

Forms of Enslavement in Mamfe Area from 1900-2010

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Abstract— On the plain of Mamfe is found a group of people who practice slavery and slave trade from 1900 to 2010. Examining the atmosphere and heritage, much could be seen to have control and contributed to the legacy. Decent of slaves remain victims of harmful prejudices. For instance, a man of a slave origin cannot marry nor have as spouse a girl from the free family. It is therefore interesting to know how people became slave in that area or in the society of Mamfe. This paper actually describes the circumstances in which free people lost their freedom and become slaves. Also, this paper explains methods that can be use to combats enslavement. From archives, oral and documents sources, we attempt to clearly identify the various forms of enslavement or the process through which free persons became slaves.

Keywords— Mamfe, Slavery, Slave-trade, Legacy, Forms, enslavement, Slaves.

I. INTRODUCTION

In the document, “Translocal Culture: The slave and cultural Transfer in the cross River Region.” (Roschenthaler, 2006, p.84.) The author made mention of associations and cult agencies that were not sold and spread widely but only within the group of local persons whose biography was known and who were considered to be among the first or real owners of the land on which they settled. But later, were sold due to Progress and advances in Science, Geography, Religion Trade and other developments in Europe and the extension to the Americas via sailors like Christopher Columbus, let to the search for slaves who could supply labour in the several plantations in America and the West Indies. (F K Buah, 1967, pp.23, 28-58)

Some religious men spoke out ...persuaded the owners of the mines and plantations to look elsewhere for men and women to replace the American Indians...the Portuguese traders had taken slaves from West Africa back to Portugal. These men were found to be very strong. Therefore when the European adventurer miners and farmers decided to look elsewhere for workers they decided to use the people of Africa.

Following the above author, it fosters the act of enslavement in Mamfe Area. This has been noticed as disgusting since 1900 to 2010. Among the several

Researchers who made mention of enslavements are Paul E Lovejoy in his Transformation in Slavery in Africa. He said, “...enslavement was the ultimate sanction...payment often being in slaves...this strife resulted in the enslavement of many people without pushing back the enslavement frontier...The enslavement of people was easy...and communities always feared the dangers of war, kidnapping, and raids.”(Paul E Lovejoy, 2000:pp.86, 87) and E S D Fomin in Slave Settlements in the Banyang Country; Slaves were enslaved in Settlements, “The two types of Banyang slave settlements referred to in this study are types A and B...Mbenjong was the main slave quarter of Tali 1...private slave quarters in Banyang country were kesem Tata Biatung in Asom.”(V J Ngoh and E S D Fomin, 1998: pp, 22, 23 and, 27) Furthermore, Sehou Ahmadou said, as he quoted Catherine VerEeeke, slaves were enslaved and sent to a place known as slaves settlements *dumde*, “...the major title-holders...owned each between fifty and two-hundred slaves and between two and four *dumde*,...personal farms ...as many as 1000 slaves,5 *dumde* ...”which some were transported to the America to work in the Plantations. Enslavement will mean to make a slave completely dependent on the Master, that they cannot manage without or alone. According to (Fomin and Chem-langhee, 1990:pp.197-221) the legacy of slavery and slave trade in Mamfe Area, remain a reality. There are many and varied forms in which a man or a

woman can be enslaved by another person. The slaves were kept in places now quarters. These slaves referred to those who before and after the slave trade reached the coastal region after a long trekking from the Grassfield in the Cameroon to the Mamfe plain. Some slaves originated in the Mamfe Area. Not all the slaves that arrived were sold to the Europeans Merchants, and did not reach the Atlantic Ports. Some of these slaves stayed in Mamfe area which anchored several of them in settlements now slave villages or quarters. Most of these slaves who passed through the forest originated in the mountainous grassfield areas, the Bamileke and the Bamenda, and were traded by the Middlemen during the 19th centuries of the transatlantic slave trade. This trade took place from village to village that prevailed in the vast forest between the grassfield and the Atlantic coast thus Mamfe is an “*entrepot*.” (V J Ngoh and ESD Fomin 1998, p.7)¹ To examine this, it will be necessary to throw light on other Cross Section of Cameroon. Therefore, the question that needs an answer is what are the various forms or ways that the people of Mamfe area faced Enslavement in the Modern and Contemporary times? Here, it will be interesting for us to examine the following aspects: A General View of Mamfe Area, The Origin of Enslavement in Mamfe Area, Forms of Enslavement in Mamfe Area and lastly, Strategies to combat Enslavement in Mamfe Area.

II. A GENERAL VIEW OF MAMFE AREA

Mamfe is found in the South West Region of Cameroon. Mamfe falls between Longitude 5°00 and 8°00 north of the equator and between Latitude 10°00 and 5°00 south of the Equator. (George Philip, 1968, pp.66-61) The Climatic Condition of this region is favourable and conducive for the keeping of slaves.² Mamfe covers a total land area of less than 23,008km square. It is a lowland plateau. The Mamfe Depression forms a distinct zone located some 150 kilometres away from the coast. It is almost encircled by a range of mountains except to the West where its lowland stretch out into Nigeria for smooth movement of slaves and intermediaries to trade very easy with the hinterland trader on slaves. The depression receives numerous streams which

flow down from the surrounding mountains and join to form the Cross River which links Cameroon to Nigeria.³ Slaves were transported through these rivers in to the seas and Atlantic Ocean.⁴ The vegetation of the Mamfe Area is characterised by huge rich palm oil belt of the equatorial jungle type. Oil palm is the richest plant. Mamfe has a population in 1967 to be 11, 729, (Neba Aaron, 1987, p.75).⁵ Mamfe is the central town but consists of villages, the Banyang, Ejagham, Anyang, Amassi, Boki, Manta, Messaga, Achabe, Menka, Biteku, Abbella, Eyumodjock, and Besongabang. Manyu Division shares boundaries with the Mezam Division, Menchum Division in the North, in the East, with Lebialem and distance Meme Division and in the South, Ndian Division and Rio del-rey. Slaves were used to work in palm Bushes. They were very good at palm climbing to harvest palm nuts for palm oil. The wildly grown palms like the other equatorial trees compete for sunlight in a sea of great evergreen canopy. Moreso, Mamfe has an evergreen ecosystem that, joint with the mangrove, cash and tall trees in this region. These tall trees were used to construct boats for slaves transportation and construction of Baracoons.⁶

III. THE ORIGIN OF ENSLAVEMENT IN MAMFE AREA

Before the white men came, Africa has already had her system of organisation. Slaves serve for the development of her territories. Anthropologists and historians rarely conceded slaves a culture in the sense of a body of permanent institutions and established practices. Slaves were rather perceived as Translocal individuals of different origin without a common culture and history. (Roschenthaler, 2006:p.71.) The early African slave enjoyed a great deal of freedom. He was regarded as part of the household and was allowed to own property and he was often given his freedom. (F K Buah, 1967, p.57) But, event took place in North as Arabs conquered North Africa, they used slaves to serve in their household and to work in the salt mines. Slaves were forced to do this in the hot season. Eventually, due to European demand for slaves merchant anchor with large

¹ UTE Roschenthaler, “Translocal Culture: The slave and cultural Transfer in the cross River Region”. In <http://www.google.fr>. Search 3h1=80q=slavery and slave trade in South Eastern Nigeria and Mamfe in Cameroon. 1800+1957. 8btnG= recherche 8 Meta.2006.

² George Philip, *The Modern College Atlas for Africa*, Ninth edition, The London Geographical institution, London, 1968. pp. 66-61.

³ Ibid. P, 14.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Neba Aaron S, *Modern Geography of the Republic of Cameroon*, Second edition, Neba Publishers, Camndem, NJ. 08101, 1987.p, 75.

⁶ Georges Couarde, *Atlas Régional Oust I*, Office de la Recherche Scientifique et Technique outré mer, République Unie du Cameroun. P, 46-47.

boats and ships demanding for slaves at the coastal regions. This huge demand for slave led to the trans-Saharan slave trade and transatlantic slave trade.⁷

Furthermore, the enslavement never ended in North Africa but extended to Mamfe area. Mamfe accepted war captives and refugees into their societies but allow them in separated settlements.⁸ Slaves in Mamfe itself that is, that not coming from outside were also integrated into this area, they join the incoming slaves in their settlements.⁹ These slaves population leaving in their settlements in 1916, specifically at Ossidinge in Mamfe which the Banyang occupied a greater amount, the number of adult male slaves was 419. This number could be more than 600, hence the total number of slaves including children and woman was 2600. The number of persons considered as slaves was stated to be 428 thus 80 percent of the total. In 1918, Anyang had 24 slaves, Banyang 185, Boki 40, Ekoi 11, Keaka 148 and Obang had 20. By 1926, there were still a large number of slaves in the Mamfe Area.¹⁰ Some 1360 persons faced enslavement. Leaving in separation explains the onset of enslavement in the Mamfe Area.¹¹ As time and events continued to evolve the number increased drastically as propagated by the German administration.¹² From the above statistics, it proves that the exact number of slaves that faced enslavement in the various settlements was for domestic use and external exportation. This proves and marked the origin of slave trade in the Mamfe Area.¹³ The way or forms of enslavement in the Mamfe area are several and varied.

IV. FORMS OF ENSLAVEMENT IN MAMFE AREA

Those who became slaves, their crimes were hardly justify. Reasons being, actually they do not deserve either the penalties or sanctions. While few actually deserve it, the majority were forcefully accused and rejected from the

Mamfe community. Most of them later found themselves in the settlements hence for the Transatlantic Slave trade. It should be noted that some came from outside the Mamfe society.

3.1.1. Forceful Labour Supply and Tribute Payment

To supply forceful labour to the rich freeborn and pay tributes to them in the form of slaves, constituted just an aspect, some other aspects were for prestige due to the fact that a chief, king and head of quarter was well acknowledged and respected due to his number of slaves found in his backyard in the case of Mamfe as a case study.¹⁴ Some were later enslaved for transatlantic slave trade to forcefully work in the plantations.

Kopytoff and Miers, talk of "Chattel Slavery". An old form "law or old-fashion", something that belongs to you: Women are now considered as equal partners, not as chattels or housekeepers, goods were equal to women because they were bought and forcefully sold in marriage at child birth, as they grew up they were automatically titled towards their husband. Another situation denotes the circumstances that a man uses money in the name of bride price via the parent or relatives in the name of diary but with the primordial intension for the young girl (maid) to work for him.¹⁵ Promiscuity has engulfed greater percentage of the youth population in Mamfe. Selling of one in the various forms of prostitutions: Sex for money and dancing Naked in Night Clubs. Most parents enslave their female children, in such act thus enslaving them to sell themselves for money by having rampant sex, sex without control. Some could embrace all these in one way or the other as social enslavement of some people. Furthermore, it is on this act that they made completely dependent on which they cannot manage without it, hence enslavement.¹⁶ This action in the 19th and 20th century, Mamfe has been able to influence neighbouring societies.¹⁷

3.1.2- Victims of Witch-craft practice

Those who practice Witch craft were Witches and Wizard known to be and look upon as evils doers in the society. This was because they were believed to be devil incarnates with extra ordinary powers. Victims to this act

⁷ Mathew A Seino, *A History of Cameroon*, Bamenda, Unique Press, 1989, p, 24.

⁸ V G Falso, *Cameroon History for Secondary Schools and Colleges, Vol 1. From prehistoric times to the nineteenth Century*, MacMillan, Cameroon, 1989, p, 67.

⁹ V J Ngoh and E S D Fomin, *Slave Settlements in the Banyang Country 1800-1950*. Buea, Publications, 1998. P, 22.

¹⁰ Ibid. p, 23.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Onwubiko KBC, *History of West Africa, 1800-present day*. Book two. Africana-FEP Publishers limited. Nigeria, 1986.p, 86.

¹³ V J Ngoh and E S D Fomin, *Slave Settlement in the Banyang ...* p, 14.

¹⁴ Jean-Pierre Warnier, « Traite Sans raids au Cameroun. » In *Cahier d'etudes Africains* 113, xxix-I, Vol 29 No 113.p, 25.

¹⁵ S Miers. and A Kopytoff, *Slavery in Africa*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press. 1977. P, 3-81.

¹⁶ Interview with Chenyere Ignes Uche at Mamfe, November 11, 2008.

¹⁷ Interview with Udoh Thomas at Mamfe, November 11, 2008.

were victimised or punished in to enslavement. This act was usually attributed more to the Keaka people. Furthermore, the people of Mamfe area belief in key institutions like the *Obasinjom*, *Ekpe* and *Nfam Nyankpe*.¹⁸ It is believed to be borrowed from the Ejagham.¹⁹ They are used to protect the community (*Etok*) and individuals against the civil activities of witches and wizards which gained more prominent position in the era of slave dealing.²⁰ Ferdinand de Jong commented globally which analysing this fact, historical documents described public divination, demonstrates how persons were transformed into slave through the notion of the belief and conviction as witches and wizards hence such victims became prey to guard the people using their supernatural powers. Profiting from the conviction of witches and wizard by the leaders or quarter heads, hence these forms of enslavement was also attributed to the entire Mamfe region such as the Kembong, Ejagham (Keaka), Bakebe. This form of enslavements intertwined with one and other villages that made up Mamfe. This witchcraft is more popular with the Ejagham society who speaks the Keaka language and other neighbouring villages have embraced this practice. This was a belief which enslaved many people. This was life, enslavement. The Anyang, Banyang, Kenyang (Lower and Upper Banyang) and others have borrowed these spirits to victimise those in witch-craft practices as forms of enslavement. (Mary Agbor, Kumba, 2008.)

3.1.3- Disrespect for observances traditional rites

Occult imagination constituted harrowing tales in the era of the slave trade. Mamfe is a place that provided its slaves. Freeman used traditional observances and associations such as Ekpe to subjugate their slaves (Roschenthaler, 2006:p71). These demonstrate how the memories of the slave trade structure the Agency of colonial and postcolonial subjects as they experience the capacity of the slave modern state. Present memories fuse can be understood in the light of the past, the slave trade and the complicity of Mamfe intermediaries is here remembered as a trade of which the moral ambiguities are encrypted in an occult imaginary of witches and Leopard men. This group of people are admired. Informants situated that immorality in their occult imagination let to enslavement, 'burden of blackness' as far as today's, leopard men-politicians gain status. Those elderly men who became members escaped enslavement while those

elders who hated the occult societies were regarded as slaves.²¹ Baum's shrines of the slave trade published in 1999 reiterates on the above that, the Leopard society men only becomes renowned and participate in decision making in the Mamfe area, if they joint this occult groups amongst which is the Leopard men hence they could contribute to make decisions as such gain titles. They are known as elders of the village.²²

In the Mamfe area, the judiciary body known as *kwifons* a traditional group known for their masquerades as well as for their elaborate hierarchies headed by kings (*fons*), these curtly societies are marked by stark concentration of Wealth among the leaders or Heads in the form of wives of which the Heads could posses up to hundred.²³ In the Mamfe society, the *Ndong* dance was for the enslaved because of failure to respect laws of the societies. The slaves were indulged in to this group as a means of punishment. This has been one aspect of continued enslavement; this dance is only by those enslaved while the *Etogobi Beti*, a midnight dance is reserved for the freeborn such as the *Obasinjom*, *Ekpe*, *Beteneh*, and *Eblagha*. The *Obasinjom* was collectively operated by the community. It was indeed a community cult agency.²⁴ This juju is also considered as the messenger of god, traditionally called *Obasi*. He sorts and point out the wicked witches and wizards as well as their hiding places and hidden or unknown deeds during it display. He even sees distance and emerging problems and events and procrastinate or give solutions. In case of disrespect of it laws or norms their punishment was enslavement.²⁵ The dance usually start with an unknown act of screaming and shouting of a member of the cult, the "powers" held the member still bound which he moved toward the masked, lift it up, through on his body by wearing and players accompanied him. He reveals by pointing much evils and devilish actions and deeds and asked for their immediate destructions.²⁶ The *Ekpe* or *Ngbe* and *ekpe* mean Leopard in the *Ejagham* and *Efik* languages respectively, according to U T E Roschenthaler in Translocal cultures. The slave trade and cultural transfer in the cross river region, among the several juju was the *Ekpe*, the most

²¹ Ferdinand de Jong, "Silences that speak to the slave trade." In *Cahier d'études africaines*. L (1), 197, 2010.p, 325.

²² Ibid.

²³ Interview of, Mary Agbor at Mamfe on the 8th February, 2008.

²⁴ V J Ngoh and E S D Fomin, *Slave Settlement in the Banyang Country 1800-1950*, Buea, University of Buea, Publication, 1998. P, 45.

²⁵ V J Noh and E S D Fomin, *Slave Settlement ...* p, 45.

²⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ferdinand de Jong, "Silences that speak to the slave trade." In *Cahier d'études africaines*. L (1), 197,2010p, 325.

well known of these associations. Many areas in Mamfe claimed to be the original inventors which they spread it into the interior or hinterland and further into the Calabar and Cross-river-areas at different levels, grade and posts.

. In later period *Ekpe* became transportable and transformed into a dance association which was later accompanied with songs, rhythms, marks and dances diffused disconnectedly and by imitation, and in turn were integrated into local performances. The *Ekpe* was the most effective society because it renders services such as staging dances in festivities and acted as court and collected debt for members. Crime committers became slaves in this group, and those who do not abide to the norms of this society were enslaved.²⁷ Other association of men with secret knowledge were *Abiankpo* (stilt dance), *Angbu* (drive away ghosts) and *abhon* (a minor form of *Ekpe*) all for younger men. Among the societies for women were *Ekpe Atu* (women's right ritual and *njom Ekpe* a graded society with a secret voice and a sculpted headdress for performances, and always goes out of the village to perform. Also, the existed the women dance called *Moniki* that deals with the display of mirrors while initiating nature being of some creatures.²⁸ The *Mfam* could not be left out for its vital functions. Not being loyal to the above group leads to enslavement.²⁹

3.1.4- Disrespect of Rituals Performances

Rituals are forms in which masses in the Mamfe area used to enslave. The family in Kembong found in Eastern Ejagham confirmed that the *Ndong* of the slaves was made up of villagers. *Ndong* involved the slaves. The settlement society was widely known as *Ndong*. Away from Kembong Eastern Ejagham, the chief of Babi Village in Western Ejagham or Ekwe close to the Nigerian border explained that the slaves danced with skin-covered masks, which were also called *Ndong*, they performed rituals during funeral of their

members which the villagers would not attend. They used a broom stick to magically cut the neck of a fowl in one stroke. Slave women took part in the day performance only. Refusal to perform the rituals in the villages allowed room for more slaves enslavements. The slaves perform their own dances in order not to annoy them because they could not participate in *Oruua Neebe* ritual as the society that excluded the slaves was called *Babi*. Some unbearable slaves or stubborn ones were meant for the transatlantic Middle Passage.³⁰ It should be noted that in all the cult Agencies the grades or level differed from one another and before a member grade is added, a ritual initiation often took place to differentiate this change of grade which in some libation and the killing of animals and birds like goats and fowls. Before a red feather is given to an elder in Mamfe area, a ritual is also performed.³¹ The elders summon and speak words of honour and powers from the ancestors calling on them to accept their nomination of a new person elder in their midst shaking their brooms in the air while touching him evoking the spirit of the gods and ancestors. Palm wine is also used and collar-nut. Some individuals they called "Medicine men" have shrines either behind their houses or inside their houses which they usually carry out rituals, killing animals as means of cleaning the village. Some of these men who refuse to respect these ritual practices became slaves.³²

Related cultural practices connect the social memories of slaves, traders and those who managed to avoid enslavement and deportation, were exposed to embrace close kin which today falls under the forms of enslavement because turning left nor right more substantial will come hence force to stay within the realms of endless enslavement.³³ Ending, occult, cult and rituals led to forms of enslavement, Nicolas Argenti and UTE Rosenthaler said, "There is a person, or country, or both, far on the other side of Qua, called Mbafum ... many of them are brought here as slaves" taken from Anderson letter to Hutchison, old Kalabar, 22 July 1856, quoted in Hutchison (1907 "1861": 322").³⁴

²⁷ Ibid. p, 76.

²⁸ Ibid. other cult Agencies involve, moninjom, Njom called Agbanyang Kembong Cult Agency Okebhone

²⁹ *Mfam* was cult agency, meant also to checkmate the witchcraft of the slaves. That is, they are enslaved to and constantly check the slaves. They are also foreign provenance. The *Mfam* was prepared by special witch doctors from various parts of plants, animals and often human beings. It was a famous Banyang Cult Agency against pervasive witchcraft. The Banyang Cult brought it from the Keaka people around 1880s. *Mfam* was serious and genuine dreaded by witches, wizards and diabolical individuals. People usually swear by *Mfam* to prove their innocence if not they were sold as slaves due to their guilt as they believe. All these safe as forms of enslavement in the Mamfe areas because many are victims to fall into such cult societies which this enslaved many.

³⁰ UT E. Rosenthaler, « Translocal Culture ... » p, 83.

³¹ Interview with Eneke Gideon at Mamfe, 2008.

³² Ibid. it should be noted here that the Translocal healers usually give to some sons of the soil full feathers and descendant of half feathers. The feathers are qualified, not the same to the groups.

³³ Nicolas Argenti and UTE Rosenthaler, "Introduction: Between Cameroon and Cuba: Youth, Slave Trade and Translocal Memory capes." In *Social Anthropology. European Association of Social Anthropologists*. United Kingdom. 2006. P, 40.

³⁴ Ibid

Here, those as *Bankoh* (strangers) arrived Mamfe from the grassfield Areas which they have no brother (*motaicha*) or relatives (*Bate bochi*) which they continue to stay as (*nsem*) one bought and kept in servitude. They usually engulf them in cult Agencies and rituals.³⁵ Some became “sacrificial ram” for conduction of sacrifices-rituals. During the typical slaves days slaves were used for the protection of the village and market in Mamfe hence all entrances to quarters, houses, palaces boundaries and farm-roads. The enslaved were in charged and duty conscious of these activities. The *Mbokondem*, *Nsibiri*, *Ejo* and *Ndem* for women often exercise cultural functions. Enslavement is look upon as a cultural prestige, and some of these families were *Abane*, *akasa*, *Ako nchenge*, *Asingbong*, *Atu Agortarko*, *Atu Enow*, *Mbengn* *Atu Kachang* and others. A name such as *Nsem* means slave, “*Nyengkap*” (chattel), and *Mbeasik* (descendant of slave).³⁶ Out of traditional observances and rituals, the also existed other forms of enslavement in the Mamfe area. But, before elaborating on this form of enslavement it shall be necessary to lay emphasis on the conduct mechanism of this enslavement to the Mamfe areas. Due to the aforementioned traditional forms of enslavement, the also survived translocal frontiers manifestation.³⁷

3.1.5-Marriage Barriers

Marriages in the Mamfe area between the free born and the slaves population are facing serious problems. It has been a bone of contention. The enslaved continuously faced enslavement while the freeborn remain freed. An interviewed person exclaimed.³⁸

“I can never get married to a slave class. God forbid, what has a freeborn got to do with a slave, two ends of different subject, no! They are parallel and must move separately. It can't just meet. No matter what, nothing can change it.”³⁹

³⁵ This became grotesque realism that incorporate violence in the exercise that suggested the performances remember violence as Argenti goes on to argue that such performances are not memorizing histories. The masked dances are not organized according to the king time but according to the king time but according to time of the people that is non-sequential and “ghostly” in its recurrent returns in the present. It involves Mimetic of Violence, transformation presenting in the bodies of the people.

³⁶ V J Ngoh and E S D Fomin, *Slave Settlement* ... p, 21 and 83.

³⁷ UTE. Rosenthaler, “Tranlocal Culture ...”p, 71 and Nicolas Argenti and UTE Rosenthaler; “Introduction between ...” p, 76.

³⁸ Interview with Mary Agbor at Mamfe.2008.

³⁹ Interview with Mary Agbor at Mamfe.2008.

Due to the fact that slaves formed the lower class of the Mamfe people hardly do they interact with the freeborn. This could be one of the reasons for the engagement in much prostitution hence they can only be married with strangers and foreigners out from the Mamfe area. These modalities of marriage restriction before someone is married in Mamfe, he or she must examine the other family lineage to avoid falling into a slave family. If accidentally married the whole married family automatically becomes enslaved and have very little say in the community affairs thus a means of enslavement. For instance, the Atlantic trade, the legitimate trade, the dissemination of Islam and Christianity... For instance ... marriage has historically constituted a protective practice against the dangers of the slave trade, yet it simultaneously rendered married women into potential channels of the wife as ... remembers the slave trade. Men, to this day, defend themselves, afraid of the darkness that renders women unknowable. If gender can thus be understood as memory of the slave trade, memory is also gendered.

Marriage has been examine as a protective practice against the danger of the slave trade, this is so in historical perspective in the Mamfe area because the secrecy of women powers in line to the slaves that were known to be witches and wizard from within and outside thus renders women unknowable which in the Mamfe areas enclose it to be enslavement. This has been detected to be understood as memory of enslavement as memory itself is also gendered as is the case with the Mamfe area in Cameroon.

3.1.6-Wars

Wars as denoted by Meillassoux, Miers, Kopytoff and Northrup (1981) were a means of enslavement out of the “sorcellerie” witches, “*Kong*” of Douala and “*famla*” of the Bamileke region. Warnier in, *la Traite Sans Raids au Cameroon* gives us the means and purposes of wars on a global perspective.⁴⁰

It is crystal clear that slaves were used mostly in wars of honours to create and expand chiefdoms, therefore villages, clans and ethnic groups. This war was not only to capture and kill people but was also to enslave people captured to use them to work, enlarging their kingdoms or territories. But, it has been generally noted that, the wars of capture of slaves actually took place in the Mamfe area but its main purpose or goal was to enslave. It should be noted that forms of enslavement by wars, by using arms, slaves threat or population and different parented depend on region

⁴⁰ J P Warnier, « *Traite sans raid au Cameroon* ... » p, 23.

without macro-sociology of African enslavement as viewed in a number of years founded now on the study of micro-sociology and regional domain as explain as those hereditary. Therefore, in the Mamfe region a man or woman whose ancestors were slaves, the children and grand children, great grand children also became slaves hence those lineages never comes out of enslavement and marriage with the free-born and slaves are restricted.

3.1.7-Voluntary Slavery.

Another glaring form of enslavement is “voluntary slavery”. According to the League of Nations Report on slavery in the Mamfe Division dated 18th December, 1936 states in article 5:

It is not difficult to understand why these persons are content to remain in a position of voluntary slavery. They have been in their present surroundings for generations. They are now under no obligations whatever to their “Master” they are treated as ordinary human being.⁴¹

According to the above quotation it is glaringly clear that, some of these slaves have willingly decided to stay in their initial normal and neglecting positions of slavery which they could openly ask for their liberation by making themselves known in the society. If they are incapable, others could make them come out in their present malice as their offspring will be, protected. Zingraphs tour in this region noted that the exist abundance of association and cult agencies, prevailed in this vast forest between the Grassfield and the Atlantic coast, he said,

“The slaves are in their numbers and very muscular than their masters, they could easily beat them and get free themselves”⁴²

Nicolas Argenti and U T E Roschenthaler seeks here to explain the fact that they have the capabilities to let themselves free but some love their state and will like to continue leaving in such a situation which they fine enough for them in all conditions as also stipulated above in the article.⁴³

⁴¹ NAB, Slave Dealing. The Provincial Court Holden at Mamfe on the 4th day of February 1924.

⁴² Nicolas Argenti and U T E Roschenthaler, Introduction: Between Cameroon and Cuba: Youth, Slave Trade and Translocal Memory capes. In *Social Anthropology. European Association of Social Anthropologists*. United Kingdom, 2006. P, 40.

⁴³ Ibid.

3.1.8-Other Related Forms of Enslavements in the Mamfe Area.

3.2.1-Pawning

In the Mamfe Division, Pawn became legal and it was indiscriminate, a man or a woman can pawn a man, woman, child without others concern thus debts and their recovery.⁴⁴ The general notion was that, only maternal relations can pawn others, a father cannot pawn his own child born of a free woman but the mother of the child can pawn the child born of the maternal relatives of the child, a father can pawn his own child born of the slave woman who he has made his wife, a more common form of pawn of adult is for the person pawned to live in his own house and to render service to the lender of days work every five days (that is, every “week”). This slave tradition renders humanity a product, which was not good and demanded no encouragement.⁴⁵

3.2.2-Stealing

By stealing, seizing, selling and buying, (Suh Hillary S, 2009, P. 120.) The act of stealing could be best explained in the Mamfe area where children were missing, even nowadays children are stolen every day. This situation started long ago as explained by this sentence confirmation in, case no 94/1925, in a Provincial Court held at Obonye on the 3rd of December 1925 under SDO Rutherford hence Rex versus (1) Mbwayina (2) Tabe Ndbaw of Obonye and case no 37, 1926 held at Mamfe on the 6th day of June 1926 before Mr. L L Cantel Acting District Officer holding power, Rex versus Aba Mbaane of Obonye 1 were all charge for child stealing. According to the case, they were judged and found guilty of stealing a child.

3.2.3-Seizing

Furthermore, seizing and treating of a child was usually on debt cases. For example, a slave Abandi (f) of Ntakwo between September, 1923 and January, 1924 was stolen by the accused Anji of Amasi which he admitted seizing the young girl Abandi in justification that he requested a slave

⁴⁴ NAB-Annual Report Downing Street, Sa 1923/16 of 12 December. 1922 Confidential copy, Nigeria from S/D Devonshire to Sir Hugh Clifford GC, MG, Compilation by Mr. Hargrove.

⁴⁵ According to a report from Downing Street dated 12th December 1892, a copy Nigeria in a confidential letter from Senior divisional Officer; Devonshire to Governor, Sir Hugh Clifford, G c M. stipulated in part 1, chapter 10, Pages 1436-1438 impact of slavery and slave Trade on debt and their recovery.

which he paid for but no slave was given him, so he had to seize and treat the girl Abandi as slave.⁴⁶

3.2.4-Selling

Also, selling and buying was another dimension to enslave someone, hence Anji substantiated that he gave money to one man named Ekiri of Abandi's country to buy him a slave, he took the money for himself and did not repay him, so he decided to seized their child to recoup himself, which he kept "here" for five months until police aid, that came and release the girl thus means of enslavement.⁴⁷

3.2.5-Buying

Buying, according to (Martin A. Klein, 2001) and (J P Warnier, 1995) explained that the coastal slave dealers still came up to the Mamfe area with head loads of goods, stayed there for two months and went down again with an average of 20-25 slaves carrying goods. In the decentralization societies of the forest regions slaves were rarely sold in market places but rather by private arrangement and in the darkness of night. By this time, the slave trade was more hidden and organized by net-works shrine or secret societies such as Ekpe. Not all the slaves abducted in the grassfield reached as far as the slave ship. Many remained dislocated on the continent like Children under captivity.

V. STRATEGIES TO COMBAT ENSLAVEMENT IN MAMFE AREA

According to and in the Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of slavery and Slave trade and Institutions and Practices similar to slavery adopted by a Conference of plenipotentiaries convened on 30th April 1956 at Geneva, on 7th September 1956 that went into full force or operational on 30th April 1957 stipulated in section one article one that, "...to bring about progressively and as soon as possible the complete abolition or not they are covered by the definition of slavery...signed at Geneva on 25th September 1926...

(c)Any institution or practice whereby:

(i)A woman, without the right to refuse, is promised or given in marriage on payment of a consideration in money or in kind to her parents, guardian, family or any other person or group; or

(ii)The husband of a woman, his family, or his clan, has the right to transfer her to another person for value received or otherwise; or

(iii)A woman on the death of her husband is liable to be inherited by another person;" all these falls under the act of Slavery and slave trade in case of it disrespect or practically enforcement.(U N O , S C S S T I P S S , PP.1-2)

Here, a freeborn or a slave should have the right to select or chose the one he or she love indiscriminately either from the Freeborn or the slave class. Before the eighteen century, there is no evidence to prove that slavery came under serious attack or was combated especially in the Mamfe area. According to the panoramic view on patterns of Emancipation" Christ insisted on the equality of all before God and Christianity experience much of its early success among the disenfranchised of the Roman Empire". Churches should extend their tentacles and reach this area in more "vague" and preach to humanity the commandments of God. Church "Priest" should accept or embrace the institutions of states and societies hence needed framework for putting in order by controlling sin and allowing the religious institutions to perform its sacramental functions that will enable the people to reason as one and embrace each destiny.⁴⁸ Furthermore, Martin A Klein quoted Hunwich as means to show respect for humanity in Muslim point of view or light.⁴⁹

"Fear God in the matter of your slaves. Feed them with what you eat and cloth the slave with what you wear and do not give them work beyond their capacity. Those whom you like refrain, and those whom you dislike sell. Do not cause pain to God's creation. He caused you to own them and had them. He so wished, he would have caused them to own you"⁵⁰

Here, justification for the enslavement of people in the various forms should be wantonly rebuffed because it's the existing world of exploitation and suffering in the Mamfe region. This hell can also be refused by bringing to effect, putting in place the Muslim act under the code 25 of 1917 that dealt with children liberation under fifteen years old and the system of holding persons for debt which presently is still

⁴⁶ NAB, Political Sa/1926/3 file, No 119/1926. Mamfe Criminal case 37/1926.

⁴⁷ NAB, Slave Dealing. The Provincial Court Holden at Mamfe on the 4th day of February 1924.

⁴⁸ Martin A. Klein, "Introduction; Modern European Expansion and Traditional Servitude in Africa and Asia." In *Breaking the Chains, Slavery, Bondage, and Emancipation in Modern Africa and Asia*. 1993. P, 14.

⁴⁹ Ibid. p, 2.

⁵⁰ Hunwich, 1988. P, 10 and Martin Klein; "Introduction: Modern European ..."p, 14.

existing as a man will allow her daughter to get married to a rich man because he was and may be indebted to him, an indirect means to pay his debt. This is included under the code (369) in Nigeria hence “slave dealing”.⁵¹

Furthermore, another glaring mood of eradicating slavery and slave trade or related forms of enslavement in the Mamfe area is to establish more abolition movements like that of the abolition of England slavery that was illegal and became abolished in 1772 and by the end of the century Upper Canada and most of the Northern United States had taken action against slavery. The renovation in France in 1794 was geared toward the abolition of colonial slavery. The American constitution provided for the end of slave imports in 1808 while the Danes abolished the colonial slave trade in 1803, Britain in 1807, the Dutch in 1814. In Cameroon 1923 and series of convention under the League of Nations Report via convention, the United Nations Penitentiary convention on slavery and slave trade and other related forms of slavery. If all these abolition application is resented in the Mamfe area, the forms of enslavement will gradually disappear or come to an end. Due to the fact that slavery was immoral, as a single movement was equation to bondage and backwardness.⁵²

Additionally, usually poverty and famine has been the backbone in precipitation of the rampant means of enforcing enslavement in our various communities worldwide and in Mamfe.⁵³ Multi-national investment should be focus on development and on individual families, revealed to be a slave or decadence of slaves. More so, if so well instituted those under this “cage forum” will come out for their ameliorations. This could help to reduce the poverty rate and create employment to those living in bondage that the government agreed unofficially to allow slavery to be re-established for the new arrival, while in public it stuck to its contract, labour which envisage paying the owners of the slaves freed in 1875, instead measures should be taken to punish slaves owners as a means of discouraging the slavery.

⁵¹ NAB, South West Province, Memo-Slavery (forced labour and c.s.a 1918/2, disposal of Freed Slave Children.

⁵² (...) There was a moment between 1775 and 1783 when parliament was called upon to consider one element of the slave system relative independent of its policy toward the United States. ... with every other quarter of the globe. Seymour Drescher, *Abolition; A History of slavery and Anti-slavery* Cambridge University Press, New York, 2009.p, 119.

⁵³ (...) Debates over slavery varied in different parts of the empire. P,19. In Britain, the interest aroused by the Somerset case and Colonial agitation for slave trade abolition after 1772 were adversely affected by the outbreak of hostilities.

Workers salaries in plantations in and around this region should be added not to their proprietors, directors, and managers auspices but directly, from the donors to the slaves. Experts should guard them from masters-servants relations and make special laws that will control over their payment “money”. Their children will be better taken care of, so well done. The donor society could even extend her assistance in seeking nice decent jobs with good salary and even use them to continue crusading against forms of enslavement. All the above could reduce our attachment to sort slaves to better their gloomy past and present conditions.⁵⁴

Even though slave trade was a clandestine importation of labour from about 1900, organized by Canoe owners who had for centuries been deeply involved in the slave trade of the oil rivers and the Crosse rivers, slavery was entirely absent from the Kamerun plantation zones. Whether this ever was done is not clear, but it is certain that many of the workers known were actually slaves subcontracted by the Bali and other chiefs to the planters. The Germans checked only external not internal slavery. Comey and dash were given and could still be added so that persons of slave statute should be compensated or well paid to come out of slavery.⁵⁵

Slaves should be sent back and their masters should not confiscate their merge salaries. It is possible that survivors can returned for further contracts in the plantations. Modern methods of slave raiding, especially at the expense of the dense populations of the Grassfield should come to an end. The Bali and others pacification and it's Corollary, base on ending the slave raiding.⁵⁶

Important slave routes should be traced across territories and improve. Slave should be all free if they entered into some territories. Settlement “Free Zones” many should be created “Free Zones” well constructed. They will come out in their number and receive better conditions in nice and comfortable houses. More agreement pact and treaties should be signed with chiefs and head of states and put in practice indicating end of enslavement. The existing slaves should be paid by donors while they continue to work domestically

⁵⁴ Martin A Klein, discussion with student of masters and Ph D University of Dschang. West Province Cameroon on the 21st of December 2011 at 9 AM to 1.30 PM. Opinion, evaluation on the means or methods to solve slaves problems.

⁵⁵ William Gervase Clarence-smith, “cocoa plantations coerced labour in the Gulf of Guinea, 187-1914,” In *Breaking the Chains Slavery, Bondage and Emancipation in modern Africa and Asia* (ed. Martin A. Klein.) The University of Winconsin Press, Madison, London. 1993. p,160.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

depending on the evolution carried out to better their conditions for some length of time. He can decide to stay where he is, if he wishes to stay at spots and give his or her loyalty. They can still trace their origin and come back for permanent stay and effectively carryout sensitization of the havoc in our societies such as that of Mamfe area in Cameroon.⁵⁷

An appropriate defensive strategy in Africa as suggested by Martin A Klein was the architecture that made it difficult for attackers to take prisoners even if they succeeded in entering a fortified village. This means has been very effective, it should be enforced.⁵⁸ Nowadays, it will be necessary and good for us to build nice comfortable flat encircle with fence and good jobs provided to trace slaves in Africa.⁵⁹

Furthermore,(John N Oriji,2004,pp.121-131), (Ismail Rashid,2004,pp.132-151), (Walter Hawthorne,2004,pp.152-169), (Joseph E. Inkori,2004,pp.170-198, 199-118), (Carolyn A. Brown,2004,pp. 219-225) and (Paul E. lovejoy and David Richardson ,2004,pp.101-118) in Fighting the slave Trade as West Africa Strategies, brought forth modalities that all boils at letting loose the slaves and revamp the standard of their living conditions. The prime intentions of William Wilberforce, Granville Sharp, Thomas Clarkson and Buxtons that was at the time remedies, solutions to the assessment of the extent problem on slavery and the slave trade could still be revised and applied. Ending of Apprenticeship, House-Helps, shop-helps, should received better payment and good working conditions in Africa and Mamfe.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Claris Achu in CRTV News reiterated on the Comeback of some blacks Americans after having been undergone the G N A Test and result was positive. They are said to have originated in Cameroon at the Bimbia area where slavery and the slave trade was highly practiced. CRTV News 2nd of January 2011.

⁵⁸ Martin A Klein, "Defensive strategies Wasulu, Masina and the slave trade." In *Fighting the Slave Trade. West Africa Strategies*. (ed. Sylviane A. Diouf) Ohio University Press, United Kingdom, 2004.p. 62.

⁵⁹ Interview with Etah Henry, Limbe on the 28th of December 2010.

⁶⁰ Buxton's response has already been noted. The slave trade and its Remedy was the first detailed treatment of the issue by an abolitionist for many years and the most damning attack so far made by anyone on the official policy ... Buxton has been critical of the suppression policy. Others went much further. Not only, it second to them was Britain failing to check the traffic; she was actually making it worse... for economic reasons, to keep mortality to a minimum. Howard Temperly, *British Anti Slavery 1833-1870*, Longman, London 1972.p, 169. Therefore, not only the American

Another glaring process which can be use is the broader process, as a technique through propaganda, petitioning and association that will involve organizational techniques of mercantile and manufacturing lobbyists. This will serve as a means of converting public pressure into law and policy which has been neglected under the United Nations Convention on the Abolition of Slavery and the trade and other related act of forms of enslavement during slave trafficking. This could be reiterated via Colloquium, Conferences, associations, Libraries, debating societies, pamphlets, Novels, Public meetings, ongoing discussions and petitions to the national legislature since this is an act against religious norms, Religious bodies should articulate distaste and crusade on this deviance for popular mobilization.⁶¹ Thomas Clarkson was completely unaware of Granville Sharps decades' activity. Only on reacting, he discovered, small band of Evangelicals who were also to play a large role under James Ramsay who has been furnished for the cause.⁶²

VI. CONCLUSION

In the nutshell, this piece of work on the forms of enslavement in Mamfe Area 1900-2010 has been rotating on the following Axis; A General View of Mamfe Area, The Origin of Enslavement in Mamfe Area, Forms of Enslavement in Mamfe Area and the Strategies to combat Enslavement in the Mamfe Area. Decadences of slaves remain victims of prejudice. These different circumstances in which people were enslave is not good so it will be interesting if some actions be taken to erase the harsh treatment of humankind in our societies and that of Mamfe. It will be interesting if we can revamp and bring to effect once more, emancipating methods made to abolish slave trade. Furthermore, we can deduce from the attempted solution to draw best and concrete ways in which one could use as remedies to end the act of enslavement and better the lives of slaves, knowing the slaves. This will demand further research to know how we can trace the roots of slaves and solve their problems globally and individually. The slave trade led to profound changes in the Mamfe area. It actually

Continent should face this fight nowadays, the most essential British society need to react promptly.

⁶¹ Information and financial networks of the initial abolitionist movement such as Quaker Organization in Britain became more apparent anti-slave trade committee.

⁶² Seymour Drescher, *Abolition: A History of Slavery and Anti Slavery*. Cambridge University Press, New York, America 2009. P, 211. These remedies should take diverse forms to better solve the problems of enslavement.

made great changes in the political, economic and social structures as were deeply shaken. The violent brought about incessant wars, a direct result of the hunt for men, women and children. This has got negative impact on the people thus defensive and protective strategies should be applied. Presently, it will be interesting to protect the continues fight for the abolition by examining methods, strategies to assist the predecessors of the slaves, based on the rational management of their environment. The desiring compensation should geared improving the lives and vicinity of these people and those victims' offspring. This has negative impact on the people thus *defensive, protective* and *offensive* strategies should be applied. What measures can be use to completely end slavery in the ongoing contemporary Mamfe Area?

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