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Review Article

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# Paradigm Shifts in the Judiciary and Punishment of Criminals in Anglophone Cameroon: The Indigenous and Colonial Account

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**Abstract:** Anglophone Cameroon is an area conterminous with the present-day North and South Western Regions of the Republic of Cameroon that were colonized by Britain from 1922-61. It is presently inhabited by about 4 million people emerging from approximately more than 50 tribal units and several clans. These heterogeneous ethnic entities were /are pronged into one by a shared colonial history (German 1884-1916 and British, 1916—61). The former initiated the eradication of pristine judicial and punishment systems within this niche and the latter established a relative dual system based on mutual consent and/or sacrifice. This area has undergone transmutations with changing nomenclatures and configurations in all dimensions with that of the judiciary and punishments of criminals and criminality topping the chart. All of these developments have shaped the habits of the indigenous folks completely eradicating some and repositioning others to suit the changing realities. The judicial system along with its application of punishment as a deterrent to crime or non-conformity with the law is at the epicentres of this paradigmatic shift which this article is all about. From the analysis of primary and secondary evidence combed through qualitative data collection methods, this paper examines the shifts in the judiciary and crime occasioned by transmutation within this historical niche. It has answered questions like (a) how was the judicial system in the area presently named Anglophone Cameroon prior to the German protectorate and what were the indigenous conceptions of crime here (b)How did the Germans appreciate and influenced this judiciary and punishment of those who violated the Law as well as(c), the paradigm negotiated and established by the British colonial imprints along with its lasting impact after independence? It is a contribution not only to judicial historiography but also to changing landscape of justice and crime in Africa as defined by colonial imprints and indigenous response.

**Keywords:** Paradigm shifts, Judiciary, Punishment Anglophone Cameroon.

## INTRODUCTION

Colonial discourses and Eurocentric scholarship always run into the temptation of concluding dismissively that African traditional systems and administrative policies were void of Laws of their own. They often conclude like Hegel that any laws in Africa were a product of contamination or cross pollution of the traditional entities by the European Laws which passed through trade or missionary endeavours or administration. If such sweeping negations were to be allowed to flower and blossom it will be tenable to submit that all African societies were grossly chaotic and ridden with criminals who went about the business of crime unperturbed. Such blind and sort of piped-borne contentions have been swept under the carpets by a potent scholarship that submits and rightly so that the African societies did not just have laws of their own but like the European societies. they ran different grades of courts that handled various scales of laws dealing with crimes in a variety of ways. The swift conclusions about Africa as being void of anything worthy of recognition have most often watered away a genuine desire to examine the contours of the judiciary and punishment not only under the indigenous pristine leadership but also how this survived or was swept aside by the forces of change being colonization, Christianity and the digital migration. Scholars are by this token often kept distracted from engaging in serious studies on the dynamics of the judiciary and punishments for crimes and criminality that have not only shaped morals and informed policies within this ecological niche but also gone a long way to keep criminality and criminals on the check.

The pale attention accorded to the evolution of Judiciary and punishment schemes and how this curbed or promoted deviant comportment provides the muse for this paper. It has summoned evidence from primary and secondary sources from the depth of their analysis the paper underscores the nature of indigenous and foreign judiciary systems that regulated criminal countenance and set standards for moral conduct within its study ecological niche. It does this by offering the contours of paradigm evolution that were part and parcel of this system. In this realm, it attempts to build a portrait of how indigenous Laws and conception of punishment of crimes and criminality contributed to inform and cohabit with the colonially oriented judiciary schemes and their handling of criminals or criminal comportment. It argues that there has been a potent shift in the schemes of the judiciary and punishment schemes in Anglophone Cameroon but that this has done little to completely eradicate the indigenous conceptions about what constitutes Laws as well as the conduct of crime within this zone. It further proffers that the agencies and agents of the judiciary and punishments have (a)been remodeled

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(b) slightly discarded and (c) permitted to cohabit within time and circumstances. It should however be noted that some extreme judicial schemes within niche plus agents and agencies of judicial metamorphosis found it hard to be brushed off because of the anthropological and historical comprehensions that were required to assure impartial justice, especially among traditional polities where the notion of modern laws and its regard to criminals and criminality continued to receive grim popularity.

**Relevance and Scholarship Nexuses**

Apart from offering literature akin to the scholarship of shifting strands of colonialism and its adaption to change with the judiciary, punishment, and the lots of Law defaulters in change, this article offers submissions that are relevant and colossally valid to a stream of neo-colonial scholarship. It offers unequivocally that European agents and actors on the ground in most circumstances grappled to borrow from the existing local practices to establish their own. In our study area, the British administrators and colonial philosophies all strove to find local functional equivalences to make their own laws and the entire judiciary became workable wholesale only on conditions that; the various aspects of it and its regard to deviant behaviour were understood and allowed to operate in consonant with the indigenous judiciary systems and its regards to what constitutes justice, crime or punishment. There was at some point a form of pretense lavishly displayed by the colonial agents and their agencies and Eurocentric scholars about the operation of justice and punishment in the African Scenery. They strove most of the time to raise the standards of their breed of the judiciary and other alien European traditions imposed on the African folks to the height of religious dogmas. In that arrogance, they were expecting the indigenous folks to worship such alien practices wholesale. Interestingly, the British most naively worshipped or revered policy of Indirect Rule had its roots in this pretense.[1] This article surveys how, why and which impact the notion/concept of the Judiciary and punishment was muffed, shaped, or discarded by the alien forces of change notably, Colonialism and all its acolytes. From the boldness and abundance of evidence employed, it submits that; the present Judiciary and punishment system in force in Anglophone Cameroon seem to pamper crime and criminals more than what was obtained in the African pristine practices. It argues that the current laws operating in Anglophone Cameroon are departed but not very different practice from what was obtained in African traditional polities prior to colonization. A synchrony of the discusses and narratives of jurisprudence, gives us the effrontery to posit that the often increasing propensity of indigenous folks to violate the existing Laws stems not only from the fact that these laws were cooked up within the cultural psyche of the Roman law but also on account of the fact that, these Laws in their full interpretation and application on the ground run counter and most of the time too sophisticated to be mastered by the existing meaningful African values and notions about punishment, crime, and criminality. It further underscores that; changes or modifications brought in the judiciary and punishment systems have provided so many valves through and within which laws are violated and the ability to do good carted away from the norms of usual behaviour.[2]

**The Antecedent of the Present Judiciary and Punishment in Anglophone Cameroon**

The judiciary and the norms of crime and punishment as we have in Anglophone Cameroon today owe its origins to a combination of homemade and imposed traditions. The home origins are the anthropogenic contraptions or local elements that were part of grassland and forest regions' native culture which sought to define behaviour modes and guided individual and collective action. The alien origins are British/Nigerian type Laws and ordinances that became part of the colonial and post-colonial British Cameroons. All of this area remains an archetype of British colonization where the

[1]Shafer, Boyd C. *Nationalism, Myth and Reality, (*New York: Harcourt, Bruce and World INC, 1955*): 22-3. A* .Ndi in *The Golden Age of British South/West Cameroon*, 2014 revisited, offers a description of the Indirect Rule which describes the British Pretence Best. He submits among other things that the British Policy of Indirect Rule was fraught with contradictions in a broad range of issues but that the British fought hard to elevate this Policy to a level of a Political dogma and grappled among difficulties to cost the people in their colonial territories to worship it as such. Also see the grand orientation of ideas in British Politics developed in details by Michael Stewart, (London: Great Britain, Taylor Carnets, Evans and Co, LTD, 1958): 2-3.

[2]Guy, Martins, (2012) *African Political Thought*, (Palgrave: Macmillan printing press), p.28. Also see similar details anchored by A, R. Radcliffe-Brown (1952), *Structure and Function in Primitive Societies. (New York, Free Press): 15.*

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common Law and its accompanied Court system prevails. These laws have both been informed and/or shaped by some functional realities plus administrative interferences.

From the Stone Age[3] to our present digital epoch, human societies have survived through a joint force of a built/inherited order on both sides of North-South correlation discourse(s), Such orders are always in the realm of constant regulation by a system of established laws and norms. Either observed among the Incas, and Aztecs of ancient America to the Nomadic tribes of North Africa and the Bantu and Semi-Bantu groups of Cameroon, societies established ordinate systems of –defining group identities, consciousness, and administrative tact of establishing authority and control over cooperate and personal goods and –of defining limits both of kingdoms authority or of personalities. To this should be added the methods and manners in which laws were made and maintained along with how defaulters of laws were punished. Since human behaviour depended on a morass of irrationality, laws were arrived at and/or established through a consensual order rooted in an inscribed or ascribed hierarchy. It was within this realm that social and political order was defined and functions for each individual instinctively inaugurated.

The societies that formed this part of Anglophone Cameroon were not different in these arrangements. In substance, the societies within this niche succumbed to a judiciary and punishment system guided by established laws and norms built from inherited traditions plus experiences of cohabitation and survival. There was therefore a notion of justice, which ensured cohesion and understanding between members of each social, economic or political entity herein.[4] Observed from all geographical regions and time scales the judiciary system and existing laws that are used by a majority of states and nations in the world are a product of approximately four legal traditions

**Traditions of the Judiciary (Sources)**

The world is governed through a battery of laws established from a variety of imposed or borrowed traditions and adapted to suit functional realities. A good grasp of how the judiciary and punishment of crimes have fared within our study niche can only be complete upon a comprehension of the legal traditions that have informed the nucleus of the existing judiciary not only in Cameroon but also in Africa and the world at large. A veritable portrait of this is depicted by Katleen Newland[5] who offers an all-time relevant account of the veritable sources of legal traditions that underscore the understanding of almost all laws and judiciary systems in the world. Aside from the African codes of conduct and judiciary which we have attempted to treat in a lone comprehensive transcript, she maintains unequivocally that:

Four legal traditions are the sources of the Laws on which most Men and Women live today. Three of them have ancient origins: English Common Law, Roman Law, and Islamic or Sharia Law. A fourth set of legal codes is less easily defined than others because of their relatively recent origins if found in communist countries.[6]

She goes further to ascertain the place of African judiciary which holds true to our traditional polities by offering further that:

To these four categories a supplement should be added to take account of Customary Laws- the intricate set of Rules and regulations often unwritten that elevates traditional human societies above the Hobbesian state of nature. Customary Laws are as varied as human societies. They mix freely with the more widespread [readily available] legal tradition producing a spectrum of national and regional variations[7].

[3]The Stone Age is a compendious period stretching across three broad time span. The earliest period of the Stone Age was known as the Paleolithic and this was marked by the attempts undertaken by man to master himself and his environments. At best, he survived with the basic rudimentary elements and tried to adapt to his pristine environment. Historians do disagree on a number of things patterning to time chronology but concord on the fact that this period represented the take off point of all forms of human adaptation to his environment. It possible that since society and forms of habitations were still remotely coiled, the judicial institutions oxalate with the changing temperaments and punishment came with this mentality.

[4]MichaelT. Aletum and Fisy, C, F. (1989) Socio-Political Integration and the Nso Institutions, (Yaounde, Cameroon, SOPECAM): 22-23.

[5] Newland Kathleen (1979), *The sisterhood of Man, The Impact of Changing Women's Roles on Social and Economic Life around the World* (Houston, Norton Company limited): 11.

[7] Ibid.

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This electrifies the doubts that have obfuscated the African judiciary by a wide range of Eurocentric scholarship pushing into the hind of subalterns in any worthy human practice prior to alien penetration either in the guise of Religion or imperialism. Such contention provides the muse to understand beyond a doubt that African traditional societies/communities established their code of conduct whose logic of understanding and application appealed more to African religion or worldview. The four other traditions that formed the basis of the Laws and ordinances of those European powers that became colonial agents, agencies, and policies were indeed from multi-faceted backgrounds. The body politics of the judiciary that formed the nucleus of former British Cameroons, especially those of the Southern part that was governed through the Eastern part of Nigeria had their judiciary which constantly shifted to meet up with new exigencies. The shifts in paradigm were therefore a practice that affected each society at every level not only alien cultures and traditions as often claimed.[8]

African traditional societies that were later adulterated by Christianity and colonialism of German, British, Portuguese, Spain, Belgium, and French abstractions in no specific order had a judiciary and punishment system of their own. Order in this kind of society entailed a broad range of issues with the substance being an unmistakable reverence for the good. With this as a moral premium, Laws to avert wrongdoing were not recorded in any texts but were gazetted and stored in the collective memories. This memory was built into the daily chores of each society and was released at each time of need.[9]

**The Pristine Judiciary and Punishment Tenets of the Study Locale**

The traditional communities that formed the present North and South West Regions aggregately referred to as Anglophone Cameroon owe their origins and cultural orientation to a mosaic of dimensional coordinates and functional realities all profoundly akin to a historical and geo-strategic dispensation. The ancient origins of the Laws that governed here have been discussed yonder. The polities herein are/were in various forms and sizes. The policies can be broadly classified into two broad groups notably the Centralized and the decentralized polities. The centralized entities are those communities or societies where power circulated within a recognized family lineage around an accepted monarchical authority called a fon/chief, Ardo, or any other variant nomenclatures that fall within these ranges. By and large these centralized entities roughly correspond to the western Grasasfield known in the present administrative hierarchy and nomenclature as the North West Region. Visible ethnic niches within this centralized sphere with strong institutions are the Nsaw, Kom, Balis, Bafut, Ngemba, and Aghems, of the Chamba and Tikar descent.[10] Here, the judiciary and enforcement of law turned around law enforcement agents that formed part of the palace paraphernalia. With the idea of royalty and paramountcy rooted in the infallibility of the Fon, the judicial hierarchy rested within the ranks of regulatory societies known differently as Kwifuyn, wife, Ngumba, and others. Prior to the penetration of alien cultures and its imposition of a judiciary likened to the Christiando-European philosophy each of these societies functioned according to a traditional judiciary order where Laws were made through mutual consent.[11]

In the forest regions, that is among the Balundos, Sawa, Bakweris, Bakossi,ijagam, Bayangs, Balungs and the Efigs to name but just a select few, power tenure and its distribution resided among nobles being family heads and distinguished personalities. In this setting, laws that governed the people were arrived at during and through a process of consensus in formal assemblies. With such transparency and broad-based reflection of the laws to ensure their wider applicability, there was an almost total submission by the local folks to the established judiciary system given that the class and group hegemony became functionally non-existent. By way of common sense, the chief became the supreme embodiment of the Law and was by this sacrament

[8] Until the 1960s when African history became decolonized, there was often this wrong submission gaining space in scholarship that change was in all its form alien to African practices and that anything in the direction of change was engineered by exogenous forces.

[9] Michael Aletum Tabuwe, (2008) *Introduction to general Sociology* 1st edition (Graphical, Yaounde Printing Press): 148.

[10] ibid.

[11] For a more generalised picture of the forging discussion and streams of analysis see John, S, Mbiti(1969), *African Religions and Philosophies* (London: Heinemann Books), 13 and Thomas, Sowell(1983), *The Economics and Politics of Race*(New York: Maroow printing press and Publishing): 44.

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expected to stand beyond the realm of partiality. This notwithstanding there was a very special manner of getting judges and determining crimes.

There were, however, control mechanisms held by the council of elders that went by different names amongst these local folk whose main function was to maintain decency within the judiciary framework. Qualification for the office of a judge at the level of the community or central government or within the family level for larger societies had different categorisation and a key component of this was an avowed moral probity. Akin to the modern system of the induction or swearing in of judges was the initiation rituals among the Bayangs where people took the oath of allegiance to the laws as established by ancestral wisdom. The responsibility of keeping the law and ensuring transparency was a sacrosanct responsibility that went beyond filial apprehensions. Among the Centralized communities of the western Grassfields like the Koms, Nso, Bafut, Bums, and other tikar polities what came to be accepted as laws with the certified duty of guiding the conduct of royalty, traditional bureaucrats and commoners were gazetted into the traditional functions by an array of rituals and induction. Apart from the Secret and Sacred societies whose firmament of dispensing social and administrative justice was shrouded in the mythology of African traditional religion, the fear of the ancestor and the thought that the ancestors held the ultimate punishment for any law offender remained paramount. This inherent fear of the opinion or humour of the ancestors among the native folk, therefore, invited people to evade criminal or deviant behaviour.

The firm reverence accorded to the whip of the ancestors became all the more paramount because it was generally held that ancestral punishment and blessings were by far always greater than that of the living and so folks in their number were not prepared to face the wrath of the ancestors. Fear or respect for the ancestral beings was, therefore, both a corrective and coercive immaterial judiciary aspect of Anglophone traditional polities prior to the percolation of foreign concepts. There was at every level of the African traditional niche a constant interplay of religious and physical figments that sought to dissuade local chieftains from engaging in crimes let alone the punishment that came with it.

In a social system where they are abundant consciousness of class and gender roles, rights, and responsibilities, the tendency of the law to be respected to the brim was high. This does not however suggest that Anglophone pristine societies were crime free. Crimes mostly existed within the social and economic realms, especially in areas where the laws of the land appeared either mute or, expected to be handled within the wisdom of good judgment by immediate judicially perceptive people. In any case, people did freely resort to crime or any acts that contravened social cohesion. The spirit with which the judicial system operated permitted a free and fair system of dispensing justice and as such, the law enforcement agencies and agents interpreted and performed the law in the name of the people and with an overwhelming goal of pleasing the ancestors and the gods. The fear of the unknown most probably the wrath of the gods and ancestors made obedience to the Law firmly automatic as indicated above.

There was an upheld and worshiped mythic belief that this wrath of the ancestor could extend its curses right into the culprits/criminal second generation. Such conceptions of both crimes and judgment guaranteed a kind of adoration for the judicial system and the likelihood of willingly resorting to criminal behaviour was reduced to the barest minimum. This apprehension acted like a doubled-pronged deterrence in that (a), it frightened the local folks away from contravening the Laws as well (b) those who were in charge of dispensing justice to remain neutral. The attachment given to the native laws had its roots very deep in mythology and this helped to sustain all sorts of traditional institutions thereby, permitting royalty to flower and blossom in the private and public space as circumstances found most suited.

Unlike the modern system of government where Laws were enacted into some form of reachable documents and enforced by agents like the Police, gendarmes, or any other agents, the interpretation of the Law and the whole arsenal of the judiciary within the traditional setting was a duty of all, especially by those men and women held by their kindred to be lavishly endowed with exceeding wisdom. In the logic and essence of African traditional religion and worldview, masquerades of royal and common status helped in their respective spheres of competencies to ensure compliance with the Law or to deal with defaulters.[12]

[12] A near graphic description of how such mask built and sustain fear among local folks especially in the Oku

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Judgment was passed by each individual in the name of the community and for the benefit of that individual and not those linked to him by blood or function. Laws were made more as traditional norms and therefore the person who disallowed the traditional elegance of norms constituted a law defaulter and could be judged and sentenced in a formal session or simply fined or corrected by those who were traditionally endowed with the affidavit to do so. During any judicature, the culprit's intention as well the accompanying circumstances were very determining both in the process and outcome. Unlike the European imposed judiciary where the ignorance of the Law never became an excuse even to stark illiterates and traditionally minded goons who mastered little in the European structure of norms, the logic and wisdom of traditional judiciary within this niche dedicated a reasonable allowance not to punish those who disobeyed the Law on account of ignorance or some form of default.

**Indigenous Conceptions of Crime and Punishment**

The understanding of the judiciary structure, hierarchy, operation, and enforcement within our study locale in its pristine or slightly diluted form cannot be wholly established without a thorough comprehension of the indigenous grasp of crime and punishment here. As pointed out earlier, any individual or collective act or behaviour that ran counter to the established way of doing things constituted criminal behaviour warranting some form of punishment or prompt correction. Such acts of deviancy once noticed were immediately reported to those who mattered in the traditional hierarchy and steps were taken to correct and immediately repair such acts or behaviour. Punishment in the African colonial, societies in some respects associated the ideas of the classical school of criminology developed earlier by Beccaria. Its phases were completed by the positive utilitarianism and the hedonistic schools.[13]

In sum, the traditional sense of justice and the application of ignorance of the Law especially on matters that required complex thinking was an excuse to many traditionally-minded folks. With this, judgment aggregately took into consideration the defenders, -disposition/qualification to master the law the concerned was perceived to have trampled upon the defender's closeness to the facts enabling him/her to master the Law as well as the soundness of the Law to the defender. Though crimes were categorized into decrees ranging from common crimes to treason and felony that warranted summary execution, much was done in the whole traditional judiciary structure to ensure transparency and fairness in dispensing justice. Any contravention of the Law constituted a crime but not every defaulter of the Law was held as a criminal especially as a number of fines were usually available to dissuade people from disrespecting the Law. There was in all a special manner of considering and categorizing criminal behaviour which agreed more with native tradition and the entire philosophy of traditional justice. Punishment in all its forms was never designed to hurt but rather to teach or reform the criminal.[14] This manner of ascertaining and effecting punishment was quite humane except in cases where the criminal was found beyond doubt to have been engaged in ruining the welfare of all or part of the community involved.

Akin to the modern/European conception of the courts, the different policies of the Grassfields and forest zones had a number of courts. The membership of the court system and their scope of competence were very elastic and depended on codifications and philosophy squarely located within the ambit of common sense and African mythology. The courts were classified into the First, Second and third, and even Fourth categories with usually the Palace Court serving both as the court of appeal and Supreme Court. The jurisdiction of the traditional court was defined not only by its location but rather by the nature of the crimes or disputes it was authorized to handle. In the traditional hierarchies of Nso, Kom, Bum, Bafut, Bali, Mankon, and Babanki where paroutmouncy was in full glory, the Fons accumulated powers whose functional equivalences could only be traced back to the volume of power and authorities that were held by 18th and 19th-century monarchs of European

land of the Western grasslands in pieced together by Nicolas, Argenti (2007), *The Intestine of the State: Youth Violence and Belated Histories of the Cameroon Grassfield*s, (Chicago and London: the University of Chicago Press): 57.

[13] See the full operation of the legal aspects of criminal justice and criminology in Anderson, David C. Crimes *of Justice.* New York: Random House (1988).

Anderson, Patrice R., & Newman, Donald J. "Introduction to Criminal Justice." *New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc*. (1993).

[14] Ibid.

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History.[15] In other areas of Anglophone Cameroon, the judicial power and processes rested within the realm of a logic defined by family or clan heads that established the norms of judgment and grades or forms of punishment within these niches. Fonship as an institution remained a venerated traditional office and those who happened to be enthroned unto these offices commanded widespread prestige, comfort, and dignity akin to absolute monarchs of the European pre-enlightenment era. Their functions were first and foremost spiritual then administrative and legislative. It was this legislative right that permitted these natural leaders to recognize and graduate courts into reasonable categories as well as to appoint the calibre of people to lord over them.

As seen in the analysis below, the categorization of courts did not end only at the level of the village but extended far as having the appeal, first Instance, and supreme courts. The traditional Supreme Court had its seat in the Palace and the Fon was the supreme judge of the Land. This court handled capital crimes and other sorts that were found to be capable of threatening the peace of the communities or societies. It also handled cases dealing with royal dignitaries. Owing to the high profile extant of the Supreme Court deliberation, judgments pronounced at this level went beyond any sort of appeal except otherwise decided by the Fons. Crimes constituted intentional social, economic, or political malevolence, and care was taken that each crime was punished with the appropriate punishment because there was in all an engaging sense of equity and a need to reform.

Within the centralized entities with large population sizes, there were a quarter, village, regional, and palace courts. The quarter courts handled cases of minor acrimonies like family and boundary issues and the quarter heads that were usually the oldest morally profiled persons presided over court sessions. The seat of such courts, which were all known as quarter councils was usually the compounds of the quarter head.[16] There was an established order and trusted individuals to whom members of the quarters reported their cases. Such trusted individuals were given the right to submit the cases as proxies or guide the presentations of such cases during Court sessions. As president of such courts, quarter heads always appointed individuals after morality and volume of wisdom check to collect summons from the plaintiffs and deliver them to the council following an established procedure. Before each courts sessions care was taken to ensure the regularity and equity of the summons. Unlike the modern system of our judiciary system where lawyers were hired to help, the plaintiffs and the defendants barely defended themselves and occasionally brought witnesses where additional evidence was required.[17] By so doing the likelihood of monetizing the judicial process with the resultant effect of altering the outcome was technically removed from the realms of possibilities.

**Criminality and Punishment in the Traditional Mind-Set**

The question of whether there was any form of criminality in the pristine polities of our study area has already been answered with outstanding evidence or justification. The preoccupying issue of interest now is the kinds of crimes and punishments that were in play. To have a full grasp of the answer, clarity should be stressed on the fact that each traditional society was extensively endowed with core values that permitted it to hate, love, or reject certain actions and that; these were some of the most important ingredients fertilizing the determination of crime as well as the punishment that came with it. Whether centralized or otherwise, each traditional society of this Cameroon Anglophone territory had a sense of order and prized peace and cohesion from the center to the periphery. The need for this became gravely crucial so much that it became not only necessary but also a sacrosanct duty for each and every individual of society within its social, political, or economic hierarchy to respect and honour humanity in words and deeds.

As indicated earlier, honouring humanity entailed being selfless in protecting the environment- in putting the welfare of a man at the center of all actions and projects. The yearning to have an orderly society pushed the traditional authorities to make it both urgent and indispensable to cultivate the habit or possess the boundless ability, willingness, or desire to treat all human beings with absolute fairness, caring about the

[15] Confidence Chia Ngam. "Kom Leadership in Its Regional Sub Setting Ca 1884-2005: Atudy in Power Diplomacy within a State of the Cameroon Grassfields." *Ph.D Thesis, University of Yaounde* 1 (2013): 74.

[16] Interview with Bobe Emmanuel Chiabi Muchou age 76, Bamenda 2023.

[17] Ibid.

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environment and protecting all public utilities. To this should be added the fact that each person was expected to have the ability and willingness to respect the laws established through traditional consensus and ancestral wisdom. At the top of the hierarchy of norms was a desired respect for the person and things of the traditional authorities. Though the scale of reverence for the traditional authorities depreciated as one moved away from the centralized to decentralized societies, the respect for any one of an institution that formed the nucleus of the people's beliefs remained firmly intact. Criminals were therefore those who violated any of the above-expressed norms and values. There was also a neat categorization of crimes each with its own class of punishment. As indicated earlier, Courts were graduated according to the competencies of the matter to handle. Though the Fon or any other high office of the traditional hierarchy could grant special powers or competencies to some courts to handle cases that could otherwise not fall within their realm, cases of high damage to humanity, harmony, and traditional prestige were purely reserved for palace traditional Council that had such competencies.[18] Some of the crimes with such impact were many but included conspiracy against the throne and open disregard for the traditional hierarchy such as the *Kwifoyn.* It was a tacit display of deviancy in the grassland's traditional polities if an individual was caught or reported to have been destroying or tampering with cooperate or public-owned property which had the propensity of endangering lives or plunging the community into some sort of a mass disaster. In most cases, such crimes merited capital punishment or banishment for a definite or temporal period from society. No matter the size of a traditional society, the wise counsel of the Fon or any central authority was required before final pronouncements on such highly profiled crimes were made. With this thinking, the upheld trust that the King, fon, chief, Ardo, or whatever name and title that tradition ascribed to such an individual gave him/her the affidavit to dispense justice with the wisdom of the gods and the ancestors. It is this very reasoning that made all if not most of the traditional polities consider the palace Court as the supreme judicial house. In making each final judgment the Fon or any equivalence in power went through a kind of needle process of examining the entire judicial process with keen attention to the mitigating circumstances to the crime, the humour of the person to be sentenced, and the overall impact of such a sentence in that particular community. It was the reserve of such acclaimed individuals either to apply the punishment to such highly profiled crimes as obtained from the evidence or moderate the sanctions to an upper or lower scale. In the chiefdoms of Kom, Nso, Bafut, and Bali to name but just a few in the Bamenda grassland of Anglophone Cameroon, sanctions and punishments for crimes of cases of this magnitude were most of the time moderated to lower scales.

It was therefore only in extreme cases that capital punishment for crimes was applied in full. In cases where the court was unable to have enough material evidence to establish the guilt of an accused person, especially on matters dealing with mysticism, witchcraft, and other crimes shrouded in African mythology, justice for such crimes even at the level of the palace supreme court also moved towards that direction. In almost all the kingdoms and chiefdoms of our study niche, there was an overwhelming belief in the efficacy in the identification or rejection of guilt through what was known as the *Saash wood* ordeal.[19]This was a system through. As a result of the difficulty of ascertaining facts through persuasion or conviction in a case brought before the court, the accused person was asked to drink a poisonous[20] concoction prepared for that purpose to prove/his or her no culpability. Surviving after consuming the substances was held in all traditional society as a wholesome indication of no guilt and in such cases, the individuals were usually acquitted.[21]

[18] Ibid.

[19] How this became a norm in the system of traditional justice remain shrouded in some kind of obscurantism but the fact that most precolonial societies of this area looked unto such a practice to deliver them from doubts is no longer in debates. There are testimonies in Kom that a lot or people who could have otherwise been killed for felonies like bedding the fons wife got vindicated through this process of justice.

[20] The awareness of a rich dose of poison in this concoction only came into the know following the Germans decision to take this substance to the laboratories. Records has it that the Germans were really embarrass to learn that some people ever survived after consuming such liquid substances for as per their findings the amount of poison involved in such mixture were deeply huge.

[21] The record of those who ever survived such an obscure system of justice is quite scanty. This kind of establishment of guilt is one of the key items that caused the Germans to cast a beam of doubt bon the native's judicial system.

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Out of this category of crimes and punishments were another series of crimes which after due judicial procedures by most inferior courts got their judgment and the accompanied sanctions. At the village and quarter levels crimes like refusal to participate in Community assignment, non-respect of traditional injunctions, violation of boundary cairns, adultery, theft and other form of nuances that were found through a well constituted judicial order to constitute a breach of norms, values, and chords of cohesion. These crimes were usually punished with sanctions like fines, suspension from participating in all social events and injunctions not visiting or being visited by any member of the society to name but a few. In some extreme cases, criminals were temporally put in exile since the competency to place anyone in final exile or permanent eviction played exclusively with the traditional Supreme Court that also performed the role of the court of appeal. Out of this, cases like truancy and stubbornness were being punished through a form corporal punishment which took various forms. In the Kom and Nso chiefdoms, some agents of coercive enforcement of punishments like the Nikansu, Waimabu, and others were given the mandate to administer corporal punishments for some crimes committed.[22]

**The Traditional Philosophy of Laws and Criminals**

Prior to the intervention of any alien thoughts into the traditional systems of Laws, justice, and crime, the need to reform and give peace a chance was an overriding judicial aim that animated any African judicial process. This most probably explains why the notion of prisons as it is obtained with the present judicial structure was very faintly developed. True enough most palaces had some parts of it reserved as prisons or yards for those found guilty of some criminal behaviour but most of them were very temporal. As the temporal basis of confinement, prisoners were never confined in such hoods for a duration longer than a week. The traditional philosophy of reasoning found it more productive to put their criminals in some form of menial manual assignments than confining them in locations for longer periods. The concept of prison was devolved – in the fact that some criminals were either deprived of full participation in a social gathering or kept in seclusion and proscribed from visiting or receiving visits within a defined period. Being cut off from the yoke of social intercourse by an individual as a form of punishment for a crime was upheld to play much more on the mental and spiritual psyches of the concerned than lucking him up in one confinement where other criminals will form crime intoxication guilds and further ruin them. Though there was usually a defined duration for each condemned person to serve for committing a crime, the actual duration to be spent in such hoods depended more on the moral humour and remorsefulness of the person serving the sentence.

There was likelihood for sentences for criminals to be extended or abridged and all of this laid within the limits of the chief judge and his council of elders. This is therefore submitting that the traditional judiciary provided enough allowance for the exercise of clemency as well the full functioning of rehabilitation and reintegration. Another question that deserves an answer here because of the crucially of the answer in building a portrait of the shifting paradigms of traditional justice and punishment in Anglophone Cameroon is, whether the African traditional judiciary system had a notion of Non-conviction. Conviction and being sentenced to prison in modern-day parlance deprive the culprit of handling worthy official business and transactions where moral probity is a basic requirement. It also deprives the once-convicted person of aspiring to offices that require a deal of morality and balanced judgment. In some aspects, this indicates that most judicial systems do not lay trust in prisons being centers for reformation or correction.

In our traditional polities, this was a lot different. The idea of having been convicted for one crime or the other remained stored in the collective memory and was used as a guard and not as a barrier against the individuals concerned. Prisons in the traditional psyche were more spiritual and sought to instil a sense of remorse than harm. Structures with fortified barriers only came into play with it became reliably clear that the criminal in question constituted a danger both to himself and societal wellbeing. Acquittals for inmates in these kinds of traditionally perceived prisons depended on the nature of the crime and the degree to which the concerned criminals demonstrated feelings of repentance and willingness never to engage in such acts.[23] When once this was observed such individuals were set free and allowed to be reintegrated into the moral hierarchy of the societal

[22] Interview with Professor Paul Nkwi C.a 81, Bamenda 22 February 2022

[23] Ibid.

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fold. Though nothing was documented about the moral profile of each individual within the traditional society, ascension into an office of a high judge or running as a candidate into a respectable position of authority that required extensive trust commanded a thorough collective background check. With these checks, it became practically impossible to have convicted cases running or being appointed into high offices except within a considerable amount of time that individual had demonstrated moral decorum and discipline. There was also some kind of instant punishment like beatings This in every aspect indicates that all African precolonial societies had and practiced an intricate kind of judiciary system with some punishment modus that was both humane and profoundly reasonable.

**The Pristine Court Décor and Judgment Procedure**

The courtroom or yards were most carefully designed to provide space for judges and the judged to freely air out their minds. Court fines and penalties ranged from one crime to the other but were generally designed to provide space for social or psychological reformation of those that defied the established laws and customs. Notorious criminal cases were referred to the village councils or courts that had comparatively larger functions, jurisdictions, and experienced judges. The village council had the jurisdiction to handle minor aggravated cases like theft, witchcraft, destruction or personalization of public property, or any other thing that threatened the villages' wellbeing.

To this must be added the fact that this kind of court was empowered to handle appeal cases from the quarter level either to validate the judgment referred to it by the lower courts or call the case for re-examination in case of legal persistence. The village head was usually the founder of that village and was not necessarily required to be the oldest in that vicinity. Unlike the quarter council where the quarter head presided over most cases, village councils operated within the realm of a different logic where the Council or court Chairman and his team were elected by the quarter heads in organized sessions on terms duly defined. Among the Kom, Nso Bali, Bum, and the Bafut that form a significant part of our study area, qualification for the membership of the village council came and went with probity in character, conduct to which, dignity, honesty, and the ability to do good were paramount. In most cases, village council chairmen were distinguished individuals who did not only exhibit exceptional mastery of traditions and the laws protecting their polities and even beyond but also, refined beings who were extensively endowed with firm minds plus the ability-of rendering impartial decisions.[24] They were lavishly upheld by the indigenous folks to be people of high moral and religious standing and as such very stoic in matters of administration. With such great profiles, these individuals amassed the candour of respect and authority above the ordinary folks and their kind became hard to be located. These judicial officials were the judicial representatives of the fon at the village levels and by default, co-opted members of both the central court of arbitration and appeal at the palace level. Chairing a village council and rightly so, bestowed on such individuals a long chain of rights with the top being the dignified privilege of attending Palace court sessions at their seats where the fon or any other venerated central authority like *Kwifoyn*, *Ngumba,* were resident. [25]

To this privilege should be added the rare but very fulfilling opportunity of village chairpersons being consulted when new laws were about to be enacted or old ones reviewed. In any case, the era under study qualifies aptly to be referred to as the golden age of the of African Judiciary system. Fon Talla of Ndu never minced his words in the glorification of this system when he categorically declared that:

The Traditional Administration was humane. It controlled the crime rate [instinctively] Crimes were stopped before they were committed and disputes were reduced to the minimum. Children knew how they were born; they respected the elders and obeyed the Laws of the land without any threat of imprisonment. This was because traditional administration and traditional law were real, just, and relevant. The role had to be just because if they were not the gods will discipline them. No one could run away from the wrath of the gods who killed the unjust through lightning, mysterious diseases, or punishment of the whole tribe with droughts.[26]

The citation above is a near worship rhetoric of the African traditional system which should be understood with a critical spirit that it is coming from a fon who is not only a custodian of the

[24] Ngam, Kom "leadersahip." p.90.

[25] Paul Nchoji Nkwi, *Traditional Government and Social Change A Study of Political Institutions amongst the Kom of the Cameroon Grassfields*. (Fribourg, 1976): 13.

[26] Interview with Fon Tahla of Ndu. The interpolations in the square brackets are mine.

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African tradition and its various institutions, but a venerated personality who is also suffocating under the yoke of change that alien forces had imposed on him. By any reckoning, such wholesale worship of the traditional systems still harbours some doubts because African traditional systems were not automatically perfect. This system and its judicial paraphernalia still had its own flaws which therefore provides a recipe to doubt this kind of colossal submission that the African traditional judiciary system was blameless, just, and relevant as claimed throughout the length and breadth of its existence. The very fact that each individual was overwhelmed with life threats like thunder and the colossal harm from the gods like droughts during court sessions makes this automatic much-acclaimed obedience to traditional laws nuanced. A combination of factors each with its own strengths and weaknesses worked together to ensure the triumph of the African judicial system as exemplified in the policies identified in the Cameroon grass fields. Fon Talla of Ndu is not alone in the glorification of the African pristine past. Potent Scholarship has continued even right up to our time to shower praises not only to the relevance of the African judiciary but also on its righteousness within the length and breadth of time including our age.

**Alien Traditions and Paradigm Shift of the Judiciary and Punishment**

The 19th century brought on board agents, agencies, and a philosophy that negotiated crucial shifts on what justice and punishment relied on in almost every part of Africa including Anglophone Cameroon. Through exploration, imperialism, and colonization that were pronged by Christianity, and Islamization, African traditions of doing things began and gradually got engaged in a conflagration of pressures borne from veritable forces of change. These pressures were higher in French African territories wherein Frances's obsession with the Policy of assimilation enabled her to see or esteem little relevance in traditional institutions and practices of the African native folks. With little precedence, disruptions of various sorts were mated on traditional ways of dealing with economic, social, and political matters thereby putting the natives' perceptions of crime, punishment, and justice under new processes that required adjustments or reforms. All of these inaugurated conflicts especially in areas where traditional authorities exercised enormous control over their lots or resources. The situation of shifts and disruptions of the African traditional economy was moderate in areas under British control because the Policy of indirect Rule provided allowances for the survival of native practices that ran in consonant with peace, cohesion, and development.[27]

**The Road to the Colonial Paradigm Shifts**

The official colonization of our study area went through stages each of them very important in its contributions both to the judicial historiography and the changes brought to that ecology. With the advent of colonial administration and missionary encounters, the near adoration of the Laws of the land as they were framed and allowed to function in a philosophy that appealed profoundly to native customs and values found themselves gravitating away from central relevance. Although the first forms of alien touch with native customs in our area of interest came through the London Baptist missionary and a foothold of this agency was established in 1858 by Alfred Saker, the first courts were not set up to manage essentially native issues. The courts of Justice and Equity erected by the early missionary and traders happen to have been the first alien systems of the judiciary in our area of study. These courts were rather mainlly assigned with the duty of handling matters between the European settlers within the zone so their judicial process was profoundly estranged.

The absence of a functional court to handle squarely native matters or the non-recognition of those existing traditional ones by the British missionary and the German traders created an allowance that permitted traditional justice to continue to blossom though Christianity had already begun launching a fierce attack on some of the native's righteous thoughts of the judiciary system. The first missionaries and traders apparently had enormous disdain for native customs and the manner of doing things but this could not be fully manifested because all of them needed natives' assistance in several ways for their trading or missionary enterprises to take steam or blossom among local folks. It was therefore the fear of being thrown out early from their basis than love for native traditions that brought the early collaboration of early missionaries and natives on one hand and early traders and natives on the other. This feeling enable most of them to get immersed in the conviction that the indigenous societies they found on the ground had nothing of substance to be used in their missionary enterprise

[27] Michael, Stewart. "The British Approach to Politics." *London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd* (1961): 196.

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along with the native's way of interpreting and punishing criminals. These alien folks wholesomely judged native's practices to be void in almost everything and most especially in the direction of justice that could provide them with the amplitude of settling their conflicts not only peacefully but also orderly. In every aspect, the continuum of traditional justice and its conception, establishment, and treatment both to crimes and punishment found themselves being shifted to the hind as the colonial or alien structures gained spaced on native's soils.[28]

At best the entire system became moderated to suit equivalences far out of the mane of witty traditional norms of things when colonization was formerly made a norm. All of this became possible largely because the British like their predecessors the Germans in most cases of their colonial assignment in Cameroon, Nigeria or Togo land invested little patience to understand native laws within their psychological and anthropological context. In areas where attention was given to natives' plights the Native Court was given some measure of importance but the limitations placed both on the native judicial procedure and judgments arrived at relegated native authority to the yards of minions. It soon appeared sordidly clear to the natives that their Laws and forms of punishment made meaning or were allowed to be applied only as far as the colonizing agents found them reasonable within their(Euro-centrist) alien intricate system of justice. In any case, a veritable understanding of the kind of shifts in punishment and crime witnessed in our study area if we push our focus from the post-colonial through the Germans to the British colonial eras.

**The Germans and British Paradigm shifts**

The colonization of our study area officially began in 1884 with the Germans and continued from 1922 with the British till 1961.[29] The Germans colonial period 1884-1916 was apparently short by time factor but enormous in the orientations it ordered on the lane of change. One of such orderings was its harp on the traditional justice and punishment system. German's system of administration and every under its new administration were buried within the master race. In our area of concern, the German system of administration was further influenced by the contradictions and confusion that were placed on their way by the native traditional way of doing things, especially the rendering of justice.

As colonization and other forms of alien contraptions inched into the polities of the Anglophone traditional communities, there were shifts and turns both in the way crimes were defined and the judiciary structures organized.[30] An interesting development with these changing tides was that in spite of the pressures exerted on these traditional polities notably on the philosophy of justice by the extraneous forces of change, the conviction that justice was required at each stage of society to provide social and political balances never escaped the dispense of justice by each judicial elements in the traditional psyche. There was therefore a form of resilient from the surviving native authorities which began paying off even in the German times (1884-1916) in that, such resilience pushed the colonial atom of German administration to accept that the customary Court or native still appealed and made relevance to the native concept of justice. This realization brought about a spirit of cohabitation between the European-styled judiciary system and that of the African with the former playing the role of moderation and even instructing the latter.

The Wars of German expansion into the Cameroon territory produced hitches between the Germans and the traditional governance but the Germans proved to be still patient to allow some aspects of the tribal or ethnic judiciary to continue their function especially those they found useful or dependable in their task of administering the territory. In the course of sorting the entire paraphernalia of the traditions and practices alive in our area of study, the Germans were overwhelmingly shocked by some moral and religious foundations that justified crimes and punishment among the natives. Some of those odds things were some held beliefs of the establishment of guilt which was very common among grass fields folks generally referred to as the 'sass word ordeal'', and some common accusations of witchcraft practices and obscure ways of determining guilt. For each of these practices, the Germans expected the local chieftains to provide scientific backing to justify the reliability of such practices, and when it became clear that all of them were mere speculative schemes the German governors wasted

[28] To understand the weight of this in the general landscape of change read

[29] Philip Attatach G. & Kelly, Gail P. "Education and Colonialism." *NewYork: Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Longman Inc*, (1977): 78-9.

[30] Ibid. p..83.

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no time in banning them providing strong warnings that everyone who persists in such practices shall be arrested and dealt with squarely. How the Germans expected to understand the philosophy of native's determination of guilt using alien thinking which they referred to as science remains a wonder but records have it that they took the sample of the liquid substance (Sash Wood) to the laboratory in Germany and it was revealed that the amount of poison alive in it was quite outstanding.

The Germans like any other administration in foreign land needed messenger's leads and accomplices as well as those who could both push and enforce their orders in the field. This human resource could only be tapped from among the natives and so there was the need for German administrators to understand the native's way of going about their judiciary or at worst just allowing it to pull on even when they understood little about its entire essence.[31] By 1890 the Germans had come to a tacit realization that no amount of force could push out the firm conviction that the natives had for their judiciary system and that the European angle of justice and its application of justice intrinsically differed from the African traditional communities especially those of the present Anglophone Cameroon regions. This was certainly the basis with which there established two streams of courts in Courts one for the Germans and the other for the indigenes or natives. Though the Germans simplified the essence of these double string judicial structures based on special conviction Africanist scholars push through the debate that it was simply a way creating a class or status consciousness more so because the Germans lavishly used the whip on the natives regardless of class or social status. Out of these two systems of the judiciary whose philosophy of adjudication aligned with the European mantra of judgement, the Germans allowed the natives to continue practicing their native system of courts and punishment system but this time around with moderation by the German administering authorities. The Germans outlawed the native authorities from the right of capital punishment and allowed them with very little authority to engage in the judicial and punishment schemes. In any case the Germans negotiated the first strand of judicial cohabitation in Cameroon notably in the are under study. Christianity, Islam, trade and colonial administration wrestled to uproot the traditional method of the judiciary system but failed. This system was to continue with its attendant modifications as the German colonial administration found its way into the psyches of the traditionally minded folks but the 1914-18 First world War negotiated new colonial entrances and authorship being the British.

**British Colonial Imprint and Paradigm Shifts Negotiated**

Between 1922 and 1961 the British ran the colonial offices and ordered life in their taste in area known today as Anglophone Cameroon under study. Their administration and colonial philosophy shared much in common with the departed Germans and so they had little to do in terms of supplanting the existing structures. The German masters 'race theory did not completely run counter to the British principle of indirect rule in that, both sought to protect indigenous institutions that were not completely irrelevant or repugnant to human standards of dignity and comfort. Indirectly rule was a little more opened and humane to native customs and therefore provided more space than the Germans to the native's laws and customs to prevail. The German had been accompanied by Christianity and other actors of change to eradicate what they judged to be the obscure segments of the traditional judiciary and so the bents to be negotiated by the British in this direction were so few.

The change in colonial authority equally meant a change in the center of authority. During the German Era, the center of judicial action remained the German capital and the Reichstag figured so prominently in any judicial actions that required legislative backing but this could not and was not the case during the British administration. For the sake of administrative convenience which could only be understood in the British geopolitics of the time, the British ruled her part 1/5 of the present-day Cameroon territory as an integral part of Nigeria. For these reasons, legislative developments in this part of the territory ran in harmony with legislative developments in Nigeria. With this, Lagos not even England became the new center that ordered judicial welfare in Cameroon. From 1922 and anytime forward laws

[31] This was a form of copious cooperation or pious pretence which most colonialist adopted in the African soils which at best can be considered as survival tactics. The Moral essence of this kind of practice can form the basis of another study but suffices to note that this yielded positive fruits and created enough time either for these colonial authorities to understand native custom or to groom human resource that could do things as they wished best.

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in British Cameroons were regulated by a number of ordinances signed by Nigeria and the provisions inherent in the succeeding constitutions that defined life in Nigeria and the Cameroons between 1922 to 1961.

British ordinances and laws in Cameroon were relatively humane and progressively accommodative with the native way of life and their judicial system. With this native courts were not just allowed to function but were given the right to fair hearing in front of the British courts. Unlike the German judiciary that reserved an enormous allowance for corporal punishment, the British virtually outlawed such practices that debased the natives including their chiefs to the esteem of children. They developed alternative ways of punishing deviant behaviour and developed a consciousness which ran throughout their entire colonial period that prisons were meant to reform than punish. The British strove and succeeded to erect a judicial system where natives were not only judged with prejudices but also mated the same kind of punishment that were due the British on the same count of crime. These provisions were limited to all matters relating to marriage and the family, land tenure, inheritance and succession to land, and by necessary implication, chieftaincy disputes.[32]The limiting factor, however, was that these laws and customs were to be so applied only if they were neither repugnant to the principles of natural justice, equity, and good conscience, nor inconsistent with any valid local enactment Britain therefore reignited a new flare in the survival of traditional judiciary though it was abundantly clear that the traditionally judiciary had been pressured by the forces and factors of change to abandon its pristine vim.

## CONCLUSION

By 2016 or shortly before that period the Lawyers of the Present Anglophone regions went bold on the street to ask for a total re-enactment of a judicial system that they called Anglo-Saxon True as it is that the judicial system that has operated here since Independence has its roots deep in the British Common Law system, it is somehow naïve to submit that everything that operates in this area is by very means just of the Common Law. It is a judiciary born from a combination of elements and issues some of them stretching as far deep as the colonial period. The Claims and or clamours needed be directed towards the restoration of a unique practice and not entirely an Anglo-Saxon system of justice for what was and is practiced in Anglophone Cameroon even without the attempt of harmonization that caused the agitations was a mixed breed of German, British and native confinements. This paper has indicated that pristine African societies like the one under study maintained a judiciary and punishment culture that appealed to the traditional philosophy and that their notion about crime and treatment of criminals just like that of prisons helped to reform criminals and to curb criminality. The advent of colonization notably; The Germans and British were reinforced by Christianity and other elements of change to engineer a series of paradigmatic changes. The submissions here are both revisionist about crime, punishment, and the entire judicial system and constructive with regard to understanding rising criminality within the Anglophone Cameroon geographical niche or ecology.

[32] Peter O, Nwakwo. "Criminal Justice in the Pre-colonial, Colonial, and Postcolonial Eras: An Application of the Colonial Model to Changes in the Severity of Punishment in Nigerian Law.*" Toronto:, University Press of America INC.Lanham • Boulder • New York • Toronto • Plymouth, NewYork* (2010): 34.

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