

**FULBE MOVEMENT INTO
SOUTHWESTERN ADAMAWA
FROM 1835 TO THE PRESENT**

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Abstract

Research on the FulBe pastoralists of Nigeria has tended to concentrate on groups based in the semi-arid zone. However, since 1960, there has been a major expansion of the FulBe groups resident in the Nigerian sub-humid zone. The paper traces the movement of these groups into the Gongola State and shows the social and organisational changes that have followed from it.

The argument of the paper is that the same pressures that pushed FulBe in Cameroon to colonise the high-altitude grasslands were at work in Nigeria. The movement into the Jos Plateau was followed by expansion into the Mambila, Shebshi, Fali and Falinga grasslands, with serious consequences for the environment, as well as conflict with the indigenous arable farmers. The overgrazing of the plateaux has driven herders to spend an increasing fraction of the year in the Benue flood plain and the lowland forests. This has become possible because of the parallel movement of cultivators, particularly Mumuye and Tiv, into these same areas, leading to increased pressure and a consequent disappearance of tsetse vectors.

A consequence of this is that FulBe lineage systems in the Benue lowlands have become extremely fragmented as many groups send 'pioneers' to explore the potential of these new grazing lands. Similarly, the authority of traditional rulers, the ardos has broken down and has not been replaced by national structures.

1. *Introduction*

1.1 *General Considerations*

Compared with Cameroun, literature discussing the movement of FulBe-speakers into those parts of southwestern Adamawa within the boundaries of present-day Nigeria is relatively sparse. Moreover, the published material almost inevitably concentrates on the military expansion of the FulBe, and the conquest of various important towns. While the establishment of dominance within the Benue valley was certainly a dramatic process, the longer term movement of nomadic pastoralists into the area, with consequent effects on both the ecology and the economy, has remained largely unrecorded. This paper attempts to provide an historical overview of this process, both by presenting an approximate chronology and by an analysis of the mechanisms that permit expansion.

This paper¹ reviews the historical literature on Southern Adamawa, but is based principally upon extensive interviews conducted in Southern Gongola State, Nigeria, August-October 1983 and April-June, 1984. Published historical material tends to be the "official histories" of the various Lamidates, or the self-justifying accounts given to

¹An earlier version of this paper was Working Paper VIII, presented to the National Livestock Projects Department, Kaduna, in conjunction with the Livestock and Land Use Study of Southern Gongola State (RIM, 1984). Additional field data has been used from work in Gongola State in 1986 and 1987.

the colonial authorities by village heads. To counteract this view, these interviews present the history of rural FulBe, both nomadic and sedentary transhumant groups. Such a historical account of the penetration of the area by nomadic pastoralists, enables us to gain a better understanding of the motivations and constraints of this process, in particular, the role played by disease and drought in stimulating the colonisation of new areas. After a general examination of these general processes, the paper collates historical material on three specific areas within Southern Gongola, the Samba area around Ganje, the Mambila Plateau and the area East of the Benue valley.

Two appendices to this paper list all the FulBe sections, leYYi¹, encountered in the Southern Gongola area. The first records the town where they were encountered in the market, while the second combines all the names into a single alphabetical list and attempts to establish a standard orthographic form. The stated origin of each section is given where this is known, as well as any other bibliographic references on the group. The paucity of data on all but the most well-known sections argues the inadequacy of field data available for this area of Nigeria.

Political and administrative changes since Nigeria Independence have made substantial differences to patterns of migrations and settlement, as well as altering traditional

¹Glottalised consonants in Fulfulde words are put in upper case.

commercial networks. In terms of development, there are several reasons for gaining a clearer understanding of the historical evolution of the present-day situation. Land tenure is a long-term problem, and to devise solutions that both meet the historical claims of the parties involved and are equitable to farmer and grazier, it is necessary to evaluate the argument of both groups. In understanding how the FulBe came to pasture or settle in the areas where they are found today helps to account for the nature of relations between agricultural peoples and their pastoral neighbours.

1.2 Types of FulBe expansion

When attempting to understand FulBe, an important distinction should be borne in mind. FulBe have spread through West Africa as a result of two very different processes, pastoral nomadism and military conquest.

Nomadic herders seem to have begun the slow drift from Senegambia and the high plateaux of the Futa Jalon in modern-day Guinea more than a thousand years ago. At some unknown point in their history they gained access to the zebu, humped longhorn cattle, as most of the cattle in their homeland are still "ndama" humpless cattle (I.L.C.A., 1979). Humped cattle resist famine and drought well and are good producters of milk and meat, but are typically not trypanotolerant. The consequence was that pastoralists moved into the more marginal semi-arid environments above the

subhumid zone. There was thus a gradual expansion east and north into the Sahel, which continues into Sudan and Central African Republic even today.

This type of drift contrasts sharply with another movement, a purposive, militaristic expansion. Although most herders maintained their traditional religion until recently, a core of settled FulBe with reduced livestock holdings converted to Islam, probably in the mid-eighteenth century. Settled FulBe entered a diversity of professions; religious scholars, traders, musicians and warriors. They soon entered the religious and commercial networks that were by this time beginning to interconnect the whole Sahel region, from the Empire of Bornu and the West to the Mande kingdoms of Segu in the Inland Delta.

The Jihad of Usman dan Fodio that began in Sokoto in 1807 was an early demonstration of the force that could be mobilized once this new role crystallized. Early successes in the Sokoto area initiated a process of conquest that was only ended by the colonial powers at the end of the nineteenth century. The flag of Islam was carried across Hausaland, and within three decades most of Adamawa had been conquered and divided into Lamidates modelled on the Emirates of Northern Nigeria.

Although very different, these two types of expansion are not unconnected. A more usual process is for pastoralists to explore new grazing regions, and to be followed by armies and a more uncompromising type of Islam. However,

throughout much of the upper Benue valley, the establishment of political authority allowed pastoralists to enter zones they had been previously unwilling to explore.

1.3 Constraints on pastoralist expansion

The colonisation of particular areas was in response to a calculus that included numerous factors. Of these, disease, water, population density, species of grass and soil erosion were the most important.

In the immediate pre-colonial period, tsetse-borne trypanosomiases were present almost through the whole of Adamawa. Only the northern limits of the semi-arid zone and the high-altitude grasslands were relatively free. Other diseases associated with the higher rainfall were tick-borne diseases such as babesiosis and anaplasmosis, skin infections like streptothricosis and in sheep, footrot. The consequence was that a herder attempting to exploit the rich, low-lying grasslands risked high animal mortality. For this reason, throughout Adamawa, pastoralists tended to move up into the highlands.

Tsetse eradication has been partly successful, especially in the more densely populated semi-arid regions; meanwhile widespread availability of trypanocides, habitat destruction and the selection of zebu breeds has made practical all-year round settlement in the subhumid areas (R.I.M., 1984). Even so, it has not been practical to move into the thickly wooded areas of the lowlands, until some clearance is carried out by farmers. For example,

the movement of Fulbe herds into areas along the Jalingo-Bali road, only took place after the expansion of Mumuye yam farmers; although these groups have no reason to co-operate, the clearance of tsetse habitats and the hunting out of wild animal vectors, makes possible pastoral use of these areas.

Despite the apparent luxuriant vegetation of the Middle Belt, the nutrient qualities of the grasses in the semi-arid zone are far higher (KAUFMANN and BLENCH, forthcoming). An important consequence of this is that herders in the subhumid zone depend more on access to the cereal and pulse residues that are the by-products of arable farming than further north. They are therefore obliged to build close links with settled farming communities. By contrast, pastoralists herds further north could spend a greater part of the year in remote and sparsely populated regions.

The requirements of livestock in these different ecoclimatic zones led to the evolution of very different patterns of land ownership. In the semi-arid zone, pastoralists often established title to land in remote areas by virtue of the fact that arable farmers were rarely in a position to object. However, in the sub-humid regions, where herders were compelled to live close to farming peoples, they normally leased or borrowed land as their neighbours were unwilling to give them unambiguous title. Thus, in the northern part of the Mambila Plateau, FulBe obtained permanent rights in land whereas along the Donga valley, where the Mambila live, it was merely borrowed.

The consequences of this differentiation were not immediately apparent when populations were low; however, the increase in farmer's numbers has resulted in pastoralists having their rights withdrawn in many areas of the Middle Belt (KAUFMANN & BLENCH, forthcoming).

There is little evidence that the establishment of colonial Nigeria made much impact on the movement patterns of pastoralists in southwestern Adamawa. Although attempts to control disease and tax herders occasionally led to the establishment of checkpoints on the principal stock-routes, none of the pastoralists interviewed recalled any major conflicts with the authorities. Indeed the exiguous nature of the administration and the thickly wooded terrain evidently made more than administration quite difficult. A Native Authority order in 1949 prohibiting further cattle immigration onto the Mambila Plateau (DU BOULAY, 1953) appears to have been widely ignored.

However, in the post-colonial era, two administrative factors have necessarily affected the pastoralists; the establishment of Game Reserves and the enforcement of national frontiers. The Gashaka-Gumti Reserve, established between 1970-75, occupies the whole region east of the foothills of the Plateau. One result of reserving it the animals was the exodus from Nigeria of peoples such as the Pere (Kutin) and the Kotopo (Patapori). Both the trade-route that ran from the Plateau to Jada and the transhumance route from Ganye to the Benue that passed east and south of the Shebshi were effectively curtailed. Although pastoralists have

not been completely excluded from the Reserve, an aerial survey in 1983-4 (R.I.M., 1984) showed that only the Falinga Grasslands (which is accessed from Cameroun) retained any substantial cattle population.

Customs control along the Nigeria-Cameroun border is difficult to exercise effectively, and pastoralists are accustomed to coming and going freely. Earlier in the century, much of the traffic was west-east, as the gradual movement across Cameroun into Chad and C.A.R. took place. However, the development of Nigeria's urban centres in the 1960's and 1970's resulted in a substantial market for beef, and prices for stock that were relatively high compared with Cameroun. Cattle began to be beaten westwards to Jada and Mayo Ndaga, and eventually to Abakaliki and Enugu. One consequence of this was increased difficulty of disease control, both in the case of rinderpest and re-infestation of regions cleared of *stetse*.

However, on the Mambila Plateau, where the land is open, and the grazing on the Cameroun side fully used, resistance to free movement of stock began in the 1970's culminating in the complete prohibition of transhumant movements from the Plateau for most of that decade. This compelled herders to look for other dry season grazing, and they began to move down Zongo Ajiya to the tropical rain-forest along the Baissa road, an environment so classifiically inimical to cattle that it is remarkable that the stock survives. Increased enforcement of border regulations is likely to have even more impact on FulBe in the future.

2. Social Organisation of Settled and Nomadic FulBe

2.1 Urban FulBe (FulBe wuro)

The process of settlement and conversion referred to above allowed for the evolution of a wholly different social system. Islam permitted men to have four wives, and an almost unlimited number of concubines. The concubine regulation was used to allow for extensive in-marriage with local agricultural populations. As cattle came to play a declining role in household economy, cereal cultivation supplied the main needs of the household, and it was necessary to "buy in" the agricultural skills of women.

Conversion to Islam also allowed for economic specialisation, and FulBe rapidly became expert in a number of professions. They moreover, became very efficient warriors, developed effective bureaucratic hierarchies to facilitate the transmission of power. The Lamidates of Northern Cameroun, such as Ngaundere and Rey Buba show the "borrowed" nature of the trappings of power. Courts borrowed their regalia either from the Hausa emirates, or from the Shehus of Bornu.

2.2 Semi-Settled or Transhumant FulBe in Rural Areas.

Both numerically and economically, the most common type of FulBe are the semi-settled groups, found almost throughout Southern Gongola State, particularly around Ganye and on the Mambila

Plateau. In most cases, these were originally nomads who found sufficient pasture in one area to support their herd for at least part of the year and responded by building permanent houses and in some cases, also farms. The lactating herd stays permanently around the house, with most of the women, and the old people. During the dry season, the young men, or hired herders, take the cattle to pasture near a river.

Although semi-settled, these FulBe continue to partake of the value-system of their nomadic relatives to a considerable extent. They regard stock-rearing as a high-status activity, and farming as low-status, although regrettably necessary at times. They are more willing to put their stock on the market than the nomads, but this may only reflect the greater demand for cash inevitable for settled individuals. In principal they retain the endogamous ideology of the nomads, only marrying FulBe women, but in practice there are many exceptions to this rule, particularly in the Samba area, where the forging of links with the agricultural community is seen as essential.

2.3 Nomadic FulBe

The most immediate differences between the nomads and the other groups is religion and marriage preferences. Although most nomads today are nominally Muslim, their conversion is of recent date, and they frequently do not observe Islamic dietary laws, nor the hours of prayer. Groups such as the Kiri were traditionally non-Islamic. Similarly, most nomadic groups maintain

strict endogamy, that is they only marry within their own groups. This accounts for the characteristic physical appearance of the nomads, and the degree of separateness they retained, culturally from the agricultural peoples with whom they live in symbiosis. Not only do they marry within their own people, but the most desired marriage is that between cross-cousins, in other words the sons and daughters of full or half-brothers marrying. This practice leads to the frequent (false) accusations made against them by agriculturalists that they practice incest. The function of this marriage rule is to keep agnatic, that is, reckoned through the father, lineage groups together, and thus retain property within a single lineage group. Another practice, widow inheritance, acts further to concentrate property in the same way.

As with nomads everywhere, flexibility is the key to herding strategies, and the need to adapt to the distribution of resources, means that no large-scale political structures can be built up. In an exposition of the herding patterns of the WoDaaBe in Niger, MALIKI (1981) shows that every major decision about herd movement and access to water must be validated collectively, and that family units disagreeing with camp policy can and do exercise the option of leaving. The leaders of the community throughout the Southern Gongola area are the Ardos, who are elected, and may be deposed through the medium of public meetings. The ardo is designated to mediate for

the community of herders with the political entities, whether local or State governments, or the Emirates and Lamidates in the pre-colonial era.

An example of the dissension that can arise when an Ardo is not publicly validated, are the current disputes in the Wukari area. Since the return to civilian rule in 1979, Local Government on Mambila and in the Wukari area has taken it upon itself to appoint some of the Ardos. As these tend to be individuals in favour with the local government, this has caused dissatisfaction among the nomads, who are unwilling to accept their authority.

3. The Establishment of Political Authority in Southwestern Adamawa

3.1 The Eastern Towns

The initial penetration of FulBe herders into Borno and northern Adamawa is unknown, but the best guesses presently available suggest that it took place at the end of the sixteenth century (MOHAMMADOU : 1981 : 240). However, the establishment of political control further south is generally associated with the rise to power of Modibbo Adama (1809-1847) in the wake of the Jihad initiated from Sokoto in 1807. The establishment of Yola in 1829 as a base for raids against non-Muslim groups initiated a process that led ultimately to the establishment of the Lamidates of present-day northern Cameroun.

Accounts of this process may be found in ABUBAKAR (1977), MOHAMMADOU (1978) and KIRK-GREENE (1958).

The immediate dynamic of urban FulBe expansion was not the search for pasture, but the establishment of new commercial centres and increased proselytization for Islam. However, the founding, or take-over of towns, particularly where grassy uplands were adjacent, made the passage easier for incoming herders. Unlike Hausaland, the ruling elites spoke Fulfulde, like their pastoralist cousins.

3.2 The Colonial Period

The conquest of Cameroun and Nigeria radically changed the patterns of both commerce and stock-raising throughout the whole of Southern Adamawa. German troops conquered Tibati in 1899 and Banyo, Maroua and Rey-Bouba in 1901. In the same year, Lugard's forces reached Yola, and the essential boundaries of the modern nation-states were established.

The priorities of the colonial authorities were often at variance with those of the more traditional rulers. The concern to raise as much tax as possible, meant that Fulbe trade-cattle were viewed favourably as a source of revenue, and the jangali cattle-tax often dominates administrative correspondence. The slave-trade was eradicated, and much of the long-distance caravan trade that depended of horses and camels, disappeared in the face of roads, railways and accelerated river transport.

The growth of the cities in this period also expanded the demand for meat quite considerably, and thus the slow re-orientation of the cattle-trade to the markets of Enugu and other towns in the East began. Towns such as Bakundi and Suntai, originally important commercial centres declined, and new centres, such as Ganye, Gembu and Baissa grew up. The colonial administration was concerned to settle the nomadic FulBe, in order to assess more effectively their cattle for both tax and veterinary purposes. In doing so, they had the paradoxical effect of opening up new areas to the graziers, by the eradication of tsetse, and the creation of new foci for agricultural populations.

4. *FulBe movement into the Samba (Chamba) area*

The region northeast of the Shebshi mountains came into contact with FulBe invaders earlier than the Mambila or the Benue valley. In part this reflected its proximity to Yola northwards and Kontcha further east. Its principal inhabitants, the Samba (Chamba) are a large cluster of related people, who live on both sides of the Shebshi mountains. Although they speak a Bantoid language¹ they share a common culture with the Samba Leeko, whose raids shattered the peace of central Adamawa in the period preceding the FulBe invasion. The Samba Nnakenyare, who

¹ This statement is contrary to other published classifications. See Blench & Williamson (1987).

now live around Ganye and Kojoli, have had two experiences of the FulBe, historically. Their own oral traditions suggest that they migrated into their present area from further East, and probably formed a series of chiefdoms around the base of the Shebshi mountains before the nineteenth century. When the FulBe raids in northern Adamawa began in this area in the 1830's, they appear to have moved into the grassy highlands all along the Shebshi range, from Kiri in the South to Tola and Lamja in the north. The investiture of Kontcha (a Kopoto town) put all their lowland farms under a permanent threat, and stimulated the development of a self-sufficient agriculture on the plateaux.

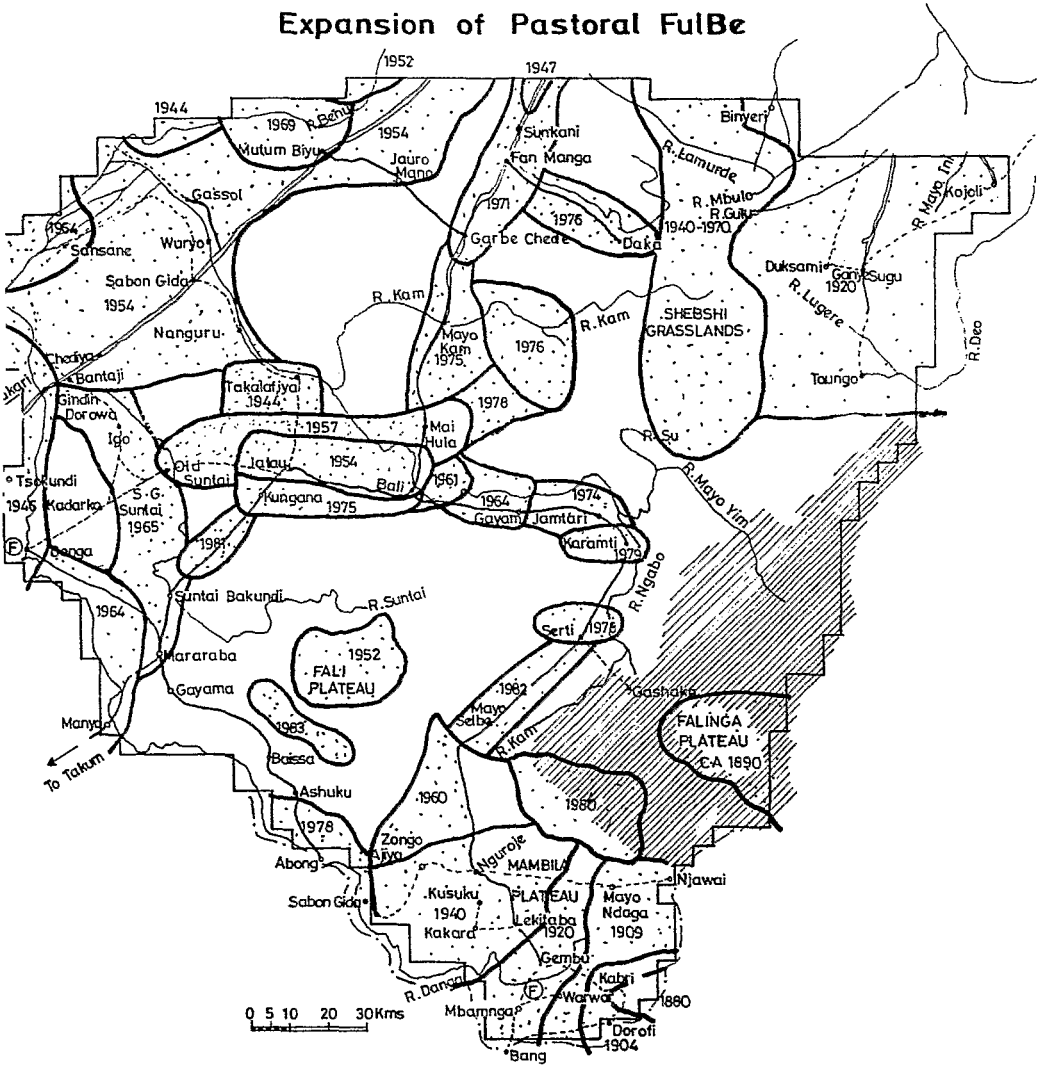
The descent from the mountains seems to have occurred about 1900 and what may have been ancient chiefdoms were re-established at Danaba, Kiri and Sugu. The separation in the plateaux may account for the minor dialectal differences between Samba Nnakenyare, Samba of Mapea, Samba Daka, Dirim, Lamja and Tola. The Dirim and the Samba Daka descended to the East of the Shebshi, and now live over towards Bali. The cessation of slaving after the German conquest of Cameroun stimulated a movement down from the plateaux, as across the border in Cameroun (BOU TRAIS, 1975). However, the rich produce of some of the montane areas, such as the Jangani Plateau, has meant that a substantial population remains up there. The Germans sent a number of expeditions from Kontcha, through to Sugu and Kojoli, and these are still remembered.

Although the Samba may have kept dwarf shorthorns of the "muturu" type, these seem to have largely disappeared in the early rinderpest epidemics. The pasture, therefore, was essentially unused. After the Germans left, the area was under British mandate from 1919, nomadic FulBe began to arrive in search of pasture and an area that was free of rinderpest. At this time there was a considerably larger agricultural population, for an important trade-route went South from Kontcha and Laro, via Gashaka to¹ Banyo and the grasslands. Migeod (1925) and Detzmer (1923), both of whom travelled up this way, talk of meeting such peoples as the Potopori and Nyam-Nyam, who have since moved East into Cameroun, with the decline of the road to Mayo Selbe and the establishment of game parks.

FulBe herdsmen were initially welcomed by the Samba, as they provided a regular supply of milk and meat, and land was sufficiently plentiful to avoid serious competition for resources. Moreover, the Samba seem to have already begun extensive maize cultivation, and because of its need for fertilization, they were glad to make land available to the FulBe. The desirable qualities of the area, particularly the free availability of water and low tsetse challenge, seem to have made it sufficiently for most of the newcomers to settle

¹The most important item on this route seems to have been cola nuts, that were grown in the Bamenda area, traded through the Mambila plateau and up to the Muslim towns of Adamawa.

Expansion of Pastoral FulBe



almost immediately, build houses, and begin to practice transhumance. Almost every Samba village is twinned with a FulBe village, and farms of the two groups are often side-by-side.

The FulBe in Samba country came from three directions; from central Nigeria, Bornu and Cameroun. The map represents isochronically the movement of nomadic FulBe into the Southern Gongola area. The groups from Cameroun, are found particularly in Kojoli and Sugu, seem to have migrated in recent times. Most of them are the widespread "Zaafun" who conquered much of north-Central Cameroun in the nineteenth century. Most of the settled migrants who arrived between 1920 & 1940 came from Bauchi, Gombe, Wase and the Jos Plateau. MALIKI (1982) shows that many of the WoDaaBe in the north of Niger also came from this area in the early part of this century, and the roots of this migration may be traceable back to the repopulation of the plains by farmers after the end of slave-raiding. Interestingly, the migrations from Bauchi seem to have not been via the obvious route across the Benue, but rather through Yola and northern Adamawa. The reason for this may have been the prevalence of tsetse throughout this area in the early twentieth century, in view of the restricted human population of the area.

Du BOULAY (1953) notes that WoDaaBe had "recently" begun to appear in the Toungo area. The highly mobile WoDaaBe had begun to spread southeast from Sahelian Niger as a response to

increasing settlement by farmers and were also recorded in Cameroun and C.A.R. He records two WoDaaBe groups, the WoDaaBe-Wandu and the WoDaaBe-Doga.

The groups from Bornu seem to have begun to move into the area as a result of the drought in the Sahel in the early seventies. Although the whole Samba area is now quite heavily populated, there is enough pasture in the dry season to support quite a high nomad population, especially as many of the local herds are away on transhumance.

The high plateaux were settled by farmers in the nineteenth century or earlier, but their value as pasture to the FulBe only seems to have become apparent in the 1950's. Most of the northern Shebshi grasslands are free from tsetse, and have water throughout the year for at least some animals. As soon as stock-rearers appreciated their value they began to move up, and now all the high altitude grasslands have transhumant FulBe settlements. Groups such as the Daneeji from the Kano area, seem to have been attracted there as late as 1975.

5. The FulBe on the Mambila Plateau

Until the coming of the Mambila people, the Plateau seems to have been uninhabited. The Mambila speak a Bantoid language, part of the Mambila-Vute group, related to Konja, Suga ("Nyannyan") and Ndoro. Their oral traditions record that they split away from the Vute of Banyo at some time in the past, perhaps as late as

the eighteenth century. However, the distinct nature of Mambila in linguistic terms (BLENCH & WILLIAMSON, 1987 and GUARISMA, 1987) suggests that the initial separation took place much earlier. The migration from Banyo may therefore have been a subsequent gloss on a relatively insignificant movement.

The traditional settlements of the Mambila seem to have been along the river valleys, for even today, they have very few compounds north of Nguroje. It is hard to establish the original vegetation of these high-altitude grasslands, but presumably wooded vegetation was concentrated along the river-valleys, especially the Donga. The shortage of trees for firewood elsewhere also encouraged them to eschew the uplands.

After 1835 (1855? acc. to PERCIVAL) the FulBe from Ngaundere conquered Banyo, and it rapidly became one of their most significant outposts in the grasslands. They raided both East and West from Banyo and in particular into the Plateau. This caused the Mambila population to crystallize into small, isolated units, each with refuge areas, and the consequent diversification of Mambila dialects. The opening of the Plateau to the herders, who all came originally from nomad groups, seems to have occurred in the immediate pre-colonial period. None of the informants could trace back the settlement of their family on the Plateau further than eighty years, although there were certainly raiding bases further back than that.

FulBe on the Mambila Plateau today, are, without exception, settled stock-rearers, who practice transhumance, in the case of those with

larger herds. DU BOULAY (1953) notes that although their production systems have now converged, they originally entered the Plateau under two different banners; as "settled" FulBe from Sokoto, Bornu and Gombe and as nomads. The FulBe na'i spring from three distinct sources : from the Cameroun grasslands, northern Adamawa and from central Nigeria.

The first clan to enter the Mambila was probably the Jaafun'en, who appeared around 1890 under Ardo Gosi. The Jaafun'en migrated from outwards from the Kano area from the 1860's onwards and ascended the Bamenda Plateau in the 1880's. There is a suggestion that the Sulebanko'en (part of the Rahaji) also followed them during this period. Both these owned "red" cattle.

There was also a certain movement of the non-Muslim "Mbororo" clans, also owning "red" cattle, from further north, migrating from Jada and Mayo Belwa in the early years of the colonial period. Relatively few still remain on Mambila. After 1930, the increasing population pressure in northern Nigeria stimulated a further movement of central Nigerian clans, such as the Butanko'en, the Fikaji, the Ba'en and other groups from the Kano - Katsina - Bauchi region. These groups, however, herded the "white" breeds, such as the danejeji and the Sokolo Gudali.

This complex entry pattern is reflected in the uneven distribution of "red" and white cattle on the plateau. Although in the lowlands, white cattle are preferred by herders because of their greater resistance to trypanosomiasis and drought,

favourable conditions on the Plateau have encouraged FulBe to retain the breeds of cattle traditional to their lenyol. Most of the groups from Cameroun, who reached Mambila via the Adamawa highlands (BOUTRAIS, 1972) retained red cattle, which, although less disease resistant, put on weight readily. These earlier migrants alighted on the prime grazing areas in the Donga river valley.

However, more recent settlers arrived directly from central Nigeria, crossing the Benue, and passing through the lowland area along the Taraba river valley. Many of these groups raise either daneeji white longhorns or Sokoto gudali shorthorns. Sections raising "red" cattle often switched their preference as a result of the high tsetse challenge in this area. When they arrived on Mambila, only the less-favoured grassy uplands all around the edges of the escarpment were available. These northern FulBe usually descent the escarpment in the dry seson rather than transhuming to the Donga valley, because of pressure from the already-present "red" cattle-owners. This is why the "white" cattle are distributed all around the edges of the Plateau. These late-comers, the Daneeji, Butanko'en, Dauranko'en and Hwe'en, were coming from the 1940's onwards, and expanding the populations of small settlements such as Mai Samari and Mayo Ndaga.

6. *The FulBe in the Benue Lowlands*

The ethnohistory of the lowlands area between the Benue and the Shebshi remains controversial. Remnant groups like the Kam (MEEK, 1931) suggest that the region was once the domain of Adamawa speakers; however, in some more recent epoch they have been almost vanquished by Jukunoid speakers (SHIMIZU, 1980). The relation of Jukun speakers to the chain of Bantoid languages stretching from Ganye to Mambila remains to be established. However, the notification of isolated groups such as the Tiba and Fam (BLENCH, 1984) suggest that a Bantoid presence may also be ancient. More recently, incursions by the Samba Leeko coming in from the east and FulBe from the northwest have contributed to a further fragmentation of population.

The urban FulBe, spreading across the centre of Nigeria in the early nineteenth century, had already crossed the Benue, and begun founding small settlements in the 1800's. After Usman dan Fodio's call to the Jihad in 1804, their campaign expanded. By 1817, Muri was conquered from Gombe, and in the 1820's Jukun country was attacked and made to pay tribute. Gassol and Bantaji were founded in this period, and the centres for the commercial networks found by the first explorers on the Benue were already established.

At the other extreme of the lowlands, the region between the Shebshi and Mambila plateaux was controlled by a chain of Samba Leeko towns

in the early of the nineteenth century. Gashaka was founded around 1883 and Adagoro at roughly the same time.

However, this was not a signal for a massive influx of stock, especially as the wole Benue would have been a focal point for tsetse at this period. The aerial survey map showing distribution of cultivation indicates that the Benue valley, both sides of the river as far as the Adamawa highlands is still one of the least populated areas of Nigeria. Even a modern day map gives a slightly false picture, as much of the cultivation along the principal roads has only sprung up since the end of the 1970's as a result of the expansion of Tiv farmers, producing yams on a large scale for the national market. This low population density may be a result of the river-blindness which is prevalent along many of the rivers, effectively preventing settlement along their banks. Unlike the Nupe, who developed intensive rice cultivation along the arm of the Niger west of the Confluence, the Jukunoid peoples seem to have regarded the river as a source of fish and a channel for trade, but not as of great agricultural potential.

The presence of large quantities of game must have contributed to a high tsetse challenge, and it was therefore unattractive to FulBe herdsmen for this reason. Even today, there are few settled FulBe living in this area. The type of transition from nomadic pastoralist to settled transhumant stock-rearer familiar from the Ganye and Mambila areas seems rarely to have occurred. In 1983 there were considerable numbers of cattle in the area, despite the tsetse challenge, but this was

said to have returned due to the rinderpest epidemic. Under "normal" conditions, these cattle would be further north for the wet season. The initial penetration of the area seems to have been in the 1930's and 1940's when the first groups crossed the Benue in search of the high-altitude grasslands. Most of these reached Mambila, and stayed there.

As the population pressure on Mambila increased in the 40's and 50's this option became less available. As a result, other alternatives, such as the Fali highlands, were considered, and the first permanent settlement of the Fali Plateau was in 1952. When the grasslands were full, the plains became increasingly acceptable because of the expansion of farming, and the consequent increased hunting pressure.

In the Wukari area, FulBe only crossed the Benue in the early 1960's, and their concentration around the larger towns of Jukun country suggests they are well aware that this not only provides them with a market for milk and meat, but also reduces risk from trypanosomiasis.

The flexibility of these nomadic groups, such as the Bogoyanko'en, SiwaalBe and WoDaaBe, has meant that they respond rapidly to changing environmental conditions. For example, the bridge at Many, on the road from Donga to Katsina Ala, has been broken since 1980. This has made the area less attractive to commercial cultivators, who are the principal competitors with the FulBe for land and resources throughout this area. As a result there has been a large in-migration of Bogoyanko'en and Daneeji, who have established

exchange relations with the Kutep, the traditional inhabitants of the area. None of the sources on the Kutep, such as PFEFFER (1923) and MGBE (1973) mention this, and it suggests that nomads can evolve new cultural patterns rapidly when the interests of their herds are threatened.

7. Conclusion

This account illustrates some of the processes underlying the movement strategies of FulBe pastoralists. A relatively simple distinction can be made between migration into two types of ecozone: high-altitude grasslands, where disease was not a constraint, and lowland forest where entry by livestock depended on initial land clearing by other groups. In the case of the lowlands, two further distinct patterns can be established: "opening the way" through the expansion of the urban FulBe, and the unrelated expansion into the forest by non-Muslim farmers such as the Mumuye and Tiv.

The motives for expansion are diverse, but there are three main elements: the increase in herd numbers, epizootics and the growth of arable farming populations. Despite romantic claims to the contrary, it seems certain that herd numbers have expanded within Nigeria during the course of the century (RIM, 1984). This is a response to the accelerating urban demand for meat, combined with decreased tsetse challenge in many areas and the widespread availability of cheap veterinary medicines.

The recent (1983-4) movements into parts of the lowland forest can be directly attributed to the rinderpest epidemic. However, this is not a new process; during previous epizootics, herders were compelled to isolate their herds by leading them into remote areas, thereby exploring new pastures. Finally, the growth of farming in the centre of the country (BLENCH et al., 1985) has had the effect of driving more and more pastoralists to the less sparsely populated regions along the eastern and western borders of Nigeria.

The stock-rearing FulBe population in Southern Gongola, with the exception of Bantaji, Gassol and a few towns on the new [1979] Wukari-Jalingo road originally entered as nomads. The expansion of the herds and herders in the Jos Plateau and Bornu meant that there was pressure to exploit new pastures. Moreover, the rinderpest epidemics¹, forced herders to seek out remote areas that would allow them to isolate their herds, even at the expense of higher losses from trypanosomiasis and unfamiliar pasture plants.

The pattern of settlement, in the Ganye area, and on the high-altitude grasslands, suggest strongly that, far from being committed to nomadism, FulBe settle wherever the availability of resources permits this. It is likely that the recent epidemic of rinderpest will permanently effect the pattern of settlement in this area, as it appears to have in the past.

¹Apparently beginning in West Africa in the 1880's, according to BAIER (1980:130).

APPENDIX I

FulBe groups encountered in Southwestern Adamawa.

The entries below give first the names of towns in Gongola State where interviews were conducted, and then the LeYYi recorded there. Forms given below are exactly as cited by informants in the field. Appendix II sets out the names of these groups alphabetically, and attempts to establish equivalences between some of them.

[In some interviews informants distinguished between resident and seasonal migrant groups, and this data has been included where available]. This information has been included for two reasons :

a) It provides a concrete illustration of the relationship between specific clans, and specific modes of production. For example, the Bokoolooji clan, who herd exclusively shorthorn zebus, are restricted to the west bank of the Benue and in the sparsely populated forest zones west of the Shebshi mountains. This reflects the relatively short period of their establishment in Gongola state.

b) The fragmented nature of FulBe society makes it difficult for development agencies to spread innovative livestock development practices easily. Since clans or fractions are the fundamental units of cohesion within the society, using the clan network to disseminate ideas in a given geographical area is a practical method of having them easily accepted by a large number of cattle-owners.

1. *The Ganye Region*

a) *Choncha*

Bokolooji, Kesu'en, WoDaaBe.

b) *Duksami*

Butanko'en, Jo'oDi, WoDaaBe, Jaafun (resident).

Bokolooji (seasonal migrants).

c) *Ganye*

Ba'el, Butanko'en, Degereeji, Ve've'be, WoDaaBe
Wantu (resident).

d) *Jada*

Ba'awa, Bo'oDi, Daneeji, Geroogi, Jawolawa, Ningawa,
Rahaaji, Jaafun (resident).

Bokolooji, Kesu'en, WoDaaBe (seasonal migrants).

e) *Kojoli*

Isho'en, Kesu'en, Kiri, Wiiti'en (resident).

'Mbororo' come from Bornu and Bauchi in the dry
season.

f) *Lando*

Borno'en, Kesu'en, Kilba'en, WoDaaBe.

g) *Maitani*

Jaafun, WoDaaBe.

h) *Riba'adu*

Ngara'en.

i) *Sugu*

Daneeji, Wiiti (resident).

Butanko'en, Jaafun (seasonal migrants).

j) *Toungo*

Jaafun (resident).

Daneeji, WoDaaBe (migrants).

2. *The Southern Uplands region*

a) *Dorofi*

Faranko'en, Galeeji, Gamadanko'en, Majanko'en,
Rahaaji, Tukanko'en, We'we'Be.

b) *Fali Plateau*

Ba'en, BooDi, Daneeji, Jaafun, Kesu'en.

c) *Falinga Plateau*

Aku'en, Ba'en, Dauranko'en.

d) *Garbabi*

Bokolooji, Gerooji, Rahaaji, WoDaaBe.

e) *Gayam*

Fa'aBe, Galooro, Sulebawa, WoDaaBe, YilarBe.

f) *Gembu*

Barawanko'en, Butanko'en, Duranko'en,
Gamadanko'en, Rahaaji, (resident).

g) *Hainare*

Rahaaji

h) *Jamtari*

Ba'en, Bokolooji, Rahaaji, WodaaBe.

i) *Karamti*

Bokolooji, WoDaaBe.

j) *Kusuku*

Ba'anko, Ba'en, Butanko'en, Kitako'en, Malle,
Rahaaji, Rogooji (resident).

k) *Mai Dule*

FulBe na'i : Ba'en, Daneeji, Faranko'en,
Gamadanko'en, Karawanko'en, Rahaaji.

FulBe wuro : Bewe'en, FulBe Bamle, Isa'en, Kesu'en,
Kiri'en, Wiiti'en.

l) *Mai Samari*

BoDeeji, Butanko'en, Daneeji, Duranko'en,
Gamanko'en, Majanko'en (resident).

m) *Mayo Ndaga*

Ba'en, Dauranko'en, Faranko'en, Gamadanko'en,
Hwe'en, Naatirbe.

n) *Nguroje*

Bawanko'en, Daneeji, Gudali

o) *Serti*

Bokolooji, WoDaaBe

p) *Tamniya*

Gamadanko'en, Rahaaji.

q) *Titong*

Gamadanko'en

r) *Warwar*

Dauranko'en, Gamadanko'en, Karawanko'en,
Rahaaji.

s) *Yerimaru*

Ba'en, Butanko'en, Daneeji, Dauranko'en,
Karawanko'en, Kiri'en, SisilBe

t) *Zangon Ajiya*

Autanko'en, Bornawa, Butanko'en, Dabanko'en,
Daneeji, Gamanko'en, Gerooji, Jaranko'en, Kilba'en,
Kiri, Kitako'en, Naatirbe, Wiiti

3. *The Eastern Benue Lowlands.*a) *Amar*

Ba'en, FulBe Gok, Gorkanko'en, Jaafun, WoDaaBe

b) *Arufu*

Ba'en, Bogoyanko'en, Daneeji, Gorkanko'en,
JaawooBe, Manganko'en

c) *Bali*

Ba'en, Bokolooji, Manshara, Rahaaji, TaniraaBe,
WoDaaBe (all migrants)

d) *Bibinu*

Daneeji, WoDaaBe (migrants).

e) *Chediya*

Ba'en, Bogoyanko'en, BooDi, Daneeji Kano, Daneeji
Katsina, Fikaaji, Jaranko'en, Kiri, Konanko'en,
Moodanko'en, Naadanko'en, Rahaaji, Rimfanko'en,
Saadamanko'en, Salankoen, Tubanko'en, Wageeji,
WoDaaBe,

f) *Daka*

Bokolooji, Kiri'en, Rahaaji, SiwalBe, WoDaaBe

g) *Dampar*

Ba'en, Dabanko'en, Dindima'en, FulBe Gok, Gerooji,
Gorkanko'en, Jaafun, Nadanko'en, Nordanko'en,
Rahaaji,
Rimfanko'en, Saadamanko'en, Wageeji.

h) *Didango*

Ba'en, Bokolooji, BooDi, Daneeji, Galeeji, Jaafun,
Jananko'en, WoDaaBe

i) *Diyangwo*

Kiri'en

j) *Donga*

Bogoyanko'en, Jalanko'en, Jamnanko'en,
Saadamanko'en, Salanko'en, SisilBe, TorooBe.

k) *Garba Chede*

Bogoyanko'en, Bokolooji, BooDi, Bornanko'en, Daneeji, Danyanko'en, Gorkanko'en, Iloranko'en, Jaafun Doggaye, Jalanko'en, Kamni Boggi, Malanko'en, Silanko'en, Yaabaaji

l) *Gassol*

Badumanko'en, Ba'en, BooDi, Dabanko'en, Daneeji, Jamnanko'en, Kesu'en, Kiri'en, Manganko'en, Nabaaji, Nordanko'en, Rahaaji, Siiwaalbe, Saadamanko'en, Tukanko'en, Wageeji, We'we'Be, Yaabaaji, YawooBe.

m) *Gindin Dorawa (=Gareeji)*

Ba'en, Bogoyanko'en, Daneeji, Fikaaji, Gerooji, Jaafun, Jananko'en, Keranko'en, Kiri'en, Konanko'en, Perooji, Saadamanko'en, Tubanko'en.

n) *Gungunbode*

Jaafun, Rahaaji

o) *Gungun Sambo*

Jananko'en, Konanko'en, Nordanko'en

p) *Gwiwan Kogi*

Jalanko'en, Nadanko'en, SiiwaalBe

q) *Ibi*

Ba'en, Bogoyanko'en, Daneeji, Gerooji, Gorkanko'en, Jaafun, Jalanko'en, Tubanko'en, YaawooBe.

r) *Jatau*

Bokolooji, Daneeji, Gorkanko'en, Rahaaji, Sundurje, WoDaaBe.

s) *Kila Gana Dere*

Bokolooji, Jaafun, WoDaaBe

t) *Kafayi*

Jalanko'en, SiiwaalBe.

u) *Kwatan Nanido*

Daneeji, We'we'Be

v) *Mai Goge*

Daneeji, Gorkanko'en, Jaafun, SiiwaalBe, WoDaaBe

w) *Mai Hula*

Bokolooji, Daneeji, Jaafun, JaawooBe, Jalanko'en, SisiBe, Sulebawa, WoDaaBe.

x) *Malin Yero*

FulBe wuro : Jaafun, Katsinanko'en.

y) *Mararaba*

Ba'en, Bogoyanko'en, Daneeji, Jalanko'en,
Manganko'en, Wageeji, WoDaaBe

z) *Mayo Kam*

Daneeji

aa) *Mayo Ranewo*

Ba'en, Rahaaji, WoDaaBe

bb) *Mayo Selbe*

Ba'en, Butanko'en, Daneeji, Dauranko'en,
Gamanko'en, Rahaaji, WoDaaBe

cc) *Mutum Biyu*

Ba'en, Babanko'en, Babbal, Be Girga, BooDi, Daayi,
Daga'en, Daneeji, Degereeji, Fa'aBe

Gerkanke'en, Ibegiye, Ilorkano'en, Kiri'en,
Sundurje, TaniraaBe, Uda'en, WoDaaBe, We'we'Be,
Yaabaaji, Yakanaaji

dd) *Nanguru*

Ba'en, Gorkanko'en, Kiri'en, Konanko'en,
Moodanko'en, Rahaaji, Rimfanko'en, Wiya'en.

ee) *Sansane*

Gerooji, Kiri'en, Manganko'en, Rahaaji,
Rimfanko'en, Saadamanko'en, ToorooBe, Wageeji,
YaawooBe.

ff) *Sarkin Kudu*

Ba'en, Ciromanko'en, Daneeji, FulBe Gok,
Gezanko'en, Gommanko'en, Gorkanko'en,
Jalanko'en, Keranko'en,
Komanko'en, Moodanko'en, Nadanko'en, We'we'Be,
WoDaaBe

gg) *Sheka*

Ba'en, Daneeji, HorewalDe, Rahaaji, SiwalBe,
We'we'Be

hh) *Shomo Petel*

Ba'en, WoDaaBe

ii) *Sunkani*

Jaafun

jj) *Suntai*

Ba'en, Bogoyanko'en, Daneeji, Galeeji, Jaafun,
Jalanko'en, Jamnanko'en, Kawaaji, Malanko'en,
Moodanko'en, NaatirBe, Nadanko'en, SiiwalBe

kk) *Takalafiya*

Daneeji, Kiri'en, Rahaaji, YaawooBe

ll) *Takum*

Bogoyanko'en, Daneeji

mm) *Tonti*

Bokolooji, WoDaaBe

nn) *Tsokundi*

Ba'en, Bogoyanko'en, Borkumanko'en, BooDi,

Daneeji, Gerooji, NaatirBe, Tubanko'en

oo) *Wukari*

Bogoyanko'en, Daneeji, Galeeji, Gorkanko'en,

Jalanko'en, Rahaaji, Siwaalbe, WoDaaBe.

pp) *Wuro Jam*

Daneeji, Garbanko'en, Jalanko'en, Kiri'en,

Nadanko'en, Nordanko'en, Rahaaji, Rimfanko'en,

Saadamanko'en, Wageeji

qq) *Zudei*

Daneeji, Jaafun, WoDaaBe

APPENDIX II

Alphabetic listing of FulBe clans

This appendix lists alphabetically all the names of groups cited as present in southern Gongola State. They are recorded in the form originally given. As some forms are Hausa, and others Fulfulde, I have attempted to normalise them all to a standard Fulfulde spelling. They have been compared to a comprehensive list prepared by NELSON and Na'ango (n.d.). After each name, I have given the place of the origin of the group, as far as this is known. In some cases, informants conflicted with published or archival material and I have noted this as far as possible.

Akuji see Daneeji. Also Aku'en.

Autanko'en. A suudu of the Jaafun.

Ba'anko see Bawanko'en.

Ba'awa see Ba'en.

Ba'el see Ba'en.

Ba'en. One of the most widespread clans in Adamawa, mentioned by Barth, who travelled in this area in the 1850's as one of original nomadic groups to reach Bornu in the pre-Jihad period.

Babanko'en.

Babbal.

Badumanko'en.

Barawanko'en. A group from the Barawa area south of Bauchi.

Bawanko'en. Perhaps an elide form of Barawanko'en (q.v.).

Be Girga.

Bewe'en

Bogoyanko'en. A lenyol.

Bokolooji.

Boodi. A lenyol that migrated from Kano via Bauchi and Zing.

Borkumanko'en.

Bornawa. A Hausa term referring to all migrants from Bornu, in this case probably to WoDaaBe. Also Borno'en and Bornanko'en.

Bororo see Mbororo.

Butanko'en. A widespread group from Buta, near Ningi.

Ciromanko'en.

Daayi

Dabanko'en. A suudu of the Badumanko'en.

Daga'en.

Daneeji. A large group named for the white long-horns, it specialises in reading. Their most recent homeland was between Kano and Katsina, and many individuals maintain strong residential ties with this area. The Daneeji only began to colonise the plateaux of the Shebshi range after 1975, although they have been present on the Mambila plateau since 1950.

Danyanko'en.

Dauranko'en. A group from Daura, a suudu of both the Gorkanko'en and the SiwalBe.

Degereeji. A WoDaaBe lenyol (STENNING, 1959 : 196 & DUPIRE, 1970 : 325).

Dindima'en.

Fa'aBe.

Faranko'en. A Jaafun lineage from Ngaundere.

Fikaaji. A group that migrated from Fika town in northeast Central Nigeria.

FulBe Bamle.

FulBe Gok.

Galeeji. A lenyol.

Galooro.

Gamadanko'en. A lineage of the Jos FulBe.

Gamanko'en. A lenyol.

Garbanko'en.

Gerbanko'en.

Geroogi see Gerooji.

Gerooji. Also Gerawji. A lenyol.

Gezanko'en.

Gommanko'en.

Gorkanko'en. A lenyol.

Gudali. A general name for all groups from the Sokoto area herding the white gudali shorthorn cattle.

HorewalDe.

IBegiye.

Iloranko'en.

Isho'en.

Jaafun. Also Djafun, Jafun, Jaafun'en. The Jaafun claim to have come from Bauchi, but most of the groups in southern Gongola have come from northern Cameroun in the recent past. Many of the Lamidates of Adamawa were originally conquered by Jaafun, for example Ngaundere (PFEFFER, 1937).

JaawooBe.

Jallanko'en. A lenyol.

Jamnanko'en.

Jananko'en

Jaranko'en. Probably an elided form of Jarawanko'en, a group from the Jarawa area south of Bauchi. A Jaafun lenyol.

Jawolawa.

Jo'oDi.

Kamni Boggi.

Karawanko'en.

Katsinanko'en.

Kawaaji.

Kesu'en. One of the original nomadic groups to enter Adamawa in the pre-Jihad period (WEBSTER, 1917). Originated from Kano, and migrated via Zing.

Kilba'en. A group the Kilba area, near Hong in northern Gongola State.

Kiri. A sedentary lenyol of the Ba'en (MOHAMMADOU, 1981 : 231).

Kitako'en.

Komanko'en.

Konanko'en. A suudu of the SiwalBe, presumably from Kona in Jukun country.

Majanko'en. A suudu of the Jaafun.

Malle. A group from Mali who migrated to the Mambila plateau in the 1960's.

Manganko'en. A group from Manga, near Panyam in Plateau State. A HusooBe lineage.

Manshara. A Hausa name applied to a FulBe section.

Mbororo, also Bororo. A general name applied by outsiders to all nomadic FulBe. The term is not used by the nomads themselves, who use either FulBe na'i or FulBe ladde.

Moodanko'en. A suudu of the SiwalBe.

Naadanko'en. A suudu of the SiwalBe.

Naatirbe. A lenyol.

Nabaaji.

Ngara'en.

Ningawa. A Hausa term applied to those coming from the Ningi area, a suudu of the WeweBBe.

Nordanko'en.

Perooji.

Pigaaaji.

Raahaaji. A term applied to a lenyol specialised in the rearing of the "red" longhorn, known as BoDeeji in the southern Gongola area.

Rimfanko'en. Also Rimpanko'en. A nick-name given a suudu of the SiwalBe coming from Kano.

Rogoji.

Saadamanko'en. A suudu of the SiwalBe.

Salanko'en.

SisilBe.

SiiwaalBe. Also SualBe. A nomadic lineage of the Ba'en, migrated from Zaria, via Bauchi and Zing. A lenyol with numerous suudu in this area.

Silanko'en.

Sundurje.

TaniraaBe.

TorooBe.

Tubanko'en. A lenyol.

Tukanko'en.

Uda'en. A lenyol specialised in sheep-herding.

Ve've'Be. Also WeweBBe, WeweDBe, -a nomadic lineage of the Ba'en.

Wageeji. Also Waageeji. A suudu of the SiwalBe.

Wiiti. A common term applied to settled FulBe in the Ganye Region. The original FulBe Wiiti claim to have come from Gombe.

Wiya'en.

Wuuti see Wiiti.

WoDaaBe. The most widespread group of all, the WoDaaBe are spread from Mali to Sudan. They are divided into numerous lineages (leYYi). Most of the WoDaaBe remain nomadic, although they have settled sporadically in areas of southern Gongola.

Yaabaaji.

YaawooBe.

YilarBe.

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A Note on Unpublished Sources.

The most important unpublished sources are those compiled by the various district officers and other colonial officials during the pre-Independence era. Of these, the most important are those by HARE and DU BOULAY. All these unpublished sources are listed alphabetically in the references, in order not to multiply the list of sources. I am grateful to John HARE and Sir Roger DU BOULAY for giving me access to these materials and especially to David ZEITLYN who has pointed me in the direction of many recondite references since the original version of this paper was circulated.

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N.A.K. National Archive, Kaduna

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