Introduction

Western or Christian missionary education has been regarded as one of the most important transformative forces of African societies. Many scholars have conducted studies in different parts of Africa to support this assertion. For instance, Barton (1915: 12), stated that ‘missionaries are the creators of educational systems and the promoters of modern education in all countries in which they have tried to enter as far as China and India’. Hopkins (1966) concurred with Barton and related Christianity to socio-political change in Africa. Latourette (1965), Oliver (1956), Cavalcanti (2005) and Subramaniam (1979) have in their various areas described how missionary or colonial education was a significant agent of change in society. In Nigeria, Anene (1966) examined Scottish missionary education in Old Calabar, Southern Nigeria, and concluded that its schools were the greatest instruments for the transformation of Nigerian society, a conclusion Mungazi (1991) also reached in his study of Zimbabwe. That this change was necessarily wholly beneficial is however not the case. As Taylor (1978) demonstrated in his studies in Eastern Nigeria, through education the missionaries destroyed the pre-colonial cultures. But all these works agree in pointing out that missionary and colonial education were powerful agents of social change in societies.

The authors have not directly addressed these schools as ‘technology’ in the sense employed in this thesis. Nor have they showed how schools were responsible for the creation of social hierarchies. The writers Forster (1965) and Berry (1986) have provided some of the inspiration for this Chapter. Forster examined the geographical mobility of the educated workers, and their place and perception by other social strata in Northern Ghana. Berry carried out a similar study amongst the Yoruba of Western Nigeria and showed how access to education leads to class formation and the growing influence of class differences among educated Yoruba men and women. Iliffe (1995: 222) has rightly argued that education ‘became Africa’s chief generator of both mobility and stratification. It also bred individual liberation (…) obliging educated men to create the personal syntheses of inherited values and new ideas which gave the colonial period its vitality (…).’

This Chapter approaches the topic in a similar way to the previous one. It attempts to show how the introduction and appropriation of school by Kom people led to unexpected changes which included the production of social stratification, new gender patterns, mobility and expectations, together with new worldviews and newness. These
themes will be picked up again in Chapter 8, where the expectations of kfaang are central. The school as a technology is linked to the discussion of kfaang and to progress. This was mentioned in the introduction and this chapter examines it in relation to school (ndo ngwali kfaang). The chapter examines the types of change caused by schools and schooling and its contributions to geographical and social mobility, and social hierarchies. It does so especially through the career of Anyway Ndichia Timti, an individual who admired kfaang and promoted it among his Kom people as was mentioned in Chapter One. How did the school engender both geographical and social mobility and shape social relations? How did education further determine the mobility of Kom women who were the first to receive schooling and who became mobile, independently of men’s belief that women always followed men?

The mission school is the focus of a case study because in terms of scope and impact and the social change of Kom society, it did more than the Native Authority School (NA), which lasted only briefly. Besides the missionaries the British colonial administration also encouraged education in Africa by the opening of NA schools. The NA school had one definite advantage in that each establishment was meant to serve one particular indigenous group, so that these pupils had a homogeneity which was generally lacking in the central schools. Hence they were able to maintain much closer touch with local customs and institutions. All pupils had a local vernacular, a local folklore, and a local authority in common and every effort was made to take full advantage of the schools. Local authorities such as the Fon were encouraged to show an interest in these kind of schools and from time to time follow the Divisional Officer and the superintendent of Education on their visits, in order that they could learn something of that school.

The NA school in Kom was started in 1924 at Fujua. It was later moved to Belo in 1935 and in 1938 it was taken over by the American Baptist Missionaries who were in Cameroon at the time. The Fon, through the quarter head of Belo, empowered the Assistant Divisional Officer (ADO) for the Bamenda Province, Hawkesworth, to choose a site which was accepted by the Fon, although he continued to express disgust and annoyance against the Christian village of Njinikom. The school was officially opened on 22 August 1924 by the D.O., Mr. Pollock, with more than 200 pupils. According to Pullock, ‘the chief of Bikom generously presented each boy with a singlet and a pair of trousers. Because of the estrangement between the Fon and the Christians of Njinikom, no Njinikom boy went to the NA school’. A cursory look at the partial Colonial Annual Reports which were presented to the League of Nations Mandatory Commission between 1927 and 1935 showed the following statistics: 1927: 64 pupils; 1928: 28; 1929: 58; 1929: 58; 1932: 29; 1933: 43; 1934: 30; and 1935: 52.1

The responsibility for education was shared by the colonial government and the missionaries.2 Exceptionally, some Kom notables contributed significantly towards education, although they themselves had not been educated in the western sense but were

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2 The British Colonial administration opened a Government School at Bamenda which was the first one in the Cameroon Province in 1922. In Kom the colonial administration opened a Native Administration school in 1924. Areas with Native Authorities were entrusted to take care of NA schools as they were popularly called.
widely travelled. An example is Anyway Ndichia Timti whom we first met in the introduction to this study.

His case is significant for education in Kom because it shows how kfaang was accepted by those who saw it as both new and good. He was a representative of the process of change and newness, kfaang. In Kom missionary historiographical accounts, Anyway’s contribution has been largely ignored. Nkwi (1976: 166) dismissed him in three paragraphs and was more concerned with the trouble he had with the Fon in 1948. The church in 1990 celebrated its centenary anniversary in Cameroon where all those who had played a significant role in the growth of the church were recognized. Anyway Ndichia Timti was not mentioned, perhaps, also because scholars had ignored him or they knew nothing about him. In the missionary literature in Africa one gets the impression that missionaries were single-handedly responsible for the financing of the missionary schools with only occasional colonial government grants. Timti’s example proves the contrary. It shows that certain indigenous notables had embraced kfaang and thus contributed to the transformation of Kom.

The Chapter is divided into the five sections. First, it discusses education within the context of the colonial and missionary age nda. The second part examines St. Anthony’s Primary School which was opened in Njinikom in 1928, while the third part looks at the women who appropriated the school. The fourth part comprises case studies which represent the total regime structure that developed around the school as technology including the teachers. The fifth part takes a look at Anyway Ndichia Timti, who represents those who were active in receiving and promoting kfaang in Kom.

Education on the colonial and missionary agenda

The British colonial administration showed its interest in education by issuing Education Regulations and Ordinances for the colony and Southern Provinces of Nigeria Ordinances of 1926. Those regulations prescribed generally the methods to be employed in all branches of Education and particularly the qualifications necessary for teachers. The duties of the Board of Education, School Committees, Supervisors and Managers of assisted schools were defined; the minimum staff required in any school was laid down and the conditions which a grant might be given to a school described. These regulations came into force on 1st September 1928.3 The Memorandum on Educational Policy in Nigeria Sessional Paper No. 20 of 1927 gave a detail account of the main objectives of educational policy.

Those Ordinances stated that first, education was to provide a four-year junior primary school course for all the children who wanted it and a further four-year senior primary school course for those who could benefit from it. Second, it was to give an opportunity for the able child to proceed from a primary school to a secondary school and thence to a training institution or other post-secondary institution. Finally, it was to extend literacy amongst the adult population.4

The authorities did not mince their words when stating the importance of education to the colonial administration in the Cameroon’s Province: ‘The issue of education is

4 Report by His Majesty Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of the Cameroons under British Mandate for the year 1927 (NAB).
very important within African communities but unfortunately resources are limited. We need to educate them (the natives), for we need literacy or literate people who will help us in the Southern Provinces of Nigeria'. This meant the authorities needed education first and foremost because they needed a literate class in the Southern Provinces of Nigeria of which Kom was a part.

Lugard (1922: 425) further amplified the ideology behind colonial education in the following words:

If a life happy and progressive so far as the individual is concerned, useful, sympathetic, and stimulating in its relations with the community, may be said to constitute a worthy ideal, 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, with happiness to himself, 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.

In other words, the colonial agenda saw education as progress of the natives and the development of African societies. Through education the indigenes were meant to be useful to their environment by developing it. Indigenous population was meant to be happy and useful when they received education. Sound and interesting as the policy appeared we must not lose sight of the limitations of colonial education to the colonies and colonial people of British Africa (Rodney, 1981). The curriculum of colonial education both at primary and post primary level was meant to teach subjects which were to prepare the population to facilitate the smooth functioning of the colonial administration. Thus, arithmetic was important for calculations; writing was also important to enable the employees of the colonial authority to read without difficulty, and religious education was intended meant to instil the obedience of the indigene to his colonial authority. Whatever way we look at it, the colonial authority saw education as progress and technology too means progress.

On the other hand the missionaries were the handmaids of colonialism and were not much different in their attitudes and ideology. Both trained the Africans as auxiliaries to help them in accomplishing their objectives. The colonial rulers needed clerks, messengers, drivers, office boys while the missionary needed teachers, catechists, interpreters, carpenters, bricklayers, and cooks to help them in their evangelizing mission. According to Falola (2005: 15), ‘western education and literacy were an important partnership of Christianity and colonialism in Africa. Both supplied the tools to look at the societies in different ways and to empower the beneficiaries to seek opportunities in the formal sectors of the society. Africans used the skills to improve their livelihood, others use it to teach’. Chapel and school therefore stood side by side, for learning was universally regarded by evangelists as the door to the church and, as has been widely acknowledged, the missionaries were perhaps the most significant agent of western education in colonial Africa (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1986: 1-22). However it is undeniable that the school as kfuang or technology denotes modernity, progress and looking forward, which appears the main reason why the British introduced the schools; they hoped to transform the minds of the Africans and so did the church.

5 File Sb/a (1938) 8; File CM 243 Education of African Communities (NAB). Emphasis added.
St. Anthony’s school, Njinikom, Kom, 1928

In 1928, the Mill Hill Missionaries under Rev Fr. Leonard Jacobs opened the St. Anthony’s Primary School at Njinikom which became one of the nuclei of education in the Bamenda Grasslands. That school attracted the cream of Kom youth and also many youth from elsewhere in the Bamenda Grasslands who understood the relevance of western education. It started with an enrolment of 89 boys and 3 girls. In 1929 the number dropped to 60. The drop-in numbers occurred for reasons that are far from clear. Perhaps it was due to competition with the NA school which had been opened earlier in 1924. In 1932 the attendance of St. Anthony’s School doubled to 102. In 1936 the enrolment was 217. It was raised to a Standard Six School in 1936, making it a complete primary school cycle with a staff that included a woman whose job was to teach sewing, cooking, laundry and hygiene to girls. In 1939, the school had a population of 296 boys and 21 girls. In 1945 the population had reached 335 and out of this number 276 came from Kom. Also by 1939 St. Anthony’s School was one amongst the three primary schools found in the entire British Southern Cameroon. Another was the Baptist Mission School at Victoria, and the third was the Catholic school in Bojongo. In 1945 the school was one amongst three Catholic schools in the Cameroon Province with a Standard Six class.

Although a Catholic school, its management was supervised by the colonial authorities at Enugu. Consequently, when A.W.B. Trevor, the Assistant Director of Education, Southern Provinces, Enugu, visited the school from 11-13 September 1933 he remarked: ‘The school is still progressing very favourably indeed, despite the fact that Government loaned Certificated Teachers are no longer available for work in the school’. He concluded that ‘the school was obviously doing good work in the community and should have a long lease of life’.

Those who were already above the school-going age were given an opportunity to attend a Vernacular School which was also opened and ran by the missionaries in Njinikom. Helen Kiiki was one of the female teachers who attended that school and upon her completion, she taught there. She was born in 1910. She attended the NA school and graduated in 1935. In 1936 she was the first woman who taught in the Vernacular School. She quit the job in 1938 when she married Joseph Yuh. She took over the job of midwifery which while completing the course in Nso. She worked in Kumba, Bamenda and Wum area. According to her, it was a good idea for elderly people to go and learn new ways (dzisi kfaang) which were not only writing but also of

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7  File No.Sh/k (1933)2, Inspection report Catholic mission school Njinikom, 6 March 1928 (NAB).
8  File No. Sh/k (1933)2 Draft Inspection report Catholic mission school Njinikom, 9 August 1929 (NAB).
9  File No. Sh/k (1933) 2, Annual Returns: Catholic mission school Njinikom, 1932 (NAB).
10  File Cb (1938)3, The league of nations report 1938 Bamenda division by M.H.W. Swabey Esquire; Also see File Cb(1940)1 Bamenda division: Annual and league of nations report, 1939 and 1940 (NAB).
11  These statistics can further be found in File No.Cb 1937/1, Annual Bamenda and league of nations report, 1937(1937); Cb 1940/1, Annual and league of nations report for 1940, Bamenda Division (NAB).
12  St. Anthony’s primary school archives, Njinikom, SAPSA (unclassified).
laundry, cooking and hygiene, and it was unfortunate that the school did not last for long. She however, lauded the missionary effort for opening such a school.13

The partial statistics for the years c. 1927 to 1960 show that there was an acceleration of literacy in Kom partly because of the school in Njinikom. The D.O. for Bamenda, G.V. Evans, remarked that there were over 166 pupils and persons who knew how to read and write in Kom in 1928. The constant increase in the numbers suggests why the Catholics opened a Teacher Training College in Njinikom in 1944 under Rev. Fathers John Haak, Nicholas Bilderbeek and McCormack, although it was later transferred to Bambui in 1948 and later again to Tatum, Nso.14 The more distant the school became the more Kom people who were willing to become teachers were obliged to be both geographically and socially mobile.

In the mid-1950s there were ten missionary primary schools in Kom. The Secretary of State for the Colonies remarked in 1950 that there was a steady advance in education throughout the territory.15 The Trusteeship Council of the United Nations noted with satisfaction that the number of school children had increased by 20 percent during the period under review, although it also noted that the number was small compared with the total number of school-age children.16 If the number was far less than the number of school-going age it might have been that people did not have enough money to send their children to school or that type of kfaang was not embraced by all and sundry. Others did not see anything beneficial in schooling. These people preferred their children to continue hunting or farming or to follow traditional occupations.

The school played a preponderant role in the changing of the status of those who graduated successfully, became pupil teachers and headmasters, while some became very mobile in other walks of life. According to a 1934 report, matters had advanced so far that ‘with the exception of class 1a Infants, [the school] is housed in a new permanent cement floor with two Kom teachers, Sylvester Ngam and Joseph Ndong already teaching Infants 1b and Elementary 1 respectively’.17 When the Assistant Director of Education, Southern Provinces visited the school in 1937 he said among other things that the school ‘altogether (...) is a progressive and well organised institution. Both the present principal and his predecessor Fr. Hoevenaars have worked very hard to improve the efficiency of the school and have succeeded to a marked degree’.18 As at 24 January 1938, ten years after the opening of the school, Joseph Yuh, Joseph Ndong Nkwain, Maurice Nkwain and Isidore Diyen joined its teaching corps. Twelve months later, Isidore Diyen, a grade ‘C’ matriculated teacher left the school for higher studies at St. Charles College, Onitsha, Nigeria.19 Between 1947 and 1998, the following headmasters from Kom served at St. Anthony’s School:

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14 File Cb/ (1948)1 Bamenda annual report for 1948 (NAB).
17 St. Anthony Primary School Archives (SAPSA) (unclassified).
18 Ibid.
19 Ibid.
Table 7.1  Names and years of headmasters of St. Anthony’s primary school

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Name of headmaster</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1947-1949</td>
<td>Isidore Diyen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952-1955</td>
<td>Augustine Ngom Jua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956-1957</td>
<td>Mathias Nkuo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958-1965</td>
<td>Anthony Yongabi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-1968</td>
<td>Clement Waindim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968-1969</td>
<td>Leo Nyongo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974-1990</td>
<td>Clement Waindim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990-1998</td>
<td>Polycarp Yong</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: St. Anthony’s Primary School Archives, Njinikom

Among the headmasters, Augustine Ngom Jua and Joseph Ndong Nkwain became politicians in the 1950s and 1960s, while Clement Waindim rose to the rank of a supervisory headmaster. Jua quit the post of headmaster and became one of the founding members of the Kamerun National Democratic Party (KNDP) in 1955. That party campaigned in the 1958 elections in Southern Cameroons and won. In 1965 Jua became the Prime Minister of West Cameroon. Joseph Ndong Nkwain was the leader of the Kom branch of the first indigenous party in British Southern Cameroons, the Kamerun National Congress Kom.20 That party lost the 1958 elections in Kom.

Jua and Ndong Nkwain were leaders representative of the new social hierarchies, and later the political ones too. Their ascent in social position in the first place was a result of their appropriation of kfaang, in other words the technology of the school. Politics entailed further progress if carefully played and as a result they quit their former jobs and became active in politics. Both became the leaders of the Kom branch of the first political parties in Southern Cameroon. Politics implied meant mobility - spatial and social. These two people represented such mobility at the highest level, especially Jua.

One of the people who graduated from St. Anthony’s School and rose to the rank of supervisor for schools in Kom was Clement Patrick Waindim. He was born on 1930. He attended St. Anthony’s School Njinikom from 1944 to 1950 and later joined the Teaching staff. He taught in the Catholic School Luh, Tabenken, from 1954-1955, and the Catholic School Nkor, Noni from 1958-67. From 1968 to 1969 he studied in England for a Commonwealth Teachers course at the Educational Administration at the University of Birmingham. In 1970 he became the Secretary of the Kom Sub-Section of the Cameroon National Union Party (CNU), the party which was formed by Cameroon’s first President, Ahmadu Ahidjo. He became the supervisory Headmaster in 1974 until his retirement in 1990. As a supervisory headmaster, he was charged with the duties of touring to visit all the schools under him.21 The careers of these men confirm the role of the school and education in changing the social status of those who appropriated kfaang.

20 For more on this see, File CO554/916 Kamerun National Congress Annual Convention held at Bamenda April 12-14, 1955; Relations between the Kamerun National Congress and the Union des Populations du Cameroun; File CO 554/916, Kamerun National Annual Convention held at Bamenda April 12-14, 1955; CO554/1055, File No. WAF 33/78/02. Movement for the Unification of the Two Trust Territories of the Cameroons: Dr. Endeley’s National Day Message (all these files were consulted at PRO).

21 Cited from the Manual of Supervisory Headmaster, (mimeograph) SAPSA.
Women, schooling and mobility

This schooling was not limited to men only. Women also attended school in growing numbers. Their number rose from three in 1928 to eight in 1951 at St. Anthony’s School as it is shown in Table 7.2. The admission of girls to the school was something new in Kom culture. The founding of Kom in the early 19th century was mostly attributed to women because they comprised the last remnants who moved out of Babessi through Nkar, Noni, Akeh and reached Laikom. When the foundation of the Fondom was threatened by the invading Mejang, assumed to comprise a stronger Fondom, the women were those who repelled the aggressors because their husbands had gone hunting. That incident according to the men folk showed that women were powerful. Still, the thinking was that women were best suited to be at home, following their mothers to the farm and taking care of the children. At the onset of Western education in Kom, some Kom men still did not believe that school or western education was for women. Some men felt strongly that the women should remain at home. The first eight women who went to school reversed that thinking.

Table 7.2 The first eight girls at St. Anthony’s school, Njinikom

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Admission number</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Victoria N. Chia</td>
<td>941</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paulina Ndum</td>
<td>1059</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benedicta Neng</td>
<td>918</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rufina N. Fujua</td>
<td>1055</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Tosam Yongabi</td>
<td>1060</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francisca Chia</td>
<td>1058</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Diom</td>
<td>1188</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sophia Kain</td>
<td>1327</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Admission Register (SAPSA)

Not all the women who appropriated that *kfaang* successfully completed the school course. Sometimes because of nuptial matters the girl child dropped out from school to marry whoever asked her hand in marriage through her parents. That explains why many girls had to leave school before completing their studies. It was therefore more the decision of a girl’s father. One of those girls was Theresia Nange Njuakom. She was born at Muloin, another village in Kom, in 1933. Her father was a catechist, Paul Njuakom. In 1948 she went to St. Anthony’s School Njinikom and because of her intelligence she was rapidly promoted to Standard Two. She was promoted to Standard Three and subsequently to Standard Four. There was no Standard Four for girls in Njinikom at the time. She continued her education in Shisong. At the end of Standard Four she came home on long holidays with excellent results which had promoted her to Standard Five. The news at home was that somebody had come to ask her hand in marriage and in those days, as Theresia claims,

once your parents told you that news you were only condemned to accept. (…) because of that my education came to an end in Standard four. That was in 1954 and in April 1955 I got wedded to Lawrence Wallang. Lawrence was a Catholic School teacher. After our wedding my movement was dictated by my husband. Wherever he was transferred to work we went together. We worked in Tabenken, Oku, Mankon, Kumbo and several other places which I cannot quite remember.
The experience of Theresia was further confirmed by other women. For instance, Nyanga Clara and Mary Tosam Yongabi both confirmed that women were not allowed to continue schooling once they had a suitor and a suitor in those days never met the girl directly but rather met the parents of the girl. Once the parents accepted, the girl could not refuse. This was a similar situation amongst Ugandan women and men. In both situations the male folk gradually changed their attitudes.

Some schools were found to satisfy the needs of girls. In Uganda, the Gayaza Girls Boarding School was founded although it was to educate the daughters of chiefs and clergy while in Cameroon a Girls Boarding primary school was founded in Shisong and later in Njinikom and Mankon. A Girls Boarding Secondary School was founded at Okoyong, Mamfe in 1956 with 18 girls (Musisi, 1992). Abidogun (2007/8: 29-51) has observed that with the introduction of colonial and missionary education, gender roles were considerably affected amongst the Northern Igbos of Nigeria. Thus similar cases were observable elsewhere in Africa. The case of parents who accepted kfaang and still could pull their children out of school shows us that no matter how kfaang was appropriated, ‘Komness’ was still guarded.

As we heard earlier with the life history of Benedicta, in 1951-52, Rev. Fr. Groot, the school manager of St. Anthony’s School, decided that girls henceforth were not to attend classes with boys in the same school. The only option for the girls was to trek to Shisong where a separate school for girls was found. The performance of the girls who went to Shisong was seemingly encouraging and the mission authorities responded in 1959 by opening the St. Marie Gorretti’s Girls School in Njinikom with Rev. Sr. Assumpta Neiderstatter as Headmistress. It is not clear whether the school for girls was opened in Njinikom because the girls who first went to Shisong had performed well or because the mission had already decided to bring school education to girls in Njinikom. Its limitations should also be noted: the school curriculum that was taught by the Rev. Sister stressed the teaching of domestic science to the girls, including sewing, tailoring and cooking which at the time was seen as a top priority for girls by the missionary and the colonial government.

The aspect of the girls trekking to Shisong needs further explanation. First and foremost, this is because it is often stated in the literature that women’s geographical mobility came much later than that of the male. For instance, Clifford (1992), observes that ‘Good travel (heroic, educational, scientific, adventurous, ennobling) is something men should do. Women are impeded from serious travel. Some of them (women) go to distant places but largely as companions (...).’ In other words, women always travelled in conjunction with men. The geographical mobility of women sketched here suggests a different photo.

This does not, however, mean that scholars have not studied the mobility of women as independent agents in Africa. Barnes (2002) studied the migration of women in Southern Africa, especially between South Africa and Zimbabwe during the colonial period. She employed statistical, documentary and oral evidence to critique the domi-
nant paradigm that women were silent observers of migration in colonial Southern African historiography. She stated that ‘when historians follow the dominant model and consider mobility, travel, and migration *a priori* as male preserves, African women are automatically consigned to mass immobility. They are barred from centre stage and frozen in perpetual economic childhood’. The author concludes that rather that a ‘limiting view of African women’s socioeconomic immobility in Southern Africa should be fundamentally challenged by further research (...).’ Using the concept of ‘navigation’, Both has sought to understand girl migrants and young women in Ndjamena, Chad. The work aimed to contribute to a ‘broader understanding of the positions of girls and young women in Chad’. Both concludes among other things that ‘the girls are not only being shaped by the urban structures, but partly shaped themselves (...).’ Kihato (2009) has also researched the migration of women in different parts of Southern Africa to Johannesburg. She concludes that these women used different methods to find themselves in different locations in Johannesburg. Thus the movement of women to Shisong inasmuch as it paints a different photo also contributes to the literature on women as independent migrants who moved without being dictated to by the men. The novelty of the photo is heightened because the women were not economic migrants. Their mobility was not informed by economic imperatives as the case of Barnes and Both has shown.

It has for sometime now been maintained erroneously that men migrate in search for money and women migrate because they want to follow their men. Simelane (2004) has argued that migration in Swaziland was dominated by men due to the existence of opportunities in the labour market, and he takes the economic factor as the main one which illustrated men’s mobility in colonial Swaziland. According to the author it is not correct to see the mobility of men in economic terms but rather more in the sedentary situation of women. The reason for the sedentarism of women is to be found at the level of homestead relations. Robertson (1984) went further to show that many South African countries including the Congo had restrictions placed upon the migration of women by the colonial government and the idea was that only men could work in the mines. This error has led to the paucity of material as far as women mobility in West Africa is concerned. Cordell et al. (1996: 39) accept the view that the history of mobility of women is limited except when situated in nuptial terms. While studying women in Burkina Faso she contended that ‘although a very large proportion of female migration is indeed related to marriage, the overall photo that emerges is more varied than might first be supposed’ (see also Lambert, 2007: 129-148; Cockerton, 2002: 37-53; Ulicki and Crush, 2000: 64-79). The case of Kom therefore helps us to start seeing the autonomy of women in migration literature especially in the Bamenda Grasslands.

In 1959 a girls’ primary school was opened in Njinikom, St. Marie Gorretti’s School. The population steadily rose between 1959 and 1980 as is shown by the figures in Table 7.3. These figures suggest that the minds of those who attended this school were shaped by education. Kom was transformed through their activities. Besides classroom teaching, a domestic science centre was opened in 1971, headed by a Rev. Nun, Sr. Mary Theresia. The centre was charged to teach girls sewing, knitting, cooking, domestic activities like keeping the environment clean, basic hygiene, and womanhood, to name just a few.24 A similar school was opened in East Africa (Thurnwald 1932: 175-184).

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24 File Ci (1967) 2 Economic and Social Reports, Menchum Division, 1967-1974 (NAB).
Table 7.3  The number of girls at St. Marie Gorretti’s primary school between 1959 and 1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of girls in enrolment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>29</td>
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<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>32</td>
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<td>1975</td>
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<td>1976</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled from St. Anthony’s Primary School Archives, Njinikom.

One result of education in Njinikom was the creation of a new social hierarchy consisting of teachers. They constituted the mould of new men whose rise was due to their appropriation of the school (Ajayi, 1965 and Beildelman, 1971). Their mental horizons were widened and they became geographically and socially mobile. They also stood out as the social purveyors of kfaang in society. The social mobility of teachers and of those who attended school implied great social change in Kom society. The education of these people, which helped them to further impart knowledge to others, seemed to amount to fundamental change in the nature of Kom society. Some examples suffice to illustrate this fact. These examples do not in any way reflect the experience of all the teachers who were interviewed in the field. But it is important to note because their appropriation of kfaang while leading to change did not amount to total transformation.

Biographical sketches

Jerome Ngeh Tim
Jerome was born at Muloin, Kom, in 1941. He went to St. Anthony’s School in 1950 and completed it in 1957. For two years, 1958 and 1959 inclusive, he was idling at home writing letters for those who could not write. Later on five of the school’s pupils were chosen to go to St. Pius Teachers Training College, Tatum, Nso. Four of his colleagues went but he could not go because of the lack of financial sponsorship. In 1960 Tim picked up an appointment in St. Gabriel’s Primary School Bafmeng, thanks to late Rev. Fr. Francis Woodman, a Mill Hill Missionary and manager of primary schools under Njinikom parish. He taught there for one year and the next year he passed the Teacher’s Grade 3 examination in Bambui. He was in Bambui from 1961 to 1962 and upon completion in 1963 he was sent to Djottin Parish. He taught in the Catholic School in Oku and later went on transfer to Mbim. Tim later attempted the entrance examination into Grade one Teacher’s College in Kumba and came out successfully. He was in Kumba from 1965 to 1967. After that he was sent to Catholic School, Bali and in the next year to Girls School, Big Mankon. He was in Mankon from 1967 to 1973. It was at that time that he wrote his Ordinary General Certificate Examination and Advanced
Levels. All were supervised by University College, London. He came out successfully. From thence he enrolled in the University of Yaoundé and completed in 1977. After the University he was posted to teach in Lycee de Bertoua where he taught from 1978 to 1979 and was then transferred to Nkambe to teach in the Government High School Nkambe. Tim taught in that school till 2007 when he was transferred in 2008 to the Delegation of National Education in the same Nkambe.25

Joseph Ndocha Nyanying
Joseph was born at Ngwaah, Kom in 1942. In 1948, a primary school was opened at Ngwaah by the Catholics and he enrolled there. Unfortunately his father died in 1949 and his successor took him to Anyajua, Kom. It was only in 1951 when he enrolled in St. Anthony’s Primary School, Njinikon through the help of his uncle. He completed in 1960.

In the 1960/61 academic year, he was employed as a catechist at Achain, Kom. He was there for a few months when Rev. Fr. Woodman sent him to Elemiwong, Kom. There he doubled as a catechist and as a part-time teacher. While there he was the only person who was writing letters for the people and reading and translating them, an exercise which many teachers performed in those days. That was an unassisted school. According to him that type of school meant that one could be paid anything determined by the manager. He was paid 2 pounds and then after the exchange of pounds to francs he was paid 1,600FRS in 1963. In that same year he was transferred to Fundong as a part-time teacher of an assisted school where he was paid 3,000FRS per month. While there he was teaching three days in school and the rest was used up as a catechist at Muntang.

After serving there Nyanying passed the examination to go to the Teacher’s Training College, Bojongo, but could not follow up the course because of his poor financial situation. Rev. Fr. Woodman called him back to be a catechist at Achain, Kom. He was there for one year and was appointed as headmaster at Mbaw School. By then he was a C teacher which meant that he was registered in the PART C register of the teachers but uncertificated. During that time he was given the number CM14/07. He was at Mbaw only for three months and was transferred to Bafmen and the catechist there, Marcus Nkwii, became the headmaster. He was teaching more children in class than the children in the entire school at Mbaw. While in Bafmen Nyanying sat for the entrance examination into Tatum and succeeded. So, in 1966 he was enrolled in St. Pius X Teachers Training College, Tatum, Nso. He was among the first batch which studied for five years. The first three years was general education, and the last two years was teacher training. Nyanying left there in 1971.

After Tatum his first station of work was Njinikom. While in Njinikom he was appointed as a Grade Two teacher for 1971/72. In 1974 he was transferred to Ndop and it was in that year that he married. From Ndop he was posted to Bali Gashu and he remained there for four years and helped bring it up to the level of a class seven school. It was there that Nyanying sat the London General Certificate Examination, Advanced Levels through correspondence. After his Advanced Levels he was transferred to the Seat of Wisdom Secondary School, Fontem, Southwest Province of Cameroon for four years to teach Geography. From Fontem he was sent to the Queen of Rosary College, Okoyong, Mamfe. He was in Okoyong for two years. At Tombel he obtained his LC2, 25 Interview with Jerome Nghe Tim, 15 June 2008, Nkambe, Donga Mantung Division.
and was then sent to Bishop Rogan Minor Seminary, Small Soppo, Buea in 1984. He taught and at the same time started an external course in Geography diploma and finally succeeded in obtaining a B.Sc. He worked in Small Soppo till 1998, when he wrote for a transfer and was sent to St. Bede’s College Ashing Kom.  

Mary Tosam Yongabi

Mary was born in 1935 at Isailah quarter, Njinikom. She went to St. Anthony’s School in 1945. In that year many girls entered the same class and so the authorities started thinking about opening a school for girls separately. In Standard Four she continued her education in Nso because girls were separated from boys and there was no separate school for girls in Kom. In that year the Catholic Education Authorities had authorised the opening of separate schools for girls in Nso and another one in Kumba. So it was decreed that all the girls were in Standard Four were either to go to Nso or Kumba and parents were asked to come and collect certificates. It was then that she went to Nso and continued the second term there in 1950.

After obtaining her Standard Six Certificate in 1955 she continued to St. Francis Teacher’s Training College, Fiango, Kumba. Many Kom people believed in the tradition that women were good for the home and looking after the children. She claims that all girls performed very well because there was serious competition in their class. After successfully completing her Standard Six and Teacher’s Training College, Fiango, she taught in Babanki from 1959 to 1961; Oku 1961-1964 and Njinikom from 1965-1968; Fuanantui from 1968-1975; Tinifoinbi from 1979-1980 and Njinikom from 1980-1988.

The school as a technology first widened the mental horizons of pupils who later became teachers. Secondly, it influenced their geographical and social mobility. The teachers also represented social hierarchies. They became the carriers and transmitters of kraang par excellence. This type of kraang was based on gwali (the book) which was known as ngwali kraang in Kom. The reasons why after elementary school many of the pupils became teachers was because teaching was very fashionable and prestigious in the 1940s and 1950s, if the testimony with my informants is to believed.

The school as agent of social change through teachers was also important in facilitating communication by writing letters. The case studies have shown that teachers were very important in that connection. They had the magic of using the pen and could write to the D.O. and missionary on behalf of those who were illiterate. They were those capable of shaping the opinions of people by imparting new knowledge. In some parts of French Africa, they were used by the French colonial administration to gather and compile ethnographic information of interest to the colonial administration. Jezequel (2006: 139-158) has demonstrated that the teachers had a lower status when compared to other intermediaries like clerks, but in the colonial landscape where very few career opportunities existed most literate Africans had to teach and write letters for the local folk on the side.

The importance of teachers in Kom was all the greater because they understood the white man’s language and became what Okot p’Bitek (1968: 205) calls the ‘dogs of whitemen’ who understood English. The training given to the teachers was just enough

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26 Interview with Joseph Ndocha Nyanying, Njinikom. 17th September 2008.
27 Interview with Mary Yongabi, Bochain Quarter, 13 September 2008.
to keep them on the margins of kfaang and was not intended to transform them into the equals of whites. There was a purpose for that education which was to serve the missionary and colonial enterprise. However, the uniqueness of each indicates that these teachers had a group identity of belonging to a particular profession and thus the identity of a common outlook which was writing, dressing and reading. Was their ‘Komness’ therefore eroded because they embraced kfaang? Or how they integrated in Kom society?

From their narratives which showed that at any one time one or all of them worked in Kom it is evident that they integrated themselves with little or no problems with the traditional elites. As new social hierarchies it might have been thought that they must clash with the traditional elites but it seemed never to have happened. This probably, was because teachers were the purveyors of kfaang. They represented all that society needed to progress at the time. They symbolised skill and neatness as writers of letters, the most used medium of communication in the 1940s and 1960s. They also seemed to be paragons of morality and discipline. Finally, they were those who heard, and understood the white man’s language and hence worked as catechists and translators for the missionaries and colonial authorities. They were thus the measuring rods of the society. Any traditional elite who understood and admired kfaang would not run into conflict with a teacher. And as teachers, they were the first people to put on good clothes, wear shoes and live in good if not luxurious houses.
On the other hand, teachers were mostly from Kom, and they knew and understood that they held very important positions in the society. Some were even literally ‘knighted’ for their meritorious services. They supervised the construction of new school buildings, and sensitized parents to the need to send their children to school by telling them of the advantages of a school education. One example was Bartholomew Chia Kiyam who was born on the 1\textsuperscript{st} November 1924 at Njinikom. He attended St. Anthony’s Primary School, Njinikom from 1938 to 1945. After completion he was appointed as a pupil teacher in the same school. He taught there till 1951 when he was sent to open a school at Ngwaah. At Ngwaah he had additional duty of writing letters to those who wanted to send messages to relatives and friends who were outside Kom. He also taught the population of Ngwaah about cleanliness and the importance of schooling. Kiyam taught for six years and was then transferred back to Njinikom School. On the eve of his transfer to Njinikom people lauded his efforts at not only teaching their children but also introducing \textit{kaaang} ways to Ngwaah.\textsuperscript{28}

The female teachers represented the new patterns of gender relations in Kom. Their presence as teachers highlighted the changing gender roles which accompanied the introduction of technology in the society. As already indicated in Chapter One, the school was a technology in the wider sense. Since one of the functions of technology is to connect people and places, the schools were also literally new connectors. Even more important they were a crucial factor of mobility and of connectedness of people and places.

In 1953, colonial education policy was reformulated in order to train pupils in carpentry and metal working. To achieve this goal of industrial education the government created trade schools like the Government Technical College (GTC) Ombe to teach grade II teachers the basic elements of carpentry and metal work. The colonial officer in charge of teaching maintained that, ‘the aim of this training scheme is to teach grade II teachers in training the basic elements of carpentry and metal work. It is appreciated that not all will be interested in or able to teach this subject on leaving the centre but some surely will (...)’.\textsuperscript{29}

In line with the above policy the Catholic authorities felt the need to open their own training centres. Consequently, in 1960, the Rev. Fr. Francis Woodman, who was the manager of schools in Kom, opened a Manual Arts centre. The centre trained boys in the senior classes in metal work, carpentry, woodwork, pottery and weaving, to name just some of the courses (for this type of education, see Hamilton & Aseidu, 1987: 338-355). It was intended that boys passing out of St. Anthony’s School would be acquainted and equipped with practical skills in addition to a liberal education. For that to be effective, manual arts were incorporated into the syllabus for senior classes which comprised reading, writing and arithmetic. In 1965, the Standard Six system of education was officially abolished in West Cameroon. From the 1966-67 school year when the Class Seven system was introduced, and 1998, school records indicate that an average of 58 pupils passed out each year from the manual arts courses with an

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\textsuperscript{28} These views were shared with me during the fieldwork by those who witnessed Bartholomew’s period in Ngwaah, like Nges Timti (Interview, Ngwaah, 30 July 2008). I also talked with Donatus Fointama who was the pupil of Bartholomew. He confirmed that he was a superb human being who did not only teach pupils in the classroom but took time to listen to people and solve their problems like writing letters and talking about cleanliness. Interview, Fundong, 6 August 2009.

\textsuperscript{29} CO 554/1175 Education in the Southern Cameroons, 1954-1956 (PRO).
elementary knowledge in carpentry and metal working. Some of those who did not undergo schooling nevertheless received and embraced *nwali kfaang* and were determined to bring it to their people. A good example was chief Anyway Ndichia Timti, a pioneer in mobility and a model in the appropriation and promotion of *kfaang* in the broadest sense.

**Chief Anyway Ndichia Timti: A new model**

In 1951 Anyway spent £24 to pay teachers’ salaries in one of the Catholic Schools at Fundong which he had helped to construct. The missionaries and the colonial administration at the time communicated with Anyway directly as he sent them money for the upkeep of more schools in the Fundong area of Kom. A critical look at some of these letters is important here. They show the extent to which he was interested in *nwali kfaang* and also debunk the view that only the colonial administration and missionaries were responsible for school and major social changes in African societies. In his own right, it appears that Anyway did what no other Kom person, even those who had been schooled, had ever done. His role in promoting western education in Kom leaves no doubt about the fact. A few letters from his records will illustrate his commitment.

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Anyway Ndichia Timti
Ombe Rein
c/o Native Court, Mutengene
Victoria Division
16 June 1952
The Assistant District Officer,
Wum Division.

Sir,
I hope to bring to your kind notice the following informations (sic):

It is now a year and six months since a junior primary school was opened by the Roman Catholics at Fundong.

This school was intended to help the people of Fundong, Mbam, Fujua, Laikom and many other surrounded (sic) villages including even some of the Hausa and Fulani settlers living around this area.

The school did not seem to fare very well because the villagers were not properly encouraged to send their children to school and there was also a complaint about lack of funds for paying the teacher.

I undertook to pay the teacher (sic) provided proper encouragement was made to see that more children go to this school.

Last year I paid the sum of £24 for up keeping the school and this year I will pay a further sum of 30 pounds to make up the teachers salary (sic) which is £2:10s a month. I did all these with the aims (sic) that if the parents are given real encouragement this school can virtually become in years to come a central school like that at Belo and Njinikom to serve the educational needs of the people of this area.

*Continues on next page*

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30 This information was obtained from one of the letters which he wrote to the District Officer, Wum in 1960. I cross-checked the information by interviewing some of the people that directly related with the events. I interviewed his brother, Ivo Nkwain who spent his entire life with Anyway and who was present when he died in 1965. He confirmed the story. Interview 24 September 2008, Wombong, Kom. I followed up the interview with one of the first teachers who taught in that school and he confirmed that he was one of the beneficiaries of Anyway’s pay package. Interview with Elias Yongabi, Njinikom, 12 October 2008.
There have been repeated threats by the mission to close up this school probably because they are running at a loss.

I feel that as the officer and all for this area you can help by writing and hold local meetings, encourage these people to make this school up to date and if this is done and the mission cannot continue its running, the Government or the N.A. can then take over because I feel it will be very discouraging if the people so let down (sic).

A school at spot is very necessary and should not be neglected.

We down here shall be waiting the news of what our assembly men have brought for us very eagerly.

I am looking for your reply and I have also written same to Kom council
I remain
Yours true servant
A.N.Timti 16.6.52
D.O
Ref., p. 18/19 submitted.

Heard one Bikom man was paying the salary of teachers in the alleged school but I did not know who was this man doing such a good work.

Anyway wrote to the D.O., Griffith, to encourage him to educate Kom people to send their children to school. According to the letter, he also felt that the colonial officer should spare some time to hold meetings among the people. Anyway indicates that he had paid in some money to cater for the salaries of teachers because the missionaries threatened to close down the school. Taking examples from the schools at Belo and Njinkom, Anyway felt that a school in the Fundong area could play a central role in the education of his people. Writing from coastal southwest Cameroon, Anyway was influenced by what he saw out there. The coast was known as the area where kfaang ‘began’ and ‘ended’. The Europeans had entered Cameroon from the coast and many modern things had their origins from there. Besides, the largest agro-industrial complex, the plantations were found in that area. After making a note on Anyway’s letter the D.O. replied to his letter on 15 July 1952 in the following words:

No. N.W. 151/20
Bamenda N.W.N.A. Office
Wum, 15 July 1952

Mr. A. N. Timti,
Ombe Rein,
c/o Native Court,
Victoria Division.

Sir,

Education in Bikom

I acknowledge your letter of 16 June 1952 and congratulate you on your good work in helping education in Bikom. If you can spare the time I suggest you come up to Bikom and speak to the people about sending their children to school yourself. I must have spoken myself dozens of times and so have the Fathers I also suggest you write to your House of Assembly Member, Mr. Sama Ndi and asked him what he is doing to improve education in Kom.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your Obedient Servant

District Officer, Wum.
The D.O., in his reply thus referred Anyway to Mr. Sama Ndi who was the member of House of Assembly at the time. Sama Chia Fiel Mbel Yiah Ndi, shortened to Sama Ndi, was born at Fujua, Kom, around 1913. He was the son of Fon Ndi (1926-1954). In 1924, he enrolled in the NA school at Fujua, Kom. After his elementary studies Sama Ndi continued to the Agricultural College, Yaba, Nigeria. After his graduation in Nigeria he became a thorn in the political flesh of the colonial administration. For instance, he is noted to have said:

As soon as I settled at Home I was misrepresented because I had developed a certain amount of public spirit and self reliance realizing my obligation as a citizen of no mean order. The ADOs went about saying that I had come over from Nigeria with that Nigerian outlook to spoil the people of Cameroons. Such tales have these people told about me and all untrue stories. This is because in my early school career, I mingled with Englishmen, Scotchmen and finally (...) got somehow socially emancipated and when I tried to live up to this, it was a new thing to those demi gods in Dark Bamenda where the Whiteman is no man's social equal. But that was wrong of them (...) I was arrested maliciously, committed to trial on the coterie of sinister faked charges. But happily for me I was acquitted in the court of law by the judge.32

With such a biting statement against the colonial administration there was no better way by which the D.O. would have responded to Anyway’s plea than directing him to Sama Ndi who was elected to the Eastern Regional House of Assembly at Enugu. Implicitly, Sama did not take an interest in promoting education in Kom area. By directing Anyway to him, the D.O. was in effect trying to stimulate Sama to take up his responsibility rather than concentrating on ‘attacking’ the colonial administration. Anyway’s deep interest in education in Kom continued as he wrote another letter to the D.O. re-emphasising his interest, on 26 October 1952. The D.O. replied in the following words:

I am glad to see you are still strongly interested in your home town’s education. For your information I quote a section of Kom Council minutes concerning the matters you raised. Fundong School. A letter from Anyway Timti was read about Fundong School. This man had regularly contributed £20-30 per annum to help this school. How was council prepared to help? Council said they had told the members concerned to call meetings in their villages and parents to send children to school. The District Officer remarked that it was not in their minutes. The District Officer said surely this was not enough? Here was a Kom man trying really hard to help his country forward. Would it not be good if they could write back and say for every amount you give the village people will give the same amount. The suggestion was that Mbam, Alim, Fundong, Mbongkisu, Ngwa, Mentang, Fejua should raise (say) 1/- each per man for the school. In that case there need be no school fees and the school would go right ahead. Councillors promised to consult their villages and report. They did not seem enthusiastic.

On 27 April 1953 Anyway wrote another lengthy letter to the D.O. emphasising the need for education amongst Kom people (see next page).

The case of Anyway becomes more significant because it reveals somebody who was very interested in ‘newness’ symbolised by western education. To understand his correspondence properly we need to recognize the novelty of letter writing in colonial Kom (for more on letters see Hunt, 1994; Breckenridge, 2000; Sinclair, 2003; Barber, 2006).

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31 Interview with Johnson Mbeng, Djichami Rd, Belo, 27 September 2008. He was a cousin to Sama Ndi. This fact was also supported by Maakom Membai, interview, Sho, Kom, 29 September 2008.
32 File Of (1931)1, Ndi, Mr. SAMA C. Of Bikom; File va/b/1952/1, House of Assembly question number 134 by Sama C. Ndi, regarding German emigration after World War 1; File va/b/1952/2, House of ASSEMBLY NUMBER 132 BY Hon. Sama C. Ndi regarding Development. All these files were consulted at NAB.
Sir,
I have the honour to reply to your letter, which I received on the 25 March this year. You talked about all the points I mentioned in my last letter to you.

On the 19th April, I had a meeting with Muntang, Fundong, Baiso, and Laikom villagers. These numbered forty-four in all. In the meeting, I read out to them the letter I had written to you and the reply I received from you. The matter in those two letters was deliberated upon from noon to 5 pm. At last it was found that their fathers can only be moved by the DO. They had a good idea of the advantages of education in Cameroons but their fathers can only be moved to accept education if the DO persuades them.

Beyond Juayang northwards, there is not a single school except that at Fundong. The main thing that impedes progress is the want of an adviser. A courageous traveller never (sic) under any circumstances.

You believe I want force to be employed in education. There are several ways of compelling children especially. Children would soon accept to be educated if the parents insist on that. This can be done without beating.

I was born and brought up at Abuh in Kom. I know the ways of my people. Never doubt what I tell you. I only obeyed my father when forced and so are all Bikoms. For instance, the Bikom were quite unwilling to dig the motor road to Bafmeng but when forced they dug it far beyond expectations. With persuasion (sic), little can be achieved in Kom. In fact, the motor road to Wum should have been regated (sic) had force not been employed.

Now see the effect of this mild treatment. In 1950, the Roman Catholic missionaries opened up schools in Achain, Ngwa,ah, and Fundong, but all are closed except Fundong school, because the children are unwilling to be educated but caun’t (sic) be forced. The Rev. Father then in charge only said that there was no money to pay staff of the schools.

I was unable to reopen all these schools but open one at Fundong. In 1951, I spent £24 and succeeded in sending five boys over to Njinikom School in Std. 1. this year seven boys passed out and the teacher’s salary is £60, £24 of which is paid by the Roman Catholic Missionaries and all the rest to be paid by me.

The above twelve boys are a result of the work of one who can’t do much but does not sit down to enjoy his unsuccessfulness(sic). It is the place of the Government to send advisers to all the 39 villagers of Kom to persuade the people.

What prompted the opening of these three schools in 1950, just in one area? Were the people tried or to be educated? To my opinion, they were tried. Bare with me, the Bikoms will never be educated except when forced. For instance, the D.O. himself, born of educated parents was forced to school.

I see that my efforts to promote education among my people are failing on account of the Government. You simply attack and knook (sic) out my suggestions without consulting my people. You should not attack any facts in this letter without the opinion of all Bikoms. Even in the CDC works here, labourers are forced all day long to work for their own money

Extend the contents of this letter to members of Kom Improvement Association in Njinikom.

I remain,
Your Obediently.
A.N.Timti
Although Chief Anyway had never been to a western styled school, his correspondence shows that his handicap could not prevent him from communicating. He saw the relevance of *kfaang* amongst his Kom people. Letter writing became very important to the British colonial administration as early as 1916 when the Secretary of State for colonies passed the Illiteracy Ordinance Act of 1916. By that Ordinance, people who had been to school were compelled to help those who have not been to school to write their letters. Failure to do so made them liable either to a fine or imprisonment.\(^{33}\)

*Photo 7.2* Chief Anyway Ndichia Timti, the person who championed *kfaang*. Note his leather bag, boots, umbrella and the crucifix but also his traditional cap.

*Source:* From his records.

Although that Ordinance showed how obsessed the British colonial administration was with its ‘civilising project’, Kom soon appropriated that medium of communication. Those who could not write employed those who could just as today those who

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\(^{33}\) File Cb (1916)1 Education in the British colony of Nigeria (NAB).
cannot log-in on the internet employ the services of cyber attendants. The letters in themselves showed inter-cultural dimensions. The letters opened up a whole cultural world, and the letter writers were interpreters for those for whom they wrote. It showed that those who wrote the letters were none other than Kom people who understood Kom and culture best.

Anyway’s admiration of kfaang was backed by the D.O. who held council meetings to tell Kom people that he was moving his village forward but people back at home were not helping him as an individual. According to the D.O., Anyway had sent money to the tune of £20-30 per annum as an individual. It was therefore important that each individual should endeavour to contribute £1 each. Whether the people finally succumbed to the plea is not easy to ascertain. But it is very clear that Anyway stood as a pillar of kfaang. He had seen and admired kfaang and wanted it established in all the corners of Kom (for his letters in the original, see the Appendix).

Another issue in Anyway’s letter which summarises Kom experience with mobility concerns his statement that ‘A courageous traveller never dispa (sic) under any circumstances’. That saying characterises Kom physical mobility. Such people believed very strongly that while abroad nothing should prevent them from appropriating and promoting kfaang. Such eagerness perhaps lay behind a curious incident in 1950. A caravan of twenty-five Kom people assaulted a Customs Post at the French Cameroon border with British Southern Cameroons, killed a custom officer and injured two others seriously. These men were Kom traders and carriers returning from Nkongsamba perhaps with kfaang goods.34

Although from his correspondence with the D.O. Anyway could be seen as a champion of newness he could by the same token be seen as a cultural deviant or ‘subversive’. He was turning away the attention of his country people from their cultural values to westernization, so to say, but he himself by no means rejected all aspects of Kom tradition. The title of ‘Chief’ was conferred on him by Fon Lo’oh in 1954 in recognition for what he did to promote schools in the Fundong area. He became a Chief of Kom people in Bamukom, a Kom community settlement in Tiko, which he helped found. A parallel of such a person who, because of his social mobility was decorated was Professor Nsokika Benard Fonlon in Nso, the largest Fondom in Northwest Cameroon.

According to Lyonga (2010), Fonlon was born in 1924. In 1931 he went to the Government Primary School, Bamfem, Nso and later went to St. Anthony’s School, Njinikom. In 1941, he obtained the Standard Six Certificate. Between 1942 and 1945, he attended secondary education at Onitsha, Nigeria. He then taught for one year in St. Joseph’s College, Sasse, Cameroon. He enrolled, in the Bigard Memorial Seminary, Enugu, Nigeria in 1946. In 1953 he quit the seminary and enrolled at the National University of Ireland in 1954. In 1959 he read for a diploma in education in St. Peter’s College, Oxford. In 1961, he obtained a PhD in comparative literature in Ireland. In 1961, he served as Private Secretary to the West Cameroon Prime Minister, John Ngu Foncha. Between 1964 and 1968 he was Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs. In 1968, he became the Minister of Transport, Post and Telecommunications. From 1970, he served as Minister of Public Health until 1971 when he quit politics and then returned to the University as a teacher.

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Between 1970 and 1971, Fonlon worked hard to bring pipe-borne water to Nso. That project began in 1972 and was officially inaugurated in 1974. Chem-Lanhee (1989: 39), maintains that between 1964 and 1968, when he served as Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Fonlon used his influence with President Ahmadu Ahidjo to induce the Canadian Government to provide this much-needed pipe-borne water. The Nso traditional administration decorated him with the title of the Lord of Water. Thus the cases of Fonlon and Anway are quite striking. Both had been geographically mobile. While Anyway never went to school he moved out and brought back to his people the schools which was much needed at the time. Fonlon appropriated school and schooling much earlier and that was responsible for his spatial and social mobility. He also brought to his community pipe-borne water which appeared to be much needed at the time. They were both recognized by their Fons. Therefore, those who introduced meaningful and tangible kfaang to the society were not alienated but instead incorporated, recognized and encouraged by the Fon. The case of Anyway and Fonlon suggests that many more examples of such Photos might be encountered elsewhere in the Bamenda Grasslands and wider afield.

Anyway is a striking example of how an individual can contribute to and introduce significant change in the society. In his case, he was obsessed with kfaang, as his letters have shown. From his example it could be argued that social transformation does not necessarily involve every individual in the society, but that key individuals can help transform a whole system. The case of Anyway could also be a pointer to many more people whose voices have remained silent elsewhere in Bamenda Grasslands and Africa and who did much to further social change in their respective societies.

Conclusion

Before proceeding to the next Chapter it is useful to recapitulate the main conclusions reached thus far. Essentially, it has been argued in this Chapter that the school opened in 1928 was to serve both the colonial and missionary ventures, and, more importantly, was seen by both the colonial authority and missionaries as progress and by Kom people as ndo gwali kfaang. Those who successfully appropriated the school and schooling achieved higher status in Kom and became mobile geographically and socially. The case of Anyway stands in sharp contrast. Chief Anyway was not educated but he was able to leave the place, migrated to the coast, and bought farmland where he cultivated cash crops. While in the coast he admired kfaang and started introducing it to his people by contributing in the construction of schools and paying teachers. His case illustrates that due to geographical mobility he assimilated kfaang and brought it to his compatriots even though he had never been to school himself. Similarly Ndocha escaped ‘traditional’ hierarchies and achieved prominence by taking advantage of the new possibilities created by the missionaries. One fundamental issue has been tackled in the Chapter: the role of missionary education as a form of technology that helped ignited social change in Kom including change in social relations. The teachers, who constituted one model of identity demonstrated how a new social structure can develop around a technology. New networks are ultimately fundamental to society and thus become its backbone and stimulate change leading to transformation. The Chapter has also contended that although the teachers embraced kfaang their ‘Komness’ remained intact. The next Chapter focuses on Kom encounters with different worlds of newness as a result of their mobility.