

## RELATIONS BETWEEN THE 'IGBO CHURCH' IN TIKO AND THE CAMEROONIAN GOVERNMENT, 1982 – 2021

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### **Abstract**

*Tiko was once under the German and British colonial rule at different times. The British who took over from the Germans introduced Anglicanism as chapels were set up on the plantations left by the Germans. St Andrew's Anglican Church was one of the offshoots of the earlier chapels. This church later became known unofficially as Igbo Church due to the near absolute presence of the Igbo people from Nigeria as congregants. This study examined the relations between the Igbo Church and Cameroonian authorities which at a point turned sour, and is rarely reported by scholars. Primary, secondary and tertiary sources were employed in conducting this research. The social identity theory of Tayfel and Turner in which the processes of social categorization, identification and comparison are proposed were adopted to highlight the relations between the Igbo migrant group and its host. Findings revealed that the Igbo of Nigeria contributed to the growth and sustenance of the Anglican Communion in Tiko. Also, the government authorities imposed a levy on the church since its headquarters was in Nigeria instead of Cameroon, implying that churches that had their headquarters in Cameroon were not levied. The headquarters was later moved from Nigeria to Ghana and then from Ghana to Douala in East Cameroon. Moreso, Cameroonians that were not initially members of the Anglican Communion joined the church which was dominated by priests of Igbo extraction to become priests. Recommendations were made concerning the continuous cordial relations between the churches in Cameroon and the authorities after the soured relations in the 1980s. One of the recommendations was that the Cameroonian government should relax unfriendly policies against churches as they instill morality in the congregants which help to build public morality and ensure that only churches with questionable activities should be banned.*

**Keywords: Relations; Igbo Church; Tiko; Cameroonian Government**

### **Introduction**

Tiko is a town in Tiko Subdivision in Fako Division in the South West Region in Cameroon. Tiko Subdivision was administered as part of Victoria Division before 1971. In June 1971, Tiko Subdivision was created comprising Esuke, Ombe, Bwinga, Mutengene, Likomba, Missaka, Tiko, Mondoni, Moquo and Mudeka.<sup>1</sup> Cameroon is split into ten regions formerly known as provinces. Out of the ten regions, the North West and South West Regions are Anglophone as they were colonised by Britain while the other eight are Francophone by the virtue of being colonised by France. Tiko town in this study comprises of street 1 to 7, Motombolombo, Down Beach, Lima Beach, New Quarter, New Layout, Long Street, Water Tank, Upper Costaine and environs. The Igbo Church is located in Street 7. Likomba, Bwinga, Mutengene, Missellelle are not part of Tiko Town but Tiko Subdivision. According to oral tradition Tiko was discovered as a vast empty land in about the 17th century.<sup>2</sup> It is said that a Bakweri hunter from a village in Buea was coming down to Tiko to hunt, passing through Likomba and at times settled at Tiko. The Bakweri were equally coming to Tiko to trade with the people from Douala and the Ijo people of Nigeria. The founders of Tiko are mostly the Bakweri and the Douala.<sup>3</sup>

When the Germans took over Cameroon between 1884 and 1916, residential areas were mapped out for the settlers, Bakweri and Douala people in Tiko. Tiko is today regarded as a Bakweri land. J O Nwoke postulates that Tiko does not have original inhabitants but the Bakweri

claim it to be theirs because of its proximity to their villages.<sup>4</sup> From their villages they were going there for hunting expedition and trading with the Douala. This claim is being recognised by the government of Cameroon as no other ethnic group is struggling over the land with them. The Douala could also lay claim to part of the land, especially the Motombolombo part where they claimed their ancestors lived.<sup>5</sup> The view of J O Nwoke is not completely true because the Bakweri and Douala people could be considered to be original inhabitants since according to oral tradition they were amongst the first to found the land. During the era of the Germans the churches set up in Cameroon were Catholic, Presbyterian (formerly the Basel Mission) and Baptist. Following the loss of the World War 1 by the Germans, Cameroon was divided between France and Britain. It was during the era of the British that Anglicanism was planted.

This study scrutinizes some related works. J O Nwoke and Ify Emejulu write on the activities of the Igbo in West Cameroon from 1970 to 1997. Activities mentioned include truck pushing, trading and being involved in religious activities like the growth and sustenance of the Anglican Communion in West Cameroon.<sup>6</sup> J K Blackwell dissects the Igbo migration and entrepreneurship in Cameroon where he points out the maltreatment the Igbo went through in the hands of gendarmes and other security personnel. One of his interviewees stated that he was a member of the Anglican Church in Tiko.<sup>7</sup> M O Bonchuk avows that Nigerian migrants which he labels as 'Cam-Gerians' in Cameroon, especially in the South West Region were the largest number of foreign nationals.<sup>8</sup> R M Komo and N K Takor see the Bamilike as a mobile ethnic group like the Hausa and Igbo and they (the authors) regard the Igbo as having mastery in commerce and a precursor in commerce in Bamenda Grasslands, but the 1992 post-election violence in Bamenda saw the Bamilike taking over significant aspects of commercial activities in Bamenda.<sup>9</sup> Julius Amin quotes Konnings that the Igbo were in charge of British Southern Cameroons and treated Cameroonians with disdain. This was made possible following the takeover of the area by Britain in 1922 as a result of the loss of the Germans in world war one.<sup>10</sup> Mark Bolak Funtteh describes the Cameroon-Nigeria relations as being beneficial to both countries politically, socially and economically and these benefits were being impeded by transnational border insecurity threat.<sup>11</sup> U C Molokwu and V O Uchime appraise economic relations between Nigeria and Cameroon from 1982 to 2014 tabulating the volume of exports and imports between these two countries. They also aver the Igbo ethnic group was a major force to reckon with in commercial activities in some parts in Southern Cameroons.<sup>12</sup> Ify Emejulu and J O Nwoke identify challenges faced by migrants from Orlu Area of Igbo land on the sea route from Nigeria to Cameroon as sea routes followed by the migrants are mentioned.<sup>13</sup> W G Nkwi, H K Kah and M S Ndeh capture the notorious activities of the gendarmerie, a paramilitary force in West Cameroon as Nigerians and Cameroonians were harassed by this force.<sup>14</sup> These works touch on Nigerians in Cameroon but never dissect the rusty relations between the Igbo Church and the Cameroonian authorities which led to the 'nationalisation' of the Igbo Church.

The social identity theory of Tayfel and Turner in which the processes of social categorisation, identification and comparison are proposed are adopted to highlight the relations between the Igbo migrant group and their host. The central hypothesis of this theory as postulated by Tayfel is that members of an in-group look for negative aspects of an out-group, thus boosting self-image.<sup>15</sup> The in-group refers to the Cameroonian government authorities while the out-group refers to the Igbo. The Igbo people considered here are found in today's five core Igbo speaking states (Imo, Anambra, Enugu, Abia and Ebonyi). The Igbo speaking part of Delta State and arguably the Igbo speaking part of Rivers State are also inclusive. In juxtaposing this theory with our study, one could say that under categorisation, the Cameroonians referred to the Anglican Church in Tiko as Igbo Church because about 100% of the congregants were of Igbo extraction. Under the second stage, being a member of the church was a form of identification. In the last stage, there was comparison between the activities of the Igbo Church and other churches in Cameroon. The Catholic, Presbyterian and Baptist Churches in Cameroon had their headquarters

in Cameroon and were being run from there while the Anglican Church in Tiko had its headquarters in Nigeria and being run from Nigeria. The negative aspect the Cameroonians cited here was the Igbo Church in Cameroon being run from Nigeria instead from Cameroon. This arrangement compelled the Cameroonians to strategise to ensure that the Igbo Church in Cameroon was run from Cameroon and not Nigeria, so as to boost their self-image. The taking over of this church could be termed 'nationalisation' of the church.

In this study West Cameroon and Southern Cameroons will be used interchangeably. Anglophone Cameroon was known as Southern Cameroons under British rule and West Cameroon by 1961. Also, Igbo Church will be used interchangeably with Anglican Church. This work is divided into three sections viz the Anglican Church in Tiko, cold relations between the Igbo Church and Cameroonian government authorities and impact of the cold relations

### **The Anglican Church in Tiko**

The British erected Anglican chapels on the plantations left by the Germans and these chapels did not last.<sup>16</sup> Some of these plantations were brought together to be known as the CDC (Cameroons Development Corporation) formed in 1946. Members of these chapels included civil servants, some traders from Togo and Nigeria. There were also other nationals and very few Cameroonians. However, multinational settlers mainly from West Africa came together and established a congregation with its first service taking place at Ebenezer Baptist Church, Victoria. Z P Wilson, Macaulay Nyairo, De Graft Rosenoir and Olali made this possible. Their concerted effort with other Christians led to the formation of St Peter's Anglican Church, Victoria in about 1925. St Michael's Anglican Church was set up in Douala in the 1950s. There were also the St Paul's Anglican Church, Kumba and St Matthew's Anglican Church, Buea.<sup>17</sup> St Andrew's Anglican Church Tiko came on board in about 1940.<sup>18</sup> Pa Justice Isiuku was one of the earliest congregants of the church.<sup>19</sup> On 2nd November, 1941, the invitation envelope sent to the District Officer (D O) of Victoria Division for the opening of Foreigners' CMS Church House, Tiko bore this message 'He which soweth sparingly shall also reap sparingly; and he which soweth bountifully shall reap also bountifully- 2 Corinthians 4:6.'<sup>20</sup> Another source states that on the 10th anniversary of the commemoration of the establishment of the Anglican Diocese of Cameroon, Bishop Dibo Elango avowed that Anglicanism was planted in Cameroon by a group of foreign West African businessmen in mid 20th century. This commemoration which was held in Douala on 26th August, 2018 had in attendance Bishop (Right Reverend) Chidi Collins Oparaojiaku of Ohaji Egbema Diocese in Nigeria.<sup>21</sup>

As time went on the Igbo were the major worshippers in St Andrew's Anglican Church Tiko. For this reason, it was called by Cameroonians 'Igbo Church'. The Igbo Bible and *Ekpere N'Abu* (Ancient and Modern Hymns) were part of the recommended texts used for service. In the 1980s, there was just one Cameroonian who was the only Cameroonian congregant, probably because he was married to an Igbo woman who was an Anglican. In the 1980s, the number of church attendants of St Andrew's Anglican Church on a Sunday service was about three hundred. Some families that were members of the church between the 1960s and 1990s were the Njoku family, Okeke family, Odomobi family, Uzoma family, Nnaji Family, Isiuku family, Eziuku family, Ukaegbu family and Nwoke family. There were both men and women prayer groups. One of such groups was Pa Justice Isiuku group.<sup>22</sup>

The Anglican Churches in Cameroon were once under the Diocese of the Niger Delta, later the Diocese on the Niger and finally the Diocese of Owerri, all based in Nigeria. Marriage and baptismal certificates issued by St Andrews Anglican Church before 1975 bore the name Diocese of the Niger Delta. Late Bishops Benjamin Nwankiti and Jonathan Onyemelukwe visited the church for confirmation service in the 1970s and 1980s respectively. Pastor Livinus Njoku from Atta in Ikeduru Local Government Area of Imo State was the pastor of St Andrew from the 1965 to the 1990s.<sup>23</sup> He was also a businessman in Tiko Main Market. The likely reason for the

long stay of Pastor Njoku was because he resided in Cameroon and the headquarters in Nigeria probably was not posting pastors from Nigeria regularly. From the 1940s to 1965, St Andrew's Anglican Church was being run by church teachers. One of its Sunday school teachers for children in the 1980s was Mr Israel Isiuku from Amucha in Njaba Local Government Area of Imo State. He was also a businessman in Tiko Main Market. One of his assistants was Gideon nicknamed 'Borborbor.'

### **Cold Relations between the Igbo Church and Cameroonian Authorities ('Nationalisation' of the Igbo Church)**

Before 1983/1984 there was a cordial relation between the Anglican Church in Tiko and the Cameroonian government authorities. By 1983/1984 this relationship turned sour when the Cameroonian authorities imposed a levy on the Anglican Communion in Cameroon for it be controlled by a bishop in Nigeria. The fact remains that the levy was on the high side and the church could not afford it.<sup>24</sup> The option of being under a protestant church was mulled over. The church decided to collaborate with Presbyterian Church in Tiko which made it lose its identity. From about 1983/1984 to 1995, the church was run as an arm of the Presbyterian Church as Presbyterian priests were going there for ministration. St Peter's Anglican Church in Limbe was shut down for some time because it refused outright to pay the humongous levy and was not ready to form partnership with any other church. The rationale put forward by the Cameroonian government for the imposition of the levy and closure of the defaulting church was to check the proliferation of churches.<sup>25</sup> This does not sound convincing because the Igbo Church in Limbe (formerly Victoria) had long been in existence for about 58 years while that in Tiko was about 43 years old and cannot be assumed to be a new church in 1983/1984. The Anglican Church then was not known to be involved in any unwholesome practice as was the case in 2013, when the government of Cameroon ordered a clampdown on about one hundred Pentecostal churches in major cities for exploiting members of their congregation.<sup>26</sup> These churches were performing fake miracles according to the government while the churches claimed that the accusation was mendacious. Based on the protestation of the churches, the clampdown was due to their opprobrium on the government of the day. The Anglican Church through its teachings was not anti-government like Jehovah's Witness set up in 1962 and banned in 1970 due to its teachings and campaigns against the 1970 Cameroonian elections. In its preaching it discouraged people from exercising their franchise. This ban compelled its members to go underground. The ban was later lifted under President Paul Biya. It is said that after a visit by President Paul Biya to England, the identity of the Anglican Church was restored following the the intervention of Queen Elizabeth II during the President's visit.

There have been arguments (allegations) for this brouhaha. The first allegation is that the Cameroonian authorities under President Paul Biya saw the control of a church in Cameroon from Nigeria as a form of neo-colonialism. Neocolonialism is the process of especially former colonialists influencing activities of erstwhile colonies politically, economically or socially despite the fact that they are not physically present in the said colonies. Anthony Ndi had referred to the Anglophone Cameroon, earlier known as Southern Cameroons in 1922 and later West Cameroon in 1961 as an Igbo backyard when it was ruled as part of Eastern region of Nigeria. The Igbo were blamed for the backwardness of West Cameroon. He labelled the Igbo as 'Black Imperialists' who were not better than the British colonialists who colonised Anglophone Cameroon.<sup>27</sup> The narrative of black imperialism being pushed by Ndi could be linked to the preponderance of the Igbo in Southern Cameroons. They were in their numbers in the plantations, public works department, civil service and trading activities in Southern Cameroons. Huge numbers of the Igbo were found in Tiko, Kumba, Mamfe, Victoria, Buea and environs in Southern Cameroons. It was the fear of the 'Igbo imperialism' that made more Southern Cameroonians to vote in the 1961 plebiscite to join French Cameroon instead of Nigeria.

Analysing the view of Ndi, the British were the white and chief colonialists while the Igbo of Nigeria that were under British colonialists were used by them to colonise Southern Cameroonians. This political matrix in which the Southern Cameroonians were to be governed from Enugu in Eastern region of Nigeria was regarded by Cameroonians as internal colonialism. Internal colonialism in this study is seen as Africans being in charge of another territory in Africa, which is in contrast with the popular form of colonialism of Africa by European countries which could be referred to as external colonialism. In aligning with the thought of Ndi, the Anglican Church in Tiko still being run from Nigeria in the 1980s was seen as a form of neocolonialism because the Anglican Church in Tiko was being run from the Diocese of Owerri. The headquarters of the church had always been in Nigeria even after West Cameroon gained independence in 1961. In the 1980s, the Cameroonian authorities saw the overseeing of the church from Nigeria as a slight on their independence; hence, the need to place a levy on the church for it to be supervised by a diocese in Nigeria. Another allegation emerged linking the levy placed on the Anglican Communion in Tiko to the Bakassi peninsula dispute between Cameroon and Nigeria which became bloody in the 1981. Some Nigerian soldiers were killed by Cameroonian gendarmes on the disputed area which almost resulted in war. Some Nigerians fled Cameroon because of the crisis. The Cameroonians felt that the disputed area belonged to them as acknowledged by General Yakubu Gowon during the Nigeria-Biafra war of 1967-1970.<sup>28</sup> Leaders like General Murtala Mohammed, General Olusegun Obasanjo and Alhaji Shehu Shagari did not acknowledge the right of Cameroon over Bakassi, hence the 1981 shoot-out. It was believed that the levy placed on the church in the 1980s was a reaction from Cameroonians following the tussle over Bakassi with Nigeria.

### **Impact of the Relations between the Church and the Cameroonian Authorities**

#### **The head of the Anglican Church became the moderator**

The Anglican Church was swallowed by the Presbyterian Church as it lost its identity. Before the 1983/1984 the Anglican Church in Tiko, Kumba and Limbe were doing things in common like organising competitions. By 1984 the Moderator of Presbyterian Church of Cameroon who resided in Buea became the overall head of the church instead of the Bishop of Owerri Diocese. Reverend J.C Kangsen who served as moderator from 1969 to 1985 was the moderator when the Igbo Church became part and parcel of the Presbyterian Church. Reverend Henry Awasom was the moderator from 1985 throughout 1995 when the Igbo Church left the union. He stepped down in 1999.<sup>29</sup> Confirmation certificate henceforth bore the name Presbyterian Church in Cameroon instead of Anglican Communion. Presbyterian pastors were coming to minister in the church likewise the pastor of the Igbo Church going to minister in the Presbyterian Church, Tiko.

#### **Linking of the Anglican Church in Cameroon to IPWA (Internal Province of West Africa)**

In 1995 St Andrew's Anglican Church broke away from the Presbyterian Church and joined the IPWA. Cameroonians who were not Anglicans initiated plans in 1983/1984 to start producing priests and bishops. Before 1983/1984 there was no Anglican priest of Cameroonian extraction in the Anglican Communion. Those interested to become priests were trained at St Nicholas Seminary, Ghana. By 1995 the church was being run by Catechist George Echerebo (Nigerian) who was being supervised by priests (Reverend Father Conteh from Sierra Leone and Reverend Father Adayi from Ghana) of IPWA that were serving in the Anglican Church in Limbe and Kumba respectively. The following have served as priests in the post Presbyterian era in the Igbo Church: Reverend Father Elong (Cameroonian), Reverend Okey Precious Nwala (Nigerian), Reverend Ogusu (Nigerian), another Cameroonian Priest served after Reverend Ogusu, Reverend Joseph Ngijoe (Cameroonian), Reverend Father Augustine Chianumba (Nigerian), Venerable Richard Ashu-Egbe (Cameroonian) and now Reverend Father Bikom Divine (Cameroonian).<sup>30</sup> By 2007, all the Anglican Churches in Cameroon were placed under the newly created Anglican

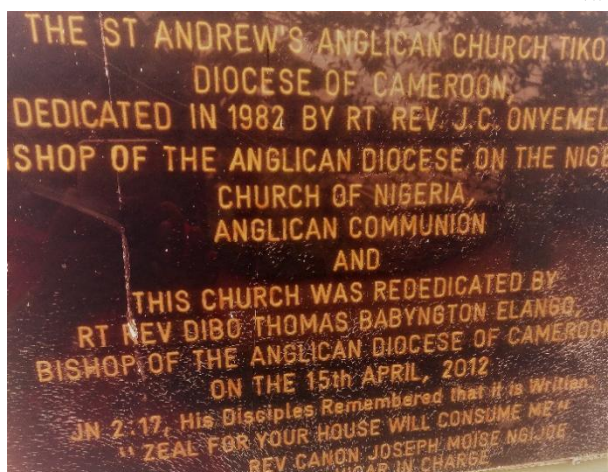
Diocese of Cameroon with headquarters in Douala with a Catholic born and Anglican-trained Bishop by name Right Reverend Thomas Elango Dibo as its first indigenous bishop. On 22nd August 2021, the present researcher attended the Igbo Church in Tiko and observed that some priests were referred to as Reverend Father and even sign of the cross on the forehead, chest and shoulders was used during the Episcopal Church service. He was informed that it was the nomenclature and mode of worship in the I.P.W.A (Internal Province for West Africa).<sup>31</sup> This implies that IPWA imbibes some aspects of Catholicism. It also endorses ordination of female priests. The only female priest is Reverend Chika who serves under administrative capacity in the diocese, but not as a priest in the Anglican diocese.<sup>32</sup> Some of the Igbo priests in the diocese include Reverend Canon Kenneth Nnamdi, Venerable Remigus Akachukwu, Venerable Humphrey Anyanwu, Reverend Canon Innocent Oko and Reverend Canon Kelechi Uzodinma. Others are Reverend Ifeanyichukwu Chidiebere, Reverend Faith Uche, Reverend Father Christian Nwachukwu and Reverend Father Ugwu Chukwudi Clifford.<sup>33</sup> This roll call shows that the Anglican Church in Cameroon is truly “Igbo Church” though there are equally a handful of Cameroonian priests.

**Nigeria lost its hold on the Anglican Church:** From about 1940 to 1983/1984 (43years) the Igbo Church in Tiko was under Nigeria. This was made possible because of the British colonisation of Nigeria, Northern Cameroons and Southern Cameroons as one territory from 1916 to 1961. On 11th February 1961, a plebiscite was organised by the United Nations Organisation in which Southern Cameroons voted to join French Cameroon. After 1961 the control of the church from Nigeria was still in place. With the levy imposed, the dissociation of the Anglican Church in Cameroon from its parent body commenced. The parent body lost funds that were initially going to Nigeria and no financial compensation was made to the parent body in Nigeria. The church building was dedicated in 1982 by Bishop Onyemelukwe (a Nigerian) and rededicated by Bishop Dibo Elango (a Cameroonian) of Anglican Diocese of Cameroon. By virtue of the Cameroonians taking over the church, along the line the conduct of service in Igbo came to an end. Church service conducted in the church in 1960s, 1970s and 1980s was in Igbo as the Igbo bible and *Ekpere n’abu* were used. The use of these books neither made Igbo adolescents, young men and women, especially those who could neither speak nor read Igbo language initially to begin to speak and read a smattering of Igbo language.

**Non-deterrence of Igbo in Worshipping in the Church:** Despite the takeover of the church by Cameroon, the Igbo continued to worship in the church even when it was under the Presbyterian Church in Cameroon. The Anglican priest, Pastor Njoku who facilitated the partnership of St Andrew’s Anglican Church with Presbyterian Church continued to serve as a priest with Presbyterian Church after the Anglican Church broke away from Presbyterian Church. The population of the Anglican Church in 2021 was almost the same as it was in the the 1980s. The church bulletin on 22nd August 2021 had a section of August celebrants who were seventeen in number, out of which sixteen were of Igbo extraction.<sup>34</sup> The sole non-Igbo celebrant was the wife of the priest, Mother Constance Ashu-Egbe. The church officials were Venerable Richard Ashu-Egbe, the Vicar; Mr Charles Iwuoha, the Priest’s Warden and Mr Christopher Nwachukwu, the People’s Warden. The lesson reader was Agnes Peace Isiuku, the conductor of the service was Judith Iwuoha while the preacher for the day was Bishop Right Reverend Dibo Thomas-Babyton Elango. The only Cameroonians in the mix here were the bishop and the priest.

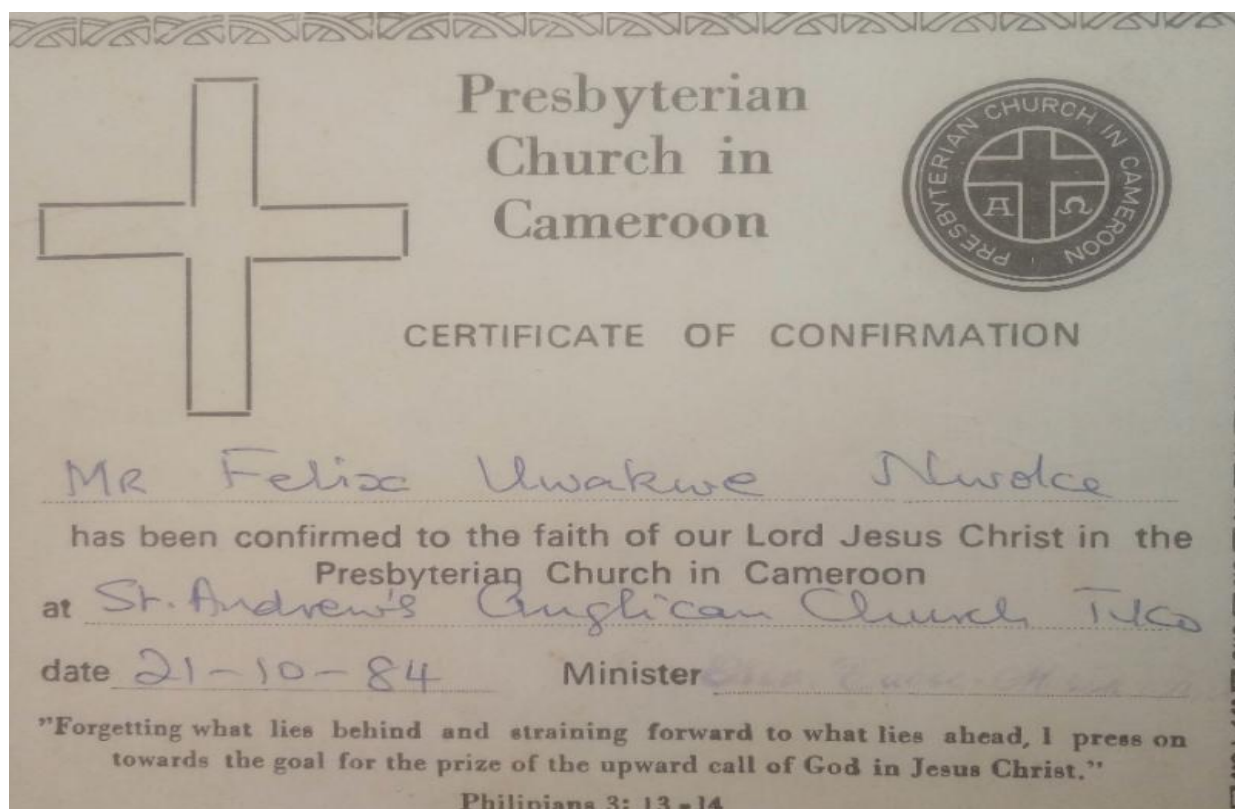
**Plate 1: A Plaque on the Wall of St Andrew’s Anglican Church indicating the Visit of Late Bishop Jonathan Onyemelukwe**

**Plate 2: Entrance to the Church**



**Source:** Snapped by Researcher

**Remark:** The Church was under the Diocese of Owerri before being moved to the Diocese of Cameroon created in 2007



**Source:** Snapped by the Researcher

**Remark:** Following the takeover of the Anglican Church by the Presbyterian Church, some certificates issued by the church bore the name of the Presbyterian Church in Cameroon

## Conclusion

St Andrew's Anglican Church in Tiko otherwise known as Igbo Church by Cameroonians due to its Igbo population was established in the 1940s. This church like other Anglican Churches was being run from Nigeria at one time or the other under the Diocese of the Niger, Diocese on the Niger Delta and Diocese of Owerri. In about 1983/1984 the Cameroonian government placed a huge levy on the church for it to be operational as it was run from Nigeria.<sup>35</sup> The church had to collaborate with the Presbyterian Church making it to lose its identity. The Anglican Church in



Limbe was shut down by the Cameroonian government for refusal to pay the levy and not willing to form partnership with any other church.

The social identity theory propounded by Tayfel and Turner is analysed to adduce the rationale for imposing the levy on the Anglican Church. Findings reveal that the Igbo of Nigeria contributed to the growth and sustenance of the Anglican Communion in Tiko as they were mainly the members of the congregation. Also, before the 1980s there was no Anglican priest of Cameroonian origin in the Anglican Churches in Cameroon. Furthermore, there is the claim that the imposition of the levy on the church and closure of a branch was not necessary to check proliferation of churches, but a subtle move by the Cameroonian government to initiate a strategy for the 'Cameroonisation of the Church' i.e for the church to have Cameroonian priests and to be headed by a Cameroonian bishop. Cameroonians that were not 'originally' members of the Anglican Communion joined to become priests which were dominated by priests of Igbo extraction. Moreso, a school of thought feels that the levy placed on the church to be run from Nigeria was just a smokescreen for the church to succumb to the whims and caprices of Cameroonian government.

Recommendations are made to guide against unfriendly policies of the Cameroonian government. The Cameroonian government should relax unfriendly policies against churches as they instill morality in the congregants which help to build public morality and ensure that only churches with questionable activities should be banned. Also, rather than the church registration process moving from the local administration to the presidency, approval should only be at the local level. There should be a government agency that moves about in every locality to ensure that any new church that springs up has the necessary operational document. Based on the policy of church registration in Cameroon, a prospective church will forward its application to the government of the locality. In the case of setting up of a church in Tiko, approval will be sought from the Divisional offices of Tiko Subdivision and Fako Division. From here the application moves to the Ministry of Territorial Administration and finally to the Presidency where the final approval is done which is time consuming. As at 2013, there were just 47 registered and recognised churches amongst the hundreds of churches in Cameroon.

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32. Mr J.J, C50years . . .
33. Calendar "Anglican Diocese of Cameroon of 2021"
34. Church Bulletin of St Andrew's Anglican Church Tiko for 22nd August, 2021
35. Interviewees have forgotten the exact amount of money imposed on the church. One interviewee said it was 100,000 FCFA monthly but was not too sure. The actual date when the levy was imposed on the Anglican Church could not be ascertained as the catechist of the church craftily refused to release any information to the researcher. In 1982 the church building was dedicated by a bishop based in Nigeria and by 1984 the Igbo Church was already part of the Presbyterian Church. The imposition of the levy could have been in 1982, 1983 or 1984.

