

History and Customs of the Chamba

By

M. S. Garbosa II

(Gara Donga)

Translated by Graham Furniss

Abstract Muhamman Bitemya Sambo (1902-82), who became Garbosa II, the seventh Gara Donga (1931-82), took more than thirty years to complete a history of his own Chamba people in 1956, *Labarun Chambawa da Al'Amurransu*. Garbosa II's successor, together with representatives of his descendants, have graciously permitted an English translation to be published.

Resumé Muhamman Bitemya Sambo (1902-82), devenu Garbosa II, le septième Gara Donga (1931-82), a travaillé pendant plus de trente ans pour compléter une histoire de son propre peuple Chamba en 1956, *Labarun Chambawa da Al'Amurransu*. Le successeur de Garbosa II, ainsi que les représentants de ses descendants, ont gracieusement autorisé la publication d'une traduction anglaise.

Tsakure Muhamman Bitemya Sambo (1902-82), wanda ya zama Garbosa II, Gara Donga na bakwai (1931-82), ya yi fiye da shekara talatin kafin ya gama rubutun tarihin Chambawa cikin 1956, watau *Labarun Chambawa da Al'Amurransu*. Mabiyin Garbosa II, tare de wakilan zuriyarsa, sun ba da izni a buga wata fassara zuwa harshen Ingilishi.

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Excerpted from the letter of permission.

As Gara Donga, after due consultation with the children of M.S. Garbosa II represented by Alhaji Salisu Garbyera Sambo, Alhaji Dauda Sambo and Dr Doo Bilboriga Sambo, I hereby grant permission to publish online, and on condition of free open access, this English language translation of M.S. Garbosa II *Labarun Chambawa da Al'Amurransu* and *Salsalar Sarakunan Donga*.

I also grant permission for a scan of the original Hausa text to be made available online under the same conditions.

Rights in the integral, new English translation, as well as in the original Hausa text, are retained by the Gara Donga and his successors.

HRH Sanvala Varzoa Shimbura

Gargbanyi II

Gara Donga

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Introduction

Ever since I was at the ETC of the Sudan United Mission in Wukari, I took great pleasure in geography and history, reading and writing. I felt that I ought to try to write the history of the Chamba people while my fathers and other old people were still alive, the majority of them had been alive as children when battles took place and either they themselves saw what happened

and helped preparations to go to battle, or they had grown up with their fathers and grandparents while they were still alive and heard stories from them. For a long time, I had this plan in mind.

While I had this plan in my heart, I knew that most people in this country of ours, apart from a very few, do not know the usefulness of schooling, and therefore it was difficult for me to gain permission to write history. But I was determined to do this writing, and if I didn't do it then those people who knew the stories would all die one day, and then in the future if anyone wanted to write down these stories, it would be very difficult indeed to do it.

At that time all the tribes [*kabilu*] were living peacefully and there was no division amongst them caused by political parties of any kind, people were simply farming, trading and paying taxes. I wrote my stories in those circumstances with no ulterior motive, or other plan in mind.

In 1923, when we were given a vacation, I came to Donga, I went and asked permission from Gara Donga (chief of Donga) Garbasa Nyaga, sixth chief of Donga. He was amazed that a young man of 21, such as myself, had wanted to take up this difficult work. He mentioned the names of some important people who knew the history.

I thanked him with all joy and politeness. I went round to the houses of these important men and to a number of women who also knew the history and I wrote down their narratives. From the money in my pocket, I would give them something so that they would not get tired of me, also so that they would be pleased and carry on telling me the good stories to the limit of their abilities. I went to many houses and to different towns in this way until I had finished. But, while I was doing this work, I suffered a lot of mockery, criticism and blame but I took no notice because I had already studied at school the geography and the history of countries of other peoples which had been written down.

I started these writings on the 21st of August 1923 and went on to finish them. In 1932 and 1933 I added to these writings after I had widened my knowledge by travelling with a European who was writing the stories of the origins of people, a government officer called Mr C.K. Meek, a government anthropologist, for whom I became a junior clerk on the 18th of January 1927 a few months before I returned to being an elementary teacher for the Native Authority in Wukari. I've already mentioned the kind of people from whom I obtained these stories earlier and above. Well, here are the names of the most expert in helping me, both men and women, while I was writing this book: Moya, Nganang, Burba, Nawalam, Mr Ventujol a Frenchman, and a professor whose name is Mallam Mohammed, a Kanuri man. Amongst the women there were Gambarga, Pinkina and Konyo-a.

In the stories of wars, I can say that there is nothing to be doubted, except that the way the world is, however expert a person is, there will always be mistakes, but I have written these stories along with those who were in those wars that happened when they were young, and also some few amongst them who were old and were at some point in the battles themselves.

My intention in this work has been, since before I started to write this book, to write the stories of the origins of the Chamba and the affairs of the Chamba so that those who come after and their grandchildren can know something of the origins of their fathers and their grandfathers. So that they know the stories and, if possible, their characters. Some of the stories are about good times some are about hard times, but I am certain that after some years or some time, the stories and those who know the stories of our fathers and grandfathers will be gone from this world unless it has been written down in a book.

I am Bitemya M Sambo: the writer of this book

(In 1931, I became M S Garbosa II chief of Donga VII)

Where are the Chamba? I am talking to you, you who know. Why did we come to Africa? Why did we enter Nigeria? What did we gain from Africa for all the time we have lived in it? Well, our original country, the country of Sham, it is the Syrians who live there now, and they are more advanced than we are in education, in wisdom and depth of knowledge and in riches. But were we able to go back there, then perhaps we might be more advanced, who knows!

Here in Africa or here in Nigeria the tribe [*kabila*] of the Chamba are amongst the tribes of a number of countries. Were it possible to bring together all the different groups of Chamba who are under English rule or under French rule, along with those who are scattered in many other places, then we would find that we are amongst the most populous of tribes. So, who would be able to ascertain for us this grand total, a great thing to know? No one has the power to do this except the Governor of Nigeria alone. He knows the total of the Chamba people [*Chambawa*] who are under his rule. If he determined to know the total of this community [*al'umma*] all together, then he could send to the French governor and ask him to send the total of the Chamba people who are there.

I am certain that one could say, knowing how many Chamba people there are, were they together in one place or indeed in one country then definitely they would constitute a major administrative unit and from the beginning their main chief would be among the First Class Chiefs. There is no doubt about this, just look at the totals for some of the existing First Class Chiefs. Were things fair it would be incumbent upon the Governor of Nigeria to help us because we are amongst the most populous tribes who follow him. Under the law of the English, it is said that there is no discrimination or going by origin, only truth and justice. We ought to be treated better because of our numbers.

The majority of Nigerian Chamba have no great prominence or history in the land of Northern Nigeria but we are at least known in the provinces [*larduna*] of Benue and Adamawa.

Languages. Our numbers, and the distance between the places where we live, and the environment of the lands that we live in, have brought about differences in our languages. Nevertheless, we are able to understand each other. In some places the Chamba have learnt the languages of the people they control, little by little, and their own language has retreated. In our view, doing this is no crime, it has been done in order to make the business of rule easier. There is a comparison with the land of the Hausa people because now the Fulani who are in the cities are using Hausa and their language has retreated, although their origin is Fulani.

After I visited Bamenda country in February 1954, counting as part of the CENSUS, the total of Chamba people in the three provinces was more than 1,000,000, not including the Chambas who lived in French territory or those scattered in other provinces, or people from other tribes who have joined with them so closely that they have become Chamba through upbringing, through adopting customs or through trading with the Chamba.

Wherever you are, in whatever land, if you call the name Chamba we will answer to it immediately. We don't make out that we are some other kind of people [*kalan dangi*] in order to claim for ourselves some stronger origin or greatness. We will always admit that other tribes [*kabilu*] were previously related to us when we are compared, no matter that there is no special name that will cover all of us and them, if called, in all certainty and without implication of slavery.

(There is a matter of great regret for us Chamba people. It is very surprising if you examine the matter honestly and justly, that a people as numerous as us should lack a leader, a chief,

who has a place in the government of Northern Nigeria, not one in the whole of Nigeria who will be able to advise and present our views together with the thousands of people who are below us. Truth is like nose hair (that hurts to extract), saying this truth hurts, whoever has to say it. We Chamba people do not have an important voice in the affairs of modern Nigeria. As for representatives of the people, I don't think there can be more than one, or maybe two. Allah alone can repair this, He and those to whom He has entrusted responsibility.)

The Stories of the Chamba in Nigeria

The land of the Chamba here in Nigeria runs from east of the city of Yola towards the west, and the land is called Dindi. This is the land of the Chamba. The Chamba call themselves Deng or Denga (Dengha). This name Chamba is the name that other communities [*al'umma*] call them by, corresponding to the original country from which they came to Africa, up to here in Nigeria. (Until today the Chamba call their biggest city Zolba.)

The Chamba have become many different tribes [*kabilu*] of people. The Janga (Jangha), the Sama and Nyera have become one, all descended from the same father — that is Doo (Doh) Daglkanga. The other tribes [*kabilu*] of the Chamba you will see are nearly all made up of three major tribes [*kabilu*].

While we have said that Janga (Jangha) and Sama and Nyera have become three as the children of Daglkanga, however among his children Sama have become most numerous and strong because Livalsama had many children. Nyera and Sama, that is Livalsama and Janga (Jangha), are the children of Daglkanga, grandchildren of Sala, but Livalsama multiplied and became three sections. They are (a) Samyela, (b) Samburwa, (c) Samdinga (Samdingha), these three are grouped together as Sama, their father being Livalsama. It is for this reason that Janga, Sama and Nyera undertake the same death rituals as each other. These three consult together. They are like a cooking stove, in the way that the three stones of a cooking fire are never separated, so these three are never separated. Some say that Nyera are the paternal cousins of Janga and Sama, but we cannot say if that is true, because in the list of the Chamba tribes [*kabilu*] we see the Nyera coming from nowhere other than Daglkanga, therefore they are closely related, all grandchildren of Sala.

Daglkanga blessed Livalsama with the intent that he should be his heir, and this blessing came into effect and did not cease and, as was said earlier, they multiplied to become a famous tribe [*kabila*] among all the other Chamba tribes [*kabilu*]. When Livalsama died he left a great name, so much so that his remaining kinsmen became like children to him.

For example, when the Lera funeral obsequies are undertaken, it is the praise tunes of Livalsama that are blown in the death room, and all the songs that are sung mention Livalsama as they say farewell to the departed, and they introduce the departed to Livalsama so that the departed does not lose his way (way to heaven is meant here) and goes to Livalsama their father. And this goes not only for his three children that is Samyela and Samburwa and Samdinga, but all the related descendants, that is to say the Nyera and Janga, when that tune or the songs of Livalsama are performed to say goodbye when taking them to the grave. And, similarly, when Chamba perform obsequies or some happier occasion, performing Lera beginning with Sab-Lera, then if you take notice of the first song you can be sure that the blessings are in his name, because you will see that the Chamba and the majority of the grandchildren of Tura take him to be preeminent, but a person would not realise this fully except by being at a number of different traditional occasions of the Chamba, hearing the songs that are performed and understanding their meanings. These are the things that demonstrate what I am saying.

As we said earlier, the Sama and Janga and Nyera are together, similarly Kola, Poba, and Kwasa. And it is the same for the remaining Chamba tribes [*kabilu*], but for brevity we will just list the names: Ngwuma, Gbana, Shikunkuna, Salkuna, Zaa, Denkuna, Lama, Laga, Pyeri, Dumbalkuna, Kpenga, Zabilkuna, Zamkuna, Nyamkuna, Sobaa, Zagbonkuna, Sarkuna, (Nupabi) Zangani (Zanghani) Gurum, Balla, Darim, Yama, Dakka, Girim, and a number of other small tribes. And then there are Tikari, Pati, Jidu, Lufun, Fali and the remainder with whom we trust to do things together and so they have become our relatives [*'yan' uwa*].

The story of the departure of the Chamba from Dindin

From when the Chamba entered Africa and made their way to Nigeria they were involved in wars and many kinds of difficulties, hunger, many diseases, until they arrived in Dindin, the land that is now called Adamawa, here they planted their tethering posts marking a place to live.

So, things went on and war broke out between them and a number of other tribes [*kabilu*] who are called Battawa who had come later. They were involved in attack and counter-attack and then a number of Fulani called the Mallawa and the Ba'awa arrived. They were pastoral people with their cattle, and they increased in number and started to cause problems. Well problems and difficulties just increased. There was a major famine and there was not sufficient food, and it became necessary for some Chamba to leave and seek food because they were many, as many as flies. Look, we Chamba people, we have no story that says that in all of these matters we were defeated in war nor that we were enslaved, merely that we were deceived and tricked when seeking trust. Here is how things were:

1. The majority of Chamba stayed here and didn't migrate, the food would be sufficient for them. Those who migrated were in four groups but, because of the number of them, they couldn't travel in a single group because the food would not be sufficient for them in the bush.
2. Those who headed for the Benue Province were divided into two groups. A number went from Adamawa to the west.
3. Some went south to the north part of the southern Cameroon region, then they headed west to the north of Benue Province. The second group and the third are now in Benue Province.
4. Some headed south east and they are the Chamba people of Bamenda country [*kasa*].
5. Some headed east and they are the Chamba who are in French territories now.

In terms of numbers, the Chamba in Adamawa are the most numerous by far, those who are in Bamenda Province are next, then we who are in Benue Province. But those who are in French territories, we don't know how many they are because they are under a different jurisdiction.

I have already obtained the totals of numbers of people in groups 1 to 4, these numbers that I have mentioned, I got them from the Residents: the Resident of Adamawa, the Resident of Bamenda and the Resident of Benue.

When the Chamba were departing, all those who had horses saddled up, they took the animals, sheep and goats, women and children, and expert horsemen were also sent forward first. The other selected men stayed behind and blew their horns, that is to say 'Lera', and they circled the area three times and then they followed on behind the train of people.

I will begin with the story of those who went to the west, to Benue Province, and then those who went to the northern part of southern Cameroon, and between them those who went to the north and west parts of Benue Province. When they left from the east of Yola, and headed west,

they were fighting as they went and were having to hunt animals of the bush in order to find food. They set down a large encampment [*sansani*] at a place called Tipchen, near a small stream. From there they went on and made an encampment at Gildu, and from Gildu they arrived at a river which is called in Chamba 'LOGARA'. The meaning of this is the 'killer of the king', and it is the River Gazabu in Bakundi District, Muri Division in Adamawa Province.

When this community [*al'umma*] of people were about to cross the River Gazabu the Chamba people [*jama'a*] wanted to help their chief, but he refused their help (there was no boat which could take them across the river). After all the people had crossed over, he rode into the river on his stallion in order to make the crossing. Suddenly they saw him sink into the water and the water became still, he had disappeared in the river along with his horse. A woman from his family whose name was Namiena, his favourite wife, she was lost with him in the river. They spent a long time looking for them but they never saw them again.

This chief who was lost in the river was Basama, from the Sama clan, and his name was Loya; his title was Garbosa (meaning the master of the tongs). His first child was Shimbura. He inherited his father's kingdom and took the title Garkiye. Loya Garbosa who drowned in the River Gazabu was the son of Nonga (Nongha) Garbasa. Garbasa Nonga was the son of Samyela, and Samyela was the son of Livalsama. Livalsama was the son of Tura, and Tura was the son of Doo (Doh).

Our story begins with Loya son of Nonga Garbasa. We must take note of this at this point in relation to the stories that will come later, so that we can be sure that there is no doubting any of this. Loya Garbosa was the leader who brought the Chamba west to Benue Province from Adamawa, and this is how the story goes of the movement of the caravan of these Chamba people.

And now for what happened after Loya Garbosa was lost in the River Gazabu. The Gazabu flows into the River Taraba near Kundi (Bakundi District).

The Chamba people left there and went to Giendu where Nubumga Donzomga was born, the first son of Shimbura. After some time, the Chamba people came together to discuss who would take on the chiefship. They said it would be important to have a leader and a united voice so that we could become strong, particularly because we would be travelling in thick bush country, and so other people would flee from us. A decision was reached that Shimbura would inherit the title from his father. At that time Shimbura was a strong young man, a real warrior. Shimbura liked to fight, he preferred fighting because he had had great successes both in attacks on people and in hunting animals. Shimbura himself said to a nobleman, Nya, one of the Kola tribe [*kabila*], whose name was Pyemishena, 'See how I am strong, and so I will not yet take on my father's title because I know how to make war and so will lead our other tribes [*kabilu*] to defeat our enemies. I give you my title to hold for me.' Nya of the Kola tribe said, 'I have heard everything you have said and I thank you, and the people have borne witness to this.'

But the people preferred that Shimbura should take the title so as not to deviate from the ways of chieftainship, for everyone knows that according to Chamba tradition the first born of the deceased is the one who inherits the home, that is the chiefship, and so their joy was diminished and, while they consented it was not wholeheartedly as they would have wished.



Figure 1: Map of the places of war and wanderings of the Chamba

From there they crossed over a river which is now called the Suntai and they established themselves at the base of a hill. Here they confirmed his [Nya's] leadership, and so he gave himself the title Gar-Kola-Garkola, 'Gar' means Gara = Chief, 'Kola' = hill. In short 'Garkola'

means the Chief of the Hill in Chamba. Here they established their town and they lived in the company of Shimbura and many other people. They were so many that some went to live on the tops of hills – like Gayama, Gbangwana and other hills. The name of that town was Garkola and is now Gankwe [Gankwai], the Chamba people founded it when there was no one up in the hills.

Shimbura migrates to Takum country

Garkola said to Shimbura, 'I think it is right to give you an important title by which you can be called instead of being called by your name Shimbura, because of the powerful support you have given me.' So he brought the important people together and appointed Shimbura as Tigye, and he also gave the title of Gangum to someone from the clan of Poba who was called Nuyera. But the people preferred Tigye Shimbura to Garkola because he was more congenial and was a ruler in the traditional way. People congregated at the door of Tigye Shimbura's house for pleasure. A female relative of Shimbura's called Sazeya was married to Garkola.

Garkola began to wonder whether Tigye Shimbura would one day take his chieftainship by force, for he had a large number of experienced fighters behind him, and many slaves with him, and so he began to feel enmity towards him. Those who liked Garkola separated themselves from anything to do with Tigye Shimbura. Tigye Shimbura was a man of great humility and ignored these goings on. The enmity became so great that Sazeya, his relative, became angry and said to Shimbura, 'This despising has become too much, make yourself into a woman and I will make myself into a man!' Then Tigye Shimbura consulted his people after conferring with Sazeya, and he and his people moved out one night without a word to Garkola, he said, 'If we fight each other it would be a great shame, and a free man does not speak with two voices since I agreed in the presence of the people that he should become chief.'

In the morning word was sent to Garkola saying, 'Tigye has moved out, Tigye has moved out!' But when Tigye was about to leave he looked for his son, Nubunga Donzomga, but couldn't find him. He thought he was probably with the people out in front or with the horses at the front. But that was not the case, he had gone visiting to a particular quarter of the town. Garkola was told that Nubunga Donzomga was still in town, and so he was fetched and shackled in a horse's stable.

Garkola gathered together his courtiers and his important men and said, 'Tigye has departed with many people, but I now have his son and I will not let him go.' The next day they gathered again to discuss and advised the chief to execute Nubunga Donzomga. But amongst the people there was one titleholder who said nothing, Gbaningha Kpanghati – that is Madaki Gbaningha. They asked him for his advice, but he remained silent without a word. They asked him again! He answered, 'Let me ask you something. Are you really sure that this person you say you want to kill is truly Nubunga Donzomga, son of Tigye, and not some slave? Goodness me, people, are you going to carry out a sentence of death on a chiefly son who has committed no crime, and for no good reason? I will have no part in this evil decision.' All the people were dismayed and went their separate ways. That night he went and released him and found some people to accompany him in following his father Tigye. They met up with Tigye and he was grateful and happy. He took an elephant tusk and said it should be given to Gbaningha Kpanghati, and two slaves for Garkola and said he should be told where he was.

The following morning there was no sign of Nubunga Donzomga and Garkola was amazed. The messengers returned and reported the messages as they had been ordered to do, then Gbaningha Kpanghati said to chief Garkola, 'We told you the truth as we saw it, this man's character has always been great. Even though he is still travelling through the bush,

nevertheless he was not lacking in goodness, even in success he did not forget what chiefly qualities are.’

When Shimbura reached the country of Takum, the (Zomparawa or Zompere) Kutep and the other tribes [*kabilu*] in the area did not receive them well, therefore he made war on them and took a number of Kutep towns and established ramparts [*ganuwa*] at Jenuwa. The remains of those ramparts are still visible today.

Shimbura becomes chief

A leader of the Nupabi tribe [*kabila*] (Chamba) called Gahwan, son of Galim Gba, and Gardanpua called Gban Kuna of the Ngwuma tribe [*kabila*] and other Chamba leaders who had travelled with Tigye Shimbura from Garkola, came together and installed Shimbura as chief following the chieftaincy of his father Loya Garbosa, their great chief with whom they had come from Adamawa, but who died in the River Gazabu when trying to cross. The name of his title was ‘Garkie’ (Garkiye). The meaning of this name was ‘Chief of Fools’ because he had refused the chieftainship of his father and had given it to an old man of the Kola clan and who afterwards had shown him ungratefulness and evil behaviour, which was why he chose for himself this name ‘Chief of Fools’.

Garkiye I and the rest of his Chamba people had already taken Jenuwa and Akente, Akyuma, Bika, Likam of Markam, and had determined to take the remainder of the Kutep towns further away. This is how things were when Gban Kuna, who was later made Gardanpua, broke away and became a hypocrite in his jealousy of Garkiye I, feeling that he was becoming ever more important, and so headed southwest from Takum country. He called upon Komboshi [also, Kumboshi], a leader of the Chamba Dakka clan to come and help him in battle against the Lissam so that they could be quickly defeated. Then Komboshi directed himself toward Akwana with the intention of going there.

When Komboshi and his many people arrived, they set up a camp to live in. They attacked Lissam, but the battle went badly, attacking people who live on a hill is difficult because of the number of rocks that can be rolled down. Then the Lissam people killed Zoboï, son of one of the Dakka warriors. The Dakka people were very upset and turned their faces to Gardanpua and Garkiye I, and fighting broke out between them, Chamba against Chamba. Garkiye I said, ‘You Gban Kuna have caused all this trouble. Now fighting has broken out amongst ourselves, exactly what I have been against ever since we were with Garkola, I am going to move on and leave you to reap what you have sown with the Dakka.’

Garkiye I and the majority of the Chamba left and headed northwest, fighting as they went along, successfully, and in this way Garkiye I increased his number of people and their prosperity. Garkiye I reached Arufu and made camp, he defeated them in battle and took many people from amongst them. He stayed some time there but then because of hunger they moved on to Ganako.

Nubumga Donzomga at Ganako

From Arufu, Garkiye I headed north because food was scarce and made camp on the banks of the River Benue, and his encampment was called Ganako, a little to the west of where Ibi is now. By this time Garkiye I was quite old and all matters of making war were in the hands of his son, Nubumga Donzomga.

The aim of the first journey to Bauchi

From Ganako, Nubumga Donzomga heard the news from traders of how the Shehu of Sakkwato [Sokoto] was giving out flags, and all those who received a flag would flourish, and however small a town they were from, it would soon become a city, wherever it was. And so Nubumga Donzomga made ready with a number of warriors, leaving some behind to protect his father, Garkiye I, at Ganako, and headed over the River Benue and stopped over at Kogin Dinya on the River Shemankar, intending to head for Sakkwato to receive a flag as he had heard. Then he received a message from his father, Garkiye I, saying that the chief of Jibu, Lamido Kuso, was making preparations for a major attack upon him. Straightaway, our warrior Nubumga Donzomga turned back, on getting his father's message, and said to his father, here I am back again as a result of your message, but do not worry, let these slaves of the Fulani think they can interfere with us, I and my people are ready for them if they come because they will eat shit at the hands of the Chamba, I know these people cannot fight us.

Then they saw the Jibu fighters appear, intending to attack them, but Nubumga Donzomga and his people gave them hell, they turned and fled, deeply upset at the losses they had sustained. When Nubumga Donzomga and his men had been victorious over these Fulani slaves, he said to his father, 'I am going to go on a very long journey and I think it is best if I take you to the encampment where I was when I received your message and turned back.' His father agreed and so Garkiye I crossed over and he reinforced the camp and settled his father in it. The stay of Garkiye I at this place and the reinforcement that took place brought about the name it has until today, Kogin Dinyi – that is River Chamba. This encampment that Nubumga Donzomga founded is about 6 miles from Ibi, and it was there that, later on, the old Sarkin Kudu of the village of Ibi lived. The River Dinyi comes down from the hills of Pancin, down to Shemankar in the Lowland Division and falls into the River Benue at Ibi where it divides into two on the other side in Benue. The encampment was west of the River Dinyi and they drank its water.

The second journey to Bauchi

When Nubumga Donzomga had finished preparing a place to stay for his father, Garkiye I, he then set off for Bauchi during the reign of the Emir of Bauchi Ibrahim, who had inherited the title from Yakubu I. When he arrived in Bauchi, he found that Ibrahim the Emir of Bauchi had gone off to make war at Tabulla (the Chamba call it the Tuvella war). So Nubumga Donzomga set off to join him in battle. He met up with him and set out for him his three aims, 'My first intention is to go to Sakkwato to receive the flag. My second is to swear allegiance to you, and my third is to live in a place with your help and knowledge. My father and I are currently living to the south beside a great river' (the River Benue). The Emir of Bauchi welcomed him and received his words with joy.

Time passed and the Emir of Bauchi Ibrahim set off to make war on his enemies when he saw that Nubumga Donzomga and his men were following to help in the war. He said to Nubumga Donzomga, 'Where are you headed with all your people? You are a guest, you should go back and rest, this battle will be severe, and you and your men are tired with all your journeying.' Nubumga Donzomga and his men refused to turn back and headed for the battle alongside the Emir of Bauchi.

And so battle was joined, battle upon battle, and Nubumga Donzomga was wounded in three places, but he did not die; in the fighting that he was involved in he wreaked much havoc, then he rested and was treated for his wounds and recovered.

After the battle, Ibrahim praised Nubumga Donzomga and said, 'My goodness you are a real man, with the strength in your chest for war. Since you have been in the war of Tabulla alongside me, and helped me greatly, I know you are no laggard.'

Then the Emir of Bauchi asked Nubumga Donzomga again and called him 'Prince' [*Yerima*], and he replied saying, 'May your life be prolonged.' Ibrahim said to him, 'So you want to be helped?' He answered the Emir and said, 'Yes, that is what I want and intend. May the Emir's life be prolonged.'

Then the Emir of Bauchi called for one of his warriors who had many soldiers and infantrymen, from the Jahun quarter, whose name was Barde Karijo, a Barde (mounted courtier) of the Emir of Bauchi, and said to him, 'I want you and all your warriors to go with Prince Nubumga Donzomga. Stay with him and help him with your men of war.'

Amongst the Jahun people who came from Bauchi along with Nubumga Donzomga were: Barde Karijo who was the leader, then Madawaki Gaude, Idirisu, Yarri, Ajiye Lawan, Hassan, Ali the chief drummer, Jatau Dass, Galadima Uban Gani, Abdullahi Gere, and Buba-the-bush-scout. These were they, and their people; all true warriors.

Then he took up a flag with writing on it and gave it to Nubumga Donzomga saying, 'In the name of the Shehu of Sakkwato who gave me this flag. The blessings of the Prophet and the Shehu, and of Allah, will be with you, for you are a true man and you will receive many blessings.'

He took up an execution sword and gave it to him, and said, 'Now go in peace, you and those people who are with you, along with the people I have assigned to help you. And I thank you for all the help you have given to me.'

Then he brought thirty chosen horses and much wealth and gave it all to Nubumga Donzomga saying, 'These will be provisions for you.'

Then Nubumga Donzomga thanked him profusely and took up the flag and his warriors and the horses and returned to his father Garkiye I and was filled with happiness.

When Nubumga Donzomga received the flag from Ibrahim the Emir of Bauchi, he arrived back to find his father Garkiye I and all the warriors whom he had left behind to protect his father in good health. So, he said to his father, 'Let us go back east to that part of our country where we used to live and live there' (he was meaning the land of Donga). He gathered them up and crossed over the River Benue, with the intention in his heart to take revenge on his fellow Chamba who had betrayed his father, troubled and even imprisoned himself. And he had not forgotten what Jibu had done by making an interfering raid on the encampment of his father Garkiye I at Ganako. But he told no one that this was his intention.

Let us now consider the story of Nubumga Donzomga and the people of Jibu. When Nubumga Donzomga arrived at Jibu, the first chief of Jibu was Lamido Kusa (Kuso) in 1842. There were some Jahun people who had come from Bauchi and become warriors fighting alongside the people of Jibu.

When they heard that Nubumga had come from Bauchi with a flag and a company of Jahun people, they said, 'This is a flag from Yakubu and a group of our people, why should we stay in this godforsaken place? Let us go over and join them.' So, at night they left and headed for the camp of Nubumga Donzomga and declared their allegiance, rejoicing in the company of the Jahun people who had come with Nubumga Donzomga and to get news of home in Bauchi.

The leader of the Jahun whom the Emir of Bauchi had sent with Nubumga Donzomga, Barde Karijo, presented them to Nubumga Donzomga who received them with joy.

Then Nubumga Donzomga attacked Jibu and inflicted great damage, and so quenched his desire for revenge for the raid that they had carried out against his father, Garkiye I. Then Auta, an outstanding warrior from amongst the Jahun who had left Jibu and joined Nubumga Donzomga (Auta it was who was made Yari after the establishment of Donga; and another warrior, the chief of the Jahun from Bauchi, appointed Auta as war leader), recognised Kusa the chief of Jibu. Kusa was going around the walled defences when Auta let fly an arrow at him and it killed him. Fighting came to an end. All along, Nubumga Donzomga had no intention to remain at that place, so he had all his people head for Gargbanyi.

The story of Garkola

Let us turn to our previous story about Garkola and the Chamba people of Donga country and see how they separated and then after some years came together again to be one as they had been from the beginning.

After Shimbura migrated with some Chamba people to the land of Takum, the strength of Garkola town was much diminished. Before long Garkola died. A female relative of Garkola called Kaa Nade, whose mother was Yeblimiya, stopped the children of Garkola from succeeding to the title or leadership, and without taking advice from anyone bestowed the title on her husband Galim-Kpanga (Kpangha) and his name was Gbaninga father of Yebilga. Oh my goodness! Everyone was amazed at this, the people were very upset and they said, 'All along this chieftainship was being held for another, but there was so much deceit and terrible hatred shown to its true owners that they left this town, and now we are so angry and upset at the stain upon it that, well, none of us can remain in this town.'

Then Nyonzuma of the Poba clan [*zuriya*], whose father was Nuyera, took some people and left for the banks of the River Donga, and he became their chief. They established their town and lived about a mile and half north of the city of Donga. When Nyonzuma became chief he was known as Gargbanyi, he was the first chief of Suntai. The rest of the people who were at Garkola split into groups and each chose a place to live. Whoever sows goodness will reap goodness, and those who sow evil will see evil. That is the end of the story of Garkola.

Nubumga Donzomga is victorious over Gargbanyi

Garkiye I and his son, Nubumga Donzomga, along with a large group of warriors, with people and horses of great number and strength, came to the place of Gargbanyi. Garkiye I had already been overtaken by great age, and all he wanted was to live in peace and to enter the town of Gargbanyi. But his son Nubumga Donzomga refused, saying that it would not be possible to take such a large number of people into the town of Gargbanyi, and so passed on to establish his camp [*sansaninsa*] south of Gargbanyi (about a quarter of a mile from the city of Donga).

There was a great hunger at Nubumga Donzomga's camp when their provisions were exhausted and the fighters had to forage for themselves to get enough to eat, for they had not yet been able to sow and harvest. They went into the fields of the people of Gargbanyi and were repeatedly taking the corn and other food. When the people of Gargbanyi saw this, they seized some of them and killed others. At one point during all this they killed one of Nubumga Donzomga's warriors, a Hausa man from Kano whose name was Muhamman and his nickname Dogo (the tall) – Muhamman Dogo, who had been with him since Jenuwa, and it was he who had guided him to Bauchi. Nubumga Donzomga was angry and ordered his people to surround

Gargbanyi's town, and he (Gargbanyi) and his men were afraid that they would not be able to fight him off and so sent secretly for help to some Jukun people and Ankwai, and some Fulani, even Nyakola and people from Jibu came. Rounds of fighting broke out until eventually Nubumga Donzomga defeated Gargbanyi and his army who fled at night to Jibu, with some of them slipping away by boat on the river. Three years they were in Jibu and then some moved to Wuriyo where they lived seven years until Gargbanyi died and a relative of his named Wobkwasa succeeded him, and his title was Garnyisa. They established their town ramparts at Gauri beyond Wuriyo, but then they moved again, crossing the River Suntai, and established their town where Suntai is now, after Garnyisa came to Donga to talk to Garbasa Nubumga Donzomga to whom he was related through his mother, who was a daughter of Sama. It is said that six years after the founding of the town, Garnyisa died. Poba son of Gargbanyi inherited the chieftainship after him 1879-1913.

Establishment of the city of Donga, the death of Garkiye I and the chieftaincy of Garbasa I

Donzomga's city was founded near the river after the expulsion of Gargbanyi the first chief of Suntai. They first debated where they were going to choose. There were three reasons why they chose this place. First, they considered whether it was a place where their needs and desires would be met. Secondly, they thought about whether there were streams where foodstuffs could be grown. And thirdly, during the time that the people of Gargbanyi chief of Suntai had been there and fighting was going on between them, Nubumga Donzomga had brought his father and had set him at the base of a shea-butter tree, and he, Garkiye I had hung his bag on that tree. (Because Garkiye I had hung his bag on that tree the place is special to this day. Later on, it became his home and there he is buried, and a spreading fig tree was planted in his memory to give shade at his grave.) And then they started to build ramparts [*ganuwa*], work went on continuously, no one rested until they had finished building all the ramparts. They laid out a place for the chief modelled upon what they had seen in Bauchi. A perimeter wall [*katanga*] was built, rectangular buildings were constructed along with entrance rooms and other rooms. At that time in this whole Division there were no real constructions like in the North, much less a palace, in fact chiefs lived in buildings made with reed screens until the Chamba leaders got together and decided to build the city with chief Garkiye I. They went a little further south from their encampment and set out their city about a mile and a half from Gargbanyi's old site. They all joined together to build the walls working until it was finished. Then they thought about what name to give the city, and they determined upon their famous leader Nubumga Donzomga. So the city was called 'Donzomga'. That is the origin of the name Donga.

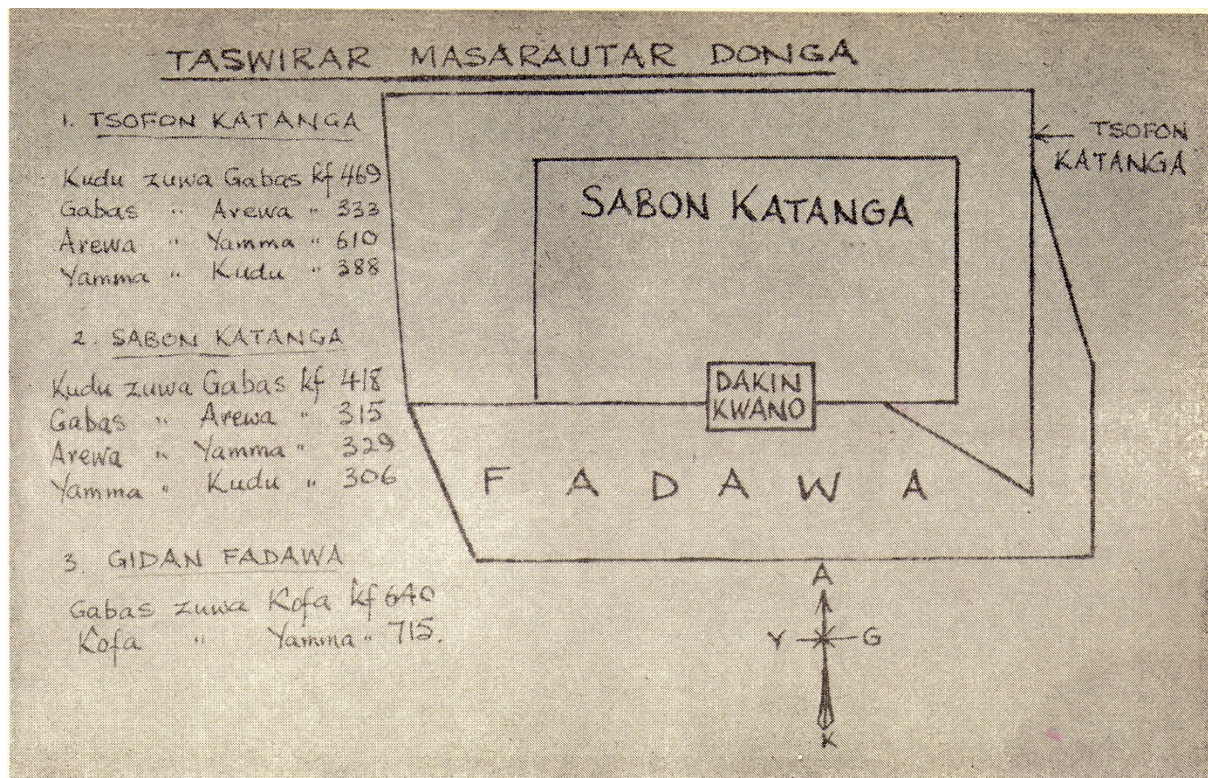


Figure 2: Plan of the palace at Donga

Nubumga Donzomga becomes chief

Three years after the founding of the city, Garkiye I passed away, he had become very old and he could no longer see. The chosen leaders of the Chamba, meeting in the traditional conclave that chooses the chief according to custom, immediately appointed Nubumga Donzomga to the chieftaincy, and as you know he had always been the first, and all matters had been in his hands while his father had been alive. The name of his title was Garbasa; he had inherited from his fathers and his grandfathers, and he chose the title of his grandfather (Garbasa Nonga) father of Loya Garbosa. Let us consider the contents of his name Nubumga Donzomga : (a) 'Nubumga' Nu-gudu bum-ga. Nu – means 'is', bum – means 'war', ga – means 'not'. That is to say 'Nubumga' means 'I do not flee from war'. (b) 'Donzomga' Don-zom-ga . Don – 'greet' or 'take leave of', zom – 'place', ga – 'not'. That is, the meaning of 'Donzomga' is 'I will not greet anyone', or 'I will not take my leave of anyone here'. Until today Don-zom-ga, 'I will greet no one here' or 'I will take my leave of no one here'.

This name of the title, Garbasa, its meaning is 'chief of iron'. Gar is short for Gara and means 'chief', and basa means 'iron'. This name Garbasa is well known in this land, and its fame has spread such that the Jukun call it Aku Sho or Akusho, the people who live in Takum call it Tana Gaba, and the Tiv call it Tor Gaba. They all mean the same thing, Garbasa. The name Garbasa is used in swearing an oath here in Donga for its miraculous powers.

After the city of Donga had been occupied for some time its fame spread to many places such that Chamba people living south of Donga, such as the Kentus and Kpanzos, kept coming to it. Gayam Bashena, first son of Gardanpua (Garpua) came with his people the Kpanzo-sunvo (Kpangaji) and Baivo and Hwaye, many of them.

Gargea Bobzomga of the Janga tribe [*kabila*] of the Chamba came with his people from where they were living west of the Dibwei hill. Abu Abakpariga was a drummer with Garkiye

I right from Jenuwa. Adi and Subake the children of Kwuima they also joined Garkiye I at Jenuwa. Abu was appointed Galora (Garlora), Adi, also Galim, a farming title. Later some Kpanzo from Saindo (in the bush between Gankwai and Suntai) arrived in the way that other Abakpariga [Abakwariga] also arrived. Such was the trust and allegiance between them that Garbasa made Garlora leader of the Abakpariga, and made Galim Adi leader of Kpanzo, and he entrusted to them both the care of the gates of the wall.

Some Wurbo fishermen (those who kill fish) heard how Garbasa had been victorious over Gargbanyi and they came to swear allegiance to him and he settled them to the west of the town near the river.

There were the Kentu (Icen) who came in groups. It is known that the Barufu came with Garkiye I; in the time of Garbasa there came the Nukponye, the Bigwa, the Binye, the Nukpo (fishermen); and the Birkan came later. Garbasa Donzomga received all kinds of people who came to him, he fed them and watered them and gave them a place to live. When their relatives heard afterwards how good their life was, then they kept coming, even small groups of offspring. The town became full, and the walls were pushed outwards three times. The town was chock-a-block with people, you couldn't find a place to plant a stick it was so like a city. Eight gates were built through the walls, so two gates at each corner.

Let us not forget the Jibawa people. Some Jibawa people from Gashaka District in Adamawa Province also arrived. Jukun people from Bakundi District also came to live.

The reasons why people came: some because their relatives had accused them of witchcraft, others to find a place to hide and a fertile place to farm, fleeing the fighting and raiding that they had been subjected to in their villages, some to obtain salt. But the greatest reason of all was to escape from the war waged by Hamadu, the fourth Emir of Muri 1861-1869, who founded Gassol and who once attacked Donga from the east and the south and did much damage.

Nubunga Donzomga Garbasa ruled over the whole of the land of Donga and subjugated some who rose up after the destruction of Garkola, the second place that was flattened like a mat, and his war even ran as far as Nama. We cannot cover in this book all his wars or those of his children who inherited his title after him, because the stories are so many.

As I mentioned earlier, in talking about the arrival of certain people and their reasons for coming to Donga, I explained how the Chamba were scattered and the reasons for their dispersal, and at that time there were no Kentu in Garkola in the Gankwai Hills because the people that the Chamba first encountered when they arrived in that place were Kuku and his son Agbu whom they took captive. When the Chamba could understand what he was saying they learned that he was the chief of a tribe called 'Hwaye', and they found that his people were living below the hill. Well at this time the Kentu (Icen) had not yet arrived, they were to the south of Gankwai, it was only later that Garbasa brought them to Binye to this Gankwai Hill.

From the time when the town of Donga was founded to the time when the English took over Nigeria, the Chamba themselves ruled these places. They exercised law and adjudicated disputes and all such matters. They never appointed a chief who was from another tribe or took orders from others until Allah ordained that the English would take over the government of Nigeria and appoint their chiefs according to their customs. In the city there were only two ways of marriage. The main way of marriage is done the Chamba way from whichever kindred [*dangi*]; the second way is the Muslim way as done by the Muslims. But now Christian marriage has started.

There are a large number and variety of celebrations and dances in the city, for happy times and for sad. Every group in the city has their own inherited way of doing these things; but the celebrations and dances, whether happy or sad, that all groups will gather together to participate in will be done only in the Chamba way, and none were junior to others. All the residents of this city, of whatever clan, other than Muslims alone, would follow the Chamba tradition. And if one looks carefully into the way Muslims do things, one will find there is some little quantity of Chamba customs in there.

And in relation to circumcision, the majority of circumcisions in this city are carried out in the Chamba way. And hunting in particular is done in the Chamba way.

Caring for the sick is done the Chamba way, but burying the dead and funeral rites are carried out following the customs that each group has inherited from their forbears.

There are only Chamba feasts for all those who are not Muslims. At the time of the Muslim feasts, the feast of the fast and of the Layya then the Chamba join the Muslims in celebration, and the other groups do the same, following the Chamba. It is only right and proper that one who is chief should know what is particular to his people.

Greetings and polite behaviour, except for Muslims, is shown by others following the Chamba way.

War has never been waged against the city since it was established, nor has it even been raided. Anyone who has intended to do so has withdrawn their plans and delayed them; no one has ever come close to this city with the intention of attacking or raiding it, right up until the time when the Europeans took over the whole country. 'Like the wasps' nest, you don't rub it even in jest!' 'However much you wash the oil pot you cannot separate it from that additional smell of fat!' 'You who read this will you try? Don't even start, for you know that whoever calls upon the deaf person to reply, can do so however many times they like! You know that however rotten the meat of the elephant is, it will fill the bowl. Goodness! Even now soap is the remedy for dirt! Living in peace is preferable to trouble.'

The way the city [*birni*] was founded was that Garbasa took one of his young sons called Yisarga, and his Galadima, Nyosoworga Gban-Kuyeba, took his young daughter, a maiden called Ngwunyemuga, and they performed all the invocations and rites needed for the foundation of a town [*gari*]: Yisarga at the east gate, and Ngwunyemuga at the west gate. The religious scholar who contributed in sanctifying the town was Malam Muhammadu, a saint, a Wangara man from Kano. Malam Muhammadu was the reason Malam Audu came to the town. Malam Audu it was whom Garbasa later appointed the Imam of Jahun. He was also a Kano man. After this first founding, Malam Muhammadu went on his way leaving Malam Audu behind, and, well, it was Malam Audu who oversaw all the expansion of the town walls.

After the city was founded the numbers of people increased and spread outside the walls, which were then expanded, and again it filled up, so the walls were again widened, and this happened four times. The people who lived in this last area of expansion were called 'Ba-ku-ka-pye', that is to say, 'of the new walls', which is now shortened to 'Bakapye'.

The built-up area became full of people, and if the talk is of the number of people and the size of the city, then, in those respects, there is no comparison other than the city of Wase by ten paces. The people of Donga were hot-blooded in the past, always looking for war. It is said that when Donga was full its population was 8,000, but most opinions estimate 10,000.

The reason for this great quantity of people was delight at Garbasa's rule and an escape to a place of respect, for fear of being taken into slavery if they were to make the mistake of going

to another town. Because in those days a person could not take the prospect of war lightly, if he relaxed then he could be easily seized and taken to another place. That is the reason why they came in such great numbers.

There was an outbreak of smallpox which killed many people after the return from the Bayaro war, so much so that it is said that more people died of that disease than died in the Bayaro war. In Garbasa I's time the outbreak of smallpox was very bad, and people were scrambling to find burial places, and so all those who died of smallpox were buried outside of town. If someone went out of town to dig a grave and then came back to pick up the body, by the time he returned he would find that somebody else had come and buried another body there. And so it was also that during the time of Garkiye II there was terrible smallpox, and in the hills also many people died. Thereafter, there was the return of influenza from the time of Garkiye II until today, and there have been many deaths.

After all this, peace returned without wars and abduction of people and without seizures of goods, and when laws against these were established, many people started to venture abroad, and many villages were established rather than towns; those who could not get what they needed where they were living, moved to where they could obtain what they wanted. Most of the departure of people was due either to Nya Yeba or to the demand for labourers, 200 or 300 labourers were needed for the constant coming and going of transport for the military.

There was much trouble in the early years of living in this city from wild animals, there were many leopards, lions and hyenas. There were many elephants at a lake called Shisha, north of the town. Little by little and with great effort these wild animals were driven far from the city.

Apart from establishing the city, Garbasa performed an act of great skill in establishing a chief's residence and surrounding it with a four-cornered wall. He constructed rectangular buildings and seven large entrance rooms. He used a symmetrical design, with rooms for the family separate, storerooms apart, living spaces to one side, 12 stables for the horses of courtiers, a stable for the favourite grey horse near the tethering posts to one side, corn stores separately, rooms for stew ingredients separately, fish in one place, meat in another, and rooms for palm oil and the like, separate also. There were two doors to the outside, that is to say the south gate to the palace, and a west slave gate that were all rectangular buildings: and then he established a gatekeeper in all of them; a set of tasks that he placed in the hands of some of his trusted slaves.

In Gargbanyi's time, he opened a southwest gate into the chief's residence and had a building constructed there, and it was by that route that he would make his way to his old house that he occupied before he became chief. This was the new thing he did in the period of his chieftainship, he opened a new gate and put a building there.

It was in the time of Garbosa I that he built a new building for the storage of wealth, this was the thing that was done that was new during his time.

In the time of Garkiye II the size of the chief's residence was reduced, nothing else new was done, and many buildings collapsed.

During the time of Garbasa (son of Gargbanyi) the sixth chief of Donga nothing was changed at the residence. In the time of Garbosa II (son of Garbosa I) who was the seventh chief of Donga two changes were made to the chief's residence. In place of the gate building that had collapsed during the time of Garkiye II and had been made into a thatched building, Garbosa II constructed another thatched building that was larger than the earlier one: he

increased its width and its length, and he built it with a large roof and with windows, and then he put brand new corrugated iron on it. The whole length of it inside and out was plastered with cement, and it was floored with cement also. It was whitewashed inside throughout, and two foot seven inches of tarmac was laid all around the base of the walls. Then he built a building for himself, a large, thatched building with three internal rooms with glass windows in yellow: there were verandas around all four corners, 58 feet long by 40 feet wide, and the length of the thatch was 50 feet by 21 feet 8 inches wide, the distance from the wall to the edge of the veranda was 9 feet 7 inches all the way around. The foundations were built of stone following the excavation of the footings, and the construction was made of square blocks. There was a room for clothing, and a place for books and his papers (Office), all three rooms had a veranda floored with cement and with whitewash on the walls. The inside walls were one and three-quarter feet thick at the base and spread with tarmac all around.

Furthermore, inside the residence he demolished the old family lodgings and created a new design, new rooms were constructed in a line with windows and a fair distance between them for good health.

On the matter of family, he very much limited the size of his family, they were not many. If it were not the requirement of his country, he would have chosen to have only one wife.

He strengthened the outside walls, he made them more substantial and had them plastered inside and out. He improved the residence such that it was beautiful to behold. The number of entrance rooms from whatever period were full and as good as when they were first built.

Building the foundations of the walls and the residence was done with stones, and then handmade bricks were used, with woodchips of the hard acacia mixed in, and even now when the world has changed, the remains are still to be admired.

Garbasa I Nubumga Donzomga was skilled and wise, if you look at the Donga walls of old, you will praise him and Nya Gbanwe.



Masu busa Lera da kidan ganga a lokacin wasan gargajiya.

Figure 3: People blowing on the Lera and drumming during a traditional ceremony

The names of those who held the chieftaincy of Donga – Gara

Their names and their titles:

1. Shimbura, he was Garkiye I (his mother was Nyagyeom, Chamba Pyeri).
2. Nubumga Donzomga, he was Garbasa I (his mother was Sukbe, Chamba Pyeri).
3. Bileya son of Nubumga Donzomga, he was Gargbanyi (his mother was Inarbu, Kutep).
4. Sonyonga son of Nubumga Donzomga, he was Garbosa I (his mother was Anyishi, Nyivu Kentu (Icen)).
5. Wanga son of Donzomga, he was Garkiye II (his mother was Asi, Jukun Basu).
6. Nyaga son of Gargbanyi, he was Garbasa II (his mother was Asi, a woman from the land of Cameroon – Bafun).
7. Bitemya Sambo son of Sonyonga, he was Garbosa II (his mother was Aminatu Bagalambiya, from the people whom the Emir of Bauchi Ibrahim gave to Nubumga Donzomga).

This is what the important Chamba people who know the history have said. Garkiye I was only 3 years in Donga before he died. His son Nubumga Donzomga Garbasa I inherited the chieftaincy and was 40 years in that position. Gargbanyi, his son, did only 7 years, and his son Garbosa I did 19, and his son Garkiye II did 10. Garbasa Nyaga son of Gargbanyi also did 10.

The list of lengths of reigns as chief of Donga is as follows:

1. Garkiye I was 3 years here in Donga.
2. N D Garbasa I was 40 years.
3. Gargbanyi “ 7 “
4. Garbosa I “ 19 “
5. Garkiye II “ 10 “
6. Garbasa II “ 10 “
7. Garbosa II his years today as chief are 25, taking the chieftaincy on 1/11/31 and still living now in 1956.

You should note that by saying Garkiye I and Garkiye II, Garbasa I and Garbasa II, and Garbosa II, what is meant is the chiefs by those names in the chieftainship of Donga. There are other chiefs of the Chamba with these chiefly titles Garbasa and Garbosa but not in this region.

Garbasa Nubunga Donzomga founded the city of Donga with a brick-built chief's residence, buildings and a wall around it. The chiefs of neighbouring peoples had houses made of reed screens at the time and for much time thereafter.

The list of the holders of Gbana (Galadima) in Donga

Here is the list of those who held the title of Gbana from the time that Donga was founded until today, and there are 8 of them. Here are their names:

1. Sonworga Zoma, Gban Kuryeba, he was the first Galadima.
2. Gban Binuga, son of Gban Kuryeba (Gban Kuryeba in short).
3. Gban Foa (Fogha), son of Gasaya.
4. Gban Basama (Sama), son of Sopiya. Some call him Basamba.
5. Gban Sonmakaya, son of Nya Gbanwe.
6. Gban Gamuga, son of Gban Kuyeba (Sonworga Zoma).
7. Gban Tanenga Dera, son of Gban Kuyeba.
8. Gban Birmiya, son of Gban Gamuga, grandson of Sonworga Zoma, he it is who holds the Galadanci position now.

Gban Fogha, Gban Basamba, Gban Sonmakaya and Gban Tanenga Dera, these four, their contribution to the role of Galadanci was not significant because they did not last long in it.

At the beginning, the senior Chamba people got together to discuss and decided to appoint Nya Gbanwe to the position of Gbana, that is to say Galadima. Then he himself Nya Gbanwe, who was very wise and kind to people and to animals, refused saying, 'This view must not stand, for if the Chamba set store by my opinion then the position should be given to my younger brother Sonworga Zoma, the reason being that I and Gara Nubunga Donzomga are close, very closely related through our mothers. Our mothers are full sisters, so we should not take all the most important positions, we should bring in others to take part, so in that way things will be much better. Everything in my house comes through Nubunga Donzomga.' They all agreed. So they sent to Tinyisa and called Sonworga Zoma, son of Nya Gbanwe's father, and gave him the Galadanci title, Gbana.

1. Gban Sonworga Zoma was appointed Gbana (Galadima) by Garbasa I, Gara Donga II.
2. His first son Binuga, after his death was appointed Gbana by Gargbanyi, Gara Donga III.
3. Gban Foa, Gban Basama and Gban Sonmakaya, all three, were appointed Gbana after the death of Gbana Binuga by Garbosa I, Gara Donga IV.
4. Gban Gamuga was appointed Gbana by Garkiye II, Gara Donga V.
5. Gban Tanenga and Gban Birmiya were appointed Gbana by Garbosa II, Gara Donga VII.

The list of those who ruled over Suntai

1. Nyonzuma was the first to rule over Suntai with the title Gargbanyi.
2. Wobkwasa was the second to rule over Suntai with the title Garnyisa.
3. Poba son of Nyonzuma was the third to rule over Suntai with the title Garjila I.
4. Gelliga son of Poba was the fourth to rule over Suntai with the title Gargbanyi.
5. Aishe son of Poba was the fifth to rule over Suntai with the title Garkola, (deposed).
6. Shishiwa son of Poba was the sixth to rule over Suntai with the title Garnyisa, (deposed).
7. Nena son of Poba was the seventh to rule over Suntai with the title Garjila II, (still living).

The names of the Chamba titles and the Gara's old council members

1. Gara – the chief.
2. Gbana – in Hausa this is the Galadima. Gbana is the Gara's deputy and has various responsibilities to do with governing the Chamba.
3. Kpanghati – in Hausa the Madaki. Kpanghati is next in line after the Gbana in governing the Chamba and is the first of the advisors to the chief. Responsibility for war preparations is in his hands.
4. Nya – chief warrior or war leader. His responsibility was like that of Kpanghati, and he was the chief's personal warrior. Although there were two other Chamba war leaders, Gangum and Galim, or Garlima, in the chief's council it would be the views of Nya and Kpanghati that were followed in prosecuting any war. However fierce the fighting might be, Nya would be with Gangum and Galim and the other warriors, making sure they followed the plan that had been agreed in the council. And, if the chief himself had gone into the field of war, then the responsibility of ensuring that he returned safely was in the hands of Nya and Kpanghati.
5. Kuni – in Hausa the Turaki, he was very close to the chief, the Kuni was known as 'the chief's wife', and he was a close advisor of the chief. According to Chamba custom the Kuni's mother would be closely related to the chief's immediate family.
6. Tigye – a council member and advisor.
7. Mbala – a woman 'the chief's aunt' or leader of the princesses, Mbala was like 'the queen', very important in matters relating to Chamba customs, and in keeping the peace between the chief and the important people if someone had committed a crime, whether man or woman. If the chief did not agree with some advice being given by the council, and they were insistent that they wanted it followed, they could not force the chief to abide by their view, and so they would go to see the Mbala and she could go to the chief, and the chief would agree to follow what they had advised. A woman would be appointed Mbala who was from the chief's family, and since here in Donga it is the Chamba Sama clan that is in power, the Mbala is appointed from among them. In other places and with other clans in power, then the Mbala would come from such clans.

8. Vompobiya is the head of traditional Chamba customs. Vompobiya is from the Chamba Sama clan who became the head and guardian of Chamba traditions. When the chief was about to go out to war or to travel to another place, and the chief's council have already gone out, then the chief would only go out after this leader of traditions and the Mbala had come to his outer door and bestowed their good wishes for victory.

9. Gangum – the Chamba war chief. These titles appointed by the chief listed 1-16 here, Gangum the Chamba war leader would make his own similar appointments, that is to say Gbana, Kpanghati, Kuni and Nya and the rest, only Mbala and Vompobiya alone were not among those that he would appoint as his followers. These titles that he would appoint or that were appointed, were all advisers about matters of war, and he would be with them on the battlefield.

10. Galim – he was second in command to Gangum, all preparations for battle were in his hands and all the strong men were under his control. If it was not to be a substantial battle and Gangum and Galim could see that they would be victorious then the Chamba warriors were under his direct control. In the way that Gangum had titles appointed under him, as I showed earlier, so too had Galim or Garlima.

11. Zegna – the equivalent of the chief's interpreter, or the chief's announcer. If the chief was speaking to an assembly of people, then Zegna would repeat what he had said so all could hear, or if the chief had not appeared publicly, then Zegna would be among the important people who could go in to him. That which the chief said to the council which was for the people, Zegna would announce what he had said exactly as he had said it in council.

12. Zarma – an adviser, mostly on matters of war, he was like an assistant to Nya.

13. Fawe – also an adviser and assistant to Nya, in the past Fawe would be appointed from among the chief's family, he and the Nya would bring to the chief any news about the condition of the warriors.

14. Kpanduwe – he is in charge of all matters to do with death and the customs concerning the mourning of the dead among the Chamba: there were those to whom the chief would give a grave shroud. When Gbana would enter to announce the death of someone he would go out with Kpanduwe, and the chief would give them cloth to enclose the corpse, and Kpanduwe would take it to give to the people in the house and he would stay there until all was completed. If it was a Sama family then it would be given to someone senior among them or to Vompobiya. If the time of mourning arrived, then there were pieces of customary equipment that needed to be taken to the house in mourning (in order to carry out the customs for the dead) from the chief's house. Kpanduwe would take them and, when all was finished, he would return them to the house of the chief.

15. Kpandilgshi – he it was who took care of the chief's appearance and his clothes, in the palace he would always sit behind Kuni near the chief. Whenever the chief appeared in public Kpandilgshi would tend to the clothes he was wearing when he went out, and if he saw that there was something that was not quite right about his turban or to do with the ornaments on the chief's body, then he would go up to him and tell him what he had seen about his clothing or adjust it to make it better.

16. Kungana – the person who looked after the administration of tests of truth.

The list of the grandchildren of Garbosa Loya, leader of the Chamba

In talking of the departure of the Chamba from the land of Adamawa I have already explained the reasons for their departure and the wars that broke out between them and some other tribes called the Batta who arrived later on. This was the situation they were in when the Fulani arrived and fighting and problems increased, which was the reason why certain Chamba left, but not all of them, the majority did not leave. I showed you how the community was split up

into separate groups, how they left and the various places each group migrated to. If you read this little book carefully you will see that I have paid greatest attention to this group which headed west from Adamawa. Well, when you see this do not think that I favour this group, that is not the case at all, it is merely the case that this is the group from which I come, and if you were born, grew up and became adult there, then naturally you will know all about the place. That is, I am from here and therefore I know most about my home and that of my relatives, but we have all become one. I, who write this, hold in my heart that there will be others who want to know how the leader of this movement of people has given rise to many more descendants through until today, for the story of his offspring in this book is lengthy, let alone that of his grandchildren's grandchildren, therefore I set them out here:

Garbosa Loya – leader of the exodus who died at the River Gazabu.

Garkiye I Shimbura – the first Gara Donga

[Translators' note: numbers would appear to indicate birth order. For Garbosa's particular formatting of unnumbered names, the significance of which is unclear to us, the reader should consult the original Hausa text, pp. 38-40; there is no number 9 in the original text. Lists of offspring recur in Part Two expressly ordered by birth.]

1. Nubunga Donzomga 2. Fobamiya 3. Gbумыela 4. Yeraa (or Yerra) 5. Garbyera

Dingha Sama Ninyonga Burba

Savyelaa Bitema Kunwormuga

6. Garboba 7. Nyaga 8. Samkpati [9.] Sambawi 11. Samtikari

10. Samtentee

Gbaro Bashena Sama Samtiti

Garduya

These are the children of Garkiye I, Gara Donga I, they are the grandchildren of Garbosa Loya, leader of the Chamba multitude that headed west from Adamawa Province.

Let us now turn to the eldest son of Garkiye I Shimbura, the great man whose stories are greatest in number in this book, and who was the second Gara Donga.

Garbasa Nubunga Donzomga, the second Gara Donga

[Translator's note: numbers would appear to indicate birth order, the positioning of unnumbered names reflects position in columns in the original text]

1. Bileya (Gara III) 2. Kpukpo 3. Ledoya 4. Sonyonga (Gara IV) 5. Bilkoya

Sam Tola

Uvala

6. Wanga (Gara V) 7. Yebashi 8. Samatiti 9. Yabirga 10. Garshena

Lezuya

Adamu Too 11. Garnigha

Muya
Pavali
Moiga
Shemiya
Danjuma

These are the children of Garbasa Nubumga Donzomga, second chief of Donga, grandchildren of Garkiye I.

Bileya Gargbanyi, the third Gara Donga

[Translator's note: names in the original text are unnumbered, but presented as a list]

Banyonga	Moya	Shimbura	Tanyoa	Nyaga Garbasa II (Gara VI)	Sanvala	Garpiya Garboba Wuryeba
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Sonyonga Garbosa I, the fourth Gara Donga

[Translator's note: names in the original are unnumbered, listed in five columns]

Dinshiya Loya Nongha	Sopiya Adamu Wanjinga	Gar. Kuyebi Atiku Yeloa Sabuma	Kuninga Lebi Yeduya	Audu Nubuya Lenyoo
Janga Nyondamuga	Lumipo Bitemya Sambo (Gara VII)	Yabirga Daya Bora	Boiga Sadoa Yabura	Baga
		Sama Mbura Audu	Lezuya Fobamiya	
Nulamuga	Bodinga	Gaduya	Paniga	
Livala	Bozomya			

Wanga Garkiye II, the fifth Gara Donga

[Translator's note: names in the original are unnumbered, presented as a list]

Kuvalu	Yesaya	Lafaya	Nyonsamiya	Zonyeri	Boiga
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Garbasa Nubunga Donzomga, second Gara, was son of Garkiye I. Gargbanyi, Gara III, was son of Garbasa I. Garbosa I, Gara IV, was son of Garbasa I. Garkiye II, Gara V, was son of Garbasa I. Garbasa II, Gara VI, was son of Gargbanyi. Garbosa II, Gara VII, was the son of Garbosa I.

The story of the Chamba in the country of Bakundi in Adamawa Province

At the time of the first departure of the community from Adamawa, I told how they headed west towards Benue Province and how they made an encampment at a place called Tipchem [Tipchen], and from there they went and built another camp at a place called Gildu. Well, when they were about to leave that camp there were some amongst them who separated from them, and are separate to this day, and I will now tell their story. These Chamba people did not cross over the River Suntai along with Garkola's people, that is to say these people did not come to the camp that I told you about that was east of the River Suntai, 'Deddua'. What I want you to understand is that the Chamba people came from Adamawa but these people that I am talking of, after we left Adamawa, they didn't reach Benue Province, they were in Bakundi country and so did not leave Adamawa Province but were also not with the remaining Chamba who had been left behind there at Dindi and at Yola.

Gamie (Garmiena) was the leader of this group who did not cross over the River Suntai. His birth name was Dinkomiya, when he took on the chieftainship of these people that he led he took the name Garmiena. It is said that later on Garkola sent to Gamie for help and so he went to Garkola with some people and warriors, not intending to remain at Garkola's town but to return home. But when he and his people did not in fact return home, they sent for their families to come and join them at Garkola. When Gamie was about to set out for Garkola he left his remaining people in the charge of a Sama man, and when they did not return, this man inherited Garmiena's chieftainship and called his title Garlibuma.

The list of the chiefs of Kungana

Garmiena (Gamie) was the first chief, but after he had left for Garkola then Galibuma [Garlibuma] of the Sama succeeded him:

1. Dinkomiya Gamie was of the Chamba Kwasa.
2. Garlibuma was Chamba Sama.
3. Furngha Kungana founded the town of Kungana.
4. Bwa's title was Garzanvala of the Nwuma tribe [*kabila*].
5. Shintema's title was Garwarbila of the Zaa tribe [*kabila*].
6. Nuga's title was Garbosa, he inherited the title of Kungana from his mother's side, his mother was called Nugwe.

The story of Gamie and Gauma

I have already told you about Garkola and how Garkiye Shimbura left the city of Garkola for what is now the country of Takum. This was the situation when it is said that Garkola imprisoned and tortured Gamie until the Chamba elders who were with him pleaded for him and he was released. (I who write this book believe that Garkola may have all along deceived him into suffering a loss and had the opportunity to diminish him with the intention that the Chamba people who were with him would cross over to him?) When Gamie was released, he was angry and again crossed over the River Suntai with the people from his quarter of the town

and went to Bakundi country and founded his own town which is called Gamie till today. But when he went there his people did not all stay in one place, although they did remain near each other in Gamie and Gauma, and Gamie was the main town at that time. And it was at this time that Galim Kama went off into some hills called Kyekola and fought the Kentu, a tribe of the Ndahwa, and ruled over them. He stayed there until Garjila I, chief of Suntai, came to Nukpo, to the place of Garlora, chief of Nukpo, and said that they should take an oath according to custom to the effect that they would not make war on each other and live in peace. When he was returning to Suntai, some Chamba people, followers of Galim Kama, went with Garjila to his town. On the death of Galim Kama his son Gangum realised that his people were not many in number at that time and so crossed over into Donga country and met the chief of Nukpo and founded a town close to Nukpo. (I am explaining this so you can understand how this little group of Garmiena people were divided up.)

Gamie and Gauma had a single chief who ruled over them and here are the names of the chiefs who ruled over Gamie and Gauma:

1. Gamie Dinkomiya of the Kwasa tribe [*kabila*] with whom he again crossed over the river.
2. Dula became chief after Gamie.
3. Garnuvarga became chief after Dula.
4. Gbungara became chief after Garnuvarga.
5. Gauma, whose birth name was Yeba Ba-Sama, became chief after Gbungara.
6. Gamie, whose birth name was Waryeba, became chief after Gauma.

Now I have told you the story of these Chamba people who went back again, and I have told you how they separated from the rest of their fellows, that is the people of Garbosa Loya. But I should tell you again that these were not the only Chamba people in Jalingo country [*kasar*], because Kundi is a Division of Jalingo, so it is possible that someone could think that they were alone in that country, but that was not the case, there were other Chamba in that country, but I have said nothing about them. The reason for talking about them is that they had, all along, been part of the people of Loya Garbosa, although they never came to this Province, so I should tell their story.

The story of the Chamba of Nukpo

When the city of Garkola was founded, it was filled with people and so some Chamba split up and lived in various other places for two reasons: (1) to keep a watch on people whom they had defeated in battle, so that they should not rebel. (2) So that finding food should be easier. A person was appointed from the family of Samdinga within the Sama clan to the title of Garnyama (that is to say 'chief facing the sun') meaning the chief of the east. After he died, his younger brother Garlibum succeeded him, and he migrated to live where Nukpo is now. The reason for the name Nukpo was that a group of Kentu (Icen), who were called Nukpo, lived there on a hill by that name after they had crossed the River Suntai from the Ndahwa Hills. Those who have inherited Garnyama (Gayama) as it is now called:

1. Garnyama was the first (who founded Gayama).
2. Garlibum or Garlibuma, his close relative, same father, then inherited.
3. After Garlibum died, Garlora succeeded him, son of Garnyama.
4. Sandinwa, son of Garnyama, succeeded his elder brother.
5. Garbongha (Garbonga), his younger brother, succeeded to the chieftaincy.

6. After Garbonga, then Uvala succeeded him, and he is still alive today.

The story of Komboshi, first chief of Takum

Gyando was the leader of the Dakka tribe [*kabila*] of the Chamba as Mudi was the leader of a branch [*zuriya*] of the Pyeri tribe [*kabila*] of the Chamba. When they left Adamawa their caravan [*ayari*] went through southern Cameroon as we indicated earlier (see earlier section on the departure of the Chamba from Dindi) and travelled with some Tikare, Jidu, Pati, Lufum, and even with some Jibawa. But Gyando never arrived in Takum country, he died on the way. His son, Komboshi, succeeded him and arrived there accompanied by many people and went to our relatives, Mudi's people, and built his encampment [*sansaninsa*] to one side. Then Gban Kuna Gardonpoa (whom some call Garpon), who had been with Garkiye I among the Kutep, and who lived at the base of the Markam Hills, went to see Komboshi and made a deceitful pact with him out of his jealousy of Garkiye I, coming to Komboshi claiming that he would help in an attack upon the Kutep Lissam.

Komboshi arrives in the land of Takum

When Komboshi arrived, he attacked hard with his men. At the beginning, they were united in the war against the Kutep, but then later through misunderstandings and forgetting to maintain good relations between themselves, fighting broke out between them and Garkiye I. There was attack and counter-attack between Chamba and Chamba until eventually Garkiye I turned and left the place to Gardanpua and Komboshi, and headed northwest, making war until he reached Ganako (where Ibi is now).

Komboshi inherits the land of Takum

After Garkiye I left Jenuwa, and left Komboshi and Gardanpua there, then they continued to fight the Kutep until they subdued them, either through force of arms, or through hunger, or through fear, and they submitted. At that time there were some Jukun people there practising magic powers, and a person wanting these powers would go and present themselves to have them bestowed upon him. It was not the kind of power whereby someone follows the orders of a leader because he is in his control and therefore has to do his bidding for fear of warriors, or what we would call 'soldiers' today. All the other small tribes followed the Chamba. You will read the full story of Komboshi and his children and grandchildren in what follows.

The story of Komboshi's rule and that of his children

In 1830, Komboshi, the first chief, started a war against the Kutep and the Lissam, and defeated them. After he had defeated the Lissam they lived together in trust and they brought their young women to Komboshi and gave them to his sons in marriage, and this was a sign of trust between them. Then Komboshi raided Bika, and after Bika, Lumpu, Kpambo, Kpambai, and from Kpambai he went to Januwa Gida. When he had finished subduing these hills, he returned to live in Lupwe, and he died there in 1848.

Boshi I succeeds to the chieftaincy after Komboshi

After the death of Komboshi he was succeeded by Boshi I as second chief. When Boshi I became chief he straightaway left Lupwe and came and built his walls at the base of the Markam Hill which is to the north of where Takum is today, and it was there that he began to make war on Likam and Akente. From there he went to the base of the Kwambai Hill and

constructed a wall there. And from there he went and built a camp [*sansani*] near the base of the Fikyu Hill, and it was while he was fighting that he suffered a mortal wound. After two days the Fikyu begged for mercy and gave in to him. While they were preparing to go home, chief Boshi I died. His people returned to Kwambai and arrived in great sadness.

The story of Yakuba I the third chief of Takum

After Boshi I, the relative of Komboshi, died, then Yakuba I immediately succeeded to the chieftaincy in 1858. When he became chief, he left the walls of Kwambai and moved to Kpambo and built his own walls at the base of those hills to live there, and he built large walls indeed and it was here that Yakuba I brought together all the Kutep people in one place and said to them, 'You Kutep and we Chamba have all been brought together to live in peace with each other, but you are not living together in peace, no one goes to another's hill, there is nothing but fighting and war between you, you must all stop this.' The Kutep then lived for a long time with Yakuba I and there was no conflict let alone war. Then they all gathered together and came before Yakuba I and begged him to allow them to go back and live among their hills, and they would not fight amongst themselves, nor raid each other and steal, and he would encounter no evil character nor obstinacy from them. Yakuba I agreed to allow them to go, and they promised him that they would bring him a portion from among all the crops they would grow, of whatever kind, for him to have in place of tax. The chief went through them all, group by group, bestowing the following Chamba titles upon them, for something to remember in the future, and they answer to them till today:

1. Lissam, he gave their leader the name 'Sokoto' and an elephant tusk.
2. Lumbu, he gave their leader the name 'Bayaro'.
3. Likam, he gave their leader the name 'Galumgba'.
4. Jenuwa, he gave their leader the name 'Gantuwashi'.
5. Kwambai, he gave their leader the name 'Gahwa'.
6. Kpambo, he gave their leader the name 'Burba'.
7. Fikyu, he gave their leader the name 'Boshi'.

Fikyu was given the name Boshi because it was there that Boshi I died when he made war. Since Akente were the last to be bid farewell, he gave their leader the name Gamina (Garmiena – chief poisoner). When he had finished with them, he departed Kpambo and went to Kunabe, and there he surrounded the Kunabe Hill with a wall, but there was nowhere for them to farm, and on top of the hill there was no cultivable land. The Chamba were there for two and a half years. From there Chief Yakuba I sent his son Wurumsemi far away to Sokoto to receive the Shehu's flag and bring it home. He was a year away before he returned with a flag and a plan for a mosque to his father in Kunabe where he lived.

The story of Galumje, fourth chief of Takum

After the death of Yakuba I in 1882, Galumje I succeeded, and he was related to him. Then Galumje left the base of the Kunabe Hill with his people and they went to a place called Nyam Nyam where they stayed for a time, and then they left for Tankwara, and it was there that he died. After the death of Galumje I in 1889, Yakuba II succeeded and it was during his time that the Europeans came, and there was no war or fighting with them, only peace until he died.

After the death of Yakuba II in 1896, Boshi II succeeded him. On attaining his chieftaincy, he went and founded his walls here where Takum is today. Boshi II was ruling and committed a crime in not eschewing the things that the English had forbidden, and he was deposed from the chieftainship and was sent away to Amar, and it was there that he died.

After the death of Boshi II then Yamusa Galumje II was given the chieftaincy, he was the son of Yakuba I and grandson of Komboshi and succeeded in 1907. And then Yamusa Galumje II again committed the same mistakes that Boshi II had made, that is not obeying the laws of the government! So he was again arrested and taken to Ibi, and it was there that he died at the village called ‘Soldier’s River’ in 1917. When Galumje II was deposed then the chieftaincy of Takum was given to Amadu who was a Kutep from the Likam tribe, and he tried to maintain the chiefship honestly and so it was that the chieftaincy passed from the hands of Chamba such that it has been in the hands of the Kutep from that time until now in 1956.

Those who have held the Takum chieftaincy

The chiefs of Takum:

1. Komboshi – he was Chamba.
2. Boshi – he was Chamba.
3. Yakuba I – he was Chamba.
4. Galumje – he was Chamba.
5. Yakuba II – he was Chamba.
6. Boshi II – he was Chamba.
7. Yamusa Galumje II – he was Chamba.
8. Amadu – he was Kutep, the first Kutep to hold the chieftaincy.
9. Hassan – he was Kutep but deposed by the Government.
10. Ibrahim – he was Kutep.
11. Audu – he was Kutep and is chief until today 1956.

The story of Gardanpua (Garpua)

When Shimbura Garkiye I left Garkola he crossed over the River Donga towards the south (Takum District). Gban Kuna (Gbankuna) who was later appointed Gardanpua, was from the Ngwuma tribe [*kabila*] of the Chamba and he went there also. The name of his title in Chamba is correctly Gardanpua, but Garpua for short, not Garpon.

Here are the names of those who held the Gardanpua title:

1. Gardanpua Gban Kuna was the first.
2. Gardanpua Garsambuma followed him, first younger brother of Gbankuna Gardanpua, same father.
3. Bashena succeeded to the title of Gardanpua, but the name of the title that he chose was Gayam, he was the son of the first Gardanpua.

After Garkiye I left Komboshi’s Chamba Dakka in the land of Takum, he came back round to Donga and then died there. In the time of Garbasa Donzomga who founded the city of Donga, Gayam Bashena, who had inherited the title of Gardanpua, gathered some Kpanzo and came with them to Donga. He greeted Garbasa outside the walls of the city saying that he had come to him because there, where Garkiye I had left them, they were subjected to uncompromising hatred. Garbasa Donzomga agreed to let them into the town.

4. Gongaya, first son of Gayam Bashena succeeded to the chieftaincy, he was the second Gayam, the third chief after Gardanpua the first.

5. After the death of Gayam Gongaya, Sunkpoa, grandson of Garsabuma Gardanpua the second from the Janga (Jangha) clan [*zuriya*], succeeded to the chieftaincy from his mother’s side, Ngwumkina daughter of Garsabuma.

6. Sungba succeeded to the title of Gayam, his father was Uvala from the Pyeri clan [*zuriya*]. Uvala was the son of one of Gayam Bashena's female relatives, that is to say Sungba was the grandchild of Gayam Bashena.

7. Garninga (Garningha) succeeded to the title of Gayam, the name of his father was Ngwuma, son of Gayam Bashena. Garninga was alive in 1956.

The story of the Chamba of Kashimbila (Garshimbila), Modi and Gadi (Gardi)

Now let us turn to our story of much earlier when we set out how the Chamba were divided into a number of groups after they had come out of Adamawa. The story now is of the third group, who also headed for Benue Province (see, 'The story of the departure of the Chamba from Dindi')

This procession of people headed south into the western part of the Southern Cameroons and then they made northwest into the Benue Province. It is the second and third groups who are now in the Benue Province. When they were travelling, they again split into two groups. Modi and Gadi were close relatives of each other, and, as they were travelling, they were fighting their way, whatever they could gain as plunder was what they ate. They came and stayed near a place called Bafut, and you can still see the remains of their walls. As they went along, Gadi was in front, and his elder brother, Modi, followed up behind. Then Modi heard that Gadi had found a lot of food and had taken over much land. Modi and Gadi were each the leader of their own band of people.

On hearing of the success that Gadi had had, Modi made ready to catch up with his younger brother and his people, and he went along steadily, asking for news of his brother and following in his footsteps until he came upon him at a hill that is now called Banashidondada, and it was here that Modi met up with Gadi. On seeing Modi, Gadi was delighted and said, 'Since my elder brother has arrived, I will vacate the village for him, in my respect for seniority of birth according to Chamba customs.'

Gadi builds a new wall

If you remember, I told you earlier that when Modi arrived and he sent to his younger brother Gadi saying that he had arrived, his younger brother Gadi had vacated the settlement for his brother. Gadi had not gone far when he established a new town called Gadi. They both drank water from the same river, the River Katsina-Ala. Modi and Gadi lived in peace together for some years, but as you know, the teeth can sometimes clash with the tongue, and so eventually it did between them! One day a clash occurred between Gadi and his elder brother Modi, and the fighting went on until Gadi drove his elder brother out of his town completely. Gadi and his people went back there to the old walls that he had left to his brother and reoccupied them! It was there that Gadi died. When the funeral rites were completed according to the Chamba way, and it came to the moment when a new chief should be appointed, they couldn't find one among all his children who could be made chief, his children were Gauva, Sabumiana nicknamed Kurusam, Shiyaki, Gashimbila and some other children.

How Genati Shiyaki gained his chieftaincy

Because Gadin Gauva became old and tired, he looked at his children and none of them had become adult, so he called Genati and put his house in his hands because he had been so reliable in following him. The Genati family were not rulers, they inherited the Tunwari title, that is to

say the people who maintained Chamba customs. His aunt Na'awe took him to Takum where he was made Dinsakuna, but before Genati was given the title, Na'awe held the title Kpanga for some time.

Genati took on Modi's chieftaincy and was given the chieftaincy name of Galumje, he sold many slaves to the Munci (Tiv). When he died, Laveri succeeded his father, Ansamo became Galumje II.

These were the sons of Gadi Gauva: Kasari Shitta, Gasam, Dowan, Kara, Gauta and Kputu. After the funeral rites had been performed for Gadi Gauva, Sabum Kuru Sam was appointed, and he was Gadi's first son. It was during Sabum Kuru Sam's time with Gadi's people that the Europeans started to arrive and the trade in slaves was banned. Kuru Sam was a good man, and, to this day, people praise his time and his chieftaincy.

After the death of Sabum Kuru Sam, the Gadi chieftaincy was given to Shiyaki, and it was in Shiyaki's time that taxes started to be paid and taken to Obudu, and a European settlement was established at Kashimbila. Everything from the River Gamana came under the control of Gadi.

Kasari Shitta was the first child of Gadi-Gauva, and from when his father was alive until he founded his own town, he held that he was the son of a chief, but he never succeeded to the chieftaincy. He was prosecuting wars and took a fair number of towns, he was a skilled archer, and he became very rich, he was buying male and female slaves and he was selling male and female slaves. He was a hot-blooded, real man, he would tolerate no slight. These were his children: Marum Sarkweni, Tukura Hamza, Musa Gyendi, Agudu and Alu.

Marum Sarkweni, Shitta's eldest son succeeded to the chieftaincy, he was an intelligent man, popular and genial, and during his time his popularity became widespread in this country, and he was rich; one would go a long way to find a chief the like of Marum Sarkweni.

After the death of Sarkweni, Tukura Hamza succeeded him, and he also was a ruler of an excellent nature. He was the first among the rulers of this land to recognise that education is the most important thing, at a time when the use of education was not recognised in this country, let alone were people prepared to pay money for it, but Tukura Hamza began to pay.

Gadi Kyan becomes chief

It is said that after Shiyaki (Shaki) Gadi died, someone called Kyan took over the chieftaincy, and it is said that it was not long before Kyan died. The origin of the name Garshimbila (Kashimbila) is said to be as follows: there was a chief of Gadi who got a Tiv girl called Shitire pregnant, but her family came in secret and stole her back to their town, but the damage was already done. After she gave birth, the child grew up very bright and sharp, then one of Gadi's female relatives, who was married in Takum, was taken by the familiarity of the child's appearance and started to investigate until the child's mother told her everything that had happened from the beginning. The story is that she, Princess [*gimbiya*] Kashimbila, took the child to Gadi and explained the whole story, and so the child was named 'Garshimbila' which means 'the chief is in town' or 'is approaching' or 'has arrived', it all means the same thing. And it was from that day that the name Garshimbila arose, and some have altered it to become Kashimbila.

From the River Gamana to the River Katsina-Ala to the borders of Mamfe in southern Cameroon is all called the land of Mudi (Modi District). At first, they would take their taxes to Obudu in the Ogoja District, but then later the Government changed things so that they took

taxes to Katsina Ala in Benue Province. Between 1923 and 1924 it was joined with Takum to become one district, in the same way that Wukari and Ibi were joined in 1926.

The names of those who held the chieftainship of Modi or Kashimbila (Garshimbila)

1. Modi
2. Nyabam
3. Nyama or Burba
4. Shiyaki (father of Genati Galumje I)
5. Muhamman Sambo son of Modi
6. Genati Galumje I son of Shiyaki
7. Laveri Galumje II son of Muhamman Sambo

1. Gadi
2. Gasin Gbanyi Ityira
3. Gadi Gauva
4. Sabum Kuru Sam
5. Shiyaki
6. Gadi Kyan
7. Marum Sarkwen
8. Tukura Hamza
9. Musa Gyendi

The story of the Chamba of Bamenda

(Now we will go into the story of our relatives the Chamba of Southern Cameroons. They are the fourth branch who left the region of Adamawa (see earlier to understand the four branches.)

This procession of people headed south into the region of Southern Cameroon. The leader of this movement of people was Gawelbi (Gawobea). As we, the Chamba of Benue Province, found for ourselves a place to live which necessitated the spilling of blood and many troubles relating to war and hunger and illness, so also was the experience of those who went to the region of Bamenda. It was all very similar.

From early on we had news of each other, we had a relationship, and there is no doubt about that even though we were in different regions far from each other. At the time of Garkiye II, fifth Gara Donga, he sent Anyifi (Angulu) one of his most important courtiers along with some servants to Balikumbat to maintain good relations with the Chamba of Bamenda.

During the time of M.S. Garbosa II, the seventh Gara Donga, I and the Chamba of Bamenda would send letters reinforcing our good relations, and remembering our fathers and grandfathers with pleasing words.

Then I saw that it was time to choose some important Chamba men, not servants, to visit there and stay for some time to strengthen our bonds and further understand each other, a deep understanding. So, I instructed Sunfoa and Nya Nubuya, chiefs among the Chamba, to go with accompanying people to Balikumbat on a visit of friendship. They stayed there with their families, reinforcing our links and advancing our interests for more than a year. They returned

home delighted with the reception they had been given and with the strength of the positive relationships that had been established between us.

After some few years, a chief's son from there called Samlemi came on a visit to Donga. He was so pleased with the reception he was given in Donga that he went back to Balikumbat and then returned to Donga to live, and this was where he died. His wife and his servants, who did his business, returned home to Balikumbat to tell of his death.

I had spent much time thinking to myself, wondering that there was no Chamba chief in Benue Province who would agree of his own accord to go to Bamenda to visit the Chamba people who were there, to see everything with their own eyes. Similarly, there was no chief from Bamenda who was willing to come here to Benue Province in the west to see his fellows, for them to see him, and for him to see them. Finally, I decided that I would go myself whatever the situation turned out to be, pleasurable or difficult, for I had written a history of the Chamba people, and I had been to see the Chamba of Adamawa, if I didn't go to see the Chamba people of Bamenda, how could I finish everything? I don't like poor work. So I told my people that I intended to travel to Bamenda. For two years I didn't set off and in those two years there was nothing that I didn't get told. Some said the road was difficult and very dangerous; others said that if I went I would never come back alive; yet others asked if anyone had ever come from there, or from here had gone there? My destiny was to be in the chiefship until the end of my days. Soothsayers, clerics and diviners – there was nothing they did not say to divert me from my intention, as they tried to dissuade me from making the trip to Bamenda.

I am not an ignorant man, I know that all is in the hands of Allah. My aim was not an evil one, my only intention was to build good relations and firm friendships, I had nothing other in mind. So, what could prevent me from going?

On 15/1/54 I set off for Bamenda after I had obtained permission from the Resident at Makurdi to leave Benue Province. Before leaving I telephoned ahead and the Resident in Bamenda was informed that I was coming. I left Donga 15/1/54 and returned to Donga 25/2/54. Kpanghati Linyoa accompanied me along with clerk J. M. Kankani, Agricultural Assistant, and chief of my police Musa, one of my family, along with Doo, my son, and Barau II, and there were nine labourers to do things for me.

The Chamba in Bamenda are in five groups. The two largest are Balikumbat (Bali-Kumbat) and Bali Nyonga. This is how they are: Bali Nyonga and Bali Gham have one law court in Bali Nyonga, sixteen miles from Bamenda, in Bamenda Division. Balikumbat, Balighansin and Balighasho they have one law court in Wum Division. It is said that when Gawobea died on the road, there was a dispute about who should succeed him which is why his children fell out with each other and started to go their own ways to find a place to live and establish walls for a settlement.

On 30/1/54 I set off in a jeep from Kotun Misaje in Nkambe Division for Balinyonga, we left in the morning and arrived in the evening. After 22/1/54, I no longer rode a bicycle from Bissaula, travelling was on foot between endless rocks and hills. Goodness me it was hard! On our return, the last place we were able to ride in a truck was Nkambe, and then it was all difficult walking, climbing up and scrambling down. We went via Jevi, Abong, then Asuku, Baissa, Tati Ngoro (in Donga district) and then Gayama. There we found a Native Authority vehicle that took us back to Donga on 25/2/54. There were ten days of dancing and celebration, the Chamba and the people of Donga were so happy.

Let us not forget that we are telling the story of the Chamba people of Bamenda in Southern Cameroons. On 1/2/54, V. S. Galega II, the Fom [*fon*] of Bali (chief of Bali Nyonga) and I

went to the headquarters in Bamenda to greet the Resident and the SDO, and I set out for them the reason for my visit being to establish good relations with our fellow Chamba people in the land of Bamenda.

I visited all the Chamba places

You have already been told that they were in five groups, and not all in the same place. This is how they were, with the distances from their headquarters in Bamenda set out:

1. From Balikumbat to Bamenda was about 69 miles
2. From Balighansin to Bamenda was about 75 miles
3. From Balighashu to Bamenda was about 75 miles
4. From Baligham to Bamenda was about 21 miles
5. From Balinyonga to Bamenda was about 16 miles

From Balikumbat to Balighansin and Balighasu was no more than 6 miles.

I visited them, I met all their chiefs, their important men, and most of their people. Some made journeys of two or three days to come to visit me. In some places there were gatherings lasting between two and four days waiting for my arrival.

These fellow Chamba received me with joy and astonishment at how I had determined to go to see them in person and not just to send a message. At every chief's residence when I arrived, elephant tusks were blown! I say to you, at that moment I came out in goose bumps, and I thought of Donga, where I had not gone out with elephant tusks for fear of something terrible happening, for elephant tusks are important things for us Chamba people. Whenever they are blown, straightaway whether day or night, people will appear, for they are never blown for no reason, there is always some important matter. The people will clap their hands and you will hear clap, clap, clap, our Chamba greeting.

The happiness and joy, feasting and celebrations put on for us was difficult to describe. Lera and Voma dances were done for us, Saba (there they say Sawa) and other celebrations were held for us. In one place there were 3,000 or 4,000 or 4,500 people, and schoolchildren from 123 to 800. They pay more attention to dancing and celebrations than we Chamba of Benue Province do. The moment a horn is blown, or a drum is beaten, then they will run out, men and women, everyone, like the way the police or scouts do at the blow of a whistle. And once they start dancing and playing, they will not stop soon, they will go on for a long time before they finally come to a stop.

Adornment and Clothing. They do not adorn themselves as we do in Benue Province, using long gowns. They wear a loose-fitting shirt of the old style with hand stitching, costing between £1 and £20, or more for those fit for chiefs. They make them themselves and weave the cloth. They also use the 'toro' (they call it 'taka'). It is a kind of wrapper that is tied over the loincloth or trousers, and at the back it drags on the ground or touches the heels, but at the front it doesn't touch the ground. On the 2/2/54, on the occasion when greetings were presented to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II and her husband the Duke of Edinburgh at the racecourse in Kaduna, a meeting arranged for the whole of Northern Nigeria, I and Nena, the seventh chief of Suntai, were unable to wear the toro because we were mounted on horseback and the significance of the toro would not be seen, however nearly all of our people were wearing the toro. Among those who will read this little book will anyone be able to remember the toro being worn? But there in Bamenda country all the Chamba have this kind of adornment. And a further surprise is that important chiefs who are not Chamba and their people also tie on the toro. The toro is no cheap rag.

Our Chamba people of Bamenda were surprised that I put on the toro when it was the time of dancing and celebrations – this encouraged them because previously they were of the view that we Chamba of Benue had discarded all our traditional customs and had poked our noses into other peoples' ways (nengona).

My clerk began to beat the drum – and then one person and Kpanghati, and then the rest, all got up to dance, and the pleasure of the Chamba dance was so great that some Fulani joined in the fun and all the enjoyment. Mr J. M. Kankani was taking in money and receiving congratulations he was so good – Benue and Bamenda are as one when it comes to drumming. We returned home after consoling each other, and I beseeched the Chamba chiefs of Bamenda to come and visit Benue Province one day. They said they would come one day.

Now we write letters of friendship, and we hope that they will come one day. Those in Government work, Missions, and NA work are mostly Chamba people. They even send their children to Europe to increase their education.

Most of my time in Bamenda was spent researching, talking and chatting to strengthen my knowledge of their history. The main language is Chamba, then English, and then the languages of other tribes that they know through daily familiarity. That is the end of the story of Bamenda, and it only remains to complete the story of those Chamba in French country.

Chamba under French rule

These are from the fourth group. We really do not have sufficient information to write down today. I have repeatedly sent letters there asking them to send me someone knowledgeable and intelligent so that I can get to know their story, but up till now, nothing! Getting what is required is difficult, and the reason why I was unable to obtain their history as I had done for others was because they were under a different administration, French not English.

Because I was so keen to get their history while I was still in Bamenda, I asked the Resident to write to the French to ask for the number of Chamba who were there, and he agreed, and he wrote while I was still present. But right up till now I have heard absolutely nothing!

I thought long and hard about how I might obtain information about those people. I came to the conclusion that, were our Governor in Kaduna, or the Governor-General in Lagos, or somebody else, able to write to them and ask, then surely the information could be obtained.

What about the story of the first group of Chamba, those who stayed behind in Adamawa? I can't really say much about them at the moment, other than their total numbers. On 18/1/27 I and Mr C.K. Meek (the Government Anthropologist) set off from Wukari to Yola, where we stayed for 6 months, going as far as Verre, while he was writing about the tribes, and I never went back there after we had left.

The list of the Chamba rulers in the land of Bamenda

In the story of the departure of the Chamba from Adamawa that I set out earlier, I explained to you how this group became divided up, and the reasons for those divisions. This group headed into southern Cameroon and the leader of this group was Gawobea (Garwobea) whom some call Gawobe. This man, Gawobea, never reached there himself, he died on the way, but then his children and grandchildren and his people arrived in the land of Bamenda. After his funeral rites had been completed, arguments arose between his children Gangasin, Gashu, Fonyonga, Gayam and Galabi on the matter of who should succeed to power. Fighting broke out among Gawobea's people such that they divided into five groups, each group following one of the

names I have given above. At the beginning they were one group of followers of Gawobea, but then after his death they split into 5 groups:

Gawobea, (Garwobea) – their first leader

Gangsin	Gashu	Fonyonga	Ba-Gayam	Galabi
Gangsin II	Gayam	Galega I		Gargbanyi
Gavabi	Ganso	Fonyonga II		Gamyamye
Gangsin	Gavalbi	Galega II	Gayam	Galabi II
				Gargbanyi II
	Gasog			Garnyamyele
				Galabe III

So, you can see how later Gawobea’s people split into five administrations, among these that I have listed I have only given those who became chiefs in each section so that you can understand how they were divided in the way that I have outlined.

This army of Gawobea’s was very large, at the time of their migration they were together with the Chamba Pyeri who headed south with them but then went west, as I said earlier. And so Muti or Modim became like brothers to them. But when those other relatives split into five groups, they became too much for these Pyeri and therefore Gadin and Modi left with their people and headed west until they came to our country, Benue Province of today.

Although it was a very long time ago that they split from Gawobea’s people, nevertheless it was never a secret, it was always known how these Pyeri had come together with them from Adamawa. The remaining Pyeri who are alive now know well that after they left Adamawa they went to those parts along with those relatives of ours and then later headed here to where they are now.

The story of Chanchanji

Gadungbala went with Garkiye I to Jenuwa (Takum District). After they left Jenuwa they went to Loko and battled the Tiv and obtained booty. From there Garkiye I went on to Fyayi Aruhu, leaving some Chamba behind to follow after because there would not have been sufficient food if they had all travelled together.

Gadungbala stayed at Atu, by a stream. Here was Atu and here was the stream called Kukunu, he stayed there on an island. There Gadungbala died. Gamie succeeded to Gadungbala’s chieftaincy.

On hearing this news, Garkiye I came to Ganako, and as far as Donga, intending to go and meet him. And then Galumje II, fourth chief of Takum, made preparations to attack and defeat Gamie. On hearing of this impending war, he immediately sent to Garbasa Nubumga Donzomga, because at that time he was chief of Donga, his father Garkiye I having already passed away. On receiving the news from Gamie, Garbasa called together the Chamba elders

and told them what he had heard, and he asked their advice, and they all agreed that he should go to the aid of his brother Gamie. Garbasa sent him expert soldiers from amongst the Chamba and the Jahun, and many soldiers went. Before the war reached Gamie, the reinforcements from Garbasa had already reached Chanchanji where they made ready to fight. The enemies of Gamie arrived with a large body of warriors and battle commenced, and Galumje II was defeated, the fighting went so badly for Galumje II that his army was routed, and much booty was taken. (Gamie and his people were very grateful to Garbasa, and so after Garbasa's death, during the time of his son Gargbanyi, third chief of Donga, Gamie acted rather differently, the Chamba put him in a song which is still performed till today at the Daya dance.)

Later, Gamie left Atu and headed up the road where Chanchanji is today and founded Chanchanji, intending little by little to return to Garbasa and live together as they had done originally. Since then, everything of Chanchanji is in Donga, all their things are with Garbasa. But since the time of Garkiye II, fifth chief of Donga, that is when the Europeans took over the rule of Northern Nigeria, Chanchanji was placed in Takum District for ease of administration since Chanchanji is closer to Takum.

Here are the names of those who held the chieftaincy of Chanchanji:

1. Gamie (Garmiena, chief of poisons) founded Chanchanji, he originated from the Kwasa clan [*zuriya*] of the Chamba.
2. After Gamie there followed Garbonga (Garbongha) his first son, who succeeded him.
3. Garbanyi (Gargbanyi), whose name was Gamkola (some say Gankon), then succeeded, and he was the younger brother of Gamie.
4. After Gargbanyi came Samtiti who was from the Sama clan [*zuriya*] of Chamba.
5. After the death of Samtiti, Mamman (who was once chief archer of Donga) succeeded through his mother's side, Natema, daughter of Garbonga, because at that time there were no children who desired the position or were suitable for chieftaincy. He was Mamman Bajahuni, from amongst the people that the Emir of Bauchi, Ibrahim, had given to Nubunga Donzomga Garbasa.
6. After the death of Mamman, Kunbyeri succeeded to the chieftaincy, and he also gained it through his mother like Mamman. The name of his mother was Kokina, daughter of Gamie. Kunbyeri was Chamba and the name of his father was Samalenlengha.
7. After Kunbyeri, Ali took on the chieftaincy and he, like the rest, succeeded through his mother. Ali was son of Valdaga, granddaughter of Gamie. Ali was Kpanzo of the Shite branch (Shinten), a type of Jukun, his father was called Adashu and it was he who is still ruling today in 1955.

The story of Akate and other brothers at Rafin Kada

Galim Gba (Galim Gba father of Gahwan) left with Garkiye I from Garkola (Gankwai). Galim Gba and a number of his relatives make up the Chamba of Rafin Kada. Galim Gba was from the Nupabi clan [*zuriya*] – it was his grandchildren who founded Akate. After Galim Gba died, his son Gahwan succeeded him. Gahwan was chief of the Chamba of Rafin Kada. Gahwan, along with Gardanpua and the rest of the Chamba came together to install Garkiye I because they were certain that the chieftaincy was his.

His father was Garbosa who was the great chief with whom they came out of Adamawa and was lost in the River Gazabu when he pressed his Chamba people to go forward to cross over the river. After they had all crossed, he mounted his horse and set off into the river intending to cross over, but all was still! He was never seen again. Garbosa was the name of his father.

When Shimbura and the remainder of his followers left Jenuwa in the land of Takum, they headed northwest.

1. Gahwan appointed Galibum who was of the Zagni clan [*zuriya*] (they are the people of Kusa).
2. Gaya was appointed.
3. Galimbo'a was appointed.
4. Gagea was appointed (they are the people of Bason, of the area where the roads to Donga, Takum and Wukari cross).

Garkiye I left them at Utu, from Utu they went to Gboum and from there to Fyayi as they followed on behind Garkiye I. From Fyayi they came and established a camp at Lumtu. From Lumtu they came to where they are today.

Gatema it was who came with Gahwan's people and founded Akate. The remainder followed on and stayed at Rafin Usu which is now called Rafin Kada. The reason for 'Rafin Kada' (stream of the crocodiles) was that the Hausas called it by that name because of the great number of crocodiles in Rafin Usu. It falls into the River Donga close to Donga.

Those who held the chieftaincy of Akate:

1. Gatema (Gartema) came there at the time of Garbasa Donzomga.
2. Gbamiki succeeded to the chieftaincy during the time of Garbosa I, third chief of Donga, Gbamiki was Gatema's brother.
3. After Gbamiki, Go'a succeeded to the chieftaincy but did not live long, dying less than two years later, he succeeded through his mother Nagba, full sister of Gatema.
4. After the death of Go'a, Kwasa was appointed and his title was Garpivala; he was from the Kwasa clan [*zuriya*] not the Nupabi clan, and he succeeded through his mother.
5. After the death of Garpivala (Kwasa), Bodinga succeeded him through his mother Gidaya, Gahwan's representative. It was Gahwan who gave Gidaya in marriage to Ngwuma and Bodinga was born – that is to say Bodinga was from the Ngwuma clan, and he succeeded with the blessing of Gahwan. Bodinga died within a year of attaining the chieftaincy.
6. After the death of Bodinga, Bawa succeeded, attaining the chieftaincy through his mother Yigab, who was granddaughter of Gahwan and born in Jenuwa. Bawa adopted the title of Garjinga on accession in 1925 and is still there.

The Chamba of Rafin Kada who held the chieftaincy:

1. Gee was chief of the Pyeri clan [*zuriya*].
2. Garpivala succeeded to the leadership as son of Gee.
3. Gban Nam succeeded Garpivala as his brother, and his title was Garlibum or Garlibuma.
4. Then Bayaro, son of Garpivala succeeded, he was Kusa.
5. Then Yogaya grandson of Lafaya succeeded, his father was Wanenga and he is chief now in 1956.

Gaya:

1. Ngwuma whose title was Garlibum.
2. Sunvara whose father's name was Tuu, he was Bajibe and he succeeded to the chieftaincy through his mother Nangwana, daughter of Gajin (Garjin or Garjinga), brother to Ngwuma.
3. Kwanna succeeded and the title of his chieftaincy was Gaya, Kwanna was the son of Ngwuma.
4. Danjuma (Abakpariga) succeeded to the chieftaincy through his mother the granddaughter of Ngwuma.
5. Sonyonga was the son of Luma, and Luma was the grandson of Ngwuma, it was he who then succeeded, and his title was Gaya, and he is still living today in 1956.

Garvyon:

1. Gamani of the Poba (Poa) clan.
2. Mongani (Monganiya) his brother succeeded, and his title was Gayama (Garnyama in Chamba.)
3. Yavala his brother succeeded him, and his title was Galora (Garlora.)
4. Tanenga son of Savala, Savala son of Galimboa, Galimboa brother of Gamani. He is still alive today in 1956.

Bason:

Garpivala selected Nya Sakpanyani (Chamba Nupabi) to live in his own quarter, he was his in-law.

1. Nya Sakpanyani, the title of his chieftaincy was Gargea.
2. Nam (Zangani) succeeded, and his title was Garjila.
3. Uvala, brother of Gargea then succeeded, and his title was Garbonga (Garbongha).
4. Agyotsokwa then succeeded to this chieftaincy through his mother, Naliba, daughter of his relative Gargea.
5. Gbaro son of Tabiso brother of Gargea then succeeded and his title was Gargea, and he is alive now in 1956.

The story of Tinyisa

From the city of Garkola (Gankwai as it is now known). An old man from the Kola clan [*zuriya*] of the Kola tribe [*kabila*] who was called Tinyisa, was known by the nickname derived from his title 'Gban' – Gban Tinyisa. At that time Kaa Nade (some say Kaa Nadera but others shorten her name and call her Kaa Nade) ruined the affairs of the chieftaincy, as I explained to you earlier, such that the city of Garkola scattered, and he, this old man, set off with a group of people towards the south and settled at the base of Nyibwuen Hill, towards Kumbo, and ruled over the Kpanzo who were in that area.

After the death of Gban Tinyisa a man called Zarimkola succeeded to the chieftaincy. During his time, Garbasa Nubumga Donzomga came to rule over Donga country and ordered Zarimkola to go to live beside the River Donga where Tinyisa is now. This town of Tinyisa is now called Tissa in Donga country.

The rulers of Tinyisa (Tissa) until today

From Zarimkola who founded Tinyisa during the time of Garbasa Nubumga Donzomga until today, 6 men have held the chieftaincy of this town, these are their headmen:

1. Zarimkola who founded the town.
2. Gauva I, Dinbua eldest son of Zarimkola.
3. Garge Sunsua, younger brother of Dinbua, son of his father Li'abi.
4. Gauva II, Luma one of the children of Gauva I.
5. Garge II, Nyontamuga youngest of the children of Gauva II.
6. Sunsua the new chief in 1956 has not chosen his title yet. Sunsua is the grandson of Zarimkola and his father's name is Suvala, son of Zarimkola.

The story of the Chamba and the Jukun

In reading this little book I am aware that there will be some who love history as I do and it is possible that there are some among you who would say, was it not the Jukun who originally came to this part of the country where we now live? Were that to be the case, then how many years after them did the Chamba and their relatives, the Tikare, the Pati, Lufum and Jidu, and the others arrive?

The answer that I can give is the following: it is difficult in history to discern these things, and all the reader can do is keep in mind that the time of ignorance was different from the way things are now. If a person is trying to ascertain or wants to be certain of the years between events, then you will find that things become muddled, and for that reason measuring the passage of time can really only be done through ascertaining the lengths of chiefly reigns. So, to the enquirer I say, this is how we found this land:

(1) When the Chamba filled this land in the west of Benue Division from Adamawa, as I have set out for you earlier, the leader of this group, a group called Den-Bakwa, was lost at a river (River Gazabu), so after the funeral rites for chief Loya Garbosa, a new leader was appointed in his place to lead them to Deddua where they built an encampment [*sansani*] (I will call it encampment because they did not stay there long even though the walls are still visible today) across the River Suntai east of the Gankwai Hill. When a group of Chamba warriors were out scouting to the west of this river at Takogi where there is a tributary, they captured an old man called Kuku and his son Agbu who were out hunting with snares. When they took him, the Chamba did not kill him, and he it was who sent his people with food and chickens to take to the Chamba. Later the Chamba entered this Division and founded a great city for themselves at Garkola (Gankwai). The Chamba found Kuku and his people at the base of a hill, and they were the Hwaye, and although there were many tribes of different kinds they did not yet extend as far as the north of Donga country where Gankwai is. At this time the Jukun were at Kwararrafa, and we don't know why their kinsmen the Hwaye had left before them. This is known through extensive historical researches, and there was a very old Chamba man called Livom son of Popsinworga, one of those that I have encountered who spent most years on this earth, this man was alive from the time that Garbasa Nubumga Donzomga went to Bauchi, and it was he who said that the Jukun claimed that the Chamba raided them during the reign of Aku Kuyyon Angyu. The Hwaye used to do a lot of things for them, helping them build and repair their houses when they left Kwararrafa and came to Cikan, and then in return asked for their daughters in marriage but the Jukun refused. This shows there was no difference in the period when they came to this land. These Hwaye, we don't know why they left before their fellows, whether they formed part of the people of Aku Matswe, and history tells us that

Aku Matswe took his people from Wukari to Katsina Ala, and Aku went on to Akwana and Arufu until they crossed over the River Benue. Could it be the case that the Jukun people spread out from Kwararrafa? So, you can see the nature of the confusion that I spoke of earlier.

(2) Were one to say that they had already been here many years before the Chamba came, that is to say they had been established as residents, then they would have done something with the Chambas like an agreement, and even if the Chamba did not follow it, one would have encountered an arrangement between them saying that it was with their agreement that the Chamba were living there.

(b) These Kpanzo whom the Chamba encountered had openly become Chamba people, and they showed no disobedience despite having another chief that they followed elsewhere. As for the Jukun, they asked nothing of them, which is one of the things that makes me ask whether they had left Kwararrafa before their fellow Jukun people left there? This all adds to the confusion that I mentioned before. But one should know that we Chamba never made war on the Jukun, they never attacked or raided the borders that were under our control or were aggressive towards us because Chambas had taken some of their people, and we could not say that here was a system of control that we encountered when we first arrived. We stuck to our system of administration and the Jukun stuck to theirs until the English took over control of Nigeria.

(3) In this history I have written you will read the story of a very strong Chamba man who it is said entered this land a long time ago and who wanted to make war on Bakundi but, because of the difficulty of the place where they lived, it was beyond him despite the fact that he had many men, he it was who came with the Jibu people at first, from Gashaka. He crossed the River Suntai and the River Donga until he came to Katsina Ala, and then, unable to settle, he headed for the land of Southern Cameroons. Then the leader of the Jiba people went on to Jibu – that is Gauva Tantu who founded Jibu. So, this has further complicated the question of how many years since the Chamba arrived in this land? Take note, dear reader, I don't mean we have failed to know how long the Chamba have been in Donga or in Takum, no, I mean how many years all together it has been since they arrived in this land, before they established themselves firmly.

(b) So that you should understand that they have been here for a long time I have already talked about this Division and how they entered it, but you should know that although they are in this Division, there have been some in Tiv Division for a very long time! If you look at the book written by Captain R. M. Downes MC, 'The Tiv Tribe', you will see that on page 4 he says that they arrived around 1830 and he describes their strength through the size of their walls and indicates that other walls can be seen from River Amire Tamen in the east to the River Katsina-Ala to the north and around Kashimbila. Remember the years that the Chamba lived in their city of Garkola (Gankwai) and then afterwards Garkiye I left for Takum and all the many years he spent there, and from there to the northwest until he arrived at Ganako, and later on all the years until the city of Donga was founded. This is the extent of the answer I can give to the question to the reader at the beginning of this story.

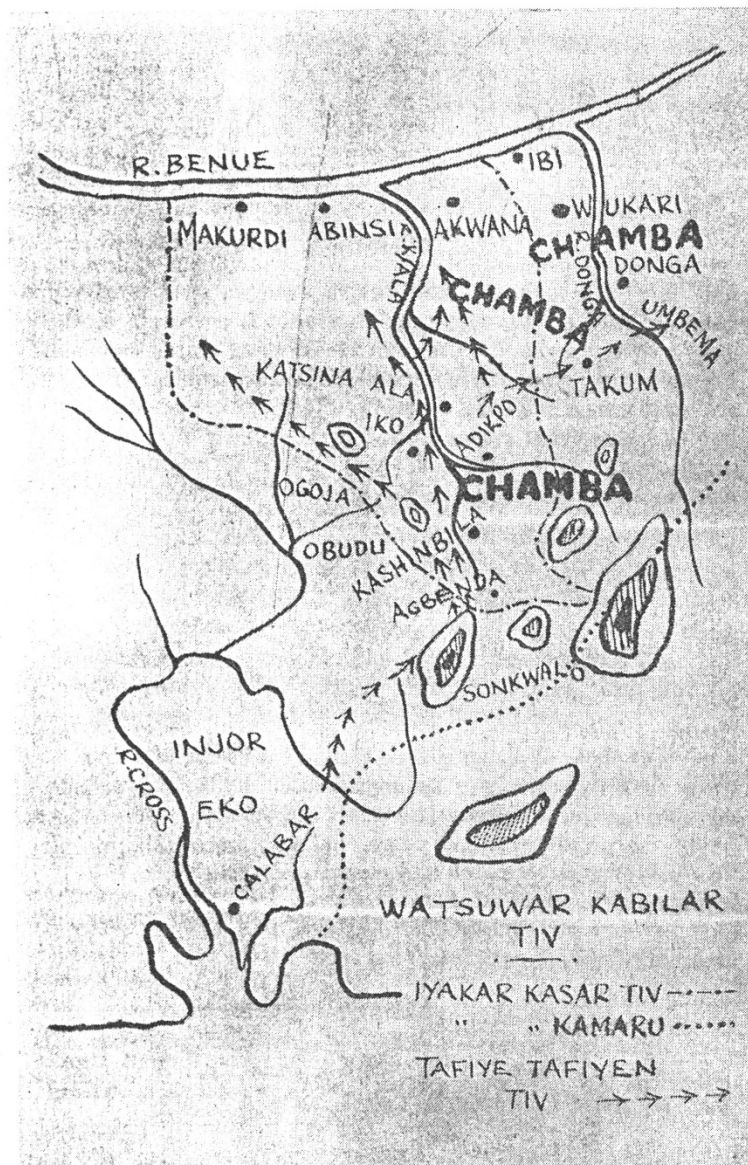


Figure 4: Map of the spread of the Tiv people

The first founder of Jibu

It is said that Damashi was a Chamba from Adamawa Dindin who came with about a thousand horses to the Jiba town of Nyabal towards Gasheka in Adamawa Province. He took all the Jiba people who were there, whose leader was named Tantu, from there to Maihula and they crossed the River Taraba and made camp at a hill which is called Chamba Hill. The people they encountered on arrival were the Wurbo or Wurbawa. He fought them but was not successful because they lived in a very difficult place, on an island in a great lake, so he left them and crossed over the River Suntai and the River Donga and went to what is Takum country now, and went on to Katsina Ala, and from there he went to Bamenda country. This is how the Jiba people came to Benue Province.

From Katsina Ala, Tantu (Aban), whom the Chamba had given the title Gauva, went with his junior brother Gajere north and established the town of Jibu. In another version of the story, it is said that when the Chamba defeated the Jiba, then Gauva Tantu left his town Bashishi with his younger brother and came and established Jibu.

After Gauva Tantu established Jibu, it is said that the second chief of Muri, called Ibrahim, sent some of his slaves to dislodge them from where they were. When the slaves of the chief of Muri arrived with their people, then Gajere, younger brother of Tantu took fright and slipped away at night without a word to his elder brother Gauva Tantu and headed east and founded a town at the base of a hill which to this day is called Gajere's hill in Bakundi District. In the morning, Gauva Tantu couldn't find his brother and decided to head for his former town of Nyabal, but founded Bali instead, where he died. That is the origin of Bali. But it is also said that it was the slaves of those Fulani who attacked Gauva Tantu and drove him out.

When these Fulani slaves took over this Jiba man's town they settled there. The name of the leader of these slaves of the chief of Muri who drove out Gauva Tantu was Kusa (Kosa). And these people were in three groups. When they had obtained this place to live, quarrels broke out between them about who should be chief and so they split into three: one group went to Bantaje with Bakari and Aliyu; another group went to live at Sansani; and the third were left at Jibu where they are still today.

Garbasa Nubumga Donzomga takes the town of Bantaje

Garbasa Nubumga Donzomga defeated Aliyu chief of Bantaje II. The origin of this town we can say was from Jibu, and I told the story of Jibu and how they divided into three. The reason for the split was the dispute over succession after the death of chief of Jibu, Lamido Kusu. Then Bakari and Aliyu migrated southeast from Jibu and founded Bantaje.

It is said that when Bakari and Aliyu first arrived and made camp, they went to Garbanyi (Gargbanyi) the first chief of Suntai to seek his permission and gave him a black horse that turned out to be lame, and when it was discovered Gargbanyi ordered the horse to be given back to them, and another horse was given, and he agreed that they could stay, and so they founded Bantaje in 1855. After some eight years, Aliyu succeeded to the chieftaincy after Bakari in 1863. Aliyu was exceptionally disobedient and, in doing exactly what he wanted, destroyed the arrangements that Garbasa I had established.

When Nubumga Donzomga Garbasa I, second chief of Donga, had had enough of him, he made war on him. Since Garbasa I was stronger than him in every respect, he defeated him in battle and immediately tore down his walls, Aliyu fled and his son Haman Bose nicknamed Jatau, and his kinsman Jauro Kadiri, and a woman called Mairama along with some slaves, were all captured and taken back to Donga.

When matters had finally settled, Aliyu chief of Bantaje sent word to Garbasa I, begging for forgiveness and asking for a restoration of peace between them. Aliyu begged Garbasa I to agree to him ransoming his children, however many slaves would be required in payment, he would pay. He asked many times, but Garbasa I refused, and said to the messengers, 'Go and say to Aliyu chief of Bantaje that he has nothing that I desire, I will not attack his town in search of wealth, where does he think he obtained his wealth and strength from? It was his arrogance that caused me to demonstrate to him that he is no match for me.' He refused outright and kept Aliyu's children at his palace, and these male children of Aliyu followed Garbasa's first son Bileya, they grew up in Donga and became fluent in Chamba, and it was here in Donga that Garbasa had them circumcised along with some of his own sons.

Garbasa I Nubumga Donzomga showed the character of a gentleman

After Garbasa I had the sons of Aliyu circumcised, he gave them many gifts of gowns, shawls and trousers. He gave Mairama valuable adornments and gave them male slaves and a female slave. He ordered them all to be put in a boat, and the boat was filled with food, and then he said they should be taken to Aliyu and he should be told, 'here are your children'. Completely unexpectedly, Aliyu suddenly saw his children arriving in these circumstances, and he was astonished and enormously grateful for this just and generous gesture that Garbasa I had shown him. These events strengthened the relations of trust between the children of Garbasa I and of Aliyu, down indeed to their grandchildren. All this is remembered.

The story of the Chamba and the Tiv

It is well known that the Chamba have known the Tiv for a long time, and the Tiv have known the Chamba from way back. Even though it was the time of ignorance and so it is not possible to say they got to know each other in a particular year, later on through investigations into the history of the country and its tribes carried out by the Europeans, it has been possible to arrive at an estimate, although I cannot say that it is definite, however I take it to be approximately right. What we know is that the Chamba knew the Tiv in 1830, at a time when the Tiv knew the Chamba were to be feared because of their fearsome weapons of war. At that time the majority of Tiv were living in the hills.

The Chamba who lived in the southwest of what is now Wukari Division had a great army to defend themselves with, and had walls where Turan District now is, and to this day you can see those walls from the River Amire Tamen in the east to the River Katsina-Ala in the north, and around Kashimbila. After some years conflict broke out among the Chamba about the exercise of power and they split into groups. This divisiveness meant that the Tiv became less afraid of them, and the respect in which they were held was like when a hut catches fire, it is no surprise that the surrounding bush also catches fire! So, then these Chamba became divided in that city and went and made places to live elsewhere.

From this time, the Tiv had the opportunity to spread out to different places. The Ugondo tribe went east to a hill called Abunu (Abun) beyond what is Salatu today, and from there they crossed over the River Donga and settled at the hill called Mdema by the Tiv and called Bishikola by the Chamba. From there the Chamba of Garkiye I drove off the Ugondo who crossed back over the River Donga and went to the Asukunya Hills which is now Mbaikor District.

The story of the hill of Mdema became well known to the old men of Ugondo. The Mdema Hill, called Bishikola by the Chamba, that is the Tiv hill northeast of the city of Donga, the Jahun call this hill 'refuse to play' because of a dispute that broke out when they were living there and rebelled against Gargbanyi, third chief of Donga, and they left Donga. When Gargbanyi went and defeated them in war and took some of them back to Donga, a number of them fled to Bakundi District and established a settlement called Jahun there in Bakundi country.

Although it was indicated earlier that as a result of internal Chamba disputes their strength diminished and they split up into groups, nevertheless there was never a single Chamba town that the Tiv took by force, nor any part of their land in which they lived that was taken by the Tiv or from which they were driven out. The Chamba knew the Tiv from 1830, and later the Ugondo group came, as I indicated earlier, but when Garkiye I's people drove them out they never came back into this land until, in 1925/26 during the time of Nyaga Garbasa II, sixth

chief of Donga, they joined us and have been with us until today. Sometimes some of them return to their land of Ugondo from where they came, and sometimes others come here to Donga to meet their relatives.

The story of Gbunyela

When Garbasa Nubumga Donzomga built the walls of Donga, shortly thereafter he took his younger brother, Gbunyela, for he and Gbunyela were both children of Garkiye I, to Nyivu and settled him there to look after all the people living in that area and become sub-chief for the south. The hill where the Kentu Nyivu lived is now called Gindin Dutse 'base of the hill'.

Across those great hills there were the Kentu (Icen) Nyivu, the Kumbo, Nyite, Nyabe, Nyitan, Ngwohwa, Nyibugen, and the Mbakino. Other than the Nyivu, they were all Kpanzo and they all lived at the top of those hills.

Garbasa I set himself to building the walls of Donga so that if enemies arrived they would not be able to destroy them or overcome them.

Then one day a minor fight broke out when Hamadu, the Emir of Muri who founded Gassol, appeared unexpectedly at Nyivu and caused great damage, capturing and making off with Gbunyela who lived at the base of the hill. Garbasa didn't hear of this fighting and when he did eventually hear they had long since taken his younger brother to Gassol. Garbasa sent his son Bileya with ten slaves and paid a ransom for Gbunyela and his family and brought them to Donga.

Garbasa headed for Nyivu and fell upon them determined to destroy them, but they begged for mercy repeatedly. He said, 'Since you allowed fighting to happen here and did not tell me of it, you are hypocrites.' They said they had no knowledge of the fighting at all, and they swore oaths to that effect and offered slaves in repentance, until he let them go and took the ten slaves from among those that they gave him to ransom his brother.

Garbasa made war on the Gbangwana and defeated the Kentu (Icen) who were in that place. He destroyed the Kentu Binyi who lived close to the Gbangwana on the hill that is to the south of Gbangwana called Shimo, he took them from there to live at the Chamba remains of the city of Garkola. This is how the Kentu Binye came to be at Gankwai, previously they had lived at Shimo Hill. He also made war at Birkan, and they hid in caves and so fires were lit using chillies, and so the smoke blowing into the mouths of the caves forced them out. Garbasa went through and suppressed all the places that acted arrogantly, and this fight against the Birkan was his last in all the land of Donga.

Garbasa Nubumga Donzomga controlled all the land of Donga (Donga District) and there was not a village that rebelled or left his control. He lived in peace with all the people of his land until the day he left this earth.

Story of the Bayaro war

I said that I would not have the opportunity to describe all the wars of the chiefs of Donga on this occasion because of the weight of administration upon me, but nevertheless, now that I have a little spare time let me relate the story of the Bayaro war.

Garbasa Nubumga Donzomga prepared for war and set off via Wukari because Aku Ashumanu I had on many occasions invited him to jointly make war on the people of Jibu, who had troubled them with much stealing of slaves, theft and other forms of banditry. And one of

Garbasa's wives had run away to Nyakola, and when he sent seeking her return they refused to give her up, being angry at the fact that he had driven them out of Suntai, which was during the war that he had pursued along with Gargbanyi and his people.

These two chiefs set out for Nyakola, seven miles from Jibu because Garbasa said they should stop there for provisions before they attacked Jibu.

When they reached Nyakola they made camp, each chief had their own separate war camp for their people, and they thought little of the people of Nyakola. And so their warriors surrounded the fields of the Nyakola people and were harvesting the guinea corn. Little did they know! The news of their warlike arrival had already reached the ears of the people of Jibu who had turned for help to Bayaro who was at that time in Muri country, and who then gathered his many warriors and entered Jibu, and all this was done in secret without their being known about. Bayaro was the son of the Sultan of Sokoto.

Bayaro fell on them unawares and overwhelmed them, while their warriors had all scattered looking for food away from their camp, all that was left were the chiefs and their retinues, and women and children in the camp. They could hear drums and see the dust of battle, and before they could realise this was war, they were close upon them. People ran in panic gathering up possessions, and before the warriors could get back to the camp the fighting was upon them.

Ashumanu I jumped on his horse, but the women and the children impeded his ability to move. One of his courtiers, Ajifi father of Wagbadu shot him with an arrow because, for some time, they had had enough of him.

Then he spurred his horse forward but they both fell into the River Donga and died. It is said that one of his guards called Danbarno and a servant called Adi also followed him into the river and drowned. The war was a disaster and all they could try to do was to get home with their lives.

When Garbasa Nubumga Donzomga saw that the battle was coming close, he said to his most trusted slaves, 'Quickly, take the women and children through the bush and head for home, listen to no one.' They carried out his orders straight away.

Garbasa's saddle was made ready, and he mounted, as did his sons Bileya and Kpukpo. At that moment the battle was close, some of Garbasa's warriors, particularly of the Pyeri clan of the Chamba had arrived, and they made ready and entered the fray saying they would never turn back. They did great damage before they died, and they never did turn back.

Bayaro recognised Garbasa and said to his warriors, 'Quick, capture that man over there on the horse.' Garbasa headed for home with his two sons on either side. Bayaro's soldiers, with some Fulani men and with his drummer amongst them, Dankaro Bagobiri, were in luck against Garbasa, but Bileya and Kpukpo drove them back, saying 'you have met your match', and killed a number of their men. They came again, Bileya and Kpukpo and their father on big stallions, and they drove back the enemy a long way. Garbasa was making his way, and his two sons were saying to him, 'Father, collect yourself, you can ride on in peace, we are here and nothing will happen.' They arrived at a lake and Garbasa's horse became stuck in the mud and the enemy were close. Bileya and Kpukpo turned and drove them back, causing them much damage and pushing them a distance away. They turned quickly back to their father and tried repeatedly to extract their father's horse without success, so they went a little further and Kpukpo alighted from his horse and gave it to his father to mount and they followed behind. The enemy saw that there was nothing to be done and gave up following them. Garbasa Nubumga Dozomga and his sons returned safely to Donga where they found that their families

had returned also. Everyone was astonished to hear how the battle had gone wrong for them and what his sons had achieved.

After this battle, Bayaro crossed the River Benue and attacked Lafiya. Lafiya is in Bauchi country. As he was waging war against Lafiya news of his attacks reached his father, the Sultan of Sokoto, who sent to persuade him to cease his war and return to Sokoto. We did not hear of him again.

His drummer, Dankaro Bagobiri, returned to Wukari to live there during the time of Aku Audumanu (Agudu Manu) who had succeeded to the chieftaincy after Aku Ashumanu I. Later, Dankaro rebelled and left Wukari to go and live among the Tiv, where he was forever making war and causing trouble for people and wreaking havoc, raiding villages, robbing and stealing until eventually the Jukun managed to get the Royal Niger Company to go and make war on Dankaro. When Dankaro died, his son Isiyaku took his people and went and founded Jangarigari and lived in Awe District until today.

The praise cry for Garbasa Nubunga Donzomga that his drummers always beat out for him from the beginning of his chieftaincy was, 'If you aren't tough, who will leave you alone?' [*In ba ka gagara ba, wa ke bar maka*]

Gargbanyi, third chief of Donga, defeats Kasari (Kachalla)

After the death of Galumje I, Yakuba II was appointed chief. Yakuba II, Kasari (whom some call Kachalla) and Boshi II were all three sons of Boshi I, second chief of Takum. Kasari rejected the accession of his older brother Yakuba II and said that he should succeed to chieftaincy over the land of Takum. And Boshi II, their younger brother, sided with Kasari. The dispute over the chieftaincy became worse, so much so that Kasari rebelled.

Kasari refused to accept the chieftaincy of Yakuba II, gathered some followers and, in revolt, left the city of Takum and built his walls about 15 miles west of Takum on the road to Katsina Ala. He attacked Takum causing great damage. He launched repeated attacks upon Takum and the remaining towns, and also attacked the Tiv people causing them great damage also.

Kasari, this famous son of a chief, was a tall, pale-skinned, well-built man who was very strong, so strong that he could twist a man's head so hard that it would separate from the body without the use of a weapon.

He was an expert fighter and horseman, no rider of an indolent horse. Some would say that 4 or 6 strong men could not bring down Kasari, and others that 20 men might not be able to overwhelm him. Kasari gathered many fighting men to him, and his fame spread through the lands of the Chamba, the Jukun and the Tiv. He gave Yakuba II and his people no peace, there was no respite when it came to anything to do with Kasari.

So it went on and it came to a point when Yakuba II no longer had any idea what to do about Kasari, so he sent to Gargbanyi, third chief of Donga, asking for help (1892-1910). Gargbanyi made ready his riflemen and his best warriors from among the Chamba, the Jahun and the rest. Amongst the Jahun was Barwa, chief of the Jahun, who could shoot two arrows at once. Gargbanyi went and made camp and sent word to his relative, Yakuba II, in secret saying that he had arrived.

Gargbanyi made ready for battle and deployed his men as he usually would. He himself was dressed as an infantryman and he put his younger brother, Yarima Sonyonga, who was next in line to be chief, in charge of the vanguard of the forces who advanced against Kasari, while

Gargbanyi stationed himself where they thought Kasari would emerge. Battle was joined. Kasari and his people responded. When the men of Donga came close to Kasari he would let out a fearsome shout and they would withdraw. Gargbanyi came to the walls and shouted, 'Anyone who retreats, I will kill them myself!' The fighting went on and the guns were fired, and then some of Gargbanyi's men got inside the settlement and set fire to the place, and some of Kasari's most active fighters were killed along with a brave younger brother, and he, Kasari, became afraid and was got the better of in battle, and so he fled the field and headed for Loko, to the west in Tiv country. Great quantities of booty were taken, along with an imitation flag that Kasari had had made for himself to call people to him, but in fact there was no genuine flag other than the one that Garbasa Nubumga Donzomga had brought from Bauchi.

After Gargbanyi had defeated Kasari, he established a camp near Takum and said he would not return to Donga until he had defeated Takum, because it was his grandfather who had first settled there, and his mother was a Kutep woman, and he had been born in Jenuwa, so it was his town. The pleasure that Yakuba II and his people had felt was suddenly diminished, they had been rejoicing in the defeat of Kasari, and now their delight had been turned to misery! They said everything they could to get Gargbanyi to return to Donga, but he refused. He said that Yarima Sonyonga should go and take up the chieftaincy of Donga, 'As far as I am concerned, I am going to take the chieftaincy of Takum, and live in Takum. Donga and Takum are one.' His important people tried to coax him saying, 'Doing such a thing would bring shame upon you, your friend asks you to help him by removing a grass stalk from his eye, and then after you remove it, you say you are going to put out his eyes completely! We ought not to do such a thing.' His friends Kpangati Foa and Nya Yeba Bajibe spoke to him repeatedly until finally they just managed to get him to agree, and the strength required to prevent him from doing this thing was down to Kpangati Foa. Yakuba II produced a great deal of wealth, Akente and Akyumam, and gave them to Gargbanyi, and finally he returned to Donga. This is the origin of a number of Kutep who are in Donga whose grandchildren are still here.

As for Kasari, there in Loko, he continued to gather people together and make trouble until eventually the Royal Niger Company went and killed him. After the Europeans had killed Kasari, his children and the remainder of his people who survived returned to Takum. And the business of Kasari was over for ever.

After Gargbanyi returned from the war against Kasari, Takum and Donga lived without conflict and in peace together. After the death of Gargbanyi and of Yakuba II, Garbosa I (Yarima Sonyonga) succeeded Gargbanyi in Donga. In Takum, Boshi II succeeded Yakuba II. Garbosa I and Boshi II entered into a relationship of trust, so much so that Garbosa I married the daughter of Boshi II called Yemti Hauwa. Takum and Donga maintained close relations with each other until the time when the chieftaincy went out of Takum Chamba hands with Yamusa Galumje in 1914. Right up to today cordial relations are maintained between Donga and Takum.

Chamba greetings

If people are going to greet one another then they clap hands, the two palms of the hands are brought together in a clap, that is the original Chamba way of greeting, and now many tribes in this land have taken up this greeting through a clapping of the hands.

If a person or people encounter the Gara (the chief) on horseback or travelling on foot, then they will bend the knee and raise a fist [*jinjina*] before him. If he is seated, then after the genuflection the person will sit on the ground and clap, and he will reply, 'Mhum'. If there are two people or more sitting, then the more senior will clap and the others will follow. And

similarly, on parting then there will be clapping as part of the indication of the departure farewell.

If someone meets an old man or a person who is superior to him on the road then he will bow slightly and clap in greeting. And if seated then one claps, and if about to get up then one also claps.

Politeness and customs of the Chamba

A person will not call his father by the name that others would use, he calls him Ba or Buba, but about this use of Buba, what young modern Chamba have got used to, Chamba these days, along with other tribes who live with them, is to use Ba, rather than Buba, and, if one were to refer to a Chamba man who had long since died, as 'Buba', people would not know what was being meant. Nevertheless, for many Chamba alive today, if you were to say Buba to them, they would know it means Ba, and in this way Buba has now become Ba, although many still use Buba. A father's elder brother would be addressed in the same way along with a father's younger brother. A father's female siblings will be called Mbala, however many of them there are. An elder brother is called Niya, but a younger brother will be called by his name. A person's elder sister will be called Muma (but note that the 'u' after the 'M' is not said out loudly). The mother is called Naa and male relatives of the mother are all called Muna. You will call your father's father Doo or Doh, that is to say your male grandparent. You will call your mother's mother Kaa, your female grandparent.

The Chamba honour the Mbala greatly, even more than their father because they say that if she curses someone then he is in big trouble.

A man will not marry his father's wife if he dies nor his younger brother's wife, but he may marry his elder brother's wife if he dies, marrying the wife of the elder brother is not forbidden. Similarly, a man can marry the wife of a Muna.

It is preferred that a man greets his father in the morning about 5.00, or his aunt the Mbala, or any other old man who ought to be greeted very early before a man has begun the business of the day and while his mind is together. It is at this time of the day that it is better to wish blessings on someone or admonish them or tell them something important. But these days young people don't take much notice of these things, except for the odd one.

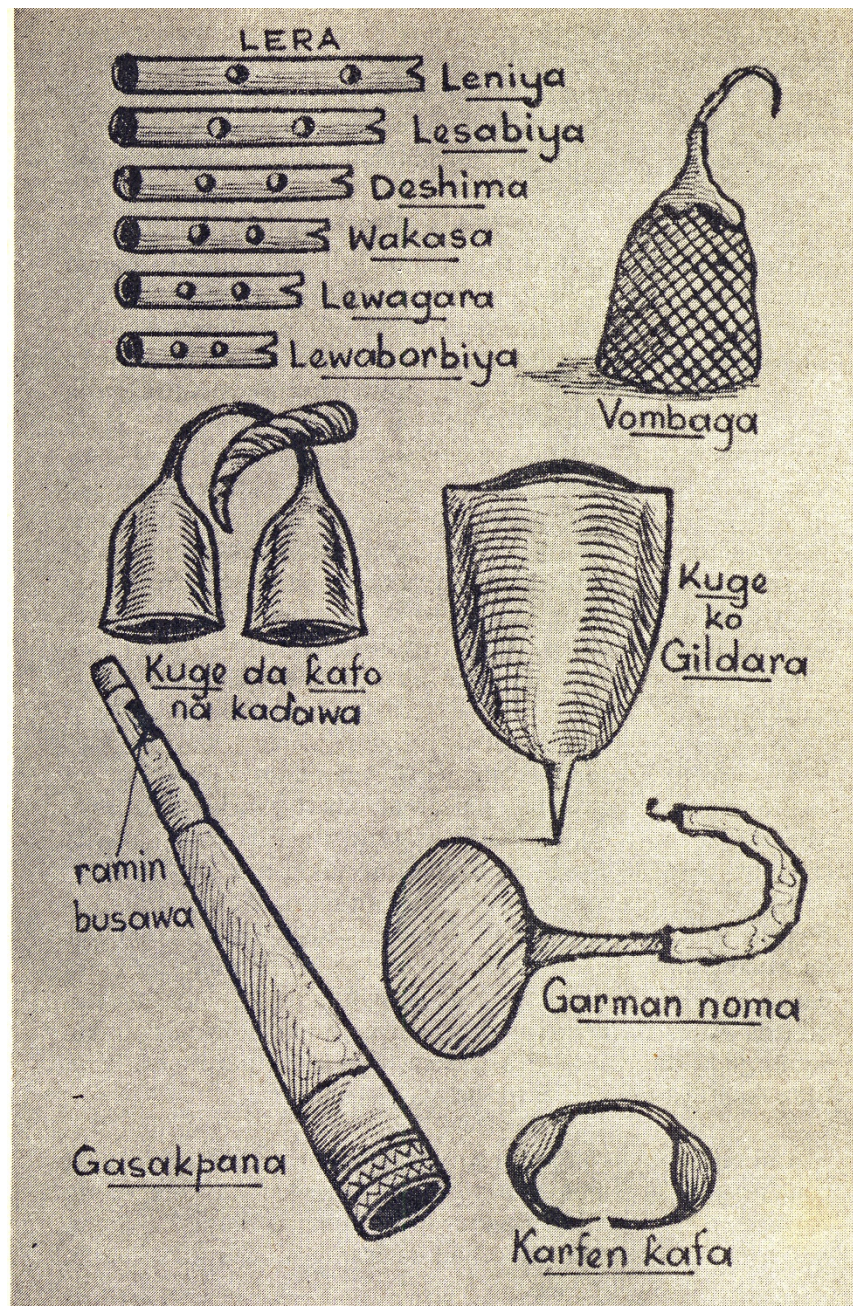


Figure 5: Musical instruments

Chamba marriage

The way it happens is that a youth makes an arrangement with a young woman that he loves, through meeting, mostly at night-time dances where the two of them can talk on their own, and then they agree to marry, and it is clear that the girl has given her agreement to him. If they have reached an agreement among themselves then the boy will tell his parents that this is the girl he wants to marry, and he wants them to ask for the agreement of the girl's parents. So then, the parents of the boy send a gift asking for the agreement of the girl's parents. Sometimes these first gifts are sent two or three times. The parents of the girl will ask one of her close friends to ask her about it because she would be embarrassed to answer them directly, and if the girl tells the friend that it was indeed she who made an arrangement with the boy, then she

will go and tell the girl's parents. And presents would be given to the girl's parents. If she is old enough to marry then things move to preparations for the marriage, but mostly the marriage arrangements are in the hands of the girl's aunt, her father's female relative.

Once all the arrangements for the marriage are in place then the day is fixed for the celebrations. The young men of the quarter have their formal positions for celebrations – Sarki (chief), Galadima, Madaki and the rest, each age grade has its own chief and leadership. On the day that the marriage day is fixed, the friend of the bridegroom has already told the leader of their age grade, and their leader and his followers assemble members of their grade at the house of the groom to confirm the date of the celebration and to discuss informing other age grades who were not part of their own grade. There are six days of celebration; if it is their first marriage, on the day of the marriage the groom, the bride and two of her female friends, and the friend of the groom will all fast. If the groom has been previously married, then they do not keep the fast.

On the day of the marriage, the friend of the groom will set out the places for the leader and his people to sit, and also the places for the bride and groom and her girlfriends, the groom's friend has his place next to the groom, thus the people of the leader of the celebration are the age mates who are seated on chairs, and the remaining leaders of the celebration – from other age grades who had been invited, are on mats. In the late afternoon, drums, and lutes 'para', and guitars are played, women and girls assemble, the kin of the bride and groom celebrate with the couple until nightfall, and then the best friend of the groom will go and stand in front of the bride, pick up a calabash into which presents have been placed, and lift it high while calling out potential married names, 'Wenna, Somna, Zanna, Dagana, and the like.' On mentioning one of these names, he will pause to see if the bride answers to that name, and if she does not then it means she doesn't like that name. He goes on until she hears a name that she feels suits her and she answers to it, at which point the whole place bursts out in drumming and clapping, for this will henceforth be her name and her husband will no longer call her by her birthname, nor will his relatives or his friends. As for the name Dagana, mostly you will find that a woman who chooses that name, her marriage is built on good relationships. Then everyone disperses back to their houses, and then they will come back together during the night, and those who had been fasting will begin by drinking warm gruel and then, after they have rested, they will eat some food, on their own, the groom and his friends at one place and the bride and her friends at another. The gifts that have been given to the groom, he will take most of them and give them to his aunt or his elder sister to take to the bride's parents, and that marks the end of the marriage celebrations.

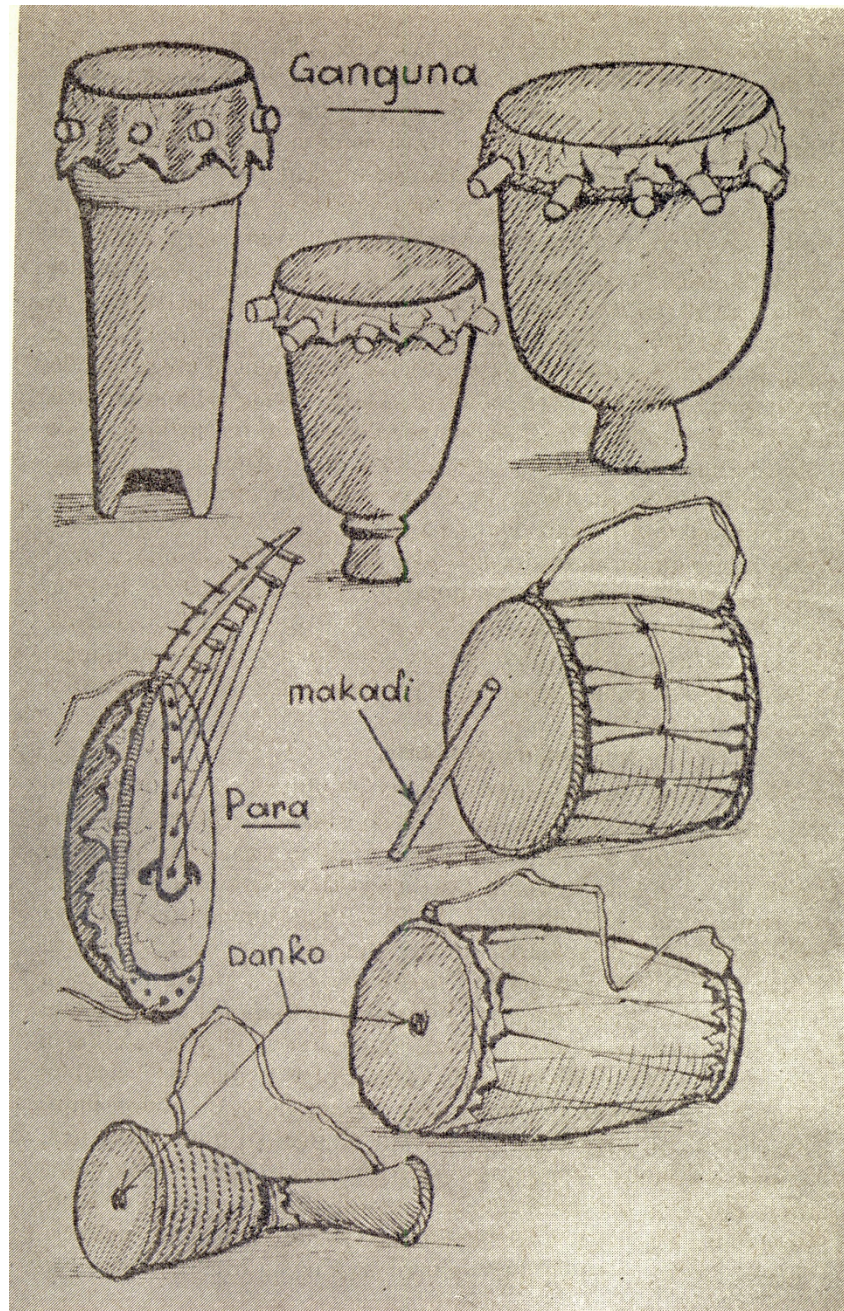


Figure 6: Drums and a plucked instrument

Chamba naming ceremonies

When a male or female child is born and the umbilical cord has fallen off on the fourth or fifth day, well then, that is the naming day. On the naming day, the father's male and female relatives gather in the morning at the house of the naming, and if the child is a boy then a small quiver is made with some stalks cut to resemble arrows put in it, and a bow of an equivalent size is made, along with a hoe and a spear. Then the Chamba beer 'Den-barma' is brought, the beer which is now called fito or pito. The female relatives on the father's side are together with the mother, washing and preparing the baby, and if the aunt of the child is present then she will be doing most things, and the 'denbarma' will be brought and the child's father's relatives will drink. When they are ready then the aunt will carry the child and some of the father's relatives

will carry the hoe. The person carrying the hoe will go in front making the actions of hoeing while the child is carried along behind, and behind the child comes the spear carrier and then the bow and arrow, all coming at a run.

Then the child is brought before the male relatives of the father for one of them to give the child the name, and the way that is done is that the person who is pronouncing the name will pick up a head of white guinea corn and put it to the hand of the child, and if it grips it he says 'Mke-yera' Mkeyera Nubumga, which means, 'receive the guinea corn Nubumga', and at this point everyone knows that the child's name is Nubumga, everything that is said after 'nkeyeran' is the name of the boy.

The bow and arrow and the spear symbolise what is in store for every young man, which is battle, and the hoe means farming, that is to say these are the things that face every young man who enters the world. After the name is given then the child is taken back to the women, and then the custom of 'Wanyena' is performed whereby the men come one by one, pick up the spear and each proffer the spear three times to the child, and by this means they strengthen him and ward off indolence or fear, and then the naming is complete. The female relatives do their thing, and the male relatives finish off the denbarma beer. Sometimes the child is named after a deceased relative in order to remember him, and sometimes it will be named as a result of a concern that the person naming the child has, such as calling the child 'Nubumga' which shows the name-giver indicating that the child will not flee from battle, or 'Nyonkaya' which means that words will surround him, or 'Dayebga' which says he will not leave his land, and so on, depending upon what the issues are at the time.

As the writer, I am relating these things about what goes on, and about what I have seen with my own eyes, this is not a fiction, these practices are in progress today and tomorrow. If it is a female child who is being named, then it is women's procedures and the women who have charge of her naming.

Second naming: this happens after the boy's two top and bottom teeth have come through, at about 6 months. If the boy is from the family of the chief (Gara) or is related to the chief, then he is again brought before the chief so that he may name him for a second time. The chief will bring out a sheaf of guinea corn and pull out a full head of white corn and place it in the child's right hand and then the chief will pronounce his name. If the name that was first given, perhaps a traditional one, seems to the chief to be appropriate, then he will pronounce it again. If there is some extra layer of meaning that the original name-giver had in his mind at the time of the first naming, and the chief feels it is alright, then he may repeat the same name, but if there is something that concerns him, then he may name the child according to that further concern. Sometimes the second of these names becomes more current, and sometimes the first, but before the child is taken before the chief, he will be taken to the Mbala, the chief's aunt, for her to see him, and she will give permission for the child to be taken before the chief. So it is for many Chamba, whatever the family, the child will be taken through the family of the Mbala to come before the chief.

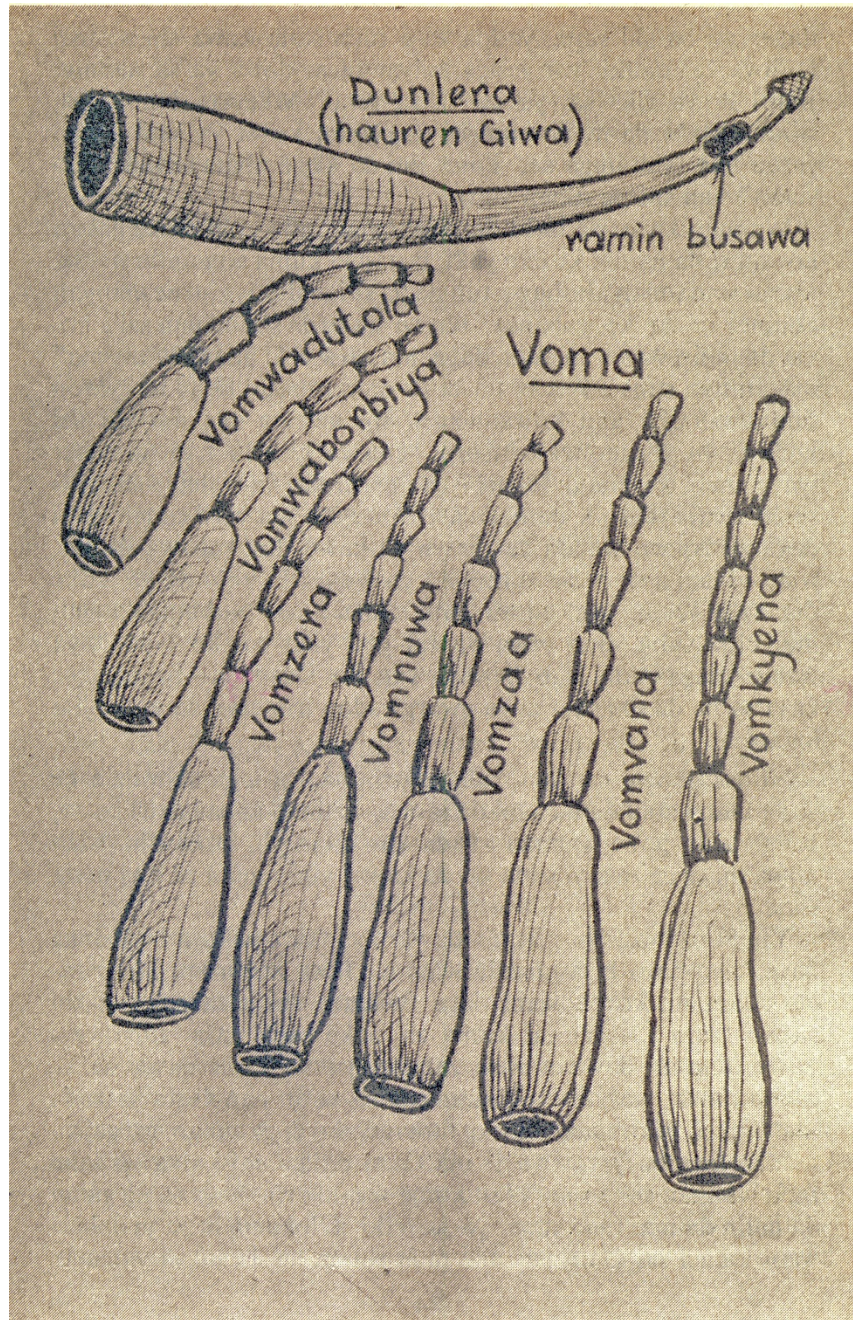


Figure 7: Wind instruments

Chamba hunting

There are hunters and there are people who use many kinds of traps to catch small animals of the bush and their like. But there are two important hunts that involve groups working cooperatively. The one is for animals of the bush which deploys a net which is made from rope fibre made from hemp, or beanstalks or palm fibre, and this kind of net is called 'sara' in Chamba. And then there is 'kiba' which is a kind of fishing net which is made out of beanstalk fibre. Hunting with sara is after roan antelope, Defassa waterbuck, kanauki, mariya, reed-buck, and other smaller animals, including leopards and the small buffalo, and if it were a big one

that fell into the net and the net is not too old, then it can be held and killed. The time for hunting is rainy season and the dry season.

In the pools in the wetlands hunting is done with the kiba, and many kinds of fish are killed, big and small, even big ones like the Nile perch, the Clarias catfish, and the zangai, are easily killed. Sometimes even a medium-sized crocodile can be taken with the kiba.

Chamba farming

Every man and his family will be involved in farming. Sometimes it will be done together all lined up in a row, and sometimes people working separately, the one who finishes first will then help the one who has not yet finished his section.

Sometimes it is a communal activity, each quarter will choose a chief for farming as they do with celebrations, and so a form of collective farming takes place such that today all work on one person's land and then tomorrow the next and so on until everyone is done. The leaders of the farming may stand down at the end of one day and new ones be chosen the next day, but some may often be chosen again as leaders because of their skill in organising communal work and their staying power.

The leaders of celebrations don't normally get asked to stand down, unless it is for some major misdemeanour, in which case they will be stuck with that reputation for ever.

In the farms people sow guinea corn, varieties of bulrush millet, beans, groundnuts and maize on irrigated farms or in places that suit them. They also plant certain kinds of yam and other root crops like potatoes and other tubers.

Chamba dances and celebrations

The Chamba have truly wonderful celebrations, dances and songs. Men and women all know how to sing, but we can only tell you about them in brief. There are many kinds of drums, including some which are beaten on two sides, yambaa (yanbagha), and they have short drums like those used by soldiers in the Daya dance, that is for our warrior soldiers.

The traditional celebrations and dances are wonderful to behold, their celebrations and their dances are not the modern kind that they copied or took from other tribes or their neighbours. This is a point of great pride for us Chamba.

These are the names of the most important: Lera, Voma, Vomkyena, Daya, Saba (Sawa), Kpatandaba. And then there is Para (axe) with six strings, and the one with five strings, but an expert singer will know that the five-string version is not completely adequate, although whatever kind of song you listen to, you will hear it as you know it, but if it is the five-string version being played then you will not hear the sixth Lera note, that of the Leniya flute.

Voma and Lera. Traditional songs are sung and if the player is an expert then they may create new ones. Drum sequences are beaten out, and each sequence has its own meaningful song. The dance is in three parts and when it is in progress the musicians make up one group, the women are in the middle, and the men are in a line behind, but they all lift their feet or turn together, and all of them are following the beat of the drums. The person blowing the Voma has four things to take care of, blowing, shaking the hand rhythm instrument, dancing, and following the beat of the drums. The person who blows the Lera has three things to do, blowing, dancing, and taking care of the big drums and the songs. The men and the women have two responsibilities, dancing, and following the big drums and the songs. There are seven types of

Voma: Vomkyena, Vomvana, Vomzaa, Vomnuwa, Vomzera, Vomwabor, followed by Vomwadutola making 7 all together – Voma. There are 6 Lera:

Leniya, Lesabiya, Deshima, Wakasa, Lewagara and Lewaborbiya, these 6 = Lera. All of the Voma and Lera come one after the other.

Vomkyema is purely for women, they beat the clapperless bells (*kuge*) and other such things and sing and dance most beautifully. Occasionally, a man will play the yambaa for them.

Saba (or Sawa) and Kpatandaba. The time for performing these is in the rainy season around August. Men and women perform the same kind of dance around the drummers and the female chorus. It is performed at night. Young men behave as young men do during the Saba dance.

Daya. This is a soldier's dance, and they play their small drums rather than the big drums, unless occasionally they wish to use the large drums, but in the main they use their small drums and the yambaa. If a soldier has fallen in battle, then it is with the Daya dance that the funerary customs are performed for him, and he is praised in the Daya songs, and others are praised who have shown great bravery in war, and thus other soldiers are encouraged. If the Daya dance is happening in town then women will join in and sing with the songs, and some will even contribute their own songs to embarrass the faint-hearted and to drive fear from their hearts. There are many different Daya songs but the majority are about battle.

Para (the axe). Whenever it is being played it is for the performance of Lera songs, and Voma and other different kinds of songs. The expert para player also sings the songs, a delight to behold.

On the occasion of the visit of the Queen of England and her husband, the Duke of Edinburgh, to Kaduna, I went with a number of Chamba people, and along with others that we encountered among the spectators, we were very upset and disappointed to see other tribes had come with their dances and performers, but we, who had many kinds of dances, had not a single one amongst them. And so, when I returned home and the people came out to welcome me back with dances on our return, I told them how other tribes had had the opportunity to show their traditional performances, and they were very upset at what had happened to us while we were in Kaduna! I said to them, 'I am sure that if we had gone with our expert singers, both men and women, and dancers, drummers and wind instruments, then I have no doubt that we would have been one of the tribes who had performed at the Governor's house in Kaduna. The gourd dance of the people of Borno is a little bit like the Daya dance except that the songs of the Daya dance are of many kinds and each song has its own unique style in our language. If we are lucky then one day we will be able to show our dances on a similarly important occasion.' Among the wind instruments of the Chamba it is the elephant tusk alone that is not blown for just anyone, it is reserved for the chief alone. Whether at home or in the bush if you hear the horn it means the chief is present. Whether by night or by day if the elephant horn is blown then the people will assemble because they know something has happened. In the past, if the horn was blown then anyone who was not Chamba would be very frightened.

Chamba circumcision

When a boy has reached 10 to 15 years old, well, that is when he will be circumcised. I am not saying that wherever Chamba people are it is necessarily the case that a boy has to reach the age that I have mentioned before he is circumcised, but I am outlining what is usually the practice among the Chamba in this part of the country, and even in this area they may not reach that age because there are some who are Muslims, and there are some who do it for their

children while they are still small. But I am simply setting out what the majority do in this part of the country, and it does not relate to all the Chamba people wherever they may be.

If the Gara says that this year circumcision is to be performed, and the time comes, then he will gather together his sons, and his relatives and his servants will gather theirs, and they will take them outside the town to be circumcised. One boy will be chosen from the sons of the Gara and his relatives to be the chief of the circumcised, and then other office holders will be appointed, Gbana and Kpangati and the rest, Galadima and Madaki and the others. When the time comes for them to be led out one by one, the one who cries will be mocked by his age mates and by other people saying that he has no heart in his penis, he is a coward, and he and his parents will be shamed and upset. Apart from these young men who have been selected by the Gara in this year for circumcision, other groups of people will take their own sons outside the town for circumcision also. This is known as the 'Gara's knife' because it is believed that all those who take their child for circumcision at that time are taking it to be circumcised by the Gara himself, even if the child is not being taken to where the children of the Gara and his courtiers are.

It can be about three months before the whole thing is over. The number of children who would be in the company of the chief's sons could reach 100 or between 150 and 200.

At the time of circumcision, if they have recovered from the wound then the boys will do farm work, cutting grass for thatch, and other work, but while they are still recovering from the wound then they do handiwork. Circumcision is like school for the Chamba, that is where you learn character, fortitude, politeness and obedience, occupations and hunting. They drink hot and cold gruel, and eat meals twice a day. The parents of each boy take food and gruel to them and it will be gathered together and then, when it is time to eat, then it will be shared out amongst them. Those who look after the initiates are called Nena, and there is a chief Nena, and it is the Nena [*su Nena* pl.] who wash their wounds and take care of them at night, showing them particular ways of lying down because some of them, in not knowing how best to lie, cause problems for their wounds. It is the Nena who teach them occupations, hunting, and indeed everything. Sometimes it will not be before midday or the afternoon that they partake of gruel.

When they are fully recovered then, each late afternoon, they will go out to the dance arena, if it is not a day for hunting. What they tie around their waists is made from palm leaves, and their dancing is wonderful, they sing and dance in a great variety of styles. If they are dancing then no one can get up or stand upright until they have been granted permission, and the giving of instructions to musicians to play or permission to dance is all in the hands of the Nena.

When this dancing is going on in the late afternoon then some of the townspeople will go and stand close to the wall to watch the dancing of the circumcised. Those that I told you had also taken their sons outside for circumcision, even though they were not in the same place as the Gara's sons, nevertheless all of them are said to have been circumcised by the 'Gara's knife', well, once they have also recovered then they will also come to the Gara's dance arena and dance with the other youths, and then as night approaches they will go back to their places. When the young men have got used to dancing with the palm wrappers and the time for returning home is fast approaching, then they will be taught the Toro dance, and once they can do it, then preparations are made for the return home. All their heads are shaved and a toro is tied round their waists and they are kitted out in finery, and on that day you will see the army of the circumcised as if it was a religious festival day. All the initiates from all over, including the nearby villages, have arrived in the early morning along with all their fellows. The circumcision is a major festival with many things for the Gara to do. On the morning of the

return home the Lera will be taken to accompany them into town with them dancing as they move along, bowing their heads low until they reach the Gara's doorway with spectators thronging the place. When they have circled round outside the Gara's door three times, then they go into his house where all the circumcised will remain until the days of the festival are over. Before they arrive, foods of various kinds have been prepared for them as well as drinks, and they will stay in the Gara's house for three days eating and drinking, then after those three days, the youths and some older people will go with the Gara to the huts where they have been staying all this time and gather up all the grass and detritus and burn it. The Nena will be summoned and told to jump through the flames while the boys try to whip them in revenge for all the suffering they caused the initiates. If one of the circumcised made a mistake then they would all be punished as a result, therefore the initiates took responsibility for their own discipline so that they would not have to be punished along with the culprit. When the youths are in the bush, whenever the Nena go off into town then the initiates will set a boy as a lookout in a tree who will warn them if one of the Nena is returning, and so, if the boy sees one then he will scramble down the tree to where the others are and warn them, and they will all clap their hands, with their heads bowed, until he returns and sits down and gives them permission to stop. After these three days and before the boys go off to the houses of their parents, the Gara will distribute spears to the boys to indicate that they have become men, and with these spears they can begin to hunt, whether fish or rodents. From among his broader family the Gara will choose a number that he wants to live with him, and he will train them up to be men. When the youths return home to their parents, they must not speak to their parents until they have 'bought his mouth' with chickens or pieces of cloth or loincloth, or a shirt or a spear or arrows or the like. In the olden days, circumcision was an occasion of great pride and was held in high regard. This kind of circumcision was a many-faceted training for young men and therefore some parents very much preferred their sons to go through this kind of circumcision. But with all this modern-day progress it is not done any more, the boy is taken to the medical officer for him to do it.

The Chamba festival of Purma

This name Purma, some people call Pulma, but it is all the same. It is a great gathering in a festival.

As far as is known, the Chamba have held the festival of Purma every year at the beginning of the month of November. But now, because of the amount of work that people have to do, these days it is not possible to hold Purma every year. If it is to be held then neighbouring chiefs have to be invited, and relatives and villages far away. It is a huge celebration, and a large number of people will attend. Many different kinds of food and drink have to be prepared so that people can choose whatever takes their fancy, or which conforms to their religious dictates.

The Purma horse-riding happens twice in the bush behind the town where huts and seating places have been prepared for the Gara and the important people, along with the important guests who have been invited and have come to attend the gathering. Chiefs and their representatives and other people who have been invited arrive in the town on the day before Purma.

On the first day of Purma, the senior Gangum (the Chamba war leader) along with his assistant chiefs, and the deputy Gangum and all his people, along with the Galim (another Chamba war leader) and all his people, will saddle up around eight or nine o'clock in the morning and set off to the place that has been prepared outside of town. Young men and

warriors, along with other people will follow them there and dance, cutting down trees and treading down grass, this way and that. People do this in groups, the important people do their thing and the young people do theirs. In the early afternoon they return to town. The people move in companies, singing and dancing. The Gara and his courtiers and his important guests stand at the Gara's gateway and watch the arrival of the senior Gangum who is the last to arrive. All the groups of people that went out will come back in groups before the Gara but not all at once, and they will raise their fists in loyalty and pass on to allow the next group to do the same, and so on before the Gara as he acknowledges their greetings until they have all gone past. All the groups who pay homage to the chief then go back and do likewise to the senior Gangum three times and then make way. When they have all finished, at the end then the senior Gangum and his chiefs will come and pay homage. After the Gara has received the mounted greeting from the Gangum, then he will enter his house and the people will accompany the senior Gangum to his house, and then the junior Gangum to his house, but the Galim and his people will make their way to Galim's house with their own dance, after they have accompanied the senior Gangum. Other leaders of the company, with their people before them dancing and singing, are then taken to their homes.

The second day is the main horse-riding session of the Gara. Early in the morning a saddle will be prepared, and he will mount up and set off out of town to where the senior Gangum had been the day before and had made various improvements. When all have heard that the Gara has mounted and has left, then the people, with all the visitors will all head off in that direction, and with all the people who had not joined the crowd yesterday, the numbers are even greater today than they were yesterday. On Gara's horse-riding day, the Mbala queen (the Gara's aunt) follows the Gara along with her column of women to the place in the bush where a special spot has been prepared for her and her women to sit, where they can sing their own songs for their part.

What happens in the bush is many kinds of dances, but the most important song and dance are the Daya, and then the Genna which, when you see it, will remind you of the Duma of the people of Borno. Between twelve o'clock and one o'clock the Gara will have drinks shared out to people, and each person will be given whichever drink they like. Then everyone returns home, in groups as they did the previous day, and the Gara brings up the rear.

Following the Gara's riding day then there are many kinds of dances in each quarter of the town, each group doing the dances they want. In the late afternoon, everyone assembles at the door of the Gara's house where everyone will do the same dance, if there are Lera then that dance will be performed, if it is Voma or Daya then people meet at the door of the palace and perform those, while the Gara and guests who have come from neighbouring places sit and watch the display. When the time comes then they will disperse to their houses at night, and in each quarter you will hear singing and dancing for seven nights until Purma is finished. Then Gara bids farewell to his guests with a speech of thanks and to acknowledge the solidarity they have shown by coming and attending the Purma festival. Animals will be slaughtered, including a bull, in order to feed the guests; as for the drinks, in addition to the Gara who prepares drink for his guests, all the people of rank will prepare drink in their homes for people's pleasure, and so also do the leaders of the groups of people who will be celebrating day and night for seven days. After seven days Purma is over, until another day.

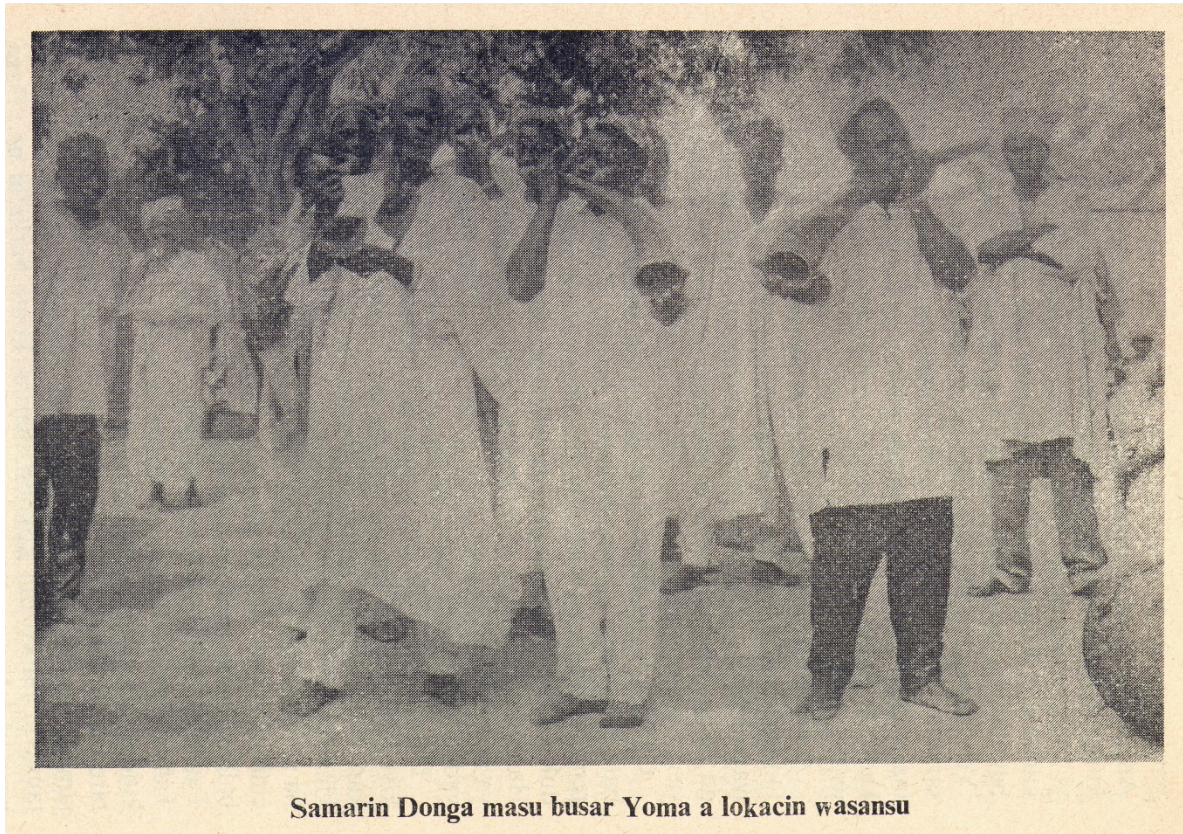


Figure 8: Young men of Donga playing the Voma

Administration of the western Chamba (Benue) in olden days

We Chamba who came to Benue Province controlled a large swathe of land. Note the following: from Kungana, and Kwasa Gamie (Garmiena) south in Bakundi District as far as the area of Didan towards Gargei southeast to Tosso, until you go around Takum District towards Kashimbila across the River Katsina-Ala towards Chanchanji Utu near Loko and behind Salatu, to Rafin Kada and between the great and small palm wine forests 12 miles from Donga to the River Donga and across to the River Suntai, then on to Bantaje on that other side in Muri Division, across the Suntai River and heading for the Kururu bush of Borno and then join up again at Kungana. All this area of land was under the control of the Chamba.

The peoples that the Chamba controlled

There are many different tribes in this huge expanse of land that the Chamba controlled, that is from Kungana around the places I have mentioned, and under their control were the Kentu (Icen), Pongh, Kungha, Kerre, Kpanzo and Zompere (Kutep) and other small tribes.

These tribes who lived in this section of country all lived high on the hills, and therefore you will never encounter them in sandy country or in the plains, only ever in the hills, and the reason for this is fear of war, living as they do among the peaks of hills was a refuge for them and a protection against raiders. They practise exchange marriage, and their languages differ from each other.

They have different leaders and the majority of them are leaders of fetish cults, and each tribe has its own leader. If you look into their fetish items and their practices you will see that they are very different the one from another.

Three tribes representing the rest

The Chamba encountered the Kentu (Icen), the Kpanzo and the Kutep living on the tops of the hills, but at the time not all the Icen were on the hills where they are now because, after they came under Chamba control, some of them asked to be allowed to settle south of Donga country and some to the north. The reason why they lived in such difficult country to farm was because of fear of war and raiding. These three kinds of people that we are talking about all practise exchange marriage, you give your daughter or female relative in marriage to another man and he gives to you in return, that is the marriage. Whether the girl wants it, or the young man to be married wants it or not, they have to agree to the exchange that their parents have made, for good or for ill.

They have no ward chiefs or village chiefs or indeed any chiefs at all. They know nothing of ranks and titles. Their leaders are fetish priests, and every hill has its own different fetish priest. These priests have their followers. Some of the priests have serious taboos such as not washing for a very long time, and not crossing over certain streams, or eating food in another's home, or lying on another's mat, and other such things.

Each priest has his own sphere of power, no one will follow another, between one hill and another. There is no getting on with one another, each to his own. If something happens between one hill and another, then the priests and their followers from each hill will meet on the boundary between them, and there they will settle the matter, and then each will return to their own hill. If they can't agree then they will set a date to reconvene, and when that day comes, they will meet again and settle the matter. The Icen call the Kpanzo 'Ngwekpa (Ngwekpa)', and the Kpanzo call the Icen 'Nyoka'.

They used to fight each other until they came under the control of the Chamba and were banned from doing so, but in their history and in their songs, there are many stories of fighting each other.

When first the Chamba took control of them they were left following their own customs as they had always done, with their leadership in the hands of fetish men or medicine men, but then later it became clear that when it came to ruling and administration it needed capable people who could deal with all sorts of different people, and not those who knew about fetishes, or someone whose taboos would prevent him from going to particular places, and sometimes one would need to talk to the person or debate with him but sometimes, and sometimes all the time, they would say it was not possible because of the number of taboos and superstitions. The Chamba managed to persuade the fetish priests to choose mature and sensible people, whoever they wanted, to be their ambassadors to the Chamba in the towns, to become their eyes and ears, their mouths and whatever else. They agreed with this plan because they were very worried that if one of their priests left home and contravened a taboo then something terrible would happen to them! Those they chose became the emissaries between them and the Chamba, they took orders from the Chamba and took them back to the fetish priests, and then would return with whatever the priests wanted to say, and so this carried on until it became entirely normal. If they were given salt, or dark cloth (which they preferred) then they would take it to the priests who would gather the people of that hill and share it out among them, with the priest getting a greater share than his followers, and after them the rest would get a little each and be delighted with it.

So things went on until these emissaries started to oppress the traditional fetish priests. If they had obtained goods from the Chamba they would take them to their own houses and not to the houses of the priests. They would gather their own people together and set aside a small amount for the priest and then distribute the lion's share amongst the emissary and his people. In this way the authority of the fetish priests was undermined, and the emissaries became like village heads, so much so that the Chamba started to confer on them titles such as chief of their town, that is chief of their hill, and using traditional Chamba titles such as: Gawela, Galora, Gatati, Garpana, Gauvala, Garlifo and the like. Some, from the larger hills, were given titles from the traditional court of the Gara: such as Gbana Kpangati, Kuni, Nya, Gangum, and even Galim and the like. And these would be the people who would go to the Chamba if the village head was unable to go. If the Gara went to visit the hills, then these titleholders would be behind their village head and would participate for example in the Gara's council, and by this method they became familiar with the business of government. This is how it was until the Europeans came and has been ever since.

What did the Chamba do during the time of their administration?

1. The Chamba got on very well with all the tribes that they ruled.
2. They agreed to intermarry, their own young people would marry and they would marry Chamba young also, they bore many young, the families became intermixed, and they became as one, there was no difference between them except in tribal names.
3. The Chamba trusted all those of any kind who lived alongside them for a lengthy period whether they were a slave or a servant, as long as he was of good character, and they would not place a barrier against him, they were not minded to distrust a stranger and set limits up against him.
 4. a. For all those they ruled they became a defence. Were it not for the Chamba then this whole land would have been taken by the Fulani.
 - b. Similarly, if not for the Chamba, the Tiv would have spread out and filled this land a long time ago.
5. The Chamba risked all to go before the Europeans of the Royal Niger Company and Governor Lugard's people to receive instructions on behalf of all the people that they governed. Had they been attacked then it would have been the Chamba who were the first to die! No doubt.
6. The Chamba persuaded the people to come down from the hills and took them before the Europeans, frightened as they were.
7. The Chamba taught them to work together and to maintain good relations among people from different places. Previously, co-operation would only be according to custom, and not everywhere would they meet.
 8. a. The Chamba taught them to hunt, to wear clothes and other such things that I cannot enumerate one by one here.
 - b. Similarly, they learnt how to make weapons from the Chamba.
9. a. They learnt trading from the Chamba, and greetings, solidarity and wisdom, and many other such things.

b. They learnt the Chamba way of marriage in which only when the boy and the girl have agreed does the marriage take place, and the celebration happens (which today is called the modern marriage) but I have no time to describe this type of marriage celebration.

c. We taught them circumcision and the customs surrounding the return home, that is after the boys have recovered from the wound of the circumcision. The majority of them were found by the Chamba not to practise circumcision, although in their histories they said there had been such a thing.

10. What was always best, although they were ruled over by the Chamba, was that whatever was to be done in whatever village (hill), the thing was done in consultation with the important people of that community, so that it would be best for them.

b. Although they had power over them and could have prevented them from their fetish practices and other customs, they were left to follow their traditions which is why to this day their ancient practices have not died out, other than those that the British viewed as being damaging.

c. The Chambas tried not to allow them to change their leaders haphazardly, from the early times when the emissaries were established as their village heads there was an effort to have orderly transitions and not chaos.

Although I have outlined all the good ways in which they were governed, I don't mean to imply that nothing bad ever happened to them, not at all, the Chamba enslaved them, sold some of them, but this was a time of deep ignorance, people did not know what was right, and this was true not only for the Chamba, everywhere in Nigeria it was like this. There were those who were defeated in battle, or those who fled to where nothing could happen to their villages (hills) without them knowing, and a person and his followers would have to retreat as far as they were pushed. This is the way things were until the light of British justice appeared, and the Chamba accepted it, and made great efforts to abide by what this new rule dictated.

The Chamba know of no other power that has ruled over these people that we have governed. And there is no one who can bear witness to, or demonstrate signs of, any walls that one could say show that others have lived there. Were it not for the Chamba who opened these people's eyes, they would have been stuck in the darkness until the British came. If someone doubts this, then what did any rule do, that preceded the Chamba, to advance these people, or to unify them, or to prevent war? There is no evidence of this in history or in reliable stories, other than perhaps in imaginary fables.

There is no one who can say when the Chamba entered this land or that someone made war on them intending to take the land from them, or to rule over them, this is not attested to even in imaginary stories. Talk of the time of ignorance has gone and we have forgotten it all, we live in peace with everyone, and it is in this way that the country will move forward.

Chamba civilisation

If you observe the elephant tusks that are blown in each of the Chamba palaces, and the way they are carved and decorated, it will demonstrate for you how long Chamba culture has been developing, and how they have been able to kill large animals and make use of sophisticated tools to make such carvings.

And you will observe the building of many kinds of pots including those with three legs (kesakla), and many old kinds of smithing tools, and clay tobacco pipes with many kinds of

decorations on them, and the carpentry of chairs in many styles. And then arm bracelets of many traditional kinds, and 'gildara' ranging from large gongs to small bells. These things that I have mentioned and many things that I have not, if the reader has never seen the like of them, then it is possible that he will not understand what I am meaning when I say that their culture has a long pedigree. Therefore, in order to convince the reader into believing that these people have been civilised for a long time, including the manufacture of weapons that not every tribe possessed – then have you ever read the book called, 'The Tiv Tribe' by Captain R. M. Downes? Look at page 4, here you will see that their weapons of war were different because they were made of metal, they fought with spears and swords and shields. If you have never seen these things that I have mentioned above, then I believe that will be sufficient for you to believe.

Now I will go on to show another aspect of civilisation – I am not talking about the advancement of modern education, because you should know that separate from modern education, in the olden days there was knowledge but it was a kind of knowledge different from that of today. As a result of the kind of knowledge that I am talking about, if you take careful note, you will see that it was not often that they were imprisoned or brought before the law.

If we turn to modern education, that is the education brought by the Europeans to our country, before this system of knowledge spread, at the beginning, those who paid greatest attention to it were the Chamba, or those whose mother was Chamba, or those who had been brought up by the Chamba. The Chamba provided the greatest assistance to the Mission teachers and helped the Mission Europeans to open a number of workplaces. Other than the Chamba there were a few other tribes involved.

When it came to spreading modern education in this country, the Chamba provided huge assistance in establishing Native Authority (NA) schools. I who am writing this little book was an initiator. When the Government started to open NA schools, I and Malam Umaru (now at Government Vocational Training (VT) in Gboko) and Malam Atiku, NA scribe, we three were sons of Garbosa I, and we three opened the Division schools here. And you will find many products of the Mission schools whom we taught right from the Mission house. And now our work has progressed enormously at a speed that we could never have imagined at that time! And so, we thank Allah the creator when we remember that we were amongst those who accelerated the progress of this country.

What work have the Chamba done in this country? The answer is that 'They have sown knowledge across this land with the help of the Government, and it has produced children and grandchildren. These children and grandchildren are continuing to gain advanced knowledge as is needed for these times, and now these children have had grandchildren and some among these grandchildren have gone to England! Alhamdulillah!'

Were there no Chamba, would this Division have had no education? Well no, it would have gained education but we greatly shortened the time needed. We brought close that which was far away. The reason was that at that time there were people more educated than us but not in this part of the country, and before one could get those who could impart such knowledge to come, then much time would have elapsed. But since we were here and were able to carry on sending people to school and then have them come back to take up the task of teaching, by this means we were able to advance at speed. In all honesty now we should be thanked, we received an education from the Sudan United Mission (SUM) and among our children and grandchildren there are those who have become senior secondary school teachers, or teachers at senior primary (SP) or junior primary (JP) schools, and some are working in a variety of Native

Authorities. So, I often think there is no escaping the fact that the Mission deserves praise in this country of ours.

The Chamba make great efforts and seek progress in all areas if they can find someone to teach them, and this is not only true for this Division of ours, because when I visited Bamenda I found that in all major enterprises it was Chamba people who were prominent in them.

Higher education – there are Chamba people who have been to Europe and America to gain further education and returned to join the Senior Service and gained the status of European. Here are the names of some:

Mr Joseph Doh, Assistant Superintendent of Police

Dr Baba Gwanmulla

Mr Francis Langamia Folabit ASP

Mr Robert J. Fortunigo ASP

And there are a number of others who are in America advancing their learning. Women also are making great efforts, and there is one who has gone into nursing and she is called Miss Margaret Pefok. Apart from these there are many who have gone into a variety of professions, but there is no point in filling the book with their names.

I give thanks

I give the greatest thanks to God Allah the Almighty, the Eternal, the all-powerful [*Ubangiji Allah Mafificin Sarki, Madawami, Mai-iko Duka*]. The reason for my gratitude is that I have been able to complete the history of the Chamba and their affairs in good physical health and in good heart, and with nothing that has upset my mind while I have been writing.

I also thank those who helped me by reading what I have written and making corrections. I give thanks to my younger brother, M. G. K. Atiku particularly for the work he did in typing up the manuscript.

It is very much necessary that a man should extend his thanks to his parents who took all the trouble to raise him from a baby to a man. So it was for me. And I give thanks to all the men and women who know the stories so much better, and from whom I received everything that I have written down. I have mentioned their names on the first page of the Introduction. Apart from them, I give thanks to all those who proffered assistance to the best of their ability.

Those with the greatest expertise and the remainder of the helpers are now mostly dead. In my view, in the future obtaining accurate information will be difficult because these people who provided the information, those who saw what happened with their own eyes, and those who heard from their fathers and grandfathers with their own ears, have gone.

Were it to be possible, were the sum of my life in this world not to be over, and one day I had the chance to write another book that would be useful for the Northern Region, and yes, even for the whole of Nigeria, then I would be the happiest person alive to be able to do that.

Malam Sambo Garbosa II

Gara Donga

DONGA

PART TWO: THE FAMILY TREES OF THE CHIEFS OF DONGA

The line of succession of the chiefs (Gara Donga)

A book has already been written about the Chamba people, running to about 345 pages in manuscript, giving their history, and in that book there was discussion of their Chiefs, the 'Gara'. But the book did not go deeply into the line of succession of these Chiefs. In the present book will be found, in detail, the history of every Gara that reigned in Donga, what he did, his character and the way his subjects looked upon him as well as the stories they told about him.

We shall start with the Gara who led the Chambas all the way from Dindin, that is from Adamawa Province (before there was Sardauna Province). This chief of our section of the Chamba with whom we headed west after leaving Adamawa was Loya Garbosa.

Loya Garbosa died at a river called Gazabu, which the Fulani referred to as 'witch Gazabu', where they built their big camp after the first one which they built at Tipchem. This second camp was called Giendu (also known as Gildu). It was here under a large mahogany tree that Nubumga Donzomga was born.

Doo Shimbura was the son of Loya Garbosa, his first son. Garbosa Loya was the son of Nongha Garbasa, Garbasa Nongha (Nonga) was the son of Samyela, Samyela was the son of Livalsama, Livalsama was the son of Daglkanga, Daglkanga was the son of Sala, Sala was the son of Tura, Tura was the son of Doo (Doh).

The story of Doo Shimbura Garkiye I, the first Gara Donga

He was born in Dindin, that is to say, there in Adamawa. He it was who wanted to succeed his father Garbosa Loya, but at first he declined the chieftaincy and gave it to a man of the Kola clan by the name of Pyemishena. The mother of Doo Shimbura was a Chamba Pyeri woman, called Nyagyeom. Shimbura was a tall man, fair-skinned, of a calm nature, full of fellow-feeling. He was a humble man, but of strong and resilient character. He was a fine horseman and a true fighter, popular and generous to the people. When he fell out with Garkola, that is Pyemishena, who had been put forward as the chief of Garkola, then he migrated to Takum country. On his way south in the land of Takum, Doo Shimbura sent to Garkola and Kpanghati (Madaki) Gbanningha (Gbaningha) all good wishes and did not seek revenge for the ill will he had been shown, he forgave all the evil that had been done to him in hatred.

There in the land of Takum the important people among the Chamba gathered together and enthroned him as Garkiye I. He was very successful. It is said that when Gardanpua deserted him out of jealousy and went and joined forces with Komboshi, war later broke out between them. Doo Shimbura Garkiye I, when he went out to war he was in constant fighting, killing with his spear from morning till evening, until the blood would dry, gluing his hand to the shaft of his spear, so much so that, at night, hot water would have to be brought to help separate his hand from the spearshaft.

When he realised that there was so much talk of war, he set off one day and left Takum country heading west and then north through Loko in Tiv country, fighting all the way until he came to Aruhu and then Ganako (now known as Ibi) and by this time he was becoming old.

From here at Ganako, his son Nubunga Donzomga went and fetched a flag from Ibrahim, Emir of Bauchi, son of Yakubu I, first Emir of Bauchi, and, when he returned, he set off with his father to their original land to the east, the city of Gargbanyi, the first chief of Suntai. When they arrived, he wanted to enter the city of Gargbanyi, but his son, Nubunga Donzomga, refused. They went south of the town and set up a camp, which became a city.

The Chamba honour Shimbura greatly, so much so that they call him Doo Shimbura, that is to say, 'grandfather' Shimbura. The Chamba think of him like a saint because often during his time, if he said certain things, then later people would realise they had come to pass.

When he was going to leave Takum during the time of Komboshi, he said to Gardanpua, 'This treachery you have woven will rebound upon you one day, I am going to leave, and I reject all that destroys good relations between people like this, so I am leaving the city of Garkola.' And that which was said here came to pass, the Dakka people rejected Gardanpua later on and things were so bad that his son, Banshena Gayam, who succeeded to the chieftaincy, fled to Donga at the time that Nubunga Donzomga Garbasa was chief of Donga.

Doo Shimbura Garkiye I, a man of gentle heart, would always repay evil with good and so when they came to Gargbanyi he set aside and forgot all that had been done to him and his son Nubunga Donzomga.

It is said that he lived to be over a hundred years old before he died. Before he died, he had become very infirm and was nearly blind. He died three years after the founding of the city of Donga, and he reigned for forty years.

Here are the names of the male and female children of Garkiye I:

Male	Female
1. Nubunga Donzomga	1. Giboya
2. Wuvala	2. Naliba
3. Bodinga	3. Nanuma
4. Fobamiya	4. Tikommishena
5. Nyaga	5. Zelemuga
6. Garbyera	6. Kpangha
7. Gbumyela	7. Gankpangha
8. Garbo'a	8. Wodunya
9. Vara	9. Nambyela
10. Yerra	10. Garmoya (chief refused to speak)
11. Gankpangha	11. Nabura
12. Sama (Sama Kpati)	12. Sankina I (Sankena)
13. Sama (Sama Tikari)	13. Sankina II
	14. Sankina III
	15. Timuya

1. Male – The names of his sons who died in war before they came to the town are not mentioned, nor are those who died young.

2. Female – The names of his daughters who died very young are also not mentioned here.

The story of Garbasa Nubumga Donzomga, the second Gara Donga

He was born at Giendu at the base of a large mahogany tree, where they had made their second camp during the days that they were travelling from Dindi. His mother's name was Subke and she was of the Chamba Pyeri clan. Here, in the city of Garkola, Nubumga spent his youth. When his father Garkiye migrated from Garkola he left his son behind thinking that he was with the people who had set off earlier, but then when he caught up with the main body of his people he found he was nowhere to be seen. Only narrowly did Nubumga Donzomga manage to escape from the hands of Garkola back to his father.

Nubumga Donzomga was a large man but not fat, and he was larger than his father, and medium dark-skinned. He always wore a knife strapped to his forearm and also a Longha (an armlet made of carved ivory) marking his youthfulness. He had many half-brothers but no one with whom he was very close at the time that they reached Jenuwa (Januwa) where his father was made Garkiye I. Nubumga Donzomga inherited his father's bravery, and so he became his father's favourite. He was also totally loyal.

When they arrived at Ganako, Nubumga Donzomga went through many dangers to go to Bauchi to receive a flag. When in Bauchi he helped Ibrahim the Emir of Bauchi in battle, and that battle was a fierce one in which he was wounded. But his lot was not over, he recovered and was very much favoured by the Emir of Bauchi who showered him with power and wealth.

Nubumga Donzomga returned from Bauchi much reinforced, and he succeeded in reorganising his people. After his father died, Nubumga Donzomga the heir, succeeded him. He took the title using the name of his grandfather Garbasa. Garbasa extended his rule to the south to Nama and on to Nyido, to the east it went as far as beyond the River Suntai among the hills to Fali, to the north the boundary was near to Bantaje, and in the west the boundary with the Jukun was at the smaller palm forest. From there to Salatu and Chenchenji was all his, right back to his boundary at Nyido. In the old days boundaries were not marked as they are today, but where the power of a person held sway, that was the border. He ended his days controlling all these places, there was not a single village that escaped his control.

Garbasa understood well how to rule, just look how he brought people together into this town of Donga from all over. And during his time there was not a single village in the whole land that rebelled against him. This bears witness to his ability to rule and to run a good administration. He knew what was fitting, and he knew how to establish the best style of government. He appointed many to positions of authority from many different clans. He liked to relax, he liked entertainment and enjoyment, and his relaxation was mostly in the company of the young.

Garbasa himself was a very brave warrior. A man does not usually outdo his father, but Garbasa was greater than his father in bravery, popularity, wondrous deeds and in the nature of his rule. Whatever he did, he did in good order. He was a warrior, yes, but he loved peace more than anyone. But if something happened then he would be the bravest when it came to dealing with it.

Garbasa founded this city of Donga, and it is named after him. He established a chief's palace and surrounded it with a wall and built many solid buildings. He would be accompanied by a saddled horse as he moved around. He was the Gara who first established the custom of maintaining saddled horses at the ready, and first strengthened the chief's palace. He was a very wise and intelligent man.

Among the dances of the ordinary people, he preferred the Bigwa and the Binyi Kentu dances. He would regularly get the Kentu dancers to dance for him, and he would reward them greatly. In all matters relating to Chamba culture there was no question that he was an absolute expert, he knew all the original Chamba customs, especially those from Dindi. He performed many wondrous deeds, seeing him or his abode from afar would strike fear into people's hearts. His fame spread throughout the land.

Garbasa was very generous with gifts to men and women, great and small, visitors and locals. He always wanted to make people happy. The people he brought from Bauchi, he knew how to live in peace with them, and until the end of his days the Jahun praised him and found no fault with him. And all the other groups of people in the town, there was not one that found fault with him.

Because of his wondrous deeds Garbasa's name became well known among the Tiv, the Kentu, the Kpanzoa, the Zompara (Kutep), and the Jukun, and all the other groups in this land, and there are still some Zompara who sing songs about him even today. During his time, if he set out to war, then the neighbours would take great care if they heard about it and withdraw, no one would dare leave their towns without good reason. The Fulani were very fearful of Garbasa, so much so they called him, 'the Chamba Cockerel'. Not easily would anyone get the opportunity to see him in person.

Garbasa liked to maintain good relations, and always tried to arrange things well, and so he drew to himself great popularity, and the love of all the people of his land. If he set his mind to something, and he knew it was the truth, then no one could distract him from it however wily their plots. He took pleasure in new ideas and everything that would bring peace to his people. During his time the ordinary people grew in numbers and in prosperity. He became a shield that protected them, and if anyone were to harm them, he would have to pay for it.

During his time great gowns and burnouses, along with horse apparel, were brought to him from Hausa and Nupe country. He amassed much wealth and reigned for all of forty years.

From among the customs of the Hausa, Garbasa adopted such things as drummers. He started the Friday drumming and the use of oboes and horns. These are the praise-epithets that were played for him:

1.'Garba, were you not invincible, who could defeat you?' (Hausas call Garbasa, Garba) [*Garba in baka gagara ba wa ke bar ka?*]

2.'Walk with him who owns the whole world, watch out for him who holds the reins and the bit.' (the boastful walk of the lion) [*Tafiya da mai duniya, tafiya da mai duk kasa, maida hankali da kamazaru da linzami*]

The remaining praises are minor bits and pieces, these are the two main chants that are performed regularly.

In relation to Chamba customs, he did not fall short in any way. In relation to the ordinary people, he left everyone to the religion that they had inherited, he did not force anyone to adopt Chamba ways or any other customs. Since he ruled over them, he stuck to matters of government, they brought him their taxes and he looked after his government, matters of rule and chieftaincy did not enter into the issue of religion. The Chamba and the various tribes to be found in Donga viewed Nubumga Donzomga Garbasa as a saint, he would sometimes say things before they came to pass, and then when the time came then they happened, very much the way his father Garkiye I used to do.

We Chamba do not think we will ever have a Gara the like of Garbasa again. Now, the paths of government that we follow were all first set out for us by Garbasa Nubumga Donzomga. All the different chiefs, the different princes and courtiers, and the different categories of commoner, they were all established by Garbasa. The story of Garbasa, if you read about the establishment of his reign and the other things he did (and future such writings also), then you will fully and clearly understand the nature of his character. During his time, among his neighbours in all four corners of the compass there was not one who got the better of him.

Garbasa grew to be very old, like his father, and his sight and his hearing deteriorated. He ruled for forty years.

Here are the names of his male and female children:

Male	Female
1. Bileya (Gargbanyi)	1. Bikina
2. Kpukpo	2. Nabila
3. Yisarga (Yisarga ganuwa)	3. Yila
4. Bumledoya	4. Pibini
5. Sonyonga (Garbosa I)	5. Saira (Sayera)
6. Bilkoya	6. Nudemishena
7. Wanga (Garkiye II)	7. Mimiya
8. Nyosamiya	8. Konyoa
9. Yebashini	9. Navala
10. Ninyonya	10. Nabyera
11. Garshena (Gashena)	11. Navara
12. Ganingha	12. Nakeya
13. Garduya	13. Najingha
14. Yabirga	14. Naira

1. Male – except for sons who died before adulthood

2. Female – except for daughters who died before maturity

The story of Gargbanyi Bileya, third Gara Donga

Bileya Gargbanyi was born at Jenuwa (Januwa). He was the first son of Nubumga Donzomga Garbasa. After Bileya, Kpukpo was born. They were the children born at Jenuwa. Bileya's mother was called Inarbu and she was Kutep. When the city of Donga was founded, he and his younger brother Kpukpo became strong young men who knew their grandfather Garkiye I very well. When his father Garbasa returned from the Bayaro war, Kpukpo died of smallpox. They had many male and female siblings.

Bileya was the first son of Garbasa and the heir. Bileya was fair-skinned and solid, more solid than his father, but his father was bigger than he was. When his father became chief Bileya took over his place and became the heir, and everything was done between him and his father, so that he should become well known.

Bileya was a courageous fighter, a son in the top ten of sons. In the war of Nya Kola and Bayaro, he and his younger brother Kpukpo showed extreme bravery, such as is still spoken of. He took on and defeated all-comers. He had no full brother, but he had one maternal half-brother, who had been born and then the mother had married his father and he was subsequently

born (so each had their own father). He had many male and female half-siblings (each had their own mother).

When his father Garbasa died, he succeeded to the chieftaincy, and Gban Kuyeba conducted the installation and he chose Gargbanyi as his chiefly title. He was quick to anger and hated any slight greatly. He was like quinine, drink it now and be cured now, immediately angry and immediately calm again. Amongst his trusted friends Nya Yeba was the closest and his favourite. When he became chief Nya Yeba became even more close to him, so much so that nothing could be said to Gargbanyi about Nya Yeba, he had total permission he was so much loved, and he put many people to death he was so evil.

During Gargbanyi's time, if he dreamed about someone then that person was in trouble. In his house (not palace) there was a silk-cotton tree where vultures would gather and sometimes roost. If he saw they had gathered in this way he would say they must be hungry, and so he would order a goat killed or a sheep, or sometimes even a cow, and the meat set out for them to eat. Sometimes if he saw them gathered in this way he would say, 'Goodness me, you must be hungry, so tomorrow you will get meat to eat.' And the next day he would give them meat to eat until they were full, and he would see how they scrambled for the food.

Gargbanyi had magical powers, and whether it was his hot nature that brought this about, who knows! One didn't look at him twice, no way. When there was a meeting of the court in his presence, all were still and silent. People looked carefully before approaching the palace, approaching in fear, trepidation and trembling. Seeing him induced terror. But amazing as it may sound, Gargbanyi had great sympathy in one respect. He never liked to see someone struggling with illness, and he would help him as much as he could.

The Hausas who have the sweetest way with words used to call him Alu (Aliyu) with these praises, 'Alu, the chief slaughterer, confounder of men, loosener of men's bowels. Alu, you are night and you are day. You at home and in the bush. Even our enemy will not call you coward. Your enemy is unsure, your friend is unsure, and in this way you have sewn up the world. Alu the slaughterer, better to face the fire than your character.' Here are the praise-epithets:

1. Better the fire than your character. Fire at the palace. [*Gara gobara da halinka. Gobara gidan fada*]
2. Too strong to be competed with, divide them, Son of Garba (that is Garbasa). [*Ya fi karfin takara, raba musu dan Garba*]

And there were other lesser epithets that the drummers attached to him.

He ruled over the whole of the land of Donga as he had inherited it, and he added Munshi and Garpua to the west. But a little before he died, Garjila made slight inroads into his territory around Binyi at Garkola and towards Nukpo. Gargbanyi only ruled for seven years, and did not enjoy a long reign, but he amassed much wealth and many elephant tusks.

The pleasures and the ways of the Chamba continued and nothing stopped. He maintained the system of government steadfastly, but his weakness in regard to Nya Yeba allowed Nya Yeba to come between him and his younger brother Bumledoya, causing his brother to be killed.

In Gargbanyi's time nothing caused him a problem in any part of the land, nor among any group of people. Not one of the towns rebelled against him, but there was a serious split between him and the Jahun people over the appointment of their war leader, so much so that fighting did indeed break out. After the split that led to the rebellion of the Jahun in the town,

Gargbanyi made war on them and defeated them. It was at this time also that lions were wreaking havoc, taking people and eating them, and it was with great difficulty that this was brought to an end.

During his time, the Niger Company established a trading station at Donga after their European, Mr McIntosh made an agreement with him in 1885, Mr W. Wallace was the witness between them. The Niger Company had appeared while his father was alive, but they didn't receive permission to establish a trading station until his time.

Gargbanyi collected guns and gave positions to men who knew how to use them, he had jackets and short trousers made for them and he placed a great deal of trust in them. He was never parted from his shotgun, day or night. The shotgun was always there under his chair.

Here is the list of his children:

Male	Female
1. Banyonga	1. Naningha
2. Moya	2. Namima
3. Shimbura	3. Soniya
4. Tenyoa	4. Deniya
5. Nyaga	5. Nawela
6. Sanvala (Samvala)	6. Piya
7. Garboa	7. Nagwe
8. Garsama	8. Sanken (Samkena)
9. Garpiya	
10. Buma	
11. Yeduya	
12. Wuryeba	

These children that we have listed, male and female, do not include those that died before maturity. Gargbanyi did not have as many children as his father and grandfather did, to each his own bounty. When he was dying, he finally understood the treachery of Nya Yeba in trying to steal the chieftaincy of the Chamba. He gave orders to Yerma Sonyonga to have Nya Yeba and his mother killed immediately.

The story of Garbosa I, Sonyonga, fourth Gara Donga

Sonyonga Garbosa I succeeded to the chieftaincy after Gargbanyi. He was born here in the city and grew up while his father Garbasa was still alive. His father built him a house and married him to two women on the same day, to Naa-Zanna and to Bondiya. Zanna was the senior wife, and she gave birth to Ninyonga, the first child of Garbosa I. Then Bondiya gave birth to Bibonga, then Naa-Zanna gave birth to Natikla, a daughter. But Danghana gave birth to Damiya, the third son.

Garbosa I was solidly built and of medium complexion. He had hair like a lion's but sparse, rubbed thin like a manatee's. He was very strong, but his elder brother Bumledoya was slightly stronger than he was. Garbosa I was however a bigger man than he was. Garbasa, his father, was larger than him but not as solidly built. The name of his mother was Anyishi Kentu.

During Gargbanyi's reign, Burba the chief of Bakundi, sweet talked Gargbanyi and said, 'I see that you Chamba have no title that you bestow upon the son and heir, you simply call him the leader of the sons of the king. We Fulani, we have a specific title for the heir apparent. It would be better if you had the same thing because that way is better.' Gargbanyi sought the advice of the Chamba chiefs on this matter and he said, 'You have all heard what Burba has said, what are your views?' The chiefs said, 'In our view, since Burba is a friend of your father's and he has given you this advice, we think it is good. The remaining issue is what you yourself think of this matter.' Then Gargbanyi said, 'Sonyonga, heir, go to Kundi and see how Burba does things, I am not familiar with this way of handling such kinds of nobility, I was never Yerma, I only inherited our own system of titles. Our father Garbasa never went to Bakundi, and I have never been there. I know nothing of these Fulani ways. This talk of a Yerma is all new to us Chamba, we have never known it and have only heard the Fulani and the Hausa use the term Yerma. But if a man's trusted friend says he will assist him with a new plan, then a man should agree and try it to see if the new plan will be useful for him or not. Go to Burba.'

Sonyonga made ready to leave, along with some fellows, Bilkoya, Wanga and Banyonga and others, and with the guards Angulu and Lesuku, and with musicians. When he arrived at Bakundi, Burba called all his chiefs together. He brought out a red and white gown, and another beautiful gown and put them on him, and he put a turban around his head and said, 'You are now the Yerima, Crown Prince.' And then the Yerima returned home. From before the moment when he was appointed Yerima, Sonyonga had got to know Maina Kadiri the younger brother of Burba who would come to Donga from time to time and spend days and even months in Donga before returning to Kundi. As Sonyonga became his trusted friend so he became expert in putting on the turban. Bappa Maina Kadiri was an expert in turban winding, there was no one as good as him in the whole of Kiri country (Muri Division). He had learnt from Sokoto. When he succeeded to the chieftaincy of Donga as Garbosa I, he was better than any deceased chief in the art of turban winding. Here in Donga we thought it was Garbasa who learnt turban winding from his journey to Bauchi, but who knows! We cannot know now, but we are sure that it was not an original Chamba custom.

Before he was appointed Yerima he was the neighbour of imam Audu, their houses were adjacent. He learnt the fatiha from imam Audu, the first imam of Donga, and straightaway he learnt it, accepted the religion and was practising. This is why he liked Fulani things, and going to Fulani houses didn't bother him. He wasn't concerned about parentage. He was his mother's only child but he had many paternal siblings. From a young man he was popular and in demand. When his elder brother Bumledoya died, the majority of those who had been his followers transferred their allegiance to Sonyonga. He loved expertise whatever field it was in. When he accepted religion, he applied himself greatly to it and taught his people (that is the people of the court) and this made him very popular among the Muslims. When he became Yerima he moved and built a large new house with two storeys. When he became Garbosa I, he did not neglect Islam and built a mosque inside the palace. He could read many religious texts and knew many different prayers and could recite the litanies (*wurdi*). We Chamba were of the view that his efforts were greater than some of the Islamic scholars. He even decided to send some of his sons to school in Kano with Malam Ibrahim, but never had the opportunity to do so before he died.

In relation to Chamba traditions and customs he was also extremely knowledgeable. When he succeeded to the chieftaincy, he performed many wondrous things. During his time, he knew more about Chamba ways than anyone else. Although we have said he was the first Chamba chief to adopt the religion of Islam, nevertheless that does not mean that he cast us Chamba people aside. If Lera or Voma were being performed then Garbosa I would sing in Chamba,

and he could explain the meaning of every Lera and Voma song. He knew Chamba customs better than any of his brothers, or the Sama clan, or indeed any Chamba of his time. God made him a wise and knowledgeable man.

My goodness me! Garbosa I did such things that one could never describe them all; if we mentioned some then, yes, we would completely forget others. He who would want to say, would just say that he was the greatest chief in this whole land. He was expert in all things Chamba, in all things to do with Islam he did not fall short, in matters Fulani he did not fail, he knew many different languages, he was better than all the chiefs who came before him. His character was such that he loved enjoyment and never put things off. He was a reforming chief who liked things to look good and to be clean. Whatever he did, he did thoroughly and is not easily imitated. He was patient and keen to establish good relations.

When he succeeded to the chieftaincy of Donga he was blessed with great good fortune, because of the great wealth that his father had amassed, and which his elder brother Gargbanyi had amassed. All of it he inherited. And he was also lucky to gain much during his time, whatever pleasure he wanted to acquire was easy for him, fulfilling his desires did not present him with difficulties. So much so that it was said of him, as the Hausas say, 'Garbaushe the owner of a thousand things'.

Garbosa I the man for celebrations. On one occasion a day before Sallah, a Muslim religious festival, Ali, an expert bowman, had a stroke of luck when he went to Lake Shishsha, a chance better than a charm, when he shot a bull elephant and killed it outright. He brought the chief's tusk and gave it to Garbosa I. Straightaway Garbosa I had it taken to the store and sold and the money brought, and at that time a large tusk would bring in more than £50. When the money was brought, he had gowns and cloths sewn, he added them to the clothes that he had previously ordered to be prepared for the Salla festival, and then had them all distributed out to the people. He sent back to buy the second tusk from Ali the bowman paying with slaves. He again sold it at the store and took the money and spent it on the Salla celebrations, and in two days it was all gone.

It is said that when he was Yerima he was much loved by his elder brother Gargbanyi for his loyalty, and so whatever the criticism that was levelled against him by Nya Yeba, none of it stuck. Shortly before his elder brother Gargbanyi died, he spoke to him about the care of his children. And after he inherited the chieftaincy he didn't forget the promise he had made. He gathered them all together and took care of them as if they were his very own children, and yes, he looked after them better than his own children. So our great ones acted, and it was only during the reign of Garkiye II that things changed. Garbosa I took good and trusting care of the children of his elder brother Gargbanyi until they were mature, he married each of them off, he gave them everything they needed as sons of chiefs, and then he set them up in their own houses. And they, these children, apart from Banyonga and Moya, he left them as children not understanding anything about the nature of their father. They grew up knowing everything about their heritage from Garbosa I. He drew to himself the children of his elder brother Gargbanyi, yes and including those on the mother's side (children of an uncle) and trained them up. His own children were cared for and raised by his brothers. This is how it was done in those days, the children of your relatives are yours, and your children go to your relatives.

Garbosa I was in his time a just chief, he did not agree to trial by ordeal when he became chief, and he did not agree to executions, he would say it is better to sell the person, then I am happy to get what I need, and he who is sold is happy that he will eat and still live, although in other towns and in other lands he would be put to death.

Garbosa I, if he travelled among the half-Hausa Abakwariga communities then you would think he was Abakwariga, he knew their traditions better than they did, and could teach them and reinforce their knowledge.

If he was among the Kpanzoa he would again demonstrate his ability. In relation to the Kentu language there was nothing that could be taught him, he could even sing all kinds of different songs to the Kentu. As regards the Jahun, Garbosa I was an expert in blowing the (waza) six horn instruments, and expert in its dances and drumming. Garbosa I really loved the waza, he was forever playing the waza, and in his time he strengthened the playing of the waza, even making the old people among the Jahun dance. He would bring all kinds of songs and include them in the waza. Goodness, there was nothing that was beyond Garbosa I, he was in all things a person to be spoken of. He could speak the Hausa of every group resident in this city, and he knew all their customs, their nature and what their concerns were. They don't make people of Garbosa I's quick perception any more. Since Donga was founded we have never seen anyone with his sharpness of mind, and most likely we will never see the like again.

Garbosa I was a just ruler, he was not worried about honouring his courtiers, he appointed them to many different titles. He adopted the customs of the Hausa and the Fulani. He was the first to bestow additional titles on his courtiers, regardless of whether they were from the same kindred [*dangi*], or whether they were Chamba at all, they could be chosen from among the spear-carriers, the messengers, some from among those captured in war, some had been ransomed, some from among farmers, others had been brought before the chief as a result of conflict at home, in the clan or in the family, and Garbosa I had bestowed a rank upon them. He appointed Masunde (Matsonde, a Jukun slave) to the position of palace head, he appointed Nodi as Kachalla, Gajere as Ajiya, Shinjera as Sallama, Kasa as Turaki, Ali as Danrimi, Shamaki as Futo, Boshi as Gado, Sunkuya as Barde, and Majidadi as Bayaro who previously had been chief guard, but then when he returned from Kano he took him and placed him in the ranks of the courtiers and gave him the rank of Majidadi. He made Tibisha Galadima of the messengers. These courtiers and messengers gave their own people titles as they liked. He had all his relatives and courtiers mounted on horses, wearing gowns, burnouses and other aristocratic attire. Previously there had only been Kachalla and Ajiya, these two alone appointed by Gargbanyi.

He appointed many chiefs among the Chamba, but also further chiefs such as Bargo, chief of the Karma. He appointed Burgago as chief of the Jahun, and after him Barwa. As war leader he appointed Angulu Kwaso. He appointed Samu as chief of the Hausa after Aji. Among the Kentu he appointed Kpefo, Gashikala, Gadingha, Gatema and Galabum. He appointed more than twenty chiefs among the Garpana and their followers. Among the Jiba he appointed Dazuma as Gabongha, among the Kpanzo he appointed Agyo as Galin, Agbushi as Gangum, all leadership was in their family. He created many, many titles, and for the most important among them, he made them wear gowns with eight long triangles in their embroidery, after they had originally had Chamba regalia involving a hippo-hide whip. He also had them wear turbans as well as gifted gowns. In the time of Garbosa I appointment involved gowns and turbans, following the custom of the Fulani, but before that appointment was conducted according to Chamba customs.

He appointed to titles among the smiths, he made Gani chief of the smiths, the first one. He made Angyewo Galadima of the smiths, and Asumate became Kpanghati. Every clan that lived in the city and had a sizeable number of people, Garbosa I appointed titles among them. The things that Garbosa I did, they are too numerous to count, were we to say that we would list them all then inevitably we would forget some, we are certain of that. He appointed Agwabi as chief of Nama when he went travelling to Nama, he appointed Giwa of Bisa, and Adi chief of

Asukpu. He appointed Galima chief archer in Donga, and Shidawa as Galadima of the archers who brought many bowmen together. He made appointments among the Wurbo. He appointed the chief of Bante and gave him a horse and appointed Galeya (the Ndoro and the Tigon).

He organised the riflemen and increased the stock of rifles, and even bought himself a soldier's rifle by getting it from a European friend from the Shali company who sold it to him. Apart from this he bought other kinds of guns that use cartridges. And he bought a shotgun in addition to the one he had inherited from Gargbanyi. If he went out hunting, he was never separated from his shotgun and his cartridges that were in his pocket. His rifle would be carried by another along with its cartridges.

On the matter of horses, he greatly improved the decorative horse apparel, but amongst them there were only four that he ever rode. One had belonged to his grandfather, one was his father's horse, one belonged to his elder brother Gargbanyi, and with his own horse that made four. Apart from those which he inherited, he added 100 horses through his own purchases, and he added five protective horse quilts beyond what he had also inherited. Two large umbrellas each like a room he added to that of his elder brother, making three altogether.

Hunting. My goodness me! We who are telling you this story, from when we were born until today, we have never encountered anyone who has loved hunting so much as Garbosa I. Whether it was rainy season or the dry season, it made no difference to him, he could not stay in one place. Unless there were some demand that prevented him, he would not pass two days without going hunting with nets. He was a superb runner, better than anyone. He and Mugba, and then later Garbosa I also included his relative Dingha (who was later appointed senior Gangum), the three of them were the Gula – that is to say those who work their way through the grass driving the game towards the nets. On one occasion Garbosa I, in the exertion of his run collided with the stump of an acacia and knocked it out by its roots. Goodness! It would be hard to find a man as tough as he was. Although he had damaged his foot, he did not slacken. When he got home he looked for a cloth and bandaged up his foot tightly and then the next day was out with the nets again, he was as energetic as ever and did not cut back on anything that it was his habit to do. Garbosa I would sometimes go hunting for as long as two weeks in the bush before he returned. The way he was in hunting was the same as he was in war, he always wanted to excel.

Garbosa I was also a great expert in the design of sewing and embroidery. If he was going to prepare gowns for chiefs, princes and courtiers, then he would do the design himself and give it to the tailors to sew. He would pile them up on baskets and then he would hand them out once all the sewing was complete. There were famous expert tailors, both Adiba and Kpangha. Garbosa I knew how to dress in finery and how to conduct the business of rank and titles. Whatever finery he put on he did it well, he would always wear a turban, and if he wore a burnous you would think he had been born to the manner of it. He would wear the very large elephant gown and the gowns with eight elongated triangle marks in the embroidery. He would give his wives very expensive materials, the kind that no one else would be able to imitate. He did whatever he wanted with all the tax that came from across his land.

Garbosa I married many wives, we think he had a few more than his father Garbasa because he inherited some when he became chief, but Gargbanyi had more children, of this we are sure. Garbosa I was the first chief of Donga to marry the daughter of the chief of Wukari. The small children of Garbasa, Gargbanyi and Garbosa I did not go to draw water without someone to accompany them, and they would fetch water and return in a group. Only in modern times have things improved.

Garbosa I had many children, more than his predecessors, both male and female. He had greater needs than his predecessors too. If Garbosa I was impressed by a visitor then he would sit him down and give him a horse with apparel, and a burnous, a stable boy, a slave-girl, a gown and a turban all on the same day. He did this for many people from other places. Goodness! Let the world turn, let us no longer speak of it, were we to tell all, no one would believe it. We Chamba who are together here and you courtiers, what do you say? 'Oh my goodness! The like of our master there has never been!' The people who were living at this time, men and women, their education, and the ability of the men to hunt, was all learnt during the time of Garbosa I. He it was who taught his courtiers out beyond the town, in the greenery, how to fight and use a shield, telling them how to do it, giving orders from up on his horse. And then he would dismount and teach the foot soldiers what to do in battle so as to be sure of victory. He was an expert horseman.

It was Garbosa I who appointed the chief drummer and chief horn player, he established the royal drums played by Mbawe, Angulu, Angye and Sokwa and their followers, and he put some of them on horseback. And he started the use of the koso.

This is how he was made chief. For a long time he was acting as deputy chief. Senior Chamba figures kept pressing him to take on the chieftaincy but he would say not yet, it is not time yet, and he kept saying this. So he went on as deputy until eventually the older men, the chiefs and the important figures got together to decide, and so Kpanghati Foa took up his hippo-hide whip and placed it upon his shoulder and said, 'Take up the responsibilities of your house, today you inherit from your fathers and your grandfathers. Hold us and all the world in your just rule as those who came before you have done. It is our hope that the people will prosper even more than they have hitherto.' When Garbosa I was to undergo the washing of installation, it was Kpanghati Foa who conducted the installation ceremony, and he chose the name Garbosa. When all the installation ceremonies and celebrations were over, Garbosa I appointed Kpanghati Foa to the position of Gbana – that is the Galadima of the town. But Gbana Foa was old and so did not last long in the position of Galadima, before a month had passed he died.

Every year, Garbosa I would travel around his domain, he crisscrossed the country visiting the ordinary people to see how they were. One day, Garbosa I was on his travels when Muhammadu Mafindi sent him a letter which arrived when he was at the base of the Nyivu Hills, telling him that he had become the Emir of Muri. When Garbosa I returned home, he sent Bayaro, his representative, with congratulatory presents. Sambo son of Kpoba, grandson of Galim Layo, accompanied the representative. The representative took a letter to Muhammadu Mafindi on his accession and give him news. When the message from Garbosa I was delivered, the Emir of Muri was so delighted that he gifted a horse which was brought back to Garbosa I, and which Garbosa passed on to Yerma Bilkoya.

Garbosa I ruled over the whole of the land of Donga as he had inherited it. Garbosa I established Gindin Dutse and installed Madaki Shirama there, and also made a place for Dan Sokkoto there also, putting the two together. He took Garba, an excellent bowman, from Tigon and put him at Tati to live there. Garbosa I made a place for the Dibowin to live, where they are to this day. They had migrated to the Binyi at Garkola after Garbasa had made war on them, but then when they couldn't get on with the Binyi that is why Garbosa I split them off and found a separate place for them to live. So also he established a place to live for the Ndessin where they are now. They also had come from Shimo along with their fellows who were a kind of Binyi. He founded Gwanda and made it a stopover where he placed Galima, a Ndafur man after he had made him chief of the bowmen. And he also founded Sai Tiv (Salatu).

Garbosa I had his courtiers, caravan leader Audu and Shishi Bafun as well as Dan Sokoto and more than ten others, open a new road from Gidan Sama (but the river was crossed on foot only in the dry season) to Dumbu, a road for the kola nut traders so that they could get to Donga. The kola nut road as far as Takum was built by Garbosa I, and the people of Takum made it towards Lumbu. But before this road was built, Tumoi had been to Bissaula and it was he who advised Garbosa I to make the road for the long-distance kola traders. But Garjila, chief of Suntai, made incursions into his territory, to the east at Bibinu and Buban and Nukpo, as well as Gidan Ya, Daniya and Birkan.

The Hausas gave him the name Muhamman and some would say Garbaushe rather than Garbosa. His praise epithets among the Hausa called him, ‘Muhamman the just ruler, everything you have is in the thousands. Just king, you do yours and you do the lazy man’s share, you do the deal. King who catches kings, lion who eats smaller lions. You give life to a thousand you take life away from a thousand, you move with clerics and bowmen.’ He had twelve chosen bodyguards, all very tall, and he taught them how to call out the praise epithets, ‘The problem here is that I have not arrived. When I arrive, the problem is solved.’ This he would say, and the chief hour-glass drummer would reply, ‘Garbaushe sleeps without fear or doubt about anyone, heir to Garba (Garbasa).’ The banga drummers would sing, ‘Great king, Garbaushe, the man, I see that you are the greatest of men.’ And there were many other praise songs. There were two particular phrases beaten out on the drums:

1. The saw that brooks no slight (wherever he is confronted he will contest). [*Zarto kada ka so reni*]

2. Son like his father. [*Da mai kaman uba*]

The drums would be playing, the oboes blowing, the horns blowing also, and more and more praise epithets would be shouted. And they would play for him one of the praises of his father, ‘Were you not invincible, who could defeat you?’ And the kotso drummers would say, ‘Garbaushe the maker of celebration, like his father. Jatau, Jatau Muhamman salt of the future, like his father. Giver of life to the orphans and to the visitors.’ There were many such songs sung in praise of him.

There was no instrument that Garbosa I could not play, he would play the banga and the kotso and teach his people. If someone was particularly expert and he was present, then without difficulty he would learn to play it, horns and oboes, he could blow them all and drum. If he received an elephant tusk, he would blow it so that you would think he would split it. All of us, his relatives, slaves and courtiers, we all learnt so much about the world through Garbosa I, and we never once saw anything that was too much for him. Garbosa I lived life to the full and his memory lives on. It was as if his body itched him if he did not give out gifts, he just had to do it. Garbosa I wanted good relations between people, he treated all the clans and the ordinary people with trust and goodwill. He married the daughter of Agudu Manu (Audu-Manu), chief of Wukari, and the daughter of Boshi the second, chief of Takum.

He was seven years as deputy; his trusted friend Misa, chief of Kudu, wanted to inveigle him by saying he would appoint him to a title after the manner of the Fulani in Kundi, but he refused and said, ‘That is not allowed. We Chamba have never taken up titles among other tribes.’ When Garbosa I took up the chieftaincy, after Kpanghati Foa appointed him, he spent 12 years as chief – that is to say his total years in power came to nineteen. But the amount of wealth he squandered during those seven years as deputy was far greater than that which he spent when he was chief.

Here is the list of the names of his children:

Male	Female
1. Ninyonga	1. Natikla Varkama
2. Bibonga	2. Danga
3. Damiya	3. Gibuya
4. Dinshiya	4. Nanuma
5. Loya	5. Piya
6. Nongha	6. Sona
7. Jangha	7. Namyena Kunvala
8. Livala	8. Vadaa (Valdaa)
9. Nulamuga	9. Mairamu
10. Nyondamuga	10. Jelemiya
11. Sopiya	11. Patu Vala
12. Nummushena	12. Ashetu I
13. Nwanjingha	13. Shenyoa
14. Yakubu	14. Varsua
15. Adamu (son of Fatu)	15. Shebuga
16. Lumkpo	16. Yateni Ashetu II
17. Bitemya Sambo	17. Sankina
18. Bodinga Umaru	18. Asatu
19. Yebirga	19. Namima
20. Kobozonga	20. Nanyoa
21. Nugana	21. Nawela
22. Garkulyebiya Atiku	22. Nyonbuya
23. Sama (son of Nyongo)	23. Nawoba
24. Daya	24. Nummomuga
25. Dayegba	25. Naliba
26. Samma	26. Zainabu
27. Bora	27. Kusanga
28. Yelo	28. Kyena
29. Duya	29. Mushiya
30. Varmana	30. Pyenkpangha
31. Mbura	31. Jemiya
32. Paninga	32. Kuna
33. Sama Isa	33. Natema (the youngest)
34. Yabura	
35. Sadoa	
36. Garduya	
37. Vara (sama son of Wakuru)	
38. Lebilya	
39. Yeduya	
40. Boiga	
41. Lezuya	
42. Fobamiya	
43. Isa Nubuya	
44. Lenyoa	
45. Audu	
46. Baga (the youngest)	

1. Ninyonga's mother was Naa Zanna
2. Bibonga's mother was Bondiya
3. Damiya's mother was Danghana
4. Nantikla's mother was Naa Zanna
5. Danga's mother was Danghana

These five were born before Garbosa became Yerma, the others were born when Garbosa was either Yerma or chief.

1. This list above does not contain the names of children who died when they were small, and there were many such who died.

2. Garbosa I had about 150 wives who bore him many more than a hundred children, but because many of them died young, it is not possible to be certain of their number.

3. In this list of the names of male and female progeny, they have not necessarily been listed in exact order of birth. In some places it will be correct and in others there will be errors, but the desire to record their names mean they have all been written down.

He was 19 years in power when he died. It was during the reign of Garbasa I, Nubumga Donzomga, that the main mosque was built, but during the time of Garbosa I it was greatly strengthened and expanded.

The story of Garkiye II Wanga, the fifth Gara Donga

Wanga was a large man, tall, solidly built and strong. He was born here in Donga and he had one full brother called Ninyoya. Some gave him the nickname Samtiti – meaning someone who has many siblings. Amongst his siblings he came after Yerma Bilkoya, and his mother's name was Asi, daughter of Wapan (Jukun Basu).

He was a courageous warrior but a bitter man, however his bitterness was not manifest through killing people or doing evil. He was an expert horseman, and while his kinsman Garbosa I was ruling he was in charge of the horses. However difficult the horse, if Wanga rode him then he would break him and make him tame.

As a prince he was beyond anyone's control and would go as far as the walls of Wukari and kidnap people and return, he would trouble the Jukun greatly and became notorious among them.

When his elder brother Garbosa I died and he inherited the chieftaincy, he took the name of his grandfather for his title, Garkiye the second. An old associate of his father's called Ba-Yera performed the customary installation. With him the Chamba customs surrounding succession changed because he was not the heir, Yerma Bilkoya was, nevertheless he went ahead of him to take on the chieftaincy. Garkiye II was the first chief of Donga during the time of the Europeans.

When he was in power he had very little peace of mind as a result of problems caused by translators and messengers working for the Europeans, and the particular problem was one of his slaves by the name of Angulu. Angulu was born of slaves, the son of Ndere, who was a farmer, his origin was Kifo of Kumbo. During Garbosa I's time when Angulu came of age, he was put with Mbawe and Angye and Tsokwa and taught to play the banga drums by a visiting Hausa banga drummer. Amongst the four of them, Mbawe was the best at drumming, and

Angulu had no aptitude for it at all. When he was a little older, Garbosa I sent Bayaro to Kano during the reign of the Emir of Kano Aliyu, and Angulu was taken away from banga drumming in order to stand in and do the work in place of Bayaro. When Bayaro the chief bodyguard returned from Kano, Garbosa I appointed him a representative and so Angulu was not returned to the banga drumming.

During the time of Garkiye II, Angulu became a great favourite and made a great deal of himself, looking down on others. You know how the learner cannot compare with the one who is to the manner born, the pursuit of his desires turned his head, and he thought well of no one, he was full of arrogance. If the interpreter came along with the European, then they would lodge at his house. If his master, Garkiye II, sent food for them, then Angulu would swap the good food for some of his own unpalatable food and give it to them, in an attempt to demonstrate his excellence. He decided that since the Europeans had given Amadu Likam the chieftaincy of Takum, and to Umaru dan Sidi the chieftaincy of Ibi, the Europeans were clearly not interested in matters of birth and lineage! Things were in such a state that anyone could make it to become chief.

All the Chamba were complaining about him, and the Sama people were suicidal with fury, so much so that they cursed these modern times. There was no mischief that he did not make against Garkiye II, but Garkiye II knew nothing of it, and if he was told, 'such and such are the evil things that Angulu has been doing and this is what he intends by them,' then he would say, 'just ignore him, what is he going to be able to do? Who the hell is he anyway?' When a quarter of the town was being allocated for modern enterprises, Garkiye II gave Angulu a quarter to take charge of.

During the 1914-18 war against the Germans, Garkiye sent Angulu along with others to Tinyisa to take charge of food production for the soldiers and the workmen. When Angulu took charge, he dismissed those who had been sent with him and treated the chief of Tinyisa, Gargea, as his servant. Such are modern ways! Angulu went on and bought two horses and other accoutrements of nobility. All the interpreters and all those who worked for the Europeans were his friends. The money that the Europeans gave him to take to Garkiye II he took for himself. Talk of him upset the Chambas and all the residents of this city, and Garkiye II was besieged with complaints about Angulu's evil ways and his treachery. Shortly before the end of the German war, Garkiye II called Angulu to return home, and he refused. Garkiye II sent for him to be brought and imprisoned. But Angulu threw his lot in with Amadu, chief of Takum and fled to Takum and there he presented a tale of nonsense to the District Officer as judge, when the judge came to town.

The District Officer came to Donga along with Angulu, but Angulu did not lodge at his house at the palace, he stayed outside the town. The judge, the European District Officer, was more clever than you might think. He asked Garkiye II to set out the issue, and then he turned in fury to Angulu who was by now very frightened, and said, 'You hypocrite! Go back to your master, you who damage the country. You have no power, you are nothing in Donga.' Angulu returned to sit behind his master, feeling utter shame along with his friends the interpreters. After this Angulu was like the cat caught with the chicken in its mouth, but Garkiye II still accepted him! Angulu never gave up his evil ways even after Garkiye II died, character is carved in stone. Angulu sought chieftaincy among the Sama, but District Officer Whiteley knocked him back and Nyaga was appointed. Because of all the bad things that Angulu did he was ousted from being ward head, and he was so angry that he left town and went to live in Takum and Rafin Kada and Ibi, and Rafin Soja, where he carried on his subterfuges to no profit or advantage.

During the time of Garbosa II, Bitemya Sambo, he sought permission to live in Donga. Garbosa II understood his character and was more advanced than him and so agreed, but only after Angulu had sworn on the Koran that he would mend his evil ways, and Angulu had said that he had converted to Islam.

Garkiye II was not popular among these people that I have referred to as the friends of Angulu. Whatever he did, they would belittle, and sometimes he would not get even a penny of the salary to which he was entitled. Or he would give it to them and all to absolutely no avail! And he was forced to trade. Hamman the interpreter sold him a colt for £12, Mai-Kai sold him his colt for £9, he was forced to buy, and so they sucked his money out of him.

During the German war these people brought false accusations against Garkiye II, saying that in most towns any news of Germans approaching would produce general flight, but the people of Donga took no notice, and the reason was that their chief was working with the Germans. Goodness me, it was an entirely spurious accusation, the Germans had never headed for Donga so there had never been a need to flee. Well, European military officers deal in life and death and don't have the aptitude for careful investigation as District Officers do, let alone are they able to recognise when something said is hypocritical nonsense. The soldiers took Garkiye II to Suntai and then to Takum. On the first journey to Suntai, it was me Bitemya Sambo who carried his chair. They collected workmen from the barracks and told him to accompany them. Garkiye II and Abi, and me as a small boy, were concerned to be part of such a war party. At that time, no pity was shown nor any regard for the law, all was chaos. Later, provisions were brought to us on horseback, but Garkiye II refused all of it, he refused to mount a horse he was so downcast, he would have preferred death at that moment. On that journey even women had been taken and made to carry loads. On the road Atambui died he was beaten so badly, and he was cast aside, and our people who came after buried him in an anteater hole. Many people vomited blood and shook because of the beating by the soldiers and the overseers! Such heavy loads and so much beating.

After they reached Suntai, they seized people there and made them take the loads in place of the people who then fled. Garkiye II was dismissed and they set off for Bakundi.

Garkiye II returned home but before long more trouble arose over forced labour. Garkiye II had to leave again, he was taken to Takum. What a journey that was! They even went into the palace and seized the wives and made them carry loads. A tall European military officer and his agents, after they had entered the palace and captured the women, arrested Gbana Gamuga and tied him up and took him to Takum! War had come to us and it was not from the Germans! Dear oh dear! Major A. E. Churcher, who had appointed Garkiye II, was the District Officer, and he was at Takum at that time, and he took Garkiye II out of the hands of the military officers. He released him and said he should return home, along with Gbana Gamuga, and they came home together. The wickedness of government messengers was notorious at that time.

Garkiye II never gained any pleasure from his chieftaincy, his reign finished in difficulty, it was as if he was constantly enslaved. During his time the buildings of the palace fell into disrepair, Chamba customary practices were neglected and only once was there ever a Purma (the Chamba festival) celebrated during his time. Garkiye II was a brave man who succeeded to the chieftaincy, but we never understood him, he had no appetite for chieftaincy as a result of the hidden machinations of interpreters, messengers and most of all, Angulu.

His time was most regrettable, everything relating to administration deteriorated, there was a shortage of people in the town, and many houses became neglected. The hearts of the Sama

people were downcast at how everything to do with the nobility had gone bad and was continuing to go backwards.

During Garkiye II's time the first meeting at Ibi was held. He was the first chief of the Chamba to be given a staff of office by the Governor, a Third Class Chief. At every meeting the messengers and interpreters caused him trouble and pushed him back. While their star shone bright, they had their opportunity to sow their evil as they wished. This kind of thing happened everywhere across the Northern Region at that time.

During the reign of Garkiye II a courtroom was built. Before, during the time of Garbosa I, proceedings were held in the palace under an awning (poles that had been set up with cornstalk screens across them to create shade). Garkiye II reigned for ten years but finished them in difficulty, taking no pleasure in his rule, and died in sadness.

During Garkiye II's time, the English and the Germans divided the country between them in 1912-13. The southeast of Donga country came under the control of Germany. But the Germans had started to appear while Garbosa I was still alive. On one occasion, some Europeans came through from Calabar to our town and set up outside the east gate of the town, some of them even at the entrance buildings to the town, and they were a sizeable military force. It looked as if they were going to attack the town, but by God's will it was not to be, a senior European, known as the Colonel, came by steamer from Ibi with great haste, and prevented any evil action. The Europeans went back to where they had come from.

In 1916 Government established Native Treasuries at Ibi, Wukari, Donga and Takum, and every Native Authority had its own prison. Jauro Hamman was the Treasurer at Ibi, M. Abba at Wukari, M. Aliyu at Donga, M. Gani at Takum. Each chief was very pleased with this development.

Peace was made between Donga and Suntai to the east and it was brought under the control of Donga, and they became united. To the west, Munshi Garpua and Gangum Sai (Salatu) were removed from Donga's control. The land controlled by Donga was drastically reduced. But with all the troubles that Garkiye II suffered, you could not say that they were due to apathy on his part. Garkiye II was a true man, not everyone could have endured all his troubles.

The Hausas call him Ibrahim, Ibrahim son of Garba (Garbasa), grandson of Garkiye (Garkiye I) the tall chief, with a long pedigree, the answer to the one with a short pedigree. They would beat out epithets for him:

1. Ibrahim. They can get angry, they can go on strike, but what can they do about you? [*Ibrahim. Suna fushi suna yaji za su yi kaka da kai?*]

2. On Allah we rely, on the owner of the sky we rely. [*Allah ne madogara, mai sama ne madogara*]

3. He can stop all, can the son of Garba. Goodness he can stop the lion, owner of the bush! [*Kowa ya tare dan Garba. Ashe ya iya tare zaki mai dawa*] (this was an epithet applied to his elder brother, Garbosa I).

He produced a number of male and female children, here are their names:

Male	Female
1. Kuvala	1. Nabura
2. Yesaya	2. Luma

3. Lafaya	3. Namyena
4. Nyonsamiya	4. Zondanshena
5. Zonyera	5. Kesonga
6. Ledoya	6. Tiya
7. Nyagarga	7. Yila
8. Boiga	8. Soniya
	9. Sazeya

Children who died while small have not been mentioned. The names are given in their birth order.

The story of Garbasa II Nyaga, sixth Gara Donga

He was the sixth Gara Donga. He was Nyaga, son of Gargbanyi, the third Gara Donga. Nyaga was born in this town. He had many male and female siblings. From his mother he had two younger siblings, male and female, but they were commoners, having been born after his father died. Nyaga was fair-skinned, tall and not very heavily built.

When Gargbanyi died, Nyaga and his siblings of a similar age were not yet grown, so Garbosa I took care of them and had them circumcised, and arranged marriages for them, and gave them horses and built houses for them, and provided all the things that are appropriate for sons of chiefs. Nyaga was very loyal to Garbosa I and was favoured more than his siblings.

When he came to maturity he stood out from his siblings and was very popular with the people and with Garbosa I and with Garkiye II. Were Nyaga alive in times of old he would be numbered among the very brave. He was no slouch and he was a great expert in hunting with nets during his time. He copied many aspects of Garbosa I's character, which was how he became such an expert hunter.

The way in which he demonstrated his bravery was not only through hunting. In Garkiye II's time, during the German war, a Sergeant-Major used up a great quantity of ammunition on hunting game around Tinyisa, and then fled here to Donga. Before long, a letter arrived saying that this soldier had deserted and if he was seen he should be caught. A search for the Sergeant-Major was instituted, but he had already set off on the road to Bantaje. Garkiye II sent Nyaga in pursuit of him. He quickly saddled up, mounted, and set off after him, accompanied by Ndokari son of Adashu and Dogari Kato. When they spotted him, Nyaga called out to him, 'Stop, you must come back, the chief wants to speak to you.' The Sergeant-Major refused, saying he would not go back, and if anyone wished to risk his life, then he should approach and see. He had a gun and nobody knew how much ammunition he had with him. Nyaga tried to coax him, but he refused, and so Nyaga spurred on his horse and knocked him flying, calling Ndokari to come quickly and tie him up, and so he did indeed jump from his horse and tie him up. It was with great difficulty that he was able to recover the man's horse from the bush, and then take him back, from where he was then sent to Ibi.

When the Europeans came from Calabar to where Garbosa I was, Nyaga would pass through the lines of soldiers, even as they shouted, to get to where his father was.

The greater part of his character derived from his father Garbosa I, very generous and pleasure-loving, but quick to anger, flare up in a moment and calm down in a moment. When Garkiye II died, he and his father's younger brother, Ganingha, and a scheming son of a slave called Angulu were in contention to succeed him. Nyaga was chosen. The District Officer Mr

M. R. Whiteley, known as 'pregnant woman', appointed him on the orders of the Governor, that is with his agreement. Angulu was rebuked on the basis that he had no standing and no reasons for his appointment, his claim was simply a piece of modern meddling. (He wanted to steal the chieftaincy of the Chamba.) It was Burba who carried out the customary installation according to Chamba practices. He took on the name of his grandfather, Garbasa I.

Garbasa II could not abide Angulu's evil character and deposed him from a position as ward head. Angulu became angry and left town, and he got even worse. Garbasa II, Nyaga, knew how to rule, he was popular and could do amazing things. But during the beginning of his reign, hyenas came and did much damage, taking people, not only children, and eating them, both in the city and in the villages, it was with very great difficulty that this was brought to an end.

When Garbasa Nyaga succeeded to the chieftaincy he nurtured the people of Donga well, having seen how Angulu had acted under Garkiye II with his own eyes, he was determined not to delegate to an outsider, he would carry out the responsibilities of the ruler himself. During his time the population of the city increased, and many new buildings were constructed. It was during his time that the Tiv Ugondo entered Donga country, and also some Kabawa, and that was the first group of Kabawa to be here in Donga. There was hostility between him and Amadu, chief of Takum about the land of Donga south of the river, but neither of them knew how it should be, but then some Europeans came and marked on a map after taking their advice as to how it should be. During his time an elementary school was founded.

During his time Ubandoma Alishe, chief of Suntai, caused trouble. A portion of Suntai was taken away from him but it was still under the overall control of Donga. Alishe kept up his treacherous ways until eventually he was deposed and Shishiwa was appointed as Garanyisa.

Garbasa was an excellent horseman, however intransigent the horse he could ride it, he knew no fear. He was tireless, and steadfast of intent in all he did. He knew how to read a little of roman script, and write in it, and do a little mathematics.

He was not popular among the interpreters and the messengers of the Europeans, particularly those like Siddi (interpreter) and Mamman Nafada (messenger), exactly as it was in the time of Garkiye II, and often he would be involved in fights with them because of their trickery. We had no respite from this kind of thing until the time of Pregnant Woman (Mr M. R. Whiteley, may Allah heap value upon him). He it was who opened up the process of government properly and dimmed the light of these people. Work went on as straight as a die, and progress was made.

In relation to Chamba customs, Garbasa II did not fall short, he demonstrated his considerable expertise. He ruled over the land of Donga as he had inherited it, there was no village that escaped from his domain, and he even added to it with the inclusion of Ugondo in 1925. He ruled for ten years.

During his time the Government changed its view and transferred all prisoners to Wukari and all the treasuries were consolidated at Wukari.

Doing this was intended to make things easier, however it became a thing of mockery whereby one Native Authority viewed the others as having less freedom and having become their underlings! The name of Ibi Division was changed to become Wukari Division. In 1928-29 a new motor road was built and after it was finished vehicles could make it all the way to the River Donga. The Niger Company and John Holt joined forces in 1931 and combined their trading stations. The Niger Company left the place to John Holt.

The Hausas called him Muhamman. His praise epithets were, ‘Muhamman, the myrrh tree pestle, pounded in one place and then that place sprouts’. ‘The bitter sasswood tree, not to be borrowed, whoever touches you will feel you.’ And other such praises. And there were other drum segments:

1. Not acquired but inherited, not transplanted but sown. Dangerous water, only for the one who agrees to enter. [*Ba haye ba ne gado ne, ba dashe ba ne shuki ne. Kurman ruwa shigan mai yarda*]

2. Shackles that kill a man. Muhamman the saw that surpasses the axe blow. [*Mari ma kar maza. Ga zarto Muhamman ya wuce sara*]

3. Like his father Muhamman son of Gargbanyi. [*Mai kamar uba Muhamman dan Gargbanyi*] (The epithet of Garbosa I, but he slightly changed it.)

4. Prevent rebellion, cause rebellion. Muhamman never betrayed anyone, whoever betrayed him will be judged by the Almighty. [*Hana bore sa bore, Muhamman bai ci amanan kowa ba, kowa ya ci nasa Mai-sama ne alkali*]

And there were other praises that the musicians play for chiefs according to their own skills.

He had male and female children, but not that many. Here is a list of their names:

Male	Female
1. Sopiya	1. Soniya
2. Yabashini	2. Gibuya
3. Nubunga	3. Nanningha
4. Garduya	4. Nudemushena
5. Ledoya	5. Kanyilya
6. Nongha	6. Kabarga
7. Varboa	7. Nabila, Yenwunshi
8. Gbonyela	8. Natema
	9. Navala

Children who died young have not been listed.

After District Officer Mr M. R. Whiteley (Pregnant Woman) repaired the problems with interpreters and messengers, everything improved. The other officials who took on the work of these people were of good character. Garbasa ruled the land of Donga and completed his time on the earth at peace. He left his male and female children still small and not remembering his appearance, he fathered them towards the end of his time (their names are listed in birth order).

The story of Garbosa II, Bitemya Sambo, seventh Gara Donga

I was born in Donga in 1902. I’m short, not stockily built, but well-fed. My mother’s name was Aminatu. I have two full siblings both younger than me, a boy, Abdullahi Mbura and a girl, Shetu Najingha, nicknamed Dudu, also Kande. Shetu Dudu died when she was small. Those who are my half-siblings, same father different mother, are many, both male and female.

When I was born, I was named Muhamman Sambo, the name given to me on the naming day when the ram is slaughtered, because my father, Garbosa I, was a Muslim. I was not alone in being named in the Islamic way, we were many, some older than me and some younger than me, all named in that way – Adamu, Zubairu, Mamman, Umaru, Atiku, Abdullahi and the rest.

But his relative, Yarima Bilkoya gave me the name Bitemya, so as not to forget the Chamba names. If the reader notes the names of my two full siblings, that way of doing things can be seen.

In short, people took to calling me Sambo when I finished teacher training at the ETC of the Sudan United Mission, and when I became a teacher I was called Malam Sambo.

When I was eight or nine years old, I started to learn the roman script at the SUM and started to be able to read. Later I grew in knowledge until by the age of thirteen I could read a few books. In 1916 when I was fourteen, I entered the service of Rev. C.L. Whitman. I was the senior boy, Umaru was next and then Bitema followed after. We were having classes and I was better than the rest, so much so that I was given a few boys to teach. Between 1918 and 1919 I became a teacher.

In 1920, I went to Adamawa as far as Girei, trading with 2,000 kola nuts. I returned and went into the forest to Ajakwai (Ogoja Province) with buffalo hides and returned. Rev C.L. Whitman returned from leave in America and sent me to school in Wukari (Lucy Memorial School, Wukari). That school had the support of the government. They taught us all the subjects that are covered in the curriculum including the speaking, reading and writing of English. In October 1920 I went to that school for the school year 1921. Umaru also came. We worked hard and put up with everything, I and my younger brother Umaru, and we surpassed all of them and were awarded the Grade 3 Certificate on 14/2/23. I was at school with my brother until we left in January 1925. I was four years and four months in Lucy Memorial School altogether. Malam Atiku found us at that school in 1922 and we finished our schooling along with him. Since 1916 and our circumcision we three have been inseparable. Our ways are the same and nearly all our opinions are the same, and we were never divided, just like Nyaga, Samvala and Garpiya, the sons of Gargbanyi. Even now our affection for each other has never diminished.

I adopted Christianity, and I was baptised in the River Donga on 29 December 1920. I did not change my name (that is to say I did not take a new name on being baptised). Rev. C.W. Guinter baptised me in place of Rev C.L. Whitman. My mother and my father are both Muslims but Allah intended me to be a Christian.

In 1925 I went on a trading journey to Damagudu as far as Keana and then I returned and made a number of short trips. I and my elder brother Nulamuga and Abdullahi Mbura, my full brother, we went to Yelo in Bauchi country with kola nuts, and after we had sold them we bought cattle and brought them to Makurdi and sold them there. I and Nulamuga set off on 29/10/25 for Bida, arriving on 8/11/25, and bought goods and returned home.

In 1926 Mr C.K. Meek, the European investigating the origins of people, came to Donga and I wrote out for him what happened in the harvest, the dry season, the cold season and the wet, and the crop cycle during the year, and he paid me for it. But before he arrived, Captain Warren A.D.O. had set me and Malam Umaru to conduct a survey of the whole of Donga country, and to make a copy at Ibi for which he paid us. In making the copy at Ibi our younger brother Malam Atiku helped us and he was paid for his work.

Mr C.K. Meek asked me to help him with his work at Wukari. Mr J.L. Maxwell (SUM) took me to Wukari on his motorcycle on January 8th 1927. After we finished work in Wukari we went to Adamawa, and I became Mr C.K. Meek's assistant. We went via Jalingo, Kunini and Numan to Yola. We went to Verre and the other towns, six months we spent in Yola and then returned to Jalingo, then via Karim to Wase as far as Ibi. We went to Kaduna Junction on Saturday 10th September 1927. After two months, Mr. Meek released me to go to Captain Best,

District Officer at Ibi, because when we were going to Kaduna he said he wanted me to work for him in his office. Mr. Meek wanted to give me work in Kaduna but I preferred to work for my own country and so he wrote a letter to release me. I travelled to Zaria and Kano and saw these large cities and then returned to Kaduna where I said goodbye to him and set off for Donga. (I returned twice more to Kano and Zaria after this first trip.)

I went with my letter and found Cpt. Best in Awe country at a village called Kafin Sarkin Fada and I started work as we returned to Ibi. In the next six months Cpt. Best sent me to Donga where I found my elder brother, Garbasa II Nyaga, in 1928, and I and Malam Umaru, my younger brother, produced a survey of Donga country.

In 1928 my work was changed again. Mr R.M. East, Provincial Superintendent of Education took me to open Wukari Elementary School, on June 15th 1928. Later, my younger brother Malam Umaru was brought to help me. On 22nd August 1930, Takum Elementary School was opened and Mr East took Malam Umaru there to the school in Takum. I was given students and I taught them how to be teachers: Malam Ato, Malam Ebi, Malam Haruna, Malam Barau II and Malam Garba, these five. In 1930, I came to Donga with Mr East and we opened Donga Elementary School on November 15th 1930. We entrusted the work of teaching to Malam Atiku, my younger brother, who had taken over as district scribe from his elder brother, Malam Umaru.

Mr East allowed me two weeks and then I had to return to Wukari. Later on, Malam Barau II was brought and he took over the work from Malam Atiku. From time to time, I would visit the schools in Takum and Donga and see how the schoolchildren were doing, and then return to Wukari where I was living.

On August 5th 1931 in the afternoon, my older brother Garbasa Nyaga, seventh Gara Donga, departed this earth. The senior people of my country, and the ordinary people, chose me to succeed to the chieftaincy on Sunday November 1st 1931. Captain J.J. Emberton, District Officer in charge Wukari Division (who became Resident in 1936) presented me to the people according to our Chamba customs with the agreement of the Governor. On Wednesday, January 27th 1932, the Resident Mr E.S. Pembleton came to Donga accompanied by DO Cpt. J.J. Emberton and DO Cpt R.M. Downes, and the Resident confirmed my chieftaincy and awarded me a staff of office with a crown on the top, third class, on the orders of the Governor.

In my chieftaincy I had to hold myself back because I could not make full use of all my knowledge. Little by little and very carefully I had to lead my people forward. I had knowledge of many things but was not able to fully articulate them, for who would have believed me? I had deepened my understanding of the things of this earth and of space through talking to Mr C.K. Meek, because every evening I was his companion and we talked constantly, and he got to like me. What I learned at school was about a third of what I knew and the remaining two-thirds came from observing people around me.

In my chieftaincy two things occupied my mind, (a) I was careful to ensure that the Europeans did not think I was making too much of myself because of my knowledge ('a little knowledge is a dangerous thing'), (b) I was careful lest my fellow black people should think I was being European.

Following our Chamba customs I repaired the old drums that had been cast aside since the time of my father Garbosa I, and I added new ones. I made many appointments, more than Garbasa Nyaga and Garkiye II, but up to now I have not made nearly as many as Garbosa I, and not for lack of people. After taking considered advice from the elders and important people, I reduced the difficulty of the period of mourning that Chamba widows have to go through. I

helped all the clans. In 1933 a new dispensary was built with fired bricks and a metal roof. In 1934 a fine new court room was built with a metal roof, and the walls were plastered with cement.

People, both men and women, would say, 'It was foretold in the past by the great ones that a young man would hold the chieftaincy of this town, the town and the surrounding land would live in peace and prosperity, and that is you, Garbosa II. And we have started to see it come to pass.' (Bitemya Sambo, Garbosa II, whether that is so or not, who can tell?)

During my time the population expanded as did the number of buildings. There were Tiv (Shitire) people from Garpua and Mbalam as well as some Mbagar people who came into Donga country in 1933, and some Kaba, with Alu and his people also.

Here are the praise epithets played for me:

The Hausas call me Muhamman, others say Garbaushe, Garbaushe heir of Garbaushe.

1. Muhamman. Not acquired but inherited, not transplanted but sown. Dangerous water, only for the one who agrees to enter. [*Muhamman. Ba haye ba ne gado ne, ba dashe ba ne shuki ne. Kurman ruwa shigan mai yarda*] (The epithet of my elder brother Garbasa II.)

2. What will the white ant do with the rock, and the locust do with the elephant grass? Blessings are the gift of God, no one can stand in their way. [*Kaka gara ta kan yi da dutse, kaka fari ya kan yi da tofa? Arzikin dashen Allah babu mai hanawa*]

3. Envy of the gifted is as fertile as manure for him, gather together and just look. [*Hasada ga mai rabo taki ne, ku tattaro ku sha kallo*]

4. He has inherited his father's inheritance. [*Gadon ubansa ne ya gada*] (An epithet of my father's, Garbasa I, but it has been slightly changed.)

And then there are other small things that the musicians articulate.

The young men and women also sing of me:

'Come let us greet Sambo, fresh millet, milk of the new udder (that is to say the new chief), he has brought us a new time. Fortune-telling and invention, and all divination is now dead, he has brought us a new age. He abhors dirt and travels with things to make clean. He inherited buildings but has made them old style. He started the tin roofed buildings, anyone who builds one here in Wukari Division learned to make them from him.' He began metal roofs in 1934.

The praise-criers sing, 'With things from Zela, and Egypt, with things from China, of all different kinds.' [*Mai kayan Zela, da Masar, Mai kayan birnin Sin, mai yayi dabam daban*] And other such verses, And they sing, 'The kaikayi tree, which burns more fiercely than a conflagration, you burn for days. They get angry, they fight, you take your share and make them into fools.' [*Wutan kaikayi wadda ta fi gobara kuna kwana da kwanaki kana kuna. Ana fushi, ana fada, kana rabo ka mai da su wauta*]

At the beginning of 1918, I and Nyoliba accompanied Rev C.L. Whitman and his wife to Lokoja, to Baro and to Minna, when they were to go on leave to America, and then we returned home. At that time the military were stationed at Abinsi in Benue Province.

In 1923, I and M. Umaru accompanied Miss R.M. Rimmer, our teacher, to Port Harcourt on her way to England on leave.

In 1935, I and Kuni Bora, along with Kpanghati Nungala, Malam Atiku, Sallama Boyi and Shamaki Musa all went to Lagos. We travelled in a train from Makurdi to Enugu and Port Harcourt. Then we took a boat called the MV Apapa to Lagos. From Lagos we took a train to Kaduna and then to Makurdi and home by motor vehicle. The things we saw on our journey:

I. The more amazing things (a) Power House [English original] (b) welding metals (c) but the most amazing thing of all was the wireless, of all the clever things invented by the Europeans, the wireless stands out.

II. The things that gave us great joy:

(a) Wherever we went looking, the Europeans received us with pleasure and were happy to show us everything and explain it so we could understand.

(b) Every town accepted us with great hospitality.

(c) Seeing how senior European officers were pleased to receive us.

(d) Our greatest pleasure was to see the Governor of Lagos (Sir Donald Cameron) who ruled over the whole of Nigeria, and the Chief Commissioner of Enugu and of Kaduna.

The chief of Nasarawa, Umaru, and I were the ones from Benue Province who attended the meeting of chiefs in 1945. I went to Bamenda in 1954 to visit where the Chamba lived, the land which had once been controlled by the Germans. I went to Bauchi in June 1954, and I went on a number of journeys on government business. I was involved in such matters when life took another of its turns.

The senior courtiers let it be known that Garbosa I had departed this world with two wishes he had not been able to fulfil. The first was his intention to take some of his children and send them to be trained in Islam under his friend Malam Ibrahim in Kano, but he never had the opportunity to do this. The second aim had been to gather a thousand horses, but this also he had never been able to achieve, he had only managed to obtain a hundred.

I have produced male and female children and here are their names listed in the order of their birth, along with their times of birth:

Female			
1. Pibini, Hawa	Friday		26/6/1925
2. Kyezonya, Zainabu	Thursday	12 pm	30/8/1928
3. Zelemuga, Amina	Monday	10 pm	26/3/1934
4. Naye	Friday	9 pm	10/8/1934
5. Navara	Friday	6 pm	14/12/1934
6. Navongha	Wednesday	8 pm	3/5/1935
7. Nanningha	Monday	9 pm	10/6/1935
Male			
1. Binunga	Friday	9.30 pm	30/1/1931
2. Loya, Abubakar	Tuesday	2 pm	10/4/1934
3. Zonbanshena	Wednesday	9.30 am	9/1/1935
4. Wuryeba	Saturday	11.30 am	11/1/1936
5. Bileya	Thursday	9 am	27/8/1936
6. Nunyerya	Monday	9 am	16/11/1936
7. Shimbura, Ibrahim	Monday	2 pm	21/12/1936

8. Bumshiya	Sunday	6 am	3/1/1937
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In addition to those I have listed there were three boy children and two girl children who died before they were one year old. In producing children, many were fine, yes, but there was also much sadness, death is always present.

Garbosa I had 150 wives, but the chiefs who followed him, in each period had fewer wives and now they are down to 18. They did this for themselves and to fit in with the modern way of doing things.

I have a further thing to say, and it will be my last: from the founding of the city of Donga it has been the Chamba who spilt their blood in establishing it and who have ruled over it until today, in the time of ignorance and in the time of Gargbanyi. Nya Yeba tried to steal the chieftaincy but he failed, and in the end he and his mother were executed on the same day in the way he killed others with no concern for their rights.

After Nya Yeba, and during the time of the Europeans, Angulu Kifon also tried to steal the Chamba chieftaincy during the time of Garkiye II. He thought he could acquire it cheaply but he failed and died. Later, when Garbasa Nyaga died, the traditional council were about to choose a new chief when an evildoer whose nickname was Karmiya, a merchant son of Kuna, slipped away from Donga and went to see the District Officer, Cpt J.J. Emberton, at Wukari and told him that he wanted to be included in the candidates for chief of Donga! The DO asked him whether he had family connections to the chiefs of Donga? He said he did not, and so he was asked which family or tribe he belonged to? He said he was Kentu from the Nukpo branch. And so, the DO said to him that the government knows that the chieftaincy of Donga belongs to the Chamba, they were first in charge under their chiefs and they were well trusted. He threw him out and told him never to come before him again with such meaningless nonsense.

The thing to note is this – set Nya Yeba aside because his intention to steal was during the period before the Europeans took over control of Nigeria, the Chamba themselves executed him because of the damage he wrought. But the likes of Angulu Anyifyi Kifon (Kpanzo) and Karmiya (Kentu Nukpo), what were their reasons because their actions were during the time of the new Government? These two, what they thought in the stupidity of their minds was that the Europeans would take no notice of the lines of succession but would be susceptible to the bribery and corruption of the interpreters and messengers and so anyone could acquire the chieftaincy. They thought this on seeing Amadu Likam gain the chieftaincy of Takum, and Umaru the merchant gain the chieftaincy of Ibi. Whoever could win over the interpreters and messengers and give bribes, nothing would stand in their way in wresting the chieftaincy out of the hands of those who held it by tradition. That is what they thought! It was their ignorance, things were not that way. From when the English took over control of the North they did not work against the traditional authorities that they found in place. It did occasionally happen, but the reason was that the ruler was not following orders or not ruling justly as these modern times required. For example, there were some chiefs who were ousted, not because the government didn't like them, or to give the positions to others, but in order to ensure the good government that these chiefs were not pursuing. It was not only in Donga that this kind of attempted theft and dishonesty occurred. In Wukari, Ibrahim – of Wunti who was once made chief of the Hausas in Wukari – intended to steal the chieftaincy of the Jukun, but when his plotting was discovered he was driven out of Wukari. He went to Kado and Makurdi and died there in Makurdi. These three Donga deceivers were all slaves of the chief and grew up in the palace.

All these issues of intentions to usurp chieftaincies are well known to the traditional rulers. Do you think they have nothing to gain? Those with assets will stick to the laws of the Government and the Native Authorities even more than before. There is no doubt that if our traditional rulers march in step in this country in relation to the practice of modern government, and as long as they carry out the orders of the democratic government and administer with trust, truth and justice and avoid oppression, then the Government will support, nay even strengthen them. Those of evil intent or their followers, such as we have mentioned above, have very little sense. Amadu, chief of Takum, and Umaru, chief of Ibi, did not acquire their chieftaincies through rebellion or through urging others to rebel, but by obedience to their traditional rulers and by having more and more responsibilities handed to them such that they understood how everything worked and were able to diminish the importance of the traditional rulers. But this new world of lack of respect and good manners has strengthened the traditional rulers in their desire to walk in step with each other – for example the emergence of two political parties, the one in government and the other in opposition to the government, this forces the government to take greater care, and to tread gently, and abide by the laws in all things that relate to making the people happy.

At the beginning of 1956 the Queen of England and her husband, the Duke of Edinburgh visited Nigeria. They arrived in Kaduna on 2/2/1956, and I and some of my people attended the great meeting of all the peoples of the North at Kaduna that was held on the occasion of her visit.

The rest of my story and the remaining list of my children, I had better leave to those who come after me to write.

The evil courtier's reckoning

There is a Hausa proverb that says, 'There is no evil king, only evil courtiers' and it is well-known in this land. The implication is that blame should not be the king's alone but shared with his advisers.

Here is the story of a courtier named Nya Yeba. This man Nya Yeba! Oh my goodness, Nya Yeba!! What a terrible business!! By origin he was Jiba. Nya and Tuu were all sons of Gban Tani. Gban Tani had met Garkiye I in the bush as he was migrating from Garkola, and his name before meeting Garkiye I was Tani.

Nya Yeba was born here in Donga, and Garbasa Nubumga Donzomga picked him up and cared for him until he grew up and he built a house for him outside the palace. His duties were that, whenever a cow or other animal was to be slaughtered, he would be in charge and divide up the meat as intended. He became in time a most important slave of the chief. Nya Yeba was a close friend of Bileya the eldest son of his master. When Garbasa died, Bileya succeeded to the chieftaincy and became Gargbanyi, and uplifted his friend even more. He gave him the title of Nya, and he became the chief of the Jiba people with the name Yeba, and as he advanced he became known as Nya Yeba.

Nya Yeba was like a bullock, large and solidly built. Although he had been given his own house, he was still involved with the affairs of his friend at the chief's palace. He would allocate food to all the visitors, and the affection for him in the eyes of the chief grew and grew. In Nya Yeba's house there was much wealth, with large rooms filled with his family. When he came to the chief's court he would wear a high-quality tight check gown with chain-stitch embroidered trousers, or a large gown with the eight Nupe-style, scar-shaped embroidery marks with trousers that had ankle bands. Sometimes he would wear other fine gowns with

large trousers. If he had put on his finery he would set out for the palace in his shoes and with his walking stick, walking slowly along. If he dropped his walking stick it would be with great difficulty that he could take a step forward, such was his pomposity. In talking of Nya Yeba, one would think he was a village head with many areas under his control, and not just a slave of the chief. We cannot relate his full story because there would be so much to say.

The importance of Nya Yeba and his wealth and popularity with the chief was all useless, it did not profit the Chamba people at all, or any kindred [*dangi*] in the town, nor the whole of Chamba country. Nya Yeba was an evil man, a deceiver and a plotter par excellence. Before his intentions became clear he had already killed many people. At first, he schemed to come between Bileya and his younger full brother called Bumledoya who was killed just before the succession on the death of Garbasa. Bumledoya was a solidly built, good-looking man, an excellent horseman and a real fighter. In his time, he was the strongest, and he was like Kasari, a son of the chief of Takum in his strength, horse-riding skills and fighting ability.

Then later, when his friend Gargbanyi was ruling, Nya Yeba said to him, 'Oh chief, my lord, my most beloved, in this town there are many witches who are eating people, therefore let them be given of the poisonous sasswood tree as an ordeal so that we can sift out those who are not witches.' Gargbanyi said, 'We will not tolerate people who kill others. Go and administer the sasswood and let us see what you manage to do.'

At this time Gargbanyi was not well and he was struggling with the illness that eventually killed him. Nya Yeba was aware of this and made an evil plan, whereby he would be able to steal the chieftaincy of the Chamba, but he knew there were many chiefly sons and many Chamba skilled in war, and so there was no way he would be able to prevent them killing him. If he rebelled then they would overpower him, therefore he wanted to kill all those whose bravery was a threat. When he received permission to administer the sasswood he was beside himself with delight and went in with an evil slave of the chief's called Pusha, a short little man.

Nya Yeba explained to the chief's slaves about administering the sasswood poison saying it was on the orders of the chief. He and Pusha prepared a place for themselves alone saying it was for the interrogation of witches. Deliberately, in his treachery and hatred he came out from where he had been with Pusha and said to the strongest of the slaves of the chief that he had assembled ready, 'So-and-so is a witch. Take him and execute him, the sasswood has caught him.' Straightaway the person would be caught and taken outside the town to the north and killed. In this way many people were killed and the whole town was silent in its sadness. There was not a kindred [*dangi*] or a tribe [*kabila*] in Donga who did not curse him. At one point it was said that every house in the town was weeping in its distress. Among the people of the whole town, including Yerma Sonyonga and the leaders of the Chamba, there was not one person who went to tell Gargbanyi that what Nya Yeba was doing was pure evil, because he was the only one administering the sasswood, and that he was lying, all this through their fear of Gargbanyi. In this way, Nya Yeba killed many Chamba people. The chiefly sons wanted to catch him in a trap, but they didn't do so through their bonds of chiefly obedience.

One day the walls were being inspected on horseback in case there were weaknesses that needed remedying. Yerma Sonyonga rode, along with other chiefly sons and also Nya Yeba and other riders and musicians. Nya Yeba wore the hat that would be worn by the heir to the chieftaincy. They were making their way around when they came to the quarter where Gargbanyi was being cared for in his illness, and he looked out through a fence and saw how Nya Yeba was dressed as he rode. He called Yerma Sonyonga and some others and said to Yerma, 'Only now have I finally seen the intentions of Nya Yeba, he is a traitor. He has on

many occasions given me evil advice, and it is only today that I have finally understood. Sonyonga, go and kill him, right now.' Yerma Sonyonga and the other chiefly sons gave eternal thanks for what he had said. Yerma instructed the chief's slaves, the same strong men, to tie him up, along with his mother, and take him to the place where he killed others, and there he was himself killed. And that was the end of the evil courtier. His family did not last long, only two grandchildren's lives left!

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