavy pours in the heart of the dry season ... such action was aimed at either stopping the war for their warriors to rest, recuperate and/or renew their charms, or weaken their enemies, especially those noted for being unable to fight in the rains (Sieber, 1935:270).

Gorges adds that by 1929, at the battle front, Mbem “war wizards” did not just bring down heavy rains, but also transformed their warriors into lions and tigers and frighten their enemies away from the battle field. And in the face of stiff resistance or terrific difficulties from an outstanding enemy on the battle front, like the case with Kut in 1931, the warriors transformed into tornado as an escaping strategy or a change of fighting formula.²⁰

Yamba warriors uphold that the utilisation of the tornado tactics was the last resort, meant for two purposes. As an escape chamber, a tiny tornado occurred and mysteriously vanished away with them. But as a resisting and subduing technique, a colossal one occurred to envelop the enemy, giving them the possibilities of completely subduing them.²¹ Dunger confirms this. He says, “... the inscrutability of Mbem magicians could cause tornado occur even on wed grounds, especially during warfare.” (Dunger, 1942: 303-307). Apart from the use of the tornado magic in fighting war, the Grasslanders employed the mystics of

the genitals, mostly by the female folk. This was exemplified by the Bamendankwe-Banjah border conflict of 1989.

When the conflict erupted, the *Fon* of Bamendankwe summoned the Queen mother, *Mafor* Awameshie, to rally and prepare the female folk of the village for war. Over a hundred female combatants, mostly postmenopausal women and a good number of pre-menopausal and middle aged women congregated along the footpath leading to the disputed area. They assembled in various guises with some putting on old clothing, while others were necked, barely covering their genitals with *nika*.²² The younger ones carried with them hoes as the war instrument, but the older ones did not need such since they considered their genitals to be a formidable weapon for the fight. As they progressed to the battle field, they acted as mobilisers. They sang and ululated loudly so as to be heard long before they passed by. As this was happening, they intersected the singing with statements like these; “let’s send Banjah to where they come from,” “our land must be for us,” “Banjah have declared war on us”. The mobilisation by these women got spontaneous responses from the local inhabitants of both villages. Since the men were prohibited from seeing women in such a mood, an incurable taboo, male warriors came out only after the women had filed pass beyond visible distance (Funteh and Gormo, 2009: 100).

At the battlefield, these women the *nika* in between their legs, tilted their naked buttock skywards toward the direction of their enemies, mesmerised certain words and throw it (*nika*) to them (*enemies*). It was generally believed that this procedure empowered the *nika* with extraordinary spiritual forces. The value of the *nika* among the Ngemba women during disputes is compared with the *funya* (a garden-like fruit) used by the *anlu* society

²⁰National Archives Buea (NAB), Ac/1, E.H.F. Gorges, Assessment Report on Kaka-Ntem Area, Bamenda Division, Cameroon Province, 1931, p. 16.

²¹ Interview with Peter Taku, 82 years, retired Mbem warrior, Mbem, 5 June 2009.

²²The *nika* was an article made from dry plantain leaves, often wrapped to form a ring and used mostly by women to support wood and heavy goods on their heads.

in Kom. This is in conformity with Fatton who says, African women have historically displayed their nakedness to show their anger and outrage at both public injustice and private male brutality or discrimination. During hostile situations, because, it is believed to possess enormous mysterious powers, they used it with other elements as a means of cursing an enemy. The punishment of seeing such and being shot by these elements ranged from diminishing a persons physical strength to grievous illness or even death (Faton: 67-88). So, when the Bamendankwe women exposed their sexual organs coupled with the throwing of the *nika* at their opponents during the war, the Banjah warriors who understood the profound spiritual and mystical powers behind and the cost of seeing these women's nakedness got scared off. But the "brave" ones who resisted were stoned with the *nika*, and according to Ndi, many of whom were stoned died after (Ndi, 2007: 70).

Magic- subjugation custom

As a matter of fact, the display of magic was also present after warfare particularly during the pre-colonial and colonial eras, aimed at maintaining the overpowered enemy at frailty. Among the Bamileke, Bamum and Banen chiefdoms for example, victory at war was followed by singing and dancing (victory dance, *jeng jeh* among the Yamba'), performed only by warriors who must have killed an enemy. Victory dances took place in the capital of the chiefdom, in the presence of the war council, and could last from one to two months. At the end, the *fon* rewarded the warriors accordingly; to those who brought a lower jaw of one of the enemies he gave a wife, and to those who had brought an enemy's skull he gave 15-20,000 cowries. Twice yearly, warriors were called together to the capital when special calabashes of *kakua*²³ (war

trophies) were assembled and special ceremonies performed to ensure success in future battles. On the *kakua*, charms purported to protect the warrior from vengeance of the dead enemy's spirit were hung. The *kakua* were placed in two long rows and sheep's blood splashed over the jaws attached to them. Palm wine was drunk only by those warriors who had once killed an enemy. This act protected them from the spirits of the dead men (Dellenbach, 1931: 82; Labouret, 1935: 128-129).

The value of the after-war magic was very present among the Yamba', Mbaw, Mfumte and Mbembe as well. Gorges posit that when a warrior slaughtered enemies, there was always the danger that their ghosts could seek vengeance. On returning to their villages, therefore, he visited magicians or medicine men who prepared him charms against the spirits of the men he killed. The charm consisted of blood of a cock, meat and various herbs; all cooked together. The warriors drank and poured some into the calabash he received from the medicine men. The calabash was jealously preserved and kept out of reach of women and children. Whenever the warriors fell ill, they poured palm wine into it and drank. He placed their victim's jaws on the calabash. If it was placed in front of the houses, it was believed be prevented thieves from entering (Labouret, 1935: 129). Nevertheless, paranatural forces were not only used in fighting and controlling enemies during and after wars, but also in bringing about peace through war defrayal diplomacy.

show to the sultan the ear of the enemy he had killed in the battle, but since ear decomposed, it was customary to show him the lower jaw instead. When two warriors jointly killed a man, one of them took the jaw and the other the skull. They exchanged their swords on the battle field as well, indicating that they assisted each other. When warriors returned to their villages, the magicians took possession of the jaws and bound them to the trophy (*kakua*). On certain *kakua*, was hung sheep's skull, which meant that the sultan and one of the warriors jointly killed the enemy. The sultan also had his own *kakua* on which he hung the jaws of the enemies his servants killed.

²³ Dellenbach gives the following account of trophy calabashes used by the Bamum in war magic. The calabashes were enclosed in a net work of rattan fibres and covered with a reddish-brown plaster; human mandibles were suspended from the rattan fibres. It was an old Bamum custom for a warrior to

Magic-conflict defrayal tradition

Diplomatic interactions amongst chiefdoms of the Cameroon Grassfields also took the form of exchange of gifts, as it was customary for chiefs to exchange gifts with their peers. These royal exchanges were a diplomatic move meant to normalise or strengthened friendly ties since a gift of valuable items from one chief to another demanded a reciprocal gesture when the occasion presented itself. This is what Christaud Geary calls “prestige exchange” between traditional chiefs (Geary, 1988: 23). In Bafut, for instance, this was done on behalf of the *fon* by the *Bukum* who carried the gifts in a royal or palace bag called *aba’nto*, to which was fastened a porcupine quill (Chilver and Kaberry, 1966: 11). The royal or “diplomatic” bag contained among other things rare and valuable items like ivory, cloth, salt, kola nuts, brass pipes, guns and gun powder, cam-wood, chevron beads, palm oil, royal carvings, palm wine, goats, caps, ornamented calabashes, stool, leopard pelts and slaves. This practice survived the colonial period.

In 1975, for instance, the *Fon* of Babungo sent stools and specially designed cow horns (cup) to the *Fon* of Baba I. On his part the former received traditional robes from the latter. Although the use of the palace-bag strategy helped in sustaining peace-time relations, it was also used by warring chiefdoms to end hostilities. So, when it was sent by a rival belligerent chief, it was interpreted as a hand of friendship and so hostility was ended. The value of the “prestige exchange” was minimised, especially during the post-colonial era with the growing strength of the money economy, modernism and human right campaigns by the government and civil societies.

Bungfang and Kidio believe that what convinced chiefs to abandon conflict was more or less the value of the peace gifts they received from their enemy chiefs. They posit that among the Ndop Plain villages, peace envoys could also

carry along palm wine, fowls, kola nuts or cowries to show a willingness to discuss peace. For instance, around 1800, Baba I and Babungo were at war over Mashasha piece of land that separated their borders. Since the Babungo proved stronger, Baba I requested for peace. It sent messengers with a white cock tied on a long bamboo to the *Fon* of Babungo. The white fowl stood for the restoration of a pure relation void of bloodshed, while the long bamboo meant that such desired relations was to be prolonged. The Babungo *Fon* did same in return and peace was restored between both chiefdoms (Bungfang, 2000: 18-19; Kidio, 1999: 30-31). But to other people, the gifts, in their own rights, were important but less influential without the magical substance applied on them. Among the Yamba’, Mesaje and Mbembe chiefdoms, a newly fabricated gong played the role of the fowl among the Baba I. It was with these objects that the enemy chief used to convince his war council to accept a ceasefire and to begin negotiation with the enemy. These chiefdoms, before presenting the gift to their enemies, applied the fresh juice from the African plum tree known as *ntügam* (pl. *ntügam’*) on the gong. This liquid was believed to contain mystical powers capable enough to lubricate and influence concurrence should strong disagreements occur during the peace talks.²⁴

The value of war-time peace was also promulgated by the female folk, especially those revered by the society. The *mabi*, (mother of twins or triplets), who occupied a prestigious position within this society was believed to have been endowed with supernatural or mystical powers that could be used to negotiate for peace. Amongst the Yamba’, in situations of conflict for instance, she intervened at the battle ground by carrying some mystical leaves on their lips (*lugchuwjeh*) and holding up high in her left hand the

²⁴National Archives Buea (NAB), Ac/7, R. Newton, An Intelligent Report on the on Mbaw, Mbem and Mfumte Native Court Areas of the Bamenda Division, 1936, p. 16.

fresh branch of the *nkeng*. At this juncture, because of her wailing, hostilities were stopped in order not to anger the ancestors. During hostilities, the battle front experienced the presence of many *mabis*, thus their wailing could easily be heard.²⁵ The hostilities between the Yang and Mfe, Mbem and Nwa, Gom and Rom of the 1960 decade were ended by the *mabis* (Funteh and Gormo, 2009: 100). The people's changing perspective about the powers of the *mabis*, with the advent of Christianity and formal education, rendered her role in peace making increasing ineffective although they are still respected. Generally speaking, the valorisation and practice of magic for war-related issues, especially in peace-pursued efforts have witnessed a decline among the chiefdoms of the area. As much as the society alienate from its unadulterated pre-colonial past, so too are the worth of its paranatural competence.

Conclusion

The forgoing analysis suggests that in the past, the magic culture was so advanced that it played a crucial role in warfare and peace building in the Grassfields of Cameroon. The issues of conflict and conflict resolution since the pre-colonial period among the Grassfields people of Cameroon were not new phenomena. In a region with over 150 independent villages of varying sizes and strengths, warfare was an inevitability. During the pre-colonial era, the migratory and implantation trend of the Grassfields chiefdoms was done amidst conflict, so too was their expansion. Most of the conflicts had their roots in competition over control of resources, land and people. The Fulbe raids across the region were other warfare-provoking occasions. From the colonial periods, when the colonial administration checked the raids, some of the inter-chiefdom offensive wars reemerged and many new ones occurred, caused in the main by controversy over boundaries. Combatants

have testified in favour of the common tradition to possess an inspiring element that drove them to and kept their interest at "confidence" during war situations. They maintain that the military might of a community was commensurate to its mystical applications, as a mystic was synonymous to victory. Before, during and after war, diplomats, war agents and combatants as a whole depended so much on the utilization of mysterious means to wage and fight war. Peace makers on their part also depended on magic to prevent war and/or settle conflicts when they occurred. Unfortunately, much of the cream of magic as a warfare and peace technique was lost to colonial and post-colonial values. The introduction of new approaches to warfare by the locals, public administration and civil societies, the advent of Christianity, and human rights stories eventually led to the gradual abandonment of magic as an inevitable ingredient of warfare and peace. Recent debates have arisen on the issue. Pro-magic scholars link the limitations of these new approaches in bringing about durable peace in the region to the disregard of magic. But anti-magic proponents limit the value of magic to petty traditional warfare, terming it inappropriate to modern conflicts. Meanwhile others see the combination of both mechanisms as fundamental instrument for peace as being worthwhile.

REFERENCES

- [1.] Awasom, S.Y. (2005), "Towards a Gendered Development Discourse in Africa: Visible Women, Invisible Men." Paper Presented for CODESRIA 11th General Assembly, Maputo, Mozambique.
- [2.] Bungfang, P. (2000), *Inter-Chiefdom Conflicts in the North West Province of Cameroon from 1889-1999. Colonial and Post Colonial Influences*, M.A. dissertation in History, University of Yaounde I.
- [3.] Chilver, E.M. (1966), *Zintgraff's Explorations in Bamenda, Adamawa*

²⁵Ibid., p. 10.

and the Benue Lands, 1889-1892, Buea, Government Press.

- [4.] Chilver, E.M. and Kaberry, P.M. (1966), *Traditional Bamenda, Pre-colonial History and Ethnography of the Bamenda Grassfields*, Buea, Government Printers.
- [5.] Dellenbach, M. (1931), "Une calabasse-trophées utilisée dans la magie guerrière chez les Bamoum." *L'Ethnographie*, no. 23-24, 1931.
- [6.] Dillon, R. (1973), *Ideology, Progress and Change in Pre-colonial Meta political organisation*, Michigan, Ann Arbor,.
- [7.] _____ (1980), "Violent Conflict in Meta Society," in *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 7, No. 4.
- [8.] Dunger, G. (1942), "The Magic of the Kakas of British Cameroons." *Baptist Herald* 22, January 1.
- [9.] Fanso, V.G. (1989), *Cameroon History for Secondary Schools and Colleges Vol. 1: From Prehistoric Times to the Nineteenth Century*, London and Basingstoke, Macmillan Education Ltd.
- [10.] Faton, R. (1992), "Africa in the Age of Democratisation: The Civic Limitation of Civil Society." *African Review*, 382.
- [11.] Fobizi, J. F. (1996), *Mankon-Bafut Relations, 1889-1901: From Bitter Enemies to Fraternal Allies*, Long essay in History, University of Buea, 1996.
- [12.] Funteh, M. B. (2005), *Non-Governmental Organisations in the Resolution of Conflicts in the North West Province of Cameroon 1990-2005*, D.E.A. Dissertation in History, University of Yaounde I.
- [13.] _____ (2003), *Missionary Contribution to and/or Modification of Yamba Pre-colonial Society 1914-2000*, MA dissertation in History, University of Yaounde I.
- [14.] Funteh, M. B. and Gormo, J. (2009), "Women, Conflict and Peace in the Grassfields of Cameroon," *Africana Studia, Sociedades Rurais Africanas (International Journal of African Studies)* no. 13.
- [15.] Geary, C. C. (1988), "Art and Political Process in the Kingdoms of Bali and Bamum (Cameroon Grassfields)." *CJAS/RCEA XXII*, I.
- [16.] Gebauer, P. (1964), *Spider Divination in Cameroon*, Milwaukee, North American Press, 1964.
- [17.] Johnson, E. (ed). (2009), *Women, Conflicts, and Rights*, Lagos, Maxis Publishers.
- [18.] Kaberry, P.K. (1950), "Land Tenure among the Nsaw of British Cameroon." *Africa*, xx, 4.
- [19.] Kidio, B. F. (1999), *Political Conflicts in Kom, North West Province of Cameroon 1951-1997: A Political History*, D.I.P.E.S. II dissertation, University of Yaounde I.
- [20.] Labouret, H. (1935). "L'écriture Bamum." *Togo-Cameroun*, avril-juillet.
- [21.] Lord, D. (2000), *Paying the Price: The Sierra Leone Peace Process*. London: Conciliation Resources.
- [22.] Magubane, B. (2006), *Oppression and Resistance in South Africa: Women Dynamism and Force*, Cape Town, Colin Books.
- [23.] Mair, L. (1978), *African Shrines*, Oxford, Claredon Press, 1978.
- [24.] McCulloch (1957), "The Tikar." In *People of the Central Cameroons*, London, I.A.I.
- [25.] Mieod, E.W.H. (1925), *Through the British Cameroons*, London, n.p.
- [26.] Ndi, R. (2007), *Women in Conflict in Mezam Division of Cameroon*, MA Dissertation in History, University of Yaounde I.
- [27.] Njuema, M. Z. (1978), *Fulani Hegemony in Yola (Old Adamwa) 1809-1902*, Yaoundé, CEPER.
- [28.] Nkwi, P. N. (1987), *Traditional Diplomacy: A Study of Inter-Chiefdom Relations in the*

Western Grassfields, North West Province of Cameroon, Yaounde, Department of Sociology, University of Yaounde.

- [29.] Schmidt, A. (1940), "Arbeit und Beruf im Leben der Eingeborenen von Nsei," *Kol. Rundschau*, xxxi.
- [30.] Sieber, J. (1935), "Aus dem sozialen leben der Nord Tikar." *Zeit-f. Ethnog*, lxxxvii, 5/6.
- [31.] Smith, R. (1976), *Warfare and Diplomacy in the Pre-colonial West Africa*, London, Methuen and Co. Ltd.
- [32.] Vansina, J. (1962), "A Comparison of African Kingdoms." *Africa* 32,
- [33.] Warner, J.P. (1980), "Trade Guns in the Grassfields of Cameroon." In *War: The Anthropology of Armed Conflict and Aggression*, M. Fried, M. Harris, and Murphy (eds.). New York: n.p.
- [34.] _____ (1975), *Pre-colonial Mankon: The Development of a Cameroon Chiefdom in its Regional Armed Conflict and Aggression*, Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- [35.] Archival data**
- [36.] National Archives Buea (NAB), Ab/3, E.G. Hawkesworth, Assessment Report on the Bamenda Division, 1926.
- [37.] National Archives Buea (NAB), Ac/1, E.H.F. Gorges, Assessment Report on Kaka-Ntem Area, Bamenda Division, Cameroon Province, 1931.
- [38.] National Archives Buea (NAB), AC/1, EHF Gorges, An Intelligence Report on the Kaka-Ntem Area of the Bamenda Division of the Cameroons Province, 1932.
- [39.] National Archives Buea (NAB), AC/4, FW Capenter, An Intelligence Report on the Kaka-Ntem Area of the Bamenda Division of the Cameroons Province, 1938.
- [40.] National Archives Buea (NAB), AC/7, H.N. Harcomt, An Intelligence Report on the Makka or Tasa Cult in the Bamenda Division of the Cameroons Province, 1938.
- [41.] National Archives Buea (NAB), Ac/7, R. Newton, An Intelligent Report on the on Mbaw, Mbem and Mfumte Native Court Areas of the Bamenda Division, 1936.
- [42.] National Archives Buea (NAB), Cb/1, Bamenda Division, Bamenda District (including Kentu) Report on Miscellaneous, 1916.
- [43.] National Archives Buea (NAB), W.M. Bridges, Reassessment Report on Bansa District, Bamenda Division of the Cameroons Province, 1934.
- [44.] Nwa District Administrative Archives (NDAA), ANW 141, Administration Nwa: Minutes and Yamba Agenda of Clan Council, 1975.
- [45.] Interviews**
- [46.] Binda, Jonathan, 52 years, Prince of the Ngong, Ngong, 12 February 2009.
- [47.] Lacfeh, Daniel, 76 years, Warrior of Ngong, Ngong, 12 February 2009.
- [48.] Ngweim, Samuel, 58 years, Chief of Mbem, Mbem, 12 June 2007.
- [49.] Shey, Daniel Abu, 72, warrior of Ntumbe, Ntumbe, 16 March 2009
- [50.] Taku, Peter 82 years, retired Mbem warrior, Mbem, 5 June 2009.
- [51.] Voh, B.K., Chief of Nwa, 61 years, Nwa, 30 June 2008.
- [52.] Yakong Jonathan, 80 years, warrior of Mbem, Mbem, 29 June 2008.
- [53.] Yekoh, David, 60 years, diviner in Nwa, Nwa, 28 June 2007.