



2011

Three Instances of Western Colonial Governments and Christian Missions in Cameroon Education: 1884-1961

Asenju Callistus Tamanji
Loyola University Chicago

Recommended Citation

Tamanji, Asenju Callistus, "Three Instances of Western Colonial Governments and Christian Missions in Cameroon Education: 1884-1961" (2011). *Dissertations*. Paper 106.
http://ecommons.luc.edu/luc_diss/106

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses and Dissertations at Loyola eCommons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Loyola eCommons. For more information, please contact ecommons@luc.edu.



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-No Derivative Works 3.0 License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/).
Copyright © 2011 Asenju Callistus Tamanji

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

THREE INSTANCES OF WESTERN COLONIAL GOVERNMENTS AND
CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN CAMEROON EDUCATION: 1884-1961

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PROGRAM IN CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY STUDIES

BY

ASENJU CALLISTUS TAMANJI

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

AUGUST 2011

Copyright by Asenju Callistus Tamanji, 2011
All rights reserved.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This has been a very challenging, difficult, and long journey. I am very thankful to God for His blessings. I am grateful to all my former professors, mentors, colleagues and friends, whose encouragement and support helped me to complete this work. However, the following deserve special recognition. I am thankful to my committee members Dr. Noah W. Sobe, Associate Director of my program and chair of my dissertation committee, for his relentless guidance, patience, and understanding; Dr. Ann-Marie Ryan, whose expertise in documentary research methods has been very valuable; and Dr. Patrick Boyle for his valuable and insightful contributions. I also recognize Dr. Erwin H. Epstein, Director of my program, who particularly challenged me to do the commute between Wisconsin and Illinois in order that I would someday become a comparativist.

I am also grateful to my family relatives, especially my only and elder brother, Mr. Azuni Leonard Tamanji, and his family, who has relentlessly and multidimensionally supported me, his only sibling and junior orphan brother, given the fact that our parents both passed away when we were teenagers; and Mr. Bijengsi Jerome Biche, and his family, for his prayers and encouragement. Finally, I am grateful to my family: my wife, Mrs. Marie Muluemebet Tamanji, for her concern and support, and my children, Abel Abongnwi Tamanji, Amos Alahnwi Tamanji, and my twins, Aden Ngwenwi Tamanji and

Aaron Akahnwi Tamanji, who have occasionally missed that fatherly support when I had to research and write.

To the creator of Africa, the ancestors and descendants of the Asenju lineage, and my late parents, Ba'ah Tamanji Joseph Asenju III and Moyi Ngwenwi Veronica Tamanji and all their grandchildren, in particular Abel Abongnwi Tamanji, Amos Alahnwi Tamanji, and the twins, Aden Ngwenwi Tamanji and Aaron Akahnwi Tamanji, that they may continue to pass on that legacy of crusading for humanity to their children and grandchildren as well.

May the people of God be blessed for crusading for humanity.
—Nwi-forh Ngwe Ndier Tamanji Joseph Asenju III buh Tamanji Veronica Ngwenwi

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xii
ABSTRACT	xiii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
Statement of the Problem	1
Significance of the Study	1
Scope of the Study	3
Research Questions	3
Theoretical, Conceptual, and Contextual Framework	4
Researcher's Themes on Governments and Missionary Relations	13
(1) The power of agenda setting and initiating colonial formal schools.	13
(2) Colonial conflicts in the center (or metropole) versus outcomes in the peripheries (colonies).	14
(3) Gender-related issues.	14
(4) Mission successes at the local level of colonial societies.	15
(5) Agreements and disagreements between colonial governments and missions.	15
(6) Conversion of colonial subjects to Western ideals.	15
(7) The missions' need for state power.	16
Nature of Government and Missionary Relations in Cameroon	16
Purpose of and Necessity for this Research	18
Literature Review of the History of Education in Cameroon from 1884-1961	19
Methodology and Sources	24
CHAPTER TWO: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND BEFORE EUROPEAN ARRIVAL, ANNEXATION, AND COLONIZATIONS	26
Introduction	26
Location of Cameroon	27
Pre-colonial Contacts of Africans and Europeans in the Region	27
Pre-colonial Western Mission Formal Schools from 1844 to 1884	30
The Establishment of Early Mission Formal Schools	32
Jamaican Baptist Mission Formal Schools	33
British Baptist Mission Formal Schools	34
American Presbyterian Mission Formal Schools	36
The Nonexistence of Catholic Missionary Education	40
CHAPTER THREE: THE GERMAN COLONIAL EDUCATION ERA, 1884-1914	43
Events and Long-Term Reasons for the German Colonization of Africa	44
Strategies and Immediate Reasons for the Annexation of Cameroon	45
Use of Military Power in the Coastal Regions	46
Use of Military Power in the Grassland Regions	47

Resistance to the German Occupation	50
The German Scramble for and Partition of Africa	52
Government and Missionary Policy Differences in the German Metropole/Center	52
Government and Missionary Relations in Cameroon (Colony/Periphery)	53
German Colonial Administrative Hierarchy in Cameroon	54
German Colonial Education and Language Policy Developments	54
Government and Missionary Alliances to Establish Colonial Formal Schools	56
Government and Missionary Education Initiatives in Cameroon, 1844-1907	59
Government/Mission Relations during the Julius von Soden Era	60
Government/Mission Relations during the Eugene von Zimmerer Era	68
Government Relations during the Jesko von Puttkamer Era	71
Educational Developments from 1884 to 1907	78
The Education Conference of 1907	80
Government and Missionary Relations during the Theodor Seitz Era	81
The Education Decree of 1910 and Its Implementation	87
Government Relations during the Otto Gleim Era	88
Government and Missionary Relations during the Karl Ebermaier Era	92
The Education Decree of 1913 and Its Implementation	93
Expansion of the German Colonial Educational System up until World War I	98
Cameroon Pioneer Students in German Universities	100
End of German Colonial Rule and Education System	101
Conclusion	103
CHAPTER FOUR: THE BRITISH COLONIAL EDUCATION ERA, 1914-1945	109
Introduction	109
Military Force, Resistance, and Occupation	110
British Colonial Administrative Hierarchy in Cameroon	112
British Colonial Education Policy Developments in Cameroon	113
Colonial Educational Policy Initiatives by British Colonial Authorities	115
Education Policy Reports from 1919 to 1922	119
Educational Policy Developments in 1925	121
Implementation of Colonial Education Policy Objectives	125
The Categorization of Schools	129
Vernacular Formal Schools	130
School Curriculum and Teacher Qualifications	131
Government and Missionary Conflicts and Resolutions in the Region	134
Government and Missionary Collaboration and Expansion of Schools	136
Alliances with Western Christian Missionaries and Missionary Formal Schools	136
Government Administration Formal Schools	139
Native Administration Formal Schools	142
School Administrative Challenges and Solutions	148
Teacher Shortage and the Establishment of Teacher Training Centers	148
Teacher Training Curricula and Instruction	152
School Staffing, Supplies, and School Inspections and Supervision	155
The Grants-in-Aid Program to Mission Schools	157

School Fees Policy, Primary Education Programs, Promotion Examination Board	159
Conclusion	160
CHAPTER FIVE: THE BRITISH COLONIAL EDUCATION ERA, 1946-1961	164
Introduction	164
Colonial Educational Policies after World War II	165
Colonial Education Policy Initiatives by British Authorities	169
The Use of Vernacular Languages in Primary Schools	170
The Educational Memorandum of 1947	171
Southern Cameroon's Department of Education and Administrative Hierarchy	175
The Central Board of Education	176
The Provision of Grants-in-Aid	179
School Fees and Education Rates	181
Needed Expansion of Teacher Training Centers	186
Christian Missionary Higher Education Contributions	186
Government Higher Education Contributions	189
Secondary Education by Christian Missionaries	191
Vocational and Technical Education	196
Cameroon Pioneer Students in British Universities	197
Conclusion	200
CHAPTER SIX: THE FRENCH COLONIAL EDUCATION ERA, 1914-1945	202
Introduction	202
Government and Missionary Policy Differences in the French Metropole	203
World War I and French Colonial Interests for Cameroon	206
Military Force, Resistance, Occupation, and Administrative Hierarchy	207
Government and Missionary Policy Differences in Cameroon (Colony/Periphery)	208
French Colonial Education and Language Policy Initiatives for Cameroon	209
French Government and Missionary Education Initiatives in Cameroon, 1914-1939	211
Government and Missionary Relations during the Joseph Ayermich Era	212
Government and Missionary Relations during the Lucien Fourné Era	214
Government and Missionary Relations during the Jules Carde Era	218
Government and Missionary Relations during the Théodore Paul Marchand Era	223
Government and Missionary Relations during the Paul Bonnecarrère Era	230
Government and Missionary Relations during the Pierre François Boisson Era	232
The Establishment of Missionary Formal Schools	233
Alliances with Western Missionaries for Educational Development	233
Private School Policies of 1920	235
Private School Policies of 1930	237
Policies to Address the Shortage of Teachers	240
Grants-in-Aid Awards Policy and Implementation	241
The Establishment of Government Colonial Formal Schools	244
Colonial Educational Administrative Hierarchy	246
The Establishment of Village Primary Schools	250

The Village School Program and Solution to the Shortage of Teachers	253
The Establishment of Urban Schools and Programs	254
The Establishment of Regional Schools and Programs	255
The Establishment of Schools for Sons of Chiefs and Notables	259
The Establishment of Advanced Primary Schools and Programs	261
The Establishment of Technical and Vocational Schools and Programs	266
Conclusion	270
CHAPTER SEVEN: THE FRENCH COLONIAL EDUCATION ERA, 1946-1960	273
Introduction	273
French Colonial Education Policy in Africa after World War II	274
Expansion of Primary Schools and Programs	277
Reorganization of the Primary Education Department	280
French Cameroon Statehood Educational Policies	282
Government and Missionary Secondary Schools and Technical/Vocational Schools	284
Secondary Schools	284
Government and Missionary Technical and Vocational Schools	287
Educational Expansion by Private, Nonprofit Agencies	288
Government and Missionary Teacher Training Centers	290
Cameroon Pioneer Students in French Universities	292
Conclusion	295
CHAPTER EIGHT: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE GERMAN, BRITISH, AND FRENCH COLONIAL FORMAL SCHOOLS	297
Introduction	297
Comparison of the Three Types of Western Colonial Formal Schools	298
Similarities among the Western Colonial Formal Schools	298
Differences among the Western Colonial Formal Schools	301
Similarities in the Alliances with Western Christian Missions	302
Differences in the Alliances with Western Christian Missions	303
Researcher's Counter to Bassey's Arguments	305
Research Findings and Analysis	307
Personal Reasons for Conducting this Research	313
Conclusion	320
Limitations of the Study	321
Recommendations for Future Research	321
APPENDIX A: LIST OF GERMAN KAMERUN ADMINISTRATORS 1884-1914	323
APPENDIX B: MAP OF GERMAN WEST AFRICA 1890	326
APPENDIX C: MAP OF GERMAN KAMERUN 1901-1907	328
APPENDIX D: MAP OF GERMAN KAMERUN 1911-1913	330

APPENDIX E: MAP OF GERMAN KAMERUN 1914	332
APPENDIX F: MAP OF BRITISH SOUTHERN CAMEROON 1915	334
APPENDIX G: MAP OF BRITISH AND FRENCH CAMEROON 1919-1960	336
APPENDIX H: MAP OF INDEPENDENT CAMEROON 1961	338
REFERENCE LIST	340
VITA	364

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

B.E.I.	Brevet d'Enseignement Industriel. Industrial Education Certificate.
B.M.S.	Baptist Missionary Society
C.D.C.	Cameroon Development Corporation
C.F.A.	Communauté Financier Africaine
E.T.C.	Elementary Training Center
G.T.T.C.	Government Teacher Training Center
H.E.T.C.	Higher Elementary Training Center
H.M.S.O.	His/Her Majesty's Stationary Office
M.H.	Missionary Herald
N.A.	Native Authority
P.T.C.	Preliminary Training Center
P.T.	Probationary Teacher
U.N.E.S.C.O.	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
U.N.	United Nations
U.N.O.	United Nations Organization

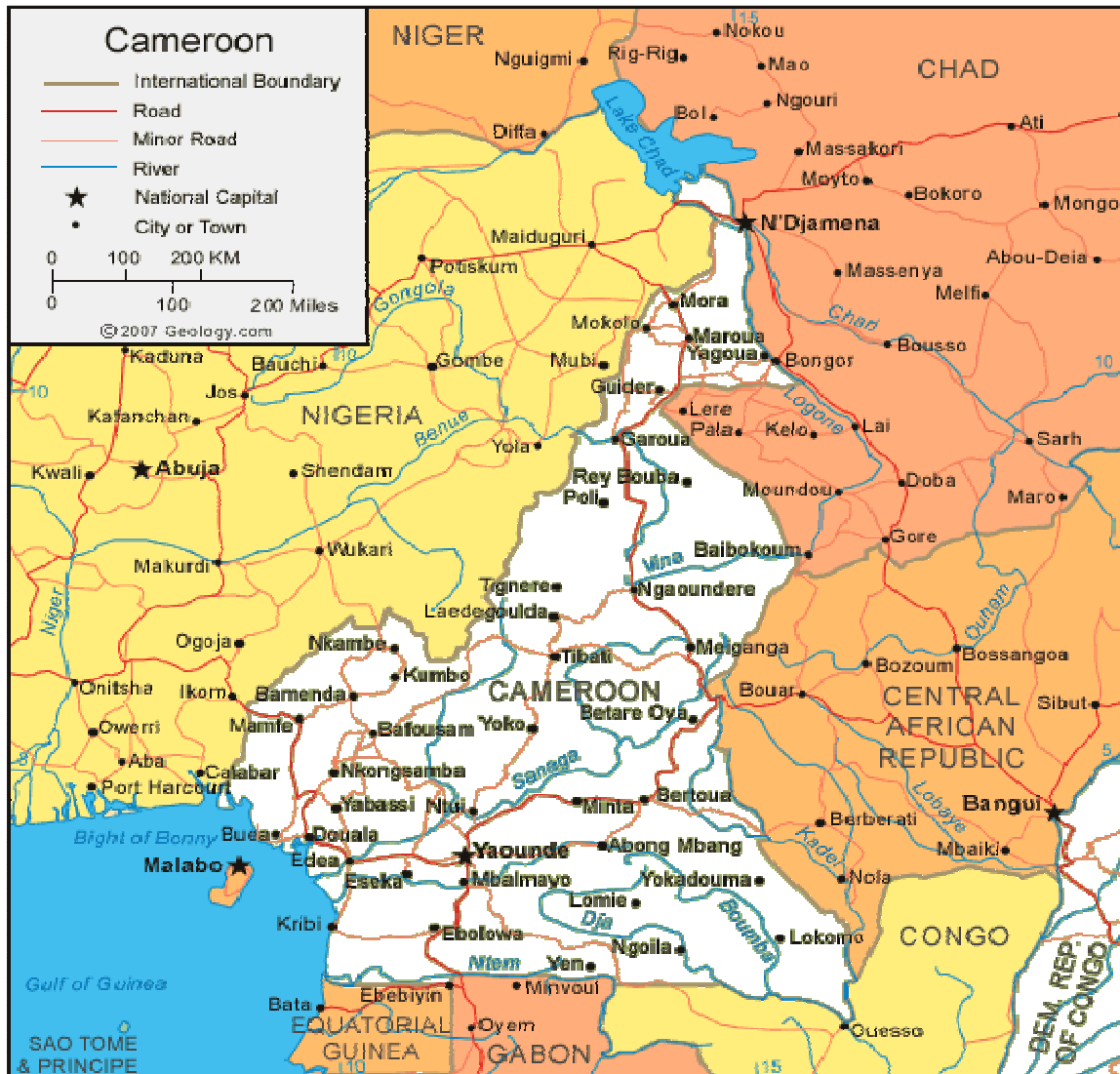
ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a historical comparative education study that revisits colonial education in Cameroon. The purpose of the study is to undertake a broad, documentary, synthetic analysis of the colonial policies of the three formidable Western powers that colonized the country: the Germans (1884-1914), the British (1914-19621), and the French (1914-1960). This study focuses on the interactions that these Western colonial governments had with various Western Christian missionary organizations; these interactions and collaborations led to the establishment of the German, British, and French colonial formal schools in Cameroon up until Independence from colonial rule in 1960 and 1961. The official languages of the country have been German and, currently, English and French. This is an indication that Cameroon has been the most Western-colonized country on the African continent, the one that has had the greatest number of foreign powers exerting colonial rule over it. Colonial government documents and documents from the League of Nations and the United Nations have been for the most part the central sources that this study is based upon.

The conceptual framework of the study is the center/periphery dynamic that is used in colonial and comparative education. This concept is used to analyze the colonial policies and practices that the Western European powers (center), as colonizers, and Christian missions used in formulating and implementing colonial education schemes based on the colonial education and language policies in their colonies (peripheries). This

was done to establish colonial formal schools for acculturating the natives in order to achieve the colonial objectives, such as training natives specifically for colonial manpower needs and Christian objectives of evangelism for mission expansion. The study also counters some of the arguments by Bassey (1999), specifically in the case of the Cameroon colonial education experience. The study addresses the advertent or inadvertent exclusion of the Bambui Fondom by Gumne (1987, p. 13) that is and has always been a major Tikar group in the grassland region of Cameroon that hosted early German explorers such as Zintgraff, according to Chilver (1966). The study further explains why certain aspects of British education, such as English, are still popular globally as the official international language of aviation. The study also uncovers my personal academic interest as well as how some of my personal oral ancestral family history is embedded in the history of colonialism and colonial education in Cameroon. Finally, the study also reveals some of the significant aspects of colonial education legacies in Cameroon. Again, as a review of colonial education scholarship, this study will illuminate possibilities for further scholarship in the field of comparative and international education.

Map of The Republic of Cameroon



Source: Adapted from geology.com/world/Cameroon-map.gif

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

The history of colonialism on the African continent shows that for 77 years, from 1884-1961, Cameroon's history was influenced by three formidable Western colonial powers, namely the Germans (1884-1914), the British (1914-1961), and the French (1914-1960). There were also pre-colonial contacts between Europeans and natives in terms of coastal trade and, to some extent, mutual co-existence in the coastal areas. This state of affairs changed when the political future of Cameroon began to be directly shaped by the colonizing powers. A critical element of the colonizing exercise was the establishment of three different types of Western colonial schools. The focus of this research is to explore the interactions between the Western colonial governments and the Western Christian missionaries who, as crucial stakeholders, were instrumental in the establishment of these Western colonial formal schools.

Significance of the Study

This study investigates how three Western colonial powers, in collaboration with Western Christian missionaries, established colonial formal schools in Cameroon that shaped traditional Cameroonian education practices up until Independence in 1960 and 1961. This research will focus on the interactions between colonial administrators and missionary organizations around the issues of (a) who drove the introduction/expansion

of colonial formal schooling in Cameroon, at the various moments of its colonial history, and (b) whether the educational objectives and priorities of the colonial governments and the religious missions were in harmony or at odds, and when at odds, how were these conflicts resolved to maintain mutual cooperation toward achieving the colonial formal schooling objectives—again at the various moments in Cameroon’s colonial history.

The official languages of the country have been German, and currently are English and French, a result of Cameroon’s colonial past and Western legacy. It is an important scholarly project to investigate the acculturation strategies that these three Western colonial powers used to institute their colonial formal schools on Cameroon’s native educational practices and, in the case of the British and French, on the previous German colonial efforts. The extent to which the different phases of colonial education reform took place in reference to one another is another instance where this study makes a contribution to comparative colonial education literature.

Further, this study investigates the policies that the German, British, and French colonial governments used to establish their colonial formal schools. It examines how these colonial powers formed alliances with the Western Christian missionary societies that contributed to the colonial education ventures. This research will highlight my counter to the arguments by Bassey (1999) about who instituted and advanced colonial formal education specifically in Cameroon during colonial rule.

For instance, he argues that “in most parts of Africa, the establishment of schools and, indeed, Western education itself, was virtually a monopoly of the Christian missions during colonial rule.” He further argues that “the colonial governments paid very little attention to formal education in Africa” (p. 27). In this vein, my research will agree or

disagree with portions of his arguments and then indicate areas where, based on my research, he fails to grasp subtleties. I will indicate where I agree with his arguments and counter those with which I disagree. The relationship between the various colonial administrators and the various religious missions will also be investigated in terms of areas of agreement and disagreement, and the manner in which these disagreements were resolved in harmony toward achieving the colonial education objectives in Cameroon during its colonial history.

This study will further examine how these colonial schools were structured similarly and differently under German, British, and French rule. For instance, the study investigates which of the colonial powers officially invited Cameroonians to study in their European homeland, and in fact whether this happened at all.

Scope of the Study

This research for the most part focuses on examining only the three colonial government sources that are germane to the investigation of the three instances of Western colonial governments and Christian missions in Cameroon education from 1884-1961. This research does not examine indigenous Cameroon educational forms or how the colonial educational regimes were resisted and reconfigured. However, the works of Gumme (1987) and Trudell (2004) indicate that the cultural educational practices of the natives are currently alive and well.

Research Questions

This research is guided by the following questions:

(1) With what stated objectives and in what manner did the Western colonial governments and Christian missions establish and expand colonial formal schools in Cameroon during its colonial history?

(2) How were the governmental and missionary objectives in harmony and/or in conflict and, if in conflict, how were these resolved?

Theoretical, Conceptual, and Contextual Framework

It is noteworthy that the foundation of the theory of comparative education came from the pioneering work of Julien (1817) in an early comparison, “Plan and Preliminary Views for work on Comparative Education in 1817.” Julien laid the groundwork in this field by fostering the development of more epistemologies and paradigms in the field. Later on Sadler ([1900] 1979) cautioned scholars against studying contextual issues in comparative education without taking into account the cultural dimensions of the environment.

For instance, the work of Young (1994), *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective*, constitutes an erudite study in which the author compiles and analyzes historical events dating back several centuries from numerous continents; this analysis elucidates the rise of European colonial powers and the impact they had on African colonial states. The work shows how imperialistic, nationalistic, and hegemonic these colonial regimes functioned with missionary collaboration to establish colonial schools.

The work of Osterhammel (2005), *Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*, provides this research with very insightful theoretical perspectives on colonization, colony, and colonialism. The author discusses European colonization experiences as manifested

through expansionism, territorial acquisitions, colonial governance, and the impact on the colonized that later on bred nationalistic operatives advocating for self-governance from the colonizers. The author also discusses six forms of historical colonial expansion, namely: total migration of entire populations and societies, mass individual migration, border colonization, overseas settlement colonization, empire building wars of conquest, and construction of naval networks (pp. 4-10). The author also discusses a typology of recent-century European, United States, and Japanese expansions as exploitation colonies, maritime enclaves, and settlement colonies (p. 11).

The center/periphery dynamic will be used in this study. This concept can be used and has been used by scholars to analyze issues in colonial, comparative, and international education. For instance, in order to capture the imperial dimensions of colonial education practices, one can view Europe as the center, or colonizers, and view Africa as the peripheries, or the colonized. In order to effectively colonize, the center dictates to the periphery because the center has the potential to exercise political, economic, and military leverage over the periphery. In terms of education, the center/colonizer can choose to design, effect, or direct its colonial education practices or aspects that are imposed on the periphery/colony; such impositions on the natives are intended to serve the center's colonial interests.

This research will utilize the center/periphery theoretical framework to uncover specific linkages that address the questions of how governments and missionary organizations coordinated across distance and also “changed” when they were in the peripheries.

The subsequent works cited that follow below illustrate the various dimensions of the usage and application of the center/periphery concept in colonial, comparative, and international education. These cases are embedded with colonial government policy objectives that sometimes were in conflict with those of Western Christian missionaries on the subject of establishing colonial formal schools in the colonies/peripheries. This research will focus on the administrative dimensions and probe into the ways that policies and conflicts, as well as modes of operation, change in different settings.

Another contribution to the literature on comparative education in terms of the center/periphery model as applied to colonialism is the work of McCulloch and Lowe (2003) on space and geography in the history of colonial education is important for this research; these authors demonstrate how the colonial powers (which constitute the center) and their peripheries, or colonies functioned. It should be noted that in some cases where the center/periphery frame of analysis is at play, “tensions” in the center, or metropole(s), play out in the peripheries but not always in exactly the same manner as these tensions were framed in the center, or metropole. For instance, the work of Boyle (1995), “Schools Wars: Church, State, and the Death of the Congo,” is a very informative contribution to this study in that regard. The author discusses the cordial colonial government and missionary relationship that laid the groundwork for the decolonization of the education sector in the Belgian Congo before 1939. The center, Belgium’s actions caused tensions in its periphery, Congo, such that the relationship in the establishment of schools was marred by differences that arose from contending interests, namely the state, church, and, to a lesser extent, the populace, over which kinds of schools were to be instituted in the colony.

By the 1950s, the differences brewed into conflicts and got worse when political events in Belgium resulted in the political appointment of the new Minister of Colonies. By 1954, with Minister August Buisseret in charge of the colonies, the colonial administration “challenged the Roman Catholic pre-dominance in the education sector in 1954”, thereby fracturing the church and state relationship. The educational services of the church were under scrutiny plagued by radical education policies up until the territory’s independence in the 1960s. Boyle’s work is in stark contrast to the other scholars, who have emphasized the colonial cordiality between governments and missions toward achieving mutual objectives of instituting colonial formal schools during the colonial period in Africa.

Interestingly, Bassey (1999) agrees with Boyle (1995) that there were indeed colonial government and missionary conflicts in terms of establishing colonial formal schools in the case of Belgium (center) and Congo (periphery). “The Belgians, like the French, linked educational development to economic growth and, like the British, surrendered educational matters to the missionaries” (p. 35). Hence, Bassey says, the Belgians emphasized primary and vocational education, neglecting postprimary and university education, such that by 1951, even though about 30,000 students were enrolled in schools in the Belgian Congo, none of those students was qualified for university admission.

Another addition to this new wave of historiography that Boyle (1995) has lauded is the work of Orosz, titled *Religious Conflict and the Evolution of Language Policy in German and French Cameroon, 1885-1939* (2008). Orosz’s work compels me to examine the colonial education and language policies of the Germans and the French first

as viable scholarship that demonstrates how tensions in the metropolises, Germany and France, played out differently in the periphery, Cameroon during the institution of colonial education and language policies. Second, based on a preliminary literature review, some of the colonial government and missionary conflicts were about foreign colonial education and language policy advocacy by the colonial authorities versus native rights and vernacular usage, as advocated by the Protestant missions. The author rekindles the importance of language “as the pedigree of nations.” The author argues that this “concept of language as the distinguishing characteristic of nations took on new importance in the late 19th century as Europeans struggled to define themselves and their communities in the face of rising nationalism, social Darwinism, emigration, and increasing international competition in trade and politics.” Thus this author’s work is an asset to this research given the fact that the Germans and the French were two of the three colonial powers and administrators of Cameroon.

Orosz (2008) is emphatic that while the German “Kulturkampf” and the French “Gallicization” campaigns were demonizing Catholics in Germany and France for not enforcing the German and French language and education policies, these scenarios played out differently in Cameroon. In Cameroon, while Catholics tended to promote the German language and education policies in order to repair their relations with the ruling powers, the Protestant missions were encouraging native dialects for evangelization and were, therefore, criticized by local German and French colonial authorities as being disloyal and unpatriotic to the official German and French language and education policies back in the metropolises of Europe.

A typical example of the center/periphery dynamic is the case of Britain as the center and her global colonies—Australia, New Zealand, India, South Africa, West Africa, and the Caribbean Islands (such as Jamaica and Grenada)—as her peripheries. In the case of France as the center, her peripheries included Vietnam, Burundi, Rwanda, Algeria, West Africa, and the islands of Haiti, Martinique, and Guadalupe. In the case of Germany as the center, the peripheries were West Africa (Togo and Kamerun), East Africa (Tanzania), and South West Africa (Namibia).

In the case of Portugal as center, her peripheries included Brazil, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, and the Cape Verde Islands. In the case of Spain as the center, the peripheries included (Equatorial Guinea) West Africa and the Spanish colonies of central South America and the island of Cuba. In the case of Holland as the center, the peripheries included Indonesia and Suriname in South America. In the case of the United States as the center, the periphery was the Philippines, but when it came to Africa, the U.S. carried out colonizing practices in Liberia, West Africa, but never actually colonized the country. Finally, in the case of Belgium as the center, the periphery was the Congo in Central Africa.

Ochs and Phillips (2002), in “Comparative Studies and Cross-National Attraction in Education: A Topology for the Analysis of English Interest in Educational Policy and Provisions in Germany,” address the Educational Act of 1944 in Germany, which called for the establishment of the tripartite system of secondary education within the principle of “Secondary Education for All” in Germany. This is valuable knowledge for this study in terms of the provision of mass public education and universal primary education in the case of Cameroon.

Another important policy that greatly influenced colonial formal schooling was colonial language policy. Colonial language policy refers to how colonialists or occupiers always instituted a language policy that dictated their national language as the superior, dominant, or official language of their occupied territories, colonies, or colonized people. In terms of scholarship that specifically addresses the institutionalization and imposition of language policy, the works of the following authors echo these sentiments.

Harp (1998), in *Learning to be Loyal: Primary Schooling as Nation Building in Alsace and Lorraine, 1850-1940*, describes how, from 1850 to 1940, the French and the Germans took turns occupying Alsace and Lorraine, making certain that they imposed some of their national education aspects in these regions to foster their political and cultural project of producing national identities and national citizens. Part of this exercise was using the process of acculturation to the point where the natives of Alsace and Lorraine had no choice but to accommodate these changes; this was alongside governance that was either French or German. This scholarship is valuable for this study because it contributes to the understanding of the influence of language policy on the types of colonial formal schools that the French and Germans also established in Cameroon.

More examples of colonial language policies and implementation are discussed by White (1996), who points out why both the French and English languages were emphasized throughout French and British Africa. Whitehead (2005) acknowledges that English was the official language of instruction in British Imperial India. Kelly and Kelly (2000) discuss French colonial formal schools in Vietnam and West Africa, where French was established as the official language of instruction. Bray (1992) discusses colonial

formal schools in Macau, Brazil, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, and the Cape Verde Islands, which were colonized by the Portuguese.

Boone and Broenendijk, in their article titled, “The Dutch Calvinist Moral Offensive and the Colonial Training of Sailors and Tradesmen, 1595-1790 (p. 96–114), in Novoa et al. (1995) concur that the Dutch used their colonial formal schools for subjugation purposes to control their colonies/peripheries of Indonesia, South Africa, Suriname, and the Guyanas. Also, Novoa et al. (1995) write about colonial education in the Belgian Congo, while Rodney (1982) discusses the insidious assault of center-dominated education that separated a race of people from each other, such as the cases on the African continent as a whole.

In order to effectively colonize, the center dictated colonial governance to the peripheries, since the center had the potential to exercise political, economic, and military leverage over the peripheries. This explains how and why colonization affected Africa, Latin America, India, Australia, and New Zealand. In fact, in the case of Africa, Freeman-Grenville’s (1976) *Modern Atlas of African History* details the European colonialists who used their military might to penetrate Africa, thereby colonizing them as colonies/peripheries. Freeman-Grenville also details accounts of the Christian missionaries of the 18th century who were responsible for educating and Christianizing in Africa (map p. 55). As stated earlier, the work of Bassey (1999), *Western Education and Political Domination in Africa: A Study in Critical and Dialogical Pedagogy*, also provides important insights about Christian missionary/colonial education in Africa. This scholarship will be countered by my research because even though Bassey’s work centers

on the establishment of colonial education and Western missionary education in Africa, it is plagued by some troubling assumptions.

Other authors are emphatic that the colonial formal schools instituted by the centers in their colonies/peripheries were to ensure success in their colonizing ventures. For instance, Whitehead (2005) investigated this notion by conducting research on Becker (1939), the Honorary Professor of Education in the Hansa University, whose article titled “The Colonial Teaching Policies of the Great Powers” justified Whitehead’s contention that “Becker’s aim was to prepare the way for a German colonial education policy ‘when Germany’s colonies were restored to her’” (p. 568). Furthermore, according to Whitehead (2005), a great deal of Becker’s research on school policies involved a review of England, South Africa, and France. After thoroughly examining the practices of each country, Becker (1939) came to the conclusion that these countries’ school lacked stability and were fallible. Thus, the ideas of Becker (1939) were “put forward for a German colonial education policy that had to be in accord with Nazi ideology on race and blood. This meant that the education of colored peoples must differ fundamentally from the education of white peoples.”

Kelly and Kelly (2000, p. 568) acknowledge that the French colonial formal schools in Vietnam was no better. In fact, the French were “arrogant, racist, and sometimes ruthless” in their educational practices as well as in their politics (p. 1). This scenario was deeply rooted in the fact that the Vietnamese teachers were equally as good as the French, even though the French would have liked to brainwash them to believe otherwise. This brainwashing culture was prevalent throughout Vietnam to the extent that natives rebelled against the French educational authorities. Teachers “held out against the

French colonial authorities for over twenty years, despite the capitulation of the Vietnamese monarchy” (p. 3). Unfortunately, the French were able to subjugate the Vietnamese teachers by taking over the colonial formal schools and staffing them with all French teachers, weeding out the native teachers who the “French believed were inclined to trouble-making.” Thus the imperialistic, racist educational practices formulated by the French pervaded Vietnam (p. 4). All these sources are useful for this study because they enable the researcher to decipher complex colonial formal school issues.

Researcher’s Themes on Governments and Missionary Relations

At this juncture, I will utilize scholarship that is informative and invaluable for this research. This exercise will culminate in the development of seven themes, coupled with my research questions, that will guide this research, namely:

(1) The power of agenda setting and initiating colonial formal schools.

At the helm of all colonizing ventures, there has always been the colonial power (Osterhammel, 2005) that has the power of agenda setting to effectively expand their colonial interests. Such a colonial agenda will include initiatives to establish colonial formal schools that will foster their colonial interests. In this vein, Walther (2001) and Cohen (1993) discuss how, for instance, in southwest Africa from annexation to 1914, the German colonial authorities established white-run superior schools to educate white German children to be prospective leaders who would govern. They also established inferior schools to train native African and colored children that were run by missionaries. The intent was that these children would, in the future, be the underprivileged who would be governed by the privileged white children.

(2) Colonial conflicts in the center (or metropole) versus outcomes in the peripheries (colonies).

Some scholars, such as McCulloch and Lowe (2003), have discussed the center/periphery thesis that has, apparently, so dominated studies of church and government relations in colonial (African) settings. Their notion is that when the center, or metropole, dictated to the colony, or periphery, such dictates were carried out in consideration of the enormous power and influence that the center/metropole could wield over the colony/periphery. However, Boyle (1995) provides an exceptional departure to the intellectual fulcrum that this “strong alliance” thesis, for instance in the case of the Belgian Congo, demonstrates how colonial interests were sometimes in conflict with mission interests such that conflicts in metropolises center/Belgium played out differently in the periphery/colony/Belgian Congo. And while Bassey (1999) agrees with Boyle about the case of the Belgian Congo, as I earlier indicated, Orosz (2008) weighs in on how these scenarios in the metropolises of Germany and France also played out differently in German Kamerun and in French Cameroon, respectively.

(3) Gender-related issues.

In terms of gender-related issues, Johnson (2003) stresses that scholars in colonial studies should examine both colonial governments as well as missionary archival sources during the colonial era in question. This exercise of looking at both sides of the same coin will be helpful in exposing the fundamental questions about how gender, race, and civility issues were addressed in the colonies such as Cameroon.

(4) Mission successes at the local level of colonial societies.

Scholars such as Foreman (1972), Comaroff and Comaroff (1986), and Tse-Hei (2003) echo the notion that missionaries can be very successful at local levels, particularly in rural areas, because they may have more control over the natives than in urban areas. This research will look at differences in influence in rural Cameroon versus urban Cameroon.

(5) Agreements and disagreements between colonial governments and missions.

Some scholars, such as Latourette (1965), have also discussed the theme of agreements and disagreements between colonial governments and missions around issues of ethics, morals, language, and even economic development. These disagreements typically occurred at the expense of native human rights, characterized by the absence of social justice. This research will examine this notion in the case of Cameroon.

(6) Conversion of colonial subjects to Western ideals.

Some scholars, such as Neill (1966) and Gascoigne (2008) argue that in spite of the conflicts and disagreements that existed between governments and missions, the two parties had to recognize that native conversion to Western ideals was a master/meta project of colonial rule for both parties. For example, governments and missions had to work together to establish the needed colonial formal schools. These schools would acculturate the natives for the colonial labor force and also evangelize the natives into Christianity. In that respect, the relationship was symbiotic. I will utilize this perspective in the study of Cameroon.

(7) The missions' need for state power.

The theme that the missions do not always work separately from states or governments is discussed by Stanley (1990), Mackenzie (1993), and Porter (1997). They argue that missionaries sometimes needed to rely on state or government power, with its related resources such as funding, protection, and law and order, to achieve their evangelizing objectives. Again, this study will investigate this theme in the case of Cameroon.

Nature of Government and Missionary Relations in Cameroon

Scholars have addressed and proposed answers to my research questions from a variety of perspectives. Some of these scholars have focused on the fact that the brutal, ruthless, and exploitative objectives of colonial governments were buttressed by colonial formal schools, which were established in collaboration with Western Christian missions. Other scholars argue that government and missionary relations were *not* in harmony, particularly considering their different objectives, namely, colonial economic development for governments and Christian evangelization for missions. Even though the above-mentioned scholars have presented a mixed bag of perspectives, preliminary literature reviews indicate that colonial formal schools were indeed established by colonial governments and missions during the colonial era in Cameroon. My research will not only probe into the nature of the conflicts between governments and missions, but it will examine how these two parties were able to resolve their conflicts and achieve their objectives of establishing colonial formal schools.

In terms of scholarship that deals specifically with the nature of missionary and government relations in Cameroon, in addition to the work of Orosz (2008), discussed

earlier, the works of Weber (2003) and Nemer (1996), below, discuss cordial relationships between governments and missions; their work greatly inspires this study.

The work of Weber (1993), *International Influences and Baptist Missions in West Cameroon: German-American Missionary Endeavor under International Mandate and British Colonialism* is very valuable and informative for this research because the author weighs in on government and missionary relations at this time. The author says that the British colonial authorities realized the significant role of mission schools in their colonies in which government was dependent on missions for educational policies. Thus, mission was important in colonial society. This arrangement resulted in both government and missionaries cooperating for mutual objectives. Furthermore, the colonial government had a “laissez faire” attitude with “congeniality” toward other Europeans and Africans, which greatly facilitated close cooperation between missions and government depending on the “personal camaraderie of the individual missionaries with specific district officers, the residents, or the various education officers” (p. 135).

The work of Nemer (1996), “International Influences and Baptist Mission in West Cameroon: German-American Missionary Endeavor under International Mandate and British Colonialism,” is very important for my research because the authors’ research did not indicate any stereotype of the natives by the Baptist missionary evangelists in Cameroon. The author states that, in fact, the missionaries “sincerely loved the people, respected their culture, and treated them with the utmost respect. They did not try to Westernize their converts. One took their culture so seriously that he eventually did an anthropological thesis on his people and presented it for a degree. These men allowed themselves to be guided by the Cameroonians in many of their decisions” (p. 307).

Purpose of and Necessity for this Research

In accordance with the title of this research, *Three Instances of Western Colonial Governments and Christian Missions in Cameroon Education from 1884-1961*, the main focus of the research is to explore how three different Western colonial governments, in collaboration with Western missionaries, established colonial formal schools in Cameroon.

The first reason for this research is that although much research has been done on colonial education in Cameroon and related topics, no scholarship has ever been conducted on this particular topic. In this vein, this research will capture not only the stated objectives but the manner in which the colonial authorities and Western Christian missions introduced and expanded colonial formal schools in Cameroon during the colonial period. The second reason is that this research should be done as a contribution to comparative and international education that revisits colonial education in Cameroon with a broad synthetic analysis of the various characteristics of the three types of Western colonial formal schools that were instituted on the Cameroon education landscape. The third reason is that this study will counter the arguments of Bassey (1999). My preliminary literature review exercise shows that this author lacks nuance and fails to grasp subtleties in other areas, specifically in the case of Cameroon's history of colonial education.

It is imperative that this research be carried out because it is a needed addition to comparative and international education scholarship, not only on Cameroon but also broadly on the global stage. For instance, even though this research focuses on Cameroon, preliminary literature reviews indicate three types of western colonial formal

schools with three different Western languages of instruction in these colonial formal schools. The significance of this study is that Cameroon is, in fact, unique in Africa because it has had the greatest number of foreign powers exerting colonial rule over it. Other African countries have experienced two colonial influences, one colonial influence, or none, in the case of Ethiopia. In terms of research done on colonial education in Cameroon, the literature review will specifically focus on the 77 years during which Cameroon's native educational landscape was influenced, from 1884-1961, by three formidable Western colonial powers: the Germans (1884-1914), the British (1914-1961), and the French (1914-1960).

Literature Review of the History of Education in Cameroon from 1884-1961

The work of Rudin (1938), *Germans in the Cameroons, 1884-1914*, is a case study in modern imperialism that has been a valuable source of information regarding the German period. Rudin's study is a holistic classical study that practically laid out the nature of German colonial education in Cameroon. However, it falls short of articulating any comparisons in terms of the English and the French types of colonial formal schools.

There is also the work of Miller (1958), a report of a type "C" project that basically details the United Nations actions in advancing education in the mandated territories globally, including Cameroon, from 1945-1958. The author looks at the establishment of mass public education for the most part with the help of Christian missions but does not address events prior to 1945.

In an article by Vernon-Jackson (1963), "A Chronology of the History of Academic Education in Cameroon, 1884-1940" the author does not provide any analysis of the three types of colonial formal schools. However, Vernon-Jackson's (1968) work,

titled “School and School Systems in Cameroon 1884-1961” is more elaborate and details the history of the German, British, and French colonial formal schools. Unfortunately he fails to conduct any comparative analysis of the three types of colonial formal schools as well as the higher education study abroad issues.

The work of Nwana (1966), *The Development of Education in East Cameroon (French) and West Cameroon (British) between 1920 and 1960: A Comparison and Critique*, is a highly descriptive exercise in terms of educational developments in the two mandated territories before independence, but it does not include the contributions of the German colonial formal schools.

There is also the work of Kwast (1971), *The Discipling of West Cameroon: A Study of Baptist Growth*, which addresses only the Baptist Christian missionary educational contributions in English West Cameroon excluding French East Cameroon.

There was also the influence of Christian missionaries who were stakeholders in colonial education ventures in Cameroon. This is evidenced by the doctoral work of Booth (1973). In another publication, Booth (1995) details Christian missionary contributions that were responsible for establishing colonial formal schools, but he does not mention or articulate the center/periphery perspective in relation to colonial formal schools during the German era as well as in both the English and French regions of Cameroon.

The work of Gwei (1975) navigates the introduction of the German, British, and French colonial formal schools without articulating any comparative analysis of the three types of colonial formal schools except for the underlying fact that these schools were colonial. In addition, Gwei echoes the contributions of the various Christian missionaries

that were stakeholders in these colonial education ventures as well but does not analyze the nature of the alliances formed by the colonial government and the various missions.

Derrick's work (1979) from the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London was valuable in describing the French initiatives that allied with the British to eradicate German influence in the important seaport town of Douala and to establish their own influence. However, this study does not undertake any analysis of the German or British colonial formal schooling initiatives.

The work of MacOjong (1980), *The Development of Education in the Anglophone Provinces of Cameroon during British Administration from 1919-1960*, helps clarify the record of British colonial formal schools in the Anglophone part of Cameroon during the time period of my study. However, the work is devoid of any synthetic analysis of the French colonial formal schools and only cursory mentions of the German colonial formal schools.

In this same category of Christian missionary education is the work of Ndi (1983), *Mill Hill Missionaries and the State in Southern Cameroons, 1922-1962*. This work captures the dynamics of government and missionary relations, particularly the Christian Catholic Mill Hill missionaries and the British colonial administration established missionary formal schools in Southern Cameroon at this time. However, this study virtually excludes East Cameroon.

The work of Takougang, *Victoria: A Township under British Administration, 1916-1961* (1985), was also valuable because it set the stage for the institution of British colonial imperialism in the coastal town and seaport of Victoria, named after Queen Victoria. However, the work details British initiatives to undo the German colonial

schools and establish British colonial formal schools, but it does not articulate any comparative analysis of the German and French types of colonial formal schools.

The work of Efeso (1987), *The United Presbyterian Mission Enterprise in Cameroun, 1879-1957*, deals with the Presbyterian Christian Mission educational contributions throughout the country but with cursory interjections of government and missionary conflicts that exclude the Catholic missions. The work of Gumne (1987) *Non-formal Education in the Highlands of Cameroon: Educators' Perceptions and Their Consequences* is useful for my study because the author makes an elaborate case about the continuous use of native non-formal education alongside western formal schooling in Cameroon since colonial times, specifically in the North West Province or the Bamenda Grasslands of Cameroon. However, my literature review uncovered that Gumne (1987) advertently or inadvertently excluded the Bambui fondom in his work (p. 13), which is a major Tikar ethnic group in the Grassland Region as well, according to Chilver (1966). This work is important in addressing traditional, non-formal education, whereas my research addresses colonial formal schooling.

The work of Fanso (1988), *Cameroon History for Secondary Schools and Colleges, Vol. 1, from Prehistoric Times to the Nineteenth Century*, looks at the overall history of Cameroon and is therefore useful in terms of the timeline of key events and dates before and during the colonial history of Cameroon; it does not, however, address any synthetic analysis of the nature of the three types of colonial formal schools.

However, *The Album of the Century of the Catholic Church in Cameroon (1990): 100 Years of Evangelization, 1890-1990* (Catholic Church in Cameroon, 1990), is a useful pictorial documentation of Catholic Christian missionary educational contributions

in Cameroon that excludes contributions from the Protestant missions as well. This research utilizes this Christian missionary contribution as a valuable resource that provides a framework for understanding the overall relations between the colonial powers and the Christian missionaries that resulted in the colonial education developments in Cameroon from 1884 to 1961. However, the work fails to carry out any kind of comparative education analysis of the various education contributions of the various missions that were also actors in the Cameroon education landscape.

Walters (1991), in *Education of the Christian Clergy in the Cameroon Since 1957: Implications for and Problems in Religious Reconstruction and Nation-Building*, captures the various Western Christian missions that came to Cameroon and contributed to the education of the clergy who later, before and after Independence, assisted in nation building. However, Walters' work does not carry out any comparative analysis of the different types of colonial formal schools established by the colonial powers in collaboration with the Western Christian missions.

The work of Trudell (2004), *The Power of the Local: Education Choices and Language Maintenance among the Bafut, Kom, and Nso Communities of Northwest Cameroon*, is useful in my study because it helps explain why informal native educational practices have survived in Cameroon since colonial times, especially in terms of adaptation and cultural accommodation. However, this work lacks the analytical focus of the three types of colonial formal schools that my research addresses.

The work of Fonkeng (2007), *The History of Education in Cameroon, 1844-2004*, covers the German, French, and British colonial schools in Cameroon. Although it is useful for my research, the work fails to carry out any comparative analysis of the three

types of colonial formal schools, nor does he discuss government and missionary conflicts. The work of Delancey (1989), on the other hand, provides a useful overview of the dependency status of Cameroon up until independence in 1960, with a brief summary of missionary contributions to Cameroon's colonial education history. However, that summary excludes any discourse on the subject of government and missionary conflicts during the colonial period of this study.

First, even though all the above scholars have studied the three different colonial education periods, and in certain cases what occurred when one succeeded another, none has undertaken a broad, comparative analysis of the educational characteristics across all three types of colonial formal schools. Second, none of these authors has discussed in detail how the colonial government and missionary objectives were in harmony or in conflict and, if in conflict, how these were resolved. Third, none of these scholars has countered the work of Basse (1999), which, as I mentioned earlier, lacks nuance and fails to grasp subtleties in other areas, specifically in the case of the history of colonial education in Cameroon. Therefore, as an ongoing process in the field of comparative and international education, I consider the existing literature inadequate for addressing colonial formal schooling in Cameroon. In essence, my research will be a viable contribution to the field of comparative and international education in this regard.

Methodology and Sources

The research methodology employed here is a documentary case study of how Cameroon was influenced by the three Western colonial powers. This study investigates the social and cultural circumstances that differentiate the three types of Western Colonial formal schools that were established on the Cameroon landscape. The study also

examines primary and secondary sources in order to ensure the authenticity, reliability, meaning, and theorization of this research material. For instance, the primary sources examined include copies of primary sources from European archives and documents containing educational accounts authored by the three colonial governments involved—the German, the British, and the French—as well as by international world bodies such as the League of Nations and the United Nations from 1884-1961.

The primary sources also include government reports that were in part used to answer the research questions. Copies of the German archival documents that I used were translated for me by German and English translators at the Milwaukee German Institute. I obtained my overall archival leads from the work of Duignan and Gann (1973). These authors not only revealed the location of archival resources on colonialism in Africa from 1870-1960 with a bibliography on sub-Saharan Africa, but they also documented authors such as Rudin (1938), who did research at the Berlin archives and published about the Germans in Cameroon.

In Chapter 2 of this research, I will introduce the Cameroon landscape and explore the historical background of Cameroon prior to Western European arrival. I will also identify the pioneer initiators of Western colonial/missionary formal schools in the region and where they came from. This is in consideration of the fact that colonial governments and missionary relations constitute the centerpiece of this study.

CHAPTER TWO
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND BEFORE EUROPEAN ARRIVAL,
ANNEXATION, AND COLONIZATIONS

Introduction

In this chapter, I will explore the historical background of Cameroon before the arrival of Europeans and the subsequent annexation of the territory by the Germans as well as the colonizations by the British and the French, respectively. This chapter will navigate the geographical location of Cameroon, the pre-colonial contact in terms of the social, economic, and educational relationship between Africans, particularly coastal natives, and Europeans in the region.

I will further investigate the pre-colonial Western education contributions of early schools that, I argue, laid the foundation for later colonial formal schooling initiatives in the region, such as the contributions by the Jamaican Baptist Missionaries in collaboration with the British Baptist Missionary Society. I will also examine the formal schooling initiatives of the American Presbyterian Missionaries in the region. I will argue that even though the United States was not a colonizing power in this region, it was very prominent in fostering some Anglo-American aspects of formal schooling in the Batanga region from 1870 up until when the region gained independence from French colonial rule in 1960 and British colonial rule in 1961.

Location of Cameroon

Cameroon is located along the coast of West Africa, bordered on the South by the Atlantic Ocean, on the west by the Republic of Nigeria, on the north by the Republic of Chad, and on the east by the Republic of Central Africa. The inhabitants include the centralized chiefdoms and fondoms of the Grassland tribes in the hinterlands as well as the coastal tribes. The coastal tribes first had trading contacts with Europeans, thereby creating some pre-colonial African and Western coexistence in the coastal regions prior to the annexation of Cameroon by the Germans on July 12, 1884 (Rudin, 1938).

Pre-colonial Contacts of Africans and Europeans in the Region

The pre-colonial Western European contacts with the Cameroon coastline natives indicate a timeline of eighth century A.D. (Nelson, 1974, p. 8). In the sixth century, Hannon, a Carthaginian navigator, and his crew were the first foreigners to see the silhouette of Mount Cameroon, which they called the “chariot of the Gods”. In 1472, a Portuguese expedition led by Fernando Po reached the coast of Cameroon. Interestingly, they sailed up the Wouri River, and after harvesting and feasting on the prawns there, they named the river, “Rios Dos Camaroes”, meaning “river of Prawns”; that was the birth of the name of the country “Cameroon”. John Barbot’s report detailed extensive European trading activities at Rio del Rey (Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons, 1949, p. 13).

Other Europeans who also made trade agreements and deals with the coastal area natives were the English, Dutch, French, and German traders. The coastal chiefs acted as middlemen between Europeans and the natives in the hinterlands. In the 1600s, the Dutch took over slave trade in the region, but in the 1700s, British Baptist missionaries arrived

in Victoria (today Limbe), where they made a settlement and started protesting against the ongoing slave trade. This explains why some of the inhabitants of Limbe are freed slaves from Jamaica, Ghana, Liberia, and other parts of West Africa. In 1844, the Jamaican Baptist missionaries, with the support of the London Baptist Missionary Society led by the Rev. Joseph Merrick of African-Jamaican descent, built the first school on Cameroon soil at Bimbia. A year after, in 1845, Alfred Saker, an English Navy engineer and Baptist missionary, started building schools and churches in Douala. In 1858, Saker created the first English settlement in Victoria and advised the British Crown to make the area a Crown Colony. However, hesitancy due to British colonial preoccupation in East Africa, other parts of West Africa, and around the world led Germany to annex Cameroon as a colony on July 12, 1884 (Rudin, 1938).

The pre-colonial traditional education practices prevalent among the coastal natives and those in the hinterlands of Cameroon were impressive. The natives were engaged in various occupations as fishermen, farmers, hunters, weavers, builders, herbalists, carvers, teachers, and warriors, just to mention a few, and they made sure their youth were trained to pursue these occupations. The traditional crafts of boat building, canoe building, and ivory carving were well developed by the coastal Douala natives (Derrick, 1979, p. 26). The British and the coastal natives of Douala had good trading contacts, which yielded the first trade treaty with King Akwa and the British in 1840 (p. 26).

The English also ventured into the hinterlands inhabited by the Bamoun, “Bamilekes” or “Grassland” people, who numbered over 90 chiefdoms and fondoms (p. 30). The most prominent British presence off the Cameroon coast was the establishment

of a British government base in neighboring Fernando Po in 1827. This was strategically important for the British campaign initiative for the abolition of slave trade. The magnitude of this campaign explains the reasons for the increased British influence in the region, especially at Clarence, otherwise called Santa Isabel. This was, therefore, the vantage point from which British war ships frequented the Cameroon coast. In 1840, it was not surprising that the British signed the first trade treaty with King Akwa of Douala and then nine years later established their administrative consulates at Douala, in 1849 (p. 33).

In 1856, a Court of Equity was formed to resolve trade issues between European firms and Cameroon natives. However, even though the Germans and the British were major rivals, it was the British Consular administration that had major influence on the Court (p. 35). Furthermore, it was therefore during this period of British Consular influence that the first British Baptist missionaries started evangelizing among the Cameroon coastal natives of Douala and Victoria (today Limbe). In 1864, the notable King Ndumbe Lobe appealed to Queen Victoria for British protectorateship and later sent his son Manga Ndumbe to study in Bristol. Interestingly, these arrangements were made by Thomas Dayas, a Bristol sea captain, who is said to have spent some time in Cameroon and married a Douala girl by the name of Tebedi Nwanjo; the children from the marriage later became prominent (p. 37). It is also noteworthy, that the British Missionary Society of London, led by Alfred Saker, successfully evangelized among the Douala and coastal natives for 30 years (1814-1880). The missionaries started schools and factories and established a printing press; there was an instructional program in printing education, bricklaying, gardening, literacy education, and the spreading of the

popular use of Pidgin English in the region, all before the German annexation of Cameroon.

Pre-colonial Western Mission Formal Schools from 1844 to 1884

According to the primary and secondary sources concerning my study, as indicated below, there were pre-colonial and pre-annexation Western formal missionary early schools in Cameroon prior to the German annexation of Cameroon in 1884. These formal missionary early schools included the Jamaican Baptist Missionary schools, the American Presbyterian Missionary formal schools, the British Baptist Missionary formal schools, and the Catholic Missionary formal schools. It is noteworthy to briefly examine the establishment of these early missionary formal schools in order to answer the pertinent questions of why, when, how, and for whom Western formal schooling was introduced in Cameroon. The establishment of the early formal schools came about as a result of the Western European industrial revolution economic demands for markets, raw materials, and labor. This was before the mid-19th century, at a time when the British Navy was out to enforce the abolition of slave trade along the coast of West Africa. This period was characterized by increased European and African tribal contacts for social and economic reasons along the West African coastlines.

Christian Missionary groups instituted formal school programs that emphasized basic skills and the evangelization of Africans. Thus, the missionary influx to Cameroon began with the Baptist Missionary society (BMS) of Britain and with Jamaican emancipated slaves from the British colony and Island of Jamaica. The Jamaicans, emancipated by a British Parliamentary Act on August 1, 1838, as well as others throughout the British Empire, were determined to return to Africa, which they rightfully

considered to be their fatherland and that of their ancestors. They came on a mission of evangelization. These remarks by Joseph M. Merrick of Jamaican-African ancestry made in a report at a BMS annual convention in 1843 are revealing:

The very night that liberty was proclaimed in that land—the night that the yoke was broken from their necks, that their shackles were snapped asunder---they resorted to the house of God to bless him for temporary liberty, and that very night fully resolved Africa, their fatherland, should be blessed with the Gospel (Missionary Herald (M.H.) (July 1842), pp. 126 ff).

These were prophetic remarks; they provided the inspirational underpinnings for carrying out Baptist missionary evangelism in Cameroon.

In terms of educating Africans, a basic skills model emphasizing the three “R’s” was initiated. According to Vernon-Jackson Hugh (1968, p. 11) “characteristic of such schools was the monitorial system with pupil-teachers under the central supervision of an often-untrained schoolmaster. There was commonly the emphasis on the three ‘R’s’, reading, writing, and arithmetic, also memorization, recitation, drill, rote, set questions and answers, illustrated reading primers, religious strides, hymn singing, corporal punishment, and there was the use of writing slates.”

In terms of this basic skills education model, Hilliard’s (1957) comments in his review of the history of the development of schools in West Africa endorses its application in the case of Cameroon, because:

It is not difficult to see how attractive this monitorial system would have appeared to the early educationists in West Africa. Besides being thoroughly up to date, it was also a system that was well suited to the large groups of children attending the West African schools with their lack of trained teachers. Thus, we find...general plan for one ‘school master’ to be appointed and a number of

‘teachers’. These ‘teachers’ would normally be young men who had reached the top of the school, and were then put back into the school to supervise the mechanical teaching work in the various classes (p. 8-9).

This monitorial system was very popularly implemented by all the colonial education authorities in Cameroon and throughout the African territories as well.

As a result of a delegation led by William Knibb to London in 1840, the Baptist Missionary Society of London decided to support the initiatives of their Jamaican colleagues to West Africa (BMS Committee Minutes June 3, 1848). It is not surprising that the Baptist Missionary Society of London supported their Jamaican counterparts, given that the mission’s official policy stated that the “civilizers of Africa must be Africans” (BMS fifty-first Annual Report, 1843, p. 36).

Enthusiasm for evangelizing in Cameroon was tremendous among Jamaicans as a result of Baptist Missionary Society contacts in Fernando Po and the Cameroon coastal towns of Bimbia and Douala and as a result of the willingness of Britain to provide the necessary support requested by the delegation of four, namely: Dr. G.R. Prince, Joseph Merrick, Alexander Fuller, and John Clarke. In Britain, the Baptist churches were also enthused; they not only pledged to support their African missions financially and materially, but individuals offered to go to Africa as missionaries and school teachers.

Following these events, a British and Jamaican Baptist settlement was established in Fernando Po in 1841, and later on the main coast of the Cameroons at Bimbia in 1844, Douala in 1844, and Victoria in 1858, respectively.

The Establishment of Early Mission Formal Schools

The Baptist Missionary Initiatives pioneered the establishment of Baptist Missionary stations; these were followed by the establishment of Baptist Missionary

formal schools. The dual mission of evangelization and education was clearly stated in the first instructional policy directive made available to every new missionary destined for the Cameroon-African mission, as follows:

In your field of labor you may probably be called to engage in the establishment of schools. This work is highly important...but while general knowledge is beneficial and much of it exceedingly valuable, you will remember that it is the diffusion of knowledge, as direct means of advancing religion which is your proper subject. Let your plans, therefore, provide for the communication of spiritual wisdom, with secular instruction. Seek to secure and employ Christian teachers. Make the introduction of the scripture and absolute condition in the establishment of each school. Maintain active and constant watch over teachers and scholars. Encourage every indication of youthful policy. Visit the schools as often as your other avocations will allow, and consider them as nurseries in which many a plant of righteousness may be reared, afterward to grow and become fruitful in the vineyard of the church (p. xiii).

These policy directives characterize the multidimensional activities of the Baptist missionaries in their mission stations.

Jamaican Baptist Mission Formal Schools

Jamaican Baptist missionary formal schooling in Cameroon was started by the Rev. Joseph M. Merrick, a Jamaican of African descent, with the backing and support of the Baptist Missionary Society of London, as mentioned earlier. Prior to Merrick's first visit to Bimbia and Douala in 1843 from the neighboring Portuguese Island of Fernando Po, he had already written that "when I offered myself as a missionary to Western Africa it was with the intention not of laboring at Fernando Po, but on the continent" (Baptist Missionary Society, the Mission Herald, vol. III, No. LVIII. March, 1844, p. 253).

Upon Merrick's arrival, King Bell of Douala and his people gave him a wonderful reception and pledged to support his missionary endeavors. Merrick's report was self-explanatory, as follows:

Yesterday evening several of Bell's people assembled in front of his house for instruction, and at the close of my address declared their willingness to receive teachers. They are very anxious to learn to read and write, and the reason assigned by them is that they will then become better teachers, and not be so easily cheated as they have hitherto been (p. 255).

The wording in the above report demonstrates how the natives valued Western European formal education as a means to a better livelihood.

After Joseph Merrick's successful visit, he wrote to the Baptist Missionary Society secretary stating:

. . . not only is King William himself favorable to the settlement of Christian teachers at Bimbia, but all his people are, and seem to be convinced that we have come to seek their good. As soon as we are ready to build we shall have land wherever we like, is the language of King William (p. 350).

Merrick's remarks are an indication that the natives and their leader were ready to provide land wherever for the construction of what would later become the first Baptist missionary station on Cameroon soil.

Merrick was so highly encouraged that he bought a piece of land and built the first formal school in Cameroon at Bimbia in 1844, with an initial enrollment about 60 children. He also set up a printing press (p. 350).

British Baptist Mission Formal Schools

Shortly after Joseph Merrick's two-month stay in Douala, he secured two pieces of land for the future construction of schools (Missionary Herald 1844, p. 285). While Merrick was busy in Bimbia, the newly arrived British missionary the Rev. Alfred Saker, accompanied by the Rev. Horton Johnson, went back to Douala and after a series of meetings with the kings and the people of the towns of Akwa, Bell, and Joss. Saker established a mission station in Douala and opened a formal school called Bethel School,

which was the first formal school in Douala and the second formal school in Cameroon (Missionary Herald 1846, p. 377).

The major setback for the Baptist missionaries was sickness and death as a result of the climate and environmental conditions in these tropical regions, for example malaria from mosquito bites. So Saker pleaded with the Society not to abandon Baptist missionary activities in Cameroon that were very promising. As a solution, the Society was obligated to train indigenous converts as quickly as possible to help out in times of any crisis (Missionary Herald 1851, p. 180). Thus, the Baptist mission continued to flourish in Cameroon such as in Bell Town, Aboland, Bakundee Dido Town, Sorrico, Dikolo, Malimba, Yaba Kalaki, Jebale, Kalabi, and Dibomari in the Douala district in the 1860s and 1870s. There was also Victoria, named after the Queen Victoria (today called Limbe), as well as the Fish Town and Bojongo schools (Baptist Missionary Society Annual Reports, 1858-1878).

Based on the reports cited above, it was the Jamaican Baptist Missionaries under the leadership of the Rev. Joseph M. Merrick, with the support of the British Baptist Missionary Society, that pioneered the Baptist Missionary formal education in Cameroon. This exercise took place after futile attempts to convince the British government to annex Cameroon in order to avoid the dominating Catholic French influence in neighboring Gabon from taking over. As stated above, Cameroon was annexed by the Germans on July 12, 1884. Nonetheless, this triggered continuous accusation by the German administrators that the Baptist Missionaries were spreading anti-German influence in their stations and schools. Thus in order to avoid a disgraceful expulsion from Cameroon by the Germans, serious discussions and negotiations took place in 1886, resulting in a

settlement in which the Baptist Missionaries handed over their mission stations and schools to the German Basel Evangelical Missionary Society in 1887 and continued their work in their new stations and schools in the Congo region.

American Presbyterian Mission Formal Schools

Even though the United States was not one of the military colonizing powers in the Cameroon territory in the 1900s, the United States government, as I stated in Chapter 1, authorized many American missionary groups that carried out evangelization as well as fostered colonial formal schooling initiatives in West Africa in general and Cameroon in particular.

As part of their global missionary task, commensurate with that of the Baptist Missionary Society of Britain, the American Presbyterian Board of foreign missions had sponsored establishments in West Africa since 1840, namely in Liberia, the Island of Crisco, and Gabon and at Rio Muni between the Coast of Gabon and Cameroon (Vernon-Jackson, 1968). Just like the Baptist missionaries, the American Presbyterians were of European and African descent with similar philanthropic goals of anti-slavery and return-to-Africa initiatives, which were popular among Presbyterian congregations in the United States.

The American Presbyterian missionaries encountered a Spanish government administrative policy that did not tolerate non-Roman Catholic public services in their Catholic stations at Benita on the Rio Muni coastline. Thus, the establishment of their first station on Cameroon soil was at Batanga in the 1870s. The mission's work is detailed in the Missions Annual Report of 1879 as "Encouraging" (Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, Forty-Second

Annual Report of the Board of Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, New York: Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1879, p.32; hereafter cited as American Presbyterian Report together with number and date). In 1877, the policy of the American Presbyterian mission with reference to the establishment of formal schools recommended “the adoption of an eclectic plan in the schools—that of selecting as scholars those who were most likely to be fitted by education for usefulness among their own people” (Fortieth American Presbyterian Report, 1877, p.28).

The American Presbyterian mission decided to maintain the same pattern for opening formal schools in Cameroon as it had in Gabon. This pattern was based on cooperation and the reliance on the goodwill of the converts, as follows: “Native teachers, and a few of the more advanced pupils being instructed during school vacations and evening classes in Biblical Science, Theology, Church History” with the hope that “some of those young men may become teachers and preachers among their people” (Forty-First American Presbyterian Report, 1878, p.30).

The mission’s Annual Report for 1878 in New York states the appeal more elaborately as follows:

The Board cannot close its report of this (West African) mission without asking earnest attention to its need of more men... More ordained laborers are greatly needed, existing stations should be better manned. The good work in progress should be carried forward with more vigor, especially in the training of native laborers, on whom the work of evangelizing their own people must eventually in a great deal depend on. The Board would be glad to see more laborers sent out, white or colored, provided their qualifications were sufficient, and their adaptation to an intensely tropical climate favorable (Forty-First American Presbyterian Report, 1878, pp. 33-34). However, the following year in 1880, the mission’s Annual Report documented the Batanga mission station as the Bimbia “out-station” which was located somewhat south central towards Gabon (Forty-Third American Presbyterian Report, 1880, p. 267).

The above report not only calls for the need for more evangelists but native evangelists as well because of the growing need to expand evangelization from the coast into the Cameroon hinterlands.

The choice of English language for instruction, as opposed to the native dialect, was problematic for the missions because they might soon lose their converts to foreign traders (p. 27). However, the need for literature in the dialect was also emphasized as well. “The preparation of Works” of reading material being “needed by the converts to Christianity....If the vernacular languages are to be the chief medium of instruction...a large and important labor is set before the mission. Short and clear works of theology, church history, church order, commentaries, practical devotion, etc., should be in preparation” (p. 27). Thus, by 1881, there was confirmation of expansion according to the account of a visit to Batanga by an American Missionary, the Rev. Cornelius De Heer, who had experienced the growth of the mission not only along the coast of Gabon, but also in the Benita area since 1885; this was described as “the furthest station north on the coast” (Forty-Fourth American Presbyterian Report, 1882, p. 32). This Batanga mission station had 79 scholars in the Sunday school.

The dominating and expansionary nature of the French forces in the region was cause for concern to American Presbyterian Mission, as stated in the general assembly report in 1884 as follows: “New regulations of the French authorities, concerning schools, have changed the condition of the work. The schools have been disbanded through the enforcement of regulations by the French authorities, requiring instruction to be given in French and half the time to be spent on teaching French” (Forty-Seventh American Presbyterian Report, 1884, p. 48).

In addition to the French language policy, there was the concern over “the Roman ecclesiastics for the hindrance of protestant missions”, as well as ill health issues such as “fever which in earlier years shortened the lives of so many missionaries was again almost epidemic at two of the stations” (p. 48). The American Presbyterian mission was unable to afford sufficient teachers regardless of tribe or nationality and therefore closed their mission on June 1, 1884. The unreasonable policies of the French authorities were responsible:

They do not seem applicable to African tribes... neither do they suit the object of a missionary board, which should be mainly in the Vernacular of the native tribes, and should have instruction in the gospel as their main purpose (Forty-Eighth American Presbyterian Report, 1885, pp. 54-55).

In spite of the fact that the Berlin Conference of 1884 was praised by the American Presbyterian Mission for “its liberal and harmonious lines of policy and projected measures (which) promise great blessings...” the Board expressed the hope that “its missionaries will in a short time be found at stations among those long neglected and lamentably debased tribes” (Forty-Seventh American Presbyterian Report, 1884, pp. 50-51).

The mission had two choices: either to stay and work with the French in Gabon with the hopes of future flexible language policies or move stations somewhere else. The mission eventually decided to move and continued evangelization missions from Batanga into the Cameroon hinterlands. According to Rudin (1938, p. 373), “The American Presbyterian missionaries first inquired in 1888 about working in German Cameroon.” However, as a result of many unresolved issues, such as the German language policy, the

German war with the Bulus, and settlement issues, the missionaries experienced some setbacks initially but eventually survived, as will be seen in Chapter 3 of this study.

The Nonexistence of Catholic Missionary Education

In January 2, 1842, Rome created the Apostolic Protecture of two Guineas at Libreville, Gabon, which included the Cameroon territory. In October 1842, the Protecture became the Apostolic Vicariates of the two Guineas. In 1863, the future of Cameroon was still within the Gabon Apostolic Vicariate. By 1883, my study finds that there were no formal Catholic missionary schools in Cameroon because the first Catholic priests to make contact were the Holy Ghost Fathers Davezac and Bi-Chet. Both French, they were working in Gabon and bought land at Bota (Limbe and Bonaberi Douala). There was no action after the acquisition of the land until 1890, when the nearest missionary station was constructed on the neighboring island of Fernando Po. This occurred under the initiative of the Spanish Consul-General Adolpho Guillenard de Aragon, who arrived in the island on December 25, 1845, with a military fleet and some Jesuit priests only to expel the Baptist Missionaries off of the island.

This was because, in accordance with Article 11 of the New Spanish Constitution, of January 1, 1885, the Spanish were no longer going to tolerate, either in Spain or dependent territories, any other religion besides “Catholic Apostolic Roman” (Missionary Herald, August, 1846, p. 310). As a result of illness and death due to the unsuitable climate of the island, most of the Catholic Jesuit priests died. By 1858, Captain Don Carlos Chacon, the new governor of the Island, brought in six Jesuit priests for Catholic evangelization of the entire Island (Missionary Herald, August 2, 1858, p. 121). Thus, my

research findings do not uncover any presence of Roman Catholic Mission initiatives on Cameroon soil at this time.

According to my research findings, the early schools in Cameroon were principally established by Western Christian missionaries alongside their mission stations long before the annexation of Cameroon by the Germans in 1884. The pioneering work of the Reverend Joseph Merrick of the Jamaican Baptist Mission, with the support of the Baptist Missionary Society of London, was responsible for building the first Baptist early formal school in Bimbia in 1884 with an initial enrollment of 62 children. The second formal school in Cameroon was the Bethel formal school in Douala, founded in 1845 along with a mission station by the Reverend Alfred Saker, a Baptist English engineer, at a time when Queen Victoria was reluctant to annex Cameroon at the request of Saker. The American Presbyterian Mission, which had been evangelizing along the west coast of Africa and in the neighboring French Gabon since 1840, opened its first mission station in Cameroon for eclectic missionary education at Batanga in 1970.

In sum, on the even of the German colonial period in 1884, only four missionary organizations were active in Cameroon, namely the Jamaican Baptist Mission, the British Baptist Mission, the American Presbyterian Mission, and the Roman Catholic Mission. In terms of educational initiatives, the Jamaican Baptist Mission and the British Baptist Mission joined their efforts as the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) and built three main schools and eight small schools, with a total enrollment of 342 pupils from 1844-1884 (Basel Mission, 1886; also Gwei, p. 37). The American Presbyterian Mission built a school in 1879 at their Batanga Mission Station that enroll 79 converts in their Sunday school (Forty-Fifth American Presbyterian Report, 1882, p. 32; also Vernon-Jackson,

1963, p. 79). The Roman Catholic Mission presence, however, did not yet involve any educational initiatives at this time.

My research will investigate the three types of colonial formal schools established in Cameroon during these colonial periods, namely the German colonial formal schools (1884-1914), the British colonial formal schools (1914-1961), and finally the French colonial formal schools (1914-1960).

In Chapter 3, I will examine why and how the Germans were the first colonial power to annex Kamerun and subsequently to establish German colonial formal schools in the territory. I will also investigate the architects, implementers, and administrators of the German colonial education and language policies, with a focus on colonial government relations with Western missionaries, which led to the formation of alliances to establish colonial formal schools in Kamerun. In accordance with the centerpiece of this study, I will probe into government and missionary conflicts and how these conflicts were resolved by the two parties in order to work in harmony toward achieving their respective goals of establishing colonial government and missionary formal schools for colonial manpower development and for Christian evangelization in German Kamerun at this time.

CHAPTER THREE

THE GERMAN COLONIAL EDUCATION ERA, 1884-1914

In this chapter, I will examine the events and long-term reasons for German colonization in Africa as well as the German annexation of Cameroon in 1884. I will investigate the use of German military power for conquest in the coastal as well as the Grassland Regions. I will examine the reasons for native resistance to German occupation as well as the German resolve to be a formidable force in the scramble and subsequent partition of African; Germany did this in concert with the other major colonizing powers in the global strife, such as France, Spain, Holland, Belgium, Portugal, and the United States. I will also examine the German colonial administrative hierarchy, which, I argue, was to ensure Germany's authority throughout the region through the policy of direct rule, as alluded to by Mumford (1935); I will investigate the institution of German colonial formal schools in the region. I argue that these schools were put in place in accordance with the German colonial education and language policy to eliminate other foreign, non-German educational practices and institutions that existed in the region upon annexation, such as the British influence in neighboring Nigeria and the French influence in neighboring French Equatorial Africa.

I will examine the government and missionary conflicts both in the German metropole and in the colony and how these conflicts were resolved such that alliances were formed by the Germans in collaboration with Western missionaries in the territory

to establish German colonial formal schools. These schools, I argue, were by no means like those in Germany because the curriculum constituted only some basic aspects of German education, such as language, patriotic songs, and the history of Germany after 1870.

I will also investigate how the colonial German administrators exercised a lot of control over their colonial formal schools up until 1914, when they lost their Cameroon territory to the British and French allies.

Events and Long-Term Reasons for the German Colonization of Africa

In the early 18th century, the German domestic advocates for German trading posts in Africa were the Hansa communities, which were not interested in sponsoring colonizing schemes. Their reasons were based on the treacherous climatic conditions of the New World, which had proven to be fatal to the Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch colonizers in the Americas (Down, 1926, p. 19). Later on, the Hanseatic Period in Germany was characterized by advances in maritime power, which was vital for maritime domination (Down, 1926, p. 10). At this time, Bismarck contended that he was “not naturally a colonial man” (Down, 1926, p. 11); in fact, Bismarck was more interested in German hegemony in Europe (Down, 1926, p. 14).

However, Bismarck recognized that since national defense was only for the homeland, this meant that it would be appropriate for private enterprise to engage in colonization, but not the state (Down, 1926, p. 12). This explains why Adolf Woermann, a leading Hamburg trader who was the most influential advisor to Bismarck, along with the German business community and the German colonial movement (Down, 1926, p. 14), was instrumental in advocating for colonization; eventually they convinced

Bismarck to embark on colonization ventures. Finally, on November 19, 1887, all the German clubs advocating for African colonialism amalgamated to form the German Colonial Society, the *Deutsche Kolonial Gesellschaft*, with aims to promote colonialism (Down, 1926, p. 17).

Strategies and Immediate Reasons for the Annexation of Cameroon

Germany, just like the other Western European colonial powers at this time, decided to carry out colonial ventures in Africa and around the world for economic purposes. One strategy for achieving these economic goals was the use of military force to put down uprisings and protect trade (Rudin, 1938, p. 32). A second German strategy, which will be discussed later, was to institute aggressive colonial formal schools. The primary purpose of these schools was to acculturate the natives to become the labor force needed for the expansion of the German colonial economy. This economy included plantation agriculture, road construction, building construction, and the extraction of raw materials.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, there were many Western European traders in the Cameroon coastal neighborhood, such as the English, Portuguese, Spanish, and French, all of whom were interested in expanding their trade ventures in the Hinterlands of Cameroon as well. There was also significant British educational influence in the region as a result of the Baptist Missionary Society's 40 years of missionary education and evangelization presence in the region. The Germans were highly suspicious of the British and the French, the two major colonial powers in Africa. These countries were notorious for engaging in "seizing territory on the West African coast at places where German trading interests were becoming considerable" (Rudin, 1938, p. 32). As a result, the

Germans feared that the occupation of Cameroon by the British and French would halt German trade, which was expanding, in the region.

The United States was not an official military colonizing power in the Cameroon territory as it had been in other parts of the world, such as Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Liberia (West Africa). However, this research has uncovered the educational colonizing contributions of both the American Presbyterian and the North American Baptist missions in Cameroon during the German, British, and French colonial eras.

In terms of German interests in the region, Adolf Woermann identified the reasons for the German annexation of Cameroon. The Germans were opposed to European equity laws, especially those imposed by the English court of equity. The Germans also needed to combat other colonial military threats as well as protect their trading posts against the natives.

Use of Military Power in the Coastal Regions

In the wake of the German annexation of Cameroon, mass uprisings broke out, as the natives, who generally preferred the British, protested German occupation. It turns out that out of the four Douala chieftains—the chieftains of Bonadoo (Bell), Bonaku (Akwa), Bonebela (Deido), and Bonaberi (Priso) (Derrick, 1979, p. 27)—only King Manga Bell of the chieftain of Bonadoo signed the annexation treaty. King Manga Bell, the principal chief among the four, who received a gift of 1,000 pounds (Down, 1926, p. 39), signed the annexation treaty with the German Imperial Commissioner Gustav Nachtigal (Rudin, 1938, p. 39). Even the Germans recognized that the treaty was unpopular among the natives (Rudin, 1938, p. 53). Gustav Nachtigal was Bismarck's choice for this job as Imperial Commissioner because of the qualifications that made him

popular back in Germany: he had six years of exploration in the Sudan, and at the time of his appointment to the Cameroon coast, he was the German Consul-General in Tunis (Rudin, 1938, p. 36).

As a result of the political implications of Bell's actions (Ardener, 1968, p. 40), resistance and uprisings against the Germans and in favor of the British in December 1884 came from the other three chieftains, namely Bonaku, Bonebela, and Lock Priso's Bonaberi in Hickory Town. Rudin (1938) states:

When the uprisings led to the burning of Bell Town by the people of Hickory Town, the German admiral, Knorr, was summoned by Dr. Buchner, the administrator of the territory. A conference was held and the decision was made to take military action against Hickory Town. As German marines came up the river, shots from rebellious natives behind buildings of the Baptist Mission drew the gunfire of the Germans, resulting in the total destruction of the English mission buildings in Hickory Town. In the fighting that followed one German was killed (a factor in the employ of Woermann) and several German marines were wounded (p. 55).

Despite those losses, there was still discontent and resistance against the German occupation. As this resistance became widespread in the chieftain of King Manga William in the Bimbria region and into the Hinterlands and Grassland Regions, the German military continued to counter with military force to gain ultimate control of the German "Kamerun" (the German spelling of Cameroon) Territory.

Use of Military Power in the Grassland Regions

The Germans continued their military expeditions from the coastal areas into the fondoms of the Hinterland and Grassland Regions of the territory. Fondoms were ruled by fons, or traditional leaders. A fon's palace was the seat of the fon's government and the focal point where all local political, economic, and socio-religious activities took place (Walters, 1991). The purpose of the Germans' expeditions was two-fold. The

expeditions were a mixture of military force to subdue anti-German fondoms and the opportunity to offer gifts for friendship and military alliances with the Germans against anti-German fondoms. In 1888, the German explorer Eugen Zintgraff visited the Bali , where he built a German station and signed a friendship and military pact with Galega I. In Bali, Mbapndah (1985) sums up Zintgraff's confidence in Fon Galega I as "'a real chief' who unlike those at the coast had the potential of becoming a reliable and capable friend of the Germans" (Mbapndah, 1985, p. 77). This explains why the Germans built a military station in Bali and another in Mendankwe that was effectively used to subdue other neighboring Grassland tribes and for the exploitation of ivory, military recruits, plantation laborers, carriers, and tax collectors.

In 1889, Zintgraff's visit to the Bafut Fondom in the region was not friendly, and relations deteriorated to the point of war. In 1891, Bafut went to the assistance of their neighboring Mankon Fondom, which was under attack by a German-led Bali Nyonga force (Niba, p. 64); that force was on its way to Bafut to avenge the death of Zintgraff's two messengers who had been killed on a mission to demand ivory from Bafut. On January 31, 1891, Mankon was burned, but with the help of her Bafut allies, their enemies were defeated.

I argue that the German/Bali military pact enabled the Bali to become German allies to establish German colonialism throughout the grassfield regions. Considering that the Germans gave 2,000 rifles to the Bali (Orosz, 2008, p. 150) and allowed the use of the Bali dialect for evangelization, the Bali were very instrumental in Protestant evangelism and in carving out the German administrative boundaries of all the fondoms in the grassfield regions. These boundaries are still officially recognized to date. In fact,

this explains why all the fondoms were named with a “Ba” prefix, which in the Bali dialect means “the people of ...” For instance, Bansa (the people of Nso), Bameta (the people of Meta), Bambui (the people of Mbui), Bambili (the people of Mbili), Bamendankwe (the people of Mendankwe), just to mention a few.

Ten years later, in 1901, 1904-5, and 1907, a series of German raids by Kurt von Pavel on Bafut, as revenge for the 1891 war was intensified to the point where Fon Abumbi I fled to the neighboring Bambui Fondom, where he was protected by Fon Angafor Momboo-oh II. However, the fon of neighboring Nkwon, an ally of the Bali, informed the Germans, and the Bambui Fondom about 10 miles from Bamenda (see Appendix E) was attacked by German troops from the German station in Mendankwe. It was unfortunate that Zintgraff attacked the Bambui Fondom this time, disregarding the warm reception he had earlier been accorded in 1889 by the Fon of Bambui. According to Chilver (1966), “When he [Zintgraff] reached the Bambui Fondom, whose chief sheltered and entertained them, he learnt to his sorrow that a number of carriers had died of exposure” (Chilver, 1966, p. 21).

This shows that the Bambui Fondom had been very welcoming to the German visitors during their previous first visit to the Bambui Fondom. However, events changed after 1901, when the Fon of Bafut fled from the Germans from Bafut to Bambui for shelter. This caused a cultural dilemma for the Bambuians, who, as peaceful mediators, were subjected to an attack on the Bambui Fondom by the Germans, who wanted to arrest Fon Abumbi I of Bafut.

Bambui oral ancestral history has it that during this attack, the Bambui Fondom lost 78 fondom warriors, including the researcher’s grand uncle, Tubanwe Njimukali. The

researcher's great-grandfather, Bah Tubanwe Asenju I, a noble and protégé of Fon Angafor Momboo-oh II, barely survived but not his son, Tubanwe Njimukali. Finally, Fon Abumbi I of Bafut was arrested and exiled to the Douala region for one year and returned to his palace in Bafut (Niba, 1995, p. 64). Fon Abumbi's palace, upon his return, was reconstructed with German assistance just like the Bali palace, which was to serve in part as a German station for the launching of German expansion schemes in the grassfield regions. Also, oral ancestral history has it that after Abumbi I returned, he later on met with Fon Angafor Momboo-oh II of the Bambui Fondom, and the two fons carried out a sacred ritual that solidified the genealogical ties between the two fondoms to live peacefully forever with no transgressions against each other. More about my ancestral history in relation to European colonialism will continue in Chapter 8 of this research.

The Germans always resorted to military force and forced labor in order to expand and protect their colonial economic interests, as in the case of the German annexation of Cameroon and their German colonies, Togo, Namibia, and Tanzania.

Resistance to the German Occupation

As a major colonial power, Germany, like the other two colonial powers, Britain and France, "was poised to impose their dominion around the globe" (Young, 1994, p. 44). These dominions would later on be German colonies such as Cameroon, Togo, Namibia, and Tanzania. Some scholarship that focuses on the center/periphery perspective, such as McCulloch and Lowe (2003), consider Germany, as center, imposing its will on its African peripheries (Cameroon, Togo, Namibia, and Tanzania).

In this vein, scholars such as Greenville-Freeman (1976) documented the principal African resistance to German colonial penetration in Cameroon, for example,

the Yaoundé resistance of 1896 and the Boulou and Bassa resistance of 1898-1901. In Southwest Africa, there was the Hottentot Revolt of 1894 and 1904-6, the Herero Rebellion of 1904, and the Nama (Bondelswart) Revolt of 1922. In Tanzania, there was the Abushiri rebellion of 1888-1889, the Hehe War of 1888-98, the Rebellion of 1894, Mchemba's Rebellion of 1895, and the Maji-Maji Rebellion of 1905-06. All these rebellions are indicative of the widespread resistance to Germany's presence and colonial rule in Africa.

Steinmetz (2007) contends that German rule always provoked collective resistance, even among groups and their local rulers who once cooperated peacefully with other colonial powers. Examples include the rebellion of the Douala people of Cameroon during the 1910s because of the German expropriation of their land (Steinmetz, 2007, p. 67). British and American writers describe German colonialism as "especially" brutal and militarized (Steinmetz, 2007, p. 69). In fact, Steinmetz notes that Germany's Southwest African colony dramatically deviated from the "typical" colonialism practiced by other powers. He remarks:

Of course, the colonial massacres by Spain and the United States in the Americas, the British in Tasmania and Kenya, the Belgians in the Congo, the Italians in Libya, and the French in Madagascar and Algeria are too familiar to permit any serious argument about a uniquely German colonial brutality. What is unique, perhaps, at least for twentieth-century colonialism, is the German attempt in 1904 to exterminate an entire people—the men, women, and children of the Ovaherero nation (p. 70).

These remarks by Steinmetz demonstrate scholarly documentation of the history of "extreme" German brutality in reaction to collective African native resistance in this particular German African territory in comparison to such actions in its other African colonies.

The German Scramble for and Partition of Africa

Germany's motivation for the scramble for Africa in 1884, as well as the scramble by other European powers, was prompted by the wealth that England exploited from Africa for itself (Down, 1926, p. 3). This made other European powers and the United States interested. Consequently, these major European powers—France, Spain, Holland, Belgium, Portugal, and the United States—intensified their efforts to juggle for more territories and interests in Africa. The subsequent end of the juggling came when the major European powers agreed to partition Africa among themselves at the Berlin Conference in 1885. As a result of the partition, Germany acquired possession of four African colonies, namely Togo and Cameroon in German West Africa (see Appendix B, German West Africa), Namibia in Southwest Africa, and Tanganyika in East Africa; today the latter are Burundi, Rwanda, and Tanzania.

Government and Missionary Policy Differences in the German Metropole/Center

According to Orosz (2008), the Kulturkampf was a government campaign that was launched by Bismarck in the late 19th century was for the New Reich to promote and to ensure German unity from external enemies as well as civil unrest. This unrest was fomented by political factions with allegiances to the older political institutions, victims of the negative impact of industrialization, the rising influence of socialism, and the presence of disgruntled ethnic minorities within the Reich. While Bismarck was being pressured by pro-colonial groups for the acquisition of colonies, the major domestic rival was the Catholic Church and its influence on the Prussian Polish communities that were largely Catholic and opposed to Prussian domination of Poland.

Thus, the Iron Chancellor decided to launch the Kulturkampf in order to destroy church influence and to ensure the loyalty of the masses to the Imperial German government. The Kulturkampf emphasized national unity by way of national allegiances to the state. This was demonstrated by promoting the German language, teaching patriotism and patriotic songs, and inculcating a sense of German national identity to the German Imperial Government and not to the Vatican, with its strong influence of Romanticism.

The German Imperial Government and the Catholic church were at odds, but so were the Protestant missions of the period, which were also strongly influenced by Romanticism and the doctrine that people and their nations were living organisms and their spirit was expressed by way of their national languages, literary works, cultural values, customs, traditions, and laws.

Government and Missionary Relations in Cameroon (Colony/Periphery)

As I stated earlier, the policy differences between the government and the church in Germany demonstrated the basis of conflict in the German metropole. My research will uncover the government's colonial education and language policy and how its implementation will play out in the German Cameroon colony/periphery versus the ongoing events in the German center/metropole. I will also probe into government and missionary conflicts and how these conflicts were resolved through alliances and collaborations toward the establishment of colonial government and missionary formal schools in Cameroon. These schools were to achieve the government's objective of educating the natives as manpower for the colonial economy as well as the missionary objectives of producing converts for evangelism and church expansion.

The implementers of the German government's education and language policy for the establishment of colonial and missionary formal schools in the colony were the colonial administrators, headed by the governors, as explained below.

German Colonial Administrative Hierarchy in Cameroon

After Cameroon was annexed, the German Colonial Administration in Cameroon was headed by the governor, whose powers were delegated by the Kaiser and by the Chancellor back in Germany; they, in turn, got their authority from the German Colonial Constitution of 1886-1888 (Rudin, 1938, p. 180). In Cameroon, the governor had a Colonial Advisory Council (or *Gouvernementsrat*). However, he could act contrary to their unanimous opinions in consultation with his superiors and the colonial council (*Kolonialanmt*) in Germany.

In essence, the governor was head of the territory, courts, and crown lands; he conferred some powers upon local administrators such as heads of expeditions, missionary groups, military stations, or large administrative districts. Over the 30 years of German rule, there were six governors: Julius von Soden (1885-91), Eugen von Zimmerer (1891-95), Jesko von Puttkamer (1895-1907), Theodor Seitz (1907-10), Otto Gleim (1910-12), and Karl Ebermaier (1912-15). Appendix A (German Kamerun Administrators) contains a complete list of the administrators, acting governors, and governors as well as their terms of office during the German colonial era in German Kamerun.

German Colonial Education and Language Policy Developments

The German colonial formal schools were strategically instituted by the Germans throughout their German-African colonies for the purpose of achieving their stated

colonial objectives of training the natives to become a productive labor force for the expansion of the German colonial economy. This German colonial education enterprise was the first of the three instances of Western colonial formal schools established in Cameroon for the 30-year period of German rule that ended with the beginning of World War I in 1914.

As I mentioned in Chapter 1, my Theme 1, relates to how the German colonial government utilized its power of agenda setting and initiating colonial formal schools, as discussed by Osterhammel (2005), Walther (2004), and Cohen (1993). Toward this end, extensive educational efforts were made, marred by conflicts and tensions between Christian missionaries and the government toward establishing and controlling the colonial education enterprise. This chapter will show that the German colonial education and language policy consisted of attempts to eliminate other foreign, non-German educational institutions found in the territory upon its annexation, such as establishing German government colonial formal demonstration schools. It will also examine the German colonial government's alliances with Western Christian missionaries that yielded missionary contributions toward the establishment of missionary formal schools in Cameroon. There will also be an exploration of whether Cameroon pioneer graduate students were sent to Germany for higher education. This research will uncover whether this was the case and whether this was an official or a private initiative.

In October 1884, when Adolf Woermann initially wrote the administrative plan for the administration of the Kamerun territory, he did not indicate schools as an imperative, since this task had been assigned by Bismack to the Hamburg traders (*Akten betreffend die einrichtung von schulen in Kamerun, 1884*). In the colonial school plan,

there were, however, the general principles of an educational program that authorized the teaching of German, arithmetic, reading, writing, some Christian religion instruction, and an agricultural school for natives to give them some idea of the principles involved in tilling the soil. Woermann felt that the colonial school curriculum be limited in size, with major objectives of preparing pupils to be obedient, better workers. Some German language influence will not only make them useful as clerical staff in business and local government but will help eliminate English competition looming in the commercial life of the region (Orosz, 2008).

Thus, in 1885, Woermann's general principles of an educational program for the German Kamerun colony were approved by Chancellor Von Bismark (*Akten betreffend die Einrichtung Von Schulen in Kamerun*, 1886). Governor Julius von Soden was the first of the six governors appointed to the German Kamerun colony, as I earlier mentioned, who was later replaced by Governor Jesko von Puttkamer in 1895; von Puttakmer carried out some school expansion work through alliances formed with Western missionaries, as did subsequent governors, such as Governor Theodor Seitz (see Appendix A).

Government and Missionary Alliances to Establish Colonial Formal Schools

The German government and Western Christian missions had objectives for engaging in the colonial formal education of the colonized natives. My research will uncover the stated objectives, alliances, and types of colonial formal schools that were established in the colony. After imperial Germany became a colonial power, Bismarck made sure that the German colonies were not to become a huge financial burden to Germany. This is demonstrated by the fact that four years after the annexation of

Cameroon, the educational enterprise was entirely the burden of Christian missions. Initially, the German colonial government was very reluctant to get involved in the business of educating Cameroon natives. However, the work of Christian missionaries prior to annexation encouraged the Germans to utilize the missionary effort. This perspective—that the government was reluctant to get involved in the education enterprise—was typical throughout colonial Africa as well as in German Africa, including Cameroon. This perspective is articulated by Bassey (1999), who quotes historian James Coleman: “Until 1898 all education was under the direct control of missionaries” (p. 27). I argue that these comments are true of Cameroon because after the annexation of Cameroon in 1884, the German colonial government was reluctant to get involved with education initiatives that were for the most part the burden of the British Baptist Missionary Society.

I argue that the Germans carried out a direct colonial rule policy in Cameroon. Mumford (1935) alludes to the fact that the Germans attempted to set up in their African dependencies, including Cameroon, a direct administration of the native peoples by a bureaucracy of white officials and native agents. This entailed either the ongoing or continuous formation of education policies and applications depending on the need and circumstances that would foster their colonizing agenda. The works of Walther (2001) and Cohen (1993) echo this view in the case of German Southwest Africa (Namibia), whereas Cohen (1993) also alludes to the same view in the case of German East Africa (Tanzania). Thus, my research has not found any evidence that the Germans arrived in Cameroon with blueprints of educational policies that had been drawn up in Berlin several years earlier to be used in Cameroon and across other German colonies in Africa.

The German government's relations with the missionaries developed in three phases. First, in 1884, the Germans were opposed to the Jesuits in Cameroon, but there was some conditional acceptance of Catholic missionaries in Cameroon provided that they were German and their superior was German and residing in a German territory. The second phase, in 1885, was the creation of training centers for German missionaries that were devoid of foreign involvement. The third phase, in 1886, was the creation of a colonization and evangelization alliance between the German colonial government and the missionaries.

This alliance not only cleared up all suspicion about German colonial policy and the clergy but further ensured intimacy and harmony between *Missionierug*, *Kolonisierung*, *Kuhivierug*, meaning mission, colonization, and civilization works (National Episcopal Conference of Cameroon [NECC], 1990, p. 37). German businessmen were in agreement with the German government's alliance with the missionaries, as demonstrated by a speech delivered by Adolf Woermann, on behalf of the business community, at the German Congress. His speech was based on the study of overseas interests, in which justification was made as to why businessmen should support missions. Their conclusion was that each missionary in the South Sea Islands was worth 200,000 Deutsche Marks to German trade (Grim-Karlsruhe, 1886).

In addition to the German business leaders who were in agreement with the alliance, politicians also justified the government's commitments to the education venture with the missions. For instance, these statements made by Count Zu Hohen Lohe Schillingsfuerst during Parliament (Reichstag) on the 11th of December 1894 speak for themselves:

It would diminish the German name in the world if the German people were not also to take part in the cultural mission which is in the process of removing the last vestiges of slavery and to carry the light of Christianity into the Dark Continent (Gelzer, p. 70).

These statements probably helped Bismarck politically to be able to include missionaries in budgetary matters.

The German colonial concept of being a so-called “civilizing influence” on Cameroonians was accompanied by an economic advantage for the educated. These were those who had acquired a basic German elementary and a higher elementary education in addition to a post-primary vocational and professional education (Fonkeng, 2007, p. 65). According to Rudin (1938), the concept held that “educated Negroes would need more things than the uneducated and that education would thus lead to an increase in the colony’s trade” (p. 361). According to my research, the Germans did not deliberately stratify colonial formal schooling so as to educate two classes of natives, administrators and docile workers. All natives went to the same schools. The four types of schools were: bush school in the vernacular (2-3 years), elementary school (3 years), higher elementary school (2 years), and post primary courses (vocational and professional schools) (2-3 years) (Fonkeng, 2007, p. 24). Those with a basic elementary education became laborers; those who went on to higher elementary or post primary courses that were vocational or professional in nature became supervisors over the native laborers, but still under the white German administrators (Fonkeng, 2007, p. 65).

Government and Missionary Education Initiatives in Cameroon, 1844-1907

Below I will conduct an analysis of the establishment and expansion of German colonial formal schools, as I earlier mentioned, by government and missionaries. I will also uncover whether their objectives were in harmony or in conflict and, if in conflict,

how these conflicts were resolved in order to advance the colonial formal school ventures. Thus, I will focus on the nature of the relationships between government and missions in Cameroon during the German era.

In order to capture the local dynamics of these relationships in the Cameroon colony, versus the events in the German metropole, I will highlight the events that occurred in the colony by focusing on the benchmarks of the administrative periods of the six German governors who administered the German government's power of agenda setting and initiating colonial formal schools versus the various missions that were stakeholders in administering their colonial evangelizing education policies as well.

Government/Mission Relations during the Julius von Soden Era

After the appointment of Julius von Soden as first governor, he arrived to start work in July 1885, and continued until 1891. Not only was Governor von Soden amazed at the extensive use of pidgin English spoken as the popular language of communication in the region, but at the presence of English, Baptist, and American Presbyterian mission formal schools, as I earlier maintained in Chapter 2. At this time, the German government in the metropole had not budgeted for education expenditures, and no initiatives were taken to formalize the education and language policy of the territory.

Government Relations with the Basel Mission. Orosz (2008) suggests that the pioneer and inexperienced administration of Governor von Soden did little to create an official education and language policy. Instead, the administration decided to avoid risks by requesting help from the Basel Mission to address the educational needs of the colony. The Basel Mission was the appropriate choice of missionary group because most of its funding came from southern Germany even though it was headquartered in Switzerland;

it also enjoyed a long historical experience of evangelizing in Africa. Thus, officials at the colonial office (*Kolonialabteilung*) were advised by the Basel mission authorities to hire the experienced Basel missionary educator Theodore Christaller to go to Cameroon and resume duties as the education officer for the new government.

According to Orosz (2008), from 1885 to 1891, the von Soden administration faced some policy challenges both from the German metropole and, in Cameroon, the lack of initial educational funding for the territory that forced the Kaiser to pay Christaller from private funds. These financial challenges included:

- No funding for Cameroon education with a Western-style education that meant failure of the German civilizing policy in Africa.
- The Imperial Government policy of limited expenditures for educating Africans was clear that “German policy in all colonies was to . . . rely mostly on the missions to carry out the education of the people” (p. 20). This dependency was needed by the German government as specified by the 1885 General Act of Berlin that addressed the scramble for African territories.
- The Basel Mission, according to the Berlin Congress in Bremen in 1855, decided to take over the British Baptist Mission interests, envisaging the potential access to converts.
- The Basel Mission’s objectives were not to train natives for plantation workers in Cameroon or to promote German colonial policies and culture but to open schools as the “engine of evangelism” (p. 23).

- The Basel Mission's objectives, influenced by Romanticism, as I mentioned earlier, were that "peoples and nations were living organisms whose spirit was expressed in the form of a national language, culture, customs, law and literature" (p. 23).
- The Basel Mission, therefore, went on to utilize and encourage tribal languages such as the Douala and Bakweri languages for evangelization on the coast and the Bali and Bamum in the grassfield lands instead of the German language.

In terms of school programs, the government was very much in agreement with the Basel Mission's educational initiatives. The Basel Mission was against the early or premature introduction of natives to foreign, Western languages such as German because, from their experience with the English Baptist School native graduates, they tended to be "too uppity" (p. 28). Thus, after finishing from the village or bush school, where pupils were instructed in the native vernacular, they continued in the mission station to perfect their rudimentary knowledge from the village school and at the same time gain exposure to the German language. After graduating from the station schools, these pupils were hired as catechists in mission stations, teachers the village schools, or continuing pupils at the Mittelchule for a three-year study program (p. 29). These schools produced very few "graduates as clerical workers or as better qualified teacher-catechists in lower schools" (p. 29).

The Basel Mission's activities for the most part exemplified this compromise with the German government, such that by the end of 1887, the Mission had seven primary schools with 238 pupils" (p. 26).

Government Relations with the American Presbyterian Mission. The American Presbyterians were adjusting well in the Batanga region after their expulsion

from French Gabon by the French because of the institution and strict enforcement of the French language policy in the territory. By 1884, the Presbyterians decided to use vernaculars and English in their schools. Pidgin English was not acceptable because they considered it an insult to the English language Orosz (2008).

In 1888, the American Presbyterians requested from the German Imperial Government to be allowed to remain in this new, German colony to evangelize (p. 33). They also disclosed their use of vernacular and English to teach the natives but to permanently propagate local dialects in their schools. They promised the use of the English language on a limited basis with no diplomatic ambitions in the German territory. The German Imperial Government responded that they had nothing against the Presbyterians but preferred German over English for institutions.

In 1889, a meeting took place between Governor von Soden and Dr. Frank Ellinwood, Board of Foreign Missions secretary on behalf of the American Presbyterians, to formalize their conditions of residency (p. 33). The German government had no objections to the mission's work at Batanga. However, the government wanted the use of the German language, information about land purchases, and a designated local mission representative as contact with the government. In response, the Presbyterians accepted the government residency conditions but asked the government not to insist on German missionaries because they were not easily available.

In 1890, as a sign of good will, the government temporarily gave the Presbyterians a pass and approval for them to continue their work in the territory. I argue that the German authorities had no funding for schools in the territory at this time, and so the Presbyterians were accomplishing their civilizing mission at no cost to the

government. The Presbyterians opened up schools in which they taught gardening, Bible study, catechism, arithmetic, and literary skills.

As a result of the lack of German staff, the Presbyterians continued the use of English and the Benga and Bulu dialects in school up to about 1890. However, it was not until 1894 that the mission's 1894 annual report referred to a Miss Babe who offered "German lessons to ten of her pupils at the Batanga school" (Orosz, 2008, p. 34). This state of affairs could not last long with the arrival of the Catholics, which kindled a new era of German education and language policy in the territory.

Government Relations with the Catholic Pallottine Mission. In 1885, Father Weik, a Jesuit priest and an Alsatian member of the French Spiritain order, wanted to set up a mission station in Cameroon. His proposal included help with humanitarian services for the colonial administration. Governor von Soden was in favor of granting this request as long as these Spiritains would demonstrate loyalty to the imperial German government by flying the German flag, and as long as they stayed away from the Protestants in the territory.

Unfortunately, Weik's proposal and follow-up memos to the Kaiser, crown prince, and foreign office were written in French. This led to the impression that Weik had no regard for his German citizenship in spite of the fact that his proposals affirmed his German citizenship and his intentions to work for the promotion of "German colonial interests" (Orosz, 2008, p. 35).

Bismarck, on the other hand, did not only consider Weik and the Spiritains as French but as disguised Jesuits who were disloyal to the German government during the

Kulturkampf. Thus, Bismarck “banned Weik from setting up operations in the newly created German colonial empire” (Orosz, 2008, p. 35).

This state of affairs was cause for concern by the Catholic Center Party, which argued that Weik’s case demonstrated Bismarck’s exclusion of all Catholics and a continuation of the Kulturkampf discrimination. In order to mend fences with the Catholics for their support in his coalition government, Bismarck found a solution in 1889 that was an opportunity to work with the Pious Society of Missions, or the Pallottine Mission, named after Father Vincent Pallotti, the founder. The Pallottines made a request to the Imperial Government to go to Cameroon because their membership was all German and ready to go. Bismarck was skeptical but granted the Pallottine request with conditions. Their “personnel had to be German nationals and that executive power had to remain in the colony rather than being controlled by the Vatican” (Orosz, 2008, p. 36). In turn, the Pallottines, just like the ill-fated Spiritains, also agreed to “stay out of territory occupied by the Protestants” (p. 36).

In October 1890, Monseignor Heinrich Vieter had been appointed to head the Apostolic Prefecture of Cameroon. Upon his arrival, he met with Governor von Soden’s deputy, Jesko von Puttkamer, who ordered the Catholics to settle in the northwest and avoid competition and conflict with the Basel missionaries already stationed along the Sanaga River. Given the fact that the Kulturkampf antipathy was still looming in the metropole at this time, the German state did not allow the Pallottines to set up a headquarters of their own until 1892. Vieter cautiously worked with Puttkamer, and with the help of Woermann, the Pallottines established their first mission station along the Sanaga River close to Edea (Orosz, 2008).

As a businessman, Woermann's assistance to the Catholics was what, I argue, was a symbiotic relationship. This is because Woermann distrusted the Basel missionaries but felt comfortable with the Catholics, who were less likely than the Basel missionaries to protest against alcohol sales as well as "unethical trade" dealings "that victimized natives" (Orosz, 2008, p. 37). Furthermore, the Catholic would award him some political capital back in the German metropole with the Catholic Center Party. This quid pro quo relationship worked well for the Catholics, who progressively opened "new mission stations in Kribi, Victoria, and Bojongo" (Orosz, 2008, p. 37). In addition to Woermann's help, the Catholics rapidly made progress in spite of interdenominational rivalry, which consisted of tensions and conflicts between government and the missions throughout the German colonial era.

Unlike the Basel missionaries, the Catholics attracted pupils and converts by opening up schools that offered instruction in the German language as well as spreading the German culture, but they did not believe in imposing different tribal vernaculars on different tribes. Local vernaculars were only used in the tribal locality and not beyond, such as Bassa, Douala, Ewondo, and Ngumba. The Catholic missionaries also learned these dialects. This scenario is related to my Theme 4 in Chapter 1, which shows reasons for mission successes at the local levels of colonial societies, as discussed by Foreman (1972), Comaroff and Comaroff (1986), and Tsei-Hei (2003). In fact, the Catholics thought that the Basel Mission's practices of teaching Duala to non-Duala natives was approved by ill-informed personnel back in Basel. The Catholic schools offered instruction in the German language, reading, writing, arithmetic games, vocational training, and religion.

Thus, even though the Catholics were being demonized by the Kulturkampf back in the German metropole, the Catholics in the colony were very loyal to the government and promoted German language and culture in addition to spiritual matters (Orosz, 2008, p. 39). This situation also shows how events in the center/metropole sometimes played out differently in the colony/periphery, as discussed by Boyle (1995) in the case of the Belgian Congo, as mentioned in Chapter 1.

Government Relations with the German Baptist Mission. Governor Julius von Soden received the Baptist missionaries in Cameroon in October 1891; they were led by the Rev. August Steffens and his wife. Later in the year, von Soden was replaced by Governor Eugene von Zimmerer.

The German Baptists were “the final significant missionary group to arrive in German Cameroon” (Orosz, 2008, p. 39). As a result of doctrinal differences and disputes over independence issues with the Basel Mission, the Native Baptists, led by Alfred Bell of Douala, went to Germany and appealed to the Rev. Eduard Scheve and his congregation to send Baptist missionaries to help the Native Baptists in German Cameroon colony. The German Baptist Commission was willing to help, but because they had financial and personnel issues, Scheve appealed to the German Baptists in the United States, who agreed to go and evangelize in Cameroon.

Thus, the Americans provided funding and names of potential evangelists while Scheve and his congregation in Germany made appointments and designed mission policy. It was under this arrangement that August Steffen, a graduate of the Baptist Seminary in Rochester, New York, was sent to Cameroon. Instead of stated mission policy for Cameroon, Steffens and his subsequent followers got advice from Scheve in

the form of a compiled list of instructions to carry out evangelism. They were told to commit themselves to open schools to train native converts to become teachers or church catechists. The language of instruction was to be German and the local vernacular. Finally, the natives were to be taught to live in peace and be loyal to the colonial government.

As I stated earlier, von Soden welcomed Steffen to carry out the Baptist Mission's work in the colony with no opposition. After all, as with the other Protestant missions, funding for the German Baptist Mission to carry out some civilizing work was beneficial to the German colonial government, which did not have to foot the bill.

Government/Mission Relations during the Eugene von Zimmerer Era

Eugene von Zimmerer was the second governor of German Cameroon, from 1891-1895. My research will explore the nature of the relationship between the colonial government and missionary groups in the colony at this time with a snapshot of the nature of events in the metropole and how these events played out in the colony and vice versa.

In essence, German nationalist groups, such as the Colonialists and Colonial Theorists in Germany in the early 1890s, saw the need to build a strong German empire by acquiring and expanding German colonies. They also felt it important that the Christian missions in the colonies demonstrate patriotism by helping introduce and propagate German language and culture as showcasing national pride, fortitude, vigor, and superiority, which would tie the colonies to the German metropole.

There was also the need to promote and expand the German colonial economy such that Germany could be reckoned on the world stage as a great civilizing and

developmental power in Africa. Thus, back in the German metropole, there was the need to “Germanize the Prussian Poles” (Orosz, 2008, p. 49). Any Christian mission that failed to carry out these measures in their tasks of evangelization was viewed with suspicion, and the consequence would be chilly relations with government and metropolitan pressure and interest groups in the German metropole.

Government Relations with the Basel Mission. By the early 1890s, there were conflicting views between government and the Basel Mission in Cameroon on the best strategies for carrying out the dual policies of colonial development and civilizing the natives. In short, all the Protestant missions to some extent were government victims, but more prominent was the Basel Mission. The first conflict was about government attempts to penetrate the interior for the purposes of economic expansion. This government move provoked a revolt by the Bakweri natives, inhabitants of the slopes of Mount Cameroon.

Zimmerer responded by ordering a military expedition that led to the death of the leader, Captain Freiherr Gravenreuth. The natives drove all whites away, including the Basel missionaries who were mistaken to be collaborators of the invaders. von Zimmerer ordered Hans Dommik to continue punitive expeditions against the natives. Finally, in 1894, the natives were suppressed and fined heavily and had their land expropriated to construct a government station with forced free labor (Orosz, 2008, p. 50).

The second conflict was a mutiny close to Christmas in 1893 when von Zimmerer was on leave and his deputy, Karl Leist, was in charge. The causes of the mutiny included inadequate rations, pay inequalities between Dahomean troopers and their local trained troopers, expectations of unpaid manual labor by troopers’ wives, sexual abuse of

some of the troopers' wives by Leist, who also flogged those who refused to work in the governor's garden.

When news of these events got to the German metropole, public opinion forced Imperial Government officials to discipline Leist while the Basel Mission, as the protector of native rights, was disturbed by the Bakweri revolt and Dahomean mutiny, respectively. As a result of interdenominational rivalry, the Catholics testified on behalf of Leist, while the Basel Mission camouflaged its discontent only for a while as a temporary strategy intended to prevent their Catholic archrivals from gaining continuous favors from government "in exchange for a public, patriotic show of support" (Orosz, 2008, p. 51). When the Basel Mission later testified against Leist, their efforts were fruitless, but this tainted government relations with Protestant missions, especially the Basel Mission. In stark contrast to the hard, efficient work of the Catholic Pallottines, government considered the efforts of the Basel Mission "wanting" (Orosz, 2008, p. 51).

Government Relations with the Catholic Pallottines. Government and the Catholic Pallottine Mission worked closely together, as demonstrated above. The Catholics actually worked very hard to prove that they were loyal to the Reich and were not, as some had alleged, "Vatican agents" (Orosz, 2008, p. 51). As a result of the lack of funds, the Catholics maintained good relations with the government and local merchants to utilize their infrastructure as well. Given the resurgence of the Kulturkampf in Pozania, which continued to make government uncomfortable with Catholics in the German metropole in the mid-1890s, the Catholics back in the Cameroon colony were promoting and spreading German language and culture in their schools.

The Basel Mission and the other Protestant missions in Cameroon, on the other hand, continued resisting the promotion of German language and culture in their schools, a move that frustrated and angered both German government officials and merchants. Worst was the Protestant Mission's resistance to promoting German colonial policy and in a sense discouraging it by defending native rights, the use of vernaculars, and insufficient vocational training programs in their schools. The Protestant resistance to helping promote government policies "increasingly acquired the taint of anti-patriotic behavior. This situation eventually came to a head when Jesko von Puttkamer took over as governor of Cameroon in 1895 and forced a significant evolution of German language policy in the colony" (Orosz, 2008, p. 55).

Government Relations during the Jesko von Puttkamer Era

Jesko von Puttkamer was the third governor of Cameroon, from 1895-1907. According to Orosz (2008), Berlin appointed von Puttkamer because they felt he was qualified to develop and expand German colonial interests in Cameroon. He had served in Cameroon from 1885-1891 as financial deputy under Governor von Soden, was governor of Togo for four years, was an experienced colonial official in German Africa, was a nephew of Bismarck, was the son of former ultra-reactionary Prussian minister of the Interior in the 1880s. Von Puttkamer was determined to spread the German colonial education and language policy through all German colonies of Europe and Africa to promote the economic exploitation of "Germany's colonial possessions" (Orosz, 2008, p. 69).

Von Puttkamer was by nature a difficult individual, autocratic, and insensitive to brutality, and he was bent on crushing all forces of resistance that stood in his way

toward expanding German economic interests from the coast into the hinterlands and grassland regions of Cameroon. Thus, von Puttkamer confronted missions, schools, language policies, and native rights, of which he considered the Protestants as defenders, with such aggressive hostility that it caused serious government and missionary conflict. This plagued his governance in Cameroon and in many respects exemplified the Kulturkampf events in Pozania.

Government Relations with the Basel Mission. In 1896, nationalists and colonialists held a series of meetings with colonial governors in the metropole to address the direction of German education and language policy in the colonies. They came up with a series of policies. Government should not outlaw vernaculars such as Swahili in German East Africa but should have the missions adopt vernaculars for education and evangelism. At the same time they should spread German language and culture to eradicate foreign influences such as the English language and pidgin English in the colonies but not necessarily for the creation of German Africans (Orosz, 2008, p. 76). In 1897, there was also a call to adopt the British colonial education policy of subsidizing mission schools.

Von Puttkamer responded to the government officials in the metropole that German language and culture ought to be promoted instead of underdeveloped African languages. He hated the Douala people and their vernacular, which dominated trade on the coast and in the hinterlands as middlemen (Austen & Derrick, 1999). In fact, von Puttkamer felt that the Douala people were “. . . the laziest, most untrustworthy and vilest rabble on whom the sun ever shone” (Orosz, 2008, p. 71). He went on to say that it would have been much better if they had been expelled from the territory, if not exterminated,

when it was conquered in 1884 (Orosz, 2008, p. 71). These comments by von Puttkamer show his hatred of the Douala natives who stood in his way. I argue that brutalizing and killing natives and seizing their land or expropriating it was von Puttkamer's official duty.

In 1897, the Protestant Mission, in turn, stated its opposition to the government policy of imposing the German language through education in the colonies and denationalizing the natives and their languages. The missions held that this move would produce a disloyal working class and that the Protestants prefer to "maintain the status quo on language" (Orosz, 2008, p. 77). The government and Basel Mission agreed to a compromise in the 1897-1898 academic year, which led to government handing over the schools to the Basel Mission due to the death of the government education officer, Theodore Christaller, in 1896 of black-water fever.

Also, von Puttkamer was not interested in government involvement in funding native education. However, the Basel Mission earned government favor for carrying out the education task, which enabled the mission to carry out evangelization and education in Basel Mission schools. The relationship between government and the mission was characterized by accusations by government officials that the Basel Mission was not doing enough to promote government interests in terms of training workers, even in the hinterlands, while the Basel Mission felt that the government's land expropriation policies made mission work difficult because, as in the case of the Douala and Bakweri land seizures, the natives were suspicious of all whites and their intentions, which might be contrary to theirs.

In the grassland regions, where Fon Njoya of Bamum and the Bali and Bamenda Fondoms were developing relations with the missions, government administrators accused Basel Mission officials “of turning the indigenous peoples against German authorities” (Orosz, 2008, p. 95). The Rev. Friedrich Lutz of the Basel Mission countered by stating that if anything, “the true roots of the von Puttkamer administration’s poor relations with the colonized peoples was its brutality, its tendency to treat Africans like animals, the refusal of its officials to learn vernaculars, and their humiliating tendency to keep strings of African mistresses” (Orosz, 2008, p. 96). Government authorities also resented mission involvement in local trade to raise funds. This charge by Lutz relates to my intellectual schemes earlier mentioned in Chapter 1 about scholarship in gender-related issues as well as mission successes at the local level of colonial societies.

By 1906, the von Puttkamer administration had managed to open two more government schools, in Yaounde and Garoua, in addition to the Doula School. These schools were “intended to tie the local tribes more closely to Germany by demonstrating the benefits of German rule (Orosz, 2008, p. 100). Also in 1906, von Puttkamer was facing allegations of a variety of abuses delivered to the Reichstag in mid-June 1904 by the Doula, which eventually helped to end his career without him successfully resolving the language problem in Cameroon.

Government Relations with the American Presbyterians. Given his opposition to English usage in the German empire when he was governor in Togo, von Puttkamer arrived in Cameroon just when the Presbyterians had employed their pioneer German teacher, George Schnatz, to teach in both Benga and German in the Batanga station. The previous von Zimmerer administration had tolerated the use of English in Bulu and

Benga. However, by 1896, some pupils defected from the Banga language school to the Catholic German language school in Kribi. Also, the 1896 *Kolonialrat* (Colonial Council) and Colonial Governors Conference emphasized the use of German language in schools in all German colonies that they considered “an internal threat of foreign domination” (Orosz, 2008, p. 103).

Just when the Presbyterians were adjusting to and complying with the government language policy, the government went to war with the Bulu and also caused the Bali to revolt because of government land seizures and interference with their monopoly trade, which caused a strain in government and mission relations. Conflict arose when the government accused the mission of complicity in the revolt because the mission welcomed refugees in mission stations. Also, mission articles accused the von Puttkamer administration of cruelty in the war, seizure of mission stations for military necessity, tax policies, and “the tendency of colonial officials to keep native mistresses” (Orosz, 2008, p. 105).

Efeso Mokosso (1987) maintains that von Puttkamer endorsed the practice of capturing women during raids and maintaining them as concubines, which “kept a girl out of the evil ‘harem’, gave her a good living, and made for friendly relations between whites and Africans” (p. 204). However, there soon arose the “social problem” of several mulatto children being born out of wedlock to German men and African women, children whose status—to be determined according to customary law or German law—was unclear (p. 205).

As a resolution to this conflict, the government compensated the mission for its loss of property. However, the government still attacked the mission for not registering

its property as required, back in 1889, during the von Soden administration. The government said that the registration was not in proper form, its legal status was questionable, and it was not in compliance with the German language policy.

The mission considered leaving the territory but by 1905, decided to stay for many reasons. The Basel Mission was reluctant to take over the Presbyterians' work, so there was the possibility of the Catholics taking over their flock. Finally, von Puttkamer's legal troubles consumed his ability to enforce the language policy issue on the Presbyterians for the rest of his duration in office.

Government Relations with the German Baptists. The previous von Zimmerer administration had been pleased with the German Baptists because they were "U.S. citizens who had emigrated from Germany in the mid-19th century" (Orosz, 2008, p. 109; also Nemer, 1996). The Baptists were loyal to the German colonial government and were busy spreading the German language policy in the territory prior to the arrival of von Puttkamer. The German Baptists wanted the government to assist them counter the dominance of Catholic native clerks in the colonial administration and to discourage the Native Baptists from corresponding with former colleagues at the Baptist Missionary Society in London. This revelation, I argue, was considered by von Puttkamer as the Baptist Mission's loyalty to the German empire and not to their colonial rival, the British empire. Von Puttkamer's relations with the Baptists was very cordial and in stark contrast to that with the Basel Mission and the Presbyterians, who were resistant to spreading German language and culture in the German Cameroon colony at this time (Orosz, 2008).

Government Relations with the Catholic Mission. Given the anti-Catholic sentiments as a result of the Kulturkampf back in the German metropole, Cameroon

German authorities favored the Catholic Mission because of its twofold role of “evangelizing and complementing colonial policies” (Orosz, 2008, p. 111).

The von Puttkamer administration not only had a cordial but a working relationship with the Catholics. The Catholics aggressively propagated the German language and Latin in the schools. The dynamism of Monseigneur Vieter helped him build bridges, and he always received assistance from government officials and business leaders to expand Catholic Mission work in the territory. The mission’s school programs were so efficient that it graduated a disproportionate number of students from their center programs in vocational and manual labor. Pupils were also trained in their schools in the fields of “agriculture, carpentry, bricklaying, tailoring, and other skills that were to facilitate Cameroon’s economic development” (Orosz, 2008, p. 114).

Contrary to the rule forbidding Catholics to operate in areas with Protestant influence, the government gave the Catholics a pass on this. By 1897, Vieter was able to open new stations in Victoria, Bimbia, and Douala.

The Catholics had their three-pronged stations, Buea, Douala, and Yaounde, from where they launched their evangelizing and mission expansion schemes. During the Bulu War, the Catholics supported the government’s effort to suppress the uprising. The Catholics’ overall support of the government, business, and plantation communities was much favored by von Puttkamer, again in stark contrast to their rivals, the Basel and Presbyterian Missions. This relates to Theme 7, as discussed in Chapter 1, that the missions sometimes needed state power, with its related resources such as funding, protection, and law and order to achieve their evangelizing objectives (Stanley, 1990; Mackenzie, 1993; Porter, 1997).

Educational Developments from 1884 to 1907

Thus regarding education, from 1884 up until 1907, all ongoing educational initiatives in the territory were carried out by the Christian missionaries. The only colonial government initiative that took place in the colony was that the colonial office in Germany recruited and dispatched Theodore Christaller, a schoolmaster who opened the first German school in Douala.

The background for this was that school funding was so problematic that the German Basler Missionary Society in Germany began raising money for Kamerun schools. Suddenly, at the request of Governor Julius von Soden (based on the recommendation of the German Basler Mission), the German government sent Christaller to visit schools in other European colonies. He finally arrived in Cameroon in January 1887, living in a German factory owned by the firm of Jantzen & Thormahlen. He studied the Douala language with assistance from a member of King Manga Bell's family.

In 1888, he wrote a German grammar book of the Douala language whose uniform spelling was accepted by both missionaries and the government. King Manga Bell offered land for the construction of the first new school in Douala in 1888, followed by a second school in Deido in 1890; a third school was soon started in Victoria (Christaller, 1892). Thus, the goal of these three schools, as I earlier mentioned, was, according to Woermann, to “produce the needed labor force for government and business” (Orosz, 2008, p. 19). Interestingly, Woermann did not mention the need to train evangelists for missionary work.

After the death of Theodor Christaller, Governor von Puttkamer banned the use of Douala language for instruction outside the Douala locality in an attempt to limit conflicts arising from the imposition of one tribal dialect on the other tribes. Besides, German was to be the universal language for the territory. Another reason was that the Douala people maintained a strategic middleman position between the European-dominated Atlantic world trade and the Cameroon Hinterlands. Their influence on the international stage as merchant-brokers was prominent during pre-colonial trade in ivory, palm products, and slaves. They also used their earlier riverine trade advantage to gain themselves some level of European education (Austen and Derrick, 1999, p. 1). I argue that these qualities caused conflict with both the Germans and, later on, the French colonialists because neither the Douala nor the Europeans wanted to be marginalized in the economic, commercial, or maritime potentials of the region.

In their work, *Middlemen of the Cameroons Rivers: The Duala and their Hinterland c. 1600-c.1960*, Austen and Derrick (1999) sum it up as follows:

From the time of their establishment in the Wouri estuary at the site of the present-day city of Douala (c. 1600) up until the full organization of a German colonial economy in the 1890s, the Duala provided Europeans with a variety of commodities brought from the interior: beginning with ivory, shifting to slaves in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and for the latter three quarters of the nineteenth century shifting again to palm oil and palm kernels. The changes in the composition of exports produced alterations in the internal organization and scale of Duala middleman activities but the most basic function — control of riverain canoe trade and the products of inland labor — remain constant (pp. 1-2).

According to Scanlon (1964), in Cameroon, as in all German territories in Africa, the Germans were faced with a dilemma in dealing with the German language question: either to use the German language to give the natives a sense of German culture and love for the German Fatherland or to uphold the cultural traditions of the natives by allowing

them to retain their language and customs (p. 39). I argue that the German education policy that restricted the promotion of the Douala language far beyond Douala into the Hinterlands was a strategy to promote the German language, which would later be decreed as the only official European language of the territory.

In 1906, a government school was established in Garua in the Adamaua region. It was to admit and train only relatives of the African ruling class, but suspicions of discrimination forced them to admit all classes of people. Since this was a Muslim region, Christianity could not be taught in the school in order to mitigate the potential of Islamic religion revolt. Therefore, this was an attempt to avoid the imposition of and subsequent appearance of German colonial values on Muslim religious values.

This constitutes a type of German indirect rule approach toward the Muslim natives. The Douala dialect was to be confined in Douala, as already mentioned, to avoid increasing the influence of the Douala people around the country, because they were beginning to create considerable opposition to the government. Rudin (1938, p. 42) similarly explains why the Douala middlemen advocated for trade with the bushmen in the Hinterlands. Thus, the colonial authorities, in addition to dealing with the expansion of Douala influence, still had to deal with the non-German educational climate in the territory.

The Education Conference of 1907

As mentioned earlier, educational development in the region for the most part was carried out by Christian missionaries, on the basis of official government approval, up until December 17, 1907. There was as yet no blueprint, however, which prompted the

need for an official major government document that would subject all educational ventures in the territory to strict government control.

The first major educational policy document was not issued by the colonial administration until 1907 at the Douala Education Conference. I argue that the colonial government intended to use this conference to coordinate all the foreign and non-German educational initiatives prevalent in the territory, especially in light of the widespread resistance to German governance and the pro-Anglo preference in the territory.

Government and Missionary Relations during the Theodor Seitz Era

Governor Theodor Seitz was the fourth administrator of Cameroon (from 1907-1910). Recent attention to colonial government atrocities in the metropole pointed to the 1904 Herero uprising in Southwest Africa, which caused a public outcry because of a genocidal campaign that resulted in “attacks on German colonial policy” (Orosz, 2008, p. 131; also Cohen, 1993, and Walther, 2001).

In 1906, the Imperial government renewed attacks on the Polish Catholic language advocates in Prussian Poland. Attacks by critics of the Reich, such as the Social Democrats and the Catholic Center Party, prompted the director of the Colonial Society, (*Kolonialabteilung*), Bernard Dernburg, to address these colonial scandals and “mollify critics of the Reich’s colonial policies (Orosz, 2008, p. 132). Dernburg created a new colonial office, instituted a new training program for colonial civil servants, and dismissed some of the controversial veterans serving in the colonies, such as “Jesko von Puttkamer, who was finally recalled in May 1907 to face a wide range of official charges of misconduct that eventually ended his career” (Orosz, 2008, p. 132). Thus, Theodor Seitz, von Puttkamer’s former assistant in Cameroon in 1899, with many years of

experience at the colonial office in Germany, was appointed governor of Cameroon. He arrived in July 1907.

Since Seitz was familiar with the German colonial formal schooling in Togo, he wanted to implement the same model in Cameroon. Thus, he envisaged the institution of an official universal curriculum in the colony to prepare graduates with skills for German colonial “economic development and the promotion of native social welfare” (Orosz, 2008, p. 133). Seitz also felt that German and local vernaculars were to be used for instruction in the schools. As an incentive to missions that would carry out these education principles, Seitz proposed discussions that centered on the provision of subsidies to schools that complied with the official standard curriculum for all schools in the colony.

On December 18, 1907, Governor Theodor Seitz convened the first educational conference in Cameroon to discuss and formulate a German education policy for the territory. The conference, which took place in Douala, was attended by government officials as well as by representatives of various Christian missionaries that were operating mission stations and schools in Cameroon.

The Christian missions that were officially approved and present at the Douala education conference concerning the German School at Douala on December 18, 1907, included the German Basler Mission. Started in 1886, the German Basler Mission had inherited the property of the British Baptist Missionary Society, thus replacing British-oriented colonial formal schools with German-oriented colonial formal schools. Also present were the North American Baptist Missionary Society, started in 1888; the German Pallottine Missionaries (Roman Catholics), started in 1890; and the German

Baptist Mission, started in 1891. Subsequent missionary bodies that were established after 1907 include the German Lutheran Gossner Society missionaries in 1913 and the Holy Ghost (Catholic) missionaries in 1916 (Vernon-Jackson, 1968).

The governor personally presided over the meeting, and many issues were discussed, with the following conclusions: German was to be the only European language of instruction in the schools; the Douala language was limited to the Douala district; and an examining board was to be created to oversee the maintenance of German instruction in the schools. The underpinnings of this educational conference were that the colonial power, Germany, would ensure that the colony, Cameroon, had a German colonial education system in place to train the natives to support the German colonial economy. This is consistent with the center/periphery perspective (McCulloch & Lowe, 2003). It also supports Theme 1 of this research, that colonialists have the agenda-setting power to further their colonial interests (Osterhammel, 2005; Walther, 2001; Cohen, 1993).

The Conference recommended five years for the primary education program and school curriculum. In addition, there were attendance and discipline stipulations. The school curriculum was to be universal for all the schools as follows:

- Reading, writing, and arithmetic,
- Geography of the environment, Cameroon, and the world,
- History of Germany after 1870, and
- General science for knowledge in minerals, plants, animals, rainfall, barometers, thermometers, and simple machines (Rudin, 1938, p. 356-357).

The German language was the only European language listed in the curriculum at the conference. Later on, in 1910, it was decreed as the only official European language

to be used throughout the German colonial territories as well. This was a general German practice both in Europe and overseas. Harp (1998) comments that "...since the late 1850's 'linguistic assimilation' was considered the most important tool necessary for 'Germanization' and 'In the reign of linguistic imperialism, children were expected to learn German to be considered German'". Also, Harp quotes the German *Lesebuch* "*fur die Oberstufe der Schulen im franzosischen Sprachgebiete*," 1987:

The German language should come into its own as soon as possible, which is why it should be at the core of all subjects, because only when this is the case will our schools take on the character of real German schools and contribute to the Germanization of the people (p. 87).

Harp's comments here are with respect to German language instruction in other parts of Germany, not Africa. Nonetheless, the German language has always been promoted in German schools. Thus, according to this curriculum, the German language was to be promoted in the German Kamerun territory as well.

Another scholar, Phillipson (1992) comments:

The present distribution throughout the world of the major international languages—Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian, and Spanish is evidence of conquest and occupation, followed by adoption of the invader's language because of the benefits that accrue to speakers of the language when the dominant language has been imposed (p. 31).

I argue that a snapshot of this German colonial education curriculum for Cameroon in some respects befits Phillipson's comments regarding appropriate acculturation strategy within the basic elementary formal schools for the natives to become productive laborers for the German colonial empire.

Among the many issues discussed at the education conference, instructional priorities were outlined for the missions, the American Presbyterians in particular, who were using dialects and English in their schools. All instructional priorities were targeted

toward the first of three German demonstration schools open in Douala in 1888, the second in Deido in 1890, and the third in Victoria in 1892; this was the beginning of the establishment of the German government colonial formal schools. These demonstration school programs were for the immediate development of manpower for the colony, as Woermann wanted, as well as a lesson to mission educators. An examining board was appointed to keep up and maintain high German instructional standards.

There was also a study program designed for the schools with the hope that five years was a reasonable duration for studying the German language, followed by arithmetic and then finally instruction about the child's immediate environment; this would then gradually lead to studying Cameroonian history and world geography. There was also to be instruction in German history after 1870 as well as general science in order for the natives to be knowledgeable about minerals, products from plants, animal life, rainfall, barometers, thermometers, and simple machines. I argue that these measures illustrate the government's power of agenda setting and initiating colonial formal schools to prepare the needed labor force for the expansion of the colonial economy, as stated in Theme 1 of this research (Osterhammel, 2005; Walther, 2001; Cohen, 1993).

There were also serious discussions at the conference about school attendance. For instance, the government favored compulsory attendance but realized that enforcement would be impossible. It was therefore resolved that any chieftain asking for a school must be prepared to ensure that the children attended it regularly. There was also the need for a mandatory 150 days of school attendance in the fifth year in order for a student to graduate and be eligible for any kind of employment. This economically

oriented view of the German colonial formal schools is elaborated upon by Bassey (1999), in the case of German education policy in Namibia, as follows:

General von Trotha was the principal architect of German educational policy in Namibia. Von Trotha wanted Africans to be trained as laborers without political and economic skills. When in 1894, the German colonial administration permitted missionaries to open schools in Namibia: such schools were to follow a general education curriculum. The only education that Africans were allowed to have was practical training as laborers to ensure the supply of workers to the Germans. (Bassey, 1999, p. 35) This view is also articulated by Cohen (1993) and Walther (2001).

This, in essence, was the case in the other German colonies of Togo, Tanzania, and Cameroon as well.

Rudin (1938) explains that a similar mission was put in place by the Germans in Kamerun. In essence, an examining board was appointed to visit the schools in Kamerun so as to work out a course of study that the German government would accept and to make sure that Africans in Kamerun became good German laborers who spoke the native tongue of Germany. "A course of study was worked out for the schools in the belief that five years were necessary for proficiency in reading and writing the German language.... Closer regulation and supervision of the teaching of German in the schools were also ordered by the decree of April 1910" (pp. 356-357).

In addition to the importance of the school curriculum, at the conference, the Governor emphasized the need for collaboration and consultation on educational issues among government, the missions, and voluntary and private agencies. These educational

issues included but were not limited to school administration, budgets, discipline, school enrollments, and examination standards.

The Education Decree of 1910 and Its Implementation

The German Colonial Government was determined to ensure that its directives in terms of school affairs were carried out, as stipulated at the 1907 education conference, through government decrees; these were constantly issued to ensure government oversight over the schools. Three years after the education conference, as a result of directives from the Colonial Office in Berlin, Governor Seitz was determined to put in place measures to tighten school standards and maintain discipline. His goal was to eradicate all foreign and non-German influences that were prevalent before German annexation. He was also determined that the terms of the education conference would be observed and enforced.

For instance, on April 25, 1910, the governor issued the Education Decree of 1910 that emphasized German as the only European language to be taught in the schools and that the Douala language should be limited to the coastal regions (Ruppel, 1912, Doc 614). In this decree, Governor Seitz also declared that:

- School admission age should be five or six years old.
- Higher attendance recruitments were mandatory.
- Children admitted in school must stay until graduation or be fined.
- Children leaving school earlier had to pay for costs.
- People preventing children from going to school were to be fined.
- Children in Douala schools were to pay six Deutsche Marks for tuition.

- There should be closer regulation and supervision of the teaching of German language in the schools.
- Schools must follow government plans to teach the German language in order to receive aid.
- The amount of aid a school received will depend upon the success of students' official examinations in German language.
- An average of 20,000 Deutsche Marks was appropriated to missions as aid for German language instruction.
- Prizes would be awarded to the natives for proficiency in the German language.

There would also be regular inspections to ensure the instruction of German language as decreed. The governor was the final authority to be consulted on all educational issues. According to the decree, missionary schools were expected to instruct their students in the promotion of German language, culture, and civilization.

In fact, I argue that the 1910 educational declaration was in its intention designed to eliminate all non-German educational configurations in the territory. This is evidenced by the reconfiguration of the educational institutions and even the curricula. Governor Seitz went back to Germany on leave, only to be transferred to Southwest Africa as governor while his 1910 educational decree, or *Schulordnung*, was to be implemented by his successor Otto Gleim.

Government Relations during the Otto Gleim Era

Gleim was the fifth governor of Cameroon, from 1910 to 1912. During his two years as governor, Gleim dealt with the implementation of the educational decree of 1910. He was “able to oversee the gradual implementation of the new language policy

and thereby avoid any potential dangers posed by spreading the language of power too rapidly or too widely” (Orosz, 2008, p. 141).

Government Relations with the German Catholic and Baptist Missions. The Gleim administration had a very cordial relationship with the Catholic and Baptist Missions. The missions made efforts to comply with the education decree of 1910 by ensuring that “some German was taught in all of their schools” (Orosz, 2008, p. 142). They also prepared their pupils to write the government subsidy exams, which earned them the needed funding for education and evangelism. In fact, the Catholics required their pupils to communicate in German daily except during Sunday services (Orosz, 2008, p. 144). The Catholics also restricted vernacular usage only to be used within the tribal areas that naturally used the vernacular as their mother tongue.

It is not surprising or accidental that colonial governments have always attached great importance to the promotion of local dialects, vernaculars, or language and culture throughout the educational institutions in their colonial global spheres of influence. This cultural view is promulgated by Coe (2005) concerning the three government discourses of culture: for development, as a way of life, and as drumming and dancing that coexisted in school competitions in British Ghana. Coe sums up the coexistence of culture in schools as follows:

However, all three discourses attempt to render culture a natural product and thus justify the government attempts to appropriate culture through the institutions of schooling (p. 101-102).

I argue that while some colonial governments tried to impose their own metropole (European) cultures in the colonies, some beat this same drum or sang in the same choir with the cultural anthropologists, and they emphasized local cultures as well. The

Germans also shared some of their cultural and educational aspects with the natives such as teaching the German language, patriotic songs, and history in their African colonies of Togo, Cameroon, Namibia, and Tanzania.

In spite of the fact that Governor Seitz' decree contained a program for grants-in-aid to mission schools, only the mission schools that strictly observed government educational policies were qualified for the grants-in-aid. Grant amounts varied according to the number of people who passed official German examinations (*Amtsblatt für Kamerun*, 1913, pp.183-184). Based on these policies, grants began at 30,000 Deutsche Marks and rose from there depending on the measure of mission compliance with government educational policies and directives.

Government Relations with the Presbyterians. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the American Presbyterian missionaries had been evangelizing in Batanga in neighboring French Gabon since the mid-1870s. According to Vernon-Jackson (1968, p. 107), they had problems with the French authorities about the French policy of evangelizing only in the French language. In 1888, Rudin (1938, p., 373), the Presbyterian missionaries made inquiries to move in and evangelize in neighboring German Kamerun. Their request was granted, and they began work in 1890 (p. 374) without resolving the German language policy with the German authorities, who did not want the use of the English language in the territory. In 1900, Governor Jesko von Puttkamer, who hated the Presbyterians, enforced the German language requirement. He also threatened to expel the American Presbyterians for meddling in administrative issues concerning the German war with the Bulu tribe, in which the American Presbyterians were evangelizing. The American Presbyterians refused to comply with the German authorities' educational decrees,

official curricula, and prescribed German examinations for their schools. Thus, they never qualified for any German financial aid (p. 375).

These ongoing disputes explain why the American Presbyterians were not approved and consequently not invited to attend the Douala Educational Conference of 1907 by the German colonial administrators. As a result of the educational decree of 1910, the American Presbyterians found out that if they terminated their mission in Cameroon, the German Basler Missions would not be able to take over. Under such pressure and circumstances, the American Presbyterians began to get German-speaking missionaries, and on this basis, the German authorities allotted funds to the Presbyterian mission schools. By 1913, the mission had 56 white workers, 2,796 converts, and 9,213 pupils in their schools (p. 376).

Requests from the Cameroon German education authorities and the Reichstag (the German parliament) caused the 1914 budget to be raised from 30,000 Deutsche Marks to 60,000 Deutsche Marks. This was in part because of the American Presbyterian mission's willingness to serve and in part because the German Basler Mission was unable to carry on all the missionary work; as a result, the American Presbyterian missionaries had to continue their work in Cameroon using German-speaking missionaries. In addition, an influx of Catholic missionaries, formidable rivals to the American Presbyterian missionaries, was expanding throughout the region.

During the official visit of the American Presbyterian Board from New York to the Cameroon stations, the industrial instruction of the Catholic Pallottine mission, especially at Yaoundé, was very impressive—to the point that the American Presbyterian missionaries acknowledged this progress and decided to push hard to establish the same

programs in carpentry, building construction, blacksmithing, crafts, farming, and domestic science schools for girls. There were end-of-the-year sports activities in which German officers were guests of honor; they made speeches in German and inspected the industrial work of the students (Sixty-Ninth American Presbyterian Report, 1906, p. 31). At this point, the colonial government still considered the need to harmonize public and private schools for greater efficiency. This led to the passage of the Education Decree of 1913, to be discussed shortly.

Government Relations with the Basel Mission. The Basel missionaries continued to resist the implementation of the 1910 decree in terms of their continued use and promotion of native dialects in their schools throughout the region. Gleim decided to crack down on the Bali and Douala dialects to prevent them from spreading beyond those tribes instead of German. When Gleim seized some land in Douala to expand government quarters, the Basel Mission, as champions of native rights, supported the Douala. Gleim was not impressed with the performance of the Basel Missions in comparison to their Catholic rivals (Orosz, 2008, p. 152). Later, in 1912, when Gleim went home to Germany on leave, he was replaced by Karl Ebermaier.

Government and Missionary Relations during the Karl Ebermaier Era

Karl Ebermaier was the sixth and last governor of Cameroon, from 1912 to 1914, when World War I broke out and the victorious British and French allies seized Cameroon from the Germans. Having served under von Puttkamer in Douala from 1903 to 1905, Ebermaier, like von Puttkamer, was a nationalist who shared the same values and beliefs about natives and missionaries. He took a hard look at strategies to enforce

the compliance of the German government's education and language policy in the colony.

Government Relations with the Catholic and Baptist Missions. Ebermaier was impressed with the overall record and performance of the Catholic and Baptist Missions in promoting German language and culture, not only in their schools but also in their mission stations and localities.

Government Relations with the Basel and Presbyterian Missions. Ebermaier was furious about the continuous use of English and pidgin English in the colony and also that "his own officials were making use of vernaculars for official business" (Orosz, 2008, p. 167). He also felt that, unlike the Catholics and Baptists, the Basel and Presbyterian Missions had not done enough to comply with the government's education and language policy and "was already inclined to view the Presbyterian and Basel Missions' responses to the *Schulordnung* most unfavorably" (Orosz, 2008, p. 154). Ebermaier felt that the "*Schulordnung* represented a contract between the government and the missions; hence the Basel Mission had to live up to its end of the bargain" (Orosz, 2008, p. 162).

The Education Decree of 1913 and Its Implementation

As an administrative solution to ensure the compliance of government education and language policy, another education decree, the *Kolonialblatt* was issued. It stipulated that both public and private education be reorganized according to the provisions of the decree of April 25, 1910, by Governor Ebermaier on April 23, 1913. The provisions of this decree made school attendance obligatory and introduced school fees of six Deutsche Marks a year for students attending school in Douala (Ruppel, 1912, Doc 614). Primary

school graduates with five years of instruction upon graduation received a first school leaving certificate that qualified them for local and civil service employment.

The five-year official primary school curriculum for all schools in the German Kamerun territory from April 25, 1910, to April 23, 1913, was as follows: In the first-year program, students had two hours of German language, reading and writing; two hours of moral principles and behavior; and two hours of simple arithmetic, for an overall total of six hours weekly. In the second-year program, the students had two hours of German language reading and writing; three hours of moral principles and behavior; and three hours of simple arithmetic, for a total of eight hours weekly. In the third-year program, the students received four hours of elements of German grammar and orthography; two hours of natural history; three hours of arithmetic; and one hour of geography, for a total of 10 hours weekly.

In the fourth-year program, the students received four hours of German language reading, writing, and explanation of chosen pieces; two hours of arithmetic; one hour of history of the territory; one hour of natural history; and one hour of domestic economic skills, for a total of 11 hours weekly. In the fifth-, and final, year program, students received four hours of exercises in German grammar; three hours of the metric system; one hour of history of the German empire; one hour of natural history; and one hour of domestic economy, for a total of 10 hours weekly (a compilation from *Akten betreffend die Einrichtung von Schulen in Kamerun, 1910-1913*).

This program was aggressively implemented throughout the German Kamerun colony as well as in the other German African colonies.

In Bali, North Western Cameroon, where the Bali dialect was prominent, the government prohibited its extensive usage in the region and also opposed the use of Pidgin English on March 31, 1913 (Kolonialblatt, 1913, pp. 857-859). There was also a meeting among all the missionaries and the government about the use of the Bamum dialect, it was decided that the dialect was acceptable; the government also applauded the Catholic mission's initiatives, which relied on the German language for instruction in the schools rather than native dialects. Thus, this further explains why, in 1913, the important decree known as the "Kolonialblatt" was passed for the regulation of study programs. Agricultural schools were opened to train workers for agricultural work in the colony in such locations as in Victoria, Dschang, and Jaunde. Students enrolled in these schools had to know the German language as well as complete a two-year course in a mission or government school in order to qualify for entrance into an agricultural school.

Upon admission, students received tuition and board in the first year and were eligible for five Deutsche Marks a month in the second year. When students entered the school, they were required to sign a contract with the government that compelled them to remain in school for a period of two years and to work for the government for five years after the end of the course. However, if a student left school before completing the two years' course, he was obliged to pay the government 200 Deutsche Marks for each year he had spent in school.

The training the natives got took place in agricultural stations in the coastal areas and the Hinterlands. They got instruction in processing palm products and preparing rubber for exportation to Germany, two programs that were officially mandated by the German government. These agricultural ventures were evidence of German plantation

agriculture for the expansion of the German economy. This was also a practice of transnationalization of economic crops (transplantation, or the agricultural transfer of economic crops from one nation to another), which Zimmerman (2005) echoes in his article “A German Alabama in Africa: The Tuskegee Expedition to German Togo and the Transnational Origins of West African Cotton Growers”. The work of Rudin (1938) also details examples of transnational economic crops as well as some native varieties that were scientifically propagated at the German Botanical Garden in Victoria for the development of plantation agricultural products for export to Germany and other European markets. Examples include cotton, bananas, cacao for the production of chocolate (imported from Central and South America), coffee, and palm products (Rudin, 1938, pp. 248-285).

The extent of Germany’s economic exploitation of her Cameroon colony (Rudin, 1938, p. 283) is shown by the fact that in 1911, Cameroon was third in ranking among Germany’s other four African possessions in the amount of her exports, imports, and total colonial trade. This was in spite of the fact that Cameroon received far less than the others in grants-in-aid and loans. The economic potential of Cameroon had even been written about in 1898 (p. 285); by 1950, Cameroon would be compared to the best of the Dutch, English, or Portuguese colonies.

As far as training natives for trade occupations, only one training school was opened, in Buea, to train graduates to be journeymen apprentices in cabinetmaking, upholstering, and manufacturing furniture, canes, and ornamental boxes inlaid with ivory. The German Cameroon school budget for 1913 included the construction of three new schools in the interior of the country because it was thought to be psychologically

harmful for the pupils because they became “homesick” when sent from the interior parts of the country to schools on the coast, thus severing contacts with their own people.

Therefore, the appropriate solution was having the children attend schools nearer to their homes. This was also considered more beneficial because the children maintained closer relationships with the specific economic needs of their local environment.

The German Imperial Government made sure that the German culture and colonial education policies supplanted the use of English, which at the time of German annexation was the most widely used Western foreign language in Cameroon. The German Imperial Government also made German the commercial language of Cameroon. The 1913 decree was very important, because it mandated and regulated the training of natives for agricultural work in the colony after the establishment of an agriculture school at Victoria in 1910. Prizes and scholarships were awarded to students for intensive German study, and the decree also put a stop to the use of English in Cameroon (Kolonialblatt, 1913, pp. 857-859).

In addition, the German Imperial Government applauded the Roman Catholic mission for relying on German and Latin rather than indigenous dialects for its work, such as Bojongo mission stations in the regions where they were actively evangelizing. The Protestants, on the other hand, relied on the use of native dialects in the regions, such as the Douala coastal region, where they evangelized as well. This explains the reason why the Protestant missions could not accept the exclusive use of German, because the native dialects were a necessity for their work. Another difference between the Catholics and Protestants is that the Protestants were ready and willing to adhere to the official German policy of each mission group working in its own areas. On the other hand, the

Catholics, who were always favored by government, were opposed to any geographical limitations (Rudin, 1938, p. 376). This illustrates Theme 7 of this research, that the missions sometimes relied on state power to achieve their goals (Stanley, 1990; Mackenzie, 1993; Porter, 1997).

German colonial educational policy was completed in 1913 with provisions of a school week beginning on Monday and ending on Friday or Saturday, with 20-35 hours of instruction weekly depending on the school grade or level. The academic year began in January and ended in December, with two to three months of holidays. The educational budget in Cameroon in 1914 contained 29,600 Deutsche Marks for six schoolteachers' salaries, for the rector, and for school administration. This funding program, which continued until the outbreak of World War I, shows the extent to which the educational decree of 1913 was implemented (Reichstagsverhandlungen, 1914, pp. 8775).

Expansion of the German Colonial Educational System up until World War I

In collaboration with the missionaries, the German colonial formal schools were to be the combination of German as well as other non-German mission educational influences. These were the previously established British and Jamaican Baptist Mission and the American Presbyterian Mission (with experience in neighboring French Gabon) as well as the Swiss missions that were to be locally adapted by the German colonial administrators to produce German Cameroon colonial formal schools, as indicated earlier in Fonkeng (2007, p. 65).

An accounting of government-established schools in 1913 indicated four regular schools for the training of natives to work in the German colonial government service. According to governor Seitz, the Douala school had 362 pupils, the Victoria school had

257 pupils, the Jaunde School had 160 pupils, and the Garua School in the northern Muslim region had 54 pupils, for a total enrollment of 833 pupils (Vom Aufstieg und Neiderbrunch, II, 1913, p. 39).

Interestingly, we do not know whether all 833 pupils who enrolled graduated because there is no data showing otherwise. Also, there is no indication as to whether these schools were exclusively for boys or for girls or coeducational. However, the government claimed that the training in these schools was to prepare the pupils for work in government service. Thus, the German colonial government relied on the missions for this vital educational mission, consequently granting thousands of Deutsche Marks to them for instruction in the German language, which drew criticism from the Reichstag (Reichstagsverhandlungen, 1912, pp.1577). This relates to Theme 7, as discussed in Chapter 1, that the missions needed state power to have funds to achieve their evangelizing objectives (Stanley, 1990; Mackenzie, 1993; Porter, 1997).

An accounting of mission-established schools in 1913, with pupil enrollments, was as follows: The Baptist Mission opened 57 schools and enrolled 3,151 pupils. The American Presbyterian Mission opened 997 schools and enrolled 6,545 pupils. The German Catholic Mission opened 151 schools and enrolled 12,532 pupils. The Basler Mission opened 319 schools and enrolled 17,833 pupils. The overall total contribution of all the Christian missions was 624 schools with 40,061 pupils enrolled in the German Kamerun territory at this time (a compilation from Reichstagsverhandlungen March 7, 1913, pp. 1474).

Again, according to this record, it is not clear whether all 40,061 pupils who enrolled actually completed the primary education program. However, the overall picture

of a total of four missionary groups, which established a total of 624 schools and enrolled 40,061 students, was a very impressive record, one difficult for government to match. In these mission schools, instruction was given in Christian studies, native dialects, German language, shoemaking, tailoring, cabinetmaking, brick-making, carpentry, machining, sewing, washing, cooking, and ironing, as well as arts and crafts. These technical and vocational programs and the student enrollments described in the paragraph above show that the missionaries and their schools quantitatively—and, it can be argued, qualitatively—worked very hard to develop the skilled labor force for the German colonial economy. This was far more than the German colonial government did in its schools, with their four schools and 833 pupils enrolled, as earlier indicated. This relates to Theme 6, as discussed in Chapter 1, that in spite of their conflicts and disagreements, the government and the missions both sought the conversion of colonial subjects to Western ideals (Neill, 1996; Gascoigne, 2008).

Cameroon Pioneer Students in German Universities

The issue of German reluctance to support formal education in her African colonies has already been discussed. In this regard, scholarship addressing the number of Africans sent to Germany for higher formal education from other German African colonies is not available for this research.

However, in the case of Cameroon, Derrick (1979, p. 64) states that some members of the prominent chieftain families in Douala, such as Rudolf Douala Manga Bell, actually studied in Germany shortly after the German annexation of Cameroon in 1884. Born in 1873, the young Bell went to the Christaller Government School in Douala and then to Germany in the 1890s. In Germany, he studied at the Gymnasium at Ulm and

later attended Bonn University and obtained a law degree. Some of his brothers, namely Henry Lobe Bell, Richard Din Manga Bell, and Ekwe Bell, all studied in Germany and obtained good qualifications in mechanical engineering, agricultural science, and architecture. In addition Richard Bell was said to have obtained a diploma in agronomy at Oranienbaum. These were indeed “pioneer” cases of Douala Cameroonians uncovered by this research who were officially sent to Germany for international studies. It should be noted that these personalities were all family members of King Manga Bell, who earlier signed the annexation treaty with German Imperial Commissioner Gustav Nachtigal back in 1884.

My research has not found that sending Cameroon students to Germany for higher education was ever a deliberate policy or practice of the German colonial administration.

End of German Colonial Rule and Education System

With the beginning of World War I in 1914 and the formation of the alliance of the British and French against the Germans, the Germans began losing the Cameroon territory. Also in 1914, the hatred the natives already had for the Germans deepened with the execution of the prominent King Manga Bell of Douala on treason charges by Governor Karl Ebermaier, even though Bell was on the government payroll earning 3,000 Deutsche Marks a year (Rudin, 1938, p. 413). Ebermaier suspected that Bell and his people were secretly planning to turn to England for support and had communicated these plans to win the support of King Joja and other tribal kings in the Hinterlands against the Germans. This relates to Theme 1, as discussed in Chapter 1, that the government had the right to foster German colonial interests (Osterhammel, 2005; Walther, 2001; Cohen, 1993). It was natural for the natives to compare the friendly relations they had enjoyed

previously with the English in the Douala region as well as with the Grasslanders in the Hinterlands who spoke Pidgin English instead of German.

Interestingly, in Germany itself, some domestic German educational reforms took place during the imperial period from 1871-1918. These consisted of three types of secondary schools, namely the traditional gymnasium established during the Renaissance, the Real Gymnasium, and the Oberrealschule. These continuous German educational reforms were invented by Germans, for Germany, and were instituted only in Germany. Any external influence of a German formal school program never reached Africa. This is because the Germans formulated policies that they imposed in their colonial formal schools, all to achieve their desired goals of producing the needed labor force for the German colonial economy in all of their African colonies, not German Africans (Orosz, 2008), including Cameroon, only up until 1914. In essence, these reforms, which took place in Germany except for German language and culture, had no bearing on the type of German colonial formal schools in German Africa, including Cameroon.

However, World War I ended German educational efforts and colonial administration in Cameroon and consequently resulted in Germany losing Cameroon to the British and French allies (Reichstagsverhandlungen, 1912, pp.1577). As is shown in the list of German administrators (Appendix A), the numerous changes in leadership in German Kamerun can be associated with the turbulent political and leadership issues in Germany at a time when Germany was facing serious military challenges from WWI allies in Europe and America as well as in her other German colonies in Africa such as Togo, Namibia, and Tanzania.

Conclusion

In 1919, after being defeated in World War I, Germany lost her Cameroon colony to the British and French allies at the Treaty of Paris (Versailles) because they considered Germany a threat to world peace. The German colonial education policy for her African colonies, according to Vischer (1915) and based on colonial reports filed by Herr Missions-Inspector Martin Schlunk of Hamburg, outlined similar characteristics of native education throughout the German African colonies. Even though there were many aspects of German colonial education practices in all of the academic disciplines in the schools, the Germans nonetheless introduced a new “*Kultur*” that emphasized the importance of bringing all education under government control, as well as maintaining a lingua franca for the natives throughout the colonies.

For example, German patriotic songs were taught in the schools as well as German history and the names of German emperors, but nothing was taught about native leaders. The school systems moved young school graduates away from their surroundings and they never returned, causing family break-ups. Even though the natives were taught to work, they were not encouraged to develop their own native industries, which would have inculcated a positive work ethic in them. Finally, there was little love and respect on the part of the Germans for the natives and their cultural values or national sentiments. After the British took over from the Germans, Hans Vischer, a former Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) missionary worker in Northern Nigeria who became an administrative officer to Lord Frederick Lugard, wrote a critique titled “Native Education in German Africa.” Vischer (1915) sums it up as follows:

Little love and scarcely any respect for the native are to be found among the various (German) reports. No mention is ever made of the natives' national feeling. Natives are taught German history and the names of the German Emperors, and they can sing German patriotic song. . . . We hear that boys who have been to school seldom or never return to their own surroundings, and although this is regretted as being detrimental to the interests of the peasant community, no mention is ever made of the breaking up of the native family and the inevitable harm that must follow (Vischer, p. 123).

This relates to Theme 5, as discussed in Chapter 1, that disagreements between colonial governments and missions—around issues of ethics, morals, language, and even economic development—typically occurred at the expense of human rights (Latourette, 1965).

In essence, many of Vischer's comments are still prevalent in the ancestral oral history of the colonized fondoms of the Grassland areas of Cameroon, such as the Bambui Fondom. Grassland fons, or chiefs, were traditional rulers of their fondoms. The colonial authorities had to consult with the chiefs and traditional rulers in order to insure effective colonial governance for the colonized. The works of the following authors relate to fons and fondoms of the Grassland regions of Cameroon: Vernon-Jackson (1968), Chilver (1966), Mbapndah (1985), Ritzenthaler (1966), and Walters (1991).

In terms of the oral history of these fondoms, Ritzenthaler (1966), Chilver and Cadbury (1967), and Trudell (2004) have done work in this area.

On a positive note, some basic aspects of German formal schooling that were introduced and blended with the African native environment yielded many contributions to the German colonial formal schools in their German African colonies. For instance, in German Togo, the German Colonial Administration, in collaboration with the Christian missionaries, established elementary schools for mass primary education and higher schools to “impart knowledge as is required in the service of Europeans” (Vischer, 1915,

p. 126). Schools were established for practical work in agriculture, domestic work, and crafts as well as the study of the German language and the popular Ewe native language. There was also the establishment of professional teacher training schools, and school financing systems, and a variety of government and missionary schools.

Similarly, in German Cameroon, as in German Togoland, the German Colonial Administration, in collaboration with the Christian missionaries, also established elementary schools for mass primary education, higher schools to prepare personnel for European work, and schools for practical work in agriculture, industry, and skilled trades. There was the introduction of the German language, as well as the Douala local vernacular on the coast. There was the establishment of routine in the school system, professional teacher training centers, and school financing systems, as well as a variety of government and missionary colonial formal schools.

In German Southwest Africa, Namibia, the German Colonial Administration, in collaboration with Christian missionaries, established language instruction in German and native vernaculars. Strikingly, at one school, Lüderitzbucht, English was taught. There was also the establishment of routine in the schools. However, there is no record of professional teacher training of natives, and school financing was limited to only one school, whereas the government paid the mission ten pounds per annum per pupil at the industrial school in Windhuk (Vischer, 1915, p.138).

In German East Africa, Tanzania, the German Colonial Government, in concert with Christian missionaries, established elementary formal schools for mass primary education; formal schools for practical work in agriculture, handicrafts, and domestic work; and formal schools for building and construction. There was religious instruction

in mission formal schools and the establishment of the German language and Swahili instruction in most formal schools. There was also the establishment of routine, a teacher training center in one seminary, a formal school financing system, and a variety of government and Christian missionary formal schools.

Vischer's general observation about the various reports indicate that the German colonial administrators were faced with multi-tribal and multicultural differences to surmount during their rule in the African colonies, which made it difficult to determine how much the natives appreciated the formal schools even though the progress of formal schools was said to have gone hand in hand with the progress "of colonization and mission work" (Vischer, 1915, p. 142). This relates to Theme 4, as discussed in Chapter 1, which is that missionaries can be very successful at local levels, especially in rural areas, because they may have more control over the natives than in urban areas (Foreman, 1972; Comaroff & Comaroff, 1986; Tse-Hei, 2003).

My research agrees with that of Mumford (1935) that Germany instituted the policy of direct rule, or administration, of the native people in its African colonies by white bureaucrats and local agents. They considered the natives as "a natural resource" that should be exploited for economic development through a peaceful governance. This strategy was clearly outlined in the German colonial education policy by Karl Körner in 1931:

The native himself is the chief asset of the colonies. Only with his help can the rich resources of the territories be exploited. Thus development of the native's ability constituted the principal goal of German colonization. To improve his physical status, an extensive campaign against epidemics was conducted by German physicians; to increase his economic capacity, plantations operated by the natives were fostered; for his moral and intellectual progress, the activities of the missions were primarily responsible (p. 822).

Körner went on to say that there was a need for trained servants for officials and state institutions. This included domestic servants and office assistants who could read and write in both their native tongue and in German (p. 822).

I argue that these comments by Körner are related to the period before World War I that I am examining; they show that the use of “The native, as cheap labour, was regarded merely as part of the natural resources of a dependency side by side with rich soil, mineral wealth or fertile climate” (Mumford, 1935, p. 832). Mumford acknowledges that this view was shared by European colonial powers at the time of colonization and even today (p. 832). Körner’s comments also explain the purpose of German colonial education in its African colonies, which were characterized by many village schools. These schools were established by government and missionaries, in which the medium of instruction was German and the given vernacular. All the formal schools were firmly under government control to ensure that the objectives of the formal school and those of the German Colonial Administration were met. These objective were to “produce official workers and good subjects” who would contribute to the social life and economy of the German-European community (p. 822).

In order to address the question of why German colonial formal schooling was introduced onto the German Kamerun landscape, my research has not found evidence of German formal schooling being introduced into the German Kamerun colony or any other German African colony. However, some aspects and practices of German formal schooling, such as language, patriotic songs, and history, were used in basic colonial formal elementary, high elementary, and vocational schools throughout German Africa to produce the needed native manpower for the German colonial economy. This, I argue,

was not for the production of the native intelligentsia in German Kamerun and throughout other German African colonies.

In Chapter 4, I will examine the introduction of the British colonial formal schools, which came about as a result of the British and French allies defeating the Germans in World War I. This subsequently led to the institution of British colonial formal schools in the territory, which I consider the second instance of colonial formal schools being imposed on the Cameroon education landscape.

CHAPTER FOUR
THE BRITISH COLONIAL EDUCATION ERA, 1914-1945

Introduction

In this chapter, I will explore the events that led to the British colonial presence, rule, and the establishment of colonial formal schools in Cameroon from 1914 up until the end of World War II in 1945. I will also examine the British colonial formal schools and the alliances formed by the British with Western Christian Missions to establish the overall British colonial education enterprise in Cameroon. In accordance with my research objectives, coupled with highlighting my intellectual themes where necessary, government and missionary relations will be rigorously explored in terms of the conflicts and resolutions that ultimately led to the establishment of colonial formal schools in the British Cameroon territory during the mandate period.

I will further examine the categories of schools that were established, namely the vernacular schools, mission schools, government administration schools, and native administration schools. Finally, I will look at how the British colonial education authorities administered the schools as well as how these schools functioned during and after the mandate period, that is, the period when the League of Nations gave this portion of Cameroon to the British as a mandated territory (from 1914 to the start of World War II).

I will also argue that the overall colonial policies of the British, just like those of the other colonial powers engaged in colonization schemes globally—the Germans, Dutch, French, Portuguese, and the United States—were for the purpose of expanding their colonial economies. I will further argue that to achieve its colonial ambitions, the British colonial empire initially used its military force for the conquest and acquisition of the Cameroon territory. I will further demonstrate that after acquisition, a British colonial education policy of founding colonial schools was formulated and instituted to eradicate the previous German colonial formal schools in the territory. This was done to acculturate the natives with the English language and culture of the occupying power, Britain (Phillipson, 1992) in order to train them to become the labor force to expand Britain's colonial economy.

Military Force, Resistance, and Occupation

The British Empire, like other Western empires such as German and French, was determined to extend its sphere of influence globally through military conquest and the acquisition of colonies. The outbreak of World War I in Europe gave the Allies, Britain and France, the opportunity to attack the Germans in Cameroon, which they did. For instance, according to the chronology of events (Mbaku, 2005), from August to September 1914, the Germans were attacked from the coastal regions into the Grassland regions. There was, however, some resistance to British military occupation on the part of Germans and their native conscripts, such as at Miang. There was also considerable amount of resistance by Africans throughout the continent against British rule, such as the Temne Revolt in Sierra Leone in 1893-1900, the Ashanti War of 1874 and the Resistance of 1896-1900 in Ghana, the Zanzibar uprising of 1896, and the Mau Mau

uprising of 1952-55 in Kenya, just to mention a few cases in Africa where the colonizer, in this case Britain, imposed its will on its colonies (Grenville-Freeman, 1976, p. 61).

Nonetheless, the final assault on the Germans in Cameroon came with the defeat of Major Hans Domink (National Episcopal Conference of Cameroon, 1990, p. 123). From September 21-24 1915, the British and French victors over the defeated Germans jointly established sovereignty over the territory with a joint provisional administration to oversee the total defeat of the Germans in the captured territories. This was to ensure that there was no hidden resistance to allied occupation in terms of German sympathizers likely to cause any insurrections.

On March 4, 1916, the Allies ended joint governance and France acquired four-fifths of the territory, to be administered with French Equatorial Guinea; the British acquired one-fifth of the territory that constituted British Northern and Southern Cameroon that she will administer with her the British colony of Nigeria (see Appendix C, German Kamerun, 1901-1907). The British officially changed the spelling of the name of the territory such that German Kamerun became British Cameroon.

On May 7, 1919, the Supreme Allied Council meeting at Versailles officially handed all German conquered territories in Africa to the conquerors except for Cameroon and Togo; that was later settled through negotiation by the Allies, Britain and France.

On May 20, 1922, Cameroon and Togo were officially declared by the League of Nations as mandated territories. They continued to be administered by Britain and France up until 1946, when they became United Nations Trust Territories, still under British and French administration, respectively.

British Colonial Administrative Hierarchy in Cameroon

The Cameroon territory was headed by the same British governor-general resident in Lagos, Nigeria. This is because, as mentioned earlier, Nigeria was already a British colony before the acquisition of the Cameroon territory. Thus, the British government decided to assign the administration of the Cameroon territory to the British governor-general in neighboring Nigeria. This decision, I will argue, was for the purposes of reducing administrative cost and for geopolitical expediency.

The governor-general was assisted by both the British administrator of the British Northern Cameroon territory and the British administrator of the British Southern Cameroon territory. The governor-general received his powers from the British Foreign Secretary and the British Prime Minister, who in turn reported to the British Parliament and the Privy Council on Colonial Affairs (Fafunwa, 1974, p. 93).

At the official beginning of British colonial rule in the southern Cameroons, the policy of indirect rule through powerful native rulers was instituted. This was in accordance with the colonial experiences of Lord Fredrick Lugard from neighboring Nigeria, as earlier mentioned. Thus, under the leadership of the governor-general in Lagos, Nigeria, the colonial authorities, for reasons of administrative expedience, divided the territory into four divisions—Victoria, Kumba, Mamfe, and Bamenda—that were administered by district officers.

The district officers were assisted by assistant district officers, who relied on powerful native chiefs who were head of their native administration/authority, in keeping with the British colonial policy of indirect rule (Ndi, 1983). These native administration councils carried out local governance with directives from the colonial administration.

Native administration councils dealt with issues of revenue collection or taxation, customary court trials, and court marriages. I argue that these native administration councils did the dirty work to mitigate any popular revolts by the masses against the colonial administrators.

After having conquered the Germans, and thereby acquiring the Cameroon territory, the British decided to formulate a colonial education policy that would create British colonial formal schools for Cameroon similar to what was prevalent in its other African colonies, particularly in neighboring Nigeria. First, I will argue that this British colonial schooling venture is the second instance of colonial formal schooling in Cameroon after the Germans. Second, I will argue that this British colonial education scheme created colonial formal schools that were to acculturate Cameroon natives to become the labor force needed for the expansion of the British colonial economy and empire (see Appendix D, British Southern Cameroon 1915; Appendix E, British and French Cameroon 1919-1960). This would require eliminating all traces of the German colonial formal schools and replacing them with British colonial formal schools.

British Colonial Education Policy Developments in Cameroon

The British colonial education policy for Cameroon can be viewed through a wider lens of the British colonial educational policy for all of Africa. In terms of her West African colonies, Britain instituted her colonial formal schools in Cameroon in accordance with the British colonial education policy implemented in her Nigerian territory as well as in her other West African colonies. In essence, most of her colonial education policies in Africa, and specifically in neighboring Nigeria, were replicated to

Cameroon. Thus, the official regulations of the Nigerian department of education became official in Cameroon in 1926 (Vernon-Jackson, 1963, pp. 148-53).

An important irony about the formulation of the British colonial education policy for its African colonies was the British Privy Council's memorandum of 1847 that specified, among other things, no "industrial schools for colored races". However, this policy was later changed by ordinance No. 133 in 1907 specifically to train natives for the manual labor needed for agricultural extraction industries for the British colonial economy. In terms of implementing colonial formal schooling policies, I submit that there were two instances of British colonial educational policies that were officially adapted but not instituted in Cameroon until 1922, as discussed in the next section. I argue that this is why industrial education later became the dominant theme of British colonial formal schools in Cameroon from 1922 up to the outbreak of World War II.

In addition, this memorandum spelled out other ideas that were later incorporated in the directives for the establishment of colonial formal schools in Africa. The ideas highlighted the teaching of agriculture and hygiene, as well as adapting school curricula to be familiar to the local teacher and local culture of the area. School grants-in-aid had been very important ever since 1809, when the British made such grants available for education in Sierra Leone (Brown, 1964, pp. 365-377).

As mentioned above, the colonial formal schools in Cameroon were similar to the colonial formal schools of Nigeria. This is because Lord Frederick Lugard, who was the architect of British indirect rule policy for all British West African colonies, put the program in place. Thus, in 1909 Lugard assigned his assistant, Major Hans Vischer, to formulate a German colonial formal school program for the Muslim regions of northern

Nigeria that Lugard had organized in the 1900 into protectorates (Williams, 1959, pp.6-8). Thus, in terms of the non-Muslim territories of the protectorate, Vischer crafted a similar program with a comprehensive educational code for the southern provinces that later included southern Cameroon. The code emphasized the three Rs—reading, 'rithmetic, and 'riting—as well as the dialects and practical training in cultural adapted African education.

Incidentally, the educational policy of the World Missionary Conference, held in Edinburgh in 1910, called for the propagation of a culturally adapted education in Britain's African colonies, including Cameroon. The emphasis on a culturally adapted education for Britain's African colonies is in stark contrast to the German policy that emphasized the German colonial education and language policies in their colonies directly in accordance with direct rule policy.

Thus, according to Phillipson (1992), the British, with no intervention from the world community, also emphasized and encouraged the institutionalization and promotion of English, with no adaptation to the cultural environment, as the dominant language throughout the British African empire (pp. 5,17, 31). However, my research found, as a result of the adaptation policy, evidence of the use of “pigeon English”. This was adapted English language for use in the West African environment; it was tolerated by the British for use in primary schools throughout the Cameroon territory up to today.

Colonial Educational Policy Initiatives by British Colonial Authorities

In the case of British Cameroon, the British colonial administration felt that it had to duplicate its Nigerian colonial education policy in the Cameroon territory. In essence, this demonstrates how the British colonial authorities were able to institute some of their

colonial education policies that were initiated in their neighboring Nigerian colony with some adaptations into their acquired Cameroon educational landscape. This was because the policies worked well in Nigeria for the most part because they were buttressed by Christian missionary efforts. The British felt that the Western Christian missionaries, who had been experienced pioneers in educating Africans, would be valuable partners for the establishment of British colonial formal schools on the Cameroon landscape.

According to Bassey (1999), education in Nigeria was virtually a monopoly of Western missionaries (p. 27). This fact is affirmed by Fafunwa (1974):

Prior to 1925 the British government had no clearly defined policy on education in its African colonies. What might appear as its first statement on the issue was made by the British Privy Council's Committee on Education in 1847 when it vaguely referred to the need for "securing better conditions of life and development of the African as a peasant on the land" (p. 93).

These comments point to the origin of Britain's colonial education policy foundation for her African colonies.

Thanks to the missionaries, some policy initiatives were in place long before the British took charge of the formal schools. But for the missionaries, there would have been no educational policy guidelines, such as: (1) common syllabus, standard textbook, regular school hours, etc; (2) adequate supervision of schools—buildings, teachers pupils, etc; (3) central examination program; (4) uniformity in the condition of service for teachers; nor (5) adequate financial support and control (p. 93).

At this juncture, it was the efforts of Hans Vischer, the former Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) missionary worker in Northern Nigeria and a former assistant to Lugard, who became an administrative officer and in 1909 defined his seven cardinal principles of education for the Northern Nigerian region. The main points of these

principles were to develop the national and racial characteristics of the natives to enable them to use their own moral and physical forces to their best advantage, including introducing technical instruction side by side with clerical teaching (pp. 106-7).

Britain's colonial education policy continued to be defined by other contemporary colonial administrators such as Lord Frederick Lugard, the experienced British colonial administrator in northern Nigeria. According to Bassey (1999), Lugard summed it all when he stated that:

The object which education in Africa must have in view must be to fit the ordinary individual to fill a useful part in his environment...and to ensure that the exceptional individual shall use his abilities for the advancement of the community and not to its detriment or to the subversion of constituted authority....The education of the sons of native born rulers is particularly desirable in order to avoid the present danger of a separate educated class in rivalry with the accepted rulers of the people. I have placed the formation of character in the foreground of African education...[because] among the primitive tribes ethical standards must be created—among few are they a vital, potent force (as quoted on p. 36).

These, in essence, are the policy guidelines by Lord Lugard that were instrumental in the development of a British colonial education policy for Nigeria and Britain's other African colonies, Egypt in North Africa, Kenya in East Africa, Sierra Leone, Ghana and Nigeria in West Africa, and South Africa (Azania).

It was therefore a combination of the ideas and experiences of pioneer British administrators and the Christian missionaries that contributed to British colonial policy in Nigeria. Later on this combination became the foundation of British colonial education policy in its other African colonies, which consequently contributed to formulating the British colonial education policies that were instituted on Cameroon's educational landscape. According to the center-periphery perspective of McCulloch and Lowe

(2003), as well as the empire and hegemonic creations alluded to by Young (1994), this is a typical case, where Britain was the center and Cameroon was the periphery. In this case, according to the center/periphery theory (McCulloch & Lowe, 2003), Britain, as center, had to venture for territories (peripheries) in order to expand its colonial economy. Cameroon was, therefore, one more addition to Britain's (center) number of territories (peripheries) in Africa.

Phillipson (1992) explains why natives of British peripheries or colonies began to reject the dictatorial practices of the centers by committing outright acts of insurrection. For example, "leaders of oppressed groups like Gandhi (1927), who protested against the alienation induced by the English language in India, the intoxication, denationalization, and mental slavery which the language brought with it" felt compelled to reject any and all learning of English, thus hindering any peaceful relationship with the British government, the center of India (p. 35-36). Another scholar, Said (1994), comments:

As imperialism increased in scope and in depth, so too in the colonies themselves the resistance mounted. Just as in Europe, the global accumulation that gathered the colonial domains in the world market economy was supported and enabled by a culture giving empire ideological license, so in the overseas *imperium* the massive political, economic, and military resistance was carried forward and informed by an actively provocative and challenging culture of resistance (p. 222).

This scholarship speaks to the resistance that flourishes as a result of colonial education imposition tactics.

There were other educational initiatives that contributed to the education policy developments in Cameroon, as discussed below.

Education Policy Reports from 1919 to 1922

The first Pan–African Congress of 1919 was led by a prominent African American leader Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, which met in Paris, called on the allied powers of World War I to secure African interests in terms of education, government participation, and land ownerships. Also, there was a series of commissions that met and issued reports, starting with the African Education Commission, which was sponsored by the Phelps-Stokes Fund. The Phelps-Stokes Fund also sponsored the Phelps-Stokes Commission, begun in 1919, which was a United States-based project that examined the subject of education in Africa. According to the commission’s first report, published in 1922, there was a revelation that education in British West, South, and Equatorial Africa was almost a duplicate of the formal schools in Britain and was not befitting to the crucial needs of Africa.

Thus, according to the report, “The wholesale transfer of the educational practices of Europe and America to the peoples of Africa was certainly not an act of wisdom, however justly it might be defended as a proof of genuine interest in the African people” (Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1922, p. 16; also Fafunwa, 1974, p. 122). The report was critical that the education in Cameroon had not been adapted according to the 1907 manual training ordinance as well as the post-1910 Edinburgh Conference of June 17, 1910, which had addressed education in relation to the Christianization of national life. Yet unfortunately, by 1922, the status quo was still in effect and yet to be changed.

The Phelps-Stokes second commission report of 1924 focused on education in East, Central, and South Africa, highlighting the need for an education adapted to indigenous cultural needs such as agriculture, hygiene, crafts, home economics, physical

education and character development. The report recommended that African schools should be industry modeled like the Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes in the United States of America.

Scholars such as Steiner-Khamsi and Quist (2000) have analyzed how educational practices can be a result of borrowing and lending, similar to the first Phelps-Stokes report, of 1922, titled *Education in Africa*, which covered West, South, and Equatorial Africa, as well as the second report, of 1924, titled *Education in East Africa*, which covered East, Central, and South Africa. Thus, education policy duplications and adaptations were typical and practiced in the British colonies throughout tropical Africa. An example is the case of Achimota in Ghana, where some of the industrial education guidelines were duplicated, adapted, and implemented.

As mentioned earlier, the report of the World Missionary Conference of 1910 in Edinburgh, with the absence of an African culturally adapted education, coupled with the Phelps-Stokes Commission first report of 1922, collectively generated global criticism about British colonial education policy for Africa that was not adapted for Africans. Thus, I argue, in order to remedy the situation, the British colonial government decided to change course by appointing a native education advisory commission for its tropical African territories with the following directives:

To advise the secretary of state on any matters of Native education in the British colonies and protectorates in Tropical Africa which he may from time to time refer to them, and to assist him in advancing the progress of education in those colonies and protectorates (Great Britain, Colonial office, Advisory Committee on native Education in British tropical African dependencies, Education policy, in British Tropical Africa, London: H.M. Stationery office, 1925, p. 3 (hereafter called G.B. Report on Cameroon for [year]); also in Gwei, 1975, p. 54).

This shows the British government's attempt to formulate a colonial education policy for its African territories that was acceptable to the international community at this time. This move can be associated with my Theme 1, where government had the power of agenda setting and initiating colonial formal schools, as discussed by Osterhammel (2005), Walther (2001), and Cohen (1993).

Other educational policy developments took place in 1925 that also contributed to the formulation of the British colonial educational policy in Africa, including Cameroon, as discussed below.

Educational Policy Developments in 1925

After 18 months of careful examination of the educational activities in all British colonies, protectorates, and mandated territories in East and West Africa (Cameroon included), British colonial education experts came up with committee findings that became the basis of the published memorandum of 1925 that became the educational policy for British tropical Africa. This document outlined Britain's official public statements about the principles and policies that constituted her educational activities in Africa for approximately 20 years, from 1925 to 1945. Again, this is typical of government exercising the theme of agenda setting (Theme 1). It may be summarized as follows:

- Voluntary educational efforts: Government will encourage all voluntary educational efforts, but “reserves to itself the general direction of educational policy and the supervision of all institutions...”

- Co-operation: There shall be efforts to encourage and promote co-operation between government and other educational agencies.
- Adaptation: Education shall be adapted “to the mentally, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of the various peoples” so as “to render the individual more efficient in his or her condition of life... to promote the advancement of the community as a whole through the improvement of agriculture, the development of native industries, the improvement of health, the training of the people in the management of their own affairs, and the inculcation of the true ideas of citizenship and service.... Provision must also be made for the training of those who are required to fill post in the administrative and technical services as well as those who as chiefs will occupy positions of exceptional trust and responsibility.”
- Religion and character development: Religion and character development: the greatest importance must... be attached to religious teaching and moral instruction. Both in schools and in training colleges they should be accorded to an equal standing with secular subjects.... Field games and social recreations and intercourse are influences at least as important as class room instruction. The formation of habits of industries, of truthfulness, of manliness, of readiness for social service and of disciplined co-operation, is the foundation of character.... The most effective means of training character... is the residential school. The educational service conditions must be made attractive so as to invite the best British and African men available.
- Grants-in-aid: The grants-in-aid program to schools will be in accordance with official standards established in order to encourage voluntary educational efforts

- Use of vernaculars: Importance of evaluating the use of the vernaculars the textbooks, adaptation of content, and method of teaching to the African cultural background.
- Native teachers: African teachers “should be adequate in numbers, in qualifications, and in character, and should include women.” This goal shall be accomplished by establishing teacher training centers, vocational centers, and conferences for teachers.
- Visiting teachers: The establishment of special visiting teachers to improve relations between village schools and teachers.
- Inspection and supervision: The indispensable need of inspection and supervision to ensure the vitality and efficiency of the educational enterprise.
- Technical and industrial training: The establishments of government workshops for technical and industrial training.
- Vocational training: The establishment of vocational training other than industrial training to be given in all government departments such as the, forestry, agricultural, medical veterinary, post office, survey, and so on.
- Education of females: The crucial need for the education of females, both girls and women.
- Organization and structure: The schools should be organized and structured to include elementary education for both boys and girls, intermediate or secondary education, vocational and technical education, and the establishment of some institutions that may develop to University level for the education of professionals in the fields of education, health, and agriculture (Brown, pp. 3-8).

The contents of this memorandum were intended to help in the education policy developments for all British African colonies as well as for the Cameroon territory.

A follow-up memorandum, which appeared in 1927, stipulated the need for the vernacular in native education. A second memorandum on the education of the African communities appeared in 1935, and a third memorandum on mass education on African society appeared in 1943, all based on the priorities laid down by the 1925 memorandum (Brown, 1964, pp. 370-371).

British Educational policy was supposed to guide British educational practice in her African colonies, such as British Southern Cameroons, from 1925. The policy basically prescribed a simplistic education for the populace, just like the Phelps-Stokes Commission directives, but it advocated a more advanced education for Africans in leadership positions. Even with this policy in place, very little was done for the masses in Cameroon. This was either due to the financial crisis as a result of the global economic recession of 1929 and depression of 1930 as well as the isolated nature of Southern Cameroon from Lagos, which was the capital of Nigeria at that time from where Britain coordinated and directed Cameroons educational activities.

This scenario explains why government administration schools in Cameroon were not only few but poorly equipped due to poor funding for operations. The British government's report to the United Nations General Assembly in 1949 actually described the educational facilities in Cameroon at that time as "backward" and "inadequate" (Great Britain, Annual Report to U.N. General Assembly on the Administration of Cameroon Under United Kingdom, 1949, p. 142). This state of affairs explains why the establishment of the British Educational Enterprise in Cameroon was almost the entire

responsibility of the Christian missions who, according to my Theme 4, demonstrated mission successes at the local level of colonial societies, as discussed by Foreman (1972), Comaroff and Comaroff (1986), and Tse-Hei (2003).

Bassey (1999) argues that the British colonial government had always promoted policies that undermined quality education for Africans, and he sums it all as follows: “It was for these and similar reasons that the British government promulgated Ordinance Number 133 in 1907 to train Africans for manual labor” (p. 33).

Implementation of Colonial Education Policy Objectives

During World War I, all German government administration schools in Cameroon were closed down because British military forces occupied some of the buildings and some were destroyed. In 1916, a British civil administration took over from the British military government and occupied the territory known as the British Cameroons (see Appendix D, and Appendix E).

The British administration, in collaboration with the Christian missions, got involved in education throughout the Cameroons province. The British-administered part of the territory was the part of Cameroon that later became Southern Cameroon and, still later on, at the time of Independence, West Cameroon. This region was developed separately from Northern Cameroon, which opted in 1961 to join Nigeria in independence instead of reuniting with the Cameroon Republic that was the former French Cameroon.

In 1916, Britain reopened the German government administration school at Victoria, only to realize the scarcity of the educational infrastructure that was prevalent

throughout the region at the very start of its administration. However, considerable efforts were made to expand the infrastructure.

A quantitative compilation of the expansion of mission schools, government administration schools, and native administration schools was as follows. In 1923, there were no officially recognized mission schools, but in 1924, 37 schools were opened, and by 1938, there were a total of 2,832 mission schools in the territory. The number of government administration schools increased from six schools in 1923 to a total of 88 schools in 1938. The number of native administration schools increased from 12 schools in 1923 to a total of 207 schools in 1938. Thus, according to these figures, the missionary contributions to school expansion in the territory were significantly greater than that of the government and native authorities (Great Britain Annual Reports on the Cameroons to the League of Nations, 1923-1938).

In 1922, after Britain officially assumed full political economic, social, and educational responsibility over the Cameroon province, her stated educational objectives were as follows: “The first end in view is the formation of character; the second the acquirement of the English language. Rather than create a small number of scholars, it is desired to influence as large a number of children as possible, equally distributed all over the province” (Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons for 1922, p. 42).

In view of the fact that the destiny of the Cameroon province was the responsibility of Britain, British colonial government education policies and regulations were to be implemented in her Cameroon territory in order for Britain to attain her governing objectives.

Initially the regulations laid out in the education ordinance for the Nigerian British protectorate were applicable to Cameroon (Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons for 1922, p.43). This explains why in 1924, the British colonial government issued educational regulations that introduced a uniform educational program for the vernacular, mission, government administration, and native administration schools in the Cameroon territory as a subset of Nigeria. The educational programs, or schemes, of work included textbooks, educational manuals, and timetables that were similar to those in Nigerian schools (Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons for 1924, p. 37; 1925, p. 69).

Government regulations also spelled out conditions for opening new schools in order to halt the indiscriminate opening of schools that were poorly equipped and staffed without sufficient supervision. The regulations stipulated that a three-month notice to the director of education was necessary before the opening of a new school. This was in accordance with the regulations in the Nigerian education code that emphasized openness to government inspection except in cases where the school was purely religious (Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons for 1926, p. 66).

In view of the prevalent confusion of religious and secular educational goals, as well as the lack of trained teachers, government regularly subjected mission schools to its regulations, especially the provisions of educational codes.

The May 1926 regulations called the New Education Ordinance for The Colony and Southern Provinces of Nigeria were implemented in Cameroon, to begin September 1, 1927 (p. 64). They included many recommendations contained in the 1925 Memorandum on Education Policy for British Tropical Africa.

The new Education Ordinance stipulated the qualifications for all categories of teachers including minimum staff requirements for individual schools, conditions for government grants-in-aid, and the extent of the grants. Later, the required body of knowledge that students were expected to acquire during their educational programs was expanded to include studies in purely religious educational institutions such as Koranic schools, Sunday schools, and seminaries. The responsibilities of managers and supervisors of “assisted schools,” such as nongovernment administration schools receiving public funds, were also stipulated.

The 1925 Memorandum stated that Provincial Advisory and Central Boards of Education be organized to include Medical, Agricultural, and Public Works Departments, and missionary organizational representatives. In addition, the opinions of settlers, traders, and natives were adopted and included in section seven of the New Ordinance (Hailey, p. 1230).

The previous provisional school committee set up in Cameroon in 1926 was reorganized to a permanent school committee, as stipulated by the new regulations. The Provincial School Committee included members such as the Resident Administrator; the District Officer, the Medical Officer of Victoria; the Superintendent of Education of Buea; representatives of the Basel Mission and the Roman Catholic Mission; the District Head, Victoria; and the District Head of Buea. In spite of the fact that the committee decisions were binding over the entire province, realistically it was a divisional instead of a provincial committee because three of the four divisions, namely, Kumba, Mamfe, and Bamenda, were excluded.

The Categorization of Schools

The policy of categorizing the schools helped to insure efficient interaction and eliminated the possibility of schools overlapping or duplicating instruction. In consideration of the League of Nations policies for member nations and the missionaries who operated in their mandated territories, the British colonial government took the view that: “The principle of liberty of conscience and religion is one that may well be said to be inherent in British administration and instinctive to its agents.... No obstacle of any kind is placed in the way of the expansion of missionary work” (British Cameroons Annual Report, 1926, p. 44; also Fonkeng, 2007, p. 126).

These comments indicate that the missionaries had the government’s authority to expand schools. Furthermore, the British authorities felt that the missionaries’ objective of evangelization needed to be met. In this vein, the British colonial authorities stated, “No formalities of any kind are required in order to open a church, chapel or school” (British Cameroons Annual Report, 1926, p. 44; also Fonkeng, p. 126). This policy essentially promoted the opening of more schools in the Cameroon territory.

In accordance with this policy, schools in southern Cameroon were classified in four categories as follows: (1) vernacular formal schools, (2) mission assisted and unassisted formal schools, (3) government administration formal schools, and (4) native administration formal schools. These categories of schools later formed the framework for the policies that constituted the British colonial education enterprise in Cameroon. This enterprise was different from that of the Germans because besides the categorization of the government and mission formal schools, the British also created the category of

native administration formal schools that was based on the British colonial policy of indirect rule. These categories of schools are elaborated upon below.

Vernacular Formal Schools

Throughout the territory, an amended ordinance was put in place for vernacular instruction in vernacular schools. Under this new ordinance, all Cameroon teachers were required to be registered. The required minimum qualification for teachers in Cameroon beginning January 1, 1929, was to complete standard six, the final year of primary school, and obtain a Passing Certificate. However, teachers in vernacular schools were exempt from this regulation. These vernacular schools, which offered instruction in the vernacular, were considered an important head start for children in their local areas before transitioning to English-language schools that were either mission, government, or native administration schools. This was the best method to graduate pupils who were vernacular and English interpreters. The standard six Passing Certificate graduates who taught in vernacular schools were registered in Part D in the Registry of Teachers. They could elect to teach either in a regular school or a vernacular school.

The problems that arose in the application of the Nigerian Education Ordinance in Cameroon were amended to conform to the situation in Cameroon. For instance, section seventeen of the New Ordinance enabled the Governor-in-Counsel, based on the recommendation of the Education Board, to exempt schools or classes from certain provisions of the ordinance (Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons for 1927, pp. 56, 57). This amendment in turn made it possible for other amendments to be implemented, such as section nineteen, which was amended to permit the registration of teachers who

chose to teach specifically in the vernacular. Such teachers were bound by this agreement, which stated:

I hereby undertake that, except with the written sanction of the director of Education or his representative, I will only teach in schools where the instruction given is solely in the vernacular, and I understand that breach of this undertaking will be regarded as a grave misconduct punishable by removal of my name from the Register of Teachers (Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons for 1929, p.75).

These comments show how native teachers valued their dialects and were ready to keep cultural values alive through vernacular instruction in various schools in their localities.

Coe (2005) alludes to this practice of language culture that was persistent in schools in British Ghana, even in school cultural competitions (competitions held for cultural display and continuity) in order to ensure that “cultural knowledge is passed down from generation to generation” (p. 103). These subsequent regulations, according to the British administration, ensured that the educational agencies would provide what they considered to be efficient education in accordance with the standards stipulated for all schools in the province.

School Curriculum and Teacher Qualifications

Another example of agenda setting (Theme 1) is that in terms of the curriculum for elementary classes in all mission, government, and native administration schools throughout the region, the colonial government standardized the following subjects: reading, writing, arithmetic, nature study, moral instruction, physical exercises, and singing and colloquial English. In government and native administration schools, permission was needed from the Director of Education for religious instruction during secular moral instruction by mission representatives of the school district (Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons for 1926, pp 73-74).

The school curriculum for standards 1 through 6 was defined by the subjects required for the completion of the First School Living Certificate Examination; these included reading, writing, English composition, colloquial English, English dictation, and English grammar.

In some mission schools, implementation of the above curriculum was not possible until qualified indigenous teachers were appointed. For instance, the Basel missionaries, which had the largest numbers of schools as well as the largest numbers of unqualified teachers, found it impractical to implement the curriculum. Thus, most of the curriculum for Basel Mission schools consisted of subjects such as arithmetic, reading, singing, writing, doctrine, hygiene, organized games, and drawing, all of which were taught in the vernacular (pp. 73-74).

The need for the establishment of a language of instruction was recognized by the British administration when they occupied Cameroon. Since language is a crucial medium of instruction at the early stages of education, the British found that Cameroon was a “country of innumerable languages”. Thus, the British administration concluded that “the vernacular unfortunately cannot be used as a medium of instruction in government administration schools even in the initial stages... ” (Great Britain, Colonial Office, Education policy in British Tropical Africa, p. 6).

As an alternative, the British administration allowed the limited use of “pidgin English”. This led to the 1925 Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical Africa Dependencies, which emphasized the need for vernacular in native education by recommending English with some limited use of “pidgin English” as the medium of instruction in Cameroon schools. In 1926, the Cameroon provisional school

committee rejected the use of English as a medium of instruction because it slowed down a child's progress in the early years of schooling. Thus, the vernacular was recommended as a medium of instruction for the first three years of school with respect to the Duala vernacular for schools in Victoria and Kumba divisions and Bali vernacular for the Bamenda division schools, respectively (Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons for 1926, pp. 64, 65).

As soon as the new education ordinance of Nigeria was implemented in Cameroon, which was another instance of colonial formal schooling, the committee's recommendations were accepted and applied to native administration, government, and infant classes in mission schools. These implementations took place when the majority of government administration school teachers were not Cameroonians and four out of six government administration schools in 1927 carried out instruction in the vernacular. The British administration's language policy that was reluctant to authorize the use of the vernacular or pidgin English as a medium of instruction was as follows:

In the Cameroons province there are two main languages, Duala and Bakweri, and a number of less important languages and dialects. In none of these is there likely to be developed a literature.... The same principle is applied as has been adopted in the Southern provinces of Nigeria, namely to teach English in the elementary schools, after a short period of learning in the mother tongue. English in fact will become the lingua franca of the Cameroons province.... In the Cameroons as in the Southern province of Nigeria the policy is gradually to replace "pidgin" through the influence of schools by simple English phonetically taught and based on a limited vocabulary of the most common words in everyday use (Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons for 1934, pp.78-79; also Gwei, p. 81).

These comments indicate some assumptions concerning the limited instruction in the vernacular. These assumptions, in essence, turned out to be incorrect; thus, the British

colonial education authorities had no other choice but to respect the provisions for dialects and vernacular schools.

As previously mentioned, it was the London Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) that led the initiative to translate and develop large amounts of literature in the Duala dialect even including the entire Christian Bible and other texts such as John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, grammar books, and other school textbooks. I argue that this was the strategy of adapting of British educational material for the purpose of instituting the needed British colonial formal schools in her Cameroon colony. However, it is noteworthy that the Christian missions constituted the bedrock of formal schools in the region before official British colonization. What then was the nature of government and missionary relations moving forward in terms of conflicts and resolutions? These issues will be examined below.

Government and Missionary Conflicts and Resolutions in the Region

From 1915 to 1922, there were no resident Catholic missionaries in this region because the German Pallottines who were evangelizing were expelled by the British. From 1920 to 1923, the French Sacred Heart Catholic priests arrived in the territory, and from 1922 to 1924, the Mill Hill missionaries arrived in the region to start evangelizing. So besides the above-mentioned missions, there was the Basel, Presbyterian, and Baptist mission presence in the region.

Government and missionary conflicts took place in the Bamenda grassland from 1925 to 1931. Government authorities were against the Catholic doctrine and policy against polygamy that was a typical practice among fons, chiefs, and nobles throughout the grassland as well as in the forest and coastal areas. Consequently, the Catholics often

disrupted polygamous families, including royal families, in the process of evangelization. Once this occurred, the chief or fon would react by burning the church and refusing to provide laborers for the government stations (Ndi, 1983).

Government authorities liked the Protestant mission for being tolerant on issues of polygamy but not for its support of native rights in the area of native customs that the government considered “satanic” or “paganic” and “animistic”; these were considered impediments that were contrary to government civilizing missions. These scenarios illustrate my Theme 5, that there were agreements and disagreements between colonial governments and the missions around issues of ethics, morals, language, and even economic development, as discussed by Latourette (1965). However, the Catholic mission only later on made its pledge of obedience to the government, and only when they were threatened with expulsion in 1931 (Ndi, 1983, p. 121).

Back in 1925, the Basel Mission had pledged to take “government’s advice” in order to work “under the best conditions of harmony and loyal cooperation...for the development of the natives” (Ndi, 1983, p. 121). Furthermore, they stated: “We can assure you of the perfect loyalty of these missionaries to the British Government under which our society has been already working in Basuteland and the Sambesi Mission for many years” (Ndi, 1983, p. 121).

This pledge, which shows missionary recognition of the political leaders of the territory, again taps into my Theme 6 of government and missionaries working in collaboration in the conversion of colonial subjects to Western ideals, as discussed by Neill (1966) and Gascoigne (2008).

Government and Missionary Collaboration and Expansion of Schools

From 1932 to 1945, there was significant collaboration between government and the missions, such that there were formal school expansions in the region. The policy of indirect rule was adhered to by the missions to avoid expulsion. The chiefs or fons also recognized the value of education and English language as the language of power, as dispensed by the missions. Numerous fons and chiefs worked hard to build churches for mission expansion (Ndi, 1983; Necco, 1990). Thus, a person's status was defined by education and wealth (Ndi, 1983, p. 199).

In addition, the government cracked down on the secret societies of the chiefs and fons, which they used to intimidate the natives, and reduced the powers of the chiefs and fons. In fact, "their traditional powers were usurped by the police, court messengers, and native councils (Ndi, 1983, p. 199). Thus, no chief could be sheltered by any missionary group in the name of upholding cultural native rights. Below I will discuss government and missionary alliances that contributed to the establishment of formal schools in the region during the mandate period.

Alliances with Western Christian Missionaries and Missionary Formal Schools

The missionary assisted and unassisted schools were established and administered by the Christian missionaries in the territory as a result of the colonial government's alliances with the missionaries. These alliances were strengthened by article 438 of the 1919 Versailles Treaty, which stipulated that all property of Christian missions in all ex-German colonies... "shall continue to be devoted to missionary purposes" (Great Britain, 1924, p. 37). The British colonial administration formed alliances with Western missionaries and equally adopted the German colonial educational policy of delegating

education entirely to the Christian missions. As already indicated above in the 1925 memorandum or “White Paper,” the importance of missionary education was unequivocal. The impressive record of missionary effort towards educational development in Cameroon as far back as 1844 convinced the British in 1922 to decide that education will “In due course come under the direct control of mission societies who are in a better position than the administration to develop discipline character...” (Great Britain, 1923, pp. 43-44).

As a result of the disruptions caused by World War I, most of the Christian missions left Cameroon. However, after World War I, the German Baptist Mission and the Basel Mission continued their evangelization and educational efforts. Evidence of these missionary efforts were witnessed by the British in 1916 when they prospected the territory and found formal schools in every village, regardless of the size of the village; most of them belonged to the Basel mission. I argue that these formal schools were still great missionary contributions to education in the territory even though a majority of these formal schools were poorly staffed, poorly equipped, poorly organized, and usually shut down during the harvesting and planting seasons. These formal schools, referred to as missionary unassisted schools, were allowed to function alongside the few that were better organized, known as missionary assisted schools (Great Britain, 1923, p. 52).

In 1921, the Lieutenant Governor of the Southern Provinces of Nigeria in his report described the educational situation in British Southern Cameroon as follows:

The two missions established in the provinces were the Roman Catholics and the Protestant Basel mission, and to them was left all education of the natives. The German Catholic Pallottine Missionaries had large schools at their headquarters at Engleberg (Victoria), Einsiedeln (Buea), Ossing (Ossidinge), Bekom and Kumbo (Bamenda), while the Basel mission, which also gave instruction in handicrafts,

had similar establishments at Victoria, Bombe and Nyassosso (Kumba) Besongabang (Ossidinge), and Bali (Bamenda). Both missions had small schools. The Roman Catholic mission has now been succeeded by the French Roman Catholic mission and the Basel by the Baptist mission; but unfortunately their funds have been so depleted since the war that they have been able to afford so far very small educational facilities (Great Britain, 1920, p. 56).

At this time, German Baptist Mission and the Basel Mission were the two major Western Christian missionary groups that carried most of the burden of school expansion in the territory. These comments show how the missionaries sometimes carried out educational responsibilities in the region with little or no funds.

The French Roman Catholic missionaries arrived in 1921, and in 1922 were joined by the English Mill Hill fathers of the Roman Catholic mission. The French Roman Catholics later on left the British colony, and the Mill Hill fathers decided to continue with the educational missions of the former German Catholic Pallottine missionaries. In 1923, there was an increase from four organized Catholic schools with 581 pupils enrolled to fifteen schools with 1,410 pupils enrolled (p. 56).

All unassisted schools were reorganized in 1925 to comply with government standards and regulations and were subject to official inspection and grants-in-aid. Enrollments increased from 3,935 in 1926 to 6,067 in 1937. The Basel mission had more schools than the Catholic or Baptist missions. In 1933, the Basel mission operated 117 schools, which increased to 161 in 1937. The total enrollment increased from 3,390 in 1933 to 6,067 in 1937. Toward the beginning of World War II, in 1938, all the missionary schools experienced decreases in the number of schools operating as well as in pupil enrollments (Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons for 1927, p. 63).

In 1927, the German Baptist mission resumed its educational activities in Cameroon (p.63). They took over some of the Baptist missions founded by the Baptist missionary society of London that were abandoned by the German Basel mission after the Germans left Cameroon. These Baptist missions also maintained a few schools under the British administration. The Baptist schools were much smaller in size than the Basel and Catholic Mission schools.

Thus, from 1925 to 1938, the three missionary groups responsible for Christian education in Cameroon during the British administration were the Roman Catholic Mission, the Basel mission, and the Baptist mission (a compilation from Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons to the League of Nations for 1927, p. 63). In 1925, the Basel Missions operated 114 schools, and in 1938, their total number of schools increased to 167. In 1925, the Roman Catholics had six schools, and in 1938, their schools increased to 53.

These figures reflect those of government assisted schools that were operated by the three missionary groups, whereas the figures for the unassisted schools are not available. Besides the above-mentioned three missionary groups, there were government administration schools, as well as native administration schools, that were also very active in establishing the British colonial education enterprise in the Cameroon territory.

Government Administration Formal Schools

Britain also realized the great financial expenses needed by the Christian missions to restore the educational infrastructure that was destroyed during the war. In order to remedy this situation, the British administration quickly established “five adequately staffed and inspected schools to meet the large and growing demand among the natives

for education.” These schools were to serve as “model or central schools,” just like those of the previous German colonial educators (Great Britain, Reports on the British sphere of the Cameroons for 1921, p. 56).

From 1917 to 1922, the British colonial authorities opened 45 schools (Great Britain, Reports on the Cameroons for 1922, p. 43), and by 1938, the number of schools had progressively increased to 139 (a compilation from Great Britain Reports on the Cameroons to the League of Nations for the years 1922-1938). (These figures probably include one or two schools in Northern Cameroon that are not indicated in the reports.) The enrollments in these 139 schools were 14,301 boys and 2,507 girls. By way of comparison, in 1913, after 29 years of colonial rule, the Germans had opened 833 schools; by 1922, the British, after eight years of colonial rule, had opened 45 schools.

Britain’s commitment to improve on the educational infrastructure in Cameroon was elaborated in the first report on the province that was submitted to the League of Nations as follows:

The subject of education is one of the greatest concerns to the local administration and may be said to be limited in its expansion only by the lack of teachers. The population as a whole is clamorous for learning; money is available; but qualified teachers, or even unqualified teachers possessed of character, are not forthcoming in numbers in any commensurate with the demand (a compilation from Great Britain Reports on the Cameroons to the League of Nations for the years 1922-1938, p. 42).

These comments by the colonial education authorities indicate the lack, or shortage, of teachers even though there were funds for school expansion.

In 1922, improvements were made in the teaching staff; this was in addition to the appointment of the European inspector of schools responsible for administrative duties in the province (pp. 42, 43). Contrary to the statements made in the above-mentioned report

of 1922 to the League of Nations about the lack of qualified or unqualified teachers rather than money as the only inhibiting factor for education in Cameroon, the British administration ironically announced a policy to reduce the number of government administration schools according to the following Government Policy Statement:

The general aim is to have one government school in each of the four divisions of the province, fully staffed with certificated and capable teachers and fully equipped, to stand as a model school for native administration schools, which are now being established (a compilation from Great Britain Reports on the Cameroons to the League of Nations for the years 1922-1938, p. 43).

These statements clearly contradict the previous government's policy for school expansion, which was supposedly not handicapped by the lack of funds.

In accordance with this policy, there was a reduction in the number of government administration schools from six in 1923 to five in 1934. Every divisional headquarters had one government school besides the one in Buea, which was the provincial headquarters. Centrally located, these schools were sometimes known as government administration schools that would offer the full primary school course. Mission and native administration schools with incomplete primary school classes were obliged to send their pupils to government administration schools for the completion of their primary education program. Dormitories were constructed and attached to the government administration schools specifically to accommodate pupils from far-distant areas.

As discussed earlier, the colonial authorities always believed that the missionaries were needed for character development in schools; that is one of the reasons they wanted to collaborate with the missionaries. However, my research has not found any specific evidence that these residential arrangements had anything to do with character

development, as in the Off-Reservation Boarding Schools for Native Americans in the U.S. However, it can be conjectured that the creation of residential schools was consistent with the previously mentioned policy objectives of imparting character and values. I would also argue that, from my personal experience, these residential policies influenced the students' character development, as in the case of the Hampton Model in the United States (Anderson, 1988).

Native Administration Formal Schools

As mentioned earlier, the League of Nations advocated the opening of churches and schools in the territory. The origin of the native administration schools can be traced back to 1886 and 1889 when Sir George Goldie founded the Royal Niger Company. The company not only extended British influence in Nigeria but also introduced the British government policy of indirect rule by administering her colonies through the native rulers (Hailey, p.123). Thus, when Lord Lugard was appointed Nigeria's High Commissioner in 1900, he effectively based the principle of indirect rule on the native institutions as crucial agencies of colonial government. This program utilized native authorities by introducing measures deemed for advancing British colonies toward self-governance.

While the positions of existing native authorities were respected and utilized, their powers were regulated and their jurisdictions defined so as to integrate the native institutions into the official colonial program. For instance, villages with a common ancestry were grouped into clans, groups, or councils to which every member village of the clan sent a representative of the village. These clans or council groupings were listed in government gazettes as "native authority" under the native authority ordinance. These native authorities had and continued to have their individual treasuries and financial

administrators who functioned under the district officer. Lord Hailey commented about the program as follows:

Methods have been prescribed for the institution of treasuries, the preparation and supervision of budgets, the auditing of accounts, and the like. The measure of control exercises by officers of the administration varies; in the case of the major native administrations, the resident meets the chief and his council weekly, and that annual budget has to be submitted for the approval of government (Hailey, p. 13).

These comments by Lord Hailey gave a lot of credibility to the native administration governance, which in turn led to the establishment of native administration formal schools.

The native administration governance also had courts. These courts administered native laws and customs, rules, and orders passed by native authorities; the courts also enforced provisions of government ordinances, such as the native revenue ordinance, which funded the native administration formal schools. The government residence and district officers had access to court proceedings and reviewed court decisions as well. Native administration was also responsible for making rules that provided for the social welfare of the natives and the imposition of rates for the use and maintenance of public services.

The entire formation of the native administration governance was an integral mission of government for directing and enabling the natives to develop their community. The colonial British administration tried to utilize native authorities as the instruments of local governments. Britain's major objectives for the use of native administration were expressed by Sir Fredrick Lugar as follows:

...to seek through the chiefs, to endeavor to educate them in the duties of ruler, to seek their cooperation, and to maintain their prestige. With the objective in view,

the tribal organization are studied in order that they may be utilized as the framework for government, and the regeneration of the natives may be through their own governing class and their own indigenous institutions (Great Britain, Colonial Office, presented to parliament by command of Her Majesty, May 1922, 1922, p. 52).

These comments by Lord Lugard, like those previously made by Lord Hailey, advocate the need to utilize native authorities as effective indirect rule intermediaries for the British colonial authorities. I argue that this was the British colonial indirect rule policy alluded to by Young (1994) being implemented.

As discussed earlier, this was Britain's colonial policy that was introduced in Cameroon after British occupation in order to set up a British colonial civil administration. Thus, after serious investigation into the structures of the various clans and their mutual relations with one another, the British colonial administrators concluded that Cameroon traditional society had "governmental and judicial structures which may be turned to good account as instruments of our administration" (Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons for 1922, p. 3). All these findings justified the application of Lord Lugard's indirect rule policy in Cameroon. Initially only laws related to criminal courts and native court ordinances were applicable in Cameroon due to her special status as a mandated territory, whereas German laws continued to be enforced until 1924 (Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons for 1922, p. 3).

The Cameroon province that constituted the southern part of the British-occupied territory was partitioned into four administrative divisions, namely Victoria, Kumba, Mamfe, and Bamenda, stretching from the coast to the hinterlands. In accordance with the British policy of local self-financing for self-government, the native administrations of these areas had to establish and operate their own schools. The local population was

responsible for the construction of school quarters, teachers' houses, teachers' salaries, school equipment, books, and other supplies (Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons for 1922, p. 51).

In April 1922, native administration actually established its first ten schools in Cameroon, with a total enrollment of 843 pupils. The British colonial administration therefore expressed the need for "a great extension of these schools in the near future to meet the urgent demand." The aim was that:

...they will in due course come under the direct control of mission societies who are in a better position than the administration to develop disciplined character with the aid of those moral sanctions without which all knowledge becomes harmful to the individual and a danger to the state." (Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons for 1922, pp. 43, 44).

These comments indicate that the British colonial authorities will continue to be dependent on the missions for educational responsibilities, including character development in schools, in the near future.

From 1922 to 1938 before the outbreak of World War II, native administration schools increased to a total of 196, with a total enrollment of 1,636 pupils, 109 girls and 1,527 boys (Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons to the League of Nations for the years 1922-1938).

Many factors contributed to the poor expansion of native administration schools, such as, first, the lack of interest in preparing youth for adult life based on a classical academic curriculum. From 1922 to 1931, all were restricted to primary elementary studies (year one through year three). Children studying beyond the first three grades of primary elementary school from approximately ages six to nine were moved or had to go to the divisional headquarters of a mission school, usually far away. In addition, there

were financial problems in the schools, leading to lack of trained teachers, poor staffing, and very unqualified personnel, mostly recruited from neighboring Nigeria who could not speak Cameroon dialects.

Walters (1991) discusses this Cameroon-Nigerian colonial alliance and is very emphatic that southern Cameroon experienced two types of colonialism (p. 138), colonialism under Britain and domestic colonialism under the Nigerians (Ibos):

The Cameroon-Nigerian colonial alliance was a great blessing and relief for Nigeria but a curse and burden upon Cameroon. There was an influx of education and uneducated Nigerians into the Cameroon. This affected land tenure, food production and distribution and employment opportunities (p. 138).

Walters adds that the political representatives of southern Cameroon in the Eastern House of Assembly in Enugu, Nigeria, felt they were treated as “insignificant and inferior, illiterate and backward passive observers”(p.140). When Britain lumped these two peoples together for their administrative convenience, they failed to help forge a common nationality among them.

The British administration encouraged the operation of these native administration schools for the purpose of “elementary education for the masses, just sufficient to enable them to pursue their normal occupations more efficiently and to give them the necessary grounding so that, if they desire it, they can continue their studies at the nearest government administration school” (Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons for 1924, p. 37).

These comments describe the basic elementary education acquired from the native administration schools in the Cameroon territory. The British authorities argued that

native administration schools were vital for supplying pupils to central or government administration schools and made the case as follows:

[T]here is no doubt that such schools are both popular and useful and should continue to have a definite place in the system as ‘feeders’ to the central or government administration schools” (Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons for 1926, p. 71).

Again, these comments still show the importance of native administration schools for the expansion or propagation of mass primary education in the Cameroon territory.

From a global perspective, Britain was under financial constraints as a result of the 1929 global recession and could not put more funding into its colonial schools. Hence, the main problem plaguing the native administration schools was underfunding. A number of measures were taken to solve this problem. School fees were introduced, and older pupils were moved to government or central mission schools (Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons for 1932, p. 81). Other remedies included building up the number of teachers by training native teachers, who were less expensive than Europeans. This included the appointment of natives as head teachers, six months of required teacher training at the Buea normal class, vocation courses for teachers at divisional headquarters taught by qualified instructors, and the use of local languages for instruction.

As the native administration school program expanded, there was need for financial allocations for books and equipment annually to be made by native administrators as well as frequent school visits by supervisors for encouragement and teaching demonstrations (p.72). In 1932, elementary classes were added to native administration schools. This in essence meant greater need for school funding, which, I

argue, was in part the basis for introducing the school fees policy in order to remedy school funding concerns after World War II.

By 1932, the Bimbia and Muyuka schools in the Victoria division had additional elementary classes, and they were functioning well. In 1936, in the Kumba division, the former Nyasoso government administration school also had a four-year elementary school. In the Mamfe division, two schools were added, Tali and Mfuni. In the Bamenda division, one elementary class was added in Ndop. In the Victoria division, there were three schools. Kumba had five in 1937 and Mamfe had two, namely Tali and Mfuni. Ndop in Bamenda had two additional classes (Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons for 1937, p. 82).

In 1938, the Bamenda native administration authorities handed over one of its schools (Belo, Kom) to the better-managed German Baptist mission, while in the Kumba division the native administration authorities took over the equipment and staffing of the United Africa Company School at Ndian, which had been established for the children of its workers that year (Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons for 1938, p. 78,146).

The British colonial education authorities were faced with some major challenges that threatened the smooth functioning of the schools. These challenges were met by solutions, as discussed below.

School Administrative Challenges and Solutions

Teacher Shortage and the Establishment of Teacher Training Centers

The teaching staff crisis of inadequacy from 1916-1921 persisted. Thus, by 1922, the major problem with the formal schools in Cameroon was not the lack of financial resources but the lack of qualified teachers, as pointed out in the 1925 memorandum,

which stated that the basis for a sound system of education in Africa was an adequate supply of qualified teachers. However, during the two world wars Cameroon schools were never adequately staffed with qualified teachers (Great Britain's Annual Reports, 1917-1938). The colonial authorities decided to deal with the teacher shortage problem by opening up more teacher training centers to graduate native teachers for the schools.

Teacher training was very important in the education enterprise in the Cameroons. As stated in the Memorandum on Native Education in the British Tropical Dependencies, "the key to a sound system of education lies in the training of teachers. This matter should receive primary importance" (Great Britain, Colonial Office, Education Policy in British Tropical Africa, p. 6). This memorandum stipulated the establishment of teacher training institutions at all grade levels as the only means to achieve the principles stated in the education policy in tropical Africa, that is, an increase in the number of trained native teachers.

The first initiative toward teacher training was instituted in 1923 by the Inspector of Schools. It was a vacation course at Buea for government, native administration, and mission schoolteachers in which lectures were given by the Inspector himself as well as the Resident Medical Officer and the Manager of Mission Schools (Great Britain, Report to the Cameroons for 1923, p. 52). A secondary department, started at the government administration school Victoria on January 1, 1925, was described by the administration as "the first step towards a staff of well-trained teachers who are natives of the mandated territory" (Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons for 1925, p. 71). Two girls and eight boys enrolled, with an average attendance of eight (two girls and six boys). The advisory committee on native education requested the establishment of normal classes in March

1925 to be attached to intermediate, middle, and secondary schools for the sole purpose of training teachers for schools in the villages. It was recommended that separate teacher training institutions, vacation courses, and teacher training courses were necessary and supplemental to normal classes.

On October 1, 1925, the establishment of a government normal class took place at the Victoria government administration school in accordance with plans initiated in 1924, as recommended by the Advisory Committee (p. 71). The qualification for candidates seeking admission specified that a pupil, or student, teacher serve as a contract pupil teacher for two years, or pass out of class II of the secondary department. The program offered a two-year course for qualified candidates as well as one-year intensive practical training course for older and nonqualified Native authority teachers. The two-year course prepared the candidates for the Third Class Teacher Certificate Examination.

In 1926, government decided to relocate the normal class to the provincial headquarters in Buea for the purpose of better supervision and to accommodate students who needed to be boarded (Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons for 1926, p. 72). After the normal school graduated two students with a Third Class Teacher Certificate at the end of 1927, they became the first pioneers of locally trained teachers. This success story encouraged the government to carry out a policy of training all Cameroon pupil teachers locally. This led to an increase in efficiency and intake in the normal class as well as better prospects for teacher training in Cameroon. The new policy was enhanced to provide free accommodations, tuition, and books to mission students who were admitted into the normal class. The missions were obliged to provide a maintenance

allowance along with the signed contracts that obligated the students to teach in the schools after graduation (Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons for 1928, p. 75).

In 1932, there was a great development in the history of the normal class after it became a three-year program leading to the Teachers' Higher Elementary Certificate (Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons for 1932, pp. 76-77). The three-year course was designed exclusively for male students, excluding the female students who were presumed to be only interested in the two-year program. Thus, the student enrollments from 1925-1931 and the subsequent development of the Normal Class up until the creation of the Elementary Teacher Training Center in 1931 was as follows. From 1925 to 1931, government administration schools graduated a total of 50 pupils, the native administration schools graduated a total of 33 pupils, and the mission schools graduated a total of 22 pupils (Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons for 1932, pp. 79-77).

In spite of the colonial government's decision to train all pupil teachers in Cameroon, for some unexplained reasons, pupils' admissions were capped at 12 every year, such that the missions with the higher number of schools had the least number of students in the normal class (Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons for 1930, p. 81). High academic standards were maintained such that incapable students had to withdraw. In 1929, three withdrawals took place and four withdrawals in 1930. Final examination performances were good. In 1930, nine out of 11 graduate students passed the Third Class Certificate Exam. All teacher training curricula and instruction were standardized throughout the territory.

Teacher Training Curricula and Instruction

The curriculum of the normal class was based on the same requirements as those of the Nigerian pupils' Third Class Certificate Exam. Again, this clearly illustrates some of the colonial education aspects from Nigeria in the area of teacher training. The official language of instruction in these teacher training centers was the English language that was being propagated throughout the territory. Required subjects included arithmetic and measurements, writing and dictation, grammar and composition, hygiene, geography, school methods and principles of teaching, English history, domestic economy (for female students), and algebra and geometry (for male students) (Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons for 1936, p. 74).

In 1931, during the visit of the Director of Education in Nigeria to Cameroon, a final decision was made to convert the normal class into an Elementary Teacher Training Center that was stationed in Kake, located three miles from Kumba town along the Mbonge Road. In 1932, the first year normal class pupils, except for the two girls in class at the time, were moved to Kake not only for its central location in the region but also to assist in school construction work. In February 1922, the students at the center constructed a classroom block, four dormitories, two staff houses, a sixty-foot long bridge, sanitary facilities, a farm with food crops. Under the supervision of the Superintendent of Education for Teacher Training, the Kake students did all the work necessary to make the center beautiful and habitable.

The Center was constructed for 36 students, with annual admissions limited to 12 students. The center's objectives were as follows:

The center aims at turning out a type of teacher who will find himself in congenial surroundings living as a schoolmaster in an African Village. He will wear the same kind of clothes, speak the same language and engage with his pupils in many of the ordinary village occupations. His book-learning and his position of responsibility for the youth of the village will give him prestige without lifting him right above the society in which he lives. The all-around training given at the center should be reflected throughout the country-side in matters of healthy, agriculture, and minor industries, and the schools staffed by these teachers should combine a simple education with practical demonstration of how a man may spend his time with interest and profit (Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons for 1934, p. 84).

The above-stated objectives were intended for the teachers who graduated from all the teacher training centers in the territory.

In January 1933, the center admitted 12 new students for the three-year Elementary Teacher Certificate Course, with the following major objectives:

- To prepare the students with the knowledge of the subjects they will have to teach.
- To provide them with as much supervised teaching practice as possible.
- To introduce them to fairly ambitious projects with the idea that upon accomplishment, students will gain self-respect, confidence, and the ability to initiate and carry out tasks in their own schools and villages (Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons for 1932, p. 77).

The center's curriculum was based on the following subjects: oral composition, phonetics, written English, practical arithmetic (for second and third years), simple geometrical constructions, quantity calculations, scale drawing, geography, history (adapted more closely to African conditions), physical training, agriculture, building work, carpentry and native crafts, and teaching practice (Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons for 1936, pp. 95-96).

In 1935, the center graduated the first class of students who had completed the entire three-year course: five students received the elementary teacher certificate (now the Grade III Certificate), and five others were referred in certain subjects (p.94). This meant that the unsuccessful candidates were to study the subjects in which they were not successful and repeat those subjects after one year. Twelve other graduates obtained the certificate in 1936, six obtained it in 1937, and seven obtained it in 1938. However, the annual enrollment figures never reached the 36 mark for 1933-38 even though the ages of the students varied from 16 to 26 years (p. 44).

In order to enhance teacher training, the Kake Teacher Training Center, which was a demonstration school, was also opened in 1935 with 30 students. The administration explained the reasons for the low enrollments as follows:

At the end of their course at the center, the students will qualify for an elementary Teachers Certificate, which will permit them to teach up to class IV of an Elementary school. The certificate granted to the Buea Normal Class students allows them to teach beyond this stage. For the time being there are sufficient teachers with the old qualifications to teach the comparatively small number of children who carry their education beyond Elementary class IV and the urgent need is for teachers with less expensive education for the lower classes (Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons for 1932, pp. 77-78).

These statements make the case for the administration's efforts to quantify teacher graduation or to produce the maximum number of teachers to cover the schools in the region.

The British colonial authorities also had some issues of school staffing, stationery, and administration to tackle, as discussed below.

School Staffing, Supplies, and School Inspections and Supervision

Before and after the establishment of normal schools such as the Kake Teacher Training Center, schools were staffed with teachers from the West Indies, Britain, and Nigeria. The native administration and mission schools always lacked qualified teachers. All mission schoolteachers except the missionaries were categorized as pupil, vernacular, probationary, assistant, or uncertified. Staffing problems were minimized when the normal class and the Kake Teacher Training Center graduated great numbers of trained teachers. Continuous school inspections, regulatory enforcements, and grants-in-aid policies improved nongovernment administration school staffing problems.

The textbooks for Cameroon schools were the same as those in Nigerian schools. Although the British administration as early as 1924 claimed that all government administration schools were equipped with all the necessary equipment and textbooks, the Cameroon schools only had the following textbooks: *Lives of Eminent Africans*, *Nightingale's West Health Reader*, *Atlantic Readers*, *West African Atlas*, and *A New Physical Geography of West Africa Dealing with British West African Colonies* (Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons for 1924, p. 38). Others were included: *An Outline of Duala Grammar* by E.A.L Gaskin, Superintendent of Education in Cameroon; modern textbooks on silent reading, grammar, and arithmetic; a pamphlet on composition by E.A.L Gaskin and *The Education Bulletin*, a quarterly journal devoted to the needs of teachers in Nigeria (Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons for 1928, pp. 77-78). There were attempts to update and adapt British textbooks to be suitable for the African child as well. Again, all the above-mentioned books typify the colonial educational adapted initiatives that took place in Britain's Cameroon colony.

The inspection and supervision of schools is important for maintaining an efficient educational program because this ensures the implementation of the policies and objectives of the British colonial formal schools. These inspections were typically carried out by the inspectors or superintendents of education that were appointed by the administration to be responsible for the general direction of education in Cameroon schools.

From 1916 to 1921, political administrators who had no experience in educational affairs carried out educational supervision. This changed in 1922 when the first inspector of schools, a European, assumed full responsibility for the inspection and supervision of the government administration schools in Cameroon (Great Britain, Reports on the Cameroons for 1922, p. 42). However, his responsibilities were later on extended to include inspection and supervision over native administration as well as mission schools. Thus, upon his arrival in Buea, his immediate duties included a reduction in the number of government administration schools, the reorganization of staffing and equipment to ensure adequacy and efficiency in the schools, and the organization of teachers' vacation and refresher courses to improve the quality and performance of teachers. In 1925, the inspector made 36 tours of inspection and covered 2,000 miles in 173 days.

In 1935, the British government asserted the right to inspect all institutions of education in British Tropical Africa to ensure the proper execution of its educational policy (Great Britain, Colonial Office, Education in British Tropical Africa, p. 3).

In order to enhance the importance of school education and inspection, a second inspector superintendent was appointed in 1926 and a third, responsible for teacher training, in 1928. The supervisory staff was increased with the appointment of an African

to assist the Europeans. Government administrative officers were also responsible for assisting in the inspection and supervision of their district schools. The missions appointed school managers who worked under the direction of mission school supervisors. Other initiatives ensured compliance with educational policy and standards, including occasional visits from other education officers from Lagos, Nigeria. In addition, inspection tours by the resident political head of the province greatly enhanced educational inspection and supervision in Cameroon.

School funding was very important. The British colonial authorities needed to address this issue in a very cost-effective way, since they were faced with financial constraints as a result of the 1929 global recession.

The Grants-in-Aid Program to Mission Schools

The grants-in-aid program to mission schools, which was earlier introduced by the German administration in Cameroon, was fostered by the British administration, not directly by the colonial government but by delegation to the native administration.

Before the introduction of the new educational code of Nigeria in Cameroon, divisional officers gave grants-in-aid to central mission schools at their discretion from the local native administrative funds (Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons for 1928, p.81). The only qualification for such aid was that schools had to be open for government inspection. Grants were based on the general efficiency of a mission school in terms of average school attendance as well as the number of pupils per school. Missions received additional grants equivalent to about one-third of their teacher salaries. Thus, in 1927 the native administration's grants-in-aid to some mission schools were paid by the government to ensure the schools' compliance with the new government regulations

concerning grants-in-aid. However, in 1927, the same year, this native administration grants-in-aid measure was terminated.

It will be recalled that as a strategy to encourage voluntary effort in education, the 1925 memorandum had called on the British government to establish a program of grants-in-aid to schools that conformed to the prescribed regulations to attain the necessary standards (p.81). In addition, the Nigerian education ordinance of 1926 included government regulations for grants to mission schools and voluntary agency schools in Cameroon, schools that had never received grants-in-aid strictly from government finances until after 1928 (p.81). Thus, only those mission schools considered to have attained the standard of efficiency and staffing according to the education code qualified for government grants. This made it possible for most efficient schools to receive the highest amount of grants, as stated in the following official statement:

It is the aid of the administration to maintain a standard of true and useful education and no useful purpose is served by assisting inefficient schools and by so doing running the risk of encouraging an inferior standard of education (Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons for 1929, p. 74).

These official statements underscore the colonial government's practice of shutting down schools that were considered inefficient. This further reflects Theme 1, the power of agenda setting by government.

The British colonial authorities also found it necessary to address issues of school fees, primary education programs, and promotion examinations boards, as discussed below.

School Fees Policy, Primary Education Programs, Promotion Examination Board

The introduction of a school fees policy by the colonial German administration became an improved, important initiative for financing education under the British colonial administration that was affected by the global 1929 recession and subsequent 1930 depression as well. Thus, all vernacular, mission, government, and native administration schools levied school fees in varying amounts. However, in 1935, the native administration schools were permitted by the provincial school committee to charge the same fees as the missionary schools (Great Britain Report on the Cameroons 1935, p. 87).

The primary education program that originally constituted three years of elementary education, from year one to year three, followed by an elementary section of six years, from years one through six, for a total of nine years for the completion of a full primary education program was retained (Great Britain Report on the Cameroons for 1930, pp. 82-83). All government administration schools offered both primary education programs, while most native administration and missionary schools only offered the primary stage of education.

In 1931, there was a reduction in the duration of primary education from nine to eight years. I argue that this measure was to graduate the needed basic literate labor force for the colonial territory at this time. The primary education program was also reorganized in three stages, as follows: the primary elementary program consisted of two classes, namely class one and two; the middle elementary program consisted of four classes, namely standards one through four; and the higher elementary program consisted of two classes, namely one and two (Great Britain Report on the Cameroons for 1931, pp.

65-66; 1932, p. 79). The few government and mission schools that had middle classes enrolled students from class four elementary schools in the province. In 1937, there was a conversion of middle classes one and two to higher elementary classes one and two (Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons for 1937, pp. 73, 81-85).

Promotion examinations were very important in determining a pupil's progress from one class to the next. Any pupil who failed the promotion exam stayed in the same class and repeated until he or she was successful in the promotion exam and was moved to the next class. Entrance examinations determined admissions in middle classes, and the first school leaving certificate examination that ended their primary education had to be awarded by the Official Board of Examiners in 1938. The board consisted of three missionaries and two Education Officers (Great Britain Report on the Cameroons for 1934, pp. 88, 87).

Conclusion

The British colonial education authorities utilized some of the previous German colonial education initiatives or features, coupled with some experiences in colonial education from their neighboring Nigeria colony, found their colonial formal schools in the Cameroon territory.

The British inherited and used many features of the German era. British authorities used many of the German school buildings and infrastructure that they inherited. They also decided to propagate the English language as the official language of the territory just as the Germans did with German. Also like the Germans, the British categorized schools as missionary, government administration, and native administration schools. In addition, the British built model (or central or demonstration) schools just as

the Germans did. The British authorities allowed German laws to remain in force to maintain civil obedience up until 1924, when Lord Frederick Lugard instituted his indirect rule policy that involved the establishment of native administration programs and schools.

The British also maintained the German school fees policy, which they inherited. The British further used the policy of indirect rule to cultivate native rulers and their heirs into British colonial governance, but it was the Germans who identified the crucial role played by literate native rulers and their heirs. Later on, as will be discussed in Chapters 6 and 7, the French were able to establish a school for the sons of chiefs. The British collaborated with Western Christian missions for educational expansion, just as the Germans did; they retained the German Pallottine Catholic missionaries in the territory up until 1916, when the German Pallottines were expelled from the territory.

The British also implemented features that had worked for them in colonial Nigeria. These features included the official educational regulations of the Nigerian Department of Education, which were officially implemented in the British Cameroon territory in 1926. The British continued their collaboration with Western Christian missionaries who had proven to be pioneers and valuable partners in the colonial educational ventures in Nigeria; these missionaries were significantly ahead of the British colonial authorities in terms of Western education for Africans (Bassey, 1999; Fafunwa, 1974).

Another feature was the adaptation and implementation of industrial education to train natives for manual labor for the agricultural extraction industries. The colonial education policies formulated for British Colonial West Africa by Lord Frederick Lugard,

which were later refined by his assistant for Northern Nigeria, Hans Vischer, were also implemented in the Cameroon territory. The British colonial education code emphasized the three “Rs”—reading, ’riting, and ’rithmetic—as well as native dialects and practical approaches in culturally adapted education, thanks to the policies of the World Missionary Conference held in Edinburgh in 1910 that called for the propagation of culturally adapted education for Britain’s African colonies, including Cameroon.

The British conducted teacher recruitment from Nigeria because of the lack of trained teachers in the Cameroon territory. The teacher training curricula and credentialing were based on the same requirements as those in Nigeria. School inspection programs also involved occasional visits from education officers from Lagos, Nigeria.

I argue that it was for the sake of educational administrative expediency that the British adapted the ordinance from the educational memorandum of 1925, as well as the Phelps Stokes Commission Report, to make school policies more effective. The British colonial authorities also exercised flexibility as they implemented their policies, depending on the circumstances, in order to minimize friction and to achieve the desired goals of providing mass primary education to the natives in the colony. Some of their major policy innovations include the missionary alliances and the policy of indirect rule, which brought about the establishment of vernacular schools, mission schools, government administration schools, and native administration schools from 1916 to 1938 before the outbreak of World War II.

In Chapter 5, I will explore the expansion of the British colonial formal schools in the Cameroon territory after World War II, from 1946 up to 1960, when the British

Cameroon territory (periphery) gained its independence from Britain (center), its colonial master.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE BRITISH COLONIAL EDUCATION ERA, 1946-1961

Introduction

In this chapter, I will discuss the changes that World War II prompted in the British empire generally. I will also explore the impact of World War II on the British colonial formal schools existing in the colony since British colonization moving forward up to 1961, when Cameroon gained its independence. I will examine the colonial education initiatives that were implemented by the colonial authorities in schools such as the vernacular policy in primary schools. I will also examine the educational administrative hierarchy in the territory that was established for the purposes of exercising control over colonial formal schools.

In terms of school funding, I will probe into the provisions of grants-in-aid to schools as well as school fees and education rates that were for the purposes of fiscal management as a result of budgetary constraints after World War II. I will revisit the expanding teacher training centers, which were discussed in Chapter 4, to train more teachers and alleviate the teacher shortage that existed prior to World War II. I will probe into the nature of government and missionary relations during this trusteeship period and also investigate the establishment of teacher training centers and secondary education in the region, primarily run by Christian missionaries as well as vocational and technical education up until independence. Finally, I will carry out an examination of the

Cameroon pioneer university students who were officially sent to study in Britain prior to Independence, which was for the purpose of educating them to become the prospective leaders of Cameroon after Cameroon gained its independence from Britain in 1961.

Colonial Educational Policies after World War II

World War II devastated the British empire generally. In international circles, Britain took the back seat as the second Western power, after the United States. Henceforth all post-World War II new global security arrangements were to be championed by the United States. One instance of this is the abolition of the League of Nations and birth of the United Nations, which has been headquartered ever since in New York, where all heads of government worldwide come to address the General Assembly on matters of global peace and security.

After the end of the World War II hostilities, the United Nations signed a charter that brought all mandated territories that had been administered in accordance with article twenty-two of the League of Nations into an International Trusteeship System. Thus, on December 13, 1946, Britain had to sign the Trusteeship Agreement that gave her responsibility for administering Cameroon as a United Nations trust territory according to article twelve of the agreement as follows:

The Administering Authority shall as may be appropriate to the circumstances of the Territory, continue and extend a general system of elementary education designed to abolish illiteracy and to facilitate the vocational and cultural advancement of the population, child and adult, and shall similarly provide such facilities as may prove desirable practicable in the interests of the inhabitants for qualified student to receive secondary and higher education including professional training (United Nations, Official Record of the Second Part of the First Session of the General Assembly, Supplement No. 5 text of the Agreements for trust

territories as approved by the General assembly on 13, December, 1946, 1947, Article 12).

Unlike World War I, World War II did not disrupt colonial formal schooling in Cameroon. There were very few German missionaries involved in education at this time, such as those interned and working with the Basel and Baptist Missions. The Swiss missionaries of the Basel Mission and the American citizens who worked with the German Baptist Mission had to continue the work of these two missions. The Roman Catholic missionaries who were of Dutch, Irish, and British origin continued their missionary and educational activities uninterrupted.

The missionary schools continued to receive grants from the government to help offset the rising costs of staffing and school operations. The government continued the maintenance of its “few schools” between the two world wars, while the missionary and other related agencies continued the development of their educational infrastructures throughout the territory.

This explains why at least 106 colonial, formal primary schools, constructed between 1940-1946, were in existence in Southern Cameroon at Independence in 1960. In contrast, the colonial government never opened a single new government school. Thus, after World War II, school expansion became the responsibility of the natives and missionaries (West Cameroon Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, Education Department Statistics, 1962, pp. 12-15). This was the same as during the period of German rule, as well as during post-World War I. The agencies responsible for the construction of these schools were as follows: native authority, previously known as native administration (and later known as local authority and finally local government)

opened four schools; the Basel Mission opened 45 schools; the Cameroon Baptist Mission opened 13 schools; and the Roman Catholic Mission opened 44 schools. Relatively speaking, these are significant numbers; they show the efforts being made by every agency except for the colonial government, which was strapped for cash.

The conversion of the British mandate over Cameroon to a trusteeship did not alter the British policy of limiting only one government administration school for each of the six divisions, namely Bamenda, Nkambe, Wum with Bamenda as provincial capital of the northwest province. Then Mamfe, Kumba, Victoria, with Victoria as provincial capital of the southwest province and Buea as the capital of the southern Cameroon region. However, the creation of six administrative divisions did not mean that each division had a government school as the colonial policy dictated because of financial constraints on the part of the colonial authorities. Instead of six schools, there were only four.

In 1952, a reiteration of British education policy stated that “The overall government policy with regard to primary education is that it should be carried out as far as possible by the establishment of new government administration schools” (Great Britain, Report to the U.N. on Cameroons for 1952, 1953, p. 145). However, before Britain issued this policy statement, it was only after the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations had complained that “... in the Cameroons under British Administration education is still backwards and almost entirely left in the hands of private initiative...” and it urged Britain “to press forward more vigorously in its efforts to develop and increase educational facilities...” (United Nations, Report of the Trusteeship Council covering its fourth and fifth session, 6 August 1948 - 22 July 1949, 1949, p. 9). Britain

had previously responded with assurances to do everything possible to remedy the situation. Again, the above statement shows British authorities making assurance that were not backed by action to create more educational facilities in the territory.

In 1951, the Cameroon Development Corporation (hereafter the CDC), had taken over the responsibility for managing the plantations established by the Germans during the German era as well as the British firm Elders and Fyffes Ltd., which also owned plantations in Cameroon at this time, was granted the status of approved voluntary agencies to open and operate schools by the colonial government. The work of Ardener (1960) details the magnitude of the Cameroon Development Corporation as a major employer in plantation agriculture, which was in constant need of manpower in the region for its expansion in terms of producing various economic crops such as bananas, palm products (oil and kernels), rubber, cocoa, pepper, coffee, and tea (p. xxxi; p. 32) from 1950 up to Cameroon's Independence in 1960.

Thus, in 1952, the CDC launched the program to establish and manage schools for the children of its employees and also to rebuild and finance mission schools on its plantations. In 1952, the CDC was operating three schools and subsequently financed four previously owned mission schools on their plantations, schools that then became theirs.

During the trusteeship period, Southern Cameroon's education was the responsibility of government to some extent in terms of operating few schools and exerting control over education in the territory, whereas the task of school expansion was the responsibility of various entities such as: Native administration; the Basel, Baptist,

Catholic missions; the CDC; Messrs. Elders and Fyffes; and the Sumbe community in Mamfe, which had one school.

Between 1946 and 1960, there were a total of 324 schools that were operated as follows: 10 were opened by the Native administration, 47 by the Baptist mission, 115 by the Basel mission, 142 by the Roman Catholic mission, and 10 by the Cameroon Development Corporation CDC (Podesta, 1965, p. 15).

Colonial Education Policy Initiatives by British Authorities

According to the Memorandum of Educational Policy in Nigeria, Sessional Paper No. 20 of 1947, education, was defined as:

Not merely the training of the intelligence or the acquisition of the means of livelihood, but also the raising of the general level of the life of the whole people and provision of adequate facilities for their development, physical, economic, intellectual, and spiritual (Great Britain, Report to the U.N. on Cameroons for 1948, p. 131).

These statements speak to the expectations of the United Nations about the impact of the British colonial education context on Cameroonians. This cries out for higher education initiatives and represents a departure from pre-World War II educational policy objectives. In the case of Cameroon, those objectives emphasized basic elementary education in accordance with the African cultural environment, as opposed to advanced primary or secondary education.

The Memorandum was characterized by an organizational structure and a curriculum, with major objectives of primary education that were approved by three governing entities in Cameroon: the three regional houses of assembly, the House of Chiefs, and the Legislative Council. Thus, the 1948 education ordinance was an embodiment of the major ideas of the Memorandum. The ordinance endorsed the eight-

year primary educational program. There was a curriculum committee of the Central Board of Education that consisted of subcommittees for different types of courses that regularly reviewed and made recommendations for changes in the syllabi.

The Use of Vernacular Languages in Primary Schools

Just as in neighboring Nigeria, the vernacular policy in primary schools was also reviewed and retained. The use of the vernacular was prescribed for infant classes based on the principle that children were more familiar with life experiences in their own dialects. The stated argument was that “the free development of their minds must not be hampered by making the assimilation of ideas unnecessary difficult by presenting them in a language not readily understood” (Great Britain, Report on the U.N. on Cameroon for 1948, p. 134). The policy laid down for primary education was as follows:

The vernacular should be the medium of instruction where its use will aid in the thorough assimilation of the instruction given. It is important that pupils in all classes should be called upon frequently to reproduce in that vernacular the matter, which they have been taught. Where English is taught or employed as the medium of instruction, it is most important that both teachers and pupils is to acquire a more perfect knowledge of the language in later years and retards their progress in other subjects (pp.134-135).

This policy of utilizing the vernacular for instruction was applied with limitations in Cameroon just as in Nigeria because of the existence of a multitude of languages. The Duala vernacular was used in Victoria and Kumba, while Bali was used in schools in the Bamenda Province, especially by the Basel mission. English was widely used in all non-vernacular schools so that the pupil graduates would have acquired a reasonable vocabulary and proficiency in spoken and written English. Pupils entered school between ages five and 10, and they completed school between ages 13 and 18. Again, Coe (2005) elaborates on the importance of the vernacular in British Ghanian schools, which the

native authorities have maintained to date in order for “our children to see, to continue, for continuity...” (p. 103).

The eight-year primary education program in Cameroon ended with the British Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria’s First School Leaving Certificate Examinations. The Cameroon Education Department later took over the Administration of the Examination in 1955 (Great Britain to U.N. on Cameroons for 1955, p. 168). Consequently, the Education Department designed examination questions and supervised the marking, which was still being done by committees of education in the country. The First School Leaving Certificate was the official minimum qualification for salaried jobs and for secondary and technical education.

The Colonial Government of Nigeria Ordinance of 1942 was to make better provisions concerning education in Nigeria by defining the duties of proprietors and school managers, establishing regulations about the registration of teachers, establishing new schools, expanding existing schools, inspecting schools, closing schools, monitoring grants-in-aid to voluntary agency schools, and clarifying the duties of provincial school committees. This ordinance from Nigeria was later elaborated on in the government regulations in Cameroon.

The Educational Memorandum of 1947

In accordance with my Theme 1, the government’s power of agenda setting and initiating colonial formal schools, the major objectives of educational policy were spelled out in the memorandum on educational policy in Nigeria, Sessional paper No. 20 of 1947. This educational policy initiative was the foundation of the new education ordinance that was passed by the legislative council in August 1948 and became effective

on January 1, 1949. The ordinance, which was applicable to Nigeria and Cameroon, provided for regional education boards, with the Eastern Nigerian Board of Education responsible for issues regarding education in Cameroon. The ordinance specified regulations for establishing and maintaining schools, staff arrangements, administrative management, equipment, school organization, the program of grants-in-aid, the definition of approved voluntary agencies, and school curriculum issues.

Specific regulations for establishing Cameroon schools were specified in the ordinance by the administrative authorities, which can be summarized as follows:

Under the new ordinance, no new school may be established in the territory unless the appropriate Regional Director of Education is notified, not less than the months before the school is to be opened, of the name and address of both the proprietor and the manager, the situation of the school, together with a plan of the building, both type of school proposed, and the numbers, qualifications and nationality of the staff. The Regional Deputy Director of Education may prohibit the opening of a new school if he is not satisfied that the school would be efficiently conducted or adequately staffed. An appeal of his decision may be made to the regional board of Education. The Regional Board is empowered to order a school to be closed where, on inspection, it is satisfied that the schools is being conducted in a manner which is not in the interest of the pupils, the proprietor of any school so closed having the right of appeal to the central board (Great Britain, Report to the U.N. on Cameroons for 1949, p. 145).

This was the official hierarchy for individuals who wanted to open up private agency schools in Cameroon at this time.

The regulations also showed the hierarchical set-up of the department of education, from Buea in Cameroon to Enugu in the Eastern Region to Lagos, Nigeria; Lagos was the seat of the Education Director and that of the governor of Nigeria and Cameroon. An education amendment in the ordinance of 1950 authorized the establishment of local education authorities with advisory powers but no executive powers as well as minor revisions in the grant-in-aid program. There were regulations for

awarding retirement allowances to non-government certified teachers for the first time, moving toward a non-contributory program for pensions and gratuities to be paid by the government (Great Britain, Report to the U.N. on Cameroons for 1950, p. 140).

The government also introduced a policy of school financing through a payment program of education rates by members of every community in the school district. There was also a 1952 education ordinance passed that dealt with:

[T]he Establishment, condition and function of a central Board of Education for Nigeria; the establishment, constitution and functions of Regional Education Boards; the registration of teachers, the establishment of new schools and the power to withhold consent to open new schools, the power to close schools, the establishment of local education committees, the grant of loans for building purpose, and the various regulations which the governor may make on the recommendations of the Central board”(Great Britain, Report to the U.N. on Cameroons for 1953, p. 88).

The ordinance further stipulated issues related to school management by outlining the powers of the Regional Director of Education’s ability to reject a school manager or proprietor. The ordinance also spelled out the Regional Director’s duties relating to books, school records, attendance, staffing, teacher categories, teachers’ conditions of service, teaching records, attendance records, medium of instruction, and issues of school curriculum (Great Britain, Report to the U.N. on the Cameroons for 1952, p. 144). Other provisions addressed school grants, salary scales, for vocational teachers, regulations to establish loans to assist voluntary agencies with the construction of new schools. Still other provisions addressed establishing new teacher training institutes and the expansion of existing ones. The 1952 education ordinance was constantly amended to keep the colonial education agenda moving forward. Another amendment was that of constitutional refunds and the adaptations of Laws Order of 1954 passed by the Nigerian

constitutional order council in 1954. This constitution provided Southern Cameroon with a separate government with regional competence within the Federation of Nigeria.

Thus, the powers vested in the Inspector General of Education and the Central Board of Education were amended to include the Chief Education Officer of the newly established Board of Education for Southern Cameroon headquartered in Buea. Political changes discontinued the responsibility of the Director of Education of the Eastern Region of Nigeria to oversee educational affairs in Southern Cameroon. According to the British Administration,

The education ordinance was applied to the Southern Cameroons as if it were a Region and references to a Regional director were declared to mean, in such application, the chief Education officer for the Southern Cameroons. This was in accordance with the introduction of the ministerial government in Southern Cameroon in May 1958 that changed the title of chief education officer to that of director of education (Great Britain, Report to the U.N. 1954, p. 105).

Thus, the Governor-General could make all the necessary regulations on educational affairs based “on the recommendations of the federal Boards and the Boards of Lagos and of the Southern Cameroons and the Regional governors on the recommendations of the Regional Boards” (Great Britain, Report to the U.N. on Cameroons for 1955, p. 159).

The non-discrimination regulation of government ensured that all schools were open to all children regardless of race, color, or creed. Religious instruction was one of the subjects in the school curriculum. Children and parents who did not want religious

instruction received regular primary instruction (Great Britain, Report to the U.N. on the Cameroons for 1955, p. 163).

The task of education administration was based on Government Policies and Regulations designed for the Department of Education. These included education officers of both government and private agency schools, especially the mission schools and education boards and committees that were specified in the education ordinance.

Southern Cameroon's Department of Education and Administrative Hierarchy

Another educational policy initiative was the creation of the Southern Cameroon's Department of Education, which was headquartered in Buea as of October 1954. It was headed by the Chief Education Officer who later became Director of Education and was responsible to the Chief Federal Advisor of Education in Nigeria. He had similar responsibilities to those of a Regional Director of Education in the Federation of Nigeria. The two education officers responsible to him were stationed in Bamenda and Buea, respectively, which were the Administrative Headquarters of the two provinces of Southern Cameroon. Their subordinate staffers had responsibilities such as the administration, supervision, and inspection of all schools in their provinces (Great Britain, Report to the U.N. on the Cameroons for 1955, pp. 160-161).

There were also visiting and supervising teachers who were responsible to the subordinate staffers who carried out frequent school visits, inspecting and maintaining close contact with mission school supervisors and managers. The voluntary agencies utilized their school managers and supervisors to ensure the maintenance of government standards and provisions of the Education ordinance.

The Central Board of Education

Another colonial educational policy initiative that the British educational authorities implemented was to stipulate that the role of the Central Board of Education was to advise the colonial government on policy matters involving education in Cameroon and Nigeria; the role of the regional boards, in contrast, was to advise the Central Board and regional government on policy matters involving education in their various regions (Great Britain, Report to the U.N. on the Cameroons for 1955, pp. 160-161).

Members of the Central Board constituted the House of Representatives of each region, whereas the regional board was constituted of members chosen by the regional house of assembly, representatives of the union of teachers, and the major voluntary agencies in Cameroon. However, until 1951, none of the representatives of any of the boards of education was ever chosen by Cameroonians (Great Britain, Report to the U.N. on the Cameroons for 1951, p. 153). Members of the Nigerian Union of Teachers, as well as representatives of the voluntary agencies, were also on the Central Board.

In 1954, the Southern Cameroon Board of Education was organized to be responsible for educational affairs in the region; it consisted of the following membership: The Chief Education Officer of Southern Cameroon; an adviser appointed by the Chief Federal Advisor of Education; the Female Education Officer of Southern Cameroon; principals of the government teacher training center (Kumba), government Trade Center (Ombe), St. Joseph's College (Sasse), and Basel Mission College (Bali); the Rural Education Officer (Bambui); a representative from the Cameroon Development Corporation; a representative from the Catholic, Basel, and Baptist Missions; an African

representative from every divisional education committee that was appointed by the commissioner of the Southern Cameroons (with the recommendation of the Divisional Educational Committee); a teacher appointed by the Union of Nigerian Teachers; a female appointed by the Commissioner of Southern Cameroon; and a representative of private school proprietors appointed by the Commissioner of Southern Cameroon (Great Britain, Report to the U.N. on Cameroons for 1955, p. 161).

There were some official changes and developments in the colonial administration that caused modifications in the composition of the Board. Final modifications of the Board took place in 1959 before Independence. At that juncture, the Board members consisted of the Director of Education of Southern Cameroon; the Chief Federal Advisor of education (or his representative); a Female Education Officer, nominated by the education director; the principles of the Ombe Trade Center and the Bambui Agricultural Institute; a representative from the Roman Catholic, Basel, and Baptist missions; a member appointed by the Catholic Mission to represent all secondary schools; a member appointed by the Basel and Baptist missions to represent all teacher training centers; a representative of the recognized Cameroon Teacher Union; and a representative of the Native authority appointed by the Divisional Educational Committee in every division of Southern Cameroon (Great Britain, Report to the U.N. on Cameroons for 1959, pp. 84-85).

The advisory committee in charge of Technical Education, organized in 1956, was responsible for advising the Southern Cameroon Government about the type of training needed to meet Cameroon's commercial and industrial demands. This committee consisted of the Principal of the Government Trade Center at Ombe; the federal advisor

on technical education; the Director of Southern Cameroon Public Works; a Labor Officer; a representative from every Southern Cameroon Trade Union; Messrs. Elders and Fyffes; the Cameroons Development Corporation; and the Electricity Corporation of Nigeria. In 1952, the Bamenda Division became the Bamenda Province; it consisted of three divisions, Bamenda, Nkambe, and Wum, whereas the Victoria Province constituted of three divisions as well, namely Victoria, Kumba, and Mamfe, for a total of six divisions in Southern Cameroon.

Divisional committees were organized in every division not only to administer the development of education but also to minimize disagreements among the various educational entities (Great Britain, Report to the U.N. on Cameroons for 1956, p. 103). The committees sanctioned the development of new schools and the extension of junior primary schools to senior primary schools, subject to final approval by the department of education. The local education committee, which had no executive powers, played advisory roles about the opening and closing of schools as well as school fees. Associations such as parent-teacher committees and mission education committees also played crucial roles in the educational developments in Cameroon.

All teacher training centers and secondary schools were administered by a Board of Governors that consisted of representatives of concerned agencies of education, education and administrative officers, and local community representatives. The significance of the formation of all these education committee memberships, as well as the ongoing compositional changes of the Central Board of Education, I argue, was to demonstrate to the United Nations and the world community that the British colonial

authorities were carrying out the trusteeship obligations expected of them to move the people of southern Cameroon forward to Independence.

The Provision of Grants-in-Aid

In terms of grants-in-aid, the government continued the provision of financial aid to voluntary agency schools from the outbreak of World War II until the first few years of the trusteeship period. This financial aid program was based on need rather than on the prevailing principle, just as during the depression of the 1930s (Great Britain, Report to the U.N. on Cameroons for 1947, p. 102). However, during the beginning of the trusteeship period, the colonial authorities based the grant-in-aid program to voluntary agencies and teachers on the “principle of social control for efficiency and social usefulness” (p. 99). After the program was finalized, the new regulations about grants-in-aid were contained in the Education Ordinance of 1948 and were implemented in 1949.

In terms of other private agency schools in Nigeria, and later in Cameroon as well, such as those operated by the missions, the new regulations defined standards of an approved voluntary agency, outlined criteria for determining grants to voluntary agencies based on amounts assessed in advance, and gave control over this program of educational development. A voluntary agency was defined as an agency that:

- Is registered under the lands (perpetual Succession) Ordinance, 1924, and is a body corporate having perpetual succession and the power to hold land; and
- Owns one or more schools which in the opinion of the Director are Prima Facie deserving of a grant-in-aid on the ground of efficiency, social usefulness, and educational necessity; and

- Supplies to the Director proof that no school established or conducted by it is conducted on a profit-making basis; and
- Gives an undertaking that any extension of its educational activities will comply with the requirements as to any area of operation laid down by Director, in consultation with local Education Authority or the local education committee where such a body of this kind is established, with the regional Board concerned; and
- Supplies to the Director evidence that it follows a policy of education acceptable to the Director; provided that where such a voluntary agency is a group of persons, evidence shall also be supplied of common policy of education; and
- Maintains a satisfactory system of supervision of its schools; and
- Has either adequate facilities for the training of teachers or it party to an agreement with another voluntary agency or with Government for the supply of trained teachers (Great Britain, Report to the U.N. on Cameroons for 1948, p. 134, or 1949, p. 146).

These statements show the attempts by colonial government authorities to exercise fiscal restraint toward educational expansion.

In accordance with this definition, the government exercised intense scrutiny over the educational enterprise by controlling its expansion and development, thus ensuring an acceptable standard of efficiency, social usefulness, and the protection of the public against deceitful and profiteering proprietors. Actual grant amounts for each approved voluntary agency were computed by deducting the “assumed local contribution” from the “recognized expenses” of a school. The assumed local contribution represented the

amount of income collected from fees. Recognized expenses represented total salaries plus a grant for other expenses.

The 1952 educational ordinance, an amended version of the 1948 ordinance, stipulated how the Lieutenant Governor of every region, taking into account the advice of Regional Educational Directors, made grants-in-aid to any teacher training center, school, or voluntary agency that was approved by the Inspector General and the Local Authority that operated schools. All were equally eligible for grants-in-aid (Great Britain, Report to the U.N. on the Cameroons for 1952, p. 144). After the 1954 amendment of the Education Ordinance, grants-in-aid were awarded to voluntary agencies in Cameroon based on the recommendation of the Chief Education Officer, who later on became the Director of Education for the Southern Cameroon. The amounts of government grants awarded increased from: 26, 275 pounds in 1950 to 277,600 pounds in 1959 (Great Britain, Report to the U.N. on the Cameroons for the years 1951-1959, p. 144).

School Fees and Education Rates

School fees and education rates were crucial in educational financing during the trusteeship period, just as in the period between the two world wars. Government, Native administration, and voluntary agency schools all charged varying amounts for school fees. However, in 1949, the Local Education Committee advocated “the adoption of uniform fees for all Native authority and voluntary agency schools in the same area.” Fees were not charged in vernacular schools, and the fees were set based on the classification of areas as to whether they were “primitive”, “poor”, or “wealthy” (Great Britain, Report to the U.N. on Cameroons for 1949, p. 151). Later on, in 1951, the government increased the fees from 10 to 12 shillings and six pennies in the junior

primary schools and from one pound to one pound and five shillings in the senior primary schools (Great Britain, Report to the U.N. on the Cameroons for 1951, p. 155). Voluntary agency schools charged fees from three shillings and four pennies to two pounds.

The British colonial authorities were totally committed to enforcing the policy of local financing in order to relieve themselves of the increasing educational financial burden in the region. Thus, a decision was made by the colonial education authorities to raise the “assumed local contribution” for expected school expenditures from school fees. Subsequently, school fees were increased in all schools except the vernacular schools.

The school fees were fixed and standardized for primary schools in 1956 within the four major regions as follows: in the Bamenda region, the infant programs were charged 18 shillings while the elementary programs 1 and 2 were charged 25 shillings, elementary programs 3 and 4 were charged 35 shillings, and elementary programs 5 and 6 were charged 45 shillings. In the Mamfe region, infant programs 1 and 2 were charged 20 shillings, elementary programs 1 and 2 were charged 25 shillings, elementary programs 3 and 4 were charged 35 shillings, and elementary programs 5 and 6 were charged 45 shillings. In the Kumba region, infant programs 1 and 2 were charged 22 shillings and six pennies, elementary programs 1 and 2 were charged 27 shillings and six pennies, elementary programs 3 and 4 were charged 38 shillings, and elementary programs 5 and 6 were charged 50 shillings. In the Victoria region, infant programs 1 and 2 were charged 24 shillings, elementary programs 1 and 2 were charged 30 shillings, elementary programs 3 and 4 were charged 42 shillings, and elementary programs 5 and 6 were charged 60 shillings (Great Britain, Report to the U.N. on Cameroons for 1956, p. 106).

The colonial administration, which in 1950 indicated that the “Lack of money is no bar to schooling anywhere in the Territory”, still stated in 1952, “Besides lack of interest, another limiting factor in primary education is the inability or unwillingness to pay school fees...” (Great Britain, Report to the U.N. on Cameroons for 1950, p. 138-146).

Government decisions to increase school fees from 10 shillings in 1949 to 30 shillings in 1956 in junior primary schools and from 20 shillings in 1949 to 60 shillings in 1956 in standards 4 and 5 is how the limiting factor was increased, not decreased. These increases took place in spite of the United Nations’ previous complaints about high school fees and its continuous appeal for free primary education in the British sector, as it was in the French sector in Cameroon (United Nations, Report of the Trusteeship Council covering its 4th and 5th sessions, 6 August 1947, 22 July 1949, 1949, p. 9).

This shows that the British empire’s financial commitment to rebuild was greater as a result of the devastation during World War II compared to the French, as will be discussed in Chapter 6. The Cameroon Development Corporation, which had started a program of free primary education for its employees’ children in 1952, introduced fees in 1956. In 1957, the Basel Mission increased fees in senior primary classes in its schools in the Bamenda and Kumba Divisions.

School fees contributed immensely to school financing in 1956, from 50,800 pounds to 491,400 pounds spent on education. The importance of the increased school fees as a crucial factor in school finances—and at a cost to parents—will be examined in this study as well as other sources of financing.

The grants-in-aid allocated to voluntary agency schools came from a type of taxation called education “rates”, which were introduced in 1949. Other funds included the “assumed local contribution” that represented income that came through school fees, whereas local “rates” represented income from local authorities raised by special taxation to support voluntary agency schools. According to administrative authorities:

The lack of enthusiasm for education among the population... is evidenced by the inadequacy of the local contribution towards the establishments and maintenance of voluntary agency schools.... In the administering Authority’s view the proper remedy for this rating... (Great Britain, Report to the U.N. on Cameroons for 1953, p. 90).

The financing of the primary system continues to present a formidable problem and as a result of the inadequacy of the local towards the rising cost of education, a severe strain is being placed upon the limited resources available to Government.... In an attempt to narrow the gap between the Government and local expenditure, it is proposed to revise the rates of assumed local contribution... and to continue the policy of raising local education rates.... This system can be spread only slowly, but it is the policy of the Government to expand the system as rapidly as may be until ultimately funds from education rates bridges the gap between expenditure and grants-in-aid income (Great Britain, Report to the U.N. on Cameroons for 1954, pp. 106-107)

These statements show that the British colonial education authorities were facing financial problems and were not able to maintain the schools without some local contributions.

The grants-in-aid program allowed every Local Authority to charge education rates to generate income. According to how the colonial government rated the income base of a given area, the decision was made about how much revenue should be raised from taxes and how much from school fees. Parents were responsible for paying both education rates taxes and high school fees. That became extremely expensive, and they began to see education as an unbearable burden. This helps explain why there was a lack of demand for education, as the administration complained about repeatedly. Considering

that the money spent by government and the Native authority on education, as well as some little amounts from colonial development and welfare, were derived from education rates and taxes, the financial burden was not easy on the parents.

A United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) study of this scenario in Northern Cameroon concluded, “Almost the entire public expenditure on education in this region is attributable to local bodies and scarcely any to the Central Authorities” (U.N., Trusteeship Council, Twenty-first session, 30 January-26 March, 1958, (T/1353), p. 34). This justifies the administration’s policy declaration that primary education be funded completely by local sources in order to “relieve central funds of part of an ever-increasing burden” (Great Britain, Report to the U.N. on Cameroons for 1955, p. 162). The burden was therefore placed on the shoulders of parents, who paid education rates as demanded. This was stated by the administration as follows:

It is the Government’s declared policy to encourage the local financing of primary education by the levying of education rates. It is further proposed that ultimately the complete the cost of such education should be covered by the combined proceeds of those rates and grants-in-aid....(p. 163).

This declaration was followed immediately by an increase in the rates of “assumed local contribution” and school fees January 1, 1956. Another increase in the rates, as well as an extra charge on people who spoke out against the program, caused the closing of certain schools and a drop in enrollments in some divisions. As a remedy, education rates were taken into consideration when direct taxes were calculated, thereby modifying and rescuing the program from great direct opposition.

Needed Expansion of Teacher Training Centers

At the end of World War II, the British colonial authorities were still experiencing the problem of a crucial shortage of trained teachers. The demand was so much higher than the supply that the authorities were desperate enough to recruit people with the first school leaving Certificate Probationary Teachers (P.T.'s). This was because two years of teaching qualified probationary teachers with the First School Leaving Certificate, thus qualifying them for registration and for employment as un-certified teachers. The best of these were selected for a year of professional training in a Preliminary Training Center (P.T.C.) followed by two years in an Elementary Training Center (E.T.C.), leading to the award of the Grade III Certificate, which was the Teachers Elementary Certificate. After a period of one or two years of teaching, the best of the Grade III teachers were selected for the two-years of Higher Elementary Course, with the successful graduates qualified to teach levels up to standards five and six.

Christian Missionary Higher Education Contributions

There was more than a cordial relationship between the government and missionaries during the period between WWII and Independence. The establishment and expansion of Teacher Training Centers, secondary educational institutions, and vocational and technical education facilities in the region was also, for the most part, carried out by the Christian missions under government guidelines. The establishment and expansion of the Preliminary Teacher Centers, the Elementary Teacher Training Centers, and the Higher Elementary Training Centers were mainly the responsibility of the Basel, Roman Catholic, and Baptist Missions. Again, this shows that the British

colonial empire was suffering from financial hardship and unable to carry out her colonial educational obligations.

In terms of the Preliminary Training Centers, the Basel Mission opened the Nyasoso Center in 1944 and the Bali Center in 1947; the latter merged with the Nyasoso Center in 1948. In 1950, the Nyasoso Center moved to Batibo, and at the end of 1962 it was closed down (West Cameroon Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, Education Department Statistics of 31st December 1963, p. 31). All of this consolidation was to ensure that there would be enough teacher training centers producing enough teachers to cover all the schools in the region.

In January 1944, the Roman Catholic Mission opened a Preliminary Training Center in the Grasslands in Njinikom. In 1946, another Center was attached to the Roman Catholic School at Baseng, which was merged with the one at Njinikom. It was named St. Peter's Training Center, and in 1947 it was moved to the Bambui, eight miles from the Divisional Headquarters of Bamenda. In 1954, the Franciscan Brothers from Ireland took the Center from the Mill Hill Fathers and converted it into an E.T.C. The P.T.C. was split into two classes and moved. One was stationed at the Roman Catholic Mission in Mankon Bamenda, and the other at the Roman Catholic Mission in Kumbo, Nso (p. 32). In 1958, the two classes were merged together and again moved to Tatum, Nso, currently Bui Division. It functioned as a P.T. C. until it was turned into an E.T.C. in 1963. In 1955, the Roman Catholic Mission opened a P.T.C. in Muyuka that was moved that same year to Bojongo.

In 1950, the Baptist Mission started a P.T.C. in Great Soppo near Buea in Victoria Division that was moved to Belo in Bamenda Division in 1952; in 1954 it was moved

again back to Great Soppo (p. 30). By 1959, then, there was a total of four Preliminary Training Centers, which offered subjects including theory and practice in the teaching of basic primary school subjects in depth, maintaining school records, and school organization (Great Britain, Report on the U.N. on Cameroons for 1959, p. 91). The Basel Baptist and Catholic Missions established their respective Elementary Training Centers after the Second World War in addition to the Government Elementary Training Center in Kake, which was moved to Kumba in 1944.

The Basel Mission opened a two-year elementary center at Bali in Bamenda in 1947 that was moved to Batibo in 1949 and then converted into a three-year center in 1963. As a result of high enrollment, classes were doubled in order to accommodate all the male students until the late 1960s. In 1961, an Elementary Training Center was opened for women at Bafut, in Bamenda Division, and later moved to a permanent location at Mankon in Bamenda Division in 1962.

In 1948, the St. Francis Roman Catholic elementary Center was opened for women at Fiango in Kumba Division. It started as a two-year center and was extended to a three-year center in 1960. The St. Peter's Training College in the Bambui had already become an Elementary Training Center as well as a Preliminary Training Center by 1952. In 1963, the preliminary Training Center Tatum was converted to an Elementary Training Center as well as St. Paul's Training Center in Bojongo, which was also converted to an Elementary Training Center. In 1962, the Roman Catholic Mission opened another Elementary Training Center called the Regina Pacis Teacher Training Center at Soppo , which was later moved to Mutengene, about 12 miles from Victoria Divisional Headquarters.

In 1955, the Baptist mission opened a coeducational Elementary Training Center at Great Soppo in Buea for the training of Grade III teachers (p. 30; also Great Britain, Report to the U.N. on Cameroons for 1955, p. 174). The Grade III Certificate, to be awarded by the government, consisted of a curriculum including English language, English literature, history, arithmetic, scripture, geography, school organization, school methods, physical education, and rural science. French was added after independence and subsequent reunification with the French Cameroon Republic. The practical subjects included agriculture, first aid, physical education (theory and practice), games and sports, hand-crafts, and teaching apparatus (West Cameroon Education Statistics, 1963, pp. 30-31).

Government Higher Education Contributions

In 1945, the Higher Elementary Training Center (H.E.T.C.) was opened at the Government Elementary Training Center in Kumba to train Grade II teachers (pp. 30-35; also Great Britain, Report to the U.N. on Cameroons for 1958, p. 231).

This Center was closed in March 1945, as a result of budgetary constraints during World War II, reopened in 1946, and became the Government Teacher Training Center (G.T.T.C.), Kumba for the training of Grades II and III teachers, respectively. This explains why up until independence in 1961, Kumba was the only institution in the country for the training of male teachers qualified to teach standards V and VI for government, Native administration, mission society, Cameroon Development Corporation, and Elders and Fyffes schools (Great Britain, Report to the U.N. for 1956, p. 114).

Additional Christian missionary training centers were opened, still under government guidelines. In January 1956, the St. Francis Training Center in Fiango, Kumba, started a teacher Grade II program for women (West Cameroon, Education Department Statistics, 1963, p. 30). In 1961, the Baptist Mission was the next to open a third higher Elementary Center at Great Soppo near Buea. After Independence, a fourth higher Elementary Training Center was opened by the Basel Mission at Batibo in 1962. In January 1964, the Regina Pacis Training Center also started a Grade II Teacher course as well.

The same Nigerian Education Ordinance that came into effect on January 1, 1949, in Nigeria, which prescribed a syllabus for the Higher Elementary Certificate examination, as follows:

Required subjects for both were English, Arithmetic and Simple Accounts, Hygiene and sanitation, School Method. In, addition, History and Geography were required for men and domestic Science for women. Men were to choose two other subjects from the following: Arithmetic, Drawing General Elementary Science, Hand and Eye Training, History (advanced), Geography (Advanced), Religious Knowledge (and methods of teaching it), Infant School, Methods, Mathematics, Nature study and botany, history of Education, English (advanced), Physical Training, women were to elect two subjects from the following: Domestic Science (advanced including child welfare), Drawing, Geography, History, Hand and Eye Training, English (advanced), Infant School, Methods, Nature Study and Botany, Religious Knowledge (and methods of teaching it) (Great Britain, Report to the U.N. on Cameroons for 1949, p.149).

This syllabus continued to be operational in Cameroon up until 1952.

In 1952, the educational authorities changed the syllabus to prepare the country for the manpower needs of Independence. Thus, from 1952 until Independence in 1961, the curriculum consisted of English language, English literature, principles and practice of education, history, geography, arithmetic, rural science, practical mathematics,

religious knowledge, domestic science (for women), and physical education. French was another additional subject after 1961. English was and continues to be the official medium of instruction in the Teacher Training Centers such that successful graduates of Teacher Training Centers were qualified to teach in English.

Teacher training for Cameroon schools did not only take place in Cameroon but also in Nigeria, where there was great dependence on Nigerian Training Centers by both government and voluntary agencies, such as the missions, from the beginning of the British administration. Late in 1954, 36 Cameroonians received Higher Elementary Teacher Training at the Kumba Government Training Center, and 39 teachers also received the same type of training in Nigerian Teacher Training Centers on Scholarship. For instance, in 1955, 27 of the 104 Cameroon teachers had been trained in Nigerian institutions (Great Britain, Report to the U.N. on the Cameroons for 1955, p. 173).

The Government Rural Education Center, also known as the Institute of Agriculture, which opened in the Bambui in Bamenda in 1953, had a nine-month program for certified teachers from all voluntary agencies in Cameroon and Ogoja Province in Nigeria. The program covered how to establish and manage school farm records and accounts with some advance knowledge in teaching rural science (Great Britain, Report to the U.N. on the Cameroons for 1955). In 1956, the program was reorganized and the center was converted to the Institute of Agriculture in 1957 to offer rural science programs for certificated teachers.

Secondary Education by Christian Missionaries

During her 55 years of occupation, the British colonial government did not establish a single secondary school in Cameroon. Even though the government

reorganized middle schools in 1931 to replace standards five and six, they still were not secondary schools. As indicated earlier, the middle classes one and two later became higher elementary classes five and six, ended as standards five and six. Students who attended these classes were prepared for the First School Leaving Certificate exam at the end of the primary school program. The following official report concerning middle school classes shows that these classes were primary classes and not secondary:

A middle school of two classes was at the same time formed at Buea, each of the four elementary schools (i.e., Victoria, Buea, Kumba and Nyassosso government administration schools) contributing to these classes the best pupils from what would have been its own fifth and sixth standards-pupils who were considered capable of assimilating further knowledge and having a reasonable chance of success in the middle II (the former standard 6) Examination (Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons under British Mandate for 1932, p. 79).

These statements indicate the ongoing classification and formation of primary school stages in the Cameroon territory at this time when there were no secondary schools.

A later official report gave the impression that the middle school classes in Cameroon provided secondary education as follows:

The system is based on three stages of education (a) Elementary, (b) Middle, (c) Higher... (b) Middle schools of six years duration give an education corresponding to that given in English secondary schools. But there are no complete middle schools in this area, two or three middle classes being tacked on to selected elementary schools and drawing pupils from their neighboring schools of elementary type. From these, some of the more promising pupils can attend the full middle schools in adjacent provinces of Nigeria (Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons under British Mandate for 1935, p. 75).

These comments are indicative of the classification of school stages in the Cameroon territory at this time, whereas there was reliance on facilities in neighboring Nigeria for the continuation of secondary studies.

Both the 1937 and 1938 reports clearly show that:

There are no facilities for secondary education in the province... all educational activities in the province, with the exception of Teachers Training, must still be classes 'Elementary' (Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons under British Mandate for 1937, p. 79, for 1938, p. 77).

These comments clearly indicate the lack of facilities in the Cameroon province at this time.

In December 1938, the question of establishing secondary education was referred to the provincial school committee at the headquarters in Buea, headed by the Assistant Director of Education, missionary representatives, and local officials who were steadfast in their demand for secondary school facilities in the province. This request to the British authorities for secondary educational facilities in Cameroon was endorsed by the Southern Provinces of Nigeria's Board of Education, which was convinced that the financial difficulties as well as the supply of suitable teachers could be surmounted without any doubts (Great Britain, Report on the Cameroons under British Mandate for the year 1938, p. 77).

The following year, 1939, St. Joseph's College Sasse was established by the Roman Catholic Mill Hill missionaries as the first secondary grammar school in the British sector of Cameroon. It was the only secondary school that for the next 10 years offered full secondary education for boys from all denominations and from all parts of Cameroon. In 1944, the Cameroon Youth League appealed to the Elliot Commission, an advisory group to the British colonial office. The Commission's recommendations about higher education in West Africa were responsible for establishing the Ibadan University College and a number of other Nigerian colleges of arts, science, and technology. The

League asked the Commission to establish two boys' secondary schools and one girls' secondary school in Cameroon (Kale, 1967, p. 55). The British administration rejected the request.

In 1949, the Basel Mission opened a secondary grammar school in Bali Bamenda, calling it Basel Mission College; this was 10 years after the Catholics established St. Joseph's College Sasse. In 1958, the Cameroon Baptist Mission joined the Basel Mission to run the Basel Mission College in Bali as a secondary school for boys, renaming it the Cameroon Protestant College Bali (West Cameroon Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, Education Department Statistics, 31st December 1963, p. 31). By 1962, the introduction of double shift classes helped in the expansion of the college. In 1957, the Roman Catholic Mission opened the first girls' secondary school, Queen of the Rosary College, at Okoyong in Mamfe as the third secondary grammar school in this Cameroon region.

These were the only three secondary schools existing in Cameroon under the British administration before Independence. These secondary schools that aimed at providing "... an education which, while complete in itself will fit students to become responsible citizens and provide the groundwork for further training" (Great Britain, Report to the United Nations on the Cameroons under the United Nations Administration for the year 1957, p. 112). These secondary schools adopted the University of Cambridge School Certificate Examination syllabus as well as the West African school certificate examination syllabus. These syllabi consisted of English language, English literature, science, mathematics, geography, history, Latin, and French. The girls studied domestic science and biology as a substitute for physical science.

Many secondary schools were opened after Independence and reunification by the various missionaries, such as Sacred Heart College, Mankon, Bamenda, in 1961 as a Secondary Grammar School for Boys, and Our Lady of Lourdes Secondary Grammar School for Girls, also in Mankon, Bamenda, later in 1963 (just to mention a few). I am proud to be a member of the admission class of 1967 when Dr. Anthony Mbumwe Ndi (1983), who was our history teacher, is currently vice-chancellor for research and cooperation in the Catholic University of Cameroon in Bamenda. My eldest son, Abel Abongnwi Tamanji, is class of 2009, and my middle son, Amos Alahnwi Tamanji, is preparing to be class of 2011. The Cambridge and West African School Examinations were replaced by the University of London General Certificate Examination. By the end of 1964, a total of 12 secondary grammar schools were operational, including the Government Bilingual Grammar School. Six were Catholic, including two for females; the Basel Mission operated two, including one that was coeducational; and the Baptist Mission operated two, one for boys and one for girls. There was also one secondary school jointly operated by the Baptist and Basel Missions.

All the secondary grammar schools in the North-West and South-West Provinces, formerly Southern and West Cameroon, adopted the University of London General Certificate of Education Syllabus at the ordinary level (as opposed to advanced level). The syllabus consisted of the following subjects: English grammar, English literature, French, history, geography, natural or physical science, physical education, religion, art and music, and for girls, domestic science and needle work. There was also Latin for Catholic secondary grammar schools. Upon the completion of the five-year secondary school program students, took the General Certificate of Education Ordinary Level

Examination that was set and corrected by the University of London. Successful graduates were eligible for admission to higher-level secondary school institutions as well as employment opportunities.

Vocational and Technical Education

In terms of Vocational and Technical Education in Cameroon, Britain decided only after World War II to provide a vocational technical program on the one hand and on the other hand a more academic type. Thus, in 1948, the subcommittee of the advisory committee responsible for education for citizenship for Africa, led by W.E.F Ward, concluded its report as follows:

It is not enough to train patient and skillful and reliable farmers, artisans, clerks and minor-grade employees; it is not enough to train professional men, technicians, and men capable of assuming responsibility in management and administrative positions. We have to go further and train men and women as responsible citizens of a free country (Brown, 1964, pp. 365-377).

At the signing of the Trusteeship Agreement in 1946, the education program in Cameroon had not trained enough patient, skillful, and reliable farmers let alone professional men and women, as well as administrators, who were capable of assuming responsible managerial and administrative duties. This fact is evidenced by the publications during that period as well as by the Cameroons memorandum of evidence before the Elliot Commission that was submitted by the Youth League of Cameroon on March 10, 1944. The British educational efforts for 21 years up to 1944 only produced one supervising teacher, an assistant medical officer in customs, two in the Judicial Department, two in the Public Works Department, 15 in the Provisional Department, four Produce Examiners, a cooperative inspector in the Agriculture and Cooperative Department, 11 midwives and nurses, one inspector of police, one sanitary inspector, one

assistant registrar, two foresters in the Forestry Department, one chief warden, and one staffer in the Marine Department (Kale, 1967, p. 52).

These few appointments took place in spite of the excellent performances of the students in the First School Leaving Certificate exam that was government controlled. Of the 11 provinces of Southern Nigeria and Cameroon in 1938, the Cameroon pupils scored highest, at 57% (p. 53). Thus, the only stumbling block was the inadequate educational facilities in the British Cameroons.

In 1952, when the Ombé Trade Center was opened, it was the first and only government-sponsored technical school for apprentice-type training in British Southern Cameroon. It was staffed by British contract personnel offering training programs in carpentry, bricklaying, welding, metal works, cabinet making, electricity, auto mechanics, painting, decoration, wood work, and machine fitting. The program was designed for primary school graduates, with courses of study lasting between two and five years. In order to promote vocational education in the schools, handicrafts centers were established and affiliated with the major primary schools; they were staffed by teachers with special training skills. This was important in the domestic science program for girls in the primary secondary and teacher training schools headed by female education officers. The Bambui Agricultural Institute was established as part of the vocational education program.

Cameroon Pioneer Students in British Universities

Education in British Cameroon had not gone beyond secondary level since the British Baptist missionaries started in 1844. In terms of higher education facilities outside Cameroon, this study finds that after the signing of the Trusteeship Agreement, on

December 13, 1946, four Cameroonians were awarded government scholarships to study in the United Kingdom. Later on in 1949, three more United Kingdom scholarships were offered. From 1947 to 1949, nine Cameroonians were on government scholarships, seven of them in higher education in the United Kingdom. There was also one other Cameroonian on a British Council scholarship studying bookkeeping and accounting (United Kingdom, Report to the U.N. General Assembly on the Administration of Cameroon for the Year 1949, pp. 142-143).

In reaction to the United Nations Trusteeship Councils resolutions, particularly Resolutions 83 (IV) of February 9, 1949, and d110 (V) of July 19, 1949, on Educational Advancement and Higher Education in the African Trust Territories, the British Administration stated:

The Administration Authority fully realizes that educational facilities in the Territory are still backward and inadequate and is determined to do everything practicable to improve the state of affairs as far as their present staff and budgetary position permit. Access to higher education depends on qualifications, not means, for there is a considerable range of scholarships available to suitably qualified candidates (United Kingdom, Report to the U.N. General Assembly on the Administration of Cameroon for the Year 1949, pp. 142-143).

These statements indicate that these were scholarship funds for qualified natives to pursue higher studies.

According to the British, government scholarships were available to all Cameroonians that were qualified to enter the University College Ibadan in neighboring Nigeria. Also, Cameroonians on the same terms as Nigerians were eligible for British Council, Colonial Development, Welfare, and Nigerian Government Scholarships obtainable in United Kingdom higher learning institutions (United Nations, Official Records of the Seventh Session of the Trusteeship Council (June 1 – July 21, 1950)

Supplement No. 2 (T.798), p. 39). By 1957, 17 beneficiaries of Southern Cameroon Government Scholarships were studying in British higher education institutions, and four in universities in the United States of America.

As a result of the rapid movement toward Independence and the staggering need for qualified manpower, there were only 649 Cameroonian junior established staff out of a total of 853 in 1958 (United Nations Visiting Mission, 1958, Report on the Cameroons under the United Kingdom Administration (Supplement No. 2), p. 11). The United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa in 1958 also observed that:

The past inadequacy of the educational facilities, of course, bears importantly on the rate of ‘Cameroonization’ of the public services, especially at the higher levels. The output of qualified students from the secondary schools is still relatively small – less than sixty in 1957 from the two existing boys’ colleges – and the number of candidates for higher education outside the Territory is correspondingly low” (p. 11).

These statements show the inadequacy of the number of highly educated Cameroonians needed for public service after Independence.

Again, according to a government statement, “At the present stage of development in the Southern Cameroons the time element must be regarded as a major factor, and Government considers it most important that qualified men and women should be available as quickly as possible to assist in the general development of the Territory” (United Nations Trusteeship Council, Rapport, 1955, T/1226, Annex 11, p. 2).

There were no more scholarship awards from 1959 to 1960, and at the time of Independence in 1960, the British had not established any higher educational institution in Cameroon after almost half a century of colonial rule. Thus, Cameroon had to meet her own manpower needs, with no colonial higher educational facilities during the 116-year

period from the inception of Western colonial education in 1844 until the granting of Independence in 1960.

My research supports the arguments by Mumford (1935) that British colonial education in Cameroon was driven by the policy of indirect rule, unlike the German colonial education policy in Cameroon, which was driven by the policy of direct rule. British colonial education was imposed on the Cameroon landscape just like it had been imposed on other British colonies globally, and the British colonizers made their English language the official European language of the British Cameroon colony. Phillipson (1992) sums up the importance of English language education in such African and Asian periphery countries as being two-fold:

English has a dominant role *internally*, occupying space that other languages could possibly fill. English is also the key *external* link, in politics, commerce, science, technology, military alliances, entertainment, and tourism. The relationship between English and other languages is an unequal one, and this has important consequence in almost all spheres of life (p. 30).

These comments by Phillipson underscore the importance of the English language globally, even in world organizations such as the United Nations, and its recognition as the international language of aviation as well.

Conclusion

As a result of the second instance of colonial rule, that of the British, British colonial formal education was imposed on the Cameroon education landscape. The ramifications of this phenomenon are that the British colonizers officially promoted English as the only official European language of the British Cameroon colony from the colonial era until Independence in 1961—and English usage, more so than French, is predominant to this day in this English-speaking region of Cameroon.

Throughout British Cameroon and in other British African colonies and around the globe, British educational practices not only flourished but undeniably influenced the educational development of independent nations that were previously British colonies. Mumford (1935) identified British colonial educational influences in these nations in areas of school organizations, such as the opening of separate schools for girls and the practice of opening teacher training institutions, vocational and technical institutions, and higher education institutions whose graduates were absorbed in the government, administrative, and technical services of these former British colonies. Cameroon has been a case in point.

In Chapter 6, I will explore the third instance of a Western colonial government, that is, the French, influencing the Cameroon education landscape, in collaboration with Western Christian missions. This occurred from 1914 to 1938, just before the outbreak of World War II.

CHAPTER SIX
THE FRENCH COLONIAL EDUCATION ERA, 1914-1945

Introduction

In this chapter, I will examine the French colonial presence, administration, and education era that my research considers: the third instance of a Western colonial government and Christian missions on the Cameroon educational landscape, from 1914 to 1945 (the period after World War I up to the end of World War II).

I will further examine the categories of colonial formal schools that were established as well as the administration of these schools during and after the mandate period, that is, the period when the League of Nations gave this portion of Cameroon to the French as a mandated territory, from 1916 to the end of World War II in 1946 (Mbaku, 2005, pp. xxiv, xxv.)

I will argue that the French colonial policies—just like those of the Germans, British, Portuguese, Dutch, Belgians, and Americans—were geared toward global colonization schemes that would expand their colonial economics. I also argue that just like the other colonial powers, the French also used military force with their British ally to conquer and acquire their portion of the Cameroon territory. And just like the British, French colonial education and language policies and schools were put in place to eradicate all non-French foreign education influence in the region. These French colonial formal schools were not as a consequence of the complete French metropole education

system introduced in Cameroon but the formulation of a mass public primary colonial formal school program. This program included some aspects of the French educational system, such as language, music/songs, and history of French culture and civilization as well as French colonial education policy initiatives from French Colonial Equatorial Africa.

I will argue that in the case of the French, their aggressive assimilation policies were instituted to assimilate the natives by establishing French colonial formal schools. As the occupying power (Phillipson, 1922) and/or as the center (McCulloch and Lowe, 2003), the French needed to assimilate the occupied, or periphery, Cameroon into the French colonial empire.

I will examine government and missionary relations in terms of conflicts and resolutions as they played out in the French metropole versus the Cameroon colony as well as how the government and missionaries formed alliances to establish the French colonial education enterprise in Cameroon after French occupation and throughout the mandate period.

Government and Missionary Policy Differences in the French Metropole

The final defeat of the German forces in 1916 and the subsequent end of the Anglo-French provisional administration resulted in the partition of the Cameroon region between the victorious Anglo-French allies. The British had one-fifth of the region that they were to administer with their neighboring Nigerian colony, and the French got four-fifths, the lion's share of the region, that they were to administer with their neighboring colonies of equatorial Africa (Gabon).

Thus, given the ongoing Franco-Prussian hostilities in Europe at this time, the French government badly needed French-speaking natives to help with the administration of the newly conquered region in which German colonial education and language policy was still present/prevalent. This explains why, according to Orosz (2008), “it was only natural for the French authorities to suppress German and develop their own language policy for Cameroon” (p. 185).

From 1914 to 1922, the French government in the French metropole wrestled with the details of their colonial education and language policy for Cameroon. These were influenced by residues of anti-clerical campaigns from 1901 to 1905, colonial policy shifts from assimilation to association, and the uncertain future of the disposition of the Cameroon region during the war period. These issues collectively bred confusion, chaos, and subsequent conflicts between the government and missionaries concerning the overall goals, content, and implementation of official French education and language policy moving forward throughout the French-speaking world.

In terms of anti-clericalism, the French government in the metropole wanted “to ensure the loyalty of the masses and save the nation from royalist and reactionary forces, including the church” (Orosz, p. 186). The government felt that this policy could be achieved through the establishment of free, compulsory, and secular education programs that would inculcate loyalty and patriotism in its pupils and future citizens. Thus, the parochial schools operated by the Catholic missions were based on different values, goals, and beliefs that could threaten the unity of the state, not to mention the Catholic religious orders, which were loyal to the pope and therefore constituted a foreign threat.

The church, on the other hand, felt that its own policy of evangelism, based on native vernaculars and respect for the cultural rights of the natives, was consistent with the ideals of Social Darwinism and Romanticism. Thus, evangelizing in Flemish, Breton, and Basque was unacceptable to the government (Orosz, p. 187).

In terms of the French policy of assimilation, or association with the French colonies, first, the French operated on the policy of assimilation, which was based on the adoption of the French language, culture, and outlook: anyone within the French dominions or colonies that would later become part of the French metropole could become French. Second, since education was the means to achieving assimilation, a French education and language policy was necessary, if not imperative, to replicate “the same content, format, and methodologies in the periphery as existed in the metropole” (Orosz, p. 190).

Assimilation became French colonial theory until challenged by the realities of empire at the end of the 19th century. French colonial theorists found it difficult to organize the French National Assembly by assimilating all colonized people to be French through education because “native mentality did not change in the manner expected by the Paris theorists” (Orosz, p. 190). This reality was fostered by the rise of Social Darwinism and racism as follows:

To those who believed the pseudoscientific racial theories that were popularized and widely promulgated throughout the latter half of the 19th century, the races were distinguished not only by color but by hereditary mental differences that made assimilation quite impossible. No amount of education or alteration of the environment,

therefore, could be expected to raise the African to the level of an ordinary European (Orosz, p. 190).

Thus, as inferior people, their comingling with the French cultural norms, genes, attitudes, and values “could only weaken supposed French superiority” (Orosz, p. 190). However, the French colonial policy was to link all the colonies to the metropole in order to civilize them through exposure to the glories of French culture and language while exploiting their productivity for French prosperity. Finally, at the turn of the century, the policy of assimilation shifted to the policy of association, highlighting cooperation between the French and their colonized people on the basis of the economic and social development of the French empire. Towards this end, cooperation will entail the use of French as the lingua franca and, under association, the French pledge to respect native cultures and institutions. However, when a conflict arose over an offending custom, French officials will eliminate the offending custom and replace it with a “superior” French attitude, belief, or value (Orosz, p. 190).

It should come as no surprise, then, that the constant shifts between assimilation and association caused a lot of conflict between the government and missionaries about official education and language policy.

World War I and French Colonial Interests for Cameroon

When World War I broke out, Germany tried unsuccessfully to convince the Anglo-French allies to keep Africa neutral from the conflict. The Germans argued that it did not serve any European interests to get Africans involved in a war in which “they might be called upon to kill Europeans” (Orosz, 2008, p. 192). The allies rejected the

request and invaded Cameroon so as to deprive Germany of potential reinforcements and resources that Germany could use to support itself in the war back in Europe.

First, for the French in particular, an invasion of Cameroon would help them regain their lost lands as a result of the Morocco crisis of 1911. Second, this action would prevent other colonial powers, even including “their British allies from making a naked grab for the German territories” (Orosz, 2008, p. 192). Interestingly, once the war started, the French came up with more reasons for getting involved in Cameroon. The French specifically “wanted to be compensated” for their wartime losses, both in Europe and Africa.

Military Force, Resistance, Occupation, and Administrative Hierarchy

At the outbreak of World War I on August 1, 1914, English and French military naval forces, with help from the Belgians, fought and defeated the Germans in Cameroon by capturing major towns such as Duala in September 1914, Garoua in June 1915, and Yaounde and Mora in 1916. This forced Germany to end her colonial rule in Cameroon. According to Grenville-Freeman (1976), just as with German colonial rule, there was a history of French occupation and resistance in Africa as well, such as in Morocco 1921-1926, in Tunisia 1951-1962, and in Madagascar 1947-1948 (m. 61). Thus, the French occupation of Cameroon marked the third and final instance of a Western colonial government and Christian missions on the Cameroon education landscape.

Cameroon was administered as an Anglo-French Joint Administered Territory from 1914 to 1916. However, following the March 4, 1916, agreement that was signed in London, the conquered German colony of Cameroon was divided between the allies Britain and France, thereby ending the joint administrative arrangement. The French

occupied four-fifths of the territory, which was spelled “Cameroun,” which she administered with French Equatorial Africa (Gabon). The general commander of the French forces in Cameroon was appointed commissioner and/or administrative head or governor of the French territory as well as the subsequent ones, and they in turn reported to the foreign minister for colonies in Paris.

The following commissioners or governors were responsible for implementing the French colonial educational and language policy in Cameroon from 1915 to 1939, namely: General Joseph Ayermich, 1914-1916; Governor Lucien Fourneau, 1916-1919; Governor Jules Carde, 1919-1923; Governor Théodore Paul Marchand, 1923-1931; Governor Paul Bonnecarrère, 1931-1936; Governor Pierre François Boisson, 1936-1939.

Government and Missionary Policy Differences in Cameroon (Colony/Periphery)

As with the Germans, the policy differences between the government and the church in France, as I earlier indicated, caused conflicts in the French metropole. I will examine the French government’s colonial education and language policy and implementation in the French Cameroon colony in contrast to the ongoing events in the French center/metropole. I will also examine government and missionary conflicts and how these conflicts were resolved and alliances created for the establishment of French colonial formal schools in Cameroon. These colonial formal schools were, according to the French government, necessary to educate the natives for colonial economic expansion but to the missions for conversion, evangelization, and mission expansion. My research will, therefore, uncover how government officials and missionaries, in spite of their policy differences, ended up establishing French colonial formal schools in Cameroon.

The colonial government officials who administered the colony and implemented the French colonial education and language policy in Cameroon, as I earlier mentioned, were governors. These governors, as enumerated below, were responsible for the initial establishment of the French colonial enterprise in Cameroon from 1914 to 1939.

French Colonial Education and Language Policy Initiatives for Cameroon

French presence in Cameroon was backed by a number of replicated colonial experiences that the French had gained in French Equatorial Africa and around the world. This explains why the French went on to establish colonial formal schools based on assimilationist policies for her African territories that were to foster her colonial political and economic goals. At the same time, she would eradicate the previous German colonial formal schools and exert her presence as the colonial master of her Cameroon territory.

The French colonial education policy was driven by the French colonial policy of assimilation, which was prevalent throughout French dependencies in Africa. Like the Germans and the British, the French also practiced their share of dictatorship policies as the center, and Cameroon as the periphery, finding ways to accommodate the center's dictates (McCulloch and Lowe, 2003, p. 459).

The major premise underlining the French educational policy for her African colonies was assimilation, aimed at eliminating African culture, language, and civilization and substituting French culture, language, and civilization and the other French colonial education practices from French Gabon. Thus, a carefully formulated colonial formal school program was necessary to produce the African elite that were to be assimilated and progressively inculcated for the purpose of leading the masses of their people to accept the French language, culture, and civilization. Effective assimilation was

obtainable by way of a tight and centralized control over the French African colonies. Thus, from the 19th into the 20th century, France implemented and operated a highly centralized system of administration in her African colonies. The framework was to create a sense of unity and of equality with France in order to achieve the assimilationist goals.

In order to foster the assimilationist goals, colonial formal schools in French Africa had to be assimilationist. In 1903, the French established colonial formal schools for all of its African territories so that the public schools throughout French dependencies were centrally controlled from France. The policy dictated that the African elite was to have an education similar to that obtained in France, whereas the masses were to obtain basic instruction in spoken French, reading, writing, arithmetic, and vocational skills. This policy was in place, with slight modifications, until the end of World War II.

From the standpoint of the French Governor-General of West Africa Jules Brévié, French colonial education had to achieve two objectives, namely:

...to meticulously train chosen elite to become auxiliaries of the administration in every area and to educate the masses in order to “civilize” and assimilate them into the French way of life (Moumouni, 1968, pp. 42, 45).

These comments, I argue, define how French educational efforts in Africa would undoubtedly assure France who the producers and consumers of tomorrow would be within the French colonial empire.

The French assimilationist colonial formal schools were instituted right after World War I, and by 1920, the directives of administrative control of schools from France were further developed. Based on the policy shift from assimilation to association (Orosz, 2008), French was the official language of instruction, and the educational

structure, including levels, examinations, and certificates, instituted were similar to those in France (Sasnett & Sepmeyer, 1966, p. 627). In essence, these educational initiatives included some aspects of the French metropole primary educational program that were replicated, adapted, and instituted in French West Africa by the French colonial authorities in collaboration with Western Christian missionaries.

The reorganization of colonial formal schools in French West Africa was issued in the Presidential Decree of May 10, 1924, which stipulated French as the only language of instruction in schools; the prohibition of the use of local languages in and around the school premises by teachers and pupils; and the provision of preparatory, elementary, and advanced primary schools outlining the goals of each level. All the sons of chiefs and nobles who had to be trained to assist the French administration were given priority in educational opportunities. The curriculum and textbooks promoted French civilization, wealth, culture, power, and generosity to Africans and how Africans owed the French Republic loyalty (Moumoui, 1968, p. 45, 46). In essence, there was a concerted effort on the part of the French to instill a sense of inferiority, deprivation, and backwardness in Africans.

French Government and Missionary Education Initiatives in Cameroon, 1914-1939

The French colonial authorities also realized that Western Christian missionaries who had been evangelizing in French Equatorial Africa were a formidable resource to assist them in establishing and administering their colonial formal schools in Cameroon.

However, as I mentioned earlier, as in the case of the Germans, the relations between the French colonial authorities and Western Christian missionaries was characterized by tensions, conflicts, and sometimes interdenominational rivalries. I will

uncover how their objectives were in conflict or in harmony and when in conflict, the necessary resolutions in order to forge ahead toward establishing French colonial formal schools in the region at this time.

My research will uncover the dynamics of government and missionary relations in Cameroon in contrast to events occurring in the French metropole. Also, as in the case of the German Kulturkampf policy, I will focus on the French Gallicization policy and how it played out in the French metropole and in the Cameroon colony. The administrative periods of the six governors who administered Cameroon will also be used as benchmarks to better focus on the various government and missionary education initiatives that took place.

Government and Missionary Relations during the Joseph Ayermich Era

During World War I from 1914 to 1916, the Germans closed all schools and mobilized all the European teachers and native monitors into the military (Orosz, 2008, p. 197). As a result of the war, most of the schools were destroyed. After the partition of the region, General Joseph Ayermich, who had been in the region, was appointed and became the first governor who was charged with the task of creating a colonial French government in the French-occupied region. The Ayermich administration was focused on the reorganization of schools to propagate the French language and to Gallicize this former German colony for France. The administration needed to quickly replace the German language with the French language, first, because some of the natives remained connected with exiled missionaries in neighboring Fernando Po and, second, so as to link the natives to their new French metropole. Third, the German-trained personnel in this

more developed part of Cameroon needed to learn French and be Gallicized to become French native auxiliaries so as to bolster French postwar claims to retain Cameroon.

Government Relations with the American Presbyterian Mission. Interestingly, while the French government in the metropole was mounting anti-clerical attacks on the Catholics, the American Presbyterians in the Cameroon colony were evangelizing and expanding their mission. This was because the French government was still fighting a war in Europe (Alsace and Lorraine) and did not have the resources to invest in educating Cameroon natives. The Presbyterians also used their neutral status as citizens of a neutral power to remain in the region and thus continued expanding at this time (Orosz, 2008, p. 198).

Government Relations with the Catholic Mission. The French government and the Ayermich administration did not want the American Presbyterians to take over abandoned mission stations. Consequently, Ayermich requested French Catholic missionaries from Monseigneur Philippe Angourd in Brazzaville. Ayermich also demobilized a few former missionaries who had served with the French military in Cameroon to help reopen all the German schools in Cameroon, to be used in spreading the French language in the region.

The Ayermich administrative efforts in reorganizing the school system that started on August 29, 1916, outlined a general basic education program for public schools in the region. This was because Ayermich needed French-trained personnel for the administration and also to keep the formal schools open until the future of Cameroon was determined by the League of Nations. Regrettably, instructors had no specific guidance

from the Ayermich administration, and the result was the operation of improvised colonial formal schools up until 1920 (Orosz, 2008, p. 199).

In accordance with my Theme 1, which discusses the government's power of agenda setting and initiating colonial formal schools, the Ayermich administration, I argue, actually exercised the power of agenda setting and initiating colonial formal schools in the region at this time.

Government and Missionary Relations during the Lucien Fourneau Era

Governor Lucien Fourneau was appointed to replace Governor Ayermich as the second governor of the region; he arrived in Douala in October 1916 and served until 1919. Fourneau passed a series of decrees to revamp the chaotic schools of the Ayermich era. Fourneau set up procedures for recruiting natives and paying interpreters and clerks for government service. Fourneau also revised the public or government school curriculum to include subjects such as French, history, writing, arithmetic, and geography. The end result was a total of 26 schools reopened in 1916 (Orosz, 2008, p. 199).

Fourneau's decree of September 8, 1917, was important in the regulation of private schools, creation of subsidies to encourage the opening of more schools by the missions, and the promotion of the spread of the French language. Fourneau used his regulations to reclassify government schools operated by demobilized clergy as private institutions. He also earmarked 30 schools run by monitors to later become state or government schools. Unfortunately, Fourneau experienced a shortage of professional European teachers from the metropole up until 1920 because teachers were lured into more lucrative employment after the war. Consequently, government school enrollments

declined in the region in 1918 and 1919, resulting in Christian missions stepping up “to carry the bulk of the educational burden in Cameroon” (Orosz, 2008, p. 201).

Government Relations with the Catholic Mission. Governor Fourneau had an excellent working relationship with the Catholic mission in the region in spite of the anti-clerical sentiment in the French metropole at this time. This was because Father Jules Douvry of the French Spiritan order, who had served with the French troops in Cameroon, was later handed authority by the Vatican’s Propaganda Fide, to take over all the Catholic mission stations in Cameroon after the expulsion of the German Pallottines.

Fourneau and the Catholic Spiritans worked very hard to open schools to teach and spread the French language in the region. The Spiritans followed these government orders in Cameroon because “they saw it as their patriotic duty as members of the Union Sacrée” (Orosz, 2008, p. 202). The rapid expansion of the Catholics was due in part to funding from Governor Fourneau from an account for combating slavery. Douvry justified this government action in the sense that it saved children from heresy that was the most cruel form of servitude, more so than even slavery. Besides, Fourneau had become “convinced that only the Catholics were making a genuine effort in the important task of Gallicizing Cameroon” (Orosz, 2008, p. 207).

Government Relations with the American Presbyterians. Governor Fourneau was dismayed by the French linguistic weakness of the American Presbyterians. The Fourneau administration prevented them from using trained Catholic catechists who had learned some French from Catholic Spiritans, thus blocking the Presbyterians from “further expansion at Catholic expense” (Orosz, 2008, p. 207).

As a resolution, Fourneau ordered the American Presbyterians to do more to improve their French linguistic deficiencies. Thus, the Americans reached out to the Paris Presbyterian Mission and recruited French-speaking teachers such as Mr. and Mrs. Felix Vernet, who came to their rescue in Cameroon. The American Presbyterians thus saw school enrollment increases because of progress in teaching French; they consequently expanded by acquiring the former Basel Mission stations in Edea and Sakbayeme (Orosz, 2008, p. 218).

The French and Fourneau administrations had the historical record of the Americans leaving French Gabon due to their inability to teach French. The fact that President Woodrow Wilson of the United States during the Paris Peace Conference helped thwart French desires to annex Cameroon—and the fact that the American Presbyterians were considered spies and yet they requested to be allowed to teach in English in French colonies—made the French authorities to continue scrutinizing the schooling efforts of the American Presbyterians. It was not until the early 1920s, after the reorganization of the schools, that open conflict occurred just like a mirror image of the anti-clerical crisis in the French metropole (Orosz, 2008, p. 219).

Government Relations with the French Protestant Mission. Initially the French Protestants made public statements to carry out their patriotic duty “to fill the vacuum left by ousted German missionaries” (Orosz, 2008, p. 208) for the good of France and to support the government’s Gallicization policy. Fourneau gave the Protestants and their leader, Elie Allégret, a warm reception upon their arrival in Douala on February 19, 1917. Governor Fourneau’s hopes were justified when the French

Protestants started opening schools and spreading the French language and culture as well as training “African subalterns” (Orosz, 2008, p. 209).

Even the mission’s first pupils passed the government’s competency exams. However, Fourneau’s September 1917 decree that questioned the certainty of Cameroon becoming a French colony cast doubt on the Protestants about their permanent stay in the region. Thus, the Protestants later reverted to their missionary traditions of using vernaculars, such as Douala and Bassa. This did not sit well with the administration. Later in 1919, the Basler Mission leased its mission station to the French Protestants at a symbolic price of 1 franc per year. In June 1919, a Protestant governing committee in France voted to acquire all the German protestant missions in Cameroon. Thus, because this was too much for the French Protestants, Allégret invited the American Presbyterian counterparts to take some of the mission stations (Orosz, 2008, p. 212). Furthermore, Allégret’s constant desire to defend the American Presbyterians was not comforting to the Fourneau administration. Some of the other issues that angered the Fourneau administration and French colonial enthusiasts were:

- The French Protestant mission’s rejection of French language and culture,
- Declining enrollments in Protestant mission schools, to about half in 1919 (Orosz, 2008, p. 212),
- The Douala’s tribe’s petition of 1919, written in German and sent to the Paris Peace Conference, asking for native land rights and independence; this was considered a visible native rejection of the French policy of “*mission civilisatrice*” [civilization mission] (Orosz, 2008, p. 213),

- The French Protestants' use of the Douala language even in non-Douala areas convinced the French authorities that the French Protestant mission was carrying out potential subversive acts, and, finally,
- The Protestant mission's evangelization in the Bamum region in the Grassland and its close relationship with Sultan Njoya, who had close ties with the Germans, and the renewal of his faith in Islam; the latter was greatly disturbing to the French authorities.

All of the above-mentioned issues became the basis of future conflicts between the French colonial authorities and the French Protestant missions over French education and language policy in the region.

Again, as discussed by Boyle (1995) and Orosz (2008), colonial policies and events in the metropole do play out differently in the colony. The French Protestants, who heralded the French metropole for being patriotic, were actually being vilified by the colonial authorities in Cameroon such that the Fourneau administration considered their evangelizing practices subversive or against government policy.

Government and Missionary Relations during the Jules Carde Era

Julius Carde became the third governor of French Cameroon in March 1919, governing until 1923, as a replacement for Fourneau. This occurred at a time when the League of Nations awarded France a provisional mandate over the territory with a dire need for colonial formal schools (Orosz, 2008).

Carde decided to reorganize the French colonial formal schools, both private and public, in accordance with his understanding of the mandate's ideals. Carde's decisions took the existing French colonial education and language policy into consideration, such

as the policy shift from assimilation to association and the new postwar policy of *mise en valeur*, meaning that the French colonies were indispensable for the national reconstruction of postwar France. The interaction of French men and Africans after the war made the French conscious of the role of African culture and education within the French empire.

Also, the French victory in World War I highlighted the superiority of French civilization and her colonial civilization missions. Thus, the policy of assimilation and *mise en valeur* was a new model, not to train black Frenchmen but to teach them useful skills needed for the economic progress of the French empire. Colonial theorists and officials generated the policy to train Africans for labor and agricultural work. The use of the French language was imperative to the policy of *mise en valeur* and to mission *civilisatrice* because the natives would be exposed and uplifted by a civilized tongue and language of power (Orosz, 2008, p. 220). This language policy would save the French the cost of multiple languages and would enhance the overall reconstruction of the economy of the French empire.

The French authorities and the Carde administration came up with establishing a three-tiered formal school program as follows:

- First, village schools with emphasis on mass primary education with basic French language, manual trades, and agricultural skills.
- Second, elementary and regional schools that would produce native auxiliaries for French administrators.
- Third, professional schools that would produce specific skilled professionals.

The French education and language policy would promote French culture and ideals in the colonies and facilitate mission *civilisatrice* and *mise en valeur* by helping Cameroon natives understand French policies as opposed to native dialects that caused ethnic tensions. To crown it all, spreading the French language in Cameroon would Gallicize the people and make the German hopes for returning impossible (Orosz, 2008, P. 222).

With the above-mentioned information, Governor Carde passed the October 1, 1920, education decree. This law:

- Regulated the organization of private schools,
- Created a school inspector to ensure that schools followed government laws,
- Categorized recognized and unrecognized schools; recognized schools followed official curriculum, and the teachers needed to be certified; teaching credentials were *brevet élémentaire* or the equivalent for whites and *diplôme moniteur* for natives,
- A subsidy of 150 francs for every pupil who passed the annual French exam for his or her *certificat d'études*.

Governor Carde felt that his decree was a compromise that would (a) foster relations between public and private schools and help spread French language and culture, (b) certify schooling obligations required by the mandate to a level that would train the functionaries needed by the French administration, (c) foster government willingness to tolerate the use of vernaculars in mission schools, which would eventually propagate the French language and culture (Orosz, 2008, p. 224).

Government Relations with the American Presbyterians. The American Presbyterians considered Carde's decree punitive because their unrecognized schools

could not deliver academic instruction. Their recognized schools would expose them to unwelcomed government oversight. They felt that the conditions for opening recognized schools were stringent; they felt that the bulk of their catechism schools would shut down and compromise evangelical work. With their lack of French teachers, thanks to the Vernets, they worried about being able to get European teachers with acceptable credentials and enough pupils that they could pass the licensing exams. Finally, Allégret requested that Carde should grant the American Presbyterians two to three years to comply with his law (Orosz, 2008, p. 230). Later on, the American Presbyterians silenced government criticism when they outpaced their rival Catholics and, as proof of their ongoing education contributions in the region, more of their students passed the government exams, earning them more financial subsidies (Orosz, 2008, p. 235).

Government Relations with the French Protestants. The French Protestants had a similar reaction to that of their American Presbyterian counterparts. They saw the law as a ban on regional lingua francas that would paralyze all their mission schools because vernacular-based literacy was important in evangelical work (Orosz, 2008, p. 230). Thus, they appealed to their Paris mission that the Carde administration had no right to impose restrictions on evangelical work, in accordance with the freedom of religion principles agreed upon at Saint Germain-en-Laye. When Carde was contacted by Allégret's Paris mission leaders, he wrote a circular recognizing the ability of the missions in penetrating the interior and thus spreading French language and culture. In conclusion, he urged his functionaries to apply his law liberally and intelligently. Carde's circular was in accordance with my Theme 4 of government's official recognition of

mission success at the local levels of colonial societies, as discussed by Foreman (1972), Comaroff and Comaroff (1986), and Tse-Hei (2003).

Between 1921 and 1923, the missions were operating 14 recognized schools, with incremental enrollments of 800, 1228, and 13,000 pupils and earning 1,300 French francs in subsidies (Orosz, 2008, p. 235).

Government Relations with the Catholic Mission. Carde's education decree of October 1920 was being carried out as a commitment to the Union Sacrée by the Spiritan Catholics under the new leadership of Louis Malessard, who replaced Douvry. The Catholic Spiritans created mixed schools, which offered a combination of vernacular catechism and mission schools, as well as French language academic schools that spread the French culture and language to produce subalterns (Orosz, 2008, p. 237). Also, the Sacred Heart Catholic missionaries returned to the region under the leadership of Joseph Plissoneau; headquartered in Dschang in the grassfields, they were making efforts to get on with the task of blending patriotism and evangelical work in the region. The sudden death of Malessard in March 1922 caused some leadership problems. However, Malessard was replaced by François-Xavier Vogt in October 1922 (Orosz, 2008, p. 238).

Vogt and his missionaries were now to deal with not only the October 1920 law but also with Carde's July 1925 law that regulated schools by creating a tier system of primary and professional schools. Carde's 1921 education law was to rectify the slow pace at which the mission schools were spreading the French culture and language for the production of subalterns needed for *mise en valeur*. Carde also created adult schools for those too old to attend regular primary schools. Finally, Carde created the *école supérieur* (advanced school) in Yaounde to produce graduates for employment in the schools as

native school monitors or as clerical staff in the government service or with businesses owned by Europeans (Orosz, 2008, p. 240). Carde was later replaced by Governor Théodore Paul Marchand.

Government and Missionary Relations during the Théodore Paul Marchand Era

Théodore Paul Marchand replaced Carde as the fourth governor of the region, from 1923 to 1931. Marchand was under pressure from the Mandate Commission about stagnation in school enrollments in the region and to reconsider the policy of using vernaculars in schools, on the one hand. On the other, Marchand was committed to the government policy of spreading French language and culture in order to Gallicize the natives in the region. To attain these goals, Marchand passed the Education Decree of 1923, which authorized native monitors to operate adult classes in spoken French, excluding other subjects, throughout the region.

The implementation of his laws led to a dramatic, 30 percent increase in the number of primary schools in 1923. Marchand later on passed the December 1925 law, which earned missions 150 French francs for every pupil admitted in the *école supérieur* who upon graduation would serve the government for 10 years. Marchand raised school age limits to increase enrollment and allowed students more time to finish their program. Unlike the Germans, Marchand decided to expand the education of women in order to increase African exposure to the French language of power, which he also believed was crucial to the mission *civilisatrice* (Orosz, 2008, p. 263). This policy was backed by the notion that one educated male was one educated person, whereas an educated female meant more than one person's education in consideration of the number of children at child-bearing age (Orosz, 2008, p. 264). Thus, these *écoles ménagères*, or home

economics or domestic science schools, intended to create better wives and mothers, were opened and peaked at six in 1925 but fell to two in 1931 due to lack of teachers and failing help in the Gallicization effort in French Cameroon at this time (Orosz, 2008, p. 265).

Government Relations with the American Presbyterians and the French Protestant Missions. The Marchand administration did not like the belief of the American Presbyterians that Africans were better served with a vernacular education backed by evangelism and not academics. This was when the Protestant mission opened the Dager Bible Seminary in 1922. The French Protestants in 1924 also rejected French as the language of instruction for catechists in the *écoles pastorales*, or pastoral schools. As both missions continued criticizing the government's colonial education and language policy to be counter productive because it produced cultural caricatures that were a mockery of French rule, they also held that the recognized schools were not equal to the task of spreading the French language efficiently to prepare pupils for the government exams (Orosz, 2008, p. 269).

It turned out that government did not want to jeopardize its chances of protecting its mandate from being revoked by the Mandate Commission. The American Presbyterians did not want their temporary exemption of the October 1920 law revoked with the possibility of expulsion of both missions from the region where their Catholic rivals were eager to expand. Thus, Marchand created an Education Commission in 1924 that consisted of all local government education authorities and representatives from all the missions operating schools in the French Cameroon region for the purpose of improving relations (Orosz, 2008, p. 268).

This move helped to tone down anti-government rhetoric about the French language question and, as such, all the major missions offered to carry out some French in their schools. This move led the government to lay inaccurate claims that the missions were indeed abandoning the vernacular policy in favor of the French language policy. Thus, the Education Commission became the platform of reform for official language and education policies up until the outbreak of World War II in 1939.

Government Relations with the Catholic Mission. The simultaneous arrival of both Governor Théodore Paul Marchand and Monseigneur François-Xavier Vogt, the new Alsatian Spiritan leader in Cameroon, was characterized as “a wave of church-state conflicts in the mid-1920s that echoed events in the metropole” (Orosz, 2008, p. 241). These events speak to my Theme 2, as earlier mentioned, as to why and how missionary conflicts in the metropole and the colony play out differently and vice versa, as discussed by Boyle (1995), Basseby (1999), and Orosz (2008).

Governor Marchand expected Vogt, like his predecessor Malessand, to work with the government as French citizens and as missionaries to support the regime and promote its policies under the commitment of the Union Sacrée. Instead, Vogt felt that the French government should have repealed the 1901-1905 anti-clerical laws, which the Catholics felt entitled to for defending the French republic as part of the Union Sacrée (Orosz, 2008, p. 277). Vogt felt that Catholics were bound to a higher power and should oppose government policies whenever they felt otherwise. Vogt felt that his priests were not state soldiers but missionaries and should focus on evangelism, not the promotion of French education and language policies (Orosz, 2008, p. 279).

Vogt was convinced that evangelism flourished through vernacular catechism schools and thus ordered his priests to start studying and gaining fluency in vernaculars, such as Douala, Ngumba, and Ewondo, with no need for translators or interpreters. In fact, while Marchand was suspicious of Vogt's Alsatian background, the Vatican was transparent about his French education and character when he ordered his Spiritans to be able to preach in the vernacular after a year or be sent back to the French metropole (Orosz, 2008, p. 281).

The tensions between Governor Marchand and Vogt later subsided when Vogt outlined past Catholic contributions in the region. He also, like the other missions, disapproved of the government's French language policies that produced inferior manual natives *declassés* as a result of the vigorous way of teaching French. Vogt also realized that his Protestant rivals were expanding by teaching some French in their schools, the language of power that the natives needed.

Thus, considering that the Catholics lacked central facilities for training prior to 1922, Vogt ordered the creation of the Akono Station Catholic Seminary, midway between Yaounde and Douala. Vogt decided that French would be taught so as to better prepare their catechists and stop pupils from moving to the institutions of their potential rivals (Orosz, 2008, p. 283).

Also, given the anti-clerical sentiments in the metropole, the Spiritans continued to fight against government interference in their mission schools in Cameroon. However, in order to catch up with their Protestant rivals, lessen government hatred of Catholics, and help the mission's funding, Vogt decided to participate in the government program to

send pupils from their mission schools to the *école supérieur*, especially since Marchand doubled the subsidies to 300 francs per mission pupil (Orosz, 2008, p. 285).

These moves by the government to provide subsidies are in accordance with my Theme 7, about the mission's need for state power. In this case, the power of funding projects needed by the missions is discussed by Stanley (1990), Mackenzie (1993), and Porter (1997).

Vogt openly expressed Catholic unwillingness to succumb to government dictates. Vogt explained reasons for allowing some French in Catholic schools as “a necessity to offset competition from Protestants and government who do not offer any spirituality to children except false racial artificial hopes” (Orosz, 2008, p. 287).

Marchand was eager to spread the French language and culture in order to Gallicize, especially the Douala tribe, which hated French rule and was able to state in open petitions to the League of Nations that it preferred “to die under English administration or even under American administration than to die under the disagreeable French” (Orosz, 2008, p. 287).

Native discontent, protests, and migrations to neighboring non-French colonies, such as Fernando Po, alarmed the French colonial authorities, who felt that their policies of mission *civilisatrice* and *mise en valeur* were in trouble because the Catholic missionaries were not part of the solution (Orosz, 2008, p. 287). Marchand went on to praise the American Presbyterians for doing a better job in spreading the French language than the so-called French Spiritan Catholic missions.

Vogt responded by attacking the French colonial authorities about custom duties imposed on Catholic books, alleged government favoritism for Protestants, and helping

Presbyterians to cheat on government exams (Orosz, 2008, p. 188). Vogt and the Spiritans also criticized the government's *mise en valeur* policy for French colonial economic development as a form of forced labor on women and children. This led to a series of attacks and counterattacks between Marchand and Vogt in the spring of 1930. For instance, Marchand convicted two priests on slander charges in retaliation for the Spiritans' criticisms of government policies and their inability to gain converts. Subsequently, government denied offering the Spiritans enough land for a new Catholic mission station in the town of Nkilsok and Omvan.

The Marchand administration also attacked the Catholics concerning convents run by Catholic nuns as forced labor for convent girls. Known as the *Affaire de Sixas*, the Catholics resolved it by explanations that forced labor had to do with government road crews, whereas "the Catholics received no benefits from Sixa pupils" (Orosz, 2008, p. 291). This issue of convent girls is an example of my Themes 3 and 5, gender-related issues (Johnson, 2003) and agreements and disagreements between colonial governments and missions (Latourette, 1965), respectively. The Catholics then decided to adopt the curriculum of the home economics program to comply with government education laws. This move was to silence government and native critics of the Catholic convents, who charged that the convents were a refuge for girls to escape polygamous marriages which, in turn, ruined bride prices and the family structure that was the foundation of *mise en valeur*.

The Marchand administration also attacked the Catholic catechists because their egalitarian Christian messages rejected "the hereditary authority of unbaptized chiefs" (Orosz, 2008, p. 292), thereby breeding revolts which, in turn, threatened *mise en valeur*.

As a corrective measure to this raft of issues, Governor Marchand imposed the April 1930 law that regulated mission outstations run by “native auxiliaries” (Orosz, 2008, p. 293).

Strikingly, the Marchand administration demonized the Catholic authorities over their inability to fill out retroactive paperwork for the registration of mission buildings and properties. When news of the Spiritan problems in the region leaked in the French metropole, Pratenotre-Desnoyers, a parliamentary deputy, launched the Catholic complaint with the minister of colonies, who, in turn, summoned Marchand to France for an explanation. At the same time, a German press release questioned whether liberty of conscience was being trampled by the French in French Cameroon. This prompted Roger Franceschi, the French representative to the League of Nations, to defend Marchand.

Marchand’s annoyance with Vogt prompted him to request that the minister of colonies remove Vogt. The minister replied that he had no authority to do so—only the Vatican did. Even though the French authorities feared that Vogt’s replacement could be worse, Cardinal van Rossum, a Dutch prelate who was head of the Propaganda Fide, was hostile to France and did not replace Vogt (Orosz, 2008, p. 297). Vogt’s letter to his fellow Spiritans to be law abiding but not to allow themselves to be treated as “second class citizens” (Orosz, 2008, p. 296) enabled Louis Le Hunsec, superior general of the Spiritan order, to write to the French minister of colonies in early July 1930. He outlined all of Marchand’s misdeeds concerning the Catholics in Cameroon, misdeeds that were contrary to mandated freedom of religion clauses, and he wondered what the League of Nation’s reaction would be if they knew of these shameful government administrative activities in Cameroon.

In February and March of 1931, the French representative to the League of Nations, Roger Franceschi, visited Yaounde for an evaluation of the church and state conflict. Soon after his visit, the minister of colonies made Marchand reverse the April 30 law in late May 1931, only to be recalled and replaced by Paul Bonnacarrère, who was considered more conciliatory and appropriate to become the new governor of the French Cameroon region (Orosz, 2008, p. 293).

Government and Missionary Relations during the Paul Bonnacarrère Era

Paul Bonnacarrère became the fifth governor of the French Cameroon region, governing from 1931 to 1936. Bonnacarrère allowed the missions to do their work without conflict based on a series of education conferences held in 1931 about pedagogy in the colonies. The participants agreed that emphasis on a bookish education model would unbalance the native, that the vernacular should be used in the early years of schooling and French language later. These views were supported by French colonial theorists such as Georges Hardy, who held that multiple vernaculars would be difficult to unite the region into a social, economic, political, and administrative entity (Orosz, 2008, p. 297).

Thus, this explains why education in the French colonies was exclusively carried out in French. However, in 1933, Bonnacarrère passed the 1933 law that regulated worship in the region, with similar provisions to those in the 1930 laws passed by Marchand. The law stipulated that: missions should register their properties; government approval was needed for opening new stations; no new stations could be within eight kilometers of any town with a population exceeding 4,000 where missions already had five buildings; government could shut down any place of worship for one year in the

interest of public safety; closure renewal of such facilities would be annual depending on government determination; and worship could be conducted in French, Latin, or vernaculars. This law clearly sent a message to all the missions in the region that government control was alive and well (Orosz, 2008, p. 297). This law is evidence of my Theme 1, that government always had the power of agenda setting by passing laws to stabilize the region for colonial economic development using colonial formal schools.

Unlike his predecessor, Bonnecarrère paid his colonial officials bonuses for learning official vernaculars, such as Arabic, Baya, Bamum, Bamileke, Bassa, Douala, Fulbe, and Ewondo (Orosz, 2008, p. 298). Bonnecarrère also indirectly encouraged the promotion of the French language by approving journal publications in French as well as the above-mentioned official vernaculars.

Bonnecarrère also promoted the French language by opening a school for the sons of tribal chiefs in the region in 1935 for spoken French. However, the Muslim chiefs were reluctant to participate to avoid conversion to Christianity, thereby forcing the French colonial government, just like the Germans, to introduce Arabic in their Koranic schools.

Government Relations with the American Presbyterians and the French Protestants. Bonnecarrère's conciliatory governing style created very cordial relations with the American Presbyterians and the French Protestants as they continued expanding their mission status in the region.

Government Relations with the Catholic Mission. Even though the Bonnecarrère administration was very conciliatory, the Catholic Spiritans were not happy with government efforts toward the establishment of government schools. In fact,

Monseigneur René Graffin, who was Vogt's coadjutor, publicly attacked the government for not doing as much as the mission schools, given their few schools with small class sizes, in contrast to the missions that carried most of the education burden in the region. Interestingly, Bonnacarrère's two years of service was over, and he was replaced by Pierre François Boisson, who later on had to work with Graffin (Orosz, 2008, p. 300).

Government and Missionary Relations during the Pierre François Boisson Era

Pierre François Boisson was the sixth governor of the French Cameroon region, from 1936 to 1939. Boisson was a realist. Thus, he convinced the French government officials in the metropole to settle their ongoing disputes with the Catholics to avoid future public disruptions, both in the metropole and in the colony. Boisson encouraged the use of spoken French in the schools, as outlined in his November 1938 circular (Orosz, 2008, p. 301).

Government Relations with the Catholic Mission. Governor Boisson met with Graffin and Vogt on March 2, 1937, and skillfully resolved their disputes, which had arisen during the Bonnacarrère administration (Orosz, 2008, p. 301). Thus, Boisson and the Catholics had cordial relations until September 1939, when World War II broke out (Orosz, 2008, p. 302).

Government Relations with the American Presbyterians and the French Protestants. Government relations with the American Presbyterians and the French Protestants were cordial. This led to the expansion of colonial and missionary schools with the ultimate purpose of converting Cameroon natives to French Western ideals, according to my Theme 6, as discussed by Neill (1966) and Gascoigne (2008), respectively.

Government Relations with the Native Baptist Mission. My research has not uncovered the legitimate status of the Native Baptist Mission in French Cameroon at this time except that in the Douala region, their attempts to come to prominence were not successful. Besides, their mission stations in the Douala region were handed over to French Protestant Missions under the leadership of Elie Allégret in 1919. Allégret, in turn, handed over the Baptist stations at Sakbayenne and Edea to the American Presbyterians as realistic allies because the French Protestants could not manage all the Baptist stations (Orosz, 2008), a move that angered the Fourneau administration.

The Establishment of Missionary Formal Schools

The above-mentioned French colonial government administrators wrestled with the missionaries in the territory about the policy directives of colonial formal schools. As this research has shown so far, there were conflicts and tensions that characterized the French colonial educational enterprise. However, as I mentioned earlier in my Theme 5, agreements and disagreements between colonial governments and missions, and my Theme 6, conversion of colonial subjects to Western ideals, played out in terms of collaboration toward of the establishment of colonial formal schools. In this respect, the colonial government and the Christian missions always maintained working relationships in spite of their differences, leading to government and missionary alliances that resulted in the opening of missionary schools.

Alliances with Western Missionaries for Educational Development

Even though government and missionary conflicts occurred, as I mentioned earlier, there was always the need for common ground for government and missions to educate Cameroon natives, according to my Theme 6, conversion of colonial subjects to

Western ideals. I argue that educated natives, whether from government or missionary schools, would still end up serving in the French colony with French Western ideals.

The policy of forming education alliances with Western missionaries, as I earlier mentioned, was embraced by the French colonial authorities. Thus, even in this much larger sector of Cameroon under the French colonial administration, the education burden fell into the hands of Christian missionary societies just as it was in the small sector under the British colonial administration. During the Anglo-French occupation from 1914-1916 the German missionary educational, religious, and other missionary activities in the French occupied territory were handed over to the French Protestant and the Catholic missionary societies. The American Presbyterians who operated their educational, religious, and other activities under the Germans also continued under the French occupation. These three missionary groups were later joined by the Seventh Day Adventists, who made significant contributions to Cameroon education under the French Administration.

In the order of September 8, 1917, the French colonial government defined the substance of knowledge in which private school pupils were to be examined based on the level of French taught in missions schools. Examination results were to be the basis for the payment of government grants-in-aid to mission schools. The order further prescribed that the official formal schools would only succeed with a sufficient number of trained European teachers. Thus, commenting on the efforts of missionary societies in the advancement of education in the French Cameroon territory almost six years after the beginning of the French occupation, the French administrators came to the conclusion that on the whole, “the missions have constituted a precious and formidable force to be

reckoned with in the absence of an official, definitively organized education. They can render great services” (France, *Journal Officiel de la République Française*, 7 Septembre 1921, p. 430).

These comments indicate the French colonial government’s recognition of the Western Christian missionary contribution in educational development in the territory.

The French administrators soon realized that the major objectives of the missions in terms of educational activities were to propagate their religion in order to win and conserve converts. They did this easily by using the native vernacular such as Duala, used by the French Protestants; Boulou, used by the American Presbyterians; and Yaoundé and Bassa, used by the Catholics. The introduction of French instead of German made it easy for missions to carry out instruction and publications almost in native vernaculars. However, the French administrators, who were anxious to spread the French language and civilization quickly all over the territory, commented that it was “fitting to react against the tendency” (p. 431).

Private School Policies of 1920

The policies for private schools in 1920, I argue, were to eliminate all non-French influences in the territory. On October 1, 1920, the French colonial government issued an order that contained government regulations for all private schools (p. 431). No new schools were to be opened by any mission without authorization by the French authorities. The granting of any authorization was based on the use of the French language for instruction in the schools. All private schools were obliged to follow the official curriculum and school age limit, and both white and native teachers were to have the qualifications required by the government. Further, missions were required to

establish a pedagogic system of control, and mission school headmasters were required to exercise rigorous control over school attendance. All mission school-appointed headmasters were to be approved by the government commissioner of education. The order stipulated that grants to mission schools be based on the number of successful graduates at the end of the final year examinations. There was a time limit during which the missions were to implement the regulations in the order. The only schools that were officially recognized by the government were those that implemented the regulations and also met the required standards.

The new measures became the basis for regulating private education; they also enabled the administration to differentiate between academic and general instruction in the mission schools. Government was determined to create an “indispensable unity” and collaboration between government educational needs and the missions. The one cardinal point to achieve was “the diffusion of the French language and civilization (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroon pour 1924, p. 29). According to the administration, “the principle objective to be achieved at the moment is the propagation of the French language” (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroon pour 1921, p. 17). The colonial government controlled all aspects of education by having the schools take common examinations that were conducted and controlled by government authorities, in the French language. The institution and the propagation of French language and culture in the schools continued to be a priority and an example of French language propagation taking hold.

French courses were offered for catechists, evangelists, and other church workers who were ready to teach French or in French. Native languages in Christian and religious

education were permitted only when used along with French or when it was inevitable in vernacular schools. A school committee (*Commission de l'Enseignement*), consisting of the commissioner's delegate chairman; the inspector of education; three member representatives of government schools, one member from each Protestant mission; and two members from the Catholic Mission, was set up in 1924 (France, Report sur Cameron pour 1924, p. 14). The committee's major objectives were to bring the missions and government closer. All school reports, deliberations, and suggestions were sent to the commissioner for action.

Private School Policies of 1930

I will submit that the private school policies of 1930 were to ensure the continuous implementation of French colonial education policies and the elimination of all foreign and German education initiatives in the territory. The education ordinance that regulated private schools was issued in the commissioner's order of March 19, 1930. Private schools were those founded and maintained by religious societies. Private schools were established with special authorization from the commissioner based on the recommendation of the divisional officer in charge; that officer was also responsible for attendance, sanitation, and moral issues in private schools (Commissaire de la République Française au Cameroon, Arrêtê reglementant le fonctionnement des écoles privées dans le territoire, Yaoundé, le mars 1930, Article 2). The education department was responsible for the pedagogical organization of all private schools. Schools eligible for official recognition were those that implemented the entire commissioner's order of July 25, 1921; they were obliged to offer a minimum of twenty hours of French classes weekly (Article 3).

The school age was limited to 12 years for first level, 14 years for those in second and middle, and 18 years for those in advanced or third level (Article 4). Recognized private schools were to be headed by either a white European schoolteacher with the qualification or equivalent of the *brevet élémentaire* with some knowledge of French language. An indigenous student teacher had to have either the Indigenous Teacher's Diploma (*diplôme de moniteur indigène*) or an assistant student teacher with the qualifications of First School Leaving Certificate (Article 5). All schools had to have enrollment registers clearly stating the full name of each pupil, his or her age, the parents' residence, date of enrollment, departure date, and the class roll call register (Article 6).

Further, all proprietors of recognized private schools who were also headmasters had to be ex-officio members of the committee of education (Article 9). All schools in the territory not approved by the colonial government that are unrecognized that use French or a native language as a medium of instruction could enforce the official school age limit (Article 10). The ordinance also specified the types of government grants for recognized private schools, the stipulated amounts of the grants, and the conditions and methods of channeling the grants (Article 7-8).

The administration's estimate showed that only one-third of the mission schools met the official standards. However, the majority of these mission schools remained small, due to the lack of trained white teachers, which was the government's requirement to prepare pupils for the First School Leaving Certificate qualifications. However, mission schools could not afford such trained staff. All recognized schools were as important to the missions as regional schools were to the government. These regional

schools were very few and selective, and they recruited pupils from unrecognized schools for preparation for the first school leaving certificate exams.

Regional schools that adopted the official curriculum were inspected and supervised by the inspector of education to ensure that the educational program officially conformed to the future colonial plans of the colony. Using recognized school facilities for the training of church workers was prohibited. However, when the French administration realized the religious education influence as pertinent to morality and the basis of good general education, it somehow tolerated this practice but did not encourage it directly, as in the case of the British colonial administration.

The administration also tolerated the existence of unrecognized schools where religious instruction took place in the vernacular in order not to interfere with the work of the religious missions. These vernacular schools were common in every village and town. Thus, the administration considered them the basis for the instruction of French language and the propagation of the civilizing ideas of the French ruling power throughout Cameroon (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroon pour 1922, p. 27). Close collaboration with these language schools was considered by the government as crucial.

All catechists and student teachers were authorized and encouraged to teach spoken French in these unrecognized schools even though the government could not impose any official curriculum. French instruction was intensified in various unrecognized schools, and the adoption of official regulations on the teaching of French. Even though school administrators cited the lack of competent teachers, the absence of pedagogical control, the age of the pupils, and the organization of each particular group as factors for not giving these schools official recognition, the government chose to

recognize them officially as French propaganda. Their curriculum was similar to that of village schools, consisting of spoken French, reading, writing, vernacular religion, singing, arithmetic, and hygiene. French and vernacular were sometimes used interchangeably in these schools. Government also imposed the official school age limit on all of these unrecognized schools.

From 1918 to 1938, the four missionary groups—the Roman Catholic, the French Protestants, the American Presbyterians, and the Seventh-day Adventists—had established 85 recognized schools, with an enrollment of 10,893 students, and 2,861 unrecognized schools, with an enrollment of 92,491 students. There were also 16 certified teachers and 120 teachers' aides at this time (France, *Rapport Annuels sur Cameroun pour 1922-1938*).

Policies to Address the Shortage of Teachers

Even though the French colonial authorities wanted to propagate French language and culture throughout this vast territory, they did not have enough teachers, which, I argue, was only a temporary setback. The missionary societies in the French sector were interested in advanced primary education programs. But like the missionaries in British Cameroon, they had a shortage of trained teachers for their schools, whose enrollments outnumbered government schools. While the training of indigenous student teachers was imperative to fulfill government requirements and to qualify for government grants-in-aid, unfortunately the Yaoundé government advanced school facilities were inadequate for the missionaries.

The American Presbyterians established a teacher training school at Foulassi in the N'Tem Region (France, *Rapport Annuel sur Cameroon Pour 1928*, p. 15). The French

Protestant mission followed by establishing an advanced school (*école supérieur*) at Ndoungué in the Mungo Region where they had also established a Bible school (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroon pour 1928, p. 11). The two schools adopted the Yaoundé Advanced School curriculum and enrolled pupils with First School Leaving certificate qualifications. The training in these schools prepared pupils for the government-administered examination for the Indigenous Teacher's Diploma (*diplôme de moniteur indigène*). These facilities were later expanded for the training of nurses and printers, as prescribed by the Yaoundé Advanced School and the Ayos Nursing School curricula. These schools were later inspected by the government inspector of education and recognized as advanced primary schools.

From 1918 to 1928, 37 students graduated from the Foulassi school with the Indigenous Teacher's Diploma (*diplôme de moniteur indigène*). At the Ndoungué School 12 students graduated from 1931 to 1936. However, when a total of 29 candidates from the two schools were examined in 1937, only 15 passed the exam. Nonetheless, the French Administration continued the grants-in-aid system introduced by the German administration to the mission schools.

Grants-in-Aid Awards Policy and Implementation

The French administration continued the grants-in-aid system to mission schools that had been introduced by the German administration. Initially the French provided grants to missions based on children who were being taught the French language (France, Journal Officiel de la République Française, 7 Septembre 1921, p. 430). In 1917, grants were paid to student teachers in the form of bonuses for teaching French in mission schools. The official order of September 8, 1917, stipulated new terms for grants such

that the mission schools were brought under the control of the administration and were qualified for government grants-in-aid (p. 430). The administration introduced a new grant-in-aid policy because the order of October 1, 1920, was too drastic. Every mission was entitled to annual government grants at the rate of 150 French francs for every pupil who passed the First School Leaving Certificate Examination; this examination was administered by the administration in French and based on the official curriculum (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroon pour 1921, p. 17).

This new measure was to compensate the missions for bringing public education in their schools under government policy directives. On December 26, 1924, the commissioner issued an order adding two other grants, such as a grant for 150 francs, for 20 pupils enrolled in a mission school in which a student teacher taught French and 300 French francs for every pupil admitted at the advanced school. In addition to these three types of grants, from 1926 to 1928, the administration made an annual grant of 8,000 French francs to Catholic Missions and 6,000 French francs, respectively, to French Protestant and American Presbyterian Missions. After that there were annual budgets allocated to the various missions based on the number of recognized schools they operated.

The commissioner's order of October 29, 1928, increased the grants from 150 to 300 French francs for every successful candidate in the First School Leaving Examination and 300 to 600 French francs for every successful candidate in the competitive entrance exam for the advanced school. The 150 French francs for every 20 pupils taught by a student teacher was raised to 300 French francs and again to 600 French francs, according to the order of November 14, 1929. The order of December 10,

1929, provided additional grants of 300 French francs for each assistant student teacher (aide moniteur) with First School Leaving Certificate qualifications teaching in a recognized mission school. All these revised grant rates were reiterated in Article 7 of the Education Ordinance on March 19, 1930. On August 29, 1936, the Commissioner raised the rates for computing the category of grants as follows:

- 500 French francs for every successful graduate in the First School Leaving Certificate Exam.
- 1,000 French francs for every pupil admitted to the advanced school if the pupil did not sign a contract of commitment with the mission.
- 1,000 French francs for every school managed by a native student teacher with the qualifications of Indigenous Teacher's Diploma (diplôme de moniteur indigene).
- 500 French francs for every school managed by or under the management of a teacher's aide with First School Leaving Certificate qualifications (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun pour 1936, p. 117).

School grants increased from 15,000 French francs for 46 schools in 1918 to 116,000 French francs for 96,500 schools to cover the four-fifths of the Cameroon territory in 1938; the British only had to deal with one-fifth (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun pour 1936, p. 150). On January 1, 1937, these rates became effective. I argue that this funding exercise was necessary first not only to sustain but to continue the propagation of the French colonial formal schooling initiatives throughout this vast territory. Secondly, the funding exercise is also an example of my Theme 7, how missions always work with states because of missions' need for state power "funding" to achieve their education and evangelizing objectives.

The Establishment of Government Colonial Formal Schools

After conquering and occupying the territory, the French administration was determined to reopen the German schools that were destroyed or utilized as military barracks during the war. The establishment of all these various French colonial formal schools is relevant to my Theme 1, how the French colonial government exercised power of agenda setting and initiating colonial formal schools in the Cameroon region during the pre-mandate, mandate, and the post-mandate periods up until independence in 1960. The major schools reopened were those staffed with trained European as well as white missionary teachers who were to train those who would soon become student teachers in the government schools. The French administration's major objective was to spread the French language very quickly and widely as a medium of communication for the natives and their new French administering power. Thus, a French educational program was drawn up for Cameroon in the circular of August 29, 1916, that was addressed to all divisional officers. The Educational Program to be implemented was issued in February 1917; it emphasized the importance of the French language that was to be used by student teachers (France, *Journal Officiel de la République Française*, 7 Septembre 1921, Annexe, Cameroon, p. 430).

This was an aggressive program of mobilization of metropolitan and colonial teaching staff that, coupled with the closure of many schools in France and in the colonies during World War I, was a setback for France in terms of meeting the demand for qualified teachers in Cameroon. Even in France, schools were closed because many female teachers were summoned to help the war effort. Thus, teacher demand for Cameroon was suspended until after the war.

The French Administration issued an order that created a cadre of native student teachers on November 2, 1916. The order fixed their salary scales, war indemnities, and the qualifications based on a competitive French language exam that was the measure for selecting teachers. A total of 40 candidates passed the exam in 1916, seventy in 1917, and 37 in 1918. This was a formidable effort by Cameroonians who were strangers to the French language when the French Administration took over from the Germans. In terms of employment, 40 student teachers were hired in 1916, 47 teachers in 1917, and 35 in 1918.

At the end of World War I, most of the European missionaries in charge of training student teachers returned home or took up jobs with their missions. Native student teachers were left to fend for themselves with whatever professional knowledge they had acquired. As the need for trained teachers from normal schools became a crisis in France itself, due to the youth deserting the teaching profession to seek more lucrative jobs in commerce and industry, the Cameroon colonial formal schools became continuously dependent on native student teachers who were numbered at 18 in 1909 and 27 in 1920. In 1920, the stagnation period ended because a qualified European teacher had arrived in Cameroon and embarked on training native student teachers and the teaching of French. In 1921, the administration decided to centralize colonial formal schooling by applying certain rules, principles, and experiments that had proven successful in other French Colonies in Africa. The Department of Education was separated from the General Administration and placed under the Inspector of Education. An order was issued on July 25, 1921, that defined the organizational structure of Official Public Education in Cameroon in three areas, namely:

- Elementary or Primary Education (*l'enseignement primaire élémentaire*) given in village and regional schools,
- Advanced Primary and Professional Education (*l'enseignement primaire supérieure et professionnel*) provided for at the Yaoundé Advanced School (l'Ecole Supérieure de Yaoundé),
- Technical Education (*l'enseignement technique*) given at a school attached to the Yaoundé (*Ecole annexe de Yaoundé*) as a practicing school for student teachers and at various divisions in the territory for trainees requiring practical training in mechanics, nursing, typing, post office services, etc.

The August 5, 1921, circular defined the objectives for different types of schools and detailed programs for primary instruction. On August 10, the commissioner prescribed three types of certificates corresponding to the three areas of education that can be received, as earlier stated in the order of July 25, 1921. The Cameroon Territory was divided into educational regions consisting of groupings of village schools clustered around centrally located divisional headquarters. Administratively the decree of March 21, 1921, had 15 divisions, such as Douala, Nkongsamba, Yabassi, Edéa, Kribi, Ebolowa, Abong-M'Bang, Batouri, N'Gaoundéré, Garoua, Maroua, Dschang, Bafia, and Yaoundé, all headed by a divisional officer (Chazelas, 1931, p. 129). Thus, a grouping of schools in every region was identified as an administrative division.

Colonial Educational Administrative Hierarchy

The administrative hierarchy for education in Cameroon was defined by the commissioner's order of July 25, 1921 (France, Rapport Annuel du Gouvernement Français au Conseil de la Société sur l'administration sous mandat du territoire du

Cameroon pour l'année 1922, 1923, p. 23). At the top of the hierarchy was the superintendent (or inspectorate) of education, followed by Advanced Primary Education at the Advanced School, Middle Level Primary at regional schools, First Level Primary at village schools, and finally Adult Education Programs, Vocational Training Schools, Cooperative Schools, and Domestic Science Schools.

At the beginning of the French Administration in 1916, the Education Department was headed by the Army general, who reorganized the schools that had been established during the German period. He appointed European teachers and missionaries for service and public education. The prescribed curriculum emphasized spoken French to be followed strictly as much as possible. The educational efforts were hampered by the withdrawal of European Missionary teachers after the war. However, the arrival of 12 trained European teachers in Cameroon remedied the situation with a complete reorganization of education in French Cameroon (France, *Journal Officiel de la République Française*, 7 Septembre 1921, p. 431).

The plan emphasized a centralized public education department to provide a unified educational direction. This unity was more crucial in the colonial education enterprise than any other enterprise. Thus, the Inspectorate of Education (or *Une Inspection de l'Enseignement*) was set up to centralize the administrative and other aspects of education. The major objectives of giving educational personnel the professional, pedagogical, and technical services from a central location were achieved. The Education Department was organized and detached from the general administration in 1921 (France, *Rapport au Ministre des Colonies sur Cameroon pour 1921*, p. 13). The inspector of education with the rank of chief of service was in charge. There was the

creation of the Education Department, which was considered a great achievement for increasing efficiency and unifying the direction of education expected by the administration.

The commissioner of the French Republic in Cameroon charged the inspector of education with the responsibility of bringing education in Cameroon in accordance with the educational practices in France and other French colonies. The most urgent task was the propagation of French language in all schools. And “[a]s for the higher state of education it shall be reserved for the elite” (France, *Journal Officiel de la République Française*, 7 Septembre 1921, p. 432). The Education Department was also responsible for undertaking the slow and complicated task of the civilizing mission. The intellectual, physical, and moral education of the native child was to be carried out methodically in order to make the child a useful person that was willing to be used.

To achieve this objective, education was to be tailored to the child’s intellectual development, character, and needs of the country of Cameroon, and to the intentions of the French Administration (p. 431). “The child must sustain the administrative work. He shall be prepared to better understand so as to better help the intentions of the Ruling Power...” (p. 431). The Education Department was also reminded that in order to accomplish these goals, “the use of rigid formulae” and “very doctrinal methods” should not be avoided (p. 431).

The inspector of education, in his capacity as head of the Education Department, reported directly to the commissioner, who was the administrative head of the territory. The inspector of education carried out technical and pedagogical duties, including inspection visits, school supervision, school organization, school attendance monitoring,

application of educational programs, and teaching methods. The inspector of education also maintained a sense of unity and teamwork needed to accomplish the educational objectives. He advised the commissioner on school and regulation matters, as well as presiding over examination committees. The hierarchy of the teaching staff, included the inspector of education, trained teachers (or *instituteurs et institutrices*), and native student teachers.

The certificated teachers were sent to Cameroon from schools either in Algeria or other French Colonies or were recruited in France and sent to Cameroon. Their teaching credentials corresponded to their counterparts in France. Teachers with no Metropolitan Certificate of Proficiency in Pedagogy (or *certificate d'aptitude pédagogique metropolitain*) were obligated to pass the exam prescribed for the Certificate in Teaching (or *certificat d'aptitude à l'enseignement*), which was an adapted type of Certificate of Proficiency in Pedagogy for native teachers in the region (France, Rapport au Ministre des Colonies sur Cameroon pour 1921, p. 15).

In the early years of French Administration, native student teachers were those trained by teachers holding the Certificate of Proficiency in Teaching; that certificate later became the Indigenous Teacher's Diploma (*diploma de moniteur indigène*). Since a number of student teachers did not have certificates, they were categorized as assistant student teachers who were holders of the First School Leaving Certificate. These assistant student teachers taught classes independently, back when education was handled entirely by student teachers in the region. However, after 1921, they became certified student teachers if they passed the Indigenous Student Teachers' Certificate Exam, which they

were allowed to take while teaching (p.15). The establishment of the Yaoundé Advanced School helped all indigenous student teachers to be trained at the school.

The Establishment of Village Primary Schools

First Level Primary Education was offered in village schools, called *écoles du premier degree*. The regional schools that were middle level primary schools also carried out First Level Primary Education that was similar to Junior Primary Education, consisting of preparatory and elementary courses (or *cours préparatoires et élémentaires*) offered during the first four years of primary education. The commissioner of the Republic and head of the territorial administration decided to expand village schools to the point where only a shortage of both trained and untrained teachers limited the expansion. The establishment of village schools could bring 40 pupils ages six and 12 from immediate villages and vicinities (France, Rapport au Ministre des Colonies sur l'Administration des territoires occupés du Cameroun pendant l'année 1921, 1922, p. 14).

The children of chiefs and nobles were given the first opportunity to enroll in these schools. Official stipulations were that “the school shall receive in the first plan children of chiefs and notables who will assist us in the administration of the country where they shall be called to assist us” (p. 14). Many children could attend these village schools while they lived with their parents or friends who provided food as well because there were no boarding facilities. Village schools could be called “French Schools”, “French Language Schools”, or “Schools for the Diffusion of Spoken French” (France, Ministère des Colonies, Rapport Annuel du Gouvernement pour l'année 1923, 1924, pp. 32, 173. These schools clearly demonstrated the major objective of the diffusion of French language and civilization in Cameroon.

The French Administration even stated the major objectives of these village schools unambiguously in the following terms:

The essential objective to be pursued is first of all the diffusion of spoken French and accessorially reading and writing. The language lesson is therefore the basis of education.... The exercises for the day—arithmetic, reading, writing, written exercises, drawing—must centre around this “centre of interest” which is the object of the language lesson (p. 162).

These comments emphasize the importance of propagating the French language in the village schools.

The administration recognized the potential of the village schools as instrumental for rapidly spreading the French language among the masses. Thus, the administration stated repeatedly that only the lack of native student teachers would limit the expansion of the village schools. The native student teachers responsible for this crucial task were under strict supervision to ensure that they conscientiously discharged their duties, because any lack of competence and conscientiousness meant dismissal.

French lessons were to be loaded with ideas, not words, because learning French was more than just learning a language. Learning the French language was an evolution in the learner’s thinking, which in the case of Cameroonians was believed by the French to have been deprived during a century’s worth of ignorance. Thus, according to French administrators, the imposition of the French language would penetrate the child’s “ignorance” and “deprived thinking faculty” so that the child could think in French, think French, embrace the French civilization, and be “destined to become the instrument of a civilization that is real, profound, and without false appearance” (pp. 20, 21).

According to the circular of the commissioner of the Republic of June 29, 1923, that was addressed to divisional officers (or *chefs des circonscriptions*), the role of the

village schools was considered unique for spreading French culture and civilization throughout Cameroon as rapidly as possible. The sole purpose for the establishment of these schools was to create contact between the French administration and native people in Cameroon by the use of the French language that they had been taught (p. 172). The administration viewed the native people as “primitive”, intellectually “inferior”, “incapable of reasoning”; they viewed education among native people’s own children “non-existent” (p. 19).

Thus, the French, who have a unique culture and civilization, are obligated to play a “civilizing role” (or “*role civilisateur*”) among these “beings” (p. 19). The French acceptance of the League of Nations’ Mandate to administer Cameroon as a Mandatory Power gave France the authority to empower herself with the moral obligation to train the native people of Cameroon. According to France:

...the indigenous populations represent a latent intellectual capital capable of giving, little by little under impetus, an appreciable output; consequently it is our duty to fight against their present inaptitude to reason, analyse, judiciously coordinate particular facts and make deductions from general ideas.... We must not lose sight... that the civilizing role of the Mandatory Power towards these new beings must not exceed the limit set by their present possibilities of assimilation (p. 19).

These comments indicate the goal of the French colonial authorities toward the education of Africans in their colonies, including Cameroun.

The French administration succeeded in painting a dark picture of the native people’s nature so as to make the need for their civilizing mission necessary if not imperative. The French argued that a good rationale for the education of Cameroon youth was that such education was a necessary factor in the liberation and civilization of the native people. Education was not only a necessary good for the people, but also

represented “a latent intellectual capital capable of giving” to the administration “an appreciable output”. The administration further argued that the achievement of the utilitarian objective foreseen through colonization depended on the attainment of some level of education and a certain degree of French civilization (p. 19). Thus, the “principal civilizing intentions” of the French should be inculcated in all primary school pupils (p. 28). First level primary education did not lead to any certificate, and theoretical learning was eliminated in village schools, replaced by the practical education that the French perceived to be immediately useful and beneficial. Student teacher graduates of the Yaoundé Advanced School were expected to mentally develop the pupil’s intelligence, morality, and muscles. They were charged with the keen and direct responsibility to subject the pupils’ minds to instruction that would lead them toward social and economic progress (p. 28).

The Village School Program and Solution to the Shortage of Teachers

The main subject in the village school program was French; others included reading, writing, and arithmetic. However, the commissioner’s order of July 25, 1921, also regarded as an education ordinance, stipulated the first level primary education curriculum (or *cours préparatoires et élémentaires*) that consisted of two nine-month academic years that were divided into days, weeks, and months. The academic subjects consisted of French language; reading; writing and written exercises; recreation, singing, and drawing; arithmetic; and school gardening, vocational education, manual work, or agriculture. The daily timetable was divided into morning and afternoon. The morning subjects were language, reading, recreation oral arithmetic, and written arithmetic. The

afternoon subjects were French; reading; recreation; written work; singing, drawing, or recreation; and manual work or agriculture.

As a solution to the serious lack of teachers, after pupils completed the first- and second-level courses for the primary preparatory program, they went on to concentrate on the two-year elementary program (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroon pour 1934, pp. 235-236). The second-level class programs were in the morning as follows: language class, reading, and vocabulary study; blackboard reading; recreation; arithmetic; vocabulary studies; dictation; writing or recitation twice weekly; and singing. The afternoon class programs were as follows: common language classes; written work; hygiene and agriculture; language study; and manual work (p. 235).

The two-year elementary program, also contained in the commissioner's order of January 9, 1923, stipulated the morning program as follows: assembly; language; reading; written work; recreation; arithmetic; and writing, drawing, and recitation. The program was as follows: reading; French grammar; and singing, hygiene, recitation, agriculture, and creative reading; and manual work (p. 236; also France, Rapports Annuels sur Cameroun pour 1922-1938).

The primary and elementary programs both emphasized French language and French culture and civilization even in practical work such as agriculture and manual work. Village schools increased from 27 in 1916 to 66 in 1938 (Fonkeng, 2007, p. 82). At the beginning of the mandate period, there were 30 village schools.

The Establishment of Urban Schools and Programs

In terms of urban schools, these were established primarily in urban areas for pupils from ages 6 and 13. While this research found no indication of the first urban

school established, the Yaoundé (*école urbaine*) started functioning in 1926 with 13 pupils enrolled (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun pour 1926, p. 15). The Douala urban school was the other urban school to be established; there were 14 pupils enrolled. In total, there were 27 white pupils in these two schools. The teachers in these schools were European females. By 1932, French authorities decided to enroll children of assimilated Africans—those who were loyal to their French colonial masters—in these schools (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun pour 1932, p. 138).

The school curriculum was adapted like those of primary schools in France, and these schools were listed as schools with a metropolitan curriculum (or *Ecoles à programme Métropolitain*) (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun pour 1938, p. 103). These schools were governed by metropolitan regulations characterized by some adaptations to climate conditions as well. Up until the eve of World War II, the Yaoundé Urban School had one European teacher, whereas the Douala Urban School had two (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun, 1926-1938).

The Establishment of Regional Schools and Programs

Second Level Primary Education institutions (or *L'Enseignement de Deuxième Degré Primaire*) were established by the commissioner's order of July 25, 1921, in regions in which primary education was developed and in need of middle level or intermediate primary education programs (or *cours moyen*). Such schools were regionally and centrally located where local services were available. A graduate from a 4-year village school was selected for middle level primary courses at the regional school (Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun pour 1923, p. 27). The top candidates to be admitted

were those whose parents were of privileged status, not necessarily pupils with intellectual capabilities (p. 27).

In terms of the differences between village and regional schools, the village schools were instruments to propagate French language, culture, and civilization among native peoples. The regional schools, in contrast, were well equipped with designated subjects taught by well-trained European teachers; these schools were reserved for European pupils and children of assimilated Africans. The commissioner's order of July 25, 1921, called for a practical program that developed the pupils' intellect without alienating them from their native environment (p. 27). Subjects in this program included French language, basic arithmetic, hygiene, general education, and manual work or agriculture.

This curriculum was directed toward attracting pupils who, upon graduation, would be capable of assisting in the development of the economy of their areas. This is why vocational education involving manual work, agriculture, and domestic sciences was instituted in the regional schools. The school program was a weekly duration of 30 hours of two 9-month academic years. The weekly timetable consisted of 7 1/2 hours of French, 3 hours of reading, 3 hours of arithmetic, 1 1/2 hours of drawing, 1 hour of writing, 1 1/2 hours of hygiene and science, 1/2 hour of geography, and 5 hours of vocational education (agriculture, manual work, and gardening) (p. 117).

The commissioner's order of January 9, 1923, made some curriculum modifications to the daily morning and afternoon schedule (*Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun pour 1934*, p. 234). The morning session was from 7:30 to 11:15 a.m. during

which subjects such as French language, recreation, arithmetic, the metric system, writing, drawing, and recitation were taught, as well as correcting homework.

The afternoon period went from 2 p.m. to 5 p.m. during which reading, hygiene, science, geography, and manual work were taught. Preparatory elementary courses were also offered to a number of children of the elite civil servants, chiefs and notables living around the district headquarters. There was a 2-year middle level program in regional schools to qualify for the First School Leaving Certificate exam (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun pour 1921, p. 14). Successful graduates with this certificate were qualified for employment either in the civil service or the private sector or for continuous training.

The commissioner's order of December 10, 1929 outlined regulations for the First School Leaving Certificate exam (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun pour 1930, pp. 92-93). The exams were to be identical and written once annually on the same date throughout the region. The names of candidates, 12 years of age, were to be registered before June 1st yearly by the divisional officers, and sent to the commissioner's office. The exam committee included a divisional officer or representative as chair, the inspector of education, as vice chair, one European teacher, one member delegate from each missionary group with candidates for the exam, and a government official (or fonctionnaire) appointed by the divisional officer. Exams had written and oral portions assigned with a coefficient. The written portion of the exam included dictation for 3/4 hour, with a coefficient of 4, handwriting (or écriture courante) for 3/4 an hour with a coefficient of 2, composition for 1 hour with a coefficient of 2, arithmetic for 1 1/2 hours with a coefficient of 3, drawing (for boys only) marked at the center by the exam

committee for 3/4 hour with a coefficient of 1, and sewing (for girls only) under supervision by a female appointee of a divisional officer, with a coefficient of 4.

The oral exam for boys constituted explanatory reading (or lecture expliquée) and recitation, science, hygiene, and agriculture for 3/4 an hour, geography and administrative management. The girls' oral exam consisted of reading and recitation, domestic science, or economy. Both girls' and boys' exams were done in writing. The exam marking central committee consisted of the inspector of education, the principal of the Advanced Primary School, one representative of every missionary group taking the exam, two trained teachers, and a government official appointed by the commissioner.

Exam scores were from 0-20 per exam paper. The overall score was calculated by multiplying each score by the individual coefficient for an overall total. Of the total, 50% was a pass, and the commissioner published the results of the first school leaving certificate in order of merit and awarded certificates to the successful candidates.

In 1935, an administrative report referred to the original schools according to their geographic regions as selective schools (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun pour 1935, p. 126). This categorization was with respect to pupils and staff that were European with exceptional abilities to be appointed as regional school teachers (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun pour 1923, p. 32). Thus, from 1922, teachers trusted with preparing pupils for the First School Leaving Certificate Exam had to be European (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun pour 1922, p. 25). Also, headmasters of regional schools had to be European; non-Europeans could only act as assistant headmasters.

Some pupils from village schools were sent to regional schools on scholarships as boarders or placed in private homes and lodged at government expense. A listing of

scholarship beneficiaries was submitted to the commissioner at the end of the school year for determination of the pupil's continued attendance or withdrawal from the scholarship program.

From 1921 to 1938, the number of regional schools in operation increased from four to 10. Enrollments increased from 1,922 to 3,470. Classes increased from four to 70. From 1921 to 1938, the number of regional schools increased from four to 10. Pupil enrollments increased from 911 to 3,270. The number of classes increased from four to 70. The number of European teachers increased from four to 11, and the number of Cameroonian teachers increased from 15 to 64 (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroon, 1921-1938; also Fonkeng, p. 84).

The Establishment of Schools for Sons of Chiefs and Notables

The French administration opened schools for the sons of chiefs and notables as a strategy to eliminate the traditional powers of tribal chiefs and their nobles. According to the French administration, the political power of tribal chiefs had “no principle of authority useful to a European administration... the exercise of such powers being incompatible with the principles of our civilization....” (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun pour 1933, p. 9). The authority of the chiefs was to be tailored for the convenience of the French administration so that they would work in collaboration with the administration for the administration. Thus, the commissioner's order of February 4, 1933, defined the status of chiefs in Cameroun to be appointed by the commissioner based on the recommendation of the administrative officers in the districts. The chiefs were to serve as intermediaries between their people and the administration but without any political autonomy. The chiefs' authority was derived from the administration to

whom they paid allegiance and to whom they were accountable. The chiefs collected taxes from their subjects for the administration and also maintained peace in their tribal areas.

The commissioner's order of December 27, 1933, addressed the organization of schools for the preparation of future chiefs. The order stipulated the creation of special facilities and conditions in village and regional schools for the training of these future chiefs. Candidates were boys of school age who were closely related by descent or birth to prominent regional chiefs throughout the territory; it was envisioned that these boys could function as chiefs in the future when requested by the administration (Commissaire de la République Française au Cameroun, Arrêté portant organization au Cameroun d'écoles de preparation des futures chefs, Yaoundé, le 27 Décembre 1933, Article I). Thus, the sons of existing village chiefs were disqualified in this process.

The commissioner's justification to the divisional officers for this policy was that the French administration was determined to respect the social hierarchical system in Cameroun whereby the sons of chiefs and notables were the first beneficiaries of the limited educational resources in the region. The divisional officers made sure that in due course, some sons of village chiefs who were disqualified in the process had a First Level Primary Education in a very suitable regional or village school. Successful candidates proceeded to Second Level Primary Education based on the selection of the commissioner and the recommendation of the divisional officer.

The Commissioner's order also stipulated which regional schools the boys from the designated areas were to attend (Article 3). These designated schools at regional and village levels had separate educational facilities and sections called "Section for Chiefs'

Children” (or section des fils de chefs) (Article 4). The same order established schools for sons of chiefs (*écoles de fils de chefs*) in Yaoundé, Dschang, Garoua, and Doumé; all were connected to regional schools (Article 5). The sons of chiefs who attended Ebolowa, Edéa, and Yaoundé regional schools were moved to the Yaoundé School for chiefs’ sons. Those attending Dschand, Doumé, and Garoua regional schools were moved to sons of chiefs schools that were attached to them. The Yaoundé school for the sons of chiefs could accommodate 50 pupils, Garoua 25, Dschang 20, and Bertoua boys moved from Doumé (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun pour 1933, p. 156).

The major admission requirement to any of the four schools was based on a successful examination. The examination was proctored by the central exam committee that included, the chair, the head of the Bureau for Political Affairs, the inspector of education, the Advanced School principal, two teachers, and one government official appointed by the Commissioner (Commissioner’s Order, *op. cit.*, Article 7). The exams were open to sons of chiefs with First School Leaving Certificates, but the commissioner was responsible for final admission selection. The school program was one year in duration with subjects such as practical French, specialized courses, and practical exercises in moral education and how to rule. By 1935, a total of 252 sons of chiefs attended the regional schools in Yaounde, Batouri, and Garoua in the Muslim northern region of the territory. The peculiar nature of Islamic society allowed these future chiefs to be housed by the lamido of Garoua and catered to by his representative.

The Establishment of Advanced Primary Schools and Programs

On July 25, 1921, the French Commissioner’s Order stipulated the creation of the Advanced or Third Level Primary Education School in Yaoundé that was beyond the

second or middle level prevalent in the territory (France, Journal Officiel de la République Française, 7 septembre 1921, p. 431). The Yaoundé Advanced School (or Ecole Supérieure de Yaoundé) was established and placed under the inspector of education, assisted by European teachers. Similar schools existed in the French primary school program for children ages 13 and 16. The French minister of public instruction controlled these schools with a three-year program based on Ministerial Orders of January 18, 1887, and August 18, 1920 respectively (Hayes, 1930, p. 45). There was a general French culture program of one year as well as a two-year program of general studies in agriculture, industry, commerce, and domestic areas. The Yaoundé Advanced School was considered a third level primary educational institution (or *école de troisième degré primaire*) that offered advanced level primary education (or *l'enseignement primaire supérieur*) (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun pour 1924, p. 24).

The admission criteria were based on an entrance exam for pupils from regional and mission schools with excellent results from the First School Leaving Certificate exam. There were candidates from mission schools with low admission requirements who were admitted and trained as French teachers in mission schools. The Yaoundé Advanced School entrance exam was an annual event supervised by an exam committee that included the divisional officer, as chair, a European official appointed by the divisional officer, and a European teacher (Commissaire de la République Française au Cameroun, Arrêté du 30 novembre 1934 portant modification des arrêtés organisant l'Ecole Supérieure de Yaoundé, Article I). The exam included written and oral portions proctored and marked according to regulations in the Commissioner's Order of November 24, 1931.

The Yaoundé Advanced School had a three-year program designed by the commissioner. The first two years of general education or general cultural studies were an addition to the primary studies obtained from the regional and mission schools. The third year program had specialized sections such as writers and interpreters, postal workers and clerks, nurses, and education or teacher training.

The weekly timetable was as follows for the first and second year program as follows: French language including grammar, orthography, vocabulary, and composition; reading and explanation; recitation; mathematics, including arithmetic, the metric system, and practical geometry; sciences, including chemistry, physics, hygiene, and natural history; geography; writing; drawing; music (solfa and singing); gymnastics; manual work; and obligatory supervised study.

The third year program was as follows: French reading and vocabulary; grammar and orthography; French composition; recitation; writing; music (solfa and singing); moral instruction; gymnastics; manual work; administrative careers; and supervised study.

The special courses included: writers and interpreters, organization and administration of Cameroon, departmental study work, typing, and topography. There was also clerical and postal services instruction.

The nurses' section included complementary notions of physics and chemistry; natural history; lecture; supervised study based on the preceding lecture course; and weekly essays on the sciences.

The education (or teacher training) section included theoretical and practical pedagogy; teaching practice in a practicing school; music and singing with instruments;

and the illustrations of language lessons with sketches (Commissaire de la République Française au Cameroun, Arrêté du 9 janvier 1933 relatif aux emplois du temps scolaire, Article premier).

The principal of the Advanced School in Yaoundé conducted pedagogical instruction for the teaching career in the fields of agriculture and manual work; students practiced in a large school garden. There was also training for health workers who did practical training in the Yaoundé hospital. Those pursuing administrative and/or clerical fields practiced in government offices in Yaoundé. In 1931, a school for the training of assistant health workers was opened in Ayos. From the beginning of 1934, a number of openings were reserved in Yaoundé for students from northern Cameroon, which had fewer schools. The Commissioner's Order of December 26, 1926, made boarding compulsory at the Yaoundé School for government-sponsored students, and half were mission students. Students earned an allowance of fifteen French francs per month to be used to visit their families, and a uniform code was established.

Just as it affected the British colonial authorities, the depression of the 1930s led to a reduction in professional trained native staff, leading to a decline in enrollment from 1932 on (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun pour 1932, p. 135). This limited admission to needed positions only. From 1921 up until World War II, the school graduated a total of 450 successful students with diplomas as clerks or writers, government student teachers, postal workers, topographers, nurses, health assistants, and missionary student teachers (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun pour 1932, p. 135).

The Commissioner's Order of May 29, 1937, created the Yaoundé Advanced Primary School of Agriculture and the Douala Vocational School for public works, both

placed under the Department Head of Education. The school was to provide for the training of rural teachers for practical instruction on road maintenance, building, and construction. The facility was also for complementary practical instruction for European pupils (Commissaire de la République Française au Cameroun, Arrêté Créant à Douala une école professionnelle, Yaoundé, le 2 juin 1937). The school also had a wood iron road and building section for a four-year educational program to obtain the Professional School Diploma Credential (or *Diplôme de l'Ecole Professionnel le de Douala*) (Articles 12 and 19). Other students selected for the school were the best from middle level courses who could produce a certificate of attendance from a European headmaster of their school (Article 4).

Admissions to the school were based on a competitive exam, and only the commissioner could admit students. Applications were signed by the pupils confirming their father or legal guardian, their address, and their profession. The father or guardian signed an undertaking to repay the government for the pupil's tuition in case of dismissal on grounds of bad conduct. The agreement had to be signed in the presence of the regional officer who legalized the document, and it was included in the pupils' file along with their birth and medical records and a school certificate or booklet endorsed by their school headmaster indicating their class ranking in scholastic aptitude, conduct, and character (Article 5).

The Commissioner's Order stipulated that the teachers' council meet three times a year under the chairmanship of the principal, who, as director of the school, made his annual report to the commissioner. The teachers' council was responsible for promotional exams whose results were published by the commissioner, who could authorize a student

to repeat a class or to be thrown out. Again, the Professional School Diploma Credential (*Diplôme de l'École Professionnelle de Douala*) was a fourth year exam proctored by an exam committee appointed by the commissioner. Technicians could be appointed by department heads to conduct practical exams for certain sections in the school (Article 19). The exams were usually written, oral, practical, or demonstrative. All regulations regarding students' affairs were stipulated in the Commissioner's Order.

The Establishment of Technical and Vocational Schools and Programs

The French colonial authorities, just like the British, also recognized the need to graduate natives in technical and vocational fields. This was demonstrated by the section of the Commissioner's Order that stipulated a Council for Further Training (or for a *Conceil de Perfectionnement*). The Council was comprised of the Douala Chamber of Commerce president, public works director, education department director, post and telecom director, teachers, and the principal of the school (Article 43). The council met once a year to deal with pedagogic affairs of the school (Articles 44 and 45). The initiative to maintain qualified teachers led to the decision to send six Cameroonians to vocational schools in France, annually, to study on territorial scholarships, starting in 1939 (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun pour 1938, p. 100).

On March 1, 1938, a total of 23 students enrolled in the Douala School of Public Works. The Advanced School of Agriculture in Yaoundé was to prepare personnel in the agricultural, forestry, and greenery services of the private sector economy (Commissaire de la République Française au Cameroun, Arrêté Créant une école supérieure d'agriculture, Yaoundé, le 17 juin 1937). Admission requirements and procedures were the same as the Douala Vocational School. As far as the Teachers' Council was

concerned, the administrative set-up of the school and student affairs was the same as the Douala Vocational School. The exams to obtain the *Diplôme de l'Ecole Supérieure d'Agriculture* were taken at the end of the third year and at the end of the fourth year. The exams were in three parts: written, oral, and practical. The fourth year exam also included an evaluation of the student's school report.

On July 1, 1937, the school admitted 12 students, and when construction was completed in March 1, 1938, 20 students were admitted with plans to admit 34 in 1939 just when World War II broke out. The Yaoundé Advanced School and the Douala Vocational School continued to advance specialization in technical and vocational training. Also, the Fouban technical and vocational school that was established by the Germans and reopened by the French in 1918 began to train pupils in ironwork, woodwork, public works, and the French language in order to perfect the pupils' communication skills in French as a pre-condition for technical instruction and manual work (Rapport au Ministre des Colonies, 1921, p. 14).

In addition to the Fouban technical school providing technical training for the administration, there was the Ecole professionnelle des Travaux Publiques in Douala, as well as two regional schools in Dschang and Ebolowa. There was the pottery school in Yaoundé, a binding school, a cookery school, and six agricultural apprenticeship schools (or *écoles d'apprentissage agricole*) (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun pour 1932, p. 26). The two-year nursing school at Ayos was opened in 1932 and admitted nursing assistants pupils with a First School Leaving Certificate with a year of experience in a hospital or health clinic (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun pour 1935, p. 130). This school later graduated 118 nurses between 1932 and 1938.

On June 12, 1932, the Commissioner's Order created a Health Workers School at Ayos, and the same school was reorganized according to the Order of December 12, six months later (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun pour 1935, p. 129). The students were selected graduates of the Yaoundé Advanced School with *brevet élémentaire* equivalent qualification and a year of preparation at the Ayos School. The school program, excluding the preparatory year, consisted of first year: anatomy and physiology, semeiology (*semeiologie*), and practical nursing courses; second year: internal pathology, external pathology and obstetrics, and practical courses in nursing; third year: hygiene, pathology, and prophylaxy of communicable diseases, and medical and therapeutic disciplines (France, Rapport Annuel sur le Cameroun pour 1936, p. 120).

School enrollment figures were as follows: first year eleven, second year six, third year five, in 1934. In 1935, in the first year there were 10, in the second year eight, in the third year six. In 1936, there were 24 in three classes, first year eight, second year three, and five in the third year in 1938. In 1935, five health assistants graduated, and by 1938, there were 54 successful graduates of the school (France, Rapport Annuel sur le Cameroun pour 1936, p. 120).

In terms of government regulations, the French commissioner for Cameroon reported to the minister of colonies and to enforce the French mandatory powers in Cameroon as prescribed by the Presidential Decrees of March 23, 1921, and February 21, 1925, respectively. These decrees gave the commissioner final responsibility for the development and control of education in Cameroon under the French colonial administration. The Commissioner's Order of July 25, 1921, and Circular No. 168 of November 2, 1938, were very comprehensive. However, it was the ordinance of July 25,

1921, that formed the basis of French educational policy and practice in the region until 1938. The ordinance of November 2, 1938, was the basis of French educational policy and practice until Independence. The ordinance also spelled out the role of the 10 school superintendents for the 10 school regions; these superintendents were directly responsible to the commissioner up until 1938.

Back in 1937, the superintendents had been given full responsibility for school inspections in the region (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun pour 1936, p. 117). Great emphasis was placed on the overall maintenance of school facilities (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun pour 1938, p. 233). There was the need to better train the native student teacher graduates from the Yaoundé Advanced School in order to increase their foreign language potential with current and unfamiliar concepts (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun pour 1938, p. 225). The use of counseling notebooks (or cahiers de conseils) was important for improving instruction and activities in the schools (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun pour 1938, p. 226). Issues pertaining to student admission and dismissal, which were politically sensitive, were to be the exclusive responsibility of the school superintendents (Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun pour 1938, p. 227). School age of eight and 10 years was officially recognized as appropriate because younger pupils were known to waste the first years of schooling (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun pour 1938, p. 227). French language instruction was officially considered the most important task (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun pour 1938, p. 232).

School registers were important because they contained the history of the school, in terms of daily activities and official staff arrival and departure visits to the school. There were a total of six types of register books prescribed for the schools. At the

conclusion of the new education ordinance for Cameroon under the French colonial registration, the commissioner stated:

You now understand how I conceive the task of complete education... which controls (commands) our activities and justifies our presence. The school and particularly the village school, the rural school for the masses (*école rurale populaire*) is evidently the base of this task, but you must understand how important it is that it should be open to everything and to everyone.

The role of the teaching staff is considerable, but both officers in authority and those in technical services must all collaborate in a complementary manner and with confidence in this work which is also theirs and whose magnitude, I am sure, you understand (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun pour 1938, p. 232).

These comments show the importance of government control in the schools.

The French administration constantly laid emphasis on French as the sole language of instruction and as the most important medium of instruction in all public and recognized schools in the region. The administration strongly encouraged the fact that the knowledge and the utilization of the French language was the only means for Cameroonians to be assimilated into the French culture, which would, in turn, lead them to an advanced stage of civilization (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroon pour 1923, p. 19). French was a good substitute and a universal language that substituted for the multiplicity of tribal dialects. The practical use of French culturally connected the French to their colonized people; encouraging their native dialects was thought to be useless and a waste of time (p. 19). These were the arguments used to justify the elimination of the use of a child's mother tongue throughout the stages of their colonial educational career.

Conclusion

The French colonial education authorities established colonial formal schools whose policies were buttressed by the French Empire's assimilationist policies in

Cameroun, just as in their other African colonies, such as in neighboring Equatorial Africa (Gabon) (see Appendix E).

I argue that the policy to establish village schools for first level elementary education, regional schools for second level elementary education, and the advanced school for third level elementary education was for the administrative expediency of propagating the French language throughout the vast territory. In doing so, all previous foreign and non-French influences were to be eradicated in the territory. Further, the establishment of the school for the sons of chiefs and notables was essentially for assimilating these future local leaders and their would-be subjects into the French colonial empire.

The French authorities also formed alliances and collaborated with many Western Christian missionaries, in spite of some disagreements, to establish mass primary or elementary colonial formal schools all over the region from 1916 up until the outbreak of World War II in 1945. I submit that government and missionary relations during this era played out my seven themes, as described in Chapter 1. According to Gardiner (1963), the mandate era marked important progress for Cameroonians in the field of education. Although the colonial administration was not sympathetic to non-French activities, it tolerated some foreign missionaries operating schools in the region such as the American Presbyterian mission. This was done in order to present excellent, quantitative figures to the League of Nations: by 1937, Cameroon had 85,000 children in mission schools (31,500 in American Presbyterian; 500 in American Adventist; 18,000 in French Protestant; and 35,000 in French Roman Catholic) and 10,000 in government schools (p. 27).

As already mentioned, my research did not find any evidence of the establishment of a French model of education, as found in the French metropole, in Cameroon. There is, however, overwhelming evidence that only certain aspects of the French educational model were adapted and instituted in the French African colonies, including Cameroon. Just like the Germans and the British, the French, in collaboration with Western Christian missionaries, also replicated numerous colonial educational practices in Cameroon from French Equatorial Africa, specifically Gabon, as well. In contrast to the British colonial educational ventures during the 1929 recession during this mandate period, the French invested more in primary education development than did the British. In fact, the French carried out all school financing without charging the natives for school fees, whereas the British did, in addition to obligating self-help initiatives for school construction.

In Chapter 7, I will examine the expansion of French colonial formal schools in the region after World War II from 1946 to 1961, when the French Cameroun territory (periphery) gained its independence from France (center), its colonial master.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE FRENCH COLONIAL EDUCATION ERA, 1946-1960

Introduction

In this chapter, I will examine the French colonial education enterprise in Cameroon from 1946 up to 1960 when Cameroon gained its independence from the French. I will begin by exploring the influence of World War II on the educational institutions in the territory. I will also examine French foreign policy as well as the United Nations directives on the educational expansion in Cameroon, which at this time was a United Nations trust territory.

I will definitely look into school finance in terms of grants-in-aid to schools and the expansion of government and missionary primary and secondary schools in the region. I will investigate both government and missionary relations and contributions toward the establishment and expansion of the professional, vocational, technical, and higher educational institutions in the region that, I argue, were based on the overriding colonial interests of the French.

Finally, I will also investigate the Cameroon pioneer university students who were officially sent by the French colonial government to study in France prior to Independence, which, I submit, were to be the “Black French elites and future leaders” of Cameroon after Independence in 1960.

French Colonial Education Policy in Africa after World War II

In accordance with my Theme 1, the French government indeed had the power of agenda setting and initiating colonial formal schools for its colonial purposes after World War II. World War II gave Africans the opportunity to showcase their strength and loyalty to France by fighting in Africa and Europe in order to liberate their French colonial masters from German domination. Thus, General Charles de Gaulle, issued a call from London to Africans to help free France from Nazi occupation. African loyalty to the French caused Africans to fight on behalf of France in World War II, with a high magnitude of strength. This is because the French and natives of the French Cameroon territory were stunned to hear the news about the Nazi occupation of Paris, which they had always believed to be the most beautiful city in the World. The loyalty of French Africans was recognized as a vital contribution to the Free French Government Campaign. France decided to consider Africans as vital contributors and not as “perpetual children” who were needed for the political and economic reconstruction of postwar France, as stated by de Gaulle himself as follows:

Regardless of how her past has been, of how old and beautiful her cultural traditions are, she (i.e. France) would be only a little state of Europe without the Seventy- five- million overseas Frenchmen whose young force has revealed itself to the world in such remarkable manner (France, Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, Généralités [Carnets de Documentation sur l'Éducation dans la France d'Outre-Mer, Carnet No. 1], p. 1964, p. 146; also Rodney, 1982, p. 197).

These comments by de Gaulle attest to the official recognition of the importance of French overseas territories to the survival of France.

Many political lessons can be learned about the events in Cameroon before, during, and after World War II. The news about the Nazi occupation of Paris translated to

a call for arms to defend the French empire. Patriotic feelings that Cameroonians had for the French were illuminated in the territory when on August 29, 1940, General Charles de Gaulle announced on the BBC that from August 27, 1940, Cameroon was under the protection of French military forces and would not lose her status as a Mandated Territory. On October 8, 1940, de Gaulle visited Cameroon and was received enthusiastically. Cameroonians had indeed responded to de Gaulle's appeal, and many lives were sacrificed and many victories won, which helped to liberate Paris. Thus, in the treaty of May 8, 1945 that ended World War II, Cameroonians were counted as contributors to the French cause. Subsequently, in 1945 and 1946, de Gaulle's Free French Government initiatives, adopted at the conference of Governors of French African Colonies in Brazzaville from January 30 to February 8, 1944, paved the way for French policies in her African colonies.

De Gaulle's government decided to establish economic and political relations between France and her colonies by summoning a conference in Brazzaville, Africa, made up of 40 top French officials, including French governors and others, to formulate a new colonial policy for Africa. In his opening address at the conference de Gaulle said:

In French Africa as in all other territories where men live under our flag, there will be no progress that is real progress if men on their native land do not profit from it, materially, if they cannot be raised little by little to the level where they shall be capable of participating in the management of their own affairs (Mveng, 1963, pp. 407-408).

He further requested that the participants draw up a territorial development document and submit it to his government:

Such moral, social, political, economic and other conditions which you consider necessary to be progressively applied in each of our territories so that through their development and the process of their population they may be integrated in the French community with their personality, their interest, their aspirations, their future...(pp. 407-408).

These comments indicate the guidelines needed by de Gaulle for the formulation of colonial policies throughout her French African colonies.

The conference formulated policies for assimilation, association, and integration that France included in her colonial policy for Africa; the conference also dismissed the prospects of French African colonies becoming autonomous outside the French Empire. The conference recognized that the evolution of Africa depended on education, and it therefore strongly recommended the expansion of education facilities in order to achieve the goal of universal primary education; the training of African teachers and African personnel for administrative, technical, and vocational employment in the private and public sectors; and the recruitment of teachers from France. French was resoundingly upheld as the only language of instruction in the schools. This, I argue, is clearly how and why the French language became the official language of French Cameroon.

Thus, as indicated by Charles-Marie Watier, special representative of the French administration in Cameroon, stated:

In deciding upon such reforms, the French Government had borne in mind the consequences of the war efforts in which African territories had taken part, and its duty to respect its undertakings with regard to the African populations. It was true that there had been no conscription in the Cameroons during the war, but...the number of volunteers enlisting had been very large. Furthermore, the Cameroons had made a great economic effort to meet exigencies of the war (United Nations, Trusteeship Council, Official Records, Fourth Session, 24 January to 25 March 1949, Document 1947 (T/129), New York n.d., p. 18).

These comments refer to compensating natives in French colonies for defending the French cause.

Expansion of Primary Schools and Programs

Since government had the power of agenda setting for colonial education, according to my Theme 1, an order was issued in August 1945 that called for the expansion of the primary education program, the structure and duration of which would be in accordance with the French metropolitan system that was to be rigidly monitored from Paris (France, *Journal Officiel de l'Afrique occidentale Française*, 15 September 1945, Arrêté No. 2576 du 22 1945, p. 706). Under the metropolitan system, French language and literature were very prominent in the curriculum, followed by French history and contributions to civilization as well as contributions of the French revolution to the development of Africa. I argue that this metropolitan system, upon adaptation and implementation, became the third instance of Western French colonial formal schooling imposed on the Cameroon education landscape. Six years was the duration for the primary education program, and a pupil could repeat classes more than twice during the program.

The French plan for the modernization and equipment of overseas territories in 1946 stipulated the rapid expansion of primary education to attain triple enrollments by 1956. This was alongside secondary education staffed by French technical personnel, which would double the number of baccalauréat graduates in 10 years. The plan also stipulated the opening of secondary schools in Cameroon and increasing the percentage of school-age children to 80 in Cameroon and Madagascar and 50 in French West Africa, French Equatorial Africa, and Togo (France, *Premier Rapport de la Commission de*

Modernisation des Territoires d'Outre-Mer, 1948, pp. 73-79). These school development plans were in essence to establish a universal French colonial education program throughout French colonial Africa.

In accordance with these developments, the French colonial administration continued to expand its education enterprise in the French Cameroon territory by implementing policies that controlled and directed the educational endeavors of private Western Christian missionaries and voluntary agencies. These had the backing of their colonial education experiences in French Equatorial Africa.

On October 25, 1946, a 40-member representative assembly was created in Cameroon by the Decree issued by the president of the Provisional Government of the French Republic. The Cameroon assembly was to be consulted on issues concerning the organization of primary, secondary, technical, and vocational education as well as scholarship issues (Président du Gouvernement Provisoire de la République, Décret No. 46-2376 du 25 Octobre 1946 portant creation d'une Assemblée représentative au Cameroun, Articles 34 and 37). According to French Law No. 46-2385, October 27, 1947, Cameroon was given a five-member representation in the French Union and entitled to full-scale educational development, as stipulated by the fourth French Republic Constitution of October 27, 1946.

Furthermore, the Trusteeship Agreement that was approved on December 13, 1946, by the United Nations gave France full authority legislatively and administratively and also jurisdiction over Cameroon in accordance with French laws as part of French territory. France was thus given the overriding responsibility "to promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the territory"

(United Nations, Official Records of the Second Part of the First Session of the General Assembly, Supplement No. 5. Text of Agreements for Trust Territories as approved by the General Assembly on 13 December 1946 (New York, 1947), Article 4). France was to provide annual reports of progress in these areas to the United Nations. The high commissioner's order of December 23, 1947, reorganized the Education Department of 1921 to conform to Decree No. 46-100 of March 4, 1946, to address issues of education in the colonies from WWII.

Reforms included the creation of the Cameroon Department of Education, headed by a French university official appointed by the High Commissioner (Haut-Commissaire de la République Française au Cameroun, Arrêté No. 40, portant reorganization du Service de l'Enseignement au Cameroun et fixant ses attributions, Yaoundé, le 23 décembre 1947, Articles 1 and 2. The terms "Service de l'instruction publique" and "Service de l'Education publique" are used interchangeably in the Order (see Article 12). The head of the Department of Education was given the rank of chief of service and was responsible for all aspects and levels of education in Cameroon, both public and private (Article 3).

Further, all educational proposals were to be approved by the Cameroon Assembly with the advice of the Cameroon Educational Council before being transmitted to the high Commissioner (Article 4). The head of the Education Department was also responsible for all the committees dealing with examinations. Also, a technical center was created at the Education Department that included all the top-ranking educational officers (Ministère des Colonies, Rapport Annuel du Gouvernement français aux Nations

Unies sur l'Administration du Cameroon place, sous La tutelle de la France, Année 1947, 1948, p. 121).

Reorganization of the Primary Education Department

In accordance with my Theme 1, government decided to reorganize all the government and missionary primary colonial formal schools in the region. The high commissioner's order of July 11, 1950, resulted in some major changes in the Education Department. First, the Department was placed under a director, to be assisted by a deputy director, because the region was divided into 32 school districts headed by a French teacher under four regional groupings known as inspectorates (*circonscriptions d'inspection*). Second, each of these groupings was to be supervised by an inspector of primary education (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun, 1950, p. 233).

Third, in 1951, the technical education instructor became deputy director of technical education, to reside in Douala; the north Cameroon inspector delegate was to reside in Garoua (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun, 1951, p. 251). In 1951, a pedagogical studies office was created to deal with suitable instructional manuals for the territory (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun, 1952, p. 252). Again, according to the center-periphery dynamic (McCulloch & Lowe, 2003), France, as center, had to determine the "suitability of instructional manuals" for her peripheries, French colonial Africa, in particular Cameroon.

Further, a Bureau of Statistics was created for gathering educational statistics as well as the creation of a central library in 1952 (p. 252). The high commissioner's order of February 6, 1953, restructured the Education Department as follows. First, primary education and teacher training were headed by the inspector of primary education, whose

rank was deputy director of education. Second, the Department of Secondary Education was placed under the director of education. Third, the Department of Technical Education was headed by the director of education. Fourth, the inspector of youth and sports was put in charge of the Department of Youth Civil and Cultural Affairs in the region. Fifth, the inspector of primary education, with the assistance of a psychologist, was put in charge of basic education. Sixth, a pedagogical office was created, headed by the inspector of primary education, that was responsible for editing school materials (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun, 1953, p. 242). The principal of Lycée General Leclerc was made head of the Department of Secondary Education.

The region was reconfigured into six school regions, headed by an inspector of primary education, Yaoundé was headquarters of the Central Region, Douala of the Littoral Region, Ebolowa of the Southern Region, Bertoua of the Eastern Region, Garoua of the Northern Region, and Nkongsamba of the Western Region (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun, 1953, p. 245). The high commissioner's order of February 12, 1948, created the Standing Committee of Cameroon Education with two additional representatives of parents, European and African, to discuss issues of education and cultural affairs (Haut-Commissaire de la République Française au Cameroun, Arrêté No. 517 portant creation d'un Comité permanent de l'éducation Camerounaise, Yaoundé, le 12 février 1948, Article 2).

In 1953, an advisory Higher Counsel of Education was created by the high commissioner's order of July 15, 1953, to replace the Standing Committee of Cameroon Education. It consisted of the higher ranking educational officers and government officials, one representative from each of the missions, three African parent

representatives, and one European parent representative. They were to collaboratively advise the high commissioner on public and private education issues in the region. These initiatives by the French colonial authorities were in sync with propagating the French colonial education program with some degree of cultural adaptation, the absence of which could spell disaster (Coe, 2005).

French Cameroon Statehood Educational Policies

Government, according to my Theme 1, had the power and authority to set the agenda and initiate the direction of colonial education in the region in order to prepare the region for statehood. On April 16, 1957, the president of the French Republic signed a decree creating Cameroon as a state. The legislative assembly became responsible for issues about the Cameroon state, which was still a trusteeship of France (France, Décret No. 57-501 du 16 mai 1957 portant statut du Cameroun, Article 5). On May 16, 1957, thus, the appointed first prime minister of Cameroon, André-Marie Mbida, was ordered by the high commissioner and representatives of the French government to form a government (Haut-Commissaire de la République Française au Cameroun, Arrêté No. 3171 du 16 mai 1957 constatant l'investiture du premier ministre chef du Gouvernement Camerounaise, Article premier). A cabinet of 14 members was set up, consisting of a deputy prime minister, eight ministers, and five secretaries of state, with Vincent Ahanda in charge of national education (Haut-Commissaire de la République Française au Cameroun, Arrêté No. 3207 du 16 mai 1957 Constant la nomination des membres du cabinet du Gouvernement Camerounaise, Article premier).

The French colonial education policy at this time was to select the best pupils for secondary and technical education and a selected few of highly civilized Cameroonians

for further education. This was done in order to transform their native lifestyles without disconnecting them from their traditional environment. Thus, according to my Theme 1, the government's power of agenda setting for colonial purposes was hereby demonstrated. According to Bassey (1999), these natives will become "Black Frenchmen." These were to become the agents who would transmit the acquired French civilization and culture to the native population (United Nations, Report of the Trusteeship Council covering its Fourth and Fifth Sessions, 6 August 1946 – 22 July 1949, Official Records, Supplement No. 4 (A/933), New York, 1949, p. 21; Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun, 1947, p. 121).

In July 1951, the realization that female education was lagging justifies why the general school attendance doubled in five years (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun, 1951, p. 21). The launching of the second four-year development plan, in 1953, accelerated public primary education enrollment from 48,258 to 100,000 by 1957 (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun, 1952, p. 250). The first four-year plan covered the period 1947 to 1953. All the educational institutions in French Cameroon were to offer similar instruction and to issue exams and diplomas that were similar to those of the French metropolitan schools (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroon, 1947, pp. 122-123; 1954, pp. 220-221). These similarities, I argue, illustrate the typical colonial formal school initiatives that were adapted and imposed onto the Cameroon education landscape.

In terms of school age limits, the following age groups were strictly adopted: kindergarten, or infant section, from seven to 10 years of age; preparatory section, ages eight to 11; Elementary Course I, ages nine to 12; Elementary Course II, ages 10 to 13; Intermediate Course I, ages 11 to 4; Intermediate Course II, ages 10 to 16 (France,

Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun, 1950, p. 236). In 1957, the Legislative Assembly passed a law forbidding the admission of children above 18 years in primary schools (Cameroun, Loi No. 57-85 du 14 decembre 1957 portant fixation de l'age d'admission dans les etablissement scolaires, Article 2). In 1950, the high commissioner's order organized all aspects of the primary schools to be identical to those in French schools (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun, 1950, p. 234). In 1951, an official report stated that:

The school programmes for both private and public education were the same and identical with those of the Metropole in subject matter, but specifically adapted to African life, at least at the primary level. On the whole, the public is offended to see their children given an education other than that which is given to European children and which does not lead to the same examinations (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun, 1950, pp. 244-245).

These official comments appealed for reforms in all colonial formal schools in Cameroon, even though the overall emphasis of the different stages of education emphasized French language, culture, and civilization, as well as basic education.

Government and Missionary Secondary Schools and Technical/Vocational Schools

Secondary Schools

There was no secondary colonial formal school facility in Cameroon before World War II until 1945, when the Yaoundé Advanced School was converted to a classical and modern secondary school (or *collège classique et modern de Yaoundé*) (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun, 1948, p. 131). Similar secondary schools were opened as follows: the Joss coed school in Douala and the Douala Girls Secondary School in 1952, and Nkongsamba Secondary School and the Garua Northern Secondary School in June 1953, for a total of five secondary schools. All levels of curricula were similar to those in France because “the subjects were furnished by France and the written examinations for the baccalaureat are marked at Bordeaux”, according to a French

authority (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun, 1950, p. 240). However, back in 1947, when secondary education had been instituted for only three years, the French authorities reported:

In African secondary schools, the programmes are thus those of modern secondary schools (collèges modernes) in France, that is those of secondary education leading to the Lower Secondary School Leaving Certificates Examination at the end of four years of studies. At the mixed classical modern secondary school in Yaoundé (Africans and Europeans) they are those of modern and classical sections of secondary schools in the metropole, preparing for different parts of the baccalaureat examination) (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun, 1957, p. 291).

These official statements refer to a comparative analysis of the African secondary schools in Africa and the French secondary schools in France by the colonial authorities.

Subjects taught in both government and missionary secondary schools included the French language, math, Latin, experimental science, and living languages; all were taught exactly as in France but with some modifications in geography and history to include aspects of Cameroon's local history and environment (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun, 1947, p. 123). Unlike the French *baccalauréat programme* that was continuous, the Cameroon *baccalauréat programme* was terminal and was divided into series A, B, C, D, and E, depending on the pupil's specialty, as an eight-year program up until Independence (Republique Fédérale du Cameroun, Ministère de l'Education, de la Culture et de la Formation Professionnel, Arrêté No. 40/C/20/MEJEC/ES du II juin 1968).

From 1947 to 1960, the quantitative data of secondary schools show that the number of schools increased from three to 20, the number of classes from 40 to 137, the number of pupils from 704 to 4,742, and the number of European teachers from 48 to 75 (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun for the years 1947-1957; SOGEP, Cameroun:

Plan de Developpement et Social [Paris: Technigraphy, 1960]; UNESCO, Report of the Second UNESCO Planning Mission to Cameroon [September-December 1963]. The 1947 enrollment includes 294 pupils some of whom were in the first year class [sixième] and many others who were taking preparatory courses for the competitive entrance examination into Class I [sixième]; also Gwei, p. 243.

Thus, at the fourth and fifth sessions of the United Nations Trusteeship Counsel the French stated:

Under a ten-year educational development scheme, it is planned to double the number of secondary schools (i.e. from three to six)... The expansion of secondary education facilities is expected to meet the needs of the Territory for a considerable time to come; it is not desired to create more highly educated persons than the Territory can absorb. (United Nations, Report of the Trusteeship Council covering its Fourth and Fifth Sessions, 6 August 1948-22 July 1949, General Assembly Official Record: Fourth Session Supplement No. 4 (A/933), 1949, p. 21).

These were the official French colonial government policies for the expansion of secondary schools in the territory, which were presented at the United Nations.

The administration acknowledged the great need for the creation of more government secondary schools in the nation for Cameroonians and Europeans for at least two or three years of secondary education. In terms of the enthusiasm, and need, for secondary and higher education, the French authorities also replied as follows: "...it is difficult to state precisely, whether 17,000 children will receive secondary education or even whether such a proportion is desirable in the light of the Territory's general development" (United Nations Trusteeship Council, Fourth Year, Sixth Session, March 1950, General Assembly Official Record, Annex Vol. 1, 1951, p. 53).

Government and Missionary Technical and Vocational Schools

In terms of vocational and technical schools, there was also a lot of enthusiasm, and need, during and after World War II in agricultural programs. This was demonstrated by the fact that pupils were able to farm a lot of land for profit, school cooperatives, personal use, and for school masters (Cameroun, Haut-Commissariat de la République Française, Bulletin d'Information et de documentation, No. 112 du 24 septembre, 1955, p. 24). In terms of public technical and vocational education enrollments from 1948-1957, there were 198 pupils in seven apprenticeship centers in the Douala School (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun, 1948-1957; also Gwei, p. 248).

Also, in terms of missionary technical and vocational school enrollments from 1952 to 1957, there were 496 pupils in nine apprenticeship centers and three commercial sections with 913 pupils in Douala (United Nations Trusteeship Council, Twenty-first Session, 30 January-26 March 1958, Annexes Document T/1354, p. 42; France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun, 1957, pp. 295-296; also Gwei, p. 256).

In terms of apprenticeship programs, the advisory committee for technical education, which was created in July 1950, designed pre-apprenticeship programs for 14-year-old pupils in intermediate class I (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun, 1950, p. 241). In 1951, the first apprenticeship center was opened with an enrollment of 25 pupils; it quickly became popular because of the preparation of graduates for the rural economy. Enrollments rose to 662 in 1956 in programs such as woodworking, joinery, building, auto mechanics, and electricity. There was a five-year technical secondary school opened with an educational program that led to the Industrial Education Certificate (or Brevet d'Enseignement Industriel – BEI) graduated twelve pupils in 1951 with the BEI

certification. In 1956 the Douala Technical Secondary School started a six-year program (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun, 1951, p. 255).

Educational Expansion by Private, Nonprofit Agencies

In terms of private education, the private agencies, in particular nonprofit missionary groups, carried out most of the education in the region before and after World War II. This is in accordance with my Theme 4, successful mission expansion as a result of missionary expertise in dealing with the local levels of colonial societies. In 1956, the Roman Catholic Mission established an archbishopric consisting of four dioceses with about 650,000 converts (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun, 1957, p. 216). The Baptist and Evangelical Missions were also formed in 1956, and on December 11, 1957, the American Presbyterian Church became the Presbyterian Church of Cameroon. The Protestant Mission, Seventh Day Adventist Mission, Norwegian Mission, Sudan Mission, Sudan United Mission, and Fraternal Lutheran Mission worked cooperatively to establish a few schools with about 5,000 converts by 1957 (p. 217). The Muslims established about 1,000 Koranic Schools with an enrollment of about 7,000 pupils and 560,000 converts, even though some cultural societies established few primary schools during the trusteeship era (p. 217).

Private education was regulated by a good number of the high commissioner's orders as follows: the Order of March 19, 1930, to May 19, 1949, was Order 1850 regarding private education and the distinctions between private schools that were recognized or unrecognized (France, Rapport Annuel sur, 1949, pp. 183-184; 1953, p. 243. This Order was later updated by that of May 31, 1951, which recognized that

schools, public or private, had to be inspected to meet both hygiene and public order conditions in order to qualify for government grants.

Order 3704 of July 15, 1953, stipulated new conditions for private schools based on Government authorization. From 1945 to 1959, private primary education enrollments rose from 96,089 to 227,911, the number of schools rose from 166 to 2,013, the number of classes rose from 1,965 to 5,228, the number of African teachers rose from 1,867 to 3,497, and the number of European teachers rose from 124 to 217 (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun, 1947-1957; SOGEP, Cameroun: Plan de Developpement et Social, 1960; UNESCO, Camerounian Education Planning Group, Report on first Mission, 1962; also Gwei, p. 251).

A comparison between the public and private primary education schools opened from 1946 to 1961, as well as the number of pupils enrolled, shows a total of 977 public schools with 2,888 classes and 151,635 pupils enrolled, whereas a total of 1,814 private schools were opened with 5,350 classes and 275,494 pupils enrolled (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun, 1947-1957; UNESCO, Camerounian Planning Group, Report drawn up on return of the first mission, 10th March to 20th May 1962; also Gwei, p. 252).

The public schools operated tuition free while the private agencies levied 100 to 600 francs Colonial Franc Association (CFA). (The CFA franc was devalued a number of times during the trusteeship period. Before the December 29, 1958, devaluation, 210 francs CFA was equivalent to one U.S. dollar.) The two private secondary schools established before the trusteeship era were College F.X. Vogt by the Catholic Mission and the Institute of Evangelical Missions, established in 1945 at Libamba by the

American Presbyterian and French Evangelical Missions (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun, 1952, p. 253).

In terms of the grants-in-aid policy, the French Administration continued this before and after World War II. Private agencies in the territory that needed grants were in four categories. The first category was for repair and replacement of school equipment with a certain portion of the allocation in proportion to the number of student teachers. The second category was monthly grants for certificated student teacher salaries. A third category was for school infrastructure, and a fourth category consisted of indemnities to headmasters and principals of private recognized schools. Grants-in-Aid to private schools, 1947-1957, increased from 7,445,000 (francs CFA) to 335,300,000 (francs CFA) (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun, 1947-1957; also Gwei, p. 258).

Government and Missionary Teacher Training Centers

Government and missionaries, according to my Theme 6, were bent on converting Cameroon natives to Western ideals. In terms of teacher training, the great shortage of Cameroon natives to Western ideals. In terms of teacher training, the great shortage of teachers continued from the trusteeship period up to 1947, when there were only 1,123 teachers in private recognized primary schools who did not have the First School Leaving Certificate credential and no teaching credential whatsoever (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun, 1947, p. 124). By 1948 to 1951, there were 2,351 teachers only with First School Leaving Certificate credentials in private schools. In public schools, there were 72 in 1951 (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun, 1948, p. 139; 1949, p. 191; 1951, p. 259).

From 1947, the policy of recruiting metropolitan teachers from France continued as well as the harmonization of African and European teaching qualifications. A

scholarship policy in 1955 sent four teachers to France for a one-year training course and eight to St. Cloud, France, for a three-to-four-month course for the purpose of making them have “a better understanding of French culture” (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun, 1957, p. 300).

In 1962, only 30.8% of public school teachers had a higher qualification than the student teacher’s credential (UNESCO, Camerounian Education Planning Group, p. 23). By 1963, 75.8% of public school teachers were student teachers (UNESCO, Report of the Second UNESCO Planning Mission to Cameroun (September-December, 1963), p. 16). The American Presbyterian Mission, in collaboration with the French Protestant Mission, enrolled 34 boys in three classes in 1947, and in 1948, three private advanced primary schools enrolled one girl and 192 boys as student teachers (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun, 1948, p. 222) (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun, 1952, p. 253).

In terms of public teacher training institutions from 1947 to 1957, there was one institution in 1947, but that number increased to six in 1957. Classes also increased, from one to 19, and pupil enrollments from 19 to 499. The normal teaching program, which was nonexistent from 1947 to 1951, was introduced in 1952 with two schools and two classes with pupil enrollments of 44 and 446 in 1957 (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun, 1947-1957; United Nations Trusteeship Council, Twenty-first Session, 30 January-26 March 1958, Annexes Document T/1354, p. 41; also Gwei, p. 262).

By 1962, 82% of private school teaching staff had the First School Leaving Certificate credential (UNESCO, Camerounian Education Planning Group, p. 23). By 1963, 88% of Roman Catholic schoolteachers, nearly 81% of Protestant schoolteachers, 76% of circular schoolteachers, and 90% of Franco-Arab schoolteachers had no

qualification higher than the First School Leaving Certificate credential (UNESCO, Report of the Second UNESCO Planning Mission to Cameroun, 1963, p. 16).

Regrettably, the 1963 UNESCO Planning Mission reported that 76% of the public school teachers of the French territory were not trained professionally (p. 16). Nonetheless, this government and missionary collaboration to establish teacher training centers speaks to my Theme 6. In terms of harmonizing educational programs and exams with those of metropolitan France, the French colonial administration argued that “if one wants to produce African cadres of the same type and level as European cadres, it is obligatory to submit all concerned to the same disciplines” (France, Rapport Annuel sur Cameroun, 1950, pp. 245-246). In other words, French examinations and programs offered the same moral and intellectual access to modern civilization.

Cameroon Pioneer Students in French Universities

The formation of the Cameroon government in 1958 necessitated plans to establish a university preparatory class, a law school, and a national professional school at the Yaoundé lycée as the basis of Cameroon higher education (U.N., Report of Visiting Mission to Cameroon, November 14 to December 6, 1958). Given the fact that France did not establish any higher educational facilities in Cameroon, in terms of the International Trusteeship Agreement, this meant that Cameroon had to deal with her higher general and professional educational needs on her own.

France had failed to comply with the higher educational needs for Cameroon “to the full extent compatible with the interests of the population” (U.N. Trusteeship Agreement, Article 10). Back in 1947, when the French government reported the lack of higher educational facilities in Cameroon, about 150 Cameroonians were studying in high

schools and colleges in France on scholarships. There were also talented civil servants who had to pursue advanced training in administration in technical institutions (France, Rapport Annuel, 1950, p. 244). This is in accordance with my Theme 1, that government had the power of agenda setting; in this case government authorized and assisted Cameroon students to officially study in France for colonial necessity.

In 1949, there were 221 Cameroon scholarship beneficiaries in France, with 37 in higher education, with a total of 30 million francs CFA from the Cameroon budget (p. 244). The high commissioner's order 2906 of May 27, 1952, created a scholarship commission that was responsible for dealing with foreign scholarships in the metropole for secondary, technical, and higher education. In 1954, 136 Cameroonians took correspondence courses from Centre National d'Etudes in France to obtain the *certificat de licence* (Report of U.N. Visiting Mission to Cameroon, West Africa, 1955, p. 91). In 1955, 110 boys and 70 girls were awarded scholarships for technical education, and by 1957, there were 196 scholarship awards for higher education with 186 for boys and 10 for girls (France, Rapport Annuel, 1954-1957).

In order to solve the problem of accommodation in the French metropole, 200 rooms were made available at Paris Cité Universitaire for Cameroon scholarship recipients and their wives for one year (Report, U.N. Visiting Mission to Cameroon, 1955, p. 91). In 1957, there were nearly 500 Cameroonian scholarship recipients studying in France who were expected to gradually replace the French personnel upon their return home. There were 504 Cameroon scholarship holders studying in higher institutions in France between 1959 and 1960. In 1962, there were 431 Cameroonian scholarship recipients in French higher institutions, 402 of them on Cameroon government

scholarships and 29 on French government scholarships. However, on the eve of Independence, on January 1, 1960, the new Cameroon state was still in great need of qualified natives to take over important positions in the country's public and private service sectors. Therefore, the establishment of higher educational institutions in Cameroon was the best solution for solving the country's personnel needs.

According to Mumford (1935), the French Minister of the colonies, Albert Sarraut, consequently laid out the French colonial education policy that would constitute the necessary framework of French colonial education in Cameroon, as follows:

Education is the very foundation of colonial policy and the value assignable to our overseas possessions is to be measured, first of all, by the value of the individual in virtue of the instruction which he receives.

Education has, as its first effect, a large increase in the value of colonial industrial output through multiplying the intellectual abilities and capacities among the masses of colonial workers...as skilled mechanics, foremen, inspectors, clerks to supplement the numerical insufficiency of Europeans and satisfy the growing demands of agriculture, industrial and commercial colonization enterprises...to train native officials of various categories...to train native non-commissioned officers....

At this moment, when the generous and wise application of a policy of co-operation is causing us to give native representatives increasingly easy access to consultative assemblies...education should develop in them facilities and capacities necessary for useful collaboration with us.

Finally...there is urgent need for developing without further delay all the educational institutions which should render our subjects and native wards more capable of playing their part in French civilization and human progress (p. 831).

These comments are a summary of French colonial education objectives with respect to their policy of assimilation or association in its African colonies, including Cameroon.

Like the Germans and the British, the French, in collaboration with Western Christian missionaries, established French colonial formal schools in Cameroon as its colony and periphery that was to be controlled by the center, France, whose official

language would be French, and according to Mumford (1935), equally contribute to the social and economic expansion of the French Empire.

Conclusion

Bassey (1999) comments that although French educators in Cameroon were charged with turning Africans into “black Frenchmen,” the practice was flawed because the French had limited resources from the start. Thus, the responsibility for educating their French colonial subjects fell to the Africans themselves. Further, many French opposed education for Africans because, as I have argued throughout this research, the purpose of colonialism was to obtain and prepare the sources of cheap labor and raw materials for the economic expansion of the empire. They further argued, “The more you educate individuals in this situation, the more they hate you” (p. 30).

Scanlon (1964) summarizes that while French educational policy in Africa did undergo changes over the duration of its colonial period, four characteristics remained constant:

- the use of French as the language of instruction;
- the reluctance to train an educated elite for whom there would be no employment;
- the strong emphasis on agricultural and vocational training in the primary schools;
and
- the maintenance of standards equal to those in France for those students selected for academic secondary schools (p. 118).

In Chapter 8, I will carry out a comparative analysis of the three Western European colonial formal schools—namely German, British, and French—imposed on the Cameroon landscape from 1914 to 1961, after which Cameroon finally became

independent from colonial rule. I will also examine the similarities and differences between the various colonial governments as well as their alliances with the Western Christian missionary groups that established the colonial formal schools. I will further counter Bassey's argument, which I argue is too sweeping, that in most parts of Africa, Western education was virtually a monopoly of the Christian missionaries. I will discuss my research findings and also delve into the academic and personal reasons for this research. Finally, my conclusion and the limitations of this research will be addressed and, consequently, recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER EIGHT
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE GERMAN, BRITISH, AND FRENCH
COLONIAL FORMAL SCHOOLS

Introduction

In this chapter, I will conduct a synthetic analysis of the three types of Western European colonial formal schools that were established, respectively, by the Germans, the British, and the French in Cameroon during its colonial period from 1914 to 1961, when Cameroon finally gained its independence from colonial rule.

My analysis will focus on the similarities as well as the differences between the formal schools. My research will also investigate the similarities and differences in the alliances formed with the Western Christian missions, whose educational contributions, I will argue, were crucial to the establishment of the three types of colonial formal schools in Cameroon.

In addition, in this chapter, I will counter the argument made by Bassey (1999) that “In most parts of Africa, the establishment of schools and, indeed, Western education itself was virtually a monopoly of the Christian missions during colonial rule. The colonial governments paid very little attention to formal education in Africa” (p. 28). This research finds these arguments troubling, specifically in the case of Cameroon’s history of colonial education; therefore, based on my research findings, I will probe into Bassey’s scholarship to demonstrate my areas of agreements and disagreements with his

arguments. Further, I will discuss my research findings and also explain the personal reasons why I decided to do this research that, I argue, was not only for academic and scholarship reasons but for personal reasons as well. I will present my conclusions, state the limitations of my research, and I will also recommend some topics for future research in the area of colonial education for expansion in the field of comparative and international education.

Comparison of the Three Types of Western Colonial Formal Schools

As previously stated, the Germans were the first colonial power to introduce their colonial formal schools; the Germans reigned in the whole territory for 30 years, from 1884 to 1914. The British next introduced their colonial formal schools, in the English sector that accounted for one-fifth of the territory; it lasted for a period of about 50 years, from 1914 to 1960. The French, like the British, introduced their colonial formal schools in the French sector, which constituted four-fifths of the territory, also lasting for about 50 years, from 1914 to 1961. These three types of colonial formal schools constitute the three instances of Western colonial governments and Christian missions in the Cameroon education landscape for 77 years, from 1884 to 1961.

Similarities among the Western Colonial Formal Schools

All three colonial powers used military force for conquest and occupation. This view is also shared by Young (1994). During conquest and occupation, all three colonial occupiers presented the local rulers with two choices, namely to comply and obtain benefits (carrots) or to refuse to comply and be punished (sticks). In short, the carrots-and-sticks dynamic was used for the colonization of Cameroon by the Germans, British, and French. After the Germans annexed Cameroon, they went on to change all foreign,

non-German influences existing in the region by formulating and establishing German colonial formal schools. As previously stated, the British and the French also set about changing the previously introduced German colonial formal schools in order to establish their own colonial formal schools. They did this by formulating and implementing school policies, just as the Germans did at annexation, that reflected their respective colonial interests.

The German, British, and French presence in Cameroon exhibited similar colonial ambitions, with each colonial power juggling to expand its colonial empires in Africa. These colonial ventures offer a valuable lesson in comparative political education. This view is emphatically echoed by Young (1994). The comparison is germane to this study because of the colonial initiatives that these three colonial powers formulated and implemented in Cameroon's schools to propagate their respective languages and the history of their civilizations.

All of the three types of colonial formal schools were similarly guided by policies that were formulated and implemented by the colonial powers. These powers officially instituted the policy of educating Cameroonians in the colonizer's language as *lingua franca* and about its culture and civilization; native Cameroon dialects and culture were secondary or barely tolerated. In terms of Western education, Whitehead (2005) cites the work of Becker (1939), which contends that education for colored people should be fundamentally different from that of whites. It should, in essence, provide the natives with a basic primary education so they can be productive for their colonial masters.

Similarly, all the colonial powers always appointed Europeans to serve as local governors who adhered to the dictates of their homelands in Europe to ensure that their

colonial education objectives were met. This lends credence to the work of McCulloch and Lowe (2003) in which Europe, as center, dictates to Cameroon, as periphery, thereby justifying the center-periphery dynamic (p. 6). The importance of colonial education and language policy was similarly prominent in all three colonial formal schools (Phillipson, 1992, p. 5).

All three types of colonial formal schools were also characterized by mass primary public education for the acquisition of the basic skills needed by the workforce for the colonial economy. Numerous government decrees, regulations, and orders were put in place that spelled out both the benefits when regulations were carried out, such as grant-in-aid increases, and negative consequences when regulations were not followed, such as the reduction in grants-in-aid or no award of grants-in-aid at all.

All three types of colonial formal schools made sure that their schools were headed by European administrators to guarantee that all formulated colonial education and language policies were adapted to the local colonial environment and replicated throughout their African colonies, including Cameroon.

All the three colonial governments similarly experienced conflicts and resolutions with the Western Christian missionaries who carried out the bulk of their colonial education endeavors; these missionaries include the Catholics, Baptists, Presbyterians, Protestants, Lutherans, and Seven Day Adventists. In all three types of colonial formal schools established, these Western Christian missionaries did not only foster colonial formal schooling for the colonial authorities but also converted Christians and expanded their evangelization objectives in their mission schools as well.

In terms of higher education, none of the three colonial governments provided any higher education facilities in Cameroon up to the time of Independence. However, in terms of pioneer Cameroonians who were officially sent to study abroad, there is evidence presented in this study that only the British and French colonial governments, not the Germans, officially awarded some scholarships to pioneer Cameroonians for studies abroad.

The German, British, and French colonial formal schools had similar administrative hierarchies in terms of delegating the school headmasters and their assistants to pay the professionals who operated the government and mission-recognized schools on a daily basis. This was done to ensure success of the colonial objectives of civilizing Africans through colonial formal schooling.

Finally, all three colonial governments to some extent tolerated the Koranic schools that were set up in the northern Muslim caliphate-ruled regions of the territory.

Differences among the Western Colonial Formal Schools

The German colonial education and language policies were based on the German colonial policy of direct rule, the British colonial education policies were based on the British colonial policy of indirect rule, and the French colonial education policies were based on the French colonial policy of assimilation (Mumford, 1935). The Germans levied school fees as did the British, whereas the French instituted free schooling that awarded scholarships and even paid allowances to pupils.

Unlike the Germans and the British, the French formed alliances with more Western Christian missions and even with African Christian missions such as the Sudan mission and the Sudan United Mission.

Unlike the Germans and the British, the French established special schools for the sons of chiefs, notables, and assimilated Africans in order to groom them for leadership roles within their communities. These future leaders, of course, would be expected to pay allegiance to Britain and France.

The British, unlike the Germans and the French, allowed the limited use of “pidgin English” and not the pure English language as a medium of instruction in their colonial formal schools.

Similarities in the Alliances with Western Christian Missions

As stated earlier, the Germans, British, and French colonial authorities all formed alliances with Western Christian missions to help them establish their colonial formal schools in the Cameroon education landscape.

All three colonial governments installed governors who were the highest authorities charged with the responsibility of ensuring, controlling, and collaborating with the Christian missions on all matters related to the colonial government’s education and language policies, organizational structures, personnel, infrastructure, curricular, and syllabi in the territory (periphery). This was done according to the officially decreed guidelines from Europe (as center).

Even though all three colonial governments sanctioned their European languages to be propagated in the territory, all three allowed the Catholic missionaries to get away with Latin, which up to this date is the official language of the Vatican.

All three colonial governments recognized the need for, and thus approved, the opening of mission schools by the Christian missions. This was done, in accordance with

government regulations, for the purpose of colonial education, language propagation and character development of the natives through colonial formal schooling.

All three colonial governments paid grants-in-aid to mission schools that were government approved and regularly inspected to ensure that those schools followed and maintained government guidelines as they expanded their dual roles of education and evangelization in the region.

All three colonial governments established government colonial formal central model, or demonstration schools, in which formal education was carried out in European languages, history, and civilization, as well as patriotic songs for purposes of acculturation (Epstein, 1978). All three colonial governments also used decrees, legislative acts, and regulations to ensure that the colonial formal schools not only eradicated previous types instituted by rivals but propagated their own types. In essence, the centers (Europe) wanted the colonial education in their peripheries (colonies) to be in sync with their colonial objectives.

Differences in the Alliances with Western Christian Missions

Unlike the British and the French, who allied with Christian missions from the start as long as they maintained official language guidelines, the Germans initially only wanted German missionaries who were devoid of foreign involvement. Thus, the Germans excluded the Jesuit Roman Catholic missionaries who were not Germans from evangelizing in German Kamerun. The reasons why the imperial German government decided to exclude the Jesuit Roman Catholic missionaries from evangelizing in German Kamerun at this time had to do with nationalistic uncertainties about their loyalty to the German empire. Given the government's Kulturkampf legacy to destroy the ongoing anti-

German Catholic unrest in Pozania and ensure “loyalty of the masses” (Orosz, 2008, p. 13), the German government considered Catholic Jesuits an existing threat to the unity of the German empire at home. Consequently, it would be detrimental to export this known “threat” of Catholic Jesuit missionaries overseas in the German Kamerun colony.

The German Imperial Government, unlike the British and French, applauded the Roman Catholic Pallottine missions for their exclusive use of the German language in schools instead of native dialects, as was the case with the Protestant missions.

The British and French, unlike the Germans, were more tolerant of the use of dialects and encouraged their adaptation for classroom instruction in schools, especially in vernacular, or native, schools. In the case of the British administration, these later became native administration schools.

The French, unlike the Germans and the British, formed more alliances with both Western Christian missions and African Christian missions, such as the Sudan mission and the Sudan United Mission.

My research has not found any significant or major differences in the alliances with Christian missions after World War II. I argue that this is because the policy differences that existed between the colonial governments and Christian missions during the mandate period under the League of Nations changed drastically after World War II. This is because after World War II the colonial governments administered their colonies under the United Nations policies and objectives to prepare the Cameroon natives educationally as future leaders for independence and statehood.

As earlier shown in this study, prior to World War II colonial governments and missionary relations were contentious over colonial education and language policy

implementation to establish colonial formal schools. However, after World War II both the British and the French colonial governments had realized or achieved the master/meta project of initial establishment of colonial formal schools in their respective regions of Cameroon. Therefore, they were now obliged after World War II to comply with United Nations policies and directives. In order to fulfill these United Nations educational goals, the British and the French governments realized that they needed the contributions of the Christian missionaries and, thus, had to work in concert with them. Thus, the colonial governments and missionary relations shifted from contentious to cordial toward the establishment of colonial formal schools up until French-speaking Cameroon became independent in 1960 and English-speaking Cameroon became independent in 1961.

Researcher's Counter to Bassey's Arguments

There has been considerable scholarship in the area of colonial formal schooling. One of these scholars, O. Magnus Bassey (1999), launches three arguments in his text *Western Education and Political Domination in Africa: A Study in Critical and Dialogical Pedagogy* that fail to grasp subtleties. As I mentioned in Chapter 1, I will analyze areas where I agree with his arguments as well as counter areas where I disagree based on my research findings on Cameroon. I will also indicate other authors whose works offer the basis of my counter.

Bassey's (1999) first argument is: "In most parts of Africa, the establishment of schools and, indeed, Western education itself, was virtually a monopoly of the Christian missions during colonial rule" (p. 27). I agree with Bassey that Western Christian missions established schools in Africa during colonial rule, as in the case of Cameroon. However, I disagree with his reference to "in most parts of Africa" with no quantitative

data to support this argument. In fact, this is sweeping because colonial governments clearly colonized specific territories that Bassey could have deciphered or identified in his book published in 1999 since the partition of African took place in 1885 (Rudin, 1938; Gwei, 1975; Fonkeng, 2007; Orosz, 2008; and especially Grenville-Freeman, 1976).

I also disagree with Bassey's (1999) second argument that "the establishment of schools and, indeed, Western education was virtually a monopoly of the Christian missions during colonial rule" (p. 27). In this vein, Bassey's characterization that this exercise was "a virtual monopoly" is troubling to me because, as in the case of Cameroon, all three colonial governments collaborated with Christian missions to establish colonial formal schools in spite of the tensions that arose from their policy differences (Ndi, 1983) (Orosz, 2008). Also in the case of British Cameroon, there were "agency schools" that were neither government nor missions school, such as Messrs. Elders and Fyffes schools, Cameroon Development Corporation (DCD) schools, and native administration schools (Gwei, 1975).

Bassey's (1999) third argument is: "The colonial governments paid very little attention to formal education in Africa" (p. 27). I agree with Bassey that, in the case of German Kamerun, the German colonial government paid very little attention or no attention to formal education "initially" after annexation in 1884. This was because the Germans were expecting their colonizing ventures to be profitable and not to be a financial burden. However, as soon as the Germans started funding for the education of natives in 1886, they had no choice but to pay a lot of attention. Thus, I disagree with Bassey's claim, which fails to specify any time frame as to "when" the Germans "paid

very little attention”. This leaves me with the impression that the Germans “paid very little attention” to formal education in Cameroon over the entire spectrum of the German colonial education enterprise in Cameroon up until 1914 (Rudin, 1938; Gwei, 1975; Orosz, 2008).

As for Bassey’s third argument, I disagree that colonial governments “paid very little attention to formal education” in the case of Cameroon because all three colonial governments, namely German, British, and French, exercised a lot of control over the schools during their respective colonial eras. They used decrees, legislative acts, and regulations to ensure that the schools were meeting their colonial objectives. Other measures included the setting up of model or demonstration schools and the appointment of European inspectors of education who were to ensure school policy compliance and were expected to pay a “lot of attention,” not “very little attention,” as stated by Bassey, to both government and missionary schools during their respective colonial eras in Cameroon.

Research Findings and Analysis

The findings of this study are based on my research questions and the theoretical conceptual, and contextual framework that I have used in conjunction with the seven intellectual themes I developed in Chapter 1, as will be seen below.

Theme 1: The power of agenda setting and initiating colonial formal schools.

All three colonial governments, indeed, had exercised the power of agenda setting and also initiated the establishment of colonial formal schools in Cameroon. For instance, it was the colonial governments that dictated their colonial education and language policies to be carried out even by the missionaries in their colonies. The colonial governments

convened educational conferences and they passed decrees and regulations relating to school governance. Colonial governments also appointed government education inspectors and also opened up government or model demonstration schools. In fact, all the three colonial governments paid a lot of attention to their colonial education schemes. These three colonial governments instituted, implemented, and administered their colonial, educational, and language policies, such as school funding, school programs, the categorization and classification of schools, teacher training programs, and teacher training centers. All these colonial education initiatives were geared toward achieving their master/meta project of establishing colonial formal schools that, in turn, prepared the natives to fulfill their colonial manpower needs in the Cameroon colony.

Theme 2: Colonial conflicts in the center (or metropole) versus outcomes in the peripheries (colonies). Scholars such as McCulloch and Lowe (2003) have discussed the center/periphery thesis that has dominated studies of government and missionary relations in colonial Africa. These scholars contend that when the center, or European metropole, dictated policies to the colony, or periphery, such dictates were carried out because the European center/metropole could exercise enormous power and influence over the African colony/periphery. Much like the findings of Boyle (1995) with regard to the Belgian Congo, my study on Cameroon compels me to agree that case of the Belgian Congo demonstrates how colonial interests were sometimes in conflict with mission interests such that conflicts in the Belgian center/metropole played out differently in the Belgian Congo colony/periphery, as Ndi (1983) and Orosz (2008) have also agreed. My research findings show that colonial conflicts in the centers/metropoles of Germany, Britain, and France vs. outcomes in the Cameroon colony/periphery were ongoing during

the German, British, and French colonial periods. This was because the implementation of these colonial education and language policy objectives by the local colonial government authorities were at odds with the policy objectives of the Christian missions in the Cameroon colony, for instance, during the German era from about 1885 to 1914, the British era from about 1916 to 1939, and the French era from about 1916 to 1939. To be precise, the colonial governments had colonial economic expansion policy objectives, while the Christian missions had evangelical and mission expansion policy objectives. Thus, both parties endured very contentious relationships concerning the educational policy implementation for colonial formal schools in the Cameroon colony.

Theme 3: Gender-related issues. Although my research does not directly address gender-related issues, it does peripherally touch on gender-related issues such as the African practice of polygamy that governments did not discourage, while the missionaries unequivocally preached against it. There was also the practice of Europeans keeping African women as concubines and the subsequent problem of mixed race children with undetermined citizen status. I found that all three colonial government authorities addressed these issues in a different manner than the Christian missionaries. For example, the colonial government officials failed to condemn this practice because it not only “freed” an African girl from “harem” but also uplifted her lifestyle, thereby creating friendship between Africans and whites. The specifics concerning African and white friendship ties or relations, I argue, were based on the fact that the mixed race children involved naturally had both African and white relatives even though no legitimate type of marriage was ever part of the equation. Thus, the practice of Europeans keeping African girls as concubines was pervasive during the German colonial era in

Cameroon. Specifically, it was Jesko von Puttkamer, the third governor of German Kamerun from 1895 to 1907, who endorsed and promoted this practice during his administration without the approval of the German government back home. In contrast, the missionaries strongly condemned, discouraged, and preached against this practice.

Theme 4: Mission successes at the local level of colonial societies. Scholars such as Forman (1972), Comaroff and Comaroff (1986), and Tse-Hei (2003) have argued that missionaries can be more successful in evangelizing at local levels, such as in rural, bush, or interior areas in the colony, than in the urban centers because they have more control over the rural natives than the urbanized natives. While my research does not directly examine this question, I have uncovered evidence in support of this notion in the case of the German, British, and French colonial periods in Cameroon. All three colonial governments worked with the Christian missionaries, who were excellent in penetrating the interior, bush, rural, or hinterlands areas of the colony to establish mission stations as is evidenced by the establishment and expansion of mission stations by Christian missionaries in the remote areas of Cameroon, whereas the colonial government headquarters or stations were always located in the urban areas. For instance, the German colonial government station or headquarters in Douala was urban and coastal located from 1884 to 1914. The British colonial government station or headquarters from 1914 to 1961 was also urban located in Buea in the English part of Cameroon. The French colonial government station or headquarters was located in Douala from 1914 to 1960 in the French-speaking part of Cameroon, which was also urban and coastal located. In contrast, the missionary extension stations were located in the interior, such as Bojongo for the Catholics, Batanga for the American Presbyterians, and Edea and Yaounde for the

French Protestants during the same colonial periods up until independence in 1960 from the French and in 1961 from the British.

Theme 5: Agreements and disagreements between colonial governments and missions. Scholars such as Latourette (1965) have discussed agreements and disagreements between colonial governments and missions around issues of ethics, morals, language, and even economic development. Furthermore, these disagreements were pervasive and at the expense of native human rights and the lack of social justice. In fact, the colonial governments always advocated for colonial economic expansion schemes such as appropriating native land, the use of brutal force to conscript laborers, and the institution of tax levies on natives. There was, for instance, the colonial policy of appropriating native land for the construction of government stations, government residential areas, and government agricultural plantations. There was also the policy of the use of brutal force to conscript laborers because natives were not interested in abandoning their tribal routines and moving somewhere else. Thus, when conscripted as laborers, they were used for colonial road projects and plantation agricultural projects or served in the colonial local militia. There was the policy of tax levies that were imposed on the natives and their leaders by the colonial government authorities. This was done to raise income to help finance the colonial economy and also as a strategy for forcing the natives to work for the colonial government as laborers and carriers for road construction projects, plantation agriculture projects, and for the extraction of raw materials. There was also the imposition of colonial education and language policies that were aimed at destroying or discouraging native dialects. The missionaries, on the contrary, tended to uphold native rights, promoted native dialects, which they as missionaries popularly used

for evangelization among the natives, and strongly criticized the colonial authorities and their courts for violating and disrespecting the human rights and culture of the natives.

Theme 6: Conversion of colonial subjects to Western ideals. Scholars such as Neill (1966) and Gascoigne (2008) argue that regardless of the conflicts and disagreements that existed between governments and missions, the two parties nonetheless recognized that native conversion to Western ideals was the ultimate master/meta goal of colonial rule. As such, both had to work together to establish the colonial formal schools in Cameroon that would acculturate the natives for both the colonial labor force and for Christian mission evangelism, in essence, the establishment of a symbiotic relationship. This study has indeed found that colonial governments and missionaries did work in concert, in spite of their conflicts and disagreements, toward establishing colonial formal schools for the propagation of Western ideals, as opposed to their native practices. It should be noted, however, that my study is concerned only with the fact that Christian missions and colonial governments attempted to convert natives to Western ideals; it does not examine the extent to which this did or did not happen.

Theme 7: The missions' need for state power. Scholars such as Stanley (1990), Mackenzie (1993), and Porter (1997) echo the notion that missions do not always work separately from states or governments. They argue that because missionaries wanted to achieve their evangelical objectives, they sometimes relied on state or government power because of its related resources, including police and military protection, funding, and law and order. In this study, I also found evidence that the missions indeed needed and used state power in Cameroon for evangelization. For instance, the missionaries needed government funding, free import duties, equipment, and sometimes police and military

protection during native uprisings that had the potential of destroying mission stations in the Cameroon colony.

Bassey's (1999) three arguments. In terms of Bassey's (1999) three arguments, my research uncovered areas that did not address salient subtleties. In retrospect, his arguments were sweeping at best, thereby prompting areas of agreement and disagreement in consideration of my seven themes. This first argument about "in most parts of Africa" failed to provide any quantitative detail or specific areas of colonialism in which "naked grabs" were made, and my Theme 1 explains that the colonial governments had the power of agenda setting and initiating colonial formal schools. His second argument about Christian missions having "a virtual monopoly" in the establishment of colonial formal schools is not accurate in the case of Cameroon, where there were agency and government schools besides mission schools. Those colonial formal schools speak to my Theme 6 for the conversion of colonial subjects to Western ideals by acculturating them in colonial formal schools. His third argument about how colonial government "paid very little attention to formal education in Africa" during colonial rule is also troubling because in the case of Cameroon, the Germans, British, and French paid a lot of attention to formal education. In fact, according to my seven themes, particularly Themes 1, 6, and 7, the colonial government achieved their goals of establishing colonial formal schools in Cameroon and, thus, accomplished their master/meta project during the mandate period and before World War II

Personal Reasons for Conducting this Research

As stated in Chapter 1, there are personal, academic, and family reasons why I embarked on this study. As an academic and African from my native, English-speaking

Cameroon, I grew up studying and experiencing European influences embedded in the history of Cameroon from the colonial era through Independence up until the current date. My motivation for this scholarship was to investigate how the three types of colonial formal schools influenced Cameroon's education landscape up until Independence—namely the Germans, English, and French—and which of the three types was most widespread globally and continues to be. According to my research, the answer is the British colonial formal schools with varying cultural adaptations to the local environments throughout the former British colonies promoted by the English language, which to date is the only international language of aviation.

I also wanted to know how the British colonial formal schools and language became widespread and the extent to which it was acculturated into non-European environments. This has always kindled my interest in comparative and international education. According to this University of Wisconsin–Stevens Point article, which I wrote back in 1983: “Educationally some foreign students normally leave their countries in the quest of an international approach to education. Generally foreign students cherish traveling because it is a vital aspect of international education” (Tamanji, 1983). In retrospect, my current academic work represents the realization of my 1983 dreams.

Colonial formal schools—government, private, and missionary—became widespread through conquest for the expansion of colonial economies and Christian evangelism, as I earlier mentioned, in which the government's central model, or demonstration, schools were used to perform the main work of acculturation (Epstein, 1978). This explains why I speak English and French, both recognized as the official

languages taught in schools in Cameroon. However, French is the dominant official language because the majority of Cameroonians in the French Sector speak French.

In terms of my personal family reasons for carrying out this study, my family's history in relation to Cameroon's colonial history has been by oral tradition. Hence, my research will not only shed more light on my ancestral oral family history but will also make it written as well. As mentioned in Chapter 3, my great-grandfather, Ba'ah Tubanwe Asenju I, was the father of six children: Awangwe, Nyam, Niba-ntum, Asenju, Njmukali, and Bihlum, his only daughter. Along with his wife and six children, Asenju I left Bukari and settled in Mberbeli, where he acquired fertile farmland. Shortly after the Bafut royal conspiracy that led to the murder of his niece, Ndulahmbwe (Ritzenthaler, 1966, pp. 147-151), which he believed was a royal taboo inflicted on his family and nobility, Tubanwe Asenju I took his entire family and went into self-exile in the Bambui Fondom. His royal highness, the fon of the Bambui Fondom, Angafor Mambo'oh II, received my great-grandfather with his full nobility titles including the "Tahkumkih" of Bambui and also as his protégé. Both of them are known to have entertained Zintgraff and his expedition team later on peacefully and amicably (Chilver, 1966). This was after the German annexation of Kamerun in 1884 and the subsequent partition of Africa in 1885.

Shortly after that, Fon Angafor Mambo'oh II died and was succeeded by his royal highness Asogofor II; and my grandfather, Tubanwe Asenju II, succeeded my great-grandfather. The German and Bali allied war against the Mankon and the Bafut allies resulted in the fon of Bafut, Aboumbi I, secretly taking refuge in the Bambui Fondom; he was protected for cultural and humanitarian reasons by the Fon of Bambui and Asenju II.

The fon of neighboring Nkwen Fondom, a sympathizer with the German and Bali cause, revealed the whereabouts of Aboumbi I to the Germans. Consequently, the Germans invaded the Bambui , killing 78 fondom warriors, including my granduncle Njmukali.

Finally, Aboumbi I was arrested by the Germans and taken prisoner to the coast (Niba, 1995). The fon of Bambui was forced to pay ransom in the form of cattle, elephant tusks, cowries, and able-bodied youths and men. The first conscript included my grandfather Ba'ah Tubanwe Asenju II, who was compelled to speak some German in order to survive. The Germans needed manpower for soldiers, carriers, and road construction laborers, in particular for the construction of the German station at Mendankwe Fondom.

Thus, the following personalities were also, but not limited to, German conscripts who, as young recruits, served the German colonial administration as soldiers but also in other capacities determined by the German authorities. Nyam Azuh-mbom, Amungwa Mondi, Ngeh Marx, Nteboh Thomas, Njamjuo Njibilo, Amuh Dongali, Awudu Samunju, and Tamanji Joseph Asenju III (my dad), just to name a few. Some of them later on served the British colonial authorities in native authority councils, or local governments, up until Independence in 1961.

My grandfather, Asenju II, later on died at the German station in Mendankwe, and his three sons, Suh (eldest), Niba (middle, and his sister's adopted son), and Tamanji Joseph Asenju III (youngest), who later succeeded him, were responsible for his funeral and burial celebration.

My late father, Tamanji Joseph Asenju III, according to the family funeral documents, was born in 1904 during the German Bamenda road construction projects and

was named “Tamanji,” meaning “Father of the Road” or “Superintendent of the Road.” Thus he grew up speaking some German and later pidgin English; he worked for the Germans as a mail boy and later on for the British during the construction of the Bamenda ring road that started from the Bambui Fondom. The mother of my father, Tamanji Joseph Asenju III, was Akemah, daughter of Ta’ah Moteh, the kingmaker of the Bambui Fondom, whose mother, Funenuh, was a half-orphan princess from the Kom Fondom. My father, Tamanji Joseph Asenju III, succeeded my grandfather Tubanwe Asenju II and was enthroned as a noble by Fon Acheyifor II, served the Germans and the British and also embraced Christianity at the first, or pioneer, Catholic mission station at Asohdubeh in 1932 in the Bambui Fondom that was later moved to St. Peters Parish at Nibah in 1948. So did my mother Ngwenwi Veronica Tamanji, daughter of Ba’ah Ndifor and Ma Nwegueh.

According to oral ancestral Bambui history, some of the early Catholic Christians of the Bambui and their wives include but are not limited to Asenju Aloysius Suh, Asenju Joseph Tamanji, Francisco Bongzah, Bathelomew Bitimfeh, Jacob Metoh, Paul Ngwa, Didacus Chierfeh, Andreas Chungong, Thadeus Takwih, Andreas Biche, Leo Achembung, Thomas Nteboh, Simon Nwemoh, and Dennis Soseh (just to mention a few).

I was born in the reign of Amungwafor II, who succeeded Fon Acheyifor II. Amungwafor II was succeeded by Angafor-Mombo-oh III, the current fon of Bambui. In 2003, I was enthroned by Angafor-Mombo-oh III to succeed my father, who passed away in 1994; I succeeded him as Tamanji Callistus Asenju IV. My father only had two surviving children, both boys; my only and older brother, Azuni Leonard Tamanji,

traditionally and culturally plays the role of ndi, or elder brother and regent on my behalf as his junior brother, Asenju IV, and the successor of Tamanji Joseph Asenju III of the Asenju lineage.

Thus, my family ancestral history is imbedded in the history of colonialism and colonial formal schooling in Cameroon (see Appendices A-H). In fact, the series of maps in Appendices A-H illustrate the history of Cameroon that has changed over time showing the various administrative boundaries and periods as well as the following timeline that is germane to this research:

- 1807: Slave trade was abolished in Britain.
- 1827: British base was established in Fernando Po.
- 1830-1840s: British gunboats patrolled the West African Coast to enforce abolition of slave trade.
- 1856: Court of Equity between Douala exporters and European farms in the area was established.
- July 1884-1915: Germans annexed Kamerun and established German colonial formal schools.
- 1916: Germans accepted their defeat and were thrown out of Kamerun by their colonial rivals, the British and French allies.
- 1914-1916: British and French controlled Cameroon and temporarily partitioned between them, with Britain occupying one-fifth and France occupying four-fifths.
- 1918: Germans accepted their defeat and surrendered globally.
- 1919: The League of Nations at the Peace Treaty of Paris, Versailles, began the process of giving these two territories, namely British Cameroon and French

Cameroon, to Britain and France, respectively, as mandated territories. The Germans officially accepted the surrender of Cameroon to Britain and France.

- 1922: In accordance with the Peace Treaty of Paris, British Cameroon and French Cameroon became mandated territories of the League of Nations.
- 1922-1945: British colonial government and their colonial formal schools were put in place in British Southern Cameroon; French colonial government and their colonial formal schools put in place in French Eastern Cameroon.
- 1945: The United Nations, after being newly formed by the victorious allies, inherited or took over the mandated territories and made them United Nations Trust Territories of Britain and France.
- 1960-1961: Cameroon remained Trust Territories of France and Britain until Independence in 1960 and 1961, respectively.
- 1960: East/French Cameroon gained independence from France to become an independent republic with a French system of education in place.
- 1961: Southern/British Cameroon, which had been administered by Britain with the Federation of Nigeria with British colonial formal schools, decided by plebiscite to join East/French Cameroon.
- 1961: Northern Cameroon in the plebiscite accepted to remain with the Federation of Nigeria with British colonial formal schools.
- 1961: Southern Cameroon joined East Cameroon to form the Federal Republic of Cameroon.
- 1972: The two territories, East/West, were united into a Unitary State of Cameroon with the establishment of some English and French bilingual formal schools.

- 1984: Cameroon became a Republic again, continuing to the present.

Conclusion

My research also finds it informative that formal Western Christian missionary education had been established long before the German annexation of Kamerun. This was the result of the pioneering work of the Rev. Joseph Merrick of the Jamaican-backed London Baptist Missionary Society in 1844.

Initially all three colonial powers—Germans, British, and French—set out to colonize and the missionaries to evangelize. However, the alliances between the colonial governments and the missionaries were inevitable because the missions needed educated converts for evangelism and expanding their missions while the colonial administrators were in dire need of educated workers for colonial economic expansion. As earlier indicated, my seven Themes made it possible for all three colonial governments to implement their colonial education and language policies and establish their colonial formal schools because their colonial economic workforce was dependent upon native graduates from the government, agency, and native administration schools, as well as the native graduates who had attained a high “character development” from the mission schools.

I also argue that the alliances formed between the colonial governments and the missionaries in Cameroon toward the establishment of the colonial formal schools had the underpinnings of a symbiotic relationship. This collaborative education relationship, uncovered by my research, is that at the time of Independence, the colonial formal schools produced the elites and leaders of government in the English- and French-speaking sectors of Cameroon; these leaders were graduates of both government and

missionary schools, as also alluded to by Walters (1991) and Chiabi (1982) in the case of English-speaking Cameroon in particular.

In addition, I argue that the joint missionary and government efforts, in spite of their conflicts and tensions, resulted in the establishment of colonial formal schools. Consequently, the goal of government and missionaries' ultimate master/meta project, which was to acculturate Cameroon natives to Western ideals, was achieved by establishing and expanding colonial formal schools.

Limitations of the Study

I was not able to travel to the Cameroon archives in Africa due to safety concerns or to the European archives due to financial constraints. However, I was confident that these research needs could be met here in the United States of America. This is because of my ability to access German, British, and French government reports from United States libraries as well as to access reports from the League of Nations and United Nations from United States libraries as well.

Recommendations for Future Research

This research was intended to illuminate the whole subject of the three Western colonial governments and Christian missions that influenced the Cameroon education landscape during colonial rule. However, the British and French education influences are currently alive and well in the country, which is therefore regarded as a French and English bilingual country. I recommend that other researchers investigate whether or not this bilingualism in Cameroon is functioning well.

The purpose of my study was to analyze three instances of Western colonial governments and Christian missions in Cameroon education from 1884 to 1961. It is my

greatest hope that this research may inspire other scholars to carry out research not only about colonial formal education instances in Africa but also in Asia and Latin America. Some of the questions that may lead to further research include but may not be limited to the following:

- What are the other non-Western types of schools that influenced the Cameroon education landscape?
- What other countries have experienced multiple instances of Western colonial formal schools in their education landscapes?
- How did these colonies become members of the French or British Commonwealth of nations after gaining their independence from colonial rule?
- What were the similar and/or different characteristics of these colonial formal schools?
- What were the similar and/or different strategies of acculturation in each case?
- How did the indigenous people accommodate colonial formal schooling alongside their traditional practices?

Finally, although this research may have some weaknesses, I am hopeful that these weaknesses will generate interest in further research and scholarship in the field of comparative and international education, especially colonial education.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF GERMAN KAMERUN ADMINISTRATORS 1884-1914

GERMAN KAMERUN ADMINISTRATORS 1884-1914

A documentation of the German administrators who were responsible for administering the German Government schools and also enforcing the German Government's educational policy in German Kamerun from 1884-1914 (von Hagen, 1923, pp. xii-xxv).

Reichskommiasre

14 Jul 1884 – 19 Jul 1884 Gustav Nachtigal (b. 1834 – d. 1885)
 19 Jul 1884 – 1 Apr 1885 Maximilian Buchner (acting) (b. 1846 – d. 1921)
 1 Apr 1885 – 4 Jul 1885 Eduard von Knorr (acting) (b. 1840 – d. 1920)

Governors

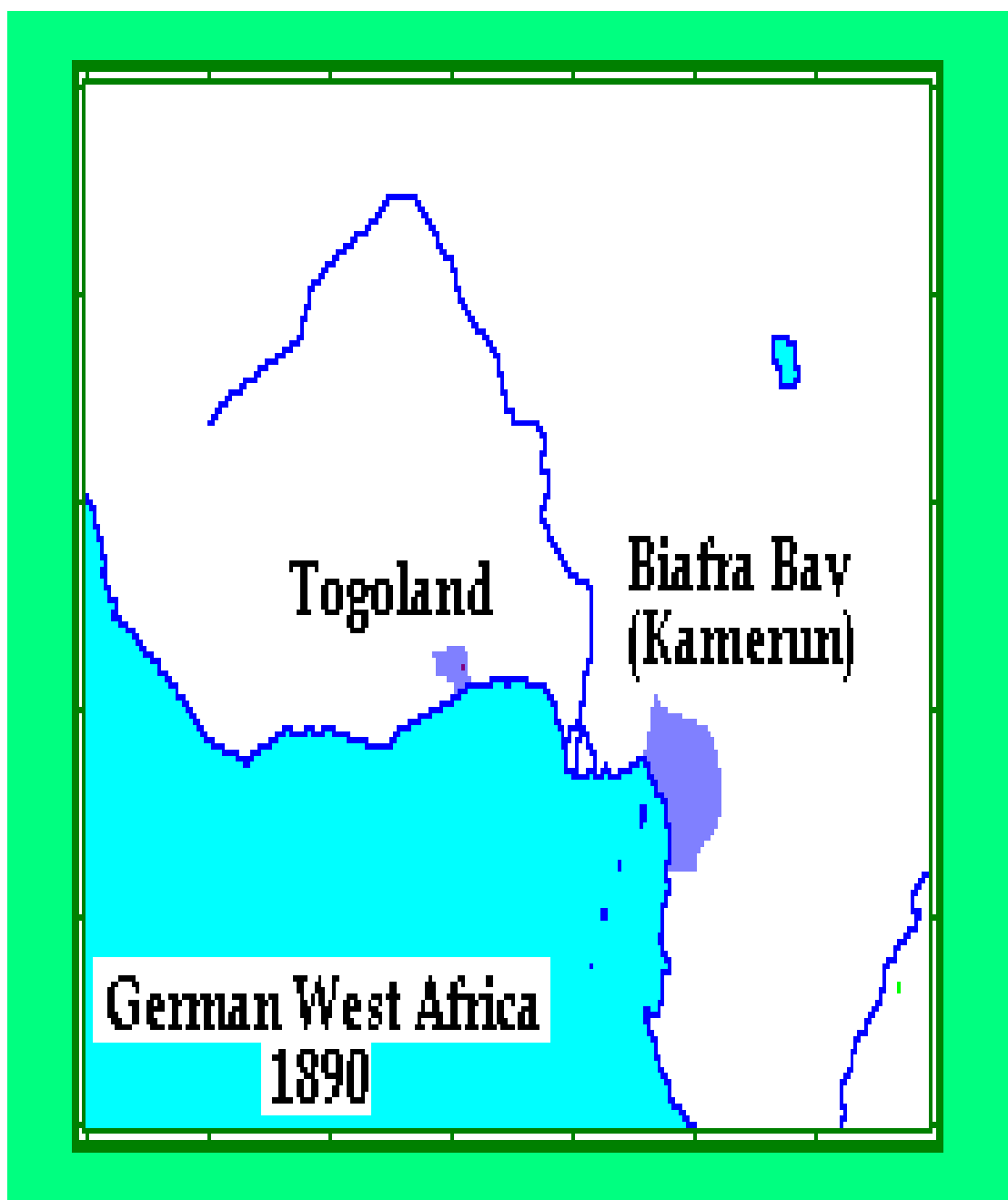
4 Jul 1885 – 13 May 1887 Julius von Soden (1st time) (b. 1846 – d. 1921)
 13 May 1887 – 4 Oct 1887 Jesko von Puttkamer (1st time) (b. 1855 – d. 1917)
 4 Oct 1887 – 17 Jan 1888 Eugen von Zimmerer (1st time) (b. 1843 – d. 1918)
 17 Jan 1888 – 26 Dec 1889 Julius von Soder (2nd time) (s.a.)
 26 Dec 1889 – 17 Apr 1890 Eugen von Zimmerer (2nd time) (s.a.)
 17 Apr 1890 – 3 Aug 1890 Markus Graf Pfeil
 3 Aug 1890 – 14 Aug 1890 Kurz (acting)
 14 Aug 1890 – 2 Dec 1890 Jesko von Puttkamer (2nd time) (s.a.)
 2 Dec 1890 – 7 Aug 1891 Leist (1st time) (acting)
 7 Aug 1891 – 5 Jan 1892 Bruno von Schuckmann (acting)
 5 Jan 1892 – 27 Jun 1893 Eugen von Zimmerer (3rd time) (s.a.)
 27 Jun 1893 – 24 Feb 1894 Leist (2nd time) (acting)
 24 Feb 1894 – 31 Dec 1894 Eugen von Zimmerer (4th time) (s.a.)
 31-Dec 1894 27 Mar 1895 Jesko von Puttkamer (3rd time) (s.a.)
 28 Mar 1895 – 4 May 1895 von Lucke (acting)
 5 May 1895 – 26 Oct 1895 Jesko von Puttkamer (4th time) (s.a.)
 27 Oct 1895 – 10 Sep 1897 Theodor Seitz (1st time) (b. 1863 – d. 1949)
 11 Sep 1897 – 12 Jan 1898 Jesko von Puttkamer (5th time) (s.a.)
 12 Jan 1898 – 13 Oct 1898 Theodor Seitz (2nd time) (s.a.)
 1 Aug 1900 – 6 Sep 1900 Diehl (acting)
 6 Sep 1900 – 15 Nov 1900 von Kamptz (acting)
 3 Feb 1902 – 3 Oct 1902 Plehn (acting)
 9 May 1904 – 31 Jan 1905 Otto Gleim (1st time) (acting) (b. 1836 – d. 1929)
 31 Jan 1905 – Jan 1906 Jesko von Puttkamer (9th time) (s.a.)
 Jan 1906 - Nov 1906 Oberst Mueller (acting)
 Nov 1906 – 1 Jul 1907 Otto Gleim (2nd time) (acting) (s.a.)
 1 Jul 1907 – 10 Feb 1909 Hansen (1st time) (acting)
 Oct 1909 – 27 Aug 1910 Theodor Seitz (4th time) (s.a.)

Aug 1910 – Sep 1910 Steinhausen (acting)
Sep 1910 – 25 Oct 1910 Hansen (1st time) (acting)
25 Oct 1910 – Oct 1911 Otto Gleim (3rd time) (s.a.)
Oct 1911 – 29 Mar 1912 Hansen (2nd time) (acting)
29 Mar 1912 – 9 Oct 1913 Karl Ebermaier (1st time) (b. 1862 - d. 1943)
9 Oct 1913 – 1914 Full (acting)
1914 – 4 Mar 1916 Karl Ebermaier (2nd time) (s.a.)

APPENDIX B

MAP OF GERMAN WEST AFRICA 1890

GERMAN WEST AFRICA 1890

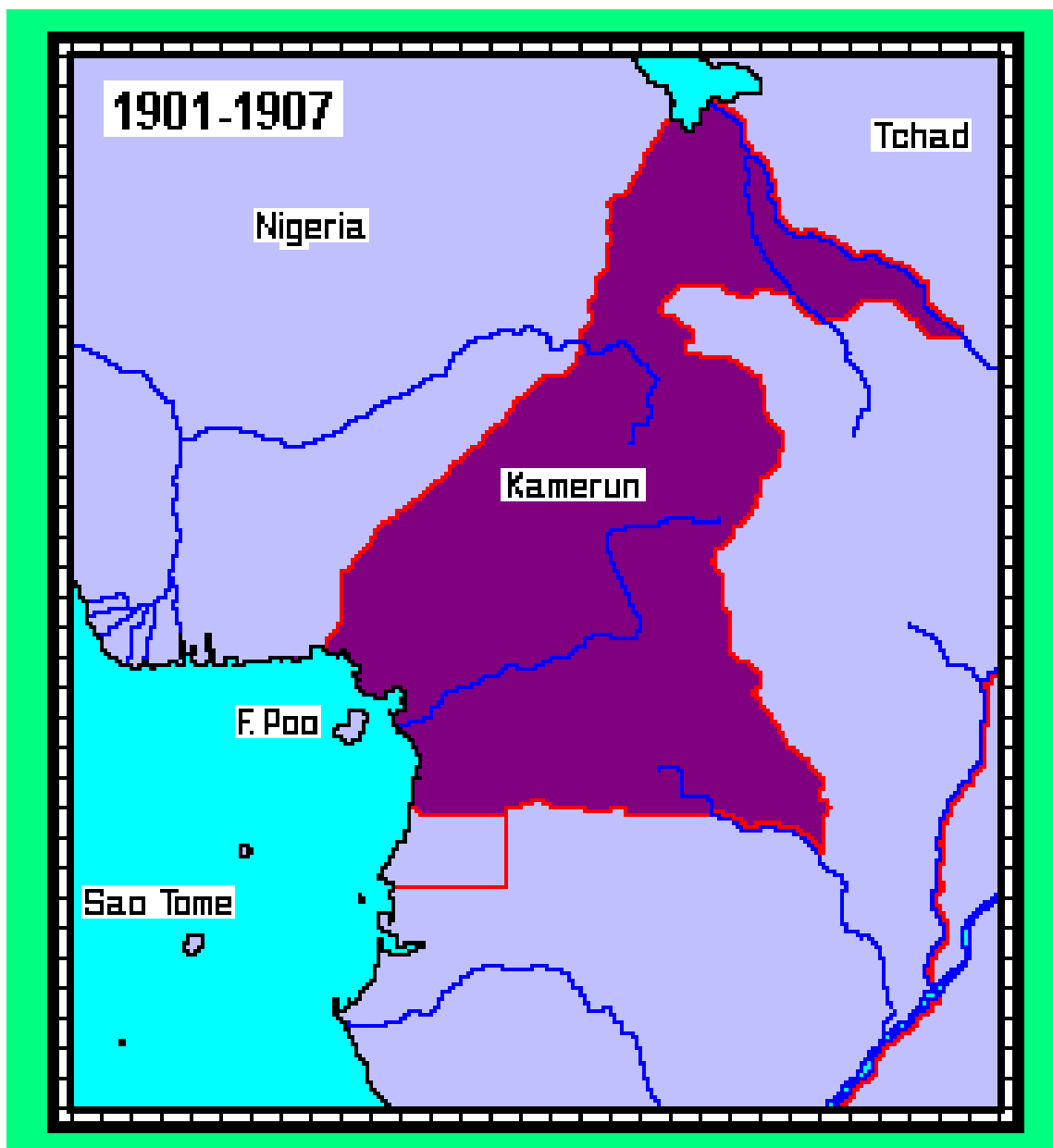


Source: Colin McEvedy, *The Penguin Atlas of African History*, London: Penguin (1980), revised edition 1995.

APPENDIX C

MAP OF GERMAN KAMERUN 1901-1907

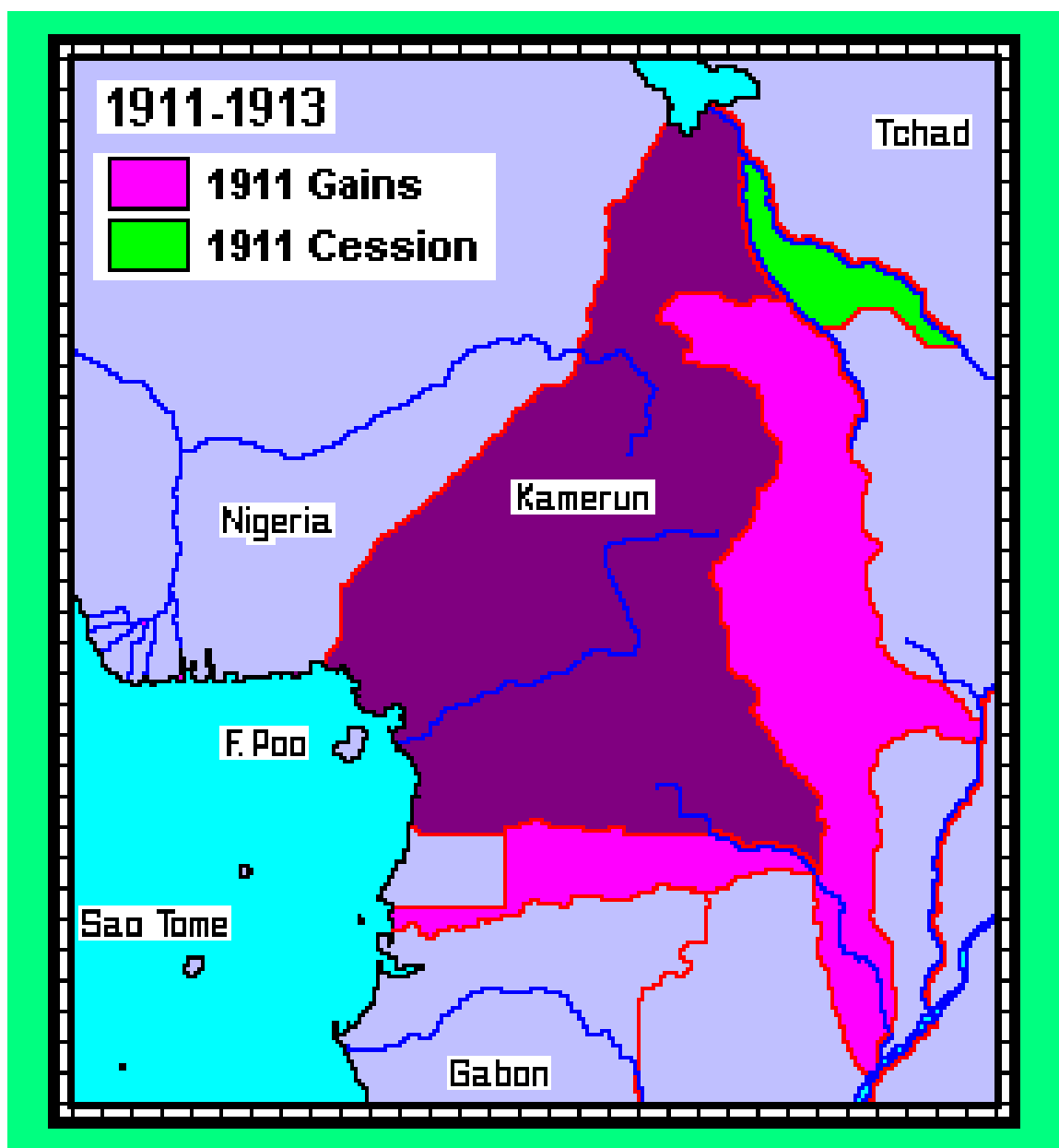
GERMAN KAMERUN 1901-1907



Source: Colin McEvedy, *The Penguin Atlas of African History*, London: Penguin (1980), revised edition 1995.

APPENDIX D
MAP OF GERMAN KAMERUN 1911-1913

GERMAN KAMERUN 1911-1913

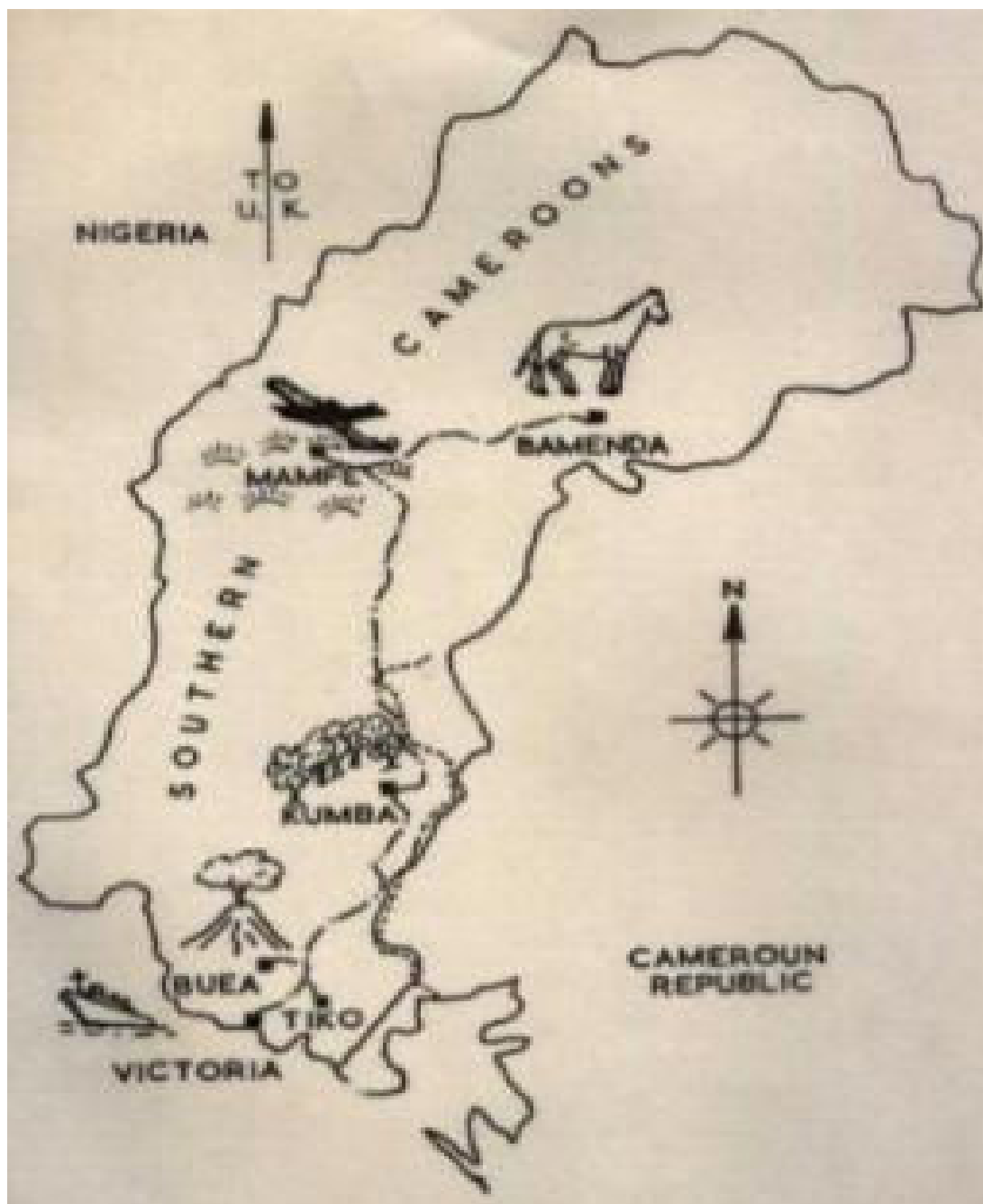


Source: Colin McEvedy, *The Penguin Atlas of African History*, London: Penguin (1980), revised edition 1995.

APPENDIX E
MAP OF GERMAN KAMERUN 1914

APPENDIX F

MAP OF BRITISH SOUTHERN CAMEROON 1915

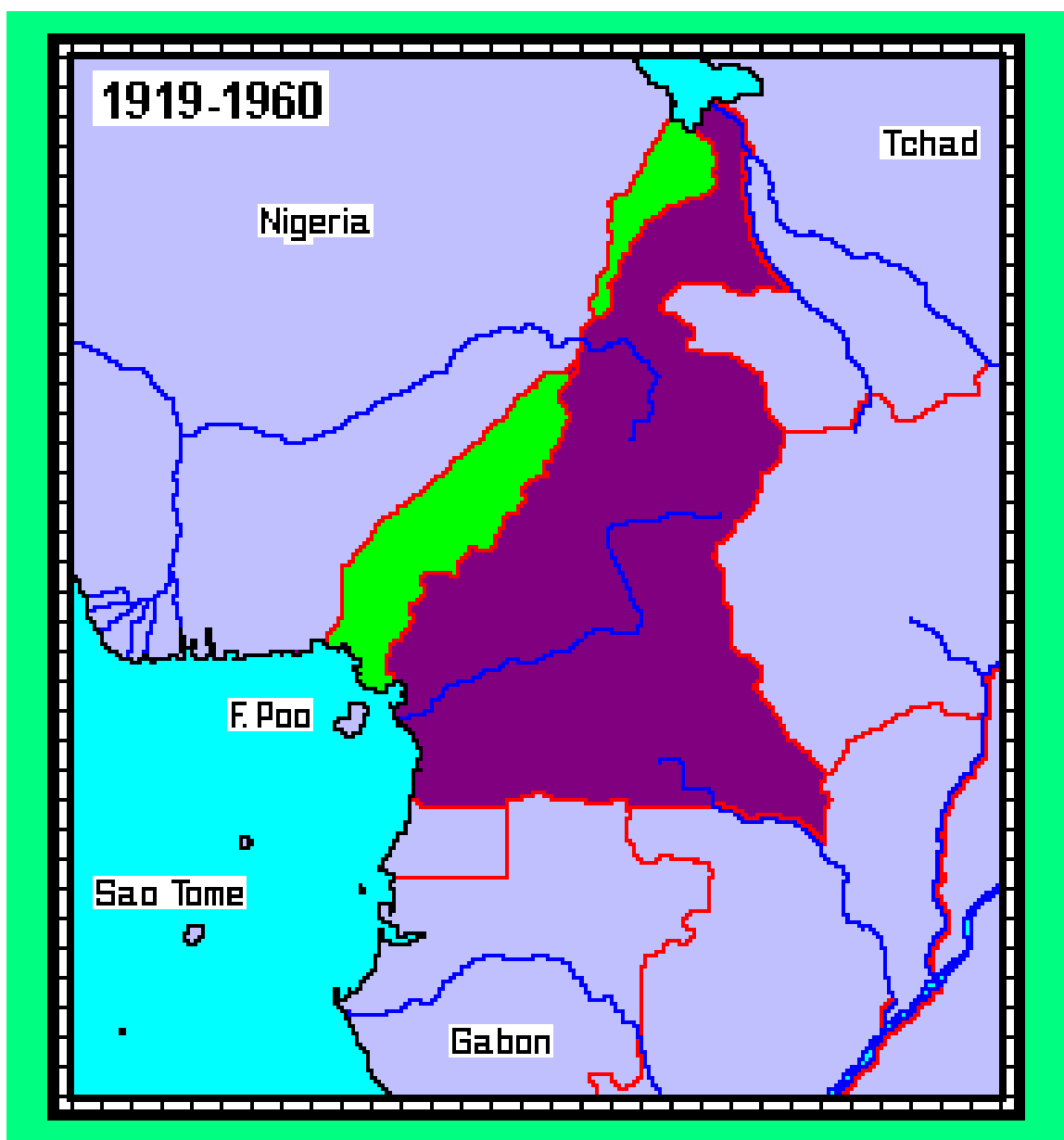
BRITISH SOUTHERN CAMEROON 1915

Source: dibussi.com/2006/02/the_cameroons_

APPENDIX G

MAP OF BRITISH AND FRENCH CAMEROON 1919-1960

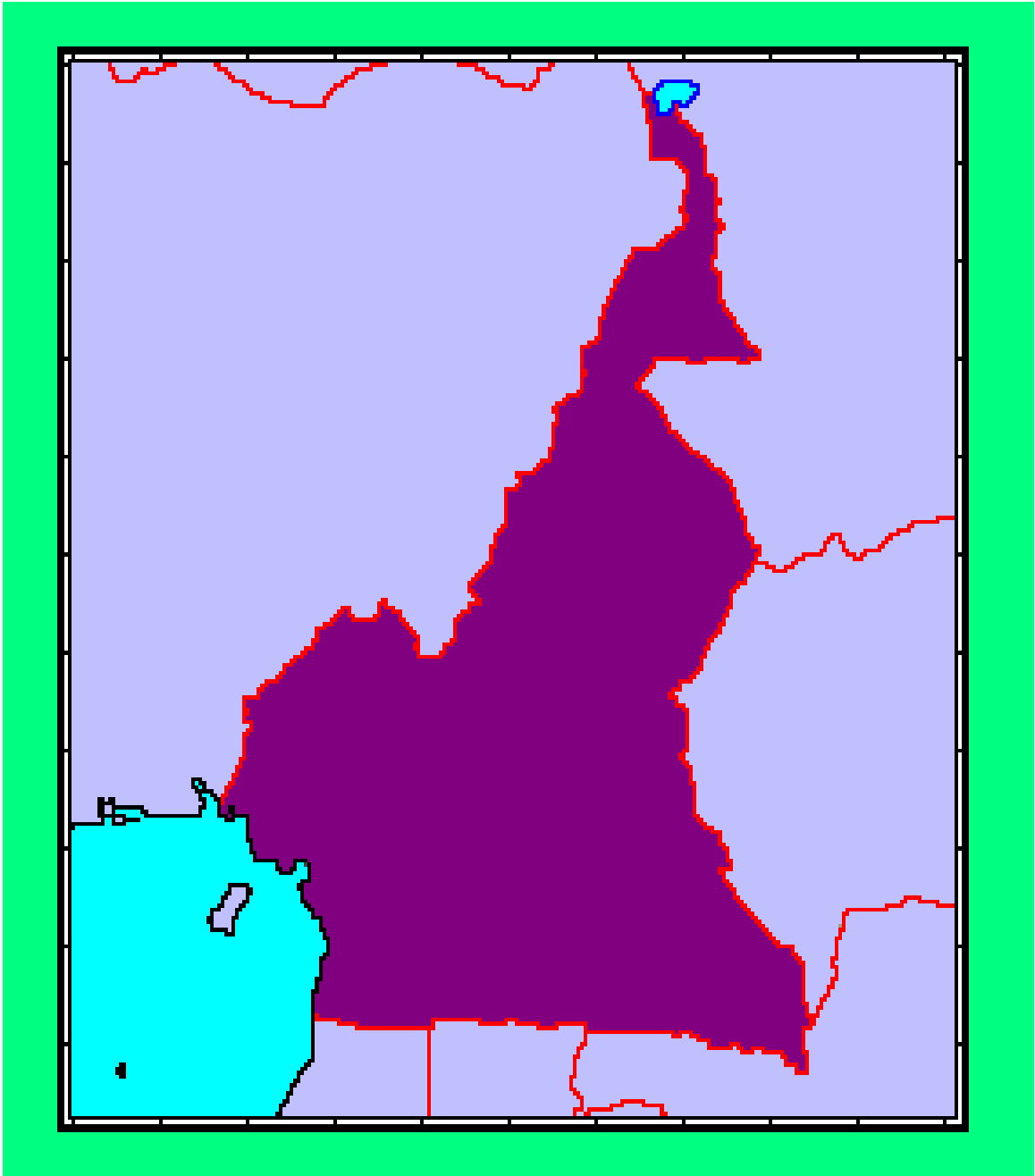
BRITISH AND FRENCH CAMEROON 1919-1960



Source: Colin McEvedy, *The Penguin Atlas of African History*, London: Penguin (1980), revised edition 1995.

APPENDIX H
MAP OF INDEPENDENT CAMEROON 1961

INDEPENDENT CAMEROON 1961



Source: Colin McEvedy, *The Penguin Atlas of African History*, London: Penguin (1980), revised edition 1995.

REFERENCE LIST

Primary Sources

German

- Christaller, Theodore. 1892. *Handbuch der Dualasparche German, Douala*. Basel: Verlag der Colonial Archives.
- . 1886. *Akten betreffend die Einrichtung Von Schulen in Kamerun*. Berlin, Germany.
- . 1913. *Akten betreffend die evangelische Missionsgesellschaftbasel*. Verein Für Evengelische Mission in Kamerun. Stuttgart:Germany.
- . 1913. *Akten betreffend die evangelische Missionsgesellschaftbasel*. Verein Für Evengelische Mission in Kamerun, Stuttgart: Germany.
- . 1913. *Akten betreffend die evangelische Mission in Kamerun*. Berlin: Germany.
- . 1889. *Akten betreffend die Katholische Mission in Kamerun*. Berlin: Germany.
- . 1896. *Akten betreffend die inneren Verhältnisse Kameruns*. Berlin: Germany.
- . 1890. *Akten betreffend die Missionsanstalt der Pallotiner*. Berlin: Germany.
- . 1888. *Akten betreffend die Thätigkeit fremder Missionen und fremde Missionanstalten in Kamerun*. Berlin: Germany.
- . 1913. *Amtsblatt für Kamerun*. Berlin: Germany. 183-84.
- . 1898. *Anlagebände of the Reichstag Debater*. Berlin: Germany.
- . 1884-85. *Anlagen zu den Reichstagsverhandlungen*. Togogebiet und Biafra-Bai, 41. Berlin: Germany.
- . 1884. *Das Staatsarchiv*. KL III. 8269-8282, 224-74. Berlin: Germany.
- . 1903-1906. *Denkschriften*. Berlin: Germany.

- . 1884. *Denkschriften über die Entwicklung der Deutschen Schutzgebiete in Afrika und der Südsee*. Berlin: Germany.
- . 1910. *Die Deutsche Kolonial-gesetzgebung Schutzgebiete Kamerun*. Berlin: Germany.———. 1921. *Die Landesgesetzgebung für das Schutzgebiet Kamerun*. Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler.
- . 1913. *Kolonialblatt*. Berlin: Germany. 857-59.
- . 1912. Nr. 614: *Lehrplan für die Missionsschulen die bei der Verteilung der Schulbeihilfen durch das Gouvernement berücksichtigt werden wollen*. Berlin: Germany.
- . 1913. *Reichstagsverhandlungen*. Berlin: Germany. 1474.
- . 1914. *Reichstagsverhandlungen*. Douala: Amstblatt. 8775.
- . 1898. *Schlatter, Geschichte der Basler Mission*. III, 328-29. Berlin: Germany.
- . 1910. Nr. 614. *Schulordnung*. Vom 25 April 1910. Douala: Amstblatt.
- . 1911. Nr. 615. *Verfügung des Gouverneurs, Betreffend Erhebung von Schulgeld in der Regierungsschule in Duala*. Douala: Amstblatt.
- German Imperial Government. 1914. *Die Deutschen Schutzgebiete in Afrika und der Südsee, 1912/1913. Amtliche Jahresberichte heraus gegeben von Reichs-Kolonialamt*. Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler, Kunigliche Hofbuchhandlung.
- Grim-Karlsruhe, Herr Ministerial-Präsident A. D. 1886, September 14th. *Allgemeinen Deutschen Kongress sur Förderung überseeischen Interessen*. Berlin: Germany. Export, 616.
- Ruppel, Dr. Julius. 1912. *Die Landgesesetzeburg für das Schutzgebiet Kamerun*. Doc. 614. Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler.
- Vom Aufstieg und Neiderbrunch*. 1913. Berlin: Germany. Vol. II pg. 39.
- Von Bismarck, Prince Otto. *The man and the statesman*. Trans. A.J. Butler. New York and London: Harper and Brothers. (Original work published in 1899).
- Von Bulow, Prince Bernard Heinrich Martin Karl Furst. 1932. *Memoirs of Prince von Bulow*, IV. Trans. Geoffrey Dunlop and F.A. Voight. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

Von Hagen, Maximilian. 1923. *Bismarcks Konolialpolitik*. Stuttgart: F. A. Perthes.

Von Holstein, Fredrich. 1955-1965. *Holstein papers*, I-III. Eds. Norman Rich and M.H. Fisher. Cambridge: University Press.

Von Puttkamer, Jesko. 1912. *Governeursjahre in Kamerun*. Berlin: Germany. German Colonial

British

Dugdale, E.T.S. 1928-1931. *German diplomatic documents 1871-1914*. London: Methuen and Company.

Parliamentary Papers. 1884. *Correspondence respecting affairs in the Cameroon*. (Command Papers, C4279). London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Parliamentary Papers. 1884. *Correspondence respecting the West African conference*. (Command Papers, Africa, No. 7, C4205). London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Parliamentary Papers. 1884. *Further correspondence respecting the West African conference*. (Command Papers, Africa, No. 8, C4241). London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Parliamentary Papers. 1885, February. *Memoranda of conversations at Berlin on colonial matters*. (Command Papers, Africa, New Guinea, and Western Pacific, C4290). London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Parliamentary Papers. 1885, March. *Correspondence with Her Majesty's ambassador at Berlin respecting West African conference*. (Command Papers, Africa, No. 2, C4284). London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Parliamentary Papers. 1885. *Further correspondence respecting the West African conference*. (Command Papers, Africa, No. 3, C4360). London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Hertslet, Sir Edward. 1896. *Map of Africa by treaty*. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

World Missionary Conference Records (1910) Edinburg.

Great Britain Report. 1920-1938. *His Britannic Majesty's Government to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of the British Cameroons*. London: His Britannic Majesty's Stationary Office.

Great Britain Report. 1948-1958. *His Britannic Majesty's Government to the United Nations on the Administration of the British Cameroons*. London, England: His Britannic Majesty's Stationary Office.

French

Ambassade de France. 1946 *Service de Presse et d'information*. Education in France. London: Manton (Westminster) Ltd.

Ambassade de France. 1946. Constitution of the French Republic, Paris, October 27, 1946. *Journal Officiel*. (28 Octobre 1946): 2.

Commissariat au Cameroun. 1922-1939. *Rapport annuel adressé par le gouvernement Français au conseil de la société des Nations conformément à l'article 22 du pacte sur l'administration sous mandat du Territoire du Cameroun pour l'année 1922-1938*. Paris: Imprimerie Générale Lahure.

France. 1957. Décret. No. 57-501 du 16 mai 1957 portant statue du Cameroun.

France. 1921. *Journal Officiel de la République Française*. (Septembre 7, 1921).

France. 1945. *Journal Officiel de l'Afrique occidentale Française*. 1945. 15 September 1945. Arrêté No. 2576 du 22 1945 (15 Septembre 1945): 706.

France. 1946. Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, généralités. *Carnets de Documentation sur l'Éducation dans la France d'Outre-Mer*, Carnet (No. 1): 7.

France. 1948. *Premier Rapport de la Commission de Modernisation des Territoires d'Outre-Mer* (Paris, France. 1948): 73-79.

France. 1923. *Rapport annuel du Gouvernement Française au Conseil de la Société sur l'administration sous mandate du territoire du Cameroon pour l'anne 1922*. Paris, France: Imprimerie Générale Lahure. p. 23.

French Cameroons, Department of Education. 1951. *L'enseignement au Cameroun: Horaires et programmes (enseignement du premier degre)*. Paris: Imprimerie Chaix.

France, Ministère des Colonies, Commissariat au Cameroun. (1921-1958). *Rapport annuel du gouvernement Français à l'assemblée générale des Nations Unies sur l'administration du Cameroun placé sous la tutelle de la France, Années 1948-1957*. Paris: Imprimerie Chaix.

- France. Ministère de Colonies. 1922. *Rapport au ministre des colonies sur l'administration des territoires occupés du Cameroun pendant l'année 1921*. Paris: Imprimerie Générale Lahure.
- France. Ministère des Colonies. 1921 *Extrait du Journal Officiel de la République Française du 7 Septembre 1921*. Paris: Imprimerie des Journaux officiels, Quai Voltaire: 31.
- France. Ministère des Colonies. 1948. *Rapport annuel du gouvernement Français aux Nations Unies sur l'administration du Cameroun placé sous la tutelle de la France, année 1947*. Paris: Impr. Charles-Lavauzelle et cie.
- France. Ministère de la Coopération. 1965. *Economie et plan de développement de la République Fédérale du Camerou.*, 2nd Éd. Paris. Paris: Imprimerie Chaix.
- France. Ministère de la France d'Outre-mer. 1951. *France d'Outre-mer, No. 5, Mai 1951*. Paris: Ministère de la France d'Outre-mer Service d'Information.
- France. Ministère des Colonies. 1948. *Premier rapport de la commission de modernisation des territoires d'Outre-Mer, Paris 1948*. Reprinted and translated into English in *Traditions of African education*, pp. 132-40, ed. David G. Scanlon, 1964, New York: Teachers College, Columbia University.
- France. 1946. *Président du gouvernement provisoire de la République. Décret No. 40., 46-2376 du 25 Octobre 1946 portant creation d'une assemblée représentative au Cameroun*.
- France. 1955. *Rapport annuel du gouvernement Français a l'assemblee generale des Nations Unies sur l'administration du Cameroun place sous la tutelle de la France, Année 1955*. Paris: Imprimerie Générale Lahure.
- Cameroon
- West Cameroon Ministry of Education and Social Welfare. 1963. *Education Department Statistics* (31 December 1963): 31.
- Nigeria
- Nigeria. 1919-1928. Ministry of Education. *Annual report on the education department, southern provinces*. Lagos, Nigeria.
- Nigeria. 1958. *Government Information on the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration prepared for the Visiting Mission of the Trusteeship Council*. New York: United Nations.

Nigeria. 1952-1960. Ministry of Education. *Annual report of the Federation Department of Education*. Lagos, Nigeria.

United Nations

UNESCO. 1959, July. *Education in non-self-governing territories*. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. 1962. *Camerounian education planning group*. (Report drawn up on return of the first Mission 10th March to 20th May 1962). Paris: UNESCO. Mimeo.

UNESCO. 1962. *Report of the advisory commission for the development of higher education in the Federal Republic of Cameroun*. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. 1965. *Emergency programme for Africa: Cameroon second mission on the education planning group, September-December 1962*. Paris: UNESCO.

United Nations. (1949-1957). *Report on the Cameroons under French administration: United Nations. Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa*. New York : United Nations.

United Nations. 1950. *Report of the first United Nations visiting mission to the trust territories of the Cameroons under British administration*. New York: United Nations Trusteeship Council.

United Nations. 1950. *Official Records of the Seventh Session of the Trusteeship Council, June 1-July 21, 1950. Supplement No. 2 (T. 798)*.

United Nations. General Assembly. 1945. *The Cameroons under French administration. Text of trusteeship agreement as approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations, New York, 13th December, 1945*. London, England: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

United Nations. General Assembly. 1946. *Trusteeship agreement for the territory of the Cameroon's under British administration*. London, England: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

United Nations. General Assembly. 1947. *Official Record of the Second Part of the First Session of the General Assembly Supplement No. 5 text of the Agreements for trust territories as approved by the General assembly on 13, December, 1946, Article 12*. New York : United Nations.

United Nations. General Assembly. 1947. *Text agreements for trust territories as approved by the general assembly on 13 December 1946*. Official Records of the

Second Part of the First Session of the General Assembly. Supplement No. 5.
New York: United Nations.

United Nations. General Assembly. 1947. *Trusteeship agreement for the territory of the Cameroon's under British administration: Lake Success: United Nations*. London, England: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

United Nations. General Assembly. 1949. *Report of the trusteeship council covering its fourth and fifth session, 6 August 1947-22 July 1949*. General Assembly Records, 4th session, supplement No. 4 (A/933). New York : United Nations.

United Nations. General Assembly. 1949. *Report of the trusteeship council covering its fourth and fifth session, 6 August 1948-22 July 1949*. General Assembly Records, 4th session, supplement No. 4 (A/933). New York: United Nations.

United Nations. General Assembly. 1950. *Report of the trusteeship council covering its first special session, its second special session, and its sixth and seventh sessions. 23 July 1949–21 July 1950* General Assembly Official Records: Fifth Session. Supplement No. 4 (A/1306). New York: United Nations.

United Nations. General Assembly. 1951. *Report of the trusteeship council covering its third special session and its eighth and ninth sessions*. 22 November 1950–30 July 1951. General Assembly Official Records: Sixth Session, Supplement No. 4 (A/1856). New York: United Nations.

United Nations. General Assembly. 1952. *Report of the trusteeship council covering its fourth special session, its tenth and eleventh sessions*. (18 December 1951–24 July 1952). General Assembly Official Records: Seventh Session Supplement No. 4 (A/2150). New York: United Nations.

United Nations. General Assembly. 1956. *Report of the trusteeship council covering the period from 23 July to 14 August 1956*. New York: United Nations.

United Nations. 1949. *Trusteeship Council. Official Records. (1949, Fourth Session). 24 January to 25 March 1949. Document 1947 T/129*. New York: United Nations.

United Nations. 1950. *Trusteeship Council. Official Records. (1950, Seventh Session). Supplement No. 2 (T798): Reports of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa*. New York: United Nations.

United Nations. Trusteeship Council. Official Records. 1950. *Thirteenth Session, 1954. Supplement No. 5(T/1110): Report on the Cameroons under French administration submitted by the United Nations visiting mission to trust territories in West Africa, 1953*. New York: United Nations.

- United Nations. Trusteeship Council. Official Records. 1955. *Seventeenth Session, 1955. Supplement No. 4(T/1231): Report on the Cameroons under French administration submitted by the United Nations visiting mission to the trust territories of the Cameroons under British administration and the Cameroons under French administrations*. New York: United Nations.
- United Nations. Trusteeship Council. 1950. Official Records. (1950, Sixth Session). *Annex, I, Agenda item 4 (T/439): Observations by the director-general of the United Nations educational, scientific, and cultural organization on the annual reports for 1948 for the trust territories in Africa*. New York: United Nations.
- United Nations. Trusteeship Council. 1951. Official Records. (1951, Ninth Session). *Annexes, Agenda item 4 (T/905): Observations of the United Nations educational, scientific, and cultural organization on the reports for 1949 on the six African trust territories*. New York: United Nations.
- United Nations. Trusteeship Council. Official Records. (1952, Eleventh Session). *Annexes, Agenda item 4 (T/1012): Observations of the United Nations educational, scientific and cultural organization on the reports for 1951 on the trust territories of Tanganyika, Togoland under British administration, Togoland under French administration, the Cameroons under British administration and the Cameroons under French administration*. New York: United Nations.
- United Nations. Trusteeship Council. Official Records. (1954, Thirteenth Session). *Annexes, Agenda item 3 (T/1091) Observations of the United Nations educational, scientific, and cultural organization on the annual reports on the trust territories of Tanganyika, Ruanda-Urundi, the Cameroons under French administration, Togoland under British administration and Togoland under French administration*. New York: United Nations.
- United Nations. Trusteeship Council. Official Records. (1955, Fifteenth Session). *Annexes, Agenda item 3 (T/1150): Observations of the United Nations educational, scientific, and cultural organization on the annual reports on the trust territories of the Cameroons under French administration, the Cameroons under British administration, Togoland under French administration, Togoland under British administration, Tanganyika, and Ruanda-Urundi*. New York: United Nations.
- United Nations. Trusteeship Council. 1947. *Examination of annual reports: Cameroon under French administration, 1947*. Document T/242/Rev. 1. *Cameroon under British Administration, 1947*. Document T/247/Rev. 1. New York: United Nations.

- United Nations. Trusteeship Council. 1949. *Educational advancement in trust territories* (T/227). Trusteeship Official Records: Fourth Session. (February 1949). New York: United Nations.
- United Nations. Trusteeship Council. 1949. *Official Records of the Trusteeship Council, Third Session December 1948*. New York: United Nations.
- United Nations. Trusteeship Council. 1950. *Cameroons under French administration: Written questions of members of the trusteeship council and replies of the special representative of the administering authority. Document T/L.56, T/L.56/Add.1. Trusteeship Council Official Records: Fourth Year. Sixth Session. Annexes Vol.1. Geneva*. New York: United Nations.
- United Nations. Trusteeship Council. 1950. *Examination of annual reports on the administration of trust territories: Cameroon under French administration, 1948*. (T/368, T/462 ad T/L.56. Official Records. Fourth Year, Sixth Session (19 January-4 April). Geneva, Switzerland: UN.
- United Nations. Trusteeship Council. 1954. *Cameroons under British administration, Document T/1147 and Add. 1. Trusteeship Council Official Records: Fifth Session (25 January-28 March, 1955)*. New York: United Nations.
- United Nations. Trusteeship Council. 1955. *Examination of the conditions in the trust territory of the Cameroons under French administration: Annual report of the administering authority (T/1137, T/1150, T/1154, T/1155). Trusteeship Council Official Records: Fifteenth Session (25 January-28 March 1955)*. New York: United Nations.
- United Nations. Trusteeship Council. 1955. *Rapport T/1226, Annex 11*. New York: United Nations.
- United Nations. Trusteeship Council. (1956, Seventeenth Session). *Annexes, Agenda item 3 (T/1223): Observations of the United Nations educational, scientific, and cultural organization on the annual reports for 1954 on the trust territories of Tanganyika, Ruanda-Urandi, the Cameroons under British administration, the Cameroons under French administration, Togoland under British administration and Togoland under French administration*. New York: United Nations.
- United Nations. Trusteeship Council. 1958. *Twenty-first session, 30 January-26 March, 1958, (T/1353)*. New York: United Nations.
- United Nations. Trusteeship Council. 1959. *Examination of conditions in the trust territory of the Cameroons under British administration: Annual report of the administering authority for 1956. (T/1340, T.1350, T/1353, T/1359, T/L.811)*.

Trusteeship Council Official Records: Twenty-first session (30 January-26 March 1958). New York. NY: UN.

United Nations. Trusteeship Council. 1959. *Observations of the United Nations educational, scientific, and cultural organization on the annual report of the trust territory of the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration for the year 1957*. Trusteeship Council Official Records. Document T/1433. New York: United Nations.

United Nations. Trusteeship Council. 1959. *Official Records of the Trusteeship Council, Twenty-third Session (30 January-20 March 1959)*. Annexes. New York: United Nations.

United Nations. Trusteeship Council. 1959. *Ordinance no. 58-1375 of 30 December 1958 establishing the statute of the Cameroons and Franco-Cameroons conventions annexed to the statute*. Trusteeship Council Official Record: Twenty-third Session (30 January-20 March 1959). Supplement No. 2. Annex 11. New York: United Nations.

United Nations. Visiting Mission. 1958. *Report on the Cameroons under the United Kingdom Administration*. Supplement No. 2. New York: United Nations.

Secondary Sources

Anderson, James D. 1988. *The education of blacks in the South, 1860-1935*. Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press.

Austen, Ralph A., and Jonathan Derrick. 1999. *Middlemen of the Cameroons rivers: The Duala and their Hinterland c. 1600-c. 1960*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Aka, E.A. 1982. *A comparative historical study of the factors which impeded the development of post primary education in Cameroon, 1844 to 1922, and in the southern Cameroons during the inter-war years*. Glasgow (UK): M. Litt.

Altbach, Philip G., and Gail Paradise Kelly. 1991. *Education and the colonial experience*. New York: Advent Books.

Ardener, Edwin, Shirley Ardener, and W.A. Warrington. 1960. *Plantation and village in the Cameroons*. London: Oxford University Press.

Ardener, Shirley G. 1968. *Eye-witnesses to the annexation of Cameroon 1883-1887*. Buea, West Cameroon: Government Press.

- Asby, Sir Eric. 1962. Wind of change in African higher education. *African Report*. VIII, no. 3: 5-6.
- Azikiwe, Benjamin Nnamdi. 1931. Ethics of colonial imperialism. *Journal of Negro History*, 16: 287-308.
- Baptist Missionary Society. 1883. *Confidential for the use of missionaries only: West African Mission*. London: Baptist Missionary Society.
- Baptist Missionary Society. Annual Reports. 1858-1878. London: Baptist Missionary Society.
- Baptist Missionary Society. Committee Minutes. 1840-1843) London: Baptist Missionary Society.
- Baptist Missionary Society. The Mission Herald, Vol. 3, No. LVIII (March): 253. London: Baptist Missionary Society.
- Basel Mission. 1886. *Report of the Basel Mission, Commission of Inquiry*. Christianborg.
- Bassey, O. Magnus. 1999. Western education and political domination in Africa: A study in critical and dialogical pedagogy. Westport, CT, London: Bergin and Garvey.
- Berman, Edward H. 1971. American influence on African education: The role of Phelps/Stokes Fund's education commissions. *Comparative Education Review*, 15(2): 132-1945.
- Betley, J.A. 1969. Stefan Szolc Rogozinski and the Anglo-German rivalry in the Cameroons. *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. 5, No. 1. (December): 101-36.
- Blackshire-Belay, Carol. 1992. German imperialism in Africa: The distorted images of Cameroon, Nambi. *Journal of Black Studies*, 23(2) (December): 235-46.
- Booth, Bernard F. 1973. A comparative study of mission and government involvement in educational development in West Cameroon, 1922-1969. PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles.
- . 1995. *Mill hill fathers in West Cameroon: Education, health, and development, 1884-1970*. Bethesda, MD: International Scholars Publications.
- Bowen, James. 1972. *A history of Western education, Vol. 3: The modern West Europe and the world*. New York: St. Martins Press.

- Boyle, Patrick M. 1995. School wars: Church, state, and the death of the Congo. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 33, Issue 3 (September): 451.
- Bray, Mark. 1992. Colonialism, scale, and politics: Divergence and convergence of educational development in Hong Kong and Macau. *Comparative Education Review*, 36(2): 322-42.
- Brown, Godfrey N. 1964. British educational policy in West and Central Africa. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. 2(3): 365-77.
- Charton, Albert. 1949. French tropical and equatorial Africa: The birth of African-French culture. In *The Yearbook of Education, 1949*, 366-79. London: Evans Bros.
- Chazeles, Victor. 1931. *Territories Africaines sous Mandat de la France: Cameroun et Togo*. Paris: Société Géographiques, Maritimes et Coloniales.
- Chiabi, Emmanuel Mucho Lyndon. 1982. Background to nationalism in Anglophone Cameroon: 1916-1954. PhD diss., University of California, Santa Barbara.
- Chilver, E.M. 1966. *Zintgraff's Explorations in Bamenda: Adamawa and the Benue Lands, 1889-1892*. Buea, Cameroon: Ministry of Primary Education and Social Welfare and West Cameroon Antiquities Commission.
- . 1963. Native administration in west central Cameroons, 1902-1954. In *Essays in imperial government*, ed. Kenneth Robinson. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Chilver, E.M. and P.M. Cadbury. 1967. *Traditional Bamenda: The precolonial history and ethnography of the Bamenda Grassfield*. West Cameroon: Ministry of Primary Education and Social Welfare Antiquities Commission.
- Clifford, H.C. 1918. *German colonies*. London: John Murray. 64-65.
- Clignet, Remi. 1970. Inadequacies of the notion of assimilation in African education. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 8(3): 425-44.
- Clignet, Remi. P. and Philip J. Foster. 1964. French and British colonial education in Africa. *Comparative Education Review*, 8(2): 191-98.
- Clignet, Remi. 1968. The legacy of assimilation in West African educational systems: Its meaning and ambiguities. *Comparative Education Review*, 12(1): 57-67.
- Coe, Cati. 2005 *Dilemmas in culture in African schools*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

- Cohen, Cynthia. 1993. The natives must first become good workmen: Formal educational provision in German South West and East Africa compared. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 19(1): 115-34.
- Coleman, James S. 1958. *Nigeria: Background to nationalism*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Comaroff, Jean and John Comaroff. 1986. Christianity and colonialism in South Africa. *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 13: 1-22.
- Corby, Richard A. 1990. Educating Africans for inferiority under British rule: Bo School in Sierra Leone. *Comparative Education Review*, 34(3): 314-49.
- Costedoat, Rene. 1930. *L'Effort Français au Cameroun. Le mandat Français et la réorganisation des territoires du Cameroun*. Besançon: Imprimerie Jacques et Demontond.
- Cowen, Robert. 1996. Last past the post: Comparative education, modernity, and perhaps post-modernity. *Comparative Education*, 32(2): 151-70.
- . 2000. Comparing futures or comparing pasts? *Comparative Education*, 36(3): 333-42.
- . 2002. Moments of time: A comparative note. *History of Education*, 31(5): 413-24.
- . 2006. Acting comparatively upon the education world: Puzzles and possibilities. *Oxford Review of Education*, 32(5): 561-73.
- Delancey, Mark W. 1989. *Cameroon: Dependence and independence*. Boulder, Colorado: Western Press.
- De Marco, Roland R. 1943. *The Italianization of African natives: Government native education in the Italian colonies 1890-1937*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Derrick, Jonathan. 1979. Douala under the French mandate, 1916 – 1936. PhD diss., University of London, London.
- Down, Alice May. 1926. Togoland and the Cameroons as German Colonies and as French Mandates. Master's thesis, University of California, Berkeley.
- DuBois, H.M. 1929. Assimilation ou adaptation? *Africa*, 2: 1-21.

- DuBois, W.E.B. 1925. France's black citizens in West Africa. *Current History*: 22.
- Duigan, Peter, and L.H. Gann. 1973. *Colonialism in Africa, 1870-1960. Volume 5: A Bibliographical Guide to Colonialism in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Educational Yearbook of the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University*. 1931. New York: Columbia University.
- Efesoia Mokosso, Henry Teddy. 1987. *The United Presbyterian Mission enterprise in Cameroun, 1879-1957*. Washington D.C.: Howard University.
- Egen, S.N. 1980. Educational policy and practice in the development of Cameroon, 1884-1976. PhD diss., University of Cardiff, Wales.
- Epstein, Erwin H. 1987. The peril of paternalism: The imposition of education on Cuba by the United States. *American Journal of Education*, 96(1): 1-23.
- . 1978. On the schools as an agent in shaping national identity. *Education and Urban Society* 10(2) (February): 107-12.
- Engelbert, Mveng. 1963. *Histoire du Cameroun, I and II (1984-85)*. 2nd ed. Paris V: Presence Africaine.
- Fafunwa, A. Babs. 1974. *History of education in Nigeria*. London, England: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.
- Fanso, V.G. 1988. *Cameroon history for secondary schools and colleges, I: From prehistoric to 19th century*. London: Macmillan Publishers.
- Fegal, Gregory F. 2008. *Missionaries are colonialists*. Russia: Pravda.
- Fonkeng, George Epah. 2007. *The history of education in Cameroon, 1844-2004*. Lewiston, NY, Queenston, Ontario, Canada, Lampeter, Ceredigion, Wales: The Edwin Mellen Press, Ltd.
- Forman, Charles W. 1972. Missionaries and colonialism: The case of the New Hebrides in the twentieth century. *Journal of Church and State*, (14): 75-92.
- Froding, Reuben. 1961. *Flies in the trusteeship ointment: A review of trusteeship in the British Cameroons and the plebiscite that terminated it*. West Africa Series, 4. New York: American Universities Field Staff.

- Furnivall, J.S. 1942. Colonial Southeast Asia-instruction on Education. *Pacific Affairs*, 15: 77-89.
- Gardiner, David E. 1963. *Cameroon: United Nations challenge to French policy*. London: Oxford University Press.
- . 1967. The British in the Cameroon, 1919-1939. In *Britain and Germany in Africa*, eds P. Gifford and W.R. Louis, 413-54, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Gascoigne, John. 2008. Introduction: Religion and empire, an historiographical perspective. *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 32; (2): 159-78.
- Gelzer, David Georg. 1969. Missions and colonization: Education in Cameroun in the days of the Germans. *Bulletin of the Society for African Church History*, Volume 3: 1-14.
- Ginsburg, Mark B., Chaturvedi Vipula, Agrawal Mamta, and Nora Amaury. 1988. Teachers and the ideology of professionalism in India and England: A comparison of cases in colonial/peripheral and metropolitan/central societies. *Comparative Education Review*, 32(4): 465-77.
- Grenville-Freeman C.S.P.A. 1976. *Modern atlas of African history*. London: Rex Collings, Ltd.
- Gumne, Ngwang F.K. 1987. Non-formal education in the Bamenda Highlands of Cameroon: Educators' perceptions and their consequences. PhD diss., University of Manchester, UK.
- Gutek, Gerald L. 1994. *A history of the Western educational experience*. 2nd ed. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.
- Gwei, Solomon Nfor. 1975. Education in Cameroon: Western pre-colonial and colonial antecedents and their education. PhD diss., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- Hailey, Lord Malcom. 1938. *An African survey: A study of problems arising in Africa south of the Sahara*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Hallden, Erik. 1968. *The culture policy of the Basel mission in the Cameroons 1886-1904*. Sweden: Berlingoka Boktryckeriet.
- Harp, Stephen L. 1998. *Learning to be loyal: primary schooling as nation building in Alsace and Lorraine, 1850-1940*. De Kalb: Northern Illinois University Press.

- Hayes, Carlton J.H. 1930. *France: A nation of patriots*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Haywood, Colonel A.H.W. 1920. The Cameroons campaign. *Royal Artillery Institution Journal*, 1(XL-VII): 1-10.
- Haywood, Lt. Col. A.H.W. 1920. Brief note on strategy and tactics of the campaign in the Cameroons, *Royal United Services Institution Journal*: 299-309.
- Henderson, W.O. 1945. British economic activities in the German colonies, 1884-1914. *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 15, No. 1/2 1945: 56-66.
- Hilliard, F.H. 1957. *A short history of education in British West Africa*. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons.
- Ipaye, B. 1969. Philosophies of education in colonial West Africa: A comparative study of the British and French systems. *West African Journal of Education*, 13: 93-7.
- Johnson, Anna. 2003. *Missionary writing and empire, 1800-1860*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Johnson, Willard R. 2003. *The Cameroon Federation: Political integration in a fragmentary society*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Jones, Thomas Jesse. 1925. The white man's burden in Africa. *Current History*, 23: 213-21.
- Julien, M.M.A. De Paris. 1817. *Plan and preliminary for work on comparative education*. L. Colas, Printer-bookseller of the Society for Elementary Education, rue du Petit-Bourbon. Saint-Sulpice, No. 14; Delaunay, Paris.
- Kale, P.M. 1967. *Political evolution in the Cameroons*. Buea: Government Printing Press.
- Kiwanuka, M. Semakula. 1970. Colonial policies and administrations in Africa: The myths of the contrasts. *African Historical Studies*, 3(2): 295-315.
- Kelly, Gail P. and David H. Kelly. 2000. *French colonial education essays on Vietnam and West Africa*. New York: AMS Press.
- Koerner, Karl. 1931. Education in the German colonies before the war. In *Educational year book*. New York: Columbia University.

- Kwo, EM. 1981. Development of mass education in the anglophone sector of the United Republic of Cameroon since 1884, with special reference to non-formal education. PhD diss., University of Cardiff, Wales.
- Kwast, Lloyd Emercon. 1971. *The discipling of West Cameroon: A study of Baptist growth*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company.
- Latourette, Kenneth Scott. 1965. Colonialism and missions: Progressive separation. *A Journal of Church and State* (VII) (3): 330-49.
- Lee, Joseph Tse-Hei. 2003. *The Bible and the gun: Christianity in South China, 1860-1900*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Lewis, L.J. 1949. Education in Africa. In *The yearbook of education*: 312-37. London: Evans Bros.
- Lewis, Martin D. 1961-62. One hundred million Frenchmen: The assimilation theory in French colonial policy. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 4: 129-53.
- Leys, Norman. 1941. *The colour bar in East Africa*. London: The Hogarth Press.
- Lugard, Sir F.D. 1925. Education in tropical Africa. *Edinburgh Review*, 242: 1-19.
- Mac, Grace C. J. 1997. Reconstructing schooling processes: A review of Gail Kelly's works on colonial education in Indochina and French West Africa, 1918-1938. *Comparative Education Review*, 41(2): 210-13.
- MacKenzie, Clayton G. 1993. Demythologising the missionaries: A reassessment of the functions and relationships of Christian missionary education under colonialism. *Comparative Education*, 29(1) 145-66.
- MacOjong, Tabot Timothy. 1980. The Developing of Education in the Anglophone provinces of Cameroon administration, 1919-1960. Master's thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, Canada.
- Martin, Jane and Shena D. Simon. 2003. English education policy: Inside/out? *History of Education*, 32(5): 477-94.
- Mason, Gloria. 1991. Bilingual education in Cameroon: A case study of the Anglophone region. PhD diss., Harvard Graduate School of Education, Cambridge, MA.
- Maynes, Mary Jo. 1985. *Schooling in Western Europe: A social history*. Albany: State University of New York.

- Mbaku, John Mukum 2005. *Culture and customs of Cameroon*. Westport, Connecticut, and London: Greenwood Press.
- Mbapndah, Ndobegang Michael. 1985. Grassfield Chiefs and Political Change in Cameroon, CA. 1884-1966. PhD diss., Boston University, Boston, MA.
- McCulloch, Gary and Roy Lowe. 2003. Introduction: Centre and periphery—networks, space and geography in the history of education. *History of Education*, 32: p. 5. London: Institute of Education.
- Migeod, Frederich. 1934. British Cameroons: Its tribes and natural features. *Journal of the African Society*, 23(91): 1-218.
- Miller, Richard Irwin 1958. United Nations Trusteeship System and Educational Advancement. EdD diss., Teacher's College, Columbia University.
- Missionary Herald*. 1839-1922. London, England.
- Mitchell, Timothy. 1988. *Colonizing Egypt*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Moberly, F.L. 1992. *Military operations in Togoland and the Cameroons, 1914-16*. London: Imperial War Muss Printed Books.
- Mooney, Hughson. 1945. The British mandate in the Cameroons, 1921-1939. Master's thesis, Leland Stanford Junior University, CA.
- Moumouni, Abdou. 1968. *Education in Africa*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger.
- Mortimer, Edward. 1969. *France and the Africans, 1944-1960: A political history*. London: Faber and Faber.
- Mumford, W.B. and B.N. Parker. 1937. A review of the 1935 annual reports on native education in Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, Tanganyika, Uganda, Gold Coast, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone. *Journal of the Royal African Society*, 36: 17-32.
- Mumford, W. Bryant. 1935. Comparative studies of native education in various dependencies. In *The yearbook of education*: 810-50. Canada: Evans Bros.
- National Episcopal Conference of Cameroon (NECC). 1990. *Album of the centenary. The Catholic Church in Cameroon 100 Years of Evangelization, 1890-1990*. Cameroon: Yaounde University.
- Ndi, Anthony Mbumwe. 1983. Mill hill missionaries and the state in southern Cameroons, 1922-1962. PhD diss., University of London, London.

- Neville, Rubin (Ed). 1979. *Annual department reports relating to Nigeria and British Cameroons, 1887-1960*. Yorkshire, England: EP Microform Ltd.
- Neill, Stephen. c. 1966. *Colonialism and Christian missions*. New York: McGraw-Hill Publishing Company.
- Nemer, Lawrence 1996. International influences and Baptist mission in West Cameroon: German-American missionary endeavor under international mandate and British Colonialism. *Church History*, 65: 307-08.
- Niba, Mathias I. 1995. Bafut under colonial administration 1900-1949. *Paideuma, Mitteilungen zur Kulturkunde*, 41 (June): 63-72.
- North American Baptist General Conference. 1949. *Call of the Cameroons*. Vols. I, II. Cleveland, US: Roger Williams Press.
- Novoa, Antonio, Marc Depaepe, and Erwin V. Johannngmeier. 1995. *The colonial Experience in education: Historical issues and perspectives*. Ghent [Belgium]: C.S.H.P.
- Nwana, Elias Muthias. 1966. The development of education in East Cameroon (French) and West Cameroon (British) 1920-1960: A comparison and critique. Master's thesis, University of California, Los Angeles.
- Orosz, Kenneth J. 2008. *Religious conflicts and the evolution of language policy in German and French Cameroon, 1885-1939*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing.
- Ochs, Kimberly and David Phillips. 2002. Comparative studies and "cross-national attraction" in education: A typology for the analysis of English interest in educational policy and provision in Germany. *Educational Studies*, 28(4): 325-39.
- Ormsby-Gore, W. 1937. Educational problems of the colonial empire. *Journal of the Royal African Society*, 36: 162-69.
- O'Neil, Robert J. 1991. *Mission to the British Cameroons*. London: Mission Book Service.
- Osterhammel, Jurgen. 2005. *Colonialism: A theoretical overview*. Trans.Shelley Frisch. Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers.
- Osuntokun, Akinjide. 1975. Anglo-French occupation and the provisional partition of the Cameroons, 1914-1916. *The Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, 7(4): 647.

- Phelps-Stokes Fund. *Education in Africa: A study of West, South and Equatorial Africa*. New York: Thomas Jesse Jones.
- Phillips, David. 1995. Educational developments in the new Germany. *A Journal of Comparative Education*, 25(1): 35.
- . 2000. Learning from elsewhere in education: some perennial problems revisited with reference to British interest in Germany. *Comparative Education*, 36(3), 297-307.
- Phillips, David and Kimberly Ochs. 2003. Processes of policy borrowing in education: Some explanatory and analytical devices. *Comparative Education*, 39(4): 451-61.
- . 2004. Researching policy borrowing: Some methodological challenges in comparative education. *British Educational Research Journal*, 30(6): 773-84.
- Phillipson, Robert. 1992. *Linguistic imperialism: The colonial linguistic inheritance*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Podesta, Edward A. 1965. *The economic potential of West Cameroon: Priorities for development. Vol. VII: Education and Manpower*. Menlo Park, CA: Stanford Research Institute.
- Porter, Andrew N. 1997. Cultural imperialism and Protestant missionary enterprise. *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 25: 372-74.
- Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. 1925. *After the war opportunities*. New York: The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA.
- . 1925. *Counsel to new missionaries*. New York: The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA.
- . 1912. *The new day in Kamerun*. New York: Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA.
- . 1906. *Correspondence with the missions of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America regarding the distinct missionary responsibility of the Presbyterian Church*. New York: The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA.
- . 1877-1919. *Fortieth to sixty-ninth annual report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*. New York: The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA.

- Read, Margaret. 1955. Education in Africa: Its pattern and role in social change. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 248: 170-79.
- Richard, Joseph A. 1977. *Radical nationalism in Cameroun: Social origins of the U.P.C. Rebellion*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Rideout, William M. Jr. 1983. Cameroon: Regional, ethnic, and religious influences on a post-colonial education system. In *Politics and education: Cases from eleven nations*, ed. R. Murray Thomas, 249-69. Oxford, England: Pergamon Press.
- Ritzenthaler, Pat. 1966. *The fon of Bafut*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Publishers.
- Rodney, Walter. 1982. *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*. Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press.
- Rudin, Harry. 1938. *Germans in the Cameroon's, 1884-1914: A case study in modern imperialism*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Sadler, M. 1979. How far can we learn anything of practical value from the study of foreign systems of education? Lecture, Guildford Educational Conference, Oxford, England, October.
- Said, Edward. 1994. *Colonial education: Culture and imperialism*. New York: Vintage.
- Sasnett, Martina and Inez Sepmeyer. 1966. *Educational systems of Africa*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press.
- Scanlon, David G. 1964. *Traditions of African education*. New York, NY: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University.
- Sharpe, Keith. 1997. The Protestant ethic and the spirit of Catholicism: Ideological and institutional constraints on system change in English and French primary schooling. *Comparative Education*, 33(3): 329-48.
- Sharwood, Sir Smith, Bryan. 1969. *Recollections of British administration in the Cameroon and northern Nigeria, always as friends*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Siegel, Morris. 1948. Felix Eboué and colonial policy. *Journal of Negro Education*, 16: 534-44.
- Skolaster, Herman. 1925. *Bischof Heinrich Vieter, Erster Apostolischer Vikar von Kamerun*. Limburg/Lahn: Druck und Verlag Kongregation der Pallotiner.

- . 1924. *Die Pallotiner in Kamerun: 25 Jahre Missionsarbeit*. Limburg/Lahn: Druck und Verlag Kongregation der Pallotiner.
- Smith, G. 1957. The British government and the disposition of the German colonies in Africa, 1914-1918. In *Britain and Germany in Africa: Imperial rivalry and colonial rule*, eds. P. Gifford and W.R. Louis, 275-300. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Stanley, Brian. 1990. *The Bible and the flag: Protestant missions and British imperialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries*. United Kingdom: International: Alibris.
- Steiner-Khamsi, Gita and Huburd O. Quist. 2000. The politics of educational borrowing: Reopening the case of Achimota in British Ghana. *Comparative Education Review*, 44(3): 272-99.
- Steiner-Khamsi, Gita and Ines Stople. 2006. *Educational import: Local encounters with global forces in Mongolia*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Steinmetz, George. 2007. *The devil's handwriting, Recoloniality and the German colonial state in Qingdao, Samoa, and Southwest Africa*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Symonds, Richard. 2004. Colonial educators: The British Indian colonial education service, 1858-1983. *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 32(2): 159-61.
- Takougang, Joseph. 1985. *Victoria: A Township Under British Administration, 1916-61*. PhD diss., University of Chicago.
- Tamanji, Callistus Asenju IV. 1983. In my view: Foreign students have political, educational goals. *University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point Journal*. November 17, 6.
- Trudell, Barbara Louise. 2004. *The power of the local: Education choices and language maintenance among the Bafut, Kom, and Nso' communities of northwest Cameroon*. PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, Scotland.
- United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations, 1911-1965. Secretaries' files: West Africa Mission, 1911-1965.
- Van Horn Melton, James 2003. *Absolutism and the Eighteenth century origins of compulsory schooling in Prussia and Austria*. Great Britain: Cambridge University Press.

- Vernon-Jackson, Hugh O.H. 1963. A chronology of the history of academic education in Cameroon, 1844-1940. *Abbia*, 3: 148-53.
- . 1968 *Schools and school systems in Cameroon, 1884-1961*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Victor T. Le Vine. 1964. *The Cameroons, from mandate to independence*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Vischer, Hans. 1915. Native education in German Africa. *Journal of the African Society*, 14: 123-42.
- Walters, Mbu. 1991. Education of the Christian Clergy in the Cameroon since 1957: Implications for and Problems in Religious Reconstruction and Nation-Building. PhD diss., Loyola University of Chicago.
- Walther, Daniel. 2001. Creating Germans abroad: White éducation in German Southwest Africa, 1894-1914. *German Studies Review*, 24(2): 325-51.
- Washburne, Carolyn Kott. 1993. *A multicultural portrait of colonial life in the United States*. New York: Marshall Cavendish Publishers.
- Weber, Charles W. 1993. *International influences and Baptist mission in West Cameroon: German-American missionary endeavor under international mandate and British Colonialism*. Leiden, The Netherlands. Brill Academic Publishers.
- White, Bob W. 1996. Talk about school: Education and the colonial project in French and British Africa, 1860-1960. *Comparative Education*, 32(1): 9-25.
- Whitehead, Clive. 2005. The historiography of British imperial education policy, part 1: India. *History of Education*, 32(3), 315-329.
- . 2005. The historiography of British imperial education policy, part 2: Africa and the rest of the colonial empire. *History of Education*, 32(4), 441-454.
- Williams, D.H. 1959. *A short history of education in Northern Nigeria*. Northern Nigeria: Ministry of Education, Northern Region of Nigeria.
- Williamson, A. 1997. The colonizing Histography of colonial education: Processes of interaction in the schooling of Torres Strait Islanders. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 10(4): 407-23.
- Wright, Quincy. 1930. *Mandates under the League of Nations*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Wrigley, G.M. 1918. The military campaigns against Germany's African colonies. *Geographical Review*, 5: 44-65.
- Yearwood, Peter. 1993. In a casual way with a blue pencil: British policy and the partition of Kamerun, 1914-1919. *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 27(2): 218-44.
- Young, Crawford. 1994. *The African colonial state in comparative perspective*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Zimmerman, Andrew. 2005. A German Alabama in Africa: The Tuskegee expedition to German Togo and the transnational origins of West African cotton growers. *American Historical Society*, 110(5): 1-41.

VITA

Asenju Callistus Tamanji was born and raised in the Bambui Fondom in the North West Province of Cameroon. After his successful primary, secondary, and high school graduations, he obtained his General Certificate Examination Credentials at the Ordinary and the Advanced Levels, respectively, at the University of London.

Mr. Tamanji was admitted in the University of Wisconsin–Stevens Point in 1981 and graduated in May 1984 with a bachelor’s degree with a double major in broad social science and communication and a minor in political science.

In September 1994 he began graduate studies at the University of Wisconsin–Madison and transferred to the University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee in September 1985; he graduated with a master’s degree in urban affairs in December 1986.

In order to enter the employment world, Mr. Tamanji did more graduate work that earned him credentials in public school instruction, youth counseling, real estate, urban planning and later on passed the board examination and achieved the prestigious credentials of the American Institute of Certified Planners (AICP) in 2002. Mr. Tamanji used his credentials in a variety of professions such as youth counseling with the City of Milwaukee, teaching in the Milwaukee Public Schools, as Manager of Tellurian Detoxification Center, and as Director of Economic Planning and Community Development with the Sherman Park Community Development Association. In 1990, he was employed as a faculty member in the School of Liberal Arts and Sciences at the

Milwaukee Area Technical College to teach a variety of disciplines, and in 1994, he achieved tenured faculty status as professor of economics/social science in the School of Liberal Arts and Sciences.

His career at Milwaukee Area Technical College gave him the opportunity to do more graduate studies work in order to earn the professional credentials required by the Wisconsin Vocational Technical Adult Education System. He has taught in the prison system, adult high school populations, and nontraditional students. He also engaged and expanded the college outreach programs in the prison system for the Social Development Commission and at the Commando Youth Center, all in Milwaukee, as lead instructor and instructional chairperson. Besides his other academic awards, he was honored as one of the Who's Who Among America's Teachers in 1966. He has been a guest faculty member at UW–Stevens Point, and Mount Mary College in Milwaukee.

Mr. Tamanji's desire to be more functional in higher education led him to consider the need for a doctoral degree that would give him research tools in the areas of higher educational development. This is because he needed to incorporate initiatives that were not primarily lecture or instructional, such as research methods, educational leadership and policy studies, comparative and international education, documentary research, higher education cooperation, higher education affiliations, and higher education exchange programs.

In 2004, he applied for admission to the Graduate School at Loyola University Chicago and was admitted in the Cultural and Educational Policy Studies Program to pursue a PhD degree in comparative and international education. Thus, in addition to his graduate studies obligations, Mr. Tamanji has also been a faculty member.

Mr. Tamanji is currently a global consultant and faculty member and tenured professor in the School of Liberal Arts and Sciences at the Milwaukee Area Technical College in Milwaukee in the State of Wisconsin, United States of America.

