
Willibroad Dze-Ngwa, PhD
Department of History
The University of Yaoundé I
Republic of Cameroons
Email: dzewing@yahoo.com

Abstract
This paper intends to revisit the history of the First World War in Cameroon and establish its impact in the country from 1914–2014. It is worth recalling that clashing views and bitter rivalries among European powers drove them against each other; and one of the results was the First World War. Many European colonies were dragged into the War to support their “masters.” This was the case of Cameroon in which the War lasted from 1914-1916. Within this period, the joint Anglo-French forces defeated and ousted the Germans from the territory and attempted a joint administration that was not effective. This failed condominium resulted in the Anglo-French partition of the former German Kamerun in 1916. Through the League of Nations agreement, the British and French spheres of Cameroon were administered separately under British and French colonial legacies respectively. Long after the expulsion of the Germans and the end of World War I in Cameroon, the consequences of the War remained very glaring and bitter-sweet one hundred years after. Why and how was Cameroon involved in World War I? How was the war fought in Cameroon? What were the consequences of the war in the country? Using essentially the qualitative approach and consulting both primary and secondary sources, the paper concludes that the First World War had far-reaching positive and negative consequences in the country.

Keywords: Cameroon, World War I, Partition, Reunification, Impact.

RÉSUMÉ
Ce document se propose de revisiter l'histoire de la Première Guerre mondiale au Cameroun et établir son impact dans le pays de 1914-2014. Il est utile de rappeler que des visions contradictoires et les rivalités amères entre les puissances européennes ont poussé les uns contre les autres et l'un des résultats a été la première guerre mondiale. De nombreuses colonies ont été entraînées dans la guerre, soit pour défendre leurs "maîtres" contre l'invasion ou pour protester contre la domination coloniale. Cela a été le cas du Cameroun et la guerre a duré de 1914-1916. Au cours de cette période, les forces anglo-française vaincu et
chassé les Allemands du Cameroun et ont tenté un condominium qui n'était pas efficace. Le résultat a été la répartition anglo-française de Cameroun Allemand. A travers des accords de la Société des Nations, les Britanniques et les Français ont administrés leurs territoire du Cameroun séparément. Loin après l’indépendance et de la réunification de cette pays, l’expulsion des Allemands et la fin de la Première Guerre mondiale au Cameroun, les conséquences de la guerre sont restées très frappant et doux-amert ans après. Pourquoi et comment le Cameroun a été impliqué dans la Première Guerre mondiale? Comment la guerre a été menée au Cameroun? Quelles ont les conséquences immédiates et à long terme de cette guerre au Cameroun? En utilisant essentiellement l’approche qualitative et de consulter les deux sources primaires et secondaires, l’article conclut que la Première Guerre mondiale a eu de profondes conséquences positives et négatives dans le pays.

**Mots-clés :** le Cameroun, la Première Guerre mondiale, la partition, la réunification, Impact.

**Introduction**

The history of the First World War and its impact on Cameroon has been written and rewritten by many eminent scholars both within and out of the country. This paper intends to revisit the history of the War in Cameroon and rearticulate its impact in the country from the outbreak of the war in 1914 through the partition of the country in 1916 to the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the reunification of the Cameroons in February 2014. When the Germans annexed Cameroon on July 12, 1884, the hitherto strong, well organized and sovereign ethnic groups were bundled together and brought under strict German administration. By 1912, the Germans drew the first map of Cameroon and a new nation was born called Kamerun. Modern Cameroon is therefore, a German creation. The original small nations were juxtaposed and co-existed willy-nilly within the German created Kamerun. Small scale nationalisms and resistance sprung up in the territory, but were suppressed (Ardener, 1968). See Map 1 below showing German Cameroon).
The German Colonial administration in the country lasted for thirty-two years, 1884-1916 after which it was defeated and ousted from the territory following the outbreak of the First World War. Clashing views and bitter rivalries among European powers resulted to the World War which spread into their colonies. Many of the colonies fought alongside their “masters.” This was the case of Cameroonian who either fought for the German army to defend the German colonial masters from invasion or fought alongside the British or French forces to oust the Germans from Cameroon. The War in Cameroon lasted from 1914-1916 and the joint Anglo-French forces defeated and ousted the Germans from the territory. Within this period, the Anglo-French forces attempted a joint administration (condominium) that was not very effective. The result was the Anglo-French partition of the German Kamerun on March 4, 1916 (Elango, 1987).

Through the League of Nations agreements, the British and French spheres of Cameroon were administered separately under British and French colonial legacies respectively. On January 1, 1960, the French sphere achieved independence and became known as the Republic of Cameroon. On October 1, 1961, part of the British sphere of Cameroon, the British Southern Cameroons officially achieved independence by reunifying with the Republic of Cameroon (Kale, 1969). Re-union of the two Cameroons was renamed, the Federal Republic of Cameroon under the two governments of West and East Cameroon.
Political evolution moved the name of the country to the United Republic from May 1972-March 1984. From March 1984, the country was again renamed, the Republic of Cameroon. This political name-changing was to move the country toward greater internal cohesion from mere national unity to national integration. Evidently, long after the expulsion of the Germans and the end of World War I in Cameroon, the consequences of the War remained very glaring and bitter-sweet. Why and how was Cameroon involved in World War I? How was the war fought in Cameroon? What were the immediate and long-term consequences of the war? This paper attempts to answer the above questions and more.

**Why and how was Cameroon involved in World War I?**

During the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, Kamerun’s colonial master, Germany, was accused of having caused the war. As the War progressed in Europe, the Germans defeated one European power after another including France, Belgium and Russia. The Allied Powers, particularly, Britain and France, decided to extend the war to Africa and targeted the German colonies of Togoland, Tangayika, German South West Africa and of course Cameroon. It has been argued that “it was territorial covetousness rather than the question of imperial security that led France and Britain to attack German colonial empires.” In the case of Cameroon, Britain had always wanted to regain “all the territories which she had lost to Germany by default in the period of partition”, (Osuntokun, 1974) – territories believed to contain the richest soil and to be among the most productive areas of the world, (Calvert, 1917) with the most potential for economic development. The British Government had not forgiven Germany for her “unfair and unfriendly” annexation of Cameroon, and Britain herself for her own blunder in giving to Germany during the boundary negotiations those healthy areas on Nigeria’s eastern frontiers, suitable for British servants in West Africa. Britain also accused Germany of violating the Belgian Neutrality Pact and became actively involved in the war. It was a British tradition that “in a major war against a European power possessing territories overseas, such territories should be occupied by British forces as soon as practical”(Fanso, 1989) in order to act as a bargaining chip after the war.

The French, for their part, also had major grievances with the Germans over Cameroon, particularly over what is generally referred to as the Agadir incident of 1911. During this incident, Germany forced France to surrender major portions of French territories in Equatorial and Central Africa, including the whole of the seaboard, in exchange for her rights to a comparatively insignificant territory in Morocco. “For the French, the sacrifice they had been called upon to make painfully humiliating, for this spoliation of their territory cut the means of communication between the various colonies including the French Equatorial Africa save by river…”(Georges, 1916). So the French did not hesitate to avenge their humiliation in the incident by attacking Cameroon when the war broke out.

Long before the war and during the partition of Africa, the French considered Duala the only possible port for their colonies of Central Africa and were endeavoring to acquire it when it was ‘dubiously’ annexed by Germany in 1884. With the conquest of Cameroon in 1916 they therefore wanted back not only Duala and the territories they surrendered to Germany in 1911, but the whole of Cameroon, hoping to have a continuous territory stretching from Algiers to Congo Brazzaville.

When the War erupted in Cameroon in August 1914, General Dobell (a Briton) commanded a joint Anglo-French Expeditionary Force of 7000 men and two other forces. General Aymerich (French) commanded the joint Franco-Belgian forces. There were other French forces under General Largeau and Colonel Brisset in Chad. General Cunliffe also commanded a strong Nigerian regiment which operated along the Cameroon-Nigeria border. Indian forces came in to support Britain (Fanso, 1989). The Germans on their part had a strong army of German troops, policemen and para-military under the command of Lt. Colonel Zimmermann. The Anglo-French forces wished for a quick war in Cameroon, but the Germans
were not easily defeated. This was because all German planters, traders and technicians had military training; they mastered the terrain of Cameroon by virtue of longevity and local contacts; they had a unified command unit; the African troops had received good training; the German forces received support from some ethnic groups like the Ewondo under Chief Charles Atangana etc; and the German troops received assistance from the Spanish subjects in Rio Muni and Fernando Po (Ngoh, 1987).

Even before a joint expedition with France was agreed upon, British troops from Nigeria under Colonel Carter organized and prepared to attack Kamerun. On August 29 1914, they attacked and seized one of the German Forts in Garoua, but a few days after, the Germans recaptured their fort, killed the Commanding Officer, Lt-Colonel Macleans, and chased the British troops out of the territory. A British attempt to capture Mora also failed (Fanso, 1989). Another attempt was made in Nsanakang in Manyu Division where the British forces captured the area on August 30 1914, but one week later, on September 6, the Germans chased the British troops from Nsanakang killing many and seizing a good stock of ammunitions from them. This was disaster for Britain and Colonel Carter was replaced with Lt-Colonel Frederick Cunliffe. French troops also mobilized and started moving into Cameroon, particularly in Bonga and Zinga before serious clashes started (ibid).

Determined to chase out the Germans, a strong British naval power was combined with the Franco-Belgian efforts to confront the Germans. The Allied forces reorganized themselves and launched a three-front attack from the Douala seaport, from South East Cameroon and from the North. On September 27, the British navy and forces under General Charles M. Dobell captured Douala the German commercial capital. France, under General Joseph George Aymerich attacked from French Congo while General Cunliffe attacked from northern Cameroon (Ngoh, 1987). After Douala, the Anglo-French forces targeted the German capital, Buea, but in order to avoid the destruction of their beautiful works, the schloss in the town, the Germans withdrew “carrying all their troops into the interior and leaving the keys of the Government House with a German District Officer, who handed them over to the English, hence, Buea was captured without a fight” (Kale, 1969). The next target was another seaport town, Kribi, then Edea towards Yaoundé, while other forces were advancing from the North and the East. Before long almost all of Cameroon had been brought under the Anglo-French forces. The last German stronghold of Mora fell into the hands of the Allied troops on February 20, 1916 (Fanso, 1989). This date marked the end of World War I in Cameroon and the end of German administration in the territory.

The aftermaths of World War I in Cameroon

a) End of German Rule, Failed Condominium and the Anglo-French Partition of Cameroon
The War registered several bitter-sweet consequences from the start of the war in 1914 to 2014, a century after the war. The thirty-two year-long German colonial administration of Cameroon came to an end and resulted in a redistribution of the territory. Parts of French territories in Equatorial Africa which had been ceded to Germany in 1911 were returned to France; meanwhile Britain for her part satisfied her long wish to regain all the territories which she lost to Germany during the period of the scramble and delimitation of the boundary separating British Nigeria from German Cameroon between 1884 and 1894 (ibid).

With the defeat and ousting of the Germans from Kamerun, the Anglo-French forces established an Anglo-French Condominium in Duala from 1914 to 1916. This Condominium, however, failed due to disagreement between the English and the French on how to jointly administer the territory. This disagreement gave way to the unequal Anglo-French partition of Kamerun on March 4, 1916 (Elango, 1987). Map 2 below shows the unequal partition of Cameroon. The French were initially opposed to any partition of Cameroon, preferring an Anglo-French condominium until definite decisions were taken about the territory after the cessation of hostilities in Europe and elsewhere. They finally agreed to a provisional
partition in 1916 due to British insistence. The British insisted on the re-partition of Cameroon, refusing to have even half of the territory, although they claimed that there was evidence available in the territory that the people were “practically unanimous… to remain under British rule” (Louis, 1967) after the expulsion of the Germans. The British argued that they could not usefully occupy more than one-fourth of Cameroon. One can only link this attitude of the British with their dissatisfaction with the boundary drawn up with the Germans during the partition of Africa. Lord Milner, the British Colonial Secretary from 1919-1921, boastfully said that the small territories acquired by Britain in Cameroon and Togo gave them better boundaries, “bringing within our borders native tribes which have hitherto been partly within British territory and partly outside it” (ibid).

In the partition, Britain got one-fifth while France got the remaining four-fifths of Kamerun. This partition went into effect at mid-night on March 31, 1916. On July 10, 1919, British Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Alfred Milner and the French Minister for colonies, Henri Simon signed the Milner-Simon Agreement in London, which confirmed the partition (Ngoh, 1990). The fate of Kamerun now rested in the hands of the British and the French who introduced new foreign languages, ideologies and systems of administration.

Map 2: The Unequal Partition of Cameroon in 1916

These two opposing systems gave rise to what at independence were “… two distinct and obviously, uncompromising Anglophone and Francophone communities or former states, with the people of each affectionately and arrogantly attached to their acquired culture” (Fanso, 1999). The League of Nations, through Articles 22 and 23 confirmed the partition (Ngoh, 1990). British-administered Cameroon and French-administered Cameroon became Mandated Territories of the League of Nations. Their British and French spheres of Cameroon eventually sought independence from the colonial masters separately.

b) Separate nationalisms in the Anglo-French spheres of Cameroon

The Anglo-French partition of Kamerun did not augur well for the peoples of both the British and French–administered Cameroons. Soon after the partition Cameroonians regrouped themselves into nationalist movements, calling for the return of the territory as it existed during the German era. In fact this Pan-Kamerun idea was the pivotal point, which “embodied the aspirations of the Cameroon people for a recreation of their nation within the framework of the pre-1916 German protectorate of Kamerun.” (Kofele-Kale, 1980). However, Williard Johnson argues that, the Pan-Kamerun Idea as the basis for nationalism is a myth because the German colonial administration “did not create a durable legacy [due to] the fact that the German colonial administration had only a decade of relatively peaceful administration of the territory – too little time to elicit a sense of “national identity” (Johnson, 1970). Whatever the case, the Germans had created a sense of oneness among Cameroonians, at least in hindsight.

The Pan-Kamerun Idea notwithstanding, several internal and external factors contributed to the struggle for Cameroon’s independence and reunification. Some of these factors include: the harsh colonial policies in the territory, the influence of the Nigerian nationalists, the influence of the Brazzaville Conference, the Atlantic Charter which called for self-determination, the territory’s advantage of being Mandates of the League of Nations and, later, Trusteeship Territories of the UN, the American and Soviet anti-colonial policies and above all, the faith, confidence and determination with which the nationalists pursued their dreams. These nationalist struggles were carried out independently in the British- and French–administered territories. There is no intent here of presenting a detailed analysis of the causes of nationalisms in, and the reunification of, the two Cameroons (Ngoh, 1996); however, a summary representation will be made.

i) Nationalism and independence in Francophone Cameroon

In the French-administered Cameroon, the initial phase of nationalism was spear-headed by Prince Alexander Ndoumbe Douala Manga Bell of Douala, who called on Cameroonians to rise against the British and French administrators in the territory. In August 1919 a group of Douala people petitioned the Paris Peace Conference against the 1916 partition and called for “Cameroon for Cameroonians and Africa for Africans” (Fanso, 1989). Nationalists in the territory later regrouped themselves under the JeunesseCamerounaiseFrançaise (Jeufafrica), a political pressure group founded in 1938 for the betterment of the plight of the people. These nationalists started demanding “the suppression of the mandate system and the right of Cameroonians to elect their own representatives” (ibid).

Nationalists became more active with the legalization of trade union activities in the territory in 1944. The Union SyndicatConfédéré du Cameroun, (USCC), for example, organized bloody strikes against the French in 1945 in Douala (Rubin). In 1946, the Assemblée Representative du Cameroun (ARCAM) was created and representatives were voted into the Assembly. However, real nationalism came with the formation of the Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC) party on April 10, 1948 by Charles Assale, Leonard Bouli, Felix RolandMoumie, Ernest Quandie, Abel Kingue and Reuben Um Nyobe. Um Nyobe later became the Secretary General and architect of the party’s activities as from 1948. The party stood for
the immediate independence of French Cameroon, immediate reunification with British Cameroon, and no foreign intervention in the internal affairs of the country. The aims of the UPC pitted the party against the French authorities, and before long, the party was banned on July 13, 1955 in French Cameroon, while some of its leaders escaped to the British Southern Cameroons (ibid).

Constitutional reforms and elections were organised in French Cameroon shortly after the UPC violence. This led to the creation of the post of Prime Minister. Andre-Marie Mbida became the first Prime Minister in May 1957, but he soon antagonised both the French colonial authorities and the French Cameroonians. He was forced to resign February 17, 1958 and Ahmadou Ahidjo, who was deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Interior under Mbida’s government succeeded him on February 18, 1957 (Fanso, 1989). Ahidjo immediately announced his programme to include: immediate independence for Cameroun, immediate reunification with British–administered Cameroon and co-operation with France. He requested France to recognise Cameroun’s option for independence at the end of the trusteeship, and for transfer to Cameroun of all powers relating to the management of internal affairs (ibid).

France on her part requested the UN to end the Trusteeship arrangement over Cameroun whenever the latter requested. By October 24, 1958, Ahidjo expressed the desire of his people to achieve independence on January 1, 1960. The UN General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council, on March 12 and 14, voted to end the trusteeship system in Cameroun on January 1, 1960 (Ngoh, 2004). On that date, the former French–administered territory achieved independence and was named “La Republique du Cameroun” with Ahidjo as Prime Minister, and later President.

i) Nationalism and independence in Anglophone Cameroon

Nationalism in the British-administered Cameroons was much more complex than in the former French Cameroon. This was so because the nationalists in the territory were divided over four different political aspirations for the territory. There were the autonomists who wanted Southern Cameroons to be an autonomous region within Nigeria; the secessionists wanted the territory to secede from Nigeria and achieve independence as a separate political entity; the reunificationists wanted secession from Nigeria, immediate reunification of British- and French-administered Cameroons and immediate independence of Cameroun; and the “Foncharians” wanted secession from Nigeria, unification of British Northern and Southern Cameroons, and ultimately, reunification with French Cameroon (Chem-Langhee and Njeuma, 1980). A majority of Southern Cameroonians wanted secession without reunification and this idea was held and spread by traditional rulers who unfortunately did not have their own political party.¹ After much argument on the exact questions to be put to the electorate in the February 11, 1961 plebiscite, a Liberian, Angie Brooks, tabled a motion signed by Ghana, Libya, the United Arab Republic and the United States of America, which scheduled a plebiscite arrangement for the territory to begin by September 30, 1960, with the vote itself taking place not later than March 1961 (Ngoh, 1990).

The UN imposed a choice between Integration with Nigeria or Reunification with the Republic of Cameroun (Pungong, 1993). The people criticized the UN imposition and argued that the international organization lacked “faith and trust in people of the Trust Territory of Southern Cameroons”² and requested that the territory be granted independence separately without “living under the Government of the Cameroun Republic or the Federation of Nigeria”.³ The people of Southern Cameroons were not given any “Third Option” during the February 11 plebiscite elections. The two plebiscite questions were as follows:

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²Kamerun Peoples Party Area Headquarters, Buea, Vb-b (1947) 1, NA.B.

³ ibid.
Do you wish to achieve independence by joining the independent Federation of Nigeria?

OR

Do you wish to achieve independence by joining the independent Republic of Cameroon?

When the plebiscite results were published, Foncha’s Kamerun National Democratic Party (KNXP) was victorious with 233,571 votes while Dr. Endeley’s Cameroon Peoples National Congress (CPNC) had just 97,741 votes. Henceforth, the British authorities constitutionally transferred the territory’s sovereignty to Ahmadou Ahidjo as Head of State at mid-night on September 30–October 1, 1961. Southern Cameroons effectively gained independence by reunifying with the Republic of Cameroon on October 1, 1961 (Kale, 1980). Map 3 shows the reunified (present-day) Cameroon. Historically therefore, the Republic of Cameroon has two dates of independence: January 1, 1960 for La Republique du Cameroun and October 1, for the Southern Cameroons.

The British-administered Northern Cameroons voted in favour of integration with Nigeria and was soon renamed the Sardauna Province of Nigeria. In the plebiscite elections in that territory, 97,659 voters favoured reunification while 146,296 voted in favour of Nigeria (Pungong, 1993).

c) English-French bilingualism

Another impact of the First World War in Cameroon was the adoption of an official English–French bilingual policy. At reunification, it became very necessary to adopt an effective language policy for the country to protect the inherited Anglo-Saxon and French cultures. The English and French languages were adopted at the Foumban Constitutional Conference of July 1961 as the official languages of the new federation (Mbangwana, 2004). The two languages were adopted because English was the official language of the former British-administered Southern Cameroons while French was the official language of the former French–administered Cameroon. English-French official bilingualism was, therefore, a compromising and necessary choice to solve the immediate problem of reunification. In fact:

The choice of using English and French in Cameroon was arrived at after considering the expediency of using two languages that were historically relevant to both East and West Cameroon in the early sixties...[the numerous] national languages and the lack of a consensus on which of these could be used as the official language... [Made it logical] to use established European languages. Bilingualism (English/French) was seen as one of the most opportune instruments of unifying hitherto separated parts of Cameroon.4

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None of the numerous indigenous national language(s) could be considered for an official language because none of the languages was spoken extensively in the territory. Neither English nor French too could be considered alone for the official language because it would have created the sensation of hurt feelings in one or both of the parties of reunification. Since there was great and urgent need to weld the inherited Anglo-French cultures as embodied in the political, judicial and educational systems (Chumbow, 1980). English-French bilingualism was the best bet. Chumbow argues that “the choice of English and French as official languages…was simply dictated by pragmatism… and the leaders were under political pressure to make reunification work” (ibid). Even when English and French were adopted as official languages, many Cameroonians could speak neither of the languages.

d) English-French colonial legacies and dichotomies
As far as other consequences of the First World War I in Cameroon are concerned, the Anglo-French partition of the territory saw the adoption of Anglo-French legacies in the respective spheres of influence under the two mandated powers. This was obvious in the administrative, judicial, educational and legislative domains. After the reunification of the territory in 1961, the two territories were merged, bringing together two imposing foreign languages, two national anthems, two educational systems and two judicial systems.
Even the manner of appreciating democracy was different in the two due to the different colonial experiences. Understandably, these inherited Anglo-Saxon and French values rather competed with one another, most often, resulting in sharp dichotomies between the Anglophones\textsuperscript{5} and the Francophones\textsuperscript{6} of the country.

Being a constitutional minority in the country with about one-quarter of the country’s estimated twenty-five million people, the Anglophones argue that they are being discriminated, dominated and marginalized in Cameroon (Dze-Ngwa, 2006). Some Anglophone activists, under the Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC),\textsuperscript{7} describing themselves as a “stateless people with no defined citizenship or nationality,” have requested the United Nations to liberate them from the hands of La République du Cameroun. They argue that “the Southern Cameroons question is no longer an internal problem of La République du Cameroun because there already exist … two distinct entities which are not bound by any legal or constitutional bond (ibid). This group disregards national events like the National Youth Day (February, 11\textsuperscript{th}), National Day (May 20\textsuperscript{th}) which they consider as Plebiscite Day and a National Day of Shame, respectively. The SCNC sympathisers question why October 1\textsuperscript{st}, the day they achieved independence by reunifying with the Republic of Cameroon, is not being celebrated as their National day. After the celebration of the Fiftieth anniversary of the independence of French Cameroon on May 20\textsuperscript{th} 2010, it was expected that the Fiftieth anniversary of the independence of Southern Cameroons through reunification would be celebrated in 2011. After much pressure and dissenting voices from Anglophone Cameroon and beyond, the fiftieth anniversary of the independence of Southern Cameroons and the reunification of the two Cameroons was celebrated on February 20, 2014 in Buea.

**Conclusion**

From the above analyses, it can be concluded that Cameroon is a nation of special creation: a collection of hitherto autonomous nations forcefully bundled together by the Germans from 1884 to 1912 when the first map of the country was drawn. The aftermath of the war saw the ousting of the Germans from the territory, a failed condominium, and the resultant Anglo-French partition of the territory in 1916. The two territories adopted the British and French colonial legacies respectively. After about forty-five years of separate administration under the British and the French, the two territories officially reunified on October 1, 1961 to become the Federal Republic of Cameroon. The peoples of Cameroon became strange bedfellows after reunification with two conflicting dates of independence (January 1, 1960 for the French-administered territory and October 1, 1961 for the British Southern Cameroons), two official languages, two national anthems, two major educational systems and two legal systems. The reunification of people with different inherited Anglo-Saxon and French colonial legacies brought about Anglophone-Francophone dichotomies, which have sometimes resulted in tensions and even threats of secession by the Anglophone minority in the union. Despite glaring disparities and clashing views between the two colonial legacies, the differences have rather enriched Cameroon within the international scene, all as a result of the First World War.

\textsuperscript{5} Anglophones here refer to those Cameroonians who are ethnically rooted in the former British Southern Cameroon (present-day North West and Southwest Regions of Cameroon). They may not necessarily speak the English language. They are also known as “Ethnic Anglophones” and are different from other Cameroonians who acquired the English language through settlement or education. The latter are “Linguistic Anglophones”.

\textsuperscript{6} Francophones refer to Cameroonians who are ethnically rooted in the former French-administered Cameroon. They may not necessarily speak French.

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