

HISTORICAL RESEARCH
IN BAMENDA DIVISION

Social anthropologist Phyllis Kaberry and historian Mrs. E. M. Chilver, both British, had made research in Bamenda, Wum and Nkambe in West Cameroon. They had been inquiring into the history and traditional organizations of the Bamenda Chiefdoms; some of their material has already been published and they hope to publish more. Their inquiry was of a scientific and educational nature and had no connection with politics.

Both scholars recognise the fact that two people cannot hope to cover all the features of one chiefdom, let alone the history and political organization of all the chiefdoms of Bamenda. In obtaining material for their study, the team of Kaberry and Chilver is indebted to hundreds of people without whose co-operation their work could have ended in fiasco.

They feel, however, that their findings are just a beginning and they are convinced that it can only be regarded as partially successful if it did not lead to further work by local Cameroonian students on their own history and society. To this end, they have appended hereunder a questionnaire which deals with a part of their inquiry. They have chosen to send this section because it is a matter of urgency to recover everything that can be known about the traditional constitutions of the Bamenda Chiefdoms from old men who remember how these systems worked, and who may themselves have played a part in Chiefdom governments. This conviction is based upon the belief that the modern world has something to learn from the experience of the past, and that a sense of Cameroonian nationality must be based upon the sympathetic understanding of the Cameroonian contribution to the world stock of social and political ideas.

It is apparent that a valid picture of traditional constitutions as they were working before the entry of Europeans can still be obtained if the right methods are applied and information is carefully cross-checked. By cross-checking is meant the obtaining of accounts of the working of one institution, e. g. *manjang* from different informants.

In the cross-checking process, there is bound to be some discrepancies in the evidence obtained; but this is not to be wondered at as constitutions lack certainty at some points. But it is important to record all variations because these will throw light on the working out of general principles as new situations arise. Information on earlier periods should be obtained by the same methods, though the absence of eyewitness accounts and documentary evidence makes it impossible to fit such information into a strict chronological framework.

In order to fit chronology into information obtained on earlier periods, one should try to associate it with reigns of chiefs, graves of family heads, arrival

and departure from particular sites, and natural occurrences such as eclipses of the sun, floods, earthquakes, major epidemics such as small-pox, locusts plagues and so on. If possible, events or reigns in the chiefdoms should be related to major events in neighboring chiefdoms and also to their reigning chiefs.

It should be born in mind in recording information that it is a natural human tendency to associate major events and changes (which may have been strung out over a long time) with the lifetime of one great man, and to confuse one particular disaster, such as a foreign invasion, with others of the same kind; e.g. the confusion between Chamba, Fulani and other raids from the directions of Banyo, Bamum, Gashaka and Takum.

For remoter history, actual objects are often best evidence of dates, e.g. sites of former capitals, war trenches and chieftom treasures such as ancient gongs, spears, carvings and so on. Ancient sites and objects found in the course of farm clearance or road making should be reported, with full details about their location, to the Department of Antiquities. If these objects are destroyed or badly disturbed, historical evidence will be irretrievably lost. Local historians and teachers are urged to record their own family traditions, including the names of those who have held office, founded societies and so on. Family genealogies should be recorded and Kaberry and Chilver have provided some notes, which are reproduced at the end of this report, on the methods of recording genealogies.

In order to help those who are interested in local history, Kaberry and Chilver are prepared to add to any information they receive, relevant information from their own notes and from documentary sources — English, French and German. Furthermore, they are willing to provide editorial assistance from which a number of typed copies would be sent back to the donor for his personal use. They are also willing to provide information to local history societies about printers and costs in the United Kingdom.

Local history societies are reminded that their publications whether printed or cyclostyled are of the greatest interest to a wide circle of scholars overseas, and that it would be a good idea to send a copy to such institutions as the Buea Archives, Buea, West Cameroon; Institut de Recherches Scientifiques du Cameroun, B. P. 193, Yaoundé, Cameroun; The International African Institute (St. Dunstan Chambers, 11-10, Fetter Lane, London, E.C. 4., England); and the Royal Anthropological Institute, (21, Bedford Square, London, W.C. 1) where scholars of all nations can consult them.

Those who will respond to the call that Kaberry and Chilver have made are assured that the information they will provide will be subject to the international rules accepted by historians and scientists. The rules are as follows:

1. All information marked **CONFIDENTIAL** is **not** published. Its value to the enquirer is to check his own information and enlarge his understanding of events and institutions.
2. Non-confidential information collected in the course of inquiry may be published providing the writer acknowledges the donor.
3. Quotations from unpublished manuscripts of research workers — local

or visiting — should not be published or distributed without the writer's consent. Once this is given, the usual form is to acknowledge in the text or in a footnote.

4. Where published material is used or quoted, a reference to it should be made in a footnote or at the end of the manuscript.
5. In general, all scholarly publications should show what methods of inquiry were used, how, when, and from whom the information was obtained, and how certain the author feels about its reliability.

For those who will respond to the request that is made in this document, and it is hoped there will be many, they should address their information to either of the following addresses:

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NOTES AND QUERIES

FOR HISTORICAL RESEARCH IN BAMBENDA REGION

All terms and names to be given in the local language, and if possible in Basel Mission orthography, with high tones indicated by the sign (').

All information collected should be dated and accompanied by the name (or code name) and details of the informant (e.g. apparent age, rank, lineage), and wherever possible cross-checked with others. Variant or contradictory information to be retained. Persons referred to should be described by title, personal name — if this does not involve breach of etiquette — rank, clan or lineage, and social category (e.g. prince, distant royal, retainer, palace steward, head of commoner lineage, etc.).

Informants should be asked their source of information, (e.g. whether drawn from own experience, whether heard from father, mother's father, lineage head, priest, etc.) where possible the investigator should take down the genealogy of his informant.

1. (a) Social categories — Is the population of the chiefdom divided in local estimation into particular categories — for example, those connected with the royal house, and those regarded as the 'owners of the land'; or into groups historically associated with the chiefdom in different ways, e.g. Ba'ni and Ba'Nten in Bali; **wento** and **duiy** (royals), **mar** (commoners) and **nshilafsi** (chindas or retainers) in Nso.

Are any privileges associated with these groups, e. g. retention of leopard-skins by *ntar afa* (commoner lords) as in Nso? Do their representatives play any distinctive part in national ceremonial?

(b) Legends of origin of royal dynasty; variant versions to be recorded.

2. Origin of clans and lineages — When they "met the fon"; where they came from; settlement history, (important to try to identify location of former settlements).

3. List of chiefs since foundation, if possible — Check number of royal graves; note where chiefs are buried, if there are changes in royal cemeteries. Note events associated with each reign, mode of death of chief (of old age, illness, in battle).

If possible collect genealogies of more recent generations of chiefs, showing whether son, brother, etc., of predecessor, mother's names and family origins, etc. See notes on last page.

4. (a) Genealogies of clan heads (by clan we mean major "families" in a chiefdom (not tribes), tracing descent in the male line or female line from a single ancestor or sharing a common head — e. g. the Ndzendze, Doh or Ngamansa clans of Nso).

(b) Genealogies of lineage heads (important branches of clans, with their own sacrificial stones) and where buried.

Check number of graves of clan or lineage heads.

Record all versions of origin given by different branches. Check whether sacrificial stones or graves have been moved to newer settlements.

5. Installation of recent chiefs before or after certain events, e. g. arrival of Zintgraff (1889), Bamenda station founded (January 1902), Pavel's march through Bamenda to Banyo (December 1901 — January 1902), punitive expeditions (e. g. Bikom 1905, Nso 1906), arrival of the Sittard (R. C.) father in Kumbo (31st December 1912), arrival of British forces in Bamenda (October 1915), influenza epidemic (1918-19) assessment tours of D. O. (e. g. Hunt, Hawkesworth ("Houseboy"), locusts (1929-31). Give dates where available, and length of reign.

6. Installation of recent clan and lineage heads: details as for (5).

7. Chieftainship. Terms for chief and sub-chief. Type of succession: whether patrilineal (inherited in the male or father's line) or matrilineal (inherited in the female or mother's line). If succession is patrilineal, may a man succeed his brother, or is there a law that only a son may succeed? In matrilineal succession, may a man succeed his brother, or must the title go to a sister's son of the dead chief? Is it a rule that only a man born while his father was chief succeeds (i. e. "leopard-skin succession")?

8. Constitutional restrictions on conduct of chief — I. e. formal sanctions (sanctions or formal reproof by Kwifon, ya, councillors, manjong, women's societies, etc.).

9. Is there a traditional constituted council of state? (If so, terms for council and councillors. What is the ideal number of councillors (e. g. 5, 7 or 9 etc.)? What is the actual number? Are any relatively new creations? Why created (e. g. reward for services, representation of powerful lineages or districts). What are the titles of councillors (not personal names). Is there a senior councillor, what titles? How many councillors are of royal family and which? How many non-royal and which, and what are their clans? Do other persons who are not councillors participate in council, e. g. ex-officio offices, *aya*, etc.

10. Is the office of traditional councillor hereditary? If so, does the lineage select the councillor; or does the lineage select him, subject to the chief's or to kwifon's consent; or does the chief alone or kwifon alone select him? Or is the office of traditional councillor appointive; that is, does the chief or kwifon or both select any man of merit irrespective of lineage or family? Are some councillors hereditary, and some appointive? Which? What is the normal seating arrangement in traditional council? Give plan, with titles in normal order of precedence. May the chief alter the order of precedence?

11. What was its usual meeting-place? What are the functions of the council? Political advice? Advice on appointments? Administrative functions? Do any members act as "fathers of the road" (*atarde, tedmanli*)? Act as judges (what type of case)? Act as priests? Assist in royal sacrifices?

12. What is the local term for regulatory society (e. g. kwifon, ngwerong, tfo, etc.)? Is there only one in the country? Are princes in the male line excluded from it? How are members recruited (e. g. twins, hereditary classes, descendants of captives, by gift of family heads, from descendants of princesses, etc.)? If by virtue of inherited status or distant relationship to royal house, state rules.

What is term for executive heads of kwifon? How are they chosen?

What is term for ordinary members (*hindsa*)?

Does it have judicial functions (what cases)? Or does it have police functions only? Can it act independently of the chief? Does it have ritual functions, e. g. at funeral ceremonies or perform sacrifices for the country?

What are these functions?

Does it have economic functions, e. g. market regulation, organization of public works?

What are its special instruments and sacred objects, e. g. double-gongs, masks, leather jerkin with bells, drums, mouth-whistles, spears with rattles, etc. (give terms). What is the tradition of origin; was it acquired from elsewhere?

Is there an inner college of the regulating society meeting privately? (Term, e. g. *ye-ngwerong* for Nso). If so, how is the inner college recruited? Do those wishing to join have to make gifts? What and to whom? Has

is a head and other executives and how are they chosen? Has it any special functions, or special instruments which only its members may see? Do some title-holders, e. g. councillors, automatically belong? Is there any special internal organization or ranking in the regulatory society as a whole, e. g. two 'sides', junior and senior ranks? On what occasions do members cover their faces?

13. What was the traditional military organization? Was it of the **Manjong** type? Was it based on territorial lodges? Was it divided into sides (e. g. Gham and Baa as in Nso)? Was there any special group (or groups) of warriors chosen for skill or courage (e. g. **ndanji** in Bali)? Was there a spy corps (e. g. **gwe** in Bali)?

What were the senior officers or lodges called, and the senior national officers, (e. g. **momi**, **tamfu**, etc.)? Were the national officers in charge of the lodges at the capital?

What societies were the main military lodges affiliated to (e. g. **Mfu**, **jwim**, **nshoro**, etc.)? Is anything known of their origin (cf. **mfu**, **jwim**, etc.)? Where from, and who introduced them? To whom were the military lodges open? What were the conditions of entry? Did the lodges have any special instruments or sacred objects, e. g. callabashes with jawbones, or bull-roebers? What was their function in hunting? Did they perform other public functions, e. g. supervision of public works? Did they dance on public occasions?

How was discipline kept in the lodge? Could a visitor from another lodge enter?

Was there a boy's hunting society under its auspices?

What were the fighting tactics and military armament? Did the introduction of guns affect warfare? Are there special arrangements for the storage and distribution of guns or powder? Were military dances of a **Lala** or **Maleri** type introduced? Which and when? Was there a national flag? In whose keeping?

14. Is there a society reserved for princes and other royals, e. g. **nggiri** in Nso? Does it have an inner college? How did the society originate? How are members recruited? What are the titles of its officers and how are they appointed? What are its functions? Does it have any public functions or jurisdiction? What are its special instruments etc?

15. What is the term for members of the royal family? Are there different terms for 'children of the palace' and for more distant royal kin? Are there special royal advisers, e. g. titled 'brothers' (like **Moma** in **Bafut**)? How are they chosen? Are there royal priests and cult-officers, like **Fal Tawong** in Nso? Do princes play any part in military affairs? Do they tend to be excluded from political affairs if not given adviser titles? What person or persons were in charge of marriage of princesses, and of sacrifices on behalf of the health of royal children? Are any titles reserved to chief's sister's sons and their issue? Or to

chief's mother's kinsmen? How and when are such appointed? Is there a titled person in charge of princes? Do princes have titles as controllers of the palace or wardens of the royal treasures? Where do princes, titled or untitled, normally reside? Do princes become ward-heads ('quarter-heads') or village heads?

Are any special titles held by princesses? What are the rules of succession and appointment to these? What are their functions? Are they subject to special marriage rules? Are they honoured by special mourning rites or other special etiquette? Do princesses without special titles have any privileges and duties?

16. What is the term for palace (e. g. **mtok**)? What is the layout (rough plan, showing names and uses of different parts, and who occupies different quarters)?

What is the term for palace steward, what titles do they hold, and how many are there? What is their status (e. g. do they belong to hereditary **nshilaf** lineage as in Nso?) and how are they chosen? Do they have functions as intermediaries? In connection with the royal household and property? Rituals? What is the local term for an ordinary retainer (**chinda**) in the palace? Have they lesser titles pertaining to their office? What is their status, and how are they chosen? Is there any distinction between attendants (**pages**) on the chief and other palace staff? Are there any titles for pages and are these ranked in any way? Is there any other division or ranking of palace personnel?

17. Is there a Queen-Mother title (or several)? Is the Queen-Mother(s) the real or titular mother of the chief? What are exact relationships to chief? What are the functions, duties and privileges of Queen-Mothers? How are they chosen? Should one die in office be replaced? Is any special etiquette shown to them?

(In all above topics relating to offices and titles, collect lists of offices and title-holders and by which chief they were 'held'.)

18. Royal wives: term for. How are they recruited? Are predecessor's wives inherited? What are the senior titles and the duties attaching to them? Are junior wives put under the care of senior wives ('bevy organization')? Was adultery with a royal wife viewed as treason, or an "offense against the earth", and how punished?
19. How, given the general rules of chiefly succession, is the heir selected? By verbal testament? By selection by succession council? If so, how is succession council composed? Does anybody (e. g. titled woman) occupy the throne between the death and succession of a chief?
20. Installation of chief: a full sequence of events will throw light on constitutional principles, and should be collected from surviving eyewitnesses. Special topics: officers concerned with entombment, period and place of seclusion. Type of medication, seeing of sacred things, presentation to people, role of other chiefs, national and inter-state features of accession celebrations, regalia, choice of throne-name.

Record here also appointments made at beginning of reign of royal prince, advisers, non-royal advisers, royal priests and priestesses, queen-mothers, pages, etc., and also which titles and offices (which are appointive and not hereditary) are continued from last reign.

21. Royal ancestor-cult : term for royal shrine or cemetery. Who are the officiants, priests, and shrine servants ? Who may participate in royal cult ? What type of grave-shrine is involved (whole burial, commemorative stone, commemorative cup, skull, etc.) ? What is the sacrificial cycle ? Are occasional sacrifices made ? In times of sickness, etc. ? What is nature of offerings ?
 22. Burial of chief : see (20). How is death announced nationally and at other states ? Who are the officiants — preparers of corpse, grave-diggers and grave preparers, sacrificers, etc. ? What is national mourning period and what are the observances ?
 23. Other cults of God and Earth : — National shrines (Nso Kirö ke Nyoil) officiants, sacrificial cycle and type of offerings ; traditions connected with national shrines.
Local shrines, officiants, sacrificial cycle and offerings and connected traditions.
 24. Hunting sacrifices : — shrines, officiants, cycle, offerings and traditions of origin.
 25. National cults for expulsion of evil (Nso, ntamer, Ntem, Songkhö) Officiants purposes. Is cult held in family line ? Where did it originate ?
 26. Other cults (e. g. water spirits), as above.
(In all inquiries relating to cults, inquire who beneficiaries of intercession are — country as a whole, smaller groups, family — and collect sacrificial formulas, i. e. prayers).
 27. Divination, weather-magic : Is divination used for state purposes ? Who are officiants, how recruited, what purposes are served ? What type of divination (e. g. trap-door spider, seeds, kola parings, etc.) is in common use ?
Is weather-magic (e. g. control of rain and lightning) under royal control or practised freely ? Does chief have his own experts ? Are particular families renowned for weather-magic ?
 28. Territorial divisions and their heads : terms where applicable :
 - country
 - capital
 - palace-quarter
 - sub-chiefdom
 - district (give list if possible indicating which are modern creations for tax-purposes)
 - village
 - ward (section of a village)
 - compound
 - house
- DOCUMENTS
29. Are there any title-holders or persons who act as intermediaries (i. e. as go-betweens or liaison-officers) ?
 - a. living at the palace : number and titles and work -
 - i. do they report to the chief the presence of visitors and their business or introduce them to the chief ?
 - ii. act as hostellers for important visitors (i. e. give them food and shelter) ?
 - iii. act as spokesmen for the chief on certain occasions ?
 - iv. are responsible for visiting certain districts in the chieftaindom and making reports to the chief ?
 - b. living in different parts of the chieftaindom : number and titles and work and how appointed ?
 - i. Do they act as liaison officers and bring reports to the capital ?
 - ii. Are they concerned with the reporting and escort, etc., of visitors from particular directions, i. e. other chieftaindoms to the north, south east or west, etc. ?
 - c. Do persons in either of these categories (at the capital or outside) perform diplomatic functions in regard to other chieftaindoms ? Collect instances of particular negotiations.
 30. Tribute and Public Works : — Who were under obligation to maintain the royal palace and what were the organizing agencies ?
The same for cleaning roads, paths and bridges.
The same for royal farms.
The same for royal raffia and other plantations.
The same for dry-season royal hunts, or fishing.
What tributes were received in kind by the chief, from whom, and how were they regulated ? Were traders or craftsmen expected to make presentations ?
 31. Royal perquisites : — Were any goods (e. g. blue and white stencilled cloth, ivory, some kinds of beads) originally reserved to the chief or persons permitted to use them by him ?
What game, e. g. leopards, elephant, buffalo, were reserved to the chief ?
Could any persons receive any part of the leopard ?
Was ownerless property or stock the chief's property ?
Could the chief requisition supplies ? How was this done ?
Did the market come under royal control ? To what extent ?
Was the kibam ntok (Fon's bag) given to persons other than the chief's own staff ? If so, under what conditions ?
What were the chief's rights to war-b booty and captives ?
Did he have any control of particular natural resources ?
 32. Kinship groups : — Is there a term for clan and for lineage ?
Are clans localized, or dispersed ? Do they have connections with clans of the same name elsewhere ?

Is there a term for clan-head? How is he appointed? What are his functions, e. g. as regards sacrifices?

Is there a term for lineage-head? How is he appointed, and what are his functions as regards:

- land and sylvan resources;
- other property;
- sacrificial functions and ceremonial;
- summary justice or arbitration;
- control of marriages?

Do clan and lineage heads have a founder-name (e. g. Nso, **menkfem**) by which they are addressed by the chief? If possible give list of clans and such names.

33. Interstate relations: — Terms for (and cases of) military alliances, and pacts of friendship; obligations thereunder and how concluded.

Nature and cases of intermarriage between royal houses.

Organization and procedure of royal exchange of gifts.

Interstate ritual obligations, if any, e. g. sacrifices for neighbouring dead chiefs.

34. Societies other than those already referred to (e. g. 12, 13, 14)?

Origins? How are rights to start societies obtained? Methods of recruitment, officers or owners, functions, connections, if any, with state societies — refer especially to women's societies, in palace and outside.

Minor royal societies;

Samba-type societies;

Kikum-type societies.

Under what circumstances are royal insignia (carvings on doors, drums, wine-jars, etc.) given to them?

35. What opportunities are there to gain awards, emblems, or praise titles in war or for other public services? Give examples, with origin of award.

36. If administration of justice has not been properly covered by previous topics, reconsider here in relation to:

- land boundary and trespass cases
- divorce and custody of children
- brideprice, adultery
- succession disputes — compound headships, lineage and clan headships
- accusations of witchcraft
- minor theft
- persistent theft
- wounding
- murder or manslaughter
- refusal to obey legitimate orders
- violation of secrets of state-societies.

Are distinctions made between types of offences, e. g. offences against God, or against Earth, or chief, or ancestors or men. Give terms. Who composes court in such cases and how is judgement executed? If hearing fees and fines were paid, how were they divided among the judges?

37. Craft organization: is there any guild or **jengi** of craftsmen (smiths, smiths, weavers, etc.)?

How do members join it? Who are its officers, how chosen?

What are their functions, how are they rewarded for their services?

What is the origin of the guild or **jengi**? Does it stand in any special relationship to the chief? Did they trade their own products inside and outside the country?

38. Carvers and carvings: were carvers a restricted class of persons, or might any man carve? Are there especially famous ones? What works of art are they responsible for? Describe. Were they employed regularly by the chief? Were carvings imported? Exported? Where from and to?

What persons might have carved door surrounds, carved stools, carved (and beaded) figures, and how was the right acquired?

By whom were society masks carved, and did any special ritual accompany their manufacture? Are special types of mask (e. g. bushow (buffalo) masks, human masks with puffed cheeks, elephant masks of wood, beaded elephant masks, etc.) associated with particular societies? What are the names of the masks and is there any tradition of origin? Do any represent historical or legendary personages?

Are any carved objects associated with the removal of evil influences? Are any carved figures associated with national cults?

Are any carved figures associated with national cults? Do representation (in any material) of earlier chiefs survive? In what circumstances were they used, at what festivals, etc. (describe fully).

Are any woodcarving themes or patterns (e. g. spiders, crouched leopards, buffalo heads) reserved to the chief or persons with the special privilege? Name themes or patterns.

What woods are preferred for carving?

What carving tools were traditionally used?

What carved objects (figures, stools, camwood mixers, couches, etc.) would be found in a rich man's house? Describe.

39. Pottery, brassware, cloth and beadwork, etc.
Is pottery made locally? Imported? From where?
Are all types of pottery a woman's occupation, e. g. pipes and relish pots? If not, who makes them?
If techniques other than the coil-method are used, describe.
How are black wares made? How is varnish applied to pipes? Are there any especially good local sources of clay? Are pottery remains of

previous inhabitants found? Are these different in style or make from present pottery? Describe.

Are pots chiefly marketed by women? May anyone have carved clay pipes? What is the significance of the carvings on pipes? Have they always been used to smoke tobacco, or is there any tradition of smoking other herbs?

Is brassware by the lost-wax method made locally, or only by Bamum, Bagham or Tikar immigrants? Are there any traditions about the origins of this industry, the source of copper, and the pattern and styles? From where in the past were brass pipes chiefly imported? What local significance is attached to brass masks and other brassware, for example, bells, anklets, etc?

Is there a tradition of local weaving in pre-European times? Was this narrow-loom cotton weaving? Is there any tradition of former clothing styles, e.g. sewn strips, barkcloth, etc?

What were the earliest types of imported cloth to reach the country? From which direction? What distinctions are made locally between different types of stencilled cloths ("Wukari" or "Bikom" or "Munshi" cloth), and was their use formerly restricted to men of rank? Have blue-and-white stencilled cloths any special ceremonial uses, e.g. lining graves, for dance outfits, lining chief's dais, etc? Is embroidery or applied cloth used in ceremonial dress as a special distinction? Who grants it and how is it acquired? Were caps used as a mark of distinction or membership of societies? Describe.

Was beadwork done locally or imported? By any special class of person, e.g. royal wives? Describe main types of beadwork (covering for figures and stools, masks, calabashes, fly-whisk handles, headbands and aprons, etc). Did any have special significance? Are there named patterns?

Were featherwork caps made locally or imported? By any special class of person, describe different types and uses, and whether worn by (special persons or classes of person?)

Was Ivory carving done locally or were bangles, drinking horns, trumpets etc., imported? Who might have or wear ivory objects? Were royal ivory trumpets a new fashion? If so, introduced from where?

40. Are there different building styles in the country? Describe with reference to ground plan, elevation, roof type, style of lactice, etc. Are these associated with different groups? Are special styles of building associated with royal buildings, shrines, society lodges, etc? Special attention to be paid to pebble floors and pavements, inset carved stones or monoliths, stone platforms, and other uses of stone.

41. Imported goods: guns - is there any tradition about the reign in which they were introduced? Can a description or drawing be given of the firing-mechanism and trade-marks on the plate? From which direction were they imported?

Beads: describe beads which are specially valued (round, barrel, cylinder,

cube) giving approximate length between perforations, colour, whether transparent, semi-transparent or opaque, local name, direction of import, and uses (e.g. whether restricted to men of rank, used in slave or ivory trade).

Did any special value attach to, e.g. chevron beads (red, white and blue or green barrel beads with white zigzags at ends) or whitish transparent beads, or blue cylinder beads? If possible draw to scale.

What types of salt were imported and from which direction?

All possible information on datable imports (and who acquired them) — e.g. jugs, tankards, glass drinking horns, dishes, snuffboxes, copper basins, silverware, ceremonial weapons — should be collected.

42. Early currencies — what were these in broad order of time, e.g. did cowries precede brass-roads or manillas?

Were there different currencies for local trade (e.g. shovels, iron rings), and long distance trade (e.g. cowries, beads)? Are different currencies associated with different groups or markets? Were only white cowries in circulation, or did the larger blue ones enter trade? Were cowries handled in any particular way e.g. strings of a conventional number?

43. What were the main local markets frequented by strangers and what was exchanged? When did the markets originate? What were the main outside markets frequented by local traders and what was exchanged? When did these markets originate?

What protection was given locally to foreign traders? Who kept the peace in the markets? What was the punishment for breaking the peace? Might any man start a market or was the chief's permission required? Did chiefs close markets? Give instances and reasons.

44. Prepare calendar of weekly and annual cycle of activities (e.g. society meeting days, market days, rest days — divisions of year, when main ceremonies or sacrifices occur). Are there any methods, e.g. recitations, tally-sticks, notches, praise titles for recalling the past? Is there any one at the palace responsible for remembering royal genealogies and important events?

45. Are historical events referred to in ceremonial songs and dances? Give texts.

Are different languages used on special occasions (e.g. *mfu danks*)? What are they supposed to be or mean?

46. Were towns and villages fortified, by what methods and against whom? With which reigns are particular ditches, etc., associated? Did Baranyam raids lead to special defence measures? In what reigns (or during what compound headships) did these occur? How were the more recent invaders armed? Are there trenches, ditches and ruins associated with earlier inhabitants? Where? What is known of them?

47. What languages and dialects are spoken in the country? Are the dialects understood by the speakers of the main language? (If possible collect comparable word-lists and show language distribution on sketch map).

48. Crops : vocabulary for all important crops. Which crops are relatively new introductions, from what direction?
Are certain crops no longer grown?
What crops are used in sacrifices?
Is maize one of the earliest crops in all groups?
49. If certain smaller groups have (or had) different rules of succession and this has not emerged in clan etc. questions, state who they are and what rules of succession apply. This also applies to marriage rules, and different methods of customary burial.

TERMINOLOGY

We suggest that, in order to compare your results and avoid misunderstandings, you should adopt common terms.

Territorial Organization. In the past a slang has grown up in local and native administration which has led to a good deal of confusion. For example there is a confusion between "quarters" which are in fact real villages, and quarters which are sections of a village or urban area for tax purposes. In referring to modern conditions, one may refer to the latter as 'tax quarters'.

In describing the traditional territorial organization we suggest that compact settlements should be termed VILLAGES; outlying settlements dependent on villages are HAMLETS. Where a village was divided into named sections under recognised heads, the sections should be referred to as WARDS, e. g. Buti, Tikali, Bomonto in Bali could be described as wards; Veka'akwi, Mamu, and Mlwe in Kimbo are wards. In any case of difficulty it is best to use the vernacular term. In the case of ward-heads, etc., always use the vernacular term.

Where in a large chiefdom a number of wards or a number of neighbouring villages are grouped together under a common name for public work or other purposes, the term DISTRICT is applicable. Where villages which are not contiguous but are nevertheless grouped for such purposes, the unit can be referred to as a SECTOR.

The word TOWN should generally be avoided except for very large settlements with 5000 inhabitants or over which are also large commercial centres, e. g. Bamenda Station. By COMPOUND we mean a group of houses, usually centred on a courtyard, under a senior man or family head.

Titles and Offices. In dealing with titles, ranks and offices, it is best in most cases not to use the nearest English terms, as these can be greatly misleading. A clear distinction should be made between a man's hereditary title or appointive title and his personal name. Where an individual has two or more titles, all should be given and their nature explained.

Let us take an example. Mr. X is the senior officer with the title of Mfomi in the Mfu society in a village. He may also be known as Shey in his capacity as family head, and as Mr. John X as a well known trader. In referring to him all names should be given on first mention. When referring to all the men who have been the senior officers of this Mfu society they may be described as MFOMI I, II or III or IV, as the case may be, but other names which will identify them should also be given.

Kinship terminology. The term CLAN should not be used for the people of a whole chiefdom or tribe, as has sometimes been done in government reports. Strictly the term should be reserved for groups of individuals who trace descent through males (patrilineal clan), or through females (matrilineal clan). A branch or division of a clan where genealogical relationships can be traced is a LINEAGE (patrilinal or matrilineal).

Not all chiefdoms have clans (e. g. Bali), but they may have lineages, where descent is traced from an ancestor some 3 or 4 generations back. In other chiefdoms again, there may be no cult of the ancestors, but title and property may be inherited in the male line or female line. In this case one may speak of patrilineal or matrilineal inheritance.

When a man, his sons and their children live together in a compound and/or cooperate for various tasks or ceremonies, one speaks of an EXTENDED FAMILY.

The word FAMILY should be kept for a man, his wife (or wives) and children.

Relationships. In the main text care should be taken to indicate relationships precisely. For instance, avoid the use of the term "uncle" and use instead "father's brother" or "mother's brothers", as the case may be. Similarly, instead of "aunt", say "father's sister" or "mother's sister"; and instead of "nephew" say "sister's son" "brother's son". For grand-parents indicate whether "father's mother", or "mother's mother", "mother's father", or "father's father" is meant, and similarly with grandchild.

The term "brother" is commonly used to indicate not only full brothers (that is, brothers with the same father and mother) but also half-brothers (one parent in common), cousins (such as the children of two sisters or of a sister and her brother), or any clan relative of about the same age. It is important to indicate the exact relationship.

The Collection of Genealogies. In recording genealogical tables it is convenient to write the names of males in capital letters, e. g. JOHN and those of females in ordinary writing e. g. Mary. The following symbols are recommended: triangles for males, circles for females. In the case of a dead person, the triangle or circle can be blacked in.

The relationship between full siblings (brothers and/or sisters by the same parents) should be indicated by a horizontal line; a vertical line indicates descent. In the case of half-brothers, or half-brother and sister, separate vertical (descent) lines show relationship to the parents concerned. Where exact relationship between persons commonly regarded as brothers is not known, a broken horizontal line can be used.

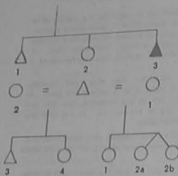
When a descent line has to cross a sibling line, a loop can be made (see chart over-leaf).

It is customary to indicate marriage by the symbol \equiv .

Where possible indicate under each name the clan or lineage of the person concerned, name of village, and title or office, if any. Indicate by numbers successive title or office-holders.

A specimen Chief's genealogy follows.

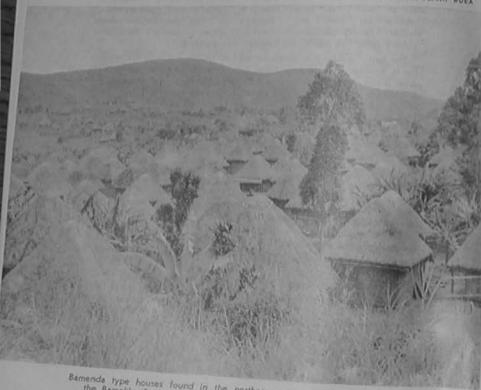
GENEALOGICAL SYMBOLS



Full brothers and sisters.
The third-born, a male, is dead. (d. = died)

Half-siblings by different mothers — 1, 2a, 2b, 3 and 4. 2a and 2b are twins. Note sign used.

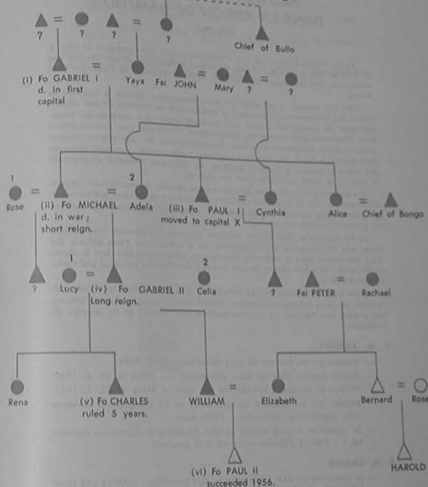
PHOTO. INFOCAM, BUEA



Bemenda type houses found in the northern parts of West Cameroon and the Bamelike Region of East Cameroon. Mud walls and grass roofs.

SPECIMEN GENEALOGY

Chiefdom of Kongkong



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E. M. CHILVER

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