

THE AWAKENING OF NATIONALISM OF THE CAMEROON CLERGE OF THE AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN MISSION (MPA) (1940-1957)

Moïse Valère EBENDENG ONDO

Assistant, University of Douala (Cameroon); Email: ebendeng_73@yahoo.fr

Abstract: *Its area of evangelization of South Cameroon, missionaries of the MPA had introduced the ideas of freedom and autonomy among his flock to fight against French colonization and allow the political and social empowerment of black people. However, after the Second World War, while political leaders molded in schools of the MPA were fighting for the independence of Cameroon, African employees the Mission and trained to the awakening of consciousness began to assert their masters, the improvement of working conditions and the handling of the management of the heritage of the Mission. The pressure of the black clergy had pushed the MPA to grant independence to the missionary field giving birth, December 11th, 1957, in the Cameroonian Presbyterian Church (EPC). With the withdrawal of the American missionaries, the problem of the management of an important heritage designed since the end of the 19^e century arose, because pastors African, few in number, but avid authority, had not received the training required to ensure the relay of these Apostles of good new and well trained to the task to ensure the technical work in different medical institutions, schools, agricultural. So far, the problem remains real in this church, the opposite of self-propagating who brought the early Church to create more than 500 parishes in fifty years of independence.*

Key words: presbyterian; church; heritage; missionaries; nationalism.

1. Introduction

The forest south of Cameroon has been a favorable area for the apostolic work of the MPA. From the locality of Grand Batang where they have been established since 1866 from Gabon where they are driven out by the French colonial administration, they create, from the coast towards the interior of the country, in Boulou and Bassa countries, nineteen and establish a real Mission in the territory (AMAL, 2012: 30). In its apostolate, and in order to facilitate the autonomy of the Church born of my mission, the MPA remains faithful to the principle of the ideology of Protestantism which aims to make the missionary, a free being, capable of self-government (self governing), to be self-supporting (self-supporting) and to continue to spread the good news (self-propagating). To do this and to facilitate the conversion of the neophyte, the MPA has developed an important socio-economic work in its area of influence (Cameroonian Presbyterian Church, 1935: 2). These missionaries also train their followers in free expression and in awareness and awareness raising. Against the colonial administration in Cameroon under French administration. However, after the Second World War, the MPA will be within it, itself a victim of the awakening of nationalism manifested by demands for autonomy and independence of the missionary field of Cameroon, because of the treatment reserved for the native prelate. As we will see later. 1943 is the year in which the MPA grants internal autonomy to the missionary field of Cameroon by including certain blacks in the management of Church affairs. 1957 is the year of the birth of a local Church under the embers of the push of the demands of the local clergy, in a context marked by the hasty pressure of the nationalists for the accession of Cameroon to independence. The purpose of this article is to understand how the awakening spirit of black clergy nationalism took shape within the MPA. How the missionaries reacted to the multiple claims of the African clergy. To do this, we will first see how

the Black clergy feared the preponderance of White Missionary Pastors. Then we will see from the unhealthy climate that reigned within the Mission between the Whites and the Blacks how the local Church was born. Finally understand in what context the passage of the witness took place between Cameroonians and Americans.

2. The dissidence of the African clergy from the mission

The important event which marks the decolonization of the MPA's missionary field in Cameroon is the dissent of the Cameroonian clergy who claim the right of equality and consideration within the Mission. Their leader is Pastor Akoa Abomo (Akoa Mongo, 2011: 3), the only one who, at the time, could read and write English the basic language on which the texts in force in the missionary field of Cameroon were translated. To understand the motives of these demands, it seemed important to us to take an interest first in the situation of these Black workers within the Mission (Cameroonian Presbyterian Church, 1940: 4).

2.1. The precarious situation of the African clergy of the MPA

The Black collaborators in general and the African pastors in particular had a precarious situation within the Mission. The latter had no power. Pastors missionaries were both station leaders and patrons of African pastors. Pastor Bolivard Ondo emphasizes in this regard that, the Black Pastors lived with bitterness. Their role was secondary. Moreover, they realized that their assignments did not come under their jurisdiction which is the consistory, but of the goodwill of the missionaries, even if these are very young compared to the old black servants (National Archives of Yaounde, 1AC, 3523, 1953: 3).

Missionaries were superintendents responsible for overseeing a group of parishes at the stations, while the role of black pastors was limited to looking after individual parishes. However, the Board noted the progress made by the MPA in Cameroon and recommended the establishment of a committee that prepares the principles of transfer of powers to blacks to prepare them for the establishment of a responsible indigenous Church (AMAL, 2012: 33). Unfortunately, this action of the Board in New York remained underground and unknown to black pastors apart from a few unofficial indiscretions since the Cameroonian leaders were unaware of the action of the missionaries at the level of the direction in New York, where all the major decisions concerning the Cameroon missionary field were taken (National Archives of Yaounde, 1AC 1914, 1940: 2). These indiscretions led black pastors to make their voices heard through petitions. But on the whole, Cameroonian pastors, unlike politicians trained in MPA schools, had chosen the path of reason. These demands began with the advent of new jurisdictions within the Mission to prepare for the establishment of a local Church (Cameroonian Presbyterian Church, 1940: 5). The establishment of the courts was also consecutive to the creation of several parishes. The table below shows the evolution of the creation of parishes of the MPA in Cameroon, in relation to the number of faithful.

Table no. 1: Statistics of the evolution of the evangelization of the MPA in Cameroon 1929-1957

Years	Number parishes	Number of Stations	Numbers of Consistories	Number of synods	Number of Missionary pastors	Number of national pastors	Total number of communicating members
1929	52	14	01	0	22	22	31130
1936	52	14	01	1	28	49	38000
1946	64	19	03	01	28	60	46278
1952	86	19	08	01	21	71	74411
1955	155	19	10	03	20	86	75179
1957	195	19	10	03	23	90	76000

Source: AEPC. Minutes of the Mission Meetings from 1929 to 1957.

This allows us to notice that the number of Cameroonian pastors doubled from 1929 to 1936, that is to say in 7 years, going from 22 to 49 and doubled 21 years later. It must still be recognized that if this number experienced this slowed evolution between 1936 and 1957, it is because of the schism in the missionary field of the MPA, which gave birth in 1934 to the African Protestant Church (EPA) (Cameroonian Presbyterian Church, 1935: 6). On the other hand, the number of missionary pastors has remained almost static. At the request of the missionaries to create the Cameroon Synod to integrate blacks in the government of the Mission, the Board agreed. The condition for this jurisdiction to be created in Cameroon was to divide the Presbytery Corisco into three distinct jurisdictions. This is what was done during the Assizes of the Corisco Presbytery meeting in Sakbayémé from February 25 to 26, 1935 (Cameroonian Presbyterian Church, 1935: 7). This division was effective in 1936 and the three new jurisdictions which integrated the native pastors into the government were as follows:

The Corisco Presbytery:

- Moderator: Eduma Musambani;
- Secretary: A.I Good;
- 5 stations: Bénito, Batanga, Efoulan, Elat, Lolodorf (Bibia): 33 parishes with 17 national pastors and 05 missionaries.

The Presbytery Metet:

- Moderator: W.C. Johnston;
- Secretary: F.O. Emerson;
- 5 stations: Foulassi, Metet, Yaoundé, Bafia, Nkolmvolan: 19 parishes with 11 national pastors and 09 missionaries.

The Sanaga Presbytery:

- Moderator: L. Paul Moore;
- Secretary: Gustave Essombé;
- 2 stations in Edea and Sakbayeme: 03 national pastors and 04 missionaries (Cameroonian Presbyterian Church, 1935: 8).

These jurisdictions constituted frameworks of mixed exchange where dialogue was possible between the missionaries and the native prelate. The advent of the Cameroon synod had first led to the creation of a committee to integrate Africans into the decision-making circle, called the Synod Mission, which was a kind of board of directors (Cameroonian Presbyterian Church, 1937: 10). But in reality, this structure remained subordinate to the Mission Meeting which is mandated to administer the field on behalf of the New York Board. Then the increase of mixed discussion frames from consistories where whites and blacks meet and discuss problems from the church. Finally, the opening of a path towards the independence of the Church, with the increase of the faithful, pastors, consistories and a demand for the division of the synod, for a more rational organization of work. Already, in 1934, the assizes of the Consistory Corisco at the Olama Station had brought an evolution on the direction of the parish councils and the assignment of the national pastors who received their assignment according to the attachment towards the missionary. The custom of having whites as heads of local churches and black pastors as auxiliaries was opposed by the latter. With the spirit of independence which animated the consistories, the missionaries instituted in 1938, the mixed conferences which were not jurisdictions as such, but frameworks of incubation of the Blacks with the financial management and the administration (Cameroonian Presbyterian Church, 1938: 16). General of the Church. This conference brought together all the missionaries and all the black leaders of the evangelization zone. The object was to deal with special topics on the problems which could lead the natives to autonomy and independence. With the push for freedom and independence, the missionaries did not realize that they had not prepared enough Africans to administer themselves in the event of a possible departure of the missionaries. Certainly they had taught the gospel, but they themselves were omniscient and omnipotent in administrative

and financial management. The first such conference was held at the Elat station to discuss the accountability of blacks in managing the financial affairs of the Church (Cameroonian Presbyterian Church, 1938:17).

However, such conferences could not fail to reinforce the animosity and the spirit of protest which materialized and manifested itself publicly at the assizes of the Cameroon synod convened at Bibia Station by Lolodorf in 1940.

2.2. The protest of the black pastors at the Synod of Bibia

Discontent was becoming significant and visible among the African pastors of the MPA. The latter decided to openly let their colleagues know their thoughts white. It was therefore necessary to seek a means at the Cameroon Synod which was to be held at the Bibia station from November 25 to December 1, 1940. The black pastors wanted to hold a preliminary meeting two days before the meeting. Pastor Akoa Abomo, one of the most enlightened, having presented this proposal to the moderating pastor of the place was disappointed by the latter's categorical refusal. Pastor Etundi Essam, originally from the village of Melangue located 15 km from the Bibia station, invited his counterparts to hold the consultation in his village. The invitations having been sent, all 32 black pastors were at Méléangue's meeting. During the consultation, Pastor Akoa Abomo brought out the constitution of the American Presbyterian Church which stipulated that: All the ministers of the Word and of the Sacraments of the Reformed Churches are equal. They may have different levels of intellectual training, but they have the same rights in the exercise of the pastoral ministry to preach the Word of God and administer the sacraments, to be moderator of the session without needing assistance or the supervision of another minister (DEFAP, 1957:14).

The Black pastors seized these provisions to peel together all that prevented the frank collaboration between their Western colleagues and them. At the end of two days of reflection, they signed a 15-point petition, written in Bulu and English, by Pastor Akoa Abomo, and addressed to the Cameroon Synod whose work was to begin at the Mac Clean Station in Bibia (DEFAP, 1957:15). These 15 points simply summarized the involvement of black pastors in the management of the missionary heritage as early as 1940 and for missionaries to become fathers and counselors. In the petition it is clearly stated that:

Our Church is Presbyterian in name, but episcopal in many aspects, when the laws of the Presbyterian Church say that all pastors are equal in order of work, but may differ in wealth and wisdom (Esono Esono, 2014: 7). The missionary is the director of national pastors; he has the power to remove or accept those he likes. We are tired of being your workers with joy in our hearts, we are tired of following your plans doing only that the things you tell us every year, you received your honors when you were before us, now please place us before our people this year, and allow us to appear as co-workers of God in his Church (Eyezo'o Salvador. 2012:22). Be moderators of the Church of the stations and leave us those of the countryside. The spirit of the petition simply translates that the leadership of the Church was to be handed over to the Black Pastors at the end of 1941 (Cameroonian Presbyterian Church, 1941: 8). This transfer was not to wait any longer. The rush was clear and the emergency signaled. This request marks the recognition of black pastors to missionaries as sages and founders of the Mission, who deserve the role of pillars and counselors.

On reading it, the missionaries deemed the request worthy of attention and the following recommendations were adopted by the Mission Meeting held in Elat in 1941:

- The creation of financial committees in synods, consistories and stations; -Presidency of parish sessions by Black pastors, provided that they have experience acquired over three years with an elder;
- This plan, once adopted by the Mission, will be presented to the Cameroon Synod as the response to the request of the indigenous pastors;
- The unification of evangelical action through the creation of a joint committee;

- Recognize Black leaders as spiritual guides of the Church, for any other subject besides finances. Missionaries stand behind as father and teacher. They help black leaders in areas where there are still difficulties, for example in relations with the Government (DEFAP, 1957:22). But the withdrawal of missionaries from the Cameroon field had to be prepared. At the Cameroon Synod meeting held at the Sakbayémé Station the same year, it was decided that the handing over of responsibilities to blacks would be done gradually and gradually as the African pastors became more and more capable through a specific plan that inaugurated the era of the internal autonomy of the Church.

3. The internal autonomy of the church and the progressive integration of blacks in the management of the missionary heritage of the MPA (1943-1957)

With the recognition of the authority of the Black pastors, it was necessary for the missionaries to make arrangements and give new directions for the effective integration of the Black pastors in the management of the affairs of the Mission. From 1943, the latter could become moderator of parish councils without reservation. In stations, where there is a missionary pastor and a Black pastor, rotation was recommended according to the Church Constitution. From then on, a new spirit entered the missionary field of Cameroon. The response from America contained a whole specific plan of action for evangelical work in Cameroon (Cameroonian Presbyterian Church, 1935:8).

3.1. The integration of black pastors in the management of Church affairs

The year 1943 marked the evolution of the missionary field of Cameroon, in particular the change of the name of the Mission (Cameroonian Presbyterian Church, 1943: 2). Instead of the American Protestant Mission (MPA), the name of the Mission became, "the Cameroonian Presbyterian Mission". Presbyterian because all ministers were now equal. From now on, it was obvious that the Black pastors were really integrated in the management of the missionary heritage. This suggested that a path was opening for the independence of the missionary field of Cameroon. It was for this reason that the MPA had undertaken a hasty formation without any real solid basis. Integration was gradual and responded to a general plan that the missionaries had set up from 1943. (DEFAP, 1957:22) This plan dealt with all the aspects of the Church: finances, offices, administration. He gives details of the organization of the parish as follows: Black pastors can become moderators of parish councils without reserve. In stations where there is a missionary pastor and a native pastor, they rotate in moderation according to the Constitution of the American Presbytery Church. At the level of each jurisdiction (parish, presbytery, synod) various committees (finance, education and evangelization) were organized (DEFAP, 1957:23).

This plan was received with relief by African pastors. He clearly showed that the authority to lead the Church was ceded to the nationals. A decisive step was taken in 1943 with the election of Blacks as executive secretaries. Here are the first elected in the different jurisdictions:

- Corisco Consistory: Pastor Akoa Abomo François;
- Sanaga Consistory: Pastor Seigfreid Dibong;
- Metet Consistory: Pastor Atouba;
- Cameroon Synod: Pastor Akoa Abomo François;
- Secretary of the Church: A / E Avebe Okono;
- Treasurer of the Church: the nurse and Elder of the Church Bula Mfum (Cameroonian Presbyterian Church, 1938:10)

The time had come for the Mission to prepare for some time the future leaders of the Church, that is, the higher-level executives who could also represent the Church at the

international level. It was from 1945 that the decision was taken to carry out the time had come for the Mission to prepare for some time the future leaders of the Church, that is, the higher level executives who could also represent the Church at the international level. It was from 1945 that the decision was taken to carry out such training (Cameroonian Presbyterian Church, 1938:11). The departure of these Church executives for training began with Pastors Akoa Abomo François and Tjéga Joseph who were chosen for higher studies at Princeton Theological Seminary in the USA between 1947 and 1948. Pastor Meye Me Nkwele was sent to Mc Cornick Seminary in the USA for one year. Pastor Mandeng David will spend two years at Lincoln University in the USA and six months in Switzerland. Pastor Mvondo Atsam went to a conference in the USA in 1952. Pastor Biyong André and Andjongo Jean went to Aix – En – Provence in France for a year and returned in 1952 (Cameroonian Presbyterian Church, 1952:23). Pastor Abed Nego Makon and Mumbok went to France and America to learn the work of youth supervision. Pastors Awumu Jean and Bell Luc went to Switzerland to Neuchatel. Pastor Abengoyap and his wife went to Lincoln in 1958. Madam Oko Rebeca from Spanish Guinea was sent to the women of America to learn about the organization of women's movements within the Church. There were also laymen including dental technicians from Enongal who went to France for laboratory work (Cameroonian Presbyterian Church, 1955:23).

However, it is important to stress that these short-term training courses were insufficient to take charge of such an important work, the management of which was ensured by well-equipped and well-trained experts in the large Western universities. In most cases, these training courses did not lead to a university degree. This means that they were basically internships or seminars for a time and not training courses pursuing a normal course (Cameroonian Presbyterian Church, 1935: 9). It would therefore not be surprising to see the slippages in the management of the Church's heritage from the start. First decade preceding independence, because the first cadres likely to bear the weight of the new Church received hasty and superficial training during this period of internal autonomy. With the exception of Pastor Tjéga, dental assistants and laboratory nurses who returned from abroad after the training and who have become executives, pastors who went abroad received no executive training. They returned without being useful to the Church or to the Mission. These are the people who were the actors of the transition and the first people in charge within the EPC. Therefore, the transition to the evolving changes that were looming in the Mission was not on solid foundations (Cameroonian Presbyterian Church, 1941:8). On the ground, ten years after the declaration of internal autonomy in 1943 following the demand of blacks, one of the voices of involvement of Africans was the constitutional evolution of the Mission, in particular the creation of a second Synod. In 1953, by the division of the Sanaga Consistory into three. It is the Bassa-Cameroon Synod with the following presbyteries: Babimbi; Eseka and Sanaga (Cameroonian Presbyterian Church, 1941:9).

The creation of two Synods within the missionary field was to lead to the coexistence of two structures. On the one hand, the Mission, which held the movable and immovable property, the finances from overseas (Cameroonian Presbyterian Church, 1941:10). On the other hand, the Native Church, with its system of government and its finances coming from contributions from the faithful. This second frank of the Church was only a Church-worship. This therefore instigated the struggle for the autonomy of the Church with the integration of the Mission into the Church. The independent development of the two Synods within the Church had posed a constitutional problem because two Synods could not come together to form a General Assembly (GA) which has at least three Synods (Bokagne, J.R.B, 1982:9). Therefore, each jurisdiction was evolving on its own. Added to this legal twist was the language barrier between the two jurisdictions: on the one hand, the predominantly Bulu Synod of Cameroon and on the other hand the predominantly low-level Bassa Synod. This predominance will prevail until the emergence of other ethnic groups such as the Ntumu of the far south Cameroon, the Ngumba of the Ocean, the Bafia of the Center and the Makia of the East. The third problem that was posed

with the creation of two Synods was the jurisdictional absence at the top, because each Synod evolved on its own (Rev Ako'o Daniel Ndong Metet 02 May 2012).

In view of this situation, a committee called the Mission-Synod Committee was created which brought together the two tendencies: missionaries and nationals of the two synods. It was chaired by Dr L.K. Anderson, Director of the MPA in Cameroon (Cameroonian Presbyterian Church, 1941:12). The role of this committee was to deal both with issues that affected the two jurisdictions and to take care of the relationship between Church, Government and financial matters. The delegates appointed by the two jurisdictions and the Mission constituted the members of this committee which could take some decisions concerning the two synods. However, the MPA still had all the powers, so it was obvious that the chairman of the said committee was the Director of the Mission in Cameroon. (Rev Ondo Obiang Bolivar Ma'an November 21, 2011).

However, officials did not realize the fatigue created by this internal organization of the Church between the bassa on one side and the bulu on the other. Because of the linguistic border between these two peoples (the Bassa and the Bulu) and customs, this division into two synods had accentuated and worsened internal conflicts with consequences on the ground (Cameroonian Presbyterian Church, 1955:7). But also the frustrations orchestrated during this moment stimulated the spirits to agree on the need to have a General Assembly to resolve the ethnic problem within the missionary field of the MPA in Cameroon and to move towards the creation of a third Synod. (DEFAP, 1957:18) Thus, the Cameroon Synod reunited in Dan by Bafia from November 29 to December 5, 1955 formulated a request which received a favorable response from America and on December 8, 1956, the Cameroon Synod was divided during its meetings in the parish of Monekoo by Sangmélina thus giving birth to the East Cameroon Synod which extended from Sangmelima to Bafia and Akonolinga in Yokadouma with the following Presbyteries: Yaoundé; Nkolmvolan; Metet (Cameroonian Presbyterian Church, 1951:5).

3.2. The establishment of a General Assembly and the taking in May of the destiny of the young Church by the nationals

With the creation of this third synod, the establishment of a GA was evident, both among missionaries and nationals. The Cameroon Synod also changed its name and was henceforth called MUNICAM, having within it a Consistory whose powers extended to Spanish Guinea. The table below shows us the jurisdictional configuration of the Church in 1956 (Cameroonian Presbyterian Church, 1956:11).

Table no. 2: The jurisdictions of the Church in 1956.

Synods	Consistories	Number of Pastors
Synod MUNICAM	Ambam	07
	Corisco Rio Muni (Spanish Guinea)	05
	Ntem	16
	Corisco Kribi	15
Synod Bassa	Babimbi	09
	Eseka	13
	Sanaga	08
Synod East Cameroun	Metet	12
	Kadey	09
	Yaounde	08

Source: Table produced from the AEPC.

This table shows us that it was time for the Mission to prepare a cession of the missionary field to nationals already in sufficient number with the necessary jurisdictions with 03 Synods, 10 consistories and 101 local pastors to constitute a GA chaired by a Cameroonian (DEFAP, 1957:19). Taking into account the crisis which prevailed in the whole of the territory and the idea of independence which already animates the two parts, the Presbyterian Church of the USA, in its 196th GA had approved the establishment of a GA in within the Cameroonian Presbyterian Church in December 1957 Taking into account the changes which were to take place in the passage from the Mission to the Church, certain terminologies had been modified as follows:

- The EPC replaces the MPA;
- The term missionary is replaced by that of fraternal collaborator;
- The term Presbytery is replaced by that of Consistory (Cameroonian Presbyterian Church, 1941:20).

To this was added the Africanization of executives at the level of the management of institutions and the active participation of blacks in medical and agro-pastoral work and in the management of land rights that the MPA was to transfer to the EPC from the start. Establishment of the GA in 1957 (Eyezo'o, Salvador. 2012:30), But what was the level of education of the executives who were to succeed these doctors and engineers in the various institutions? On December 11, 1957, the first GA of the EPC opened in the temple of Elat in Ebolowa, with Pastor Mvondo Atsam Simon of the Consistory Ntem as the first Moderator, Synod MUNICAM, elected by 112 votes against 88 votes for its competitor Essomé Gustave of the Sanaga Consistory, Bassa Synod. Pastor Akoa Abomo of the Consistory Corisco Kribi, MUNICAM Synod was elected first Secretary General of the Church with 144 votes against 58 for Pastor Menye me Mkwele of the Ntem Consistory, MUNICAM Synod. As a transfer of the powers and the patrimony of the Church, Dr. Eugene Blake, representative of the Board handed the Secretary General elect the book of the Constitution of the Church (Cameroonian Presbyterian Church, 1941:19). Thus began a new era for the history of Presbyterianism in Cameroon based on the teachings received, but without a solid foundation for ensuring the succession of missionaries. The presence of colonial authorities, Cameroonians and other religious denominations in Elat the day of zthe proclamation of the independence of the EPC, testifies to the importance and the influence that the MPA had in Cameroon and the responsibility that awaited the nascent Church with officials little equipped to manage the big structures created by missionaries with funds from overseas (Cameroonian Presbyterian Church, 1941:21).

In short, the EPC, like the other Churches born from the missionary fields in Cameroon, had its independence at the end of the nationalist movements due to the multiple demands of the Cameroonian pastors to manage the heritage: finances, institutions and evangelization. This is what was done during the GA held in Elat from December 11, 1957. However, the question arises as to whether Africans were prepared to manage this heritage from another civilization with regard to their level of training. For from the Melangue meeting in 1940 to the holding of the first GA in 1957, there are only 17 years in which no emphasis has been placed on the formation and management of the Church. (Cameroonian Presbyterian Church, 1955:18). So it goes without saying that with the transfer of the patrimony of the Mission to the Church, the limits of management and management and the struggles for leadership are evident to this day. This poses the obvious problem of autochthony and autonomy of the Churches resulting from the Western Missions in Africa in general and in Cameroon in particular.

References:

1. AMAL, (2012). The plan of administration of the Church of Jesus Christ in Cameroon, 1943. Unpublished.

2. DEFAP, (1957). 'Minutes of the EPC General Assembly, Elat.
3. National Archives of Yaounde (ANY), 1AC, 3523, (1953). The MPA from 1889 to 1953, Yaoundé. October 6.
4. National Archives of Yaounde (ANY), 1AC 19 (14), (1940). 'UPC File. Communism. Protestant missionary judges communism. EPC, letter from the national pastors to the Cameroon synod from November 25 to December 1, to Bibia.
5. EPC, F. Akoa Abomo, n.y. African History: The Mission and the Presbyterian Church to Cameroon, unpublished.
6. Cameroonian Presbyterian Church (EPC), (1940). Letter from national pastors to the synod of Cameroon from November 25 to December 1.
7. Cameroonian Presbyterian Church 'EPC), (1935, 1938, 1941, 1942, 1944, 1951, 1953, 1956, 1957). Minutes Mission Meeting,
8. Cameroonian Presbyterian Church (EPC), F. Akoa Abomo, African History: The Mission and the Presbyterian Church to Cameroon, unpublished.
9. Cameroonian Presbyterian Church (EPC), (2011). Biography of François Akoa Abomo.
10. Cameroonian Presbyterian Church (EPC), (1951). EPC Manoah Parish Minutes.
11. Cameroonian Presbyterian Church (EPC), (1955). Minutes Synode Cameroun, Dang- Bafia, November 29, December 04.
12. Cameroonian Presbyterian Church (EPC), Moubitan in Mepuoi, Actor and witness of 50 years of evangelization, Unpublished.
13. DEFAP, (1957). The Reports of the Representative Conference of the Church at the Presbyterian Mission.
14. DEFAP, (1957). Minutes of the first General Assembly of the Cameroonian Presbyterian Church.
15. Feukeng, E. (1991). The national movement of Cameroon (MANC) and the framework law 1956-1961, dissertation by DIPES II in history, ENS, Yaoundé.
16. Essono Essono, (2014), The Presbyterian Mission in Spanish Guinea, from its origins to 1957", dissertation in Theology, Protestant University of Central Africa.
17. Bokagne, J.R.B, (1982). The Bases of the Cameroonian Presbyterian Church. Doctoral thesis in Theology, Protestant Institute of Theology.
18. Ondo Mvomo Abel 82 years old Former catechist of the MPA Mekomo II May 22, 2011
19. Rev Jean Samuel Zoé Obianga 75 years EPC Pastor and former Dean of the Faculty of Protestant Theology of Yaoundé Yaoundé May 22, 2011
20. Rev Ondo Obiang Bolivar 76 year's Former moderator of GA EPC Ma'an November 21, 2011.
21. Rev Ako'o Daniel 77 years old Pastor EPC Ndong Metet 02 May 2012.
22. Mbembé, Ruben Um Nyobé A, (1984). The Cameroonian national problem. Harmattan: Paris.
23. Eyezo'o, S. (2012). The Emergence of the African Protestant Church (EPA-Cameroon) 1934-1959. CLE: Yaoundé.
24. Akoa Mongo, F, (2011). Pastor François Akoa Abomo: man and work. Softcover, Xlibris Coporation.