

EVANGELISTS OR ENVOYS ?

The role of British missionaries at turning points in
Malagasy political history, 1820 - 1840.

Documentary and Analysis.

Sigmund Edland

Preface.

I was given the privilege to live and work in the Malagasy Lutheran Church in an interesting period when the Nation, the Church and the Theological education went through great changes. My years of work within the Malagasy Lutheran Church (Fiangonana Loterana Malagasy – FLM), 1973 – 1986 and 2000 – 2002, and especially the years as teacher in church history at the Lutheran Theological Seminary (STL), 1979 – 1986 and later the Lutheran Faculty (Sekoly Ambony Loterana momba ny Theolojia – SALT) 2000 – 2002, at Ivory, Fianarantsoa, contributed greatly to my involvement and interest in the study of Malagasy history and church history. Finding a lot of unanswered questions about the early church history led me to investigate further and write a book about the history of the Malagasy Lutheran Church for the use of the Regional Lutheran Seminaries – STPL. (This book: *Tantaran'ny Fiangonana Loterana Malagasy*, was printed at TPFLM, Antananarivo 2000). But those studies opened my eyes to the importance of the Martyr Church in the Malagasy church history and caused me to continue my studies. The result of my investigation I present in my thesis as a tribute to the fine women and men of the mission and the church, who created the first strong foothold for Jesus Christ in Madagascar.

My first thanks go to the School of Mission and Theology in Stavanger where I received my education as a theologian and missionary. Here my interest in the science of mission awakened. I have been especially deeply indebted to three Norwegian scholars and former missionaries in Madagascar who I met at that school or in the milieu around it: dr. Fridtjov Birkeli, dr. Otto Christian Dahl and dr. Ludvig Munthe. Their friendly behaviour to me, a young student, and their interesting books and publications have given me great inspiration and much knowledge. When I started my studies I first met the Malagasy church history in reading dr. Birkeli's passages on the Norwegian Lutheran Mission in Inland Madagascar in: Nome, John (ed.) *Det Norske Misjonsselskaps historie I hundre år*, Bind IV, Birkeli Fridtjov: *Madagaskar Innland*, from which arose an everlasting interest in the subject. Later I read his profound thesis, *Politikk og Misjon*, about the first decades of Lutheran work in Madagascar, 1861 – 1875. Later dr. Munthe became my teacher in church history, and he broadened my knowledge of the history of the interesting island. My conversations with those three men and with other elder missionaries, like Thor Torbjørnsen, Foreign Secretary of NMS, were of great inspiration when I started teaching church history. A special thanks is due to dr. Munthe for leading me to my first investigation in Mauritius Archives, and for all his encouragement and engagement in my studies afterwards.

My next thanks go to my many Malagasy and missionary colleagues and friends, who through fellowship in faith and work in various ways have contributed to my insights into Malagasy affairs.

I am also indebted to The Norwegian Lutheran School of Theology in Oslo for the knowledge and inspiration I've received through the education in the doctoral programme I have followed from 1994 to 2003. The professors of the Faculty and the seminary group have provided much interesting commentary and many adjustments to my work. Thanks also to the School of Mission and Theology for their receiving me in their doctoral programme when I demanded a transfer to this faculty for practical reasons.

I am especially indebted to my supervisor, Professor Torstein Jørgensen at the School of Mission and Theology, for taking a personal interest in my project and offering his comments in order to clarify the arguments in the present thesis.

My thanks also go to Dr. Brian Russell Graham, of University of Lund, for his great work revising the language

Finally my thanks go to Stavanger Bispedømmeråd for giving me three months leave to pursue my investigations in Mauritius Archives in 1995 and five weeks leave to complete the work in 2004.

Above all I am indebted to my wife, Ingeborg, and to our three children for sharing the joys and hardship of missionary life in Madagascar, and by their love enabling me to complete this thesis.

Finnøy in October 2005.

Sigmund Edland

Glossary:

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| Andevo – | the slave cast |
| Andriakitamaso – | God, seen by the eyes, i.e. the sacral king |
| Andriambaventy – | The great Judge having the highest authority over the civilians |
| Andriana – | the Noble cast - also used as name of the king |
| Andriananahary – | God, the Lord Creator |
| Andriamanitra – | God, the Lord that smells good |
| Angady – | spade |
| Fady – | taboo |
| Fandroana – | the Holy Bath ceremony |
| Fanompoana – | feudal servitude or forced work for the authorities |
| Fatidra – | blood covenant or Blood Brotherhood |
| Fazambazaha – | the tombs of the Europeans |
| Fiangonana – | church |
| Fokonolona – | the village council of elders empowered to decide local cases |
| Hanatra – | swelling in the Groin |
| Hasina – | token of respect to the king |
| Hazomanga – | the blue pole, i.e. the sacrifice place in the village |
| Hova – | the cast of free citizens – also used as name of Imerina |
| Kabary – | speech or official message, the kings meeting with the people |
| Kabary tsy valiana – | speech you are not obliged to answer, i.e. preaching in church |
| Lovan-tsofina – | inheritance of the ears |
| Menabe – | area directly under the king's rule (Mena = red, the king's colour) |
| Menakely – | area under the rule of a Nobleman or feudal chief |
| Manamasina Anao Tompokolahy – | I honour You my Lord |
| Manompo – | to serve |
| Martiora – | martyr |
| Merina – | adjective of Imerina |
| Mpisikidy – | diviner |
| Mpivahiny – | stranger or pelerine |
| Namana – | friend, used about the counsellors of Radama's father |
| Ody, (oudi) – | charms |
| Ombiasa – | sorcerer |
| Ovah or Ova – | Hova – often used by the Europeans as name for Imerina |
| Sampy - | idol or talisman, royal (national) or private |
| Sikidy – | divination |
| Sorabe – | the writing of the Malagasy language with Arab letters |
| Tangena – | ordeal with the poison of the tangena fruit |
| Tantara – | history |
| Tantaran'ny Andriana – | history of the kings |
| Tody – | retaliation |
| Tokantranomaso – | illegitimate wives etc |
| Tompomenakely – | feudal chief or master of a Menakely-land |
| Tsiny – | guilt or guiltiness |
| Vadin'Tany – | member of the king's council and responsible for one area of the kingdom |
| Vazimba – | name of the former inhabitants – eventually the ancestors |
| Zanahary – | God, the Creator |
| Zanak'i Malates – | children of the mulatto, name of descendants of the pirates |
| Zazahova – | A pawn, or people of the Hova cast, reduced to slavery |

Rabary: Martiora Malagasy. Tantaran'ny fanenjehana mangidy niaretan'ny kristiana teto Madagaskara tamin'ny "tany maizina"
= The Malagasy martyrs. The history of the bitter persecution the Christians here in Madagascar sustained in the "dark earth or place"

Rabary: Ny Daty Malaza, na ny Dian'i Jesosy teto Madagaskara
= The famous dates, or the way (or steps) of Jesus here in Madagascar.

Clark: Tantaran'ny Fiangonana eto Madagaskara hatramy ny fiandohany ka hatramy ny taona 1887
= The church history here in Madagascar from the beginning to the year 1887.

Abbreviations

BAM = Bulletin de l'Académie Malgache, Tananarive, Imprimerie Officielle, 1902 -
La Gazette = La Gazette des Iles de la Mer des Indes, Port Louis, Mauritius
OSA = Omaly sy Anio. (Hier et Aujourd'hui) Revue du Département d'Histoire de l'Université de Tananarive. 1975 -
MA = Maritius Archives, the National Archive in Coromandel, Mauritius
MA, HB = HB- series in the archives, mostly concerning Madagascar papers
MA, RA = Letters from foreign countries. Group R = Secretariat, containing the correspondences with the Governor and the Chief Secretary
LMS = London Missionary Society
LMS, Mad. = LMS archive, Africa & Madagascar, Madagascar Incoming letters 1774 - 1830
LMS, Maur. = LMS archive, Mauritius Incoming letters
LMS, Mad, Journals = LMS archive, Africa & Madagascar, Journals Madagascar / Mauritius 1816 - 1892

Textual Notes

Dates in the notes are represented in the day/month/year format, such that 06.11.23 means November 6, 1823. In the text I have usually used: the 6th of November 1823 or (06.11.23). The century to which double-year digits belong should be clear from the context. For some citations, no specific day in a month is available, and this is normally indicated in the following manner: November 1823.

In the LMS archive all documents are placed in: Box, Folder and Jacket. Instead of writing B2, F4, JA I have only written: 2.4.A, etc. In Mauritius Archives each volume has its own number. Some of the volumes have two or several parts, which may be mentioned, par exemple: HB-7,2. In HB-19, which exclusively contains Lyall's Journals, I have only mentioned the number of the journal, par exemple: HB-19, No 17.

Translations from Malagasy, Creole French and other language into English in the footnotes are the author's, except where explicitly stated. French quotations are usually not translated.

Orthography for nineteenth-century Malagasy, French and English words reproduced in the quotations has not been modified from the original, except where stated explicitly in the text or notes. Reading or writing errors may occur because many hand-written manuscripts have been badly written or in a bad conditions. Errors and deviations from modern usage, punctuation, and spelling in the quotations has not been modified with a "(sic)". Underlined parts of the quotations are usually set with **bold face** scripture instead of using the underlining.

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Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 General remarks

The history of the Christian mission in Madagascar is fascinating because the first attempts were either disastrous or without lasting results. Catholic missionaries from Portugal and France tried several times to establish mission work in different places on the coasts in the centuries after the European discovery of the great island. But political problems and lack of recourses forced them away again, even if they had some success in the French colony in Fort Dauphin (1642-74) and could print the first Christian book in the Malagasy language: a Catholic catechism. The first protestant attempt in Tamatave (1818-19), where five of six members in the two missionary families died, was also utterly disastrous. Far better was the second attempt, which allowed them to establish promising mission work in inland Madagascar in 1820. Despite successful the first decade, things changed, and the missionaries were thrown out of the country in 1836. The Christian religion was prohibited in 1835 and the young Malagasy church entered a Martyring period, which lasted until 1861.

My first interests in the Martyr church appeared when I studied the establishing and growth of the Norwegian Lutheran Mission in Madagascar (NMS, from 1867), as a preparation for a History of the Malagasy Lutheran Church. To my astonishment I found that the success of that mission of the first decades was to a great extent owed to the Martyr church, a fact that even Bishop Hans P. S. Schreuder and other prominent Norwegian missionaries neglected in their reports. Reading the fascinating history of the Malagasy martyrs augmented my interest. But all the stories I read caused more questions, especially: Why did promising mission work change to disaster and martyrdom? This question caused me to look for possible answers everywhere I could find something, and finally led me into Archival studies.

In 1985, when I worked as a teacher in church history at the Theological Seminary of the Malagasy Lutheran Church (STL) in Ivory, Fianarantsoa, Professor dr. Ludvig Munthe asked me to enter a programme of two months research in the Mauritius Archives. Working together with Professor Ravoajanahary Charles from Antananarivo University, I stayed there in January and February 1986. We made an inventory of materials concerning Malagasy history in Mauritius Archives, and the results were later published by dr. Munthe in: *Munthe, Ludvig: Liste d'inventaire sur Madagascar. Publication offerte par "La cooperation culturell Norvège – Madagascar". (Departementet for Utviklingshjelp) Oslo 1987*, in the two Volumes: *HB – Series Mauritius*, and *Newspapers Mauritius*.

This research showed me what a huge collection of letters and reports are gathered there, and seemed to suggest where some answers to my questions might be found. To my astonishment I later found that very few scholars had in fact made use of this material in the studies about the actual period in Malagasy history. In 1995 I was able to go back to Mauritius Archives and work there for about three months, and the result from this research is one of the pillars of my thesis.

1.2 Geography and period

Geographically my work is mostly concentrated about the Merina kingdom in inland Madagascar with its capital Antananarivo, where the first missionary arrived in 1820. But since the Merina kingdom expanded throughout a greater part of the island in the following years, my work is not concentrated on Imerina only, but includes in

some way other parts of the kingdom, though independent areas outside the kingdom won't be focused on. Since the cooperation with the British government in the famous "Treaty for the Abolition of the Slave Trade" was the political key point in that period, Mauritius is also concerned because most of the correspondence with British authorities went through the governor of Mauritius in that time. As far as needed, I also look to the French colonies in Reunion (or "Ile de Bourbon" as it was named in those days) and St. Mary Island (or "Ile de St. Marie"), although Radama's expansion chased the French interests off the mainland of Madagascar.

The period in focus is the very initial phase of the British missionary enterprise in Imerina from 1820 to 1840. This period limits itself in a natural manner, since David Jones, the first missionary, arrived in Antananarivo in 1820, and the same David Jones left the capital in 1840 as the last visiting missionary – together with Griffiths, who had retired as missionary and worked as trader there. But to be able to understand those 20 years I have also given some aspects of the history of the western Indian Ocean, concerning Madagascar and the French and British colonies, Reunion and Mauritius. Especially interesting are the years from 1810, when Mauritius became a British colony under governor Farquhar, and Radama I inherited the Merina kingdom.

Within the main period I found three clearly differing periods: Radama I expanding his reign in cooperation with his British allies, 1820-28, the consolidating of a new reign under the prime minister Andriamihaja, 1828-30, and Madagascar choosing another way under the prime minister Rainiharo and his brothers, 1831-40. It may be questioned if the turning point between the second and third period should be placed in 1830 or 1831, but that might be of inferior interest to the whole theme.

1.3 Topic and approach

As indicated in the headline, this project will discuss the role of the missionaries in the Malagasy context in this period. Were they only evangelists preaching the gospel to the people in search of their conversion to the Christian religion, or were they also aware that their work had social consequences for the whole community? Did they realise that they played a political role in changing the culture, and if they realised that, were they conscious of being envoys for the European culture? And what about the British political interests? Did some of the missionaries choose to be envoys for the British politics, or were they all cautious about their integrity as missionaries? On the other hand, how did the missionaries act against changing Malagasy political interests? Did they submit peacefully on all points, or did they counteract what they did not like? Did some of them even prefer to work for the Malagasy interests against the British interests, and did they realize that their existence and acting in the country could promote some changes in Malagasy politics?

Those questions show three points of orientation: The missionaries, the British interests and the interests of the changing Malagasy society. In this study I will do my best to examine the role of the missionaries, not principally their effort and success in preaching the gospel and creating a native church, but the dynamics of all their being and doing in the Malagasy political context.

Some remarks are needed to specify the thematic approach of this study. Firstly, it must be clear that the general approach to this project is a historical rather than a systematic one. This implies that the greater part of my attention will be paid to the task of accounting for the course of actual events in the mission process. It is not the aim of this thesis to investigate systematically this process in the sense of

analysing what I find on more strictly theological or doctrinal criteria, although such considerations will also be taken into account. But the main concern of this project is to draw up an account of what different historical elements during this particular period can verify about the proceedings of the missionaries and the political consequences of them. In some contexts events and aspects will be used to exemplify clearly the role of the missionaries in the general current of development, but at other times I have been obliged to recount important events in this development, whether the missionaries are clearly involved or not, to achieve the possibility of understanding the whole process.

The subtext in the headline, Documentary and analysis, points to the fact that most of this study is documentary work, i.e. I am using primary sources as far as possible. I am also using a huge number of footnotes, and since many of the sources may be difficult to consult, I have to a rather wide extent made use of quotations from the sources throughout the study, either in the text or in the footnotes. French quotations are not translated, but the author translates a few Malagasy texts. The analyses are placed after each main chapter and have their conclusion in the last chapter 6.

In a project like this the results depend highly on the sources used. I have considered nearly all kinds of printed matter as secondary sources, even those written very close to the real events. Many authors and scholars have recounted the Malagasy history, especially starting from Radama's ascension to the throne and onwards. William Ellis was probably the first writing about this period in the book *History of Madagascar* (1838). But as I have mentioned in chapter 5.5, the manuscript of his first book can be traced back to the missionaries in the field, and after 1829 they wrote several times to Ellis telling him that they had to revise parts of it before printing, since the politics had changed. And when this book finally was printed, Jones and Baker stated that a lot of errors had crept into the text. Certainly, those were mostly minor errors, and I do not know if it may also indicate that the editor or others, like Freeman, who was much concerned with this manuscript, might have revised some of the stories told there.

On the other hand there were no contemporary authors amongst the Malagasy, for all stories existed orally. Although Raombana later wrote down his great history, much of its contents must have been taken from oral sources before his own return from England in 1829. But as I have mentioned in chapter 5.5, Jones stated during his visit to Antananarivo in 1840, that he was horrified by the lies and false stories that were used in the political argumentation there. As an example, he named the story about Hastie's killing of the governor Jean René in Tamatave, which we find Raombana later incorporated in his manuscript (see the discussion in Ch. 3.3.3). It is well known that usurpers try to justify themselves by changing history, which Jones stated was already the case then in Antananarivo.

Perhaps might the famous, *Tantaran'ny Andriana* (The history of the kings), which F. Callet wrote down from the oral tradition in Imerina late in the nineteenth century, trace the same path? Callet's version is not necessarily the old one, but might have been changed at least during the reign of Ranavalona I? In the story about Andrianampoinimerina's last recommendations to king Radama, it is obvious that either Callet's sources, which say that Ranavalona I was born of Andrianampoinimerina, or other sources, which recount that it was Radama who was born of the king, is true. Pier M. Larson has in his new book, *History and Memory in the age of Enslavement. Becoming Merina in Highland Madagascar, (1770 – 1822)*, given an interesting interpretation of *Tantaran'ny Andriana*, stating that: "*Highland*

*Malagasy oral traditions are less a passive “inheritance of the ears” (lovan-tsofina) than an actively generated interpretation of the past”.*¹ As far as I understand, Larson’s view is that these traditions, gathered in Callet’s book, are interpretations of the oral traditions mostly from the northern part of Imerina, which might have been changed when important persons found it political necessary. Raombana’s book exemplifies an alternative understanding of highland Malagasy history, a secretive counter-narrative, he states. There are also some other sources, for example, from southern Imerina, which do not agree with the interpretation of the history given in Tantaran’ ny Andriana.

Such circumstances may explain why I have chosen an approach mainly from contemporary sources, such as letters and reports from missionaries, British agents, governors and Malagasy authorities (including several letters from king Radama himself), and why I have preferred to consult only printed sources only when necessary. Nevertheless, I have used printed materials to a great extent in the first part of section 2, up to the time when primary sources are generally available,

1.4 Research history

There is a huge material covering the history of the reign of Radama I and Ranavalona I. As I mentioned above, the first book published was: *Ellis, W.: History of Madagascar, London 1838*. Only two years later, two of the missionaries published a book about the persecution of the Christians: *Freeman, J.J. and Johns, D.: A narrative of the persecutions of the Christians in Madagascar, London 1840*. Later Ellis published two books about his visits in Madagascar, and about the Christians there, before he terminated his work with the book: *Ellis, W.: The Martyr Church: a narrative of the Introduction, Progress and Triumph of Christianity in Madagascar, London 1870*. Soon a new missionary edited a Malagasy church history: *Clark, H.E.: Tantaran’ny Fiangonana eto Madagaskara hatramy ny niandohany ka hatramy ny taona 1887, Antananarivo (FFMA) 1887*. Later, the Malagasy pastor Rabary wrote the famous history of the Martyrs: *Rabary: Ny martiora Malagasy. Tantaran’ny fanenjehana mangidy niaretan’ny kristiana teto Madagaskara tamin’ny “tany maizina”, Antananarivo (FFMA) 1910*. Pastor Rabary later continued to write about church history: *Rabary: Ny Daty Malaza, na Ny Dian’i Jesosy teto Madagaskara, Three volume, Tananarive 1929-1930-1931*. Others have partaken in this tradition of writing the history of the Malagasy Christians etc.

Also, other churches have written their history, but none of them were allowed to work within the Merina kingdom in the actual period, and perhaps little new can be found in those publications. Many Norwegian missionaries have studied Malagasy langue, culture and history and written books or theses about that. Some have also written about the history of the actual period: *Dahle, Lars: Madagaskar og dets beboere, Stavanger, 1874; Johnson, Johannes: Det første Hundreaar av Madagaskars Kirkehistorie, Stavanger 1920; Nome, John (ed.) Det Norske Misjonsselskaps historie i hundre år, Bind IV, Birkeli, Fridtjov: Madagascar Innland, Stavanger 1949*. A few Norwegian also made their thesis about Malagasy history. The first one is: *Birkeli, Fridtjov: Politikk og Misjon. De politiske og interkonfesjonelle forhold på Madagaskar, og deres betydning for den norske misjons grunnlegging 1861-1875*. The main part of his thesis is concerned with the time after Ranavalona’s death, but Birkeli deals with the Martyr Church in his long introduction chapter. The second is: *Munthe, Ludvig: La Bible à Madagascar. Les deux premières traductions*

¹ Larson, 2000, page 41. See the whole chapter: Actors, witnesses, memories, p. 32-44.

du Nouveau Testament malgache, Oslo, 1969. This last thesis has its theme placed in the reign of Radama, and corresponds directly with my thesis.

On the other hand, a great number of French scholars have studied the political and religious history in the actual period and edited their books on such topics. Many of the most famous worked in the French colonial period and might have underlined the French aspects of the history, as had the British missionaries underlined the British or protestant aspects. I have consulted some of those works, and used some quotations from: *Chapus, S.: Quatre-vingts années d'influences européennes en Imerina*, BAM, VIII, 1925, and from: *Chapus, G.-S. et Mondain, G.: Le Journal de Robert Lyall*, BAM, Tananarive, 1954. (Concerning that last book I was very surprised to find that the authors had omitted three of the most important journals from the text. See my discussion about that in Ch. 4.2.)

During the last decades, a lot of historians have made their studies about Malagasy history, and some of them have written about the actual period. From Madagascar I may name professor Simon Ayache, who have written several books: *Ayache, S.: L'accession au trône de Ranaivalona lère (1828) à travers le témoignage de Raombana*, Antananarivo, 1963; *Raombana: l'historien, 1809-1855*, Fianarantsoa 1976; *Raombana: Histoires 1*, Fianarantsoa 1980; *Raombana: Histoires 2*, Fianarantsoa 1994, and other books. Some of those publications deal with the actual period, and I have consulted them frequently. Also the ecumenical Church History, edited by Bruno Hübsch, has been interesting: *Hübsch, B. ed.: Histoire Oecuménique. Madagascar et le Christianisme*, Antananarivo & Paris 1993 (*Malagasy & French*). Two French historians, Vincent Huyghues-Belrose and Françoise Raison-Jourde, have written several books concerning this period, for example: *Belrose-Huyghues, V.: Historique de la pénétration protestante à Madagascar jusqu'en 1827*, Paris 1978 (*Thèse de troisième cycle*); *Belrose-Huyghues, V.: Les premières missionnaires protestants de Madagascar (1795-1827)*, Paris 2001, and *Raison-Jourde, F.: Bible et pouvoir à Madagascar au XIXe siècle. Invention d'une identité chrétienne et construction de l'État*. Paris 1991. This last book have been one of the most useful I have consulted, and the first part of it deals with the actual period and my theme of interest. But it may be significant that though she consulted many different archives concerning those items, she has not visited Mauritius Archives. Interesting books have also arrived from London and USA, par example: *Gow, B.A.: Madagascar and the Protestant Impact. The Work of the British Missions, 1818-1895*, London 1979, and *Larson, P. M.: History and Memory in the age of Enslavement. Becoming Merina in Highland Madagascar, 1770-1822*, Oxford, Portsmouth & Cape Town, 2000. Also, two general publishing history books have been used to a certain extent in some parts of the work: *Brown, Mervyn: Madagascar rediscovered. A history from early times to independence*, London 1978, and *Lenoire, Philippe: Mauritius Former Isle de France, Port Louis* 1979.

Many other publications could certainly be mentioned too, but since my sources are primarily contemporary documents I do not consider it possible within the framework of this thesis to deal with more written materials of this category. But literary materials of different kind and categories have been consulted in order to better understand the theme in consideration. Some interesting articles will be referred to in the Bibliography.

1.5 Sources

In a Documentary Thesis the most important sources are found in different materials in the Archives. I have primarily studied the contents in two Archives:

A: Mauritius Archives in Coromandel, Mauritius.

The National Archives in Mauritius contains a mass of Manuscripts from Madagascar, partly from the years up to 1810 when that island was still a French colony, and partly from the years afterwards when the British had seized the island and made it a British colony.

Most of the papers concerning Madagascar are placed in the group H, especially in HB-series, and I have used these parts of it:

- HB-2, 2 - Correspondence between the Governor of Mauritius and the Chief Secretary of the Queen of Madagascar. 1839-1840
- HB-4 - Correspondence between the Governor of Mauritius, King Radama and British Agents in Madagascar 1825-1827
- HB-5 - Correspondence between the Governor of Mauritius King Radama and British Agents in Madagascar 1823-1824
- HB-7, 2 - Correspondence between the Governor of Mauritius with Lesage, Chardenoux and Hastie, British Agents in Madagascar. 1816-1822
- HB-7, 3 - Diary of Mr. Barnsley, 12.12.1821 - 30.06.1822
- HB-8, 8 - Letters to King Radama from dr. Nils Bergsten. 1825-1826
- HB-9 - Correspondence between the Governor of Mauritius, Reverend Freeman and the Queen of Madagascar 1832-1838
- HB-10 - Journals of James Hastie, British Agent in Madagascar Different numbers from 1817-1825
- HB-13, 4 - Correspondence of the Governor of Mauritius with Hastie and Radama.
- HB-14, 1 - List of documents, letters etc, which belonged to the late Mr. Hastie 1813-1827
- HB-14, 2 - Mr. Lyall's Journal of his activities in Madagascar 1827
- HB-14, 3 - Mr. Campbell's Journal of his activities in Madagascar 1840
- HB-19 - Correspondence of Robert Lyall, British Agent in Madagascar, with the Governor of Mauritius, including his Journal 05.08.1828 – 24.04.1829
- HB-20 - Letters received by the Government of Mauritius from Robert Lyall and others concerning Madagascar 1828-1832, including Lyall's journal of Madagascar affairs 1829-1830
- HB-21 - Correspondence of Governor Farquhar with Jean René, Hastie and others 1820-1823
- HB-22 - Letters addressed to the Governor of Mauritius from MM. Blancard, Hastie, Campbell, Bouvet, etc. 1826-1828
- HB-25 - Miscellaneous papers relative to Madagascar p. 1810 (Including the Treaty of 1817)

I have consulted about 900 letters and other documents from the actual period, together with some long Journals. Concerning HB-10: Due to lack of time (etc) I have used the French scientific translations of the Journals of Hastie printed in BAM, considering them as primary sources as well as the handwritten English original. For the Journals that were not printed, I have used the English original.

I have also consulted some other volumes in the archive, like:

- RA-438 - Letters received from British Agent for Madagascar 1830-1831, concerning the correspondence with Lyall in his last year.
- RA-58 - Letters received from foreign Country 1815-1816, concerning diverse protestations from the governor of Ile de Bourbon.

B: LMS Archive in London.

The LMS archive is available in microfiche. The Madagascar part of that has been available in the Library of The Norwegian Lutheran School of Theology in Oslo, and the Mauritius part in the NMS archives at the School of Mission and Theology in Stavanger.

I have made research in the following volumes:

LMS, Africa & Madagascar, Mauritius, Incoming Letters, containing 2 Boxes from the actual period.

LMS, Africa & Madagascar, Madagascar, Incoming Letters, 1774 – 1830, containing 5 Boxes from the actual period.

LMS, Africa & Madagascar. Journals Madagascar / Mauritius 1816-1892, containing 1 Box from the actual period

I have also consulted:

LMS, Africa & Madagascar, Madagascar, Odds.

LMS, Africa & Madagascar, Madagascar, Personal.

LMS, Africa & Madagascar, Madagascar, Outgoing letters.

The results of the research in those volumes were meagre, and I have scarcely found any documents I wished to use.

I have consulted about 700 letters and about 10 journals at all in the LMS archive.

1.6 Composition

This study will consist of four chapters covering the distinct periods found within the materials. In many ways some questions will be the same for each of the three last periods, but new questions will arise following changes of political standings.

Chapter 2 contains a presentation of different aspects relative to the history of Madagascar and the Mascarene Islands in the Western Indian Ocean up to the British conquest of the latter and king Radama's inheriting the Merina throne in 1810. Further, it contains a presentation of Farquhar's politics relative to his plans of gaining influence in Madagascar in cooperation with one Malagasy king. By different envoys to Radama he succeeded in entering a "Treaty for the Abolition of the Slave Trade", which presupposed Radama's conquest of the whole island, thus stopping the illicit trade and counteracting French interests in the area.

This part of the history must be studied as a preparation for the missionaries' arrival, and most interesting for our theme is to study how important Farquhar's inclusion of missionaries from London Missionary Society was in the plans of "Progress and Civilisation", which the king and the governor entered into. LMS responded positively to the challenge of being recourse in this process. But how desolate were the missionaries when all plans were overthrown by governor Hall's counteracting the Treaty, putting an effective cheque to their planned role?

Chapter 3 contains the period 1820-1828 and presents the restoring of the Treaty by the mediation of James Hastie and David Jones. The role of the missionary became highly political and that had consequences for the missionaries as long as they worked in the country.

The political results of the treaty are well known. Through the help of the British Agent and British military and economical resources, Radama soon obtained great changes in the Merina kingdom. We find an expanding of the kingdom outward throughout the greater part of the island, but perhaps the inward changes were as radical as that, changing from the traditional Malagasy kingdom with the king being responsible to the will of his people, to an omnipotent monarch who could do what he wanted because he had a new force in his hands: the army.

The role of the missionaries was important, since they were an integrated part of the new cooperation. And their work caused great cultural changes, both with the education programme and the artisans' practical teaching, and with the preaching of the gospel and counteracting the old religion, taboos and culture. Great results were obtained, but their role as an official part of the Treaty also meant that they were totally submitted to the king's will. Radama's benevolence made that profitable in this period, but the system would soon become a threat to their work if their enemies should govern. The main problem of their role was, probably, that they never dared to express a fear that all their education and other work was merely an instrument in Radama's increased use of feudal servitude (fanompoana).

Growing scepticism against the great British influence caused a crisis in the Malagasy-British cooperation when Hastie died (1826), but although David Jones was appointed Acting British Agent, the crisis did not influence the missionaries too much. But could the growing scepticism change their role in a future perspective?

Chapter 4 contains the period 1828- 1830. I will analyse the missionaries' role during the first turbulent years of the new reign, and study if they were more loyal to the Malagasy interests than to the British, including their role in the conflict with Lyall? And we need to find whether they were on the point of being thrown out of the country, as told in the well-known story about Cameron's soap-diplomacy, or if they still were a respected group of strangers, wanted not only for their education, but also to be an alibi for the government's pro-European politics in the war-time with France?

Chapter 5 contains the period 1831-1840. I have to discuss what the missionaries' own role in the fundamental changes that the Malagasy community went through in those years was. I have to ask whether it is true that their success in baptizing and in organizing a Malagasy church scared the queen and the traditionalists and caused those changes, or if there were other reasons? Were the missionaries used in an intern struggle for the highest positions in the government, where they had many mighty friends? Or should the differences between the missionaries be seen as the cause of rejection of the Christianity and the whole mission cause in the country?

I must try to investigate why the changes in 1835 was much more fundamental than only a prohibition of a new religion. Was it true that the missionaries had caused the suppression of the whole people, as somebody blamed them? And did their role after their removal cause some of the executions of the Malagasy martyrs?

Chapter 6 Conclusive remarks

This chapter will conclude the many analyses throughout the thesis, and give a final answer to the questions I have discussed.

Chapter 2: MALAGASY AND BRITISH BACKGROUND AND CONTACT BEFORE 1820

2.1 Aspects of the Malagasy history

In 1810 two people who were to change the Malagasy history radically entered the political scene of the islands in the western part of the Indian Ocean. *King Radama I* inherited the Merina kingdom in inland Madagascar from his father *King Andrianampoinimerina*, and *Sir Robert Townsend Farquhar* was appointed British governor in “Ile de Bourbon” and “Ile de France”, taken from the French in the war that same year. The latter mentioned island was soon renamed with its former Dutch name: *Mauritius*. During the first few years both Radama I and Farquhar worked hard but largely in vain to gain more influence in Madagascar. When they succeeded in joining their interests and efforts, however, the “Wheel of History” increased its speed and changed its direction.

I will first examine the history of the Merina kingdom and the colony of Mauritius before 1820 to be better able to understand some of the great changes that took place in the Malagasy history during the years 1820 - 1840.

2.1.1 Small traditional kingdoms

The Malagasy kingdoms known before 1820 were mostly variations of more or less “democratic” kingdoms. The king was not a despotic ruler, but obliged to ask his counsellors before deciding on important matters. Even the mighty kings of the Maroseràna dynasty in the southern and western part of Madagascar, i.e. the Bara, Antandroy and Sakalava tribes etc, had to govern *together with* their people. This is a common practice found in most tribal communities also in Africa.²

Madagascar had since long before the first Europeans came there in 1500, been divided in a great number of kingdoms. Each town, or at least each clan in the different tribes, had their own king in former days. And only a few of the 18 tribes had centralized rule under a sole king during the centuries before 1820. This fact represented a great difficulty for Europeans trying to make alliances or treaties with the Malagasy to get hold of territories here. Portuguese, British and Dutch experiments of colonization in the 16th and 17th century were abandoned shortly after. The dream of a fruitful and rich fortune in Madagascar soon turned into a nightmare of violence, sickness and lack of provisions; all their attempts at colonization or trading rapidly proved a failure.³

French interests entered the Bay of St. Luke on the southeastern corner of the island in 1642. After a short time, the colony moved to Fort Dauphin in search of a better climate. There it lasted for some decades, but after a massacre 27th of August 1674 where half of the colonists were killed, the remaining fled from Madagascar. But the short adventure at Fort Dauphin had two lasting results. Firstly, French colonists had in cooperation with the colony in Madagascar occupied the desolate island which they named “*Bourbon*” (today’s *Reunion*), and some years after they had fled from Madagascar they occupied the deserted island *Mauritius* when the Dutch abandoned their colony there, naming it: “*Ile de France*”.⁴ From these two islands they had closer contact with Madagascar than other European nations at the time. During the 18th century they set up a number of trading posts along the Eastern coast. Secondly, the French government never changed their claims from 1642, maintaining to have

² Jørgensen, 1990, p.43: The Socio-political nucleus of supreme power - the king and his counsellors.

³ Brown, 1978, p. 41-49

⁴ Lenoire, 1979, p. 15. Holland tried twice to establish a colony there: 1638-58 and 1664-1710. The French banner was first hoisted the 20.09.1715.

established “historical rights in Madagascar”,⁵ but they had to fight until 1895 before they succeeded in realizing their goal of establishing a colony there.

Many of the Malagasy kingdoms were influenced by contact with Europeans during certain centuries. Different influences were maintained by trade and shipwrecked sailors, or by pirates who took refuge in Madagascar and married Malagasy women.⁶ The tribes on the coasts especially made their profit in those contacts, by getting firearms, money and goods from the Europeans, which helped them to build the powerful kingdoms in South- and West-Madagascar.

But although some of those tribes had a growing power of a mighty king it didn't wipe out the “democratic” indications of their rule. The king was always obliged to listen to his counsellors in every important matter before he could make a decision. The counsellors represented the people's voice in important questions of economy, judicial proceedings and in the decisions about making war or peace.

2.1.2 Andrinampoinimerina - usurper with a new authority

It was neither the mighty Sakalava kings of the Western and north western part of the island, named: “*Menabe*” and “*Boina*”, nor the *Antaisaka* or *Antanosy* kings in the southeast who were able to change the history of Madagascar. The newly united kingdom of the *Betsimisaraka* on the eastern coast having a vision of forming a powerful kingdom through open trading and cooperation with European traders did not succeed in their plans either. The Betsimisaraka leaders were partly descendants from European pirates and their Malagasy wives,⁷ and the royal family were named “*Zanak'i Malates*”, which is an alternated form of the English word *mulatto*. Some of the leaders in the region even sent their children to Europe for education, and several were working for European traders as translators or employees.⁸

But it was the secluded *Merina* kingdom in inland Madagascar that was going to transform the whole of Malagasy society. Merina history is partly known for some centuries backwards, but it was not until late in the 19th century that P. Callet wrote down the oral tradition in the book «*Tantaran'ny Andriana*» (i.e. History of the Kings) in the version from the Avaradrano clan (i.e. North of the river). Many scholars have studied these traditions, and some of them have stated that since the oral tradition of the clans in southern Imerina differs from this book on some points, caution is called for, because the northern clan may have changed the oral tradition when needed for their political purposes. It is also difficult to be sure where history stops and legend starts. In the first part of «*Tantaran'ny Andriana*» it is clear that this border is crossed, as the royal family claims to be descended from the gods (about the 13th century).

Probably the Merina people were the last to arrive in Madagascar, and history tells how their nobles married with the «*Vazimba*», i.e. the people living there before their arrival. During the 15th century they established a central kingdom under the rule of the first great king: *Andriamanelo*. He is said to be the first to introduce iron arms and tools into Imerina; and agriculture and administration improved during his rule. But after a few generations, the kingdom was divided between four sons of a king (ca. 1710). For nearly a century those small kingdoms were fighting each other, often

⁵ Brown, 1978, p. 49-54

⁶ Brown, 1978, p. 72-96.

⁷ Brown, 1978, p. 92-109.

⁸ For example, the brothers Jean Rene and Fisatra (called Fish by the British), who governed the region of Tamatave before Radama took control there. Berora, the son of Fisatra, acquired a long education in France. See also: MA, HB-13,4: Farquhar's instructions to Hastie, 04.09.1820.

calling for help from the powerful Sakalava kings in the western part of the island. In fact, most of the Merina kings paid taxes to the Sakalavas.

But although Imerina was divided when the first European visitor reported on his arrival in the region, he had a good general impression of the country. It was *Baron Benyowsky* who dispatched a delegate to the inland of Madagascar in search of new trading possibilities.⁹ The delegate, *Nicolas Mayeur*, was ascending to the kingdom of *landratsay*, a Betsileo kingdom south of Imerina. (This area was later named *Vakinankaratra*, when *Andrianampoinimerina* made it the sixth province of Imerina). Mayeur had already visited the king of *landratsay* once before on a trading journey in 1771,¹⁰ and the king greeted him in a friendly manner and was eager to start trading with the foreigners from the coast straight away. However, Mayeur was not impressed with the possibilities in Betsileo, because there were few slaves or other goods to be traded, except for rice, and the people looked peaceful and lazy. When the king asked him to come back soon, he promised to do so, although he had already made up his mind that a return was not very likely.¹¹

Obviously, the king did not wish Mayeur to visit his powerful neighbours in Imerina (or *Ankova* – i.e. the country of the *Hovas* - as it was often named by the Europeans at that time) and he tried to prevent him from travelling there. But before Mayeur left *landratsay* he had a visit from a person who pretended to be the envoy of a king in Imerina.¹² This person turned out to be the king himself, inviting Mayeur to visit his capital *Antananarivo*. Mayeur then pretended to leave for the coast, but soon he doubled back further north into Imerina. He was heartily welcomed by king *Andrianamboatsimarofy*, and found a numerous and well-organized population in the country. He was impressed by the advanced rice-cultivation system, the manufacturing of iron implements, weapons and utensils. And he concluded his report with these words:

*“The Europeans who have frequented the Island of Madagascar and who read these memoirs, will have difficulty in persuading themselves that in the interior of this great island entirely surrounded by savage peoples there is more enlightenment, more industry and a more active administration than on the coasts where the inhabitants are in constant relations with foreigners”.*¹³

Mayeur's report shows that even the Merina region was divided at this time, each part had great military resources. The king in *Antananarivo* could easily have an army of 20000 men, and if this army became as well equipped as the warriors at the coasts, no other force on the island could resist it.¹⁴

⁹ Brown, 1978, p. 103-105: Baron Benyowsky was a Polish Count and adventurer who got allowed to establish a French colony in Madagascar. He installed himself in the Bay of *Atongil* in 1774 and tried to expand his colony by trading with different parts of the island. After a few months he reported to the government in *Versailles* that he had subjugated the whole island and built up a profitable trade. But French commissioners later found the colony in a unfavourable state, and the Baron was returned to France. Benyowsky did not succeed in persuading the King to give him a second chance, but made his way back to Madagascar. He was killed in a French attack on his small fort in 1786.

¹⁰ BAM, année 1913, (Première Partie), p. 151. Mayeur : Voyage dans le Sud et dans l'intérieure des terres et particulièrement au pays d'*Hancove*, 1777.

¹¹ BAM, op.cit, 1913, p. 156. “Je lui promise tout; il me répugnait d'avoir à lui annoncer que, selon toute apparence, le Gouvernement ne permettrait pas d'ultérieures communications avec un pays qui n'offrait aucune ressource et que conséquemment mon retour n'aurait pas lieu.”

¹² BAM, op.cit, 1913, p. 154. “On vint nous annoncer qu'il avait paru depuis quelques jours sur les frontières d'*Endrantsaïe* un corps de troupe d'environ deux mille homes dépêché par un roi *Hove*, qui, sur le bruit de mon prochain départ, s'était avancé pour m'attendre, me piller et me tuer si je fais résistance. (...) (Le lendemain) je fus très étonné de me voir appelé à une conférence secrète avec un homme qui était inconnu dans le pay et qui (...) voulait absolument me voir et me parler.”

¹³ Brown, 1978, p. 117. French original in BAM, op.cit, 1913, p. 167. “Les Européens qui ont fréquenté l'Isle de Madagascar et qui liront ces mémoires, auront de la peine à se persuader qu'on trouve dans l'intérieur de cette grand ile plus de lumières, plus d'industrie, une police plus active que sur les côtes don't les habitans sont en relations constants avec les étrangers et qui, par ce commerce, ne peuvent manquer d'agrandir le cercle de leur connaissances.”

¹⁴ BAM, op.cit, 1913, p. 165. “Le roi d'*Ancove* peut metre sur pied une armée de vingt mille homes. Si ces gens étaient aguerris comme le sont les *Séclaves* et les naturels de la côte de l'*Est*, il n'y aurait point de puissance à Madagascar en état de leur résister.”

Mayeur was less optimistic after a second visit in Antananarivo in 1785, when he found his friend king Andrianamboatsimarofy in a habit of using alcohol and opium and in a hopeless war with the neighbours, and he concluded that now it was Andrianampoinimerina who was the most powerful king in Imerina.¹⁵ The kingdom of Mayeur's friend with its capital in Antananarivo, and Andrianampoinimerina's northern kingdom with its capital in Ambohimanga were the strongest of the Merina kingdoms, and both aspired to achieve supremacy in the region.

Mayeur's two reports were finally placed in the French archives in Port Louis. The French government did not make much use of them because the revolution in 1789 stopped all expansion in Madagascar, but later the new ruler, Sir Robert T. Farquhar, found them and he did not hesitate to use the important information he found in these documents.

In *Ambohimanga* the important King *Andriambelomasina* ruled from about 1730 to 1770. He consolidated his kingdom and extended it, and he fought off incursions from the Sakalava. He is also remembered for the arrangements he made for the succession to the throne. His eldest son, *Andrianjafy*, was appointed his immediate successor, but thereafter the succession was to pass to *Ramboasalama*, the son of his eldest daughter.¹⁶ But Andrianjafy very soon became unpopular because of his brutal and tyrannical behaviour. And when he tried to get rid of his young nephew by various plots, a war broke out. Ramboasalama first fled to the North, but a famous diviner persuaded him to return and become the ruler of Ambohimanga. Twelve chiefs in Northern Imerina supported him, and after some years of fighting Andrianjafy was killed. Ramboasalama who had changed his name to *Andrianampoinimerina* (the prince desired by Imerina) was then proclaimed king, probably in 1787.

"Tantaran'ny Andriana" boasts of Andrianampoinimerina's skill and wisdom. But this tradition originating from his descendants or successors might be affected by a wish to make him the greatest and best ruler in Imerina. The history might have had a different colouring if the families of the oppressed people could tell their version. Modern scholars state that traditions from the southern part of Imerina give us a different view of the great king.¹⁷ These traditions show a usurper eager for power, eliminating his uncle and all others daring to oppose him. Even brutal oppression of his people prevailed through use of the ordeal (*Tangena*), and deportation to unhealthy parts of the country for all suspicious persons or groups. He was also willing to kill his own sons, *Rabodolahy* and *Ramarolahy* when he found it expedient.¹⁸

Nevertheless, Andrianampoinimerina was undoubtedly a great leader. He was able to inspire his followers and make them loyal to the different tasks he gave them. He was a notable administrator as well as a military leader and imposed major reforms on the administrative and social structure of the kingdom, even without writing down his orders and rules. He must have been an excellent orator in communicating directly with the people by means of his famous «*Kabary*». These speeches were remembered many years after his death, and written down. His military leadership was successful not because of strategy and tactics but more

¹⁵ BAM, 1913, Volume XII (Deuxième Partie), p. 40. Mayeur: Voyage au pays d'Ancove, 1785: "*Dianampouine (Andrianampoinimerina) est aujourd'hui le souverain le plus puissant des Hoves.*"

¹⁶ Ramboasalama means: «Healthy Dog» and is explained as an unattractive name given him not to arouse the interests and jealousy of evil spirits.

¹⁷ Raison-Jourde, 1991, p. 107: "*L'analyse présentée ici est prudente; elle comporte de nombreuses lacunes, du fait qu'elle s'appuie sur les sources des Tantara élaborées par le P. Callet au contact des gens d'Avaradrano, dont la vision historique différerait profondément de celle des groupes du sud de l'Imerina.*"

¹⁸ Raison-Jourde, 1991, p. 108

because of his skilfulness in organisation, training and outfitting his army. When possible he preferred to gain his objectives by diplomacy rather than by armed force against those who opposed him.¹⁹

After nearly a century of anarchy the time was ripe for gathering the whole of Imerina. But first, Andrianampoinimerina consolidated his kingdom and trained and outfitted his army. When the king called, every able man had to go to the war. Soon he got an opportunity to start war against the king in Antananarivo. The town was taken twice, but lost again by rebelling opposition. When it was occupied a third time in 1795, Andrianampoinimerina moved in and made it his own capital. In a few more years he was able to subdue the other parts of Imerina. Eastwards he also occupied the region of *Ambatomanga* from the *Bezanazano* people. Thus the way to the trading posts on the Eastern coast was substantially shortened. When all the Merina kingdoms were unified, Andrianampoinimerina turned against the *Betsileo* kingdoms south of Imerina. The Betsileo country is far larger than Imerina and covers the southern part of the high plateau in inland Madagascar. The Betsileo people is said to be a very old part of the population in Madagascar and has never been unified in a single kingdom. The king of *landratsay* on the border of Imerina was, through a famous dialogue, persuaded to surrender his kingdom without any bloodshed. Soon Andrianampoinimerina had subdued most of the Betsileo kings by peaceful means, and his strong army fought off the few kings who dared oppose him. When he died only a few kingdoms in the southern part were still independent. In about ten years he had extended the small kingdom of Ambohimanga, taken from his uncle, into a huge kingdom covering most of inland Madagascar.

Andrianampoinimerina also made some diplomatic efforts against the Sakalava kingdoms of Boina in the north and Menabe in the west. He persuaded the powerful queen Ravahiny from Boina to visit Antananarivo, but she did so as his equal, and although the king subsequently claimed that her visit implied acceptance of Merina suzerainty, the Sakalavas maintained that Andrianampoinimerina's presents to the Queen were an acknowledgement of the vassal status to which Imerina had been reduced in the 18th century. Though divided and weakened, the Menabe kingdom was also impossible to suppress because the Merina king lacked resources needed to act effectively in this vast region.

Andrianampoinimerina had raised Imerina to the foremost military power in the island and this work started the building of an empire in Madagascar. When this new empire acquired a powerful ally supplying it with the required resources, it managed to expand further. Empire building is also found in Africa dated from roughly the same period, such as the Zulu empire in South Africa, though the Zulu empire made its expansion without any ally from other parts of the world.²⁰

2.1.3 Some socio-political and religious traits

Andrianampoinimerina developed the traditional structures in the society. But he was forced to build a more centralized administration because his new empire was growing so large. Pointing out some socio-political traits of this society will enable us to better understand the fundamental changes Madagascar was to undergo during the reigns of Radama I and Ranavalona I.

The king not only possessed the political and military leadership together with his counsellors, but he was also the intermediary between ordinary people and the ancestors. Thus the king was simultaneously the political and religious head of the

¹⁹ Brown, 1978, p. 125

²⁰ Jørgensen, 1990, p. 22 ff

Merina people. The political structure which Andrianampoinimerina built up seems to be a little like the feudal structure in medieval Europe. According to Malagasy tradition, the king owned all the land and people were authorized to use it. Some parts of the land were placed directly under the care of the king's administration, named "*Menabe*" (= the big red - red being the king's colour). The rest of the land was under the care of the nobles and named "*Menakely*" (Small red). The man who cared for such land was named "*Tompomenakely*" (the master of Menakely-land) and was a kind of feudal chief of that part of the land. Each village (or a few small villages together) had a council called "*Fokon'olona*", consisting of nobles and free men. This council was responsible for justice, taxes, and for work done for the society, such as military service, work on roads and irrigation channels, i.e. feudal servitude.

The Malagasy society was from old times divided into three distinct classes: On the top was a quite numerous class of nobles (named *Andriana*), divided in different clans or groups. In the middle was a class of free citizens, who were to obey the leaders. These were people from the old middle class families (mostly named *Hova*); it also contained freed slaves etc. The third class was the slaves, which formed at least two large groups. The *Zazahova* were born in Hova families but sold as slaves for different reasons, and the *Andevo* was the large group of slaves of different origin who were the possession of their owners and could easily be sold, sometimes for exportation. The last group might be born as slaves, taken as prisoners of war, or imported from Africa. Those three classes in the society were distinguished and close contacts or inter-marriage were usually impossible.

The king was the most prominent representative for the nobles. In "Histoire Oecuménique" the writer states that the king was god on earth and the generator of life. In common thoughts his person was holy and he was a visible god who the people could meet through different religious acts.²¹ The relation between the king and his people was profoundly ritualistic, and one of the best-known rituals between the two was the Holy Bath (*Fandroana*), which was a sacral marking of the new year.²² The celebration terminated with the Royal Bath before the people, and the water was then sprinkled on the crowd as a benediction or blessing. This celebration was very popular up to the French occupation of Madagascar; and the British, Norwegian and French missionaries were also invited and participated in this without raising questions about its ritual functions. On such and other occasions, the missionaries and other strangers also followed the custom of giving "*Hasina*" to the king. That means that all the people passed by the king - each placing a coin in the king's hand, saying: «*Manamasina anao Tompokolahy*» (I honour You my Lord).

Out of the large group of nobles, the king chose a group of 70 counsellors, called "*Vadin'tany*" (Earth matrimony - i.e. those who were responsible for parts of the ground). They were the king's envoys sent to different regions to proclaim the king's orders, judge in difficult cases, start or accomplish great enterprises for the king, etc. The king had also a government consisting of the 12 most powerful or trusted counsellors. He had to discuss important questions with his counsellors, and we know it could sometimes be difficult for the king to get his way. In Hastie's negotiations with king Radama in 1817 about the proposed "*Treaty for the abolition of*

²¹ Hübsch, 1993, p. 59. "Le souverain, dieu sur terre et générateur de la vie. Selon les croyances populaires, le souverain, (...) est considéré comme sacré. Sa personne et tout ce qui l'entoure, jusqu'à ses objets personnels, revêtent aux yeux de la population un caractère sacré que l'on porte d'ordinaire au Zanahary (le Dieu Créateur) Le souverain est dieu visible (*andriamanitra hita maso*) auquel on doit se référer chaque fois dans l'accomplissement de tout acte religieux."

²² Hübsch, 1993, p. 62. "La principale transaction menée entre nouveaux maîtres et tomponane se situe au niveau des rituels. En Imerina, dans le cas de la fête annuelle du Bain (*fandroana*), il faut remarquer la très large ouverture à la participation de toute la population."

the Slave Trade” it was clear that the king had to struggle for several days before his will prevailed²³.

The king also communicated directly with the people in the famous speeches called «*Kabary*». The people were summoned to the Kabary when the king wanted them to participate in war or in great enterprises like roads, irrigation channels etc. Other important political questions would also be presented to the people this way. When the king or his counsellors delivered a speech to the people, somebody had to answer and mostly there was an affirmative answer. It is known that Radama killed some of those who opposed him badly at a Kabary in 1822, but I will discuss whether that act was not a new attitude showing that he did not follow the rules of the Kabary any more and had changed his behaviour to be a despotic ruler.²⁴ (see chapter. 3.2.1)

Malagasy religion did not use traditional statues of divinities. Instead they frequented holy places in nature to pray, like the mountains, huge trees and holy sources. Many tribes had placed a sacrificial pole in the village, called *Hazomanga*, (literally: Blue tree, i.e. holy tree) where they could bring their sacrifice to the ancestors. Typically, the sacrifice was rarely given to God: even the Malagasy religion dealt with a “God Creator” or “High-God”. There are several names for that God in the Malagasy language, such as: *Zanahary* (the Creator), *Andriananahary* (the Lord Creator) and *Andriamanitra* (the Lord that smells good). The Christians used all these names, but they often preferred the last one. The Malagasy were somewhat afraid of this God Creator and it was commonly agreed that they should not disturb him by prayers and sacrifices.

The spirits of the ancestors, on the other hand, were much closely related to the people and it was most important to stay on good terms with them. It is impossible to assess religion and cult in the Malagasy culture, without including the spirits of the ancestors.²⁵ Traditional religion also believes in other spirits, mostly evil spirits who are able to hurt people. Charms and magic used by the sorcerers (*Ombiasa* in Malagasy) are therefore an important part of the religious context. Black magic and charms can be used to harm people, and other charms can be used to protect the same people from evil. It is then easy to understand why a clever sorcerer performing both kinds of magic was a very important person in the traditional society. There was also another kind of religious specialist called *Diviner* (*Mpisikidy* in Malagasy). These persons had an oracular function in the society, and they were for instance asked to find good and bad days to do certain activities (like visits, travel, work etc), and to figure out if a child was born on a good or an “unlucky” day. Many times the same persons performed both professions, and had a very important position in the society.

Another form of charm was the kind of fetishes called “*Idols*” (*Sampy* in Malagasy). Those were not statuettes of a divinity, but small symbolic things, like a piece of wood clothed with silk and silver or gold. They were also called: “*The God seen by the eyes*” (*Andriakitamaso* in Malagasy).²⁶ The purpose of the Idols was to show the presence of divinity in a very direct way, and they were thought to frighten

²³ BAM, No.4, Vol. II, 4eme Trimestre 1903, pp. 259-264. Hastie's journal

²⁴ MA, HB-21, Radama to Hastie 26.04.1822, where the king himself wrote in Creole French: “*Moi fini coupe cheveux pour moi, tout femme bien fache avec sa qui fini coupe - li fini faire cabar avec moi - moi fini la tete a quatre - appresent le bien tranquille*”: (Writers translation): “*I have cut my hair, and all the women were furious with me - they held a cabar with me – an I let four of them be beheaded - now all is quiet.*” And Hastie made a note on the letter: “*It is to be remembered that every assertion in Cabar subjects, the deposer may be put to confiscation or death should it be proved false.*”

²⁵ Hübsch, 1993, p. 77. “*On ne peut évoquer Dieu à Madagascar sans aussitôt parler des ancêtres. Leur culte tient une place essentielle dans la vie malgache, car il touchent de très près au divin –*”

²⁶ Hübsch, 1993, p. 83

the enemies and encourage the followers. Andrianampoinimerina renovated the cult of “Sampy” in his kingdom, and selected 12 of them as National Idols. They were selected from inside and outside the kingdom; some of them came from the Sakalava areas. The 12 national Idols were placed in 12 different villages associated with different taboos, and the families that were allowed to take care of them (Idol keepers or guardians) got a special status in the kingdom. Some of the most powerful and well known of those 12 Idols were *Tsimanjakaroa*, *Ramahavaly* and *Rakelimalaza*. The cult of those 12 Idols received a kind of national worshiping, and it is evident that the king used this cult both to raise his own prestige and power, and to tie the kingdom together and ensure local loyalty. Françoise Raison-Jourde concludes her studies about Andrianampoinimerina saying that the king tried to place himself high above the common Malagasy by using religious symbols.²⁷ It is interesting that in trying to represent God on earth, Andrianampoinimerina opened the minds for a universal monotheistic religion, which was presented to the people only ten years after his death.²⁸ The ideas of a divine kingdom and of the 12 national idols with their marked religious significance were to be a key in the government’s struggle against European influence and religion after the revolution in 1828. And when queen Ranavalona II finally ordered those 12 national idols to be burned when she got baptized in 1869, it was a serious blow to the traditional religion in Imerina and Betsileo, increasing the great flow of converts into the Christian churches.

Andrianampoinimerina changed the society in other ways also, but he always tried to give the proposed changes an ancestral look, which helped him to get it accepted because of the high position the ancestral worshipping maintained in Malagasy society. The old custom of feudal servitude (*Fanompoana* in Malagasy - from *manompo* = to serve) was now extended from serving the king in wartime - to being used for other state-building purposes like building of roads and irrigation channels.²⁹ Andrianampoinimerina fixed the “*fanompoana*” to a maximum of four days a week, allowing his men to care for their families the remaining days.³⁰ The king supposed that everybody worked hard to make the society flourish. Agriculture - especially rice cultivation - and iron manufacturing produced articles for trade, but the most important revenue for the king’s treasury was the slave trade. Slaves for sale were mostly obtained by military expeditions against different groups revolting against the rule of the Merina king, but Pier Larson explains that it had become usual to sell Zazahova, kidnapped people and even own children or family members.³¹ It is supposed that in the end of Andrianampoinimerina’s reign, about 1500 – 1800, slaves were exported each year. Most of the king’s revenue was spent on buying firearms and ammunition for his army, and French or Creole traders carried out this trade at the trading posts on the eastern coast, exporting the slaves mostly to the French colonies on Ile de France and Ile de Bourbon.

It’s been said that Andrianampoinimerina was very suspicious against the Europeans, and that slave traders were seldom allowed to progress further than Ambatomanga - to get their cargo there. The king could neither read nor write and did not receive much influence from abroad. Up to the late 1950th it was thought that only a few Europeans were allowed to meet him - such as the slave trader Hugon,

²⁷ Raison-Jourde, 1991, p. 109: “Ce que S. Ellis appelle le «mécanisme historique du conservatisme» rendait si périlleuse la tâche d’innover et de faire accepter par la population les mutations que celles-ci étaient presque toujours masquées. (...) on transformait ce qui existait en lui insufflant un sens nouveau sans détruire les significations ou les buts anciens, ou l’on créait des organes nouveaux tandis que d’autres subsistaient à l’état de reliques –”

²⁸ Raison-Jourde, 1991, p. 111

²⁹ Raison-Jourde, 1991, p. 109

³⁰ Chapus, S, BAM, 1925, p. 31

³¹ Larson, 2000, p. 97-107

who wrote an account of his meeting, and perhaps some other traders like Lebel and Roux. But now it is known that he was much more open to cooperation with the Europeans and several of them were allowed to meet him in his Capital.³² Raombana says that the king was about 80 years old when he died but still strong and robust:

*“He was rather tall, and was bony and sinewy. He is said to be an excellent shooter with the muskets, and is brave even to madness, and to possess Imerina, he showed a great deal of personal Bravery, and was several times wounded with musket balls –”*³³

2.1.4 Radama’s accession to the throne

In 1808 Andrianampoinimerina’s great kingdom was well established and as his successor he had appointed his oldest surviving son, Radama. Though being very young - it is said he was born about 1793 - he had already joined his father’s military expeditions several times. Sure Raombana argues that he was 28 rather than 18 when he got possession of the kingdom - because he was said to have partaken in the civil war, which ended 15 years before his father died.³⁴ But this argument is not necessarily correct because there were many minor battles and pacifications also in the later years of Andrianampoinimerina’s reign. On the other hand, in one of his first letters from Antananarivo in 1820, David Jones notes that Radama was about 29 years old, which corresponds well with an age of 18 in 1810.³⁵ In 1808 the 15-year-old Radama assumed command over two military expeditions:

“- one to a part of Betsileo which had rebelled and the other to the Boina, where the death of Queen Ravahiny appeared to offer new opportunities. The first was successful, but the advance into the Boina ended in defeat, although the capture of many cattle enabled Radama to return to a hero’s welcome”.³⁶

It has been cast in doubt whether Radama was really the son of Andrianampoinimerina. This doubt is strongly rooted in the king’s last will after the tradition P.Callet established late in the 18th century, but in my view this tradition was most likely already interpolated by the present rulers in the 1830th in order to justify their rule. Callet says that when the king’s sickness became grave in 1810, he gathered his close relatives and his best friends to tell them his last will. It is interesting that this speech placed so much confidence in and responsibility on the counsellors guiding the young king in his difficult task. Andrianampoinimerina then recommended Radama to them, stating that he had not been born in the natural way, but had come from his mouth, i.e. he had raised him by his words to be his son. The king did not wish to give him the kingdom, but God gave it to him. Now he placed Radama under the counsellor’s guidance and hoped that they would prevent him from following the way of dishonour.³⁷

Later in the speech the king tells Radama directly that he descended from princess Ramorabe from the Marovatana clan, but was adopted by Ralesoka, Andrianampoinimerina’s sister. Thus he was not of the same Marovatana clan as the

³² Raison-Jourde, 1991, p. 110: *“Jusque vers 1960, il fut d’ailleurs admis que seul Hugon en 1808 l’avait rencontré. Se sont ajoutés depuis Lebel et Roux. G.Ratsivalaka suggère dans un mise au point récente que l’annexion du Vakinankaratra pourrait avoir été provoquée par la tentative de Roux d’y pénétrer pour échapper aux taxes merina sur les transactions d’esclaves. Peut-être les expéditions du jeune Radama à Majunga et du Roi en Ankey se seraient-elles faites en accord avec les traitants. Ratsivalaka rassemble les noms de huit autres Français connaissant le Roi.”*

³³ Ayache, 1980, p. 249

³⁴ Ayache, 1994, p. 15

³⁵ LMS, Mad, 1.2.B, Jones to Burder, 18.10.20

³⁶ Brown, 1978, p. 129

³⁷ BAM, No. 2, 1902, Vol. I, p. 67: *“Dernières recommandations d’Andrianampoinimerina”, “Vous voyez ici Radama. Je ne l’ai pas enfanté, mais il est sorti de ma bouche, Je ne voulais pas tout d’abord que le royaume lui apportint, mais Dieu le lui a donné. Je vous le confie. Surveillez ses actes; ne le laissez pas suivre la voie du déshonneur, de peur qu’il soit indigne de nous succéder.”*

king, but from the Tsimahafotsy clan.³⁸ Raombana on the other hand says that Radama's mother was married to Andrianampoinimerina and her name was *Rambolamasoandro*, a princess from the "*Marovatana*" district in southern Imerina. She was always afraid of the wives and sons of the king's family from the northern part of Imerina, called "*Avaradrano*". The nobles north of the river had subdued the other parts of Imerina and she thought them to be a threat to Radama, whose mother's family was from the southern district.³⁹ After much research the Norwegian historian Lars Dahle wrote in 1874 that Radama's mother, Rambolamasoandro, was said to be the sister of Andrianampoinimerina, but was called queen since she was living at the court.⁴⁰ But then she herself would be born in the Avaradrano-clan and should not fear those people. It may be difficult to find the truth from those very diverging sources. But since the history promulgated by Callet - and also L. Dahle - might be interpolated after Radama's death in order to justify the new ruler as more qualified than Radama to the throne, it is most likely that Raombana was telling the truth. He was himself from a high noble family in Imerina and he lived close to these events although he was in England from 1821 to 1829. Many times he claimed that queen Ranavalona I had usurped the throne without any legal rights.⁴¹

Andrianampoinimerina's wives and many children may be difficult to know exactly because he had 12 wives - one from each of the holy towns of Imerina. Several of them gave him children, and even he had prosecuted two of his eldest sons there were still a number of sons and daughters living at the court when he died. Radama inherited the 11 wives left when his father died. One of them was his own mother but the other 10 were recognized as his wives. James Hastie says that one of the first nights he spent in Antananarivo in 1817 the king went to sleep with one of the wives he had inherited from his father.⁴² Radama was also married to Ramavo, who later became queen Ranavalona I. He also married Rasalimo the daughter of the Sakalava king Ramitraho in Menabe and thus Radama also had 12 wives.

Andrianampoinimerina terminated his last recommendation with the well-known words: "Imerina has been gathered into one, but behold the sea is the border of my rice-fields". And he continued with recommending Radama's wife, Ramavo, to reign after him.⁴³ Thus the great ambitions of the late king were further transferred to Radama and he used all his life trying to achieve them. The last part of the text is suspicious, and it looks like somebody has interpolated the oral tradition in order to legitimate the reign of Ranavalona.

The document containing the king's recommendation indicates that Radama was present when his father died, but other traditions state that he was absent on a military campaign fighting the rebelling Bezanozano. When he heard of his father's death he hurried home to get possession of his heritage, which he obtained without rivalry, since his father already had eliminated his two elder brothers. Radama was

³⁸ BAM, op cit. No. 2, 1902, p. 74. "Je te dirai encore ceci, cher ami; tu descends de Ramorabe (princesse de Marovatana), mais tu es fils (adoptif) de Ralesoka (soeur d'Andrianampoinimerina), et moi (ton père) je descends de Rasoherina; tu n'es donc pas Marovatana, mais bien Tsimahafotsy."

³⁹ Ayache, 1994, p. 21-23

⁴⁰ Dahle, 1876, p. 34

⁴¹ Ayache, 1980, p. 249: "One of his wives, Rabodomirahalahy, was one of the principal persons who afterwards caused the downfall of his Dynasty, and transferred it to another Family .. That is after the death of Radama his son who succeeded him." See also different places in "Histoires 2".

⁴² BAM, No. 3, 1903, Vol. II, p. 180: "J'appris de lui qu'une des femmes demeurant maintenant avec lui est seule de son choix et que les dix autres avaient vécu avec son pere. C'était avec une des dernières qu'il avait couché la veille de l'anniversaire de sa naissance."

⁴³ BAM, No. 2, 1902, Vol. I, p. 76. "Radama, le royaume est constitué en Imerina, mais souviens-toi qu'il n'a d'autres limites que la mer. Voici Ramavo (Ranavalona, femme de Radama); si elle ne convoite pas la bosse du boeuf (c'est-à-dire la royauté), le royaume lui appartiendra après. Celles sont mes paroles, tu ne les oublieras pas."

eager to secure his power, and Raombana gives some examples of how he could be cruel against those he feared would oppose him. As mentioned above, his mother Rambolamasoandro insinuated that many of the Avaradrano-clan could be his enemies and advised him to eliminate them. Radama followed her advice to some extent.⁴⁴ But he refused to kill Andriamambavola, a brave nobleman from Avaradrano when she urged that he should have him assassinated. If you do not kill him, she said, he would certainly take the kingdom from you or from your relatives later. And his mother's fear proved to be true. She was one of the first to be eliminated when a group led by Andriamambavola killed many of Radama's close relatives and put his wife Ramavo on the throne. When dr. Robert Lyall reported the sad fate of prince Rataffe and some of Radama's relatives who were killed by Ranavalona's orders, he wrote in his journal:

"I have been informed that when Radama ascended the throne, the father, the mother and two brothers of the present Queen were put to death, and it may be questioned how such sacrifices can be avoided?"⁴⁵

If this information is true, it is clear that Ranavalona was not the daughter of Andrianampoinimerina, as claimed in the traditions referred to above. It also gives some explanation to the cruelties against Radama's family, partly as vengeance and partly as elimination of an opposing family, and it seems to give evidence that Ranavalona and her supporters were really usurping the power, as Raombana recurrently states.

After about two weeks of mourning in Antananarivo, Radama brought the body of his father to the tomb in his ancestral town Ambohimanga according to his expressed wishes. A great number of cattle was sacrificed and eaten during the funeral days. The mourning lasted for one year, and men, women and children had to cut or shave their hair several times to show their mourning for the deceased king.

When the year of mourning was over, Radama gathered his army and made some punitive expeditions to rebellious regions. The first expedition went to Ambatomanga - the important town on the road to Tamatave. When the inhabitants of that Bezanozano town, subdued by Radama's father, heard that the old king was dead and had been followed by the young Radama, they rebelled against the dependency of Imerina. They had killed some European traders who were on their way to Antananarivo to buy slaves and sell arms and ammunition, and proclaimed that they would continue doing that in order to stop the revenue of selling slaves and the importing of arms to Imerina. Radama was therefore forced to act, and made an attack where he fought a hard combat before the town was taken. All the people who were not killed in the struggle - men, women and children - were sold as slaves. The town was then inhabited by a Merina population and became an important station on the road to Tamatave.⁴⁶ The next expedition was to Ambositra in Betsileo. The people there had refused to cut their hair for the mourning of the king's death, and now they were openly rebelling against the young king. After some weeks of fighting, the town was taken and the inhabitants killed or reduced to slavery and sold, and great quantities of booty and cattle were also taken.⁴⁷ Radama was fighting in the front rank both places; and his personal bravery was essential for the victory. After those battles, very few dared to oppose him or neglect him because of his youth. He

⁴⁴ Ayache, 1994, p. 23: *"Radama hearkening to the counsels of his cruel Mother, disgraced Himself greatly, by ordering a great number of them to be privately murdered, and them secretly buried."*

⁴⁵ MA, HB-19, Lyall's Journals, No. 6, 10.10.28

⁴⁶ Ayache, 1994, p. 19

⁴⁷ Ayache, 1994, p. 27

was a more able military leader than his father and he had an army no other king in the island was able to match.

Radama also subdued the southern part of Betsileo, which his father had not yet touched. The soldiers and people of the Vohibato kingdom (Ambalavao region today) had taken refuge in the town of Ifandàna. Situated on a precipitous rock, it was nearly impossible to fully conquer, and Radama's army besieged the town for several months. According to one tradition, the besieged decided to die rather than surrender, and dancing blindly on the edge they all tumbled down and were killed. Another tradition states that the town was taken when the defending forces' resistance was diminished through lack of food and water, and that consequently about 3000 people were killed.⁴⁸

Other small punitive expeditions were carried out in the following years. However, Radama's kingdom suffered from lack of organisation and solidity. He was able to run victoriously through a vast part of the island, taking cattle and slaves as punishment to those who dared to oppose him. But as soon as he returned to Antananarivo most of the regime fell back to its former state. Each region was still governed by the local king, and Radama had neither troops nor administrators placed outside Imerina. Even Radama's huge army was poorly organized. He could probably bring about 40-50.000 soldiers into the field, most of them armed with muskets. But it was the nobles, or the feudal chiefs, who commanded the troops and many of them were badly fit for that purpose. The army was strong enough to subdue all opposition in the surrounding areas, and the plundering of the regions traversed was thought to be normal, because the soldiers had to provide for their own provisions. However, the large volume of the army and the lack of organized provisions made it vulnerable when it traversed the borders into scarcely populated areas. Therefore, Radama was obliged to seek new strategies and allies if he wanted to make further progress in his ambitions to subdue the whole island.

⁴⁸ Chapus, 1925. p. 59-60, and Oberlé: 1979, p. 42-44

2.2 British interests in the western part of the Indian Ocean

After a disastrous colonisation experiment in the St. Augustine Bay 1645-46 and a similar short adventure at Nosy Be in 1650, the British gave up all attempts to form colonies in Madagascar. Instead, the well-established "East India Company" was allowed to dominate all British colonial efforts. All available resources were placed in the growing activities in India. For more than 300 years India was the Crown of the British Empire, and the policy of securing the seaway to India often shaped the British interests in neighbouring parts of the world.

For more than 150 years they left Madagascar alone except for sporadic British ships calling in and several shipwrecked English sailors taking refuge on the coasts. For a short period British and French pirates operated from St. Mary Island, Matitanana, Bay of Atongil and other places, but except some punishing expeditions against them, the British government showed any interest in neither Madagascar nor the Mascarene Islands in the western part of the Indian Ocean. Instead they seized Cape Town from the Dutch (the Boers) and made the Cape colony a service station for the East India fleet and an important naval station for the British Navy in the Indian Ocean.

2.2.1 The Capture of all French possessions to secure the route to India

The Great Revolution in France (1789) made great disturbances in Europe. Napoleon Bonaparte was changing not only most of Europe, but he also provoked great changes in distant parts of the world where British and French interests collided. The French colonies on Ile de Bourbon and Ile de France had grown strong during a century of peace. And they were not directly involved in any fighting, although British and French ships were in battle both off South Africa and India in the war caused by the American independence war (1778-83).⁴⁹ But in the Napoleonic War the Mascarene Islands became involved because French ships stationed there started capturing the East India Company's vessels. In fact, it is somewhat peculiar that it lasted several years with great losses before the British government decided to do something to secure the route to India. We don't know exactly how many ships the British lost during those years. One source says that the East India Company lost 14 ships valued of 30 million francs in 1807-1809,⁵⁰ while another source mentions 40 ships where the cargo alone was valued at 1 million pounds.⁵¹ Nevertheless the losses were substantial, and the British also feared that the French fleet might extend warfare to India.

It was the British General Governor of India, Lord Minto, who planned the war against the French colonies. Firstly, Major H.S. Keating took possession of Rodrigues in August 1809. It is a small island not far from Ile de France, and the following months a naval squadron gathered in the harbour there. The second step in the plan was to occupy Ile de Bourbon and Ile de France, and thirdly, the British fleet should go to Java and occupy that French colony.⁵² The British squadron first attacked Bourbon, and the colony was taken after a stubborn resistance (08.07.10). Afterwards, the fleet sailed to Mauritius where a French fleet was waiting in Grand Port at the southeastern corner of the island. This great bay soon proved to be too

⁴⁹ Lenoir, 1979, p. 33-36.

⁵⁰ Lenoir, 1979, p. 49

⁵¹ Brown, 1978, p. 133

⁵² La Gazette, No. 26, jan. 1990, p. 42-43: Amédée Nagapen: La suprématie britannique dans l'océan Indien. Les conflits de 1810: "Sous le gouvernement de Spencer Perceval, Premier ministre de 1809 à 1812, l'Angleterre mobilisa ses forces et ses recources et lanca ses hommes et ses vaisseaux à la conquête de l'océan Indien. Or trois îles faisaient obstacle à la domination britannique: Bourbon (Ile Bonaparte), Ile de France et Java. La Grande-Bretagne arrêta alors un plan de campagne à trois temps: installation à Rodrigues, capture des deux autres Mascareignes, Bourbon et Ile de France, et enfin expédition à Java."

narrow when about ten ships entered a furious naval battle on the 23rd of August 1810, which lasted for three days. Although the British ships outnumbered the French it ended with their total defeat. One British ship was blown up, another one sunk, and the only British ship able to flee quickly enough was forced to surrender when some new French ships arrived from Port Louis on the western side of Mauritius. But this humiliating defeat did not change the British plans, because it made it more urgent than ever to get the French navy out of the Indian Ocean. New British “Men of War” and supply ships were gathered from India and the Cape colony, and about 60 ships were assembled at Rodrigues before the new attack. The few French ships and the about 4000 French soldiers ashore fought courageously, but they were overthrown by the major forces and had to surrender the colony on the 3rd of December 1810.⁵³

Soon afterwards two corvettes were sent to Madagascar to wipe out all the French trading posts there. Soldiers and traders at the different places were forced to leave. The expedition reached Tamatave on the 18th of February 1811, where the French Agent in Madagascar, Sylvain Roux, was compelled to surrender.⁵⁴ Sir Robert Townsend Farquhar, the newly appointed British Governor, could then make this proud report home to the minister of War and Colonies, Lord Liverpool:

*“This has freed these seas from the last French flag, and secured to us an unmolested traffic into the fruitful and abundant island of Madagascar”.*⁵⁵

The naval squadron could soon after go further with the plans, and sailed in March 1811 towards Java trying to occupy the French colony there.

2.2.2 Governor Robert Townsend Farquhar inaugurated a new policy.

Sir Robert Townsend Farquhar took part in the expedition against Bourbon and Ile de France, and he had already been appointed by Lord Minto to take over as British Governor as soon as the islands were captured.

Farquhar was born in England in 1776. With a modest background he served the East India Company from the age of 20 and made his career there. After some years of service he was appointed governor of the Molluque islands, which were taken from the Dutch. He did an excellent job, but after a few years those islands were handed back to their former owners, and Farquhar was back in India waiting for a new challenge. Soon he got his chance with the expedition to the Mascarene Islands. He possessed good personal qualities but with his modest background he would probably not have been appointed to such an attractive post without some influential friends. The Mauritian historian *Amédée Nagapen* has published some articles about a little known correspondence between Farquhar and his most important helpers. It is interesting to see how through flattering letters he managed to get his appointment confirmed by the Government in London, while important groups tried to get their candidates appointed. Nagapen writes:

*«Depuis qu’il s’était trouvé à la tête de l’île Maurice, le 3 décembre 1810, un véritable lobby s’exerçait dans la capitale britannique pour que le roi lui octroie une commission de gouverneur. De son côté, la famille Farquhar actionnait le piston politique. Le père de Robert, Sir Walter Farquhar, Baronet, plaidait la cause de son lointain fils auprès d’une prestigieuse notabilité politique, le Marquis Wellesley. Celui-ci, membre influent du Cabinet, patronna la candidature de Robert, dont il connaissait pa ailleurs l’entier dévouement à sa personne»*⁵⁶

⁵³ Lenoir, 1979, p. 39-41

⁵⁴ MA, HB-25, Report from captain Wilsom, the new commander in Tamatave, 27.02.11

⁵⁵ Brown, 1978, p 134, The letter is dated 02.04.11.

⁵⁶ La Gazette, No. 17, déc. 1987, p. 30. Nagapen: Lettre inédite du gouverneur R.T.Farquhar.

Two influential persons were directly engaged in Farquhar's appointment. One of them was the General Governor of India, Lord Minto, who appointed him to follow the squadron and take possession of the islands as interim governor.⁵⁷ Lord Minto also wrote home to Robert Dundas, minister of the Cabinet of Spencer Perceval, begging for his aid to secure the appointment. Speaking of Farquhar's qualifications etc. he concludes:

"As this will no doubt remain a King's Government, your early and friendly interposition may be of great moment amidst the powerful competitors which England is apt to furnish for such objects, especially where the attraction of novelty is added to other inducements. (---) I need not remind you of some claims he may justly prefer to favour as your sentiments on that subject are not unknown to me".⁵⁸

This last cryptically message to the minister needs some further explications. We can find an adequate answer of what claims the Lord wanted Farquhar to favour in a letter from Farquhar to his most influential helper, the Foreign Minister Marquis Wellesley, written on Farquhar's way to the Mascarene Islands on board H.M. Frigate Doris:

"Captain Barry having been nominated my secretary by Lord Minto, may I beg Your Lordship's good offices to prevent that appointment being disturbed at home. It is my intention, as soon as the island is taken, to offer your Lordship's son in Bengal the situation of first assistant, if he should think it worth his while to quit Calcutta".⁵⁹

This issue referred to in Lord Minto's letter is more fully explained in a second letter from Farquhar to Marquis Wellesley, written from Ile de France about two months after the capture of the island:

"I think it right to say a few words here respecting the Gentlemen in civil situations. Major Barry, Lord Minto's son, is Chief Secretary, on every account, but especially in consideration of his sterling worth or abilities, I am anxious that he should be confirmed".⁶⁰

It is obvious that by the appointment of Farquhar as governor and lobbying to get that confirmed by the government, Lord Minto had got his son a good job in the new colonial administration. Barry had immediately advanced to Major and Chief Secretary, and we can later find him in different important positions in that government for many years. Likewise, in his first letter Farquhar proposed to make Marquis Wellesley's son his first assistant, but in his next letter he expressed his regrets for not having succeeded. In this last letter he also begged the ministers for help to get two of his brothers in law confirmed to important positions, and also two of Marquis Wellesley's friends. Marquis Wellesley had been the protector of Farquhar in his first job as governor,⁶¹ and now Farquhar expressed to him his fear that he should not be allowed to continue in the attractive job:

⁵⁷ La Gazette, No. 26, Nagapen, op.cit, p. 44: "From the Right Honorable Gilbert Lord Minto, Governor General of India. To Robert T. Farquhar, Esquire, etc, etc. Madras, 20th april 1810. "Whenever those Islands shall come into the possession of the British power, you will assume the Government of them, under the sanction and authority of the enclosed commission appointing you to be Governor of the Isle de France and its dependencies until his Majesty's pleasure shall be known --"

⁵⁸ La Gazette, No. 26, Nagapen, op.cit, p. 45, (Undated letter from Madras)

⁵⁹ La Gazette, No. 26, Nagapen, op.cit, p. 45, (25.05.1810)

⁶⁰ La Gazette, No. 18, Févr. 1988, p. 17: Nagapen: 2e lettre inédite du gouverneur R.T.Farquhar. (Farquhar to Wellesley, 13.02.11).

⁶¹ La Gazette, No. 17, Nagapen, op.cit, p. 31, Farquhar to Wellesley, 03.09.1812: "To Your Lordship I owe my success hitherto in public life. You first laid open to me the career I have pursued and it is to Your Lordship's influence I am indebted for that protection which guided my earliest steps. I am under great obligations also to other friends, but it was Your Lordship who first took me steadily and powerfully by the hand. Under your banners I first entered on the service of my country. I shall never desert them and hope at no distant period again to range in your ranks."

*“I have not yet had the satisfaction of hearing from England anything relative to these Islands, which keeps my mind in a certain degree of suspense, though with such a patron as Your Lordship on the spot, I may justly say: «sweet is suspense, when much to hope, and little left o fear». Whatever my fate may be, I shall feel perfectly assured Your Lordship’s good wishes towards me remain the same. (---) The improvement of my circumstances, occasioned by a very happy marriage, and the recovery of some property at Madras, have already placed me in a very independent state, and I trust that three or four years more on this side of the Cape will enable me to return to my family and friends with sufficient means, not only to live, but to do good to them, and to enable me to gratify the honourable ambition, which I shall never cease to feel, of ranging myself, under Your Lordship’s banner, in political life”.*⁶²

Farquhar’s promise - to place himself as a loyal supporter of the Marquis political engagement - may be a better argument than offering a place in the colonial administration to his son, and all those proceedings show a great deal of colonial nepotism among the ministers and employees in that early stage of colonisation. We also know that Farquhar, when retiring from Mauritius, kept his promise and entered the political stage in England some years under Marquis Wellesley’s banner.⁶³

Farquhar’s fear of losing the job was not groundless because different groups tried to get their candidate appointed, and after only four months he had to quit the job:

*“Il quitta Port-Louis, le 9 avril 1811, suite à une dépêche de Downing Street l’ enjoignant de ceder le gouvernement de Maurice au major-général Warde, et d’aller, quant à lui, administrer la colonie voisine (Bourbon). Cette décision du gouvernement de Londres avait été dictée par des récriminations de la part d’officers insatisfaits”.*⁶⁴

General Henry Warde, the new governor, was not allowed to stay very long in this job, and one of the few things remembered from his reign is the changing of the colony’s name. After instruction from the minister, Lord Liverpool, he used the former Dutch name, Mauritius, in his first proclamation instead of the French name.⁶⁵ But Farquhar’s exile did not last long, and thus the lobbying of influential friends and ministers proved to be effective. In fact, the Prince Regent, the future Georges IV, had already signed the ordinance appointing Farquhar to Governor at the Mascarene Islands (02.03.11). On the 12th of July 1811 the power was brought back to him from governor Warde.⁶⁶ Now he was able to develop the plans and strategies he had been dreaming about, and these plans soon proved to have great consequences for Madagascar.

The French capitulation was made in lenient terms. The French garrison and naval personnel were not made prisoners but were returned to France at British expense. The inhabitants who decided to stay had to become British citizens and swear their fidelity to the British king. In doing so they were guaranteed respect for their language, religion, customs and laws, and compensations were paid for any

⁶² La Gazette, No. 18, Nagapen, op.cit, p. 17

⁶³ La Gazette, No. 18, Nagapen, op.cit, p. 16: *“Ce rêve, il le réalisa à son départ de la colonie, le 20 mai 1823. Des 1825, ils se présentera aux élections et entra à la Chambre de Communes comme député de Newton. L’année suivante, il fut élu député de Hythe. Au Parlement il s’occupa aussi de la lointaine île Maurice.”*

⁶⁴ La Gazette, No. 17, Nagapen, op.cit, p. 30

⁶⁵ La Gazette, No. 18, Nagapen, op.cit, p. 15. The proclamation is dated 09.04.11.

⁶⁶ La Gazette, No. 17, Nagapen, op.cit, p. 15

damage done by the British troops.⁶⁷ But some of the promises should prove difficult to fulfil. Among the local customs guaranteed by the capitulation terms, slavery was the most important. The plantation economy was dependant on slave labour, but the importation of slaves into British territories had already been made illegal by the Act of 1807 abolishing the slave trade.

*“Local planters in Mauritius maintained that 40.000 new slaves were needed to cultivate the available land, and Farquhar was sufficiently persuaded to write to lord Liverpool in February 1811 to ask that an exception be made in the case of Mauritius. Lord Liverpool’s reply, starting «I cannot sufficiently express my surprise that you should have supposed it possible . . .», left him in no doubt that, while there was no intention to change the condition of slaves already on the islands, British public opinion would not tolerate any continuation of the slave trade”.*⁶⁸

When increasing use of slave labour proved to be impossible, Farquhar started intensive work to find other means of developing the colony. It has been doubted whether he really was working against slavery. Certainly he was later known as a strong activist against the slave trade from Madagascar in cooperation with king Radama. But both he and other members of the Farquhar family were plantation owners on Mauritius and dependent on slaves. For several years he delayed the registration of slaves and the establishing of a special Admiralty court as required by the Act of 1807, and his government did not use any strong measures against the smuggling of slaves into the colony the first years. The Swedish doctor, Nils Bergstén in Port Louis strongly blamed Farquhar and his private secretary, Charles Telfaire, for having withdrawn such cases from the court. He also accused them for having ordered the soldiers who were engaged in making research of slave smuggling, to go back to the barracks.⁶⁹ I should also mention here that dr. Bergsten was very critical of the whole reign of governor Farquhar.

It is also noteworthy that when fulfilling his promise to Marquis Wellesley about ranking himself under his banner in the political life in England, Farquhar used his place in the Parliament not only to get favourable conditions for the importation of sugar from Mauritius, but he also worked against the final abolition of all slavery in the British areas.⁷⁰ It is therefore doubted whether his political measures against the slave trade were only opportunist tactics to settle more important political problems. Although Farquhar worked against the final abolition of slavery in the colonies, he made many other improvements to make progress in the colonial economy without augmenting the number of slaves. The culture of sugar cane, which he worked hard to improve, soon eliminated the other agricultural endeavours for exportation, and the production of sugar in a few decades developed to be the most important agriculture on the island.⁷¹ Farquhar furthermore started another program to bring down the need of slaves. In a letter to Thomas Clarkson in 1821 he describes different technical and practical improvements:

⁶⁷ La Gazette, No. 15, juin 1987, p. 24-26. Amédée Nagapen: Apres la prise de l’île de France par les Anglais. She is quoting from Farquhar’s proclamation: *“Il est clair que les habitants de cette île doivent se considérer ou comme sujets de S.M. Britannique, ou comme ennemis subjugués, (...) Il ne peut exister qu’une seul forme de sermet; il se nomme serment d’allegeance, et renferme fidélité, obeissance et soumission”*

⁶⁸ Brown, 1978, p. 133.

⁶⁹ La Gazette, No. 18, p.20, Nagapen: “Memoires du Dr. Bergsten”. See also: MA, HB-25: “Enquete sur des enlevements des naturels de Madagascar”, which is a lot of documents from such a case at court.

⁷⁰ La Gazette, No. 18, p. 16: Nagapen: Une 2e lettre inédite de Farquhar. *“Il obtint l’entrée du sucre mauricien en Angleterre, à un taux avantageux, ce qui inaugura le début de la prospérité sucrière de la colonie. Il défendit les propriétaires d’esclaves mauriciens contre les attaques des abolitionnistes de la métropole.”*

⁷¹ Gazette, No. 26, p. 46: Nagapen: Décollage de l’industrie sucrière.

“I am making every effort to extend the use of plough, and the substitution of machinery for human labour, and have with this view, abolished all duties on implements and machinery of this nature. (---) I have done everything in my power to economize manual labour in this Colony. When we arrived, every cart in this Island was dragged by slaves. At the present day, they are, almost without a single exception, dragged by mules, asses and Bullocks (---) It would be the proudest action of my life, were I to succeed in the suggestion you make, of transforming this Colony into one of freemen. However, in a population where there are 90.000 slaves, and 16.000 people of colour, mostly emancipated slaves - these steps must be cautiously taken, and example rather than command employed –“.⁷²

Thus we know that Farquhar was making great efforts to eliminate the use of slaves, even though he thought it convenient not to provoke the colonists by making an abrupt stop of the use of slaves. And the difficulties arising in the colony when the final abolition of the slavery was carried into force in 1835 shows that he had good reasons for being cautious and for making use of modest politics.

2.2.3 The British Government did not engage in getting influence in Madagascar

Both Mauritius and Bourbon were primarily trading colonies, and agriculture there was mostly directed for exportation to Europe. When Farquhar started his work, he was astonished to see how much unused soil there was left. But it was mostly the cultivating of cotton, indigo, coffee and different spices that occupied the colonists, and those cultures all needed extensive use of labour (i.e. slaves). Food-production for the inhabitants was far from ample, which made the two islands dependent on imported food. Since Madagascar was close by and willing to sell provisions, the trade with that country immediately became a hot political question, but the rivalries between British interests from Mauritius and French interests from Bourbon were also to dominate the development of Madagascar in the next decades.

The small British garrison left in Tamatave in 1811 soon returned to Mauritius, and neither the British nor the French had any forces left in Madagascar when peace was made in 1814 (30.05.14) The peace treaty stated that France ceded to Britain *“the Isle of France and its dependencies, especially Rodriguez and the Seychelles”*,⁷³ while Bourbon was to be reunited with France. Madagascar was not mentioned at all in the treaty, and Farquhar immediately stated that this island should then be one of the dependencies to Mauritius. When some areas were especially mentioned in the treaty, there must naturally be some others included, he argued. There was no doubt that Farquhar was right in stating that the former French trading posts in Madagascar had been under the care of the governor of Mauritius. But it was difficult to get political acceptance for his claim of laying the great island under his care.

The French authorities protested vigorously against this idea. Governor Bouvet in Bourbon argued that Madagascar had never been a dependency neither of Ile de France nor any other power, but a free country where everybody was allowed to trade.⁷⁴ On the other hand, the government in Paris maintained that French

⁷² Gazette, No. 26, p. 48: Nagapen: Textes rares de R.T.Farquhar: Lettre à l'Honorable Thomas Clarkson sur le développement de l'île.

⁷³ Brown, 1978, p. 134.

⁷⁴ MA, HB-22, De Bouvet to Farquhar, 19.07.15: *“Votre Excellence paroît pencher à croire que Madagascar est une Dependance de l'île de France, et que comme telle cette île est tombée dans le Possessions de Son Majeste Britannique (...). Je ne puis partager cette opinion et j'adresse à Votre Excellence une Memoire qui lui fera sans doute reconnaitre que Madagascar a toujours ete un Pays independant dans lequel toutes les Nations peuvent venir Commercer in se conformant aux Loi de leur Gouvernement respectif –“* See other protests in: MA, RA-58, Gouverneur de Bouvet to Farquhar, 30.07.16

sovereignty in Madagascar dating from the 17th century had not been affected in any way by the treaty of peace. The British government neither wanted to be engaged in any expensive adventure in Madagascar, nor willing to have a quarrel with the newly established French Emperor and his government. Consequently, Farquhar was informed that they agreed with the French interpretation of the treaty and therefore all former French establishments in Madagascar had to be handed back. We should suppose that when the two governments in Europe agreed with each other, there would be very few steps the new governor in the small colony at Mauritius would be able to take against the decision. Or would he be able to find any possibility to check this "fait accompli"?

Obviously, Farquhar had not felt confident in winning the game with his first initiative, and therefore he had already drawn up alternative strategies. One of the first things he did when he entered the office in Mauritius was to commission a former French officer, Monsieur de Froberville, to make a comprehensive survey of all available information about Madagascar in the Archives of Mauritius. This collection of reports and memoranda is an invaluable summary of European knowledge of the great island at that time⁷⁵. With great interest Farquhar could read about a country divided in a lot of squabbling kingdoms, which had nevertheless successfully resisted all previous attempts of European occupation. All use of military forces had failed in earlier times and in the tricky state Farquhar was placed, it was certainly out of question for him to use such means. But he saw another interested solution:

*"Some sentences in an unsigned memorandum pointed the way to a solution: "Can it be hoped that the chiefs and the inhabitants will submit of their own free will to the English? This cannot be hoped for. If a single monarch were in authority over the whole extent of the island, he might possibly be won over to yield his crown to the king and people of Great Britain".*⁷⁶

The good idea was then adapted, and Farquhar started the search for the "single monarch" who would be able to unify the whole island. Raombana tells that many kings were proposed, both Ramitraho in Menabe, Rabedoko in Vaingandrano and Jean René in Tamatave, but none of them were thought to be able to accomplish this major task.⁷⁷ More interesting were the reports from Mayeur and Hugon, which clearly pointed to the inhabitants of Imerina as the most advanced and dynamic people in the island, while more recent information from the plateau indicated the intelligent and ambitious young king Radama as best fit for the governor's plans. Though Farquhar had private, economical and political reasons not to abolish the slavery within the colony for many years, he found that in the Abolition of the Slave Trade he had a good case to work for. Contemporary French writers tended to sneer at the anti-slavery argument as a sanctimonious cover for further expansion of British power, and certainly they were right, although we shall not underestimate Farquhar's human and philanthropic feelings towards the slaves. But through his support for the Abolition of the Slave trade, Farquhar had outdone the "fait accompli" of the French and the British government, because no British government would ever prohibit him from working for this cause. It had hitherto proved difficult to extend the Act decided by the parliament in 1807 "as far as British influence could reach", and therefore the government probably needed a new initiative like Farquhar's. Obviously, the British Navy was the strongest in the world, and they could claim: "Britannia rules the waves", but the Ocean is wide and the small slave trading vessels were difficult to

⁷⁵ The said collection is placed in MA, HB-13.3

⁷⁶ Quoted in Brown, 1978, p 136

⁷⁷ Ayache, 1994, p. 33

discover. Put simply: huge forces would be needed in order to stop the illicit trade from Madagascar and Africa effectively.

Farquhar had several good reasons to choose Radama as his partner and ally. One of them was the fact that most of the slaves exported from Madagascar were coming from Imerina, which indicated a powerful reign, and should not the most effective means to stop the slave trade be to get the chief supplier to stop his trade? The British government had been in search for new and effective means to stop the trade, and Farquhar pointed to the possibility of making treaties with mighty persons or nations where the exported slaves were coming from. His decision to propose an alliance with the British power to Radama, shows political ability. Other kings would soon ask to get similar conditions but their demands were all refused since Farquhar had now chosen the only man able to carry out his great plans.

The British government would not refuse Farquhar in trying to eliminate the slave trade from Madagascar, and the proposed alliance with a local king, helping him in extending his dominions, could probably be an agreeable way of doing so. Such an indirect colonisation could certainly extend British influence to a very considerable degree with minor costs. Perhaps not all members of the British government were aware of the consequences of this plan, namely that they would remove French interests from the island in a certain degree and give room for the rivalry in Madagascar, which would last for most of the century.

The expressed hope that in helping a single monarch to extend his authority over the whole island - "*he might possibly be won over to yield his crown to the king and people of Great Britain*" - would prove to be a false hope. The growing scepticism in Radama's last years soon changed to a hostile attitude from the Malagasy government after his death. But the pre-colonial era often witnessed such political breakdowns, and usually the European power involved would make the area a colony because "it was out of control and in need of pacification". But the history of Madagascar did not follow this scheme, and I will try to investigate a little why a "Treaty of Peace" did not yield the same disastrous consequences for the native sovereignty in Madagascar as it usually did in other places in Africa and Asia.

2.3 King Radama I tried to reach his own aims in a close connection with the British

It was difficult for Farquhar to find a proper way to carry out his great plans. The British government was scarcely known in Madagascar, especially in the interior of the island, and it would be improper to send an official delegation up to Imerina to propose a treaty with an unknown European power for Radama. He would probably be suspicious and unwilling since most of his contact with Europeans hitherto had been with different slave traders and other adventurers. But Farquhar, who knew a great deal about the thinking of non-Europeans from his experiences in India and the Molluque Islands, developed a plan in three stages to gain the confidence of Radama and induce him to enter an alliance.

2.3.1 The first British envoys to Antananarivo and the “Treaty of Peace”

Farquhar decided first to send an unofficial mission to Antananarivo to obtain confidence and goodwill from Radama. Jaques Chardenoux, a former French slave dealer now settled in Mauritius, was selected for that journey. Chardenoux had been in Imerina several times and established friendly contacts both with Radama and his father. In the secret instruction to Chardenoux Farquhar specified that he would not try to dictate the laws of the country, but that his aim was to convince Radama that it would be prosperous for him to change the slave trade into other trades and industry, rather than selling away the inhabitants who were thought to be working for the progress of the country. This argument, together with a willingness to introduce European arts and knowledge, was the most important during the entire negotiation process.⁷⁸

In June 1816 Chardenoux and his followers left Tamatave, and after a few weeks they reached Antananarivo. Radama greeted him as an old friend and the presents Farquhar brought were thankfully received. Although he did not know much about England he had a new respect for that nation because it had recently defeated his hero Napoleon. He was a little suspicious because he had heard rumours that the British government intended to prevent him from selling slaves. Chardenoux dared not enter real negotiations concerning the touchy issue, but he later reported that the king certainly should be interested in getting a new source of revenue, because it would probably be increasingly difficult to obtain slaves since only strong kingdoms were left around him.⁷⁹ However, this new contact interested Radama and he decided to send his prime minister and some other ministers to Mauritius to negotiate a treaty of peace with Governor Farquhar. Two of the king’s younger half-brothers,

⁷⁸ MA, HB-7.2, 04.04.16: “*Secret. Note particulière de Son Excellence Gouverneur Farquhar pour Mr. Chardenoux: Son Excellence ne pretend pas dicter la Loi aux puissance de Madagascar - mais Son Excellence compte sur votre zele pour trouver les moyens de leur suggerer la substitution d'une commerce utile & reciproquement profitable aux Madecasses & aux Anglais au trafic odieux de L'Espece humaine. Vous êtes pleinement convaincu des désordres que ce trafic a constamment occasionné a Madagascar par les guerres continuellement entretenues parmi les naturels, et qui nous seulement depeuplent cette vaste contree, mais l'entretiennent encore dans un état d'incultivation opposé a l'accroissement de population. Le Roi des Ovas les plus éclairé des chefs de cette Isle ne peut pas manquer de gauter des observations présentés avec delicatesses cereanspection & avec attention d'établir nos raisonnement de maniere a lui faire toujours entrevoir son interet personnel & celui de son Pays, dans la depense de la traite des naturels de L'Isle. D'apres les rapports (...) faits a Son Excellence sur le compte du Radame, le succes de votre mission pres de Lui depend beaucoup du soin que vous prendrez a le bien penetrer des vues bienveillantes du Gouvernement Anglais, & du desir qu'il a de lui faciliter l'introduction dans Son Pays des arts de L'Europe.*”

⁷⁹ MA, HB-7.2, Report from Chardenoux, 13.09.16: “*Le jour même de mon arrivée à Mazoarivo apres beaucoup de discussions resultatés des fausses insinuations que l'on avait fait parvenir à Radama sur la pretendue defense que devait lui faire le Gouvernement Anglais de continuer son Commerce d'Esclave, je l'ai rassuré sur ce point en lui disant que Son Excellence Farquhar ne m'avait envoyé que pour faire alliance avec lui - qu'à la verité les anglais n'achetaient point des Esclaves parcequ'ils se servaient point & preferaient L'emploi des gens libres - mais que le regardant ainsi comme maitre de faire chez lui, ce que bon lui semblait (...) Je pense d'ailleurs que les ressources de Radama pour se procurer des Esclaves sont a peu pret epuisées par la soumission des peuples chez qui il pouvait porter la guerre & que ce Commerce n'est pas loin de s'éteindre de lui même.*”

Ratafika and Rahove, were allowed to follow Chardenoux and get some education on Mauritius. Before they left, the king ordered his envoys to enter a blood covenant, (*Fatidra* in Malagasy) with Chardenoux and one of his followers.⁸⁰ This was a ceremony of great importance in the Malagasy culture and would certainly give the envoys going abroad a feeling of security. Chardenoux and his followers came to Mauritius in September and both the ministers and the two young princes got a hearty welcome by Farquhar and his staff.

The good season for travelling in Madagascar was nearly terminated, but Farquhar was eager to start the second step of his plans, making use of the improved relationship. He then dispatched an official delegation to Radama in order to start negotiations concerning the abolition of the slave trade. This delegation followed the ministers of Radama on their return to Imerina, and Farquhar chose one of his best officers, *Captain Le Sage*, who had just returned from the punitive expedition to Port Loquez,⁸¹ to be his envoy. Travelling together with Le Sage were Chardenoux, a doctor, an interpreter and some others, with an escort of 30 soldiers.

Le Sage received rough instructions about what arguments were to be used in the negotiations, but also about the behaviour and manners of the whole group. There were presents to be given not only to the king, but also to the families of the princes and other powerful persons. Farquhar ordered that if they succeeded in the negotiations they should fire some skyrockets to the glory of the new treaty.⁸² The most astonishing instruction given to Le Sage was the order to bring: *“A boy of 9 or 10 years old to live with the King of Ovah”*. I wonder what kind of “special gift” to the king this boy was thought to be. Possibly it was a new slave for the king, but I find it a little shocking that Farquhar was willing to use a child as a gift to buy the king’s friendship.

Le Sage and his fellow travellers came to Tamatave on the 17th of November, and after 10 days of preparing they set off for Antananarivo. The rainy season had started, and the roads were extremely bad. Malaria, dysentery and other tropical diseases soon made their heavy taxes among the travellers and more than a third of the party were carried off before the return to Mauritius.⁸³ Arriving in Antananarivo on the 21st of December they were received in a great manner. Captain Le Sage was so sick that he had to be carried up to the town, and the king sent some of his ministers and close relatives down the hill to meet him. Raombana relates that every able man in Imerina was told to be in the capital to impress the guests, and on the appointed day, all were lined up from the “Rova” (the Palace) on the top of the huge hill and down to the rice fields at the bottom. The visitors marched in a procession with the British soldiers in front, followed by the civilian members of the delegation, the Malagasy ministers and captain Le Sage in the palanquin especially made for him. The crackle of musket-fire accompanied their final approach up the narrow streets, while the British soldiers fired a volley at each halt. The soldiers firing their weapons at the same time after a given order made a great impression on the Malagasy,

⁸⁰ Brown, 1978, p. 138

⁸¹ MA, HB-7.2, Chief Secretary Barry to Captain Le Sage 20.04.16, Instruction about the murders of Blenman, Burch, Butler and O'Brien which took place 05.02.16. Wearing a French name, Le Sage was a British citizen, born in London.

⁸² MA, HB-7.2, Farquhar to Le Sage, 06.11.16, Memorandum: *“Strict discipline and great mildness daily to be enjoined to the whole party. In intercourse with the natives never to strike or abuse. Perfect toleration in religion so that no class of persons may be disgusted. (...) To perform divine services on all proper days in a place expressly for that purpose - to hinder the muselmen from inculcating opinions against the Christian faith - It being virgin soil the protestant religion may be easily introduced. (...) A certain number of children of all the chief men to be sent here for instruction in all the arts and sciences.” “Present to the Prime minister of Ovah the first day and to let no man who is of consequence either from rank, or from his services, to go away unrewarded”. And finally if the negotiations were a success: “Take sky Rockets to be fired after the oath with Radama in an open place”*

⁸³ Brown, 1978, p. 137-139.

showing a glimpse of military skill and performance unknown in Imerina until that time.

The king received his guests heartily, but after seeing how ill many of them were, he cut short the initial ceremonies and sent them to the houses assigned for them. The king cared well for his guests with food and other necessities, but several of them were so sick that they soon got their graves there. Raombana tells that the doctor was one of the first who died, and that a place in the south end of the town got the name “Fasambazaha”, i.e. the tombs of the Europeans.⁸⁴ Le Sage was desperately ill with malaria and for more than two weeks he was in an unconscious state. When he recovered a little he entered the negotiations with Radama. By the help of the interpreter, Hector,⁸⁵ he managed to bring the king the proposal from Governor Farquhar about a “Treaty of Peace and Friendship” between king George III of England, and Radama, king of “Ovah”. His bad condition prevented Le Sage from introducing Farquhar’s proposal about a “Treaty for the Abolition of the Slave Trade”, because that would require more time and strength than he possessed. Nevertheless, Radama and Le Sage signed the Treaty of Peace and Friendship on the 4th of February 1817, and Farquhar later countersigned it in Port Louis.⁸⁶

Before leaving Antananarivo Le Sage managed to enter a blood covenant (Fatidra) with Radama personally, and Raison-Jourde concludes that it seems astonishing that the king himself went into such a strong ceremony with a stranger, because usually the slave traders and other Europeans had been looked at with suspicion. It is an interesting ceremony developed in Le Sage’s journal from his visit in Antananarivo:

*“Un des ministres de Radama ordonna le silence, obtenu aussitôt, en dépit des milliers de gens rassemblés. Il déclara au peuple que Radama m’avait donné leur pays et demanda si tous y concentraient. Ce fut un oui unanime. Le ministre se tourna alors vers moi en disant que j’étais leur roi et que je pouvais disposer du pays et de tout ce qu’il contenait et que Radama ne commandait qu’à Maurice. Radama posa de nouveau à sa cour et à son peuple la même question posée à la foule par son ministre et demanda si on voulait me considérer comme le roi: l’entourage répondit affirmativement. Il me dit alors que son pays était le mien et que Maurice était le sien”.*⁸⁷

We may wonder whether this ceremony was considered to be without real political importance, since the king dared to enter it with an envoy from a mostly unknown European power? I have not found that Radama entered a blood covenant with any other Europeans, and in fact he later complained that the interpreter had caused important misunderstandings between him and Le Sage before they entered this ritual. Certainly this “Fatidra” bound Radama to his new ally, since it was a virtual part of the Malagasy culture. Perhaps that may signify that this was a very important occasion for Radama? A glance at the actual text of the Treaty of Peace can give us an idea why he was so eager to conclude it. A great part of the 8 articles were

⁸⁴ Ayache, 1994, p. 43 - 45

⁸⁵ Ayache, 1994, p. 45. Verkey (Ravarikia) was a Malagasy slave owned by the government of Mauritius. Raombana named him Verkey Rainimanana and tells that he arrived as interpreter with Captain Le Sage and was redeemed by Radama. As a consequence of the new Treaty he needed interpreters etc. Verkey later played an important role as interpreter for Prince Ratefy and the Malagasy youth in England, and as artisan and interpreter in Madagascar after his return from England. Hastie named the interpreter of Le Sage, Hector, and tells that Radama got very upset to him, saying he caused great misunderstandings between him and the Governor. See also: BAM, No. 4, Vol. II, 1903. p. 241: “Hector était un miserable trompeur,” and other places in the same manuscript. I suppose Le Sage must have had two interpreters rather than Raombana has given us a false name, because he knew Verkey personally from the voyage to England.

⁸⁶ Ayache, 1994, p. 45-49. Signed 26.06.17. Raombana has quoted the text of the Treaty in 8 articles.

⁸⁷ Raison-Jourde, 1991, p. 113: “Le choix de cette formule est étonnant, car l’étranger, surtout l’étranger européen, est considéré avec méfiance, en raison de la réputation que lui ont faite ses rivaux antaloatra, et de ses activités de marchand d’esclaves.”

concerning port- and trade-regulations, and that indicates clearly that the new allies were planning great changes, since Radama in fact did not have sovereignty over a single port in the whole island in 1817. Radama's political ability must have told him that this treaty could be his great possibility to realize the ambitions of extending his power over the whole island. This may also explain his eagerness later to enter a real alliance with the British government, although his counsellors would not recommend him to do that.

The delegation left Antananarivo the 5th of February and many of the members were still so weak that they had to be carried. Two of Le Sage's men were left behind, because the king had begged for some persons to instruct his army after the European style. One of them did not stay a long time, but the other one spent all his life working for the king. This person was sergeant Brady, a mulatto from Jamaica, who soon advanced to be the first general in Radama's army. He played an important role in developing the army, and also in many of Radama's campaigns. He was paid a monthly allowance by the governor of Mauritius, and when he was retired a year after the king's death, he received a pension from the British government.

The failure to broach the subject of the slave trade was a disappointment to Farquhar. But the Treaty of Friendship indicated good possibilities in the future and could yield considerable political profits later. He then used the time until the next good season of travelling in Madagascar to prepare for the negotiations about his real aim: the Treaty for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. A part of Farquhar's plan was to care well for Radama's two brothers, and they were placed to live in a part of the governor's house. Sometimes they were allowed to dine with the governor and his family, and Farquhar and his wife provoked the Mauritians by taking the young princes with them to different arrangements:

*“- Madame Farquehar les emmenant à ses côtés en calèche, vêtus de riches habits, ce qui «choquait les convenances et blessait les préjugés» sur une île habituée à assimiler les Malgaches à des esclaves”.*⁸⁸

This behaviour should point out for Radama that friendship with the British government certainly would elevate his status and give him a place amongst the important personages in the great world.

The princes obtained a Tutor who should live together with them and educate them in different matters such as the requisite behaviour and manners, and included: *“personal cleanliness, and their clothing, lodging, bedding & apartments, taking care to teach them punctuality and exactness, even in the minute points regarding these objects, which are so essential to comfort, to health & to the convenience of those persons with whom they are to associate”.*⁸⁹

He was also ordered to make daily reports to the governor, perform morning and evening prayer with them, and his instructions continue:

“You will once a week present these young persons to His Excellency, in person, and receive his orders for their course of studies (---) When their conduct merits the distinction, His Excellency will invite them to his own table, during the week - either one or both according to their good conduct. (---) The reverend Mr. Le Brun, protestant Missionary, has been directed to attend at Reduit two days in the week for the purpose of instructing your young pupils in the principles and practice of our holy religion”.

It is especially interesting to my study that the newly arrived missionary, Rev. Le Brun from LMS, was invited to come to Reduit (the governor's summer residence) twice a

⁸⁸ Raison Jourde, 1991, p. 115

⁸⁹ MA, HB-7.2, Farquhar to Hastie, 19.11.16: *Instructions as tutor to Two Madagascar Princes.*

week in order to instruct the princes in the Christian religion. This may indicate that Farquhar wished to use both the princes and the missionaries from LMS as commissionaires for missionary work and British influence in Imerina.

A sergeant with broad experience in working with native princes in India was appointed tutor to them. His name was *James Hastie*, and he was going to make a major contribution on the British side to the proposed alliance between Radama and Farquhar. James Hastie was born into a Quaker family in Cork in 1786. He received a good education, but the pious restrictions of life drove him to run away to become a soldier in India. After some years of service there, he was sent to Mauritius in 1815. He came to governor Farquhar's attention in September 1816 when a fire ravaged half of Port Louis. The Government House was saved from the fire by the efforts of Hastie and the two princes who had just arrived from Madagascar. The huge Irishman and his helpers climbed the roof when it caught fire, and by using buckets of water they succeeded in extinguishing the fire.

2.3.2 Difficult negotiations about the "Treaty for the Abolition of the Slave Trade"

Radama had ordered Le Sage to send his brothers, Rahove and Ratafika, to Tamatave at the end of June 1817, where he would meet them.⁹⁰ Together with the princes, Farquhar sent an official delegation to negotiate with Radama. An experienced staff officer, Thomas Pye, who had already been sent to Tamatave as British Agent in Madagascar, was now instructed to accompany the two princes to Antananarivo and propose a treaty for abolition of the slave trade to Radama. The boys' tutor, James Hastie, should follow them to Antananarivo and he was to act as Pye's deputy and assume charge of the mission if, as proved to be the case, Pye's health did not permit him to make the journey.

But Radama did not come alone the long way from Antananarivo. The whole area around Tamatave was in turmoil at that time, because Jean René, who governed Tamatave, and his brother Fisatra, who resided in Ivondro a little further south, had usurped the power when the kingdom of the Betsimisaraka people broke up. Raombana relates that the mother of those brothers was a Malagasy woman, probably from Anosy (around Fort Dauphin), but the father was a French Creole from Mauritius.⁹¹ We also know that Jean René had been employed as interpreter for the French Agent in Tamatave, Sylvain Roux, before the surrendering of the town to the British in 1811. It was also Roux who had appointed Fisatra to govern Ivondro instead of Tsimandray, the heir of the former Betanimena king.⁹² When both the French and the British forces left the area, the two brothers managed to take possession of the whole Betanimena province. But now the heir of the former king was fighting to get rid of them, and after a few years (1821) he succeeded in eliminating the ruler in Ivondro.⁹³ But in 1817 these two brothers were plundering and burning the towns of their adversaries. Hastie comments that the people he met in those devastated towns argued that the British government was responsible for that deed, since they supposed Jean René was supported by them. The war had already devastated a great area when Radama descended with an army of perhaps 30,000 soldiers. The brothers had foolishly referred to Radama as "a beardless boy" and that

⁹⁰ Ayache, 1994, p. 51.

⁹¹ Ayache, 1994, p. 55: The Malagasy named Jean René «Mpanjakamena» (the red king), and that may indicate that he was a little like his Creole father, since it is common even today to name the European "red" because of their skin.

⁹² BAM, No. 2, Vol. II, 1903, Hastie: *Le voyage de Tananarive en 1817*, note 34, p. 97.

⁹³ MA, HB-21, Hastie to Farquhar, 04.05.21: "*Fish, the chieftain of Yvondrou has been assassinated by a party under the command of Scimandraw, the legitimate heir to the chieftainship of Tamatave, who has long devised the death of this brother of Jean René* —"

gave him an opportunity to “visit” them in Tamatave. Jean René fled and asked protection from the British, and Pye acted as intermediary. An agreement was reached by which Jean René was forced to acknowledge Radama as his overlord, and henceforth he was confirmed as governor of Tamatave. Thus Radama had taken possession of both the Betanimena province and the area along the road, having for the first time free access to a port at the Indian Ocean.

In the letter Farquhar sent to Radama he again argued that the king would depopulate his country by the sale of his subjects and his unfortunate neighbours. It would be much more advantageous to him to keep the people in his dominions and by their labour provide such articles - which his country produced - in sufficient quantity to exchange for the merchandise from Europe. He also proposed to give the king some reward for his lost revenue if he was willing to stop the slave trade.⁹⁴ Mr. Pye wished to start the negotiations immediately, but Radama was unable to stop at the coast for even a few days with such a great army without provisions. He also claimed that he was obliged to consult his counsellors and meet his people gathered to “Kabary”, before he could conclude any treaty. It was decided that the negotiations would take place in the capital soon after the campaign was terminated, and Hastie, who was going up there together with the two princes, was charged with the responsibility of the negotiations since Mr. Pye was unable to make the journey.

Hastie, bringing with him various presents to the king - including three horses - now accompanied Radama on his return to Antananarivo. They started on the 10th of July 1817 and witnessed the pitiful suffering of the army passing through the country they had already stripped of all foodstuffs. The party of Hastie and the princes got some provisions from the king, but on their way up the country they saw many bodies of starved soldiers. Radama later recounted that about 3.500 had died during the last campaign, most of them from sickness and starvation, and that many others were still in a very feeble state of health.⁹⁵ After a hard journey, Hastie’s group reached Antananarivo. They succeeded in bringing up two of the three horses, the third one drowned crossing a river, and Hastie comments that those were the first horses ever seen in Imerina.

Hastie had to wait three days outside the town until the king found a “lucky day” for the visit, but was received as an important envoy when he entered the town on the 7th of August. In his article: *“A Cultural Politics of Bedchamber Construction and Progressive Dining in Antananarivo: Ritual Inversions during the Fandroana of 1817”*, Pier M. Larson provides new interpretations and tries to explain the importance of Hastie’s reception:

*“This article explores the political and cultural symbolism of Hastie’s participation in the **fandroana** of 1817. I argue Radama choreographed Hastie’s participation in the ritual to invert customary ritual sequence and to thereby communicate to his subjects both his intentions for political alliance with Britain and his administrative independence as a young ruler who languished within the shadows of a popular predecessor and father, Andrianampoinimerina”.*⁹⁶

Larson argues that Hastie’s dining alone with the king’s wives and even sleeping with his senior wife, was an important innovation from Radama, and a sign to his people

⁹⁴ Ayache, 1994, p. 57-61 Raombana quoted the text of some letters he found in the archives of Radama, when he was acting as Ranavalona’s secretary. We can verify that these texts are authentic to a certain degree. For example, is this letter from Farquhar (28.06.17) written in the governor’s usual language, which is a more correct English than the language of Raombana?

⁹⁵ BAM, No. 3, Vol. II, 1903, p. 187

⁹⁶ Middleton 1999. Chapter two. By Pier M. Larson, p. 39

and to the British authorities about his intentions of entering an alliance. He states that:

*“largely unaware of the emic significance of his role in the fandroana of 1817, Hastie unwittingly played a ritually meaningful part in Radama’s cultural stage management of international alliance”.*⁹⁷

The good day chosen by Radama for Hastie’s entering the capital proved to be the eve of the “Fandroana” ritual (the Holy Bath Festival or the Malagasy New Year), which is a celebration of the most important ritual between the King and his people. When the king next day started the celebration, which Hastie imprecisely thought was the celebration of his birthday,⁹⁸ Hastie was invited to participate in most of the rituals. By his use of the British Agent in different parts of the ritual during these days of celebration Radama demonstrated an innovative politic, which openly showed his wish both for an alliance with the British power and to rid himself of his predecessor’s powerful advisors. Larson concludes:

*“Through his ritual choreography Radama had held the equivalent of a modern press conference, informing his subjects of late breaking diplomatic news. Hastie’s intimacy with Radama’s wives – and his senior wife in particular – was a ritual meaningful “sign in action”. It is unlikely that Radama’s purpose in organizing the sequence inversion was simply innovation for the sake of demonstrating a disrespect for royal ritual. It was a creative public demonstration of how seriously he sought an international alliance and revealed how generously he intended to entertain foreign envoys at his court. The alliance with Britain would turn certain of Andrianampoinimerina’s recently invented customs on their head and entail transformations, or inversions, of existing cultural practice. It was no coincidence that Hastie’s participation in the 1817 fandroana scripted the envoy’s intimacy with highland Malagasy royalty, for despite his nationality Hastie soon became Radama’s most trusted and familiar advisor. Radama’s choreography of the 1817 fandroana can also be read as a cautious means by which Radama continued to publicly float his new politics of international alliance and his plans for replacing the namana (his father’s counsellors) with his own advisors and military leaders”.*⁹⁹

Unaware of his ritual importance, Hastie tried to commence the proposed diplomatic negotiations with the king, but for weeks the king was unwilling to undertake serious discussions. Surely Hastie was allowed to talk with the king between the ceremonies or in the evenings, and in his first discussions with the king he proposed to make a good way for carts down to Tamatave to facilitate the exportation of goods from Imerina. He also tried to enter the difficult discussions about the slave trade, but the king answered that in Imerina the slave trade was an honest trade. Hastie argued that the governor did not wish to interfere with intern customs in the country, but only proposed that the king stop the exportation, assuring him that this proposal would certainly greatly augment Radama’s power etc.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Middleton 1999: Larson, op.cit. p. 43

⁹⁸ Middleton 1999: Larson, op.cit. p. 42: *“While Hastie became aware that something extraordinary was occurring during his first days in Antanarivo and cultivated his intimacy with Radama and his family to further British diplomatic objectives, his journal demonstrates that he failed to grasp precisely what the fandroana was or the significance of his participation in some of its ritual practices. (...) Someone explained to Hastie that the fandroana was like a celebration of Radama’s birthday, which was how Hastie mistakenly described the ritual in his diary.”*

⁹⁹ Middleton 1999, Larson, op.cit. p. 66

¹⁰⁰ BAM, op.cit, No. 3, 1903, p. 175, 08.08.17: *“Il m’écoutait patiemment et ayant narré la conservation à son peuple, il me fit remarquer que les esclaves étaient un trafic honnête à Madagascar. Je lui expliquai à nouveau que le gouvernement britannique ne lui avait rien dicté concernant les coutumes en usages dans son pays, que le gouverneur Farquhar le considérait comme la personne la mieux éclairée en cela, qu’il était sans aucun doute le plus puissant, que s’il agissait en roi, il assurerait la survie de son nom et que le système que je lui indiquais augmenterait certainement sa puissance, sa richesse et l’immortalité de son*

Hastie had to be patient, and try to gain the king's confidence rather than to enter real negotiations, because the king was so occupied with different tasks, and also unwilling to undertake the difficult subject at present. Hastie then continued his education of the two princes and went on living in the capital observing all that happened. He saw many European traders coming up from Tamatave in order to sell their goods and buy slaves from Radama and others, and Arabic traders arriving from Majunga on the other side of the island selling African slaves. Hastie doubted if Radama liked him seeing all this commerce, but he supposed that the king was ruled by his counsellors and not really free to act against the illicit trade. He was also invited by Radama to assist him when Brady's corps of soldiers performed a military parade at "Andohalo", the ceremonial place in the middle of the town.

After having waited for one month without any possibility to enter the proposed negotiations, Hastie's patience was running out, and when he heard from the princes that Radama was waiting for a captain from Bourbon to visit him, he decided to leave the capital and hurry back to Tamatave for new instructions. When he asked for "marmites" (or bearers) to bring him down to the coast, Radama begged him to stay a little longer and proposed to pay him for the education of his brothers. But Hastie answered that he had Farquhar's positive orders to come back and report if the negotiations should be successful or not, and because Farquhar was soon going to Europe for a leave, he thought he should go immediately and get new instructions. The king then consented to his wishes and promised to find bearers to him in a few days.¹⁰¹

Hastie used the next day paying the salaries of sergeant Brady, and the 23 Indians left with Radama by Captain Le Sage. The king declared that he would still employ 5 of the Indians, but he wished to send the others back, because they were unable or unwilling to work for him. Instead he begged Hastie to leave him a "government slave" until his people had learnt to care for the horses. When Hastie consented to that he chose the old man who acted as Hastie's interpreter.¹⁰² The Indians referred to are interesting. We learn that Le Sage had brought 24 Indians with him, but one was already dead. Those men were probably "Indian convicts". We know from later sources that Indians who were given severe sentences in India were brought to Mauritius to do forced labour there, and some of them were sent to Madagascar to perform special work, such as caring for silk worms etc. Hastie left those 18 Indians, whom Radama returned to the British authorities, in Tamatave under the care of a trader or planter called Mr. Bragg, and they still remained there when Hastie returned to Madagascar in 1820.

Before Hastie left Antananarivo he tried again to discuss the slave trade with Radama but became even more convinced that the king was not free to act because his counsellors and people opposed the plan. The king asked what he could do in this case, since everybody wanted to earn money through the slave trade in selling slaves and prisoners of war.¹⁰³ He also needed the slave trade himself in order to get rid of his enemies by selling them, and without the revenue from the slave trade he could not buy enough arms and ammunition for his army, he said. Therefore, if he should stop the slave trade, he would be desperately in need of other possibilities to get money, arms and ammunition. In the evening Radama came to the house where

règne. Il donna ces explications à ses gens qui acquiescèrent. Il dit qu'il ferait un traité pour empêcher l'exportation de ses sujets. Il sembla convaincu de mon argumentation et me quitta de bonne humeur."

¹⁰¹ BAM, No. 4, Vol. II, 1903, p. 241, 02.09.17

¹⁰² BAM, op.cit, No. 4, p. 241, 02.09.17 and p. 244, 04.09.17. The 5 Indians who were left in Antananarivo we do not know much about, but new "Indian convicts" arrived later.

¹⁰³ BAM, op. cit, No.4, p. 243, 03.09.17: "Il me demanda ce qu'il devait faire, disant que s'était le trafic de l'île, que tous ses gens étaient d'accord pour le faire et que ses prisonniers sont ses ennemis."

Hastie lodged and asked him if he thought the British government would give him arms and ammunition as a reward for stopping the trade. If so, he would immediately put an effective stop to all slave trade in the island.¹⁰⁴

Next morning (06.09.17) Radama told Hastie that one of his ministers, dispatched to Mauritius to negotiate with Farquhar, had returned to Tamatave. He had sent a letter from Tamatave telling that they had discussed the abolition of the slave trade and the measures needed by Radama if he would consent to the proposed treaty. Radama was content that Farquhar had expressed a wish that he should form a regular army. That would not only allow him to suppress his neighbours but also make him free from the dominance of his counsellors.¹⁰⁵

Hastie was astonished to learn that Radama had sent his own envoy directly to the governor, and that act could certainly explain why the king had hesitated so long without being ready to negotiate with him. This act is important and shows that Radama wished to take control of the negotiations to be sure that nobody should bewitch him. Obviously, this was caused by some misunderstandings between him and captain Le Sage, because the king accused the interpreter, Hector, for having caused some important misunderstandings when they entered the oath of brotherhood (or blood covenant). Maybe Le Sage had not made it clear to Radama, that a non-negotiable condition of the friendship and cooperation with the British was the abolition of the slave trade – if possible within one year – as Farquhar later told his two brothers when they visited Mauritius. Now Radama complained that he had never promised to stop the trade within one year, and he wished Hastie to intervene in the matter, telling the governor that it was the interpreter that had caused serious misunderstandings between them.¹⁰⁶

Although the minister bringing the letter from Farquhar had not yet reached the capital Radama was now willing to start the proposed negotiations. On the other hand, Hastie was in great confusion because he had never been informed about Radama's envoy to Mauritius, and neither receiving letters nor instructions from the governor, he did not know how to proceed. Therefore he set out for Tamatave next morning and managed the journey better this time, even though the roads were in the same bad condition. Arriving in Tamatave on the 22nd of September he learned by the new British agent there, Mr. Brown, that Farquhar supposed him to be in Antananarivo, ready to explain his letter for Radama. Hastie's own communications with the king and the contents of the letter he brought to the governor, necessitated he hurry back to the capital to be of use in explaining the letters from Farquhar to the king,¹⁰⁷ and he started his return the same evening. Being more used to travelling, he managed the journey faster this time, and the roads were also in a better shape

¹⁰⁴ BAM, op. cit, No.4, p. 245, 05.09.17: *“Le roi vint à ma chambre et me demanda si le gouvernement anglais pouvait l’approvisionner d’armes et de munitions, affirmant que, s’il le voulait, cela mettrait un arrêt complet au commerce des esclaves dans l’île.”*

¹⁰⁵ BAM, op. cit, No.4, p. 246, 06.09.17: *“- il me répondit que cet homme était resté seulement 14 jours dans l’île de France (...) et que le sujet de sa lettre était la conversation que le gouverneur Farquehar avait eue avec lui, concernant la suppression de la traite des esclaves. La lettre informait aussi que le gouverneur était satisfait qu’il formât une armée régulière, détail dont il était très honoré, disant que le gouverneur ne désirait pas qu’ils restassent inactifs et que la gloire était plutôt son but que le gain; et que s’il devenait supérieur à ses ennemis, il ne serait plus subordonné à ses préjudiciables instructeurs. Cette conversation fut privée.”*

¹⁰⁶ BAM, op. cit, No.4, p. 246, 06.09.17: *“Il apporta la lettre que j’avais écrite le 3 courant, il désirait que j’y ajoute que l’interprète du capitain Lesage l’avait trompé. Il déclara qu’avant sa venue il ne connaissait aucunement les désirs du gouverneur Farquehar de supprimer le trafic des esclaves, et qu’il n’avait jamais promis de l’empêcher au bout d’une année après avoir conclu le trait avec le capitaine Lesage, comme ses frères en avaient été informés par le gouverneur.”*

¹⁰⁷ BAM, op.cit, No.4, p. 256, 23.09.17: *“- qu’à mon arrivée ici hier au soir j’ai appris de M. Brown qu’un message de Son Excellence a été envoyé au roi des Ovas dans la pensée que je restais à sa capitale et que je pourrais en expliquer le sens. Mes communications personnelles avec Radama et une lettre pour Son Excellence don’t je suis porteur me font juger nécessaire que le contenu du paquet soit promptement connu de ce roi et comme il n’y a personne chez les Ovas capable de ce service, je conclus d’accord avec M.Brown de retourner immédiatement dans ce but.”*

since the rain had stopped. On the 5th of October he reached the capital and met a content king. Radama ordered Hastie to take a rest after the hard journey, showing him the packet of letters from Farquhar and stating that he was satisfied with its content. Hastie mentioned that the translation in Arab was good.¹⁰⁸ This must have been a translation to the Malagasy language written with Arab letters (*Sorabe*), which was used by the king's Antaimoro secretary and also a little by Radama himself.

Farquhar's proposal that Radama should descend to Tamatave himself for the final negotiations proved impossible, and Hastie and the king had to join their efforts to explain the proposed treaty to the king's counsellors and the people. It proved to be extremely difficult to make anybody willing to accept this treaty, because the slave trade was the most profitable trade in the country, and many rich and important people had a stock they wanted to sell. After making some efforts, Hastie murmured that if Radama really had possessed a king's power, it should have been easy to convince his people about the advantages of the proposed treaty, but the king was not at liberty to act contrary to his counsellor's advice.¹⁰⁹ Trying to force him to use despotic power, Hastie dared to confront the king with the questions either he had power over his people and counsellors or not, but the king hesitated, probably because he knew that such an attempt could provoke a revolt against him.¹¹⁰

To Radama the essential point must have been the promises that he should get some reward for his lost revenue if he stopped the trade. Only if he could get arms and ammunitions directly from the British government would he be able to extend his power and stop the slave trade, and such help would be especially useful for Radama if none of the neighbour kings were allowed to get the same conditions. After having discussed with his old counsellors the whole evening while Hastie had been talking with his young prime minister and explaining the conditions for him, Radama came to Hastie's window about two o'clock in the morning, stating that he would put an entire stop to the slave trade if the British government would give him arms and ammunition and not form alliances with other kings.¹¹¹

Although Radama might have been convinced a long time before this, only a few of his ministers agreed with him and nearly all people in Imerina opposed him. On the 9th of October 1817 the king met his people in a great "Kabary" at Andohalo where about 5000 persons attended, and he returned greatly provoked and extremely agitated because the people had opposed his plans so hard:

"Quand Radama m'envoya chercher pour m'apprendre le resultat du cabar, il était dans une très violente agitation et me dit que ses sujets avaient eu l'impudence de demander s'il était l'esclave des Anglais, et de déclarer qu'ils se battraient avec des bâtons et des pierres plutôt que de souffrir qu'il leur soit subordonné. (---) Il s'écria à haute voix qu'il était Anglais et qu'il serait Anglais et qu'il forcerait bien son peuple à lui obéir. (---) L'affaire est maintenant

¹⁰⁸ BAM, op.cit, No.4, p. 259, 05.10.17: "Radama est ravi de me voir. Il me commanda un repos immediate, après m'avoir montré le paquet du gouverneur; la copie en arabe est une bonne traduction; il parut satisfait du contenu et dit que c'était tout ce qu'il souhaitit."

¹⁰⁹ BAM, op.cit, No.4, p. 259, 06.10.17: "S'il était vraiment roi il n'y aurait pas de difficulté à obtenir son assentiment au système proposé, mais son opinion a trop peu de poids pour le present."

¹¹⁰ BAM, op.cit, No.4, p. 261, 07.10.17: "J'aborderai avec precaution la manière despotique don't il gouvernait et lui demandai pourquoi il trouvait des difficultés actuellement, quand j'étais certain que le plus léger manquement à ses ordres ne pouvait pas exister dans son pays, même pour la nourriture et le costume de ses sujets. Il avoua qu'effectivement son peuple était absolument oblige de suivre ses avis en tous points, et que son ordre suffisait pour empêcher la vente des esclaves. Je demandai donc pourquoi il hésitait sur une affaire don't l'avantage pour lui et la prospérité de son pays était reconnu. Il eut recours alors à ses premières excuses."

¹¹¹ BAM, op.cit, No.4, p. 263-64, 08.10.17: "Le roi vint à ma chambre et me demanda si le gouvernement anglais pouvait l'approvisionner d'armes et de munitions, affirmant que, s'il le voulait, cela mettrait un arrêt complet au commerce des esclaves dans l'île. Il reprit que qu'il serait très mécontent si le gouverneur formait une alliance avec un autre roi (...). Il dit qu'une fourniture de munitions le mettrait à même de supprimer tout trafic illicite qui aurait lieu dans l'île et que sa promesse, une foi donnée, ne serait jamais retirée."

*arrivée à un point si décisive qu'il ne serait pas possible d'en retarder la solution et si le vieux personnage ne peuvent pas apaiser l'excitation de Radama, il sera véritablement un roi avant demain".*¹¹²

The opposition infuriated Radama but made him even more determined to carry through his intentions. After some days of hard discussions, Radama told Hastie that he now had got his will and had decided what he should ask for as compensation for his lost revenue.¹¹³ The king nominated 4 of his ministers to go to Tamatave to meet the British envoys, but Hastie still had to wait another day, because some of them were not content with the proposed terms of the treaty. The embassy left the capital on the 13th of October and came to Tamatave only 8 days later. After two days of negotiations the ministers, Ratsiahatona, Rampola, Ratsilikia and Ramanon on the one side, and Fred. R. Pye and Captain Francis Stanfell on the other side, signed the treaty. Hastie being too junior an officer was not allowed to sign the treaty.

The imposing title of the Treaty: "**Traité entre le Roi de Grande Bretagne et le Roi de Madagascar**", indicated a joint agenda of making Radama King of the whole island. The French government never agreed to that title, but continued to refer to Radama I as "Roi des Ovas" and later to Ranavalona I as "Reine des Ovas". The first of the four articles in the treaty states that the confidence, friendship and brotherhood between the two parties shall continue forever.¹¹⁴ The second article states that all exportation of slaves was prohibited from Radama's dominions as far as his power may reach. The king should make a proclamation about that, and no person or power should be allowed to buy slaves from Madagascar. This last point clearly shows that they expected a French counterattack because the French government had not yet agreed to any abolition the slave trade, and in fact they would still fight for many years for the right to import slaves into their dominions.¹¹⁵

The third article states that the British government will give Radama a reward each year, since he was going to lose much of his revenue by this treaty. This yearly "*Equivalent*" for the lost revenue was: 1.000 FRS in gold, 1.000 FRS in silver, 100 barrels of gunpowder, 100 English muskets with 10.000 flints, 400 soldiers uniforms, 12 sergeants' swords, 400 pieces of white cloth and 400 pieces of blue cloth, a full-dress uniform for himself, and two horses. The fourth article states that both parties will protect the British ally, the king of Anjouin in the Comoro islands, against the yearly slave-raids from the Betsimisaraka and Sakalava tribes on the eastern and northern coasts of Madagascar (Anjouin usually being named "Johanna" by the British at that time).¹¹⁶ This article pointed clearly to a future situation when Radama's power should be extended to all the northern part of the island.

2.3.3 The new treaty was immediately broken (1818)

¹¹² BAM, op.cit, No.4, p. 264, 09.10.17

¹¹³ BAM, op.cit, No.4, p. 265, 10.10.17: "*Que l'affaire était enfin réglée; ces conceillers avait consenti à ses volontés et il espérait que sa demande ne serait pas considérée comme trop important.*"

¹¹⁴ MA, HB-25. Copy of the Treaty, 11.10.20: "*Il est convenu entre les parties respectives faisant cet presentes (Traite) que la confiance mutuelle, le amitie et le fraternite qui y sont annonces exister entre les parties contractantes seront maintenues et conservies a jamais.*"

¹¹⁵ MA, HB-25, op.cit, 11.10.20: "*Il est convenu (...) qu'a compter de la date du present Traité il y a une entiere cessation et abolition dans tous les territoires du Roi Radama et partout ou son autorité pourra s'etendre, de la Vente ou du Transport des Esclaves ou personnes quelconques qui doivent etre transportes de Madagascar dans aucune pays, ile ou domaine appartenant a aucune autre Prince potential ou Puissance quelconque, -.*"

¹¹⁶ MA, HB-25, op.cit, 11.10.20: "*Et il est de plus convenu par les parties contractantes qu'elles protegeront mutuellement le fidele alliée de l'Angleterre le Roi d'Anjankano des attaques auxquelles, depuis nombre d'années il a ete exposé tous les ans de la part de quelques unes des petites puissances de la cote de madagascar et qu'elles employeront tous les moyens en leur pouvoir en exerçant leur influence sur leurs sujets, allies et dependants pour mettre fin a ce systeme de piraterie -.*"

Those slave raids are explained in: Brown, 1978, p. 105-109.

Farquhar's approaching leave in Europe was set for the end of 1817, and therefore some of the negotiators went immediately to Mauritius. Two of Radama's ministers and one representative for Jean René (governor of Tamatave) accompanied the British envoys to Port Louis to get the governor's sanction to the Treaty. As a consequence of the treaty, Hastie was appointed Assistant British Agent in Madagascar and placed in Antananarivo to watch over the fulfilment of the treaty. After a fortnight filled with ceremonies of ratification of the treaty and caring for provisions, presents etc, Hastie and Radama's ministers embarked for the return to Madagascar.¹¹⁷ The same day Farquhar left for Europe.

When Hastie arrived in Tamatave he learned that Jean René was displeased with the new treaty, because he had formerly received a tax for each slave exported from that port. The rainy season had started when Hastie and his followers left Tamatave (29.11.17) and they had a hard journey before they reached the capital on the 17th of December. In Antananarivo they found an alarming situation. The British agent in Tamatave, Mr. Brown, made a visit to Radama as soon as the negotiation was terminated. To comply with the king's wishes he had vaccinated Radama and about a hundred others for smallpox, a disease newly arrived from Mauritius, but the vaccine must have been wrong and most of those vaccinated caught smallpox. The king was seriously sick for a fortnight but recovered, while many others died in the smallpox-epidemic. A large number of the deceased were placed in the old moats around the town to get them quickly and easily buried. Some of the king's close relatives were among those who died,¹¹⁸ and Radama prohibited all further smallpox-vaccination. Also some political items worried the king. Being aware that many slaves were newly brought down to the coast just before the signing of the treaty, he wondered if the new governor would understand that he could do very little to prevent the exportation of those slaves? Hastie promised to write to the governor and explain the problems for him.¹¹⁹

On the 12th of January 1818 Radama was so well recovered that he invited Hastie to join him in a visit to his father's tomb in Ambohimanga, celebrating his remembrance there. It was a great ceremony they performed, and many people came from the neighbouring villages to partake in it. Hastie complained for being forced to walk in the rain without boots and hat, because of the taboos. The Malagasy were afraid that the boots could be made of goatskin and such unclean material would not be allowed to enter the holy town. The king declared that he had beheaded the husband of one of his sisters together with his brother and father, because they had opposed the treaty so strongly. Others had passed the ordeal (Tangena) to prove they were not guilty of the smallpox-epidemic.¹²⁰

The following weeks dragged on because it rained every day. Mr. Brown was still very ill by the fever he had contracted on his way up the country, and Hastie was not all together well either. Deciding to go back to Mauritius he asked the king's permission to leave. Radama agreed, asking him only to be back in Tamatave with the gunpowder and muskets and other parts of the "Equivalent" around the 1st of June. He also stated that he was discontent with his ministers because they had forgotten to get his wishes of having artisans coming from Mauritius to educate his people into the treaty, and he expressed a hope that the governor would consent to this proposal later since the new treaty caused him to lose about half of his revenue,

¹¹⁷ BAM, No. 1, Vol. III, 1904, 19.11.17, p. 18: "*Embarqué sur le Jeune-Adolphe avec les deux ministres de Radama et celui de Jean René ainsi que douze suivants avec six tonnes de bagages, de provisions et de présents.*"

¹¹⁸ BAM, op.cit, No. 1, 1904, p. 26, 10.01.18

¹¹⁹ BAM, op.cit, No. 1, 1904, p. 25, 07.01.18

¹²⁰ BAM, op.cit, No. 1, 1904, p. 29, 18.02.18

although the British would give him some compensation.¹²¹ When Hastie left his friend none of them could suppose that the treaty was already broken on the part of the British government in Mauritius.

It was Acting Governor, Major-General Gage John Hall who was supposed to bring the treaty into force. He was said to be a blunt, straightforward soldier, who had disapproved of the lenient terms offered to the Mauritians and even more of Farquhar's cautious policy regarding slavery and the slave trade in Mauritius. When slaves from Madagascar continued to arrive in Mauritius after the treaty was signed he assumed that the Malagasy were cynically disregarding it. No doubt the slaves were exported either from inland Madagascar before the treaty could be applied, or from areas not under Radama's control. But General Hall refused to implement the treaty, and set about enforcing the anti-slave trade legislation with the utmost rigour, even dismissing the Chief Justice and other officials who were lax in applying it. General Hall was used to military commands, which had to be obeyed immediately. He completely failed to understand Farquhar's overall strategy, and he cancelled the treaty without allowing enough time for it to be enforced. Already on the 11th of February he recalled Hastie from Antananarivo when Chief Secretary Major Barry wrote the following message to him:

*"I have received the directions of Major General Hall Acting Governor, to convey to you his most positive commands that you take the earliest practicable occasion that may present itself for returning to this Island".*¹²²

Later Hall explained to the newly arrived missionaries, Thomas Beavan and David Jones, that the treaty was suspended because he thought the British nation was deceived by the other party:

*"Likewise he said that the slave trade is not yet abolished in Madagascar, so that it appears that the people in England are deceived all-together about the condition of the treaty made (---) that condition is not regarded in the least degree. For since that time not less than 1700 slaves have been brought from Madagascar to this Colony. For this His Excellency Governor Hall, has called back all Agents from Madagascar, and consequently he cannot recommend us to any in that Island: for says he, all the Europeans that are there, are slave dealers. The aspect is so gloomy, that he did not know what to recommend us to do".*¹²³

But Hall also told the missionaries why he stopped the "Equivalent" from being sent down to Tamatave and what measures he had put in work as an alternative to Farquhar's treaty:

*"He has established soldiers around the Island in every part, and exerts himself as much as he can to abolish it (the Slave Trade). On account of this, most all the people hate him here, and also the Europeans in Madagascar, who all are slave dealers. (---) Governor Hall has put a stop to carrying over powder and fire arms from here to Madagascar, which before, when they were carried over, were used for carrying on the slave trade".*¹²⁴

Arriving in Tamatave, Hastie found Jean René in bed with fever. According to him, many had died from the fever in the last weeks. Most of the European and Creole traders had left town since the treaty cut off the slave trade, and very few ships had arrived in the port in this bad season. While Hastie was waiting for an occasion to get

¹²¹ BAM, op.cit, No. 1, p. 30, 20.02.18 "Equivalent" is the name used for the compensation given to Radama. Farquhar later agreed that Radama was only getting one half of his revenue within the treaty, and the inhabitants in Imerina lost much more."

¹²² MA, HB-7.2, Barry to Hastie, 11.02.18

¹²³ LMS, Maur, 1.1: Jones & Bevan to the directors, 09.07.18

¹²⁴ LMS, Maur, 1.1: Jones to the directors, 11.07.18

to Mauritius, a slave killed his owner together with another European. This murder shocked the inhabitants, and to make an example Jean René and Hastie had the murderer's hands cut off before he was burnt alive in a public place. All slaves and servants in the town were commanded to attend this execution.¹²⁵

The letter from General Hall arrived in Tamatave on the 4th of April, but Hastie still had to wait several weeks for a passage to Mauritius. After a journey via Bourbon, he arrived there on the 26th of May, and a few days later he was demoted by a letter from chief secretary Barry:

*"Sir. I have the honour by direction of Major General Hall, Acting Governor, to acquaint you, that your services as Assistant Agent to Government at Madagascar being no longer required, your salary will cease from the 1st Instant".*¹²⁶

Hastie, who had risked his life and health by travelling three times up to Antananarivo in the rainy season, was brutally set aside without receiving compensation for his travelling and living there. Unemployed, indebted and with bitterness he had to rely on odd jobs and wait for better times.¹²⁷

In Antananarivo Radama felt even more bitterness because his great plan of being promoted "King of Madagascar" was spoiled. Those who had opposed the new treaty had proved to be right, and the king was left with shame. Farquhar later stated that it would not have been surprising if the king had been eliminated after such a check.¹²⁸ But Radama saved his power by banishing the treaty, starting the slave trade again and proclaiming that no Englishman should be allowed to enter the capital. Radama later stated "*that it had become a king of proverbs among his subjects: False as the English*".¹²⁹ In consequence of the broken treaty the king asked Jean René to send him a Frenchman to act as scribe and teacher for him. René then sent him a French sergeant deserted from the forces in Bourbon. His name was *Robin*, and he was going to play an important role in Madagascar the following years, teaching French to Radama, assisting Brady in training the army and doing other work for the king. Brady on his side had stayed on despite the rupture with the British government and he was now promoted general in Radama's army. Robin was the third important sergeant entering the scene of Malagasy history at that time, Brady and Hastie already being there.

Home in England Farquhar was rewarded with a baronetcy, his policy praised by the government and the treaty signed by the king. But when it became known that general Hall had suspended the famous treaty it was obvious that Farquhar's carefully constructed policy was suddenly in ruins. General Hall also provoked the inhabitants in Mauritius, and they demanded his recall, which took place the 10th of December 1818. But Mauritius had two more Acting Governors before Farquhar was able to return, viz. Colonel John Dalrymple and Major-General Ralph Darling.¹³⁰ Farquhar's leave was prolonged by ill health and his return was delayed to July 1820, when he immediately started energetic efforts to repair the damage caused by the broken treaty.

¹²⁵ BAM, op.cit, No. 1, 24.03.18, p. 34

¹²⁶ MA, HB-7.2, Barry to Hastie, 02.06.18

¹²⁷ MA, HB-21. Hastie to Barry, 20.08.20: Explaining his personal problems arising from his abrupt service in Madagascar before entering Governor Farquhar's service again.

¹²⁸ MA, HB-7.2, Minute by the Governor, 03.09.22: "*The consequence might have been most fatal to the power of that Monarch*"

¹²⁹ LMS, Mad, Journals, B.1: Jones: Journal to Madagascar in 1820, 05.10.20

¹³⁰ La Gazette, No. 20, juillet 1888, p. 22: Mémoires du Dr. Bergsten. Note liminaire d'Amédée Nagapen: "*trois intérimaire se succèdent à la tête de la colonie: d'abord le major-général Gage J. Hall (19 novembre 1817 - 10 décembre 1818), (...) puis le colonel John Dalrymple (10 décembre 1818 - 6 février 1819) ensuite le major-général Ralph Darling (6 février 1819 - 6 juillet 1820).*"

2.4 A new partner enters the game: London Missionary Society (LMS)

In the moment Farquhar's carefully constructed policy tumbled into ruins, the first Protestant missionaries assigned to work in Madagascar arrived in Port Louis. After Farquhar's many invitations and his promises of giving recommendation letters and other help to the missionaries, the London Missionary Society had a bright hope of creating a great and well-founded mission project under the protection of the Malagasy-British treaty. The political breakdown between the two parties was not only a great disappointment for those pioneers, but soon proved to have fatal consequences for the small heroic group.

2.4.1 The Background of the London Missionary Society

The Catholic Church had during the centuries worked for extending the Christian faith to all people. In the medieval times Europe was Christianised to its utmost borders and efforts were made to propagate the gospel among the Muslims in the Middle East. In the 13th century catholic missionaries even succeeded in creating a promising project in China, but the great distances and changing dynastical politics made it impossible to continue the work there. When the Reformation had taken away many of the members in Europe, the Catholic Church undertook an energetic mission towards the people in the newly discovered areas in America, Africa and Asia. In the first century it was the great colonial powers, Spain and Portugal, which were charged with the mission work in their dominions. But in 1622 the Pope established a department in the Vatican which co-ordinated all Catholic mission work. This department, named *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, has never ceased its efforts to propagate the gospel to all men in the known world.

Several centuries would pass before the Protestant churches accepted the challenge to start missionary work. Both in the reformation age and in the confessional epoch in the following century there was little interest in mission work, because most of the intellectual capacity was occupied with questions of the right theology. Nevertheless, a few efforts were made in the 17th century to propagate the gospel to non-Christian people, like the Lapps in Northern Norway, (by Thomas von Westen) the Eskimos in Greenland (by Hans Egede), and the Indians in USA (by John Elliot). But it was the Pietistic revival about 1700 that gave the Protestant churches the first principal impulses to carry out missionary work. The radical pietistic group of the *Hernhuts* led the way, but also other pietistic individuals thought it a duty to make all people true followers of Jesus Christ. The decision of the Danish-Norwegian king in 1704 of sending missionaries to the Danish colonies in Trankebar in India and in the St. Thomas Island in the Caribbean, opened the eyes of many Protestant Christians to the obligations of all Christians to do mission work.

But the great epoch of Protestant mission started in England. The Church of England had already in 1701 started a missionary society: *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG)*, which worked among the emigrated Anglicans in different parts of the world. But SPG was at this period only sporadically working among non-Christian people. The Great Evangelical Revival, which started in the 1730^s, prepared the minds for the breakthrough of the mission ideology by changing the theology of both the Church of England and the Free Churches from the prevailing rationalistic theology to an evangelical theology. John Wesley became one of the most important leaders of the Revival, and his followers soon gathered in The Methodist Church. Other parts of the Revival movement gathered in a group named "*The Evangelicals*". The Evangelicals felt an obligation to preach the gospel to all people, including non-Christian people in Africa and Asia etc.

William Carey was the real founder of the new great epoch of Protestant mission. His studies of reports from adventurers going to foreign parts of the world and missionary reports from the Hernhuts and others convinced him that all true Christians had a challenge to participate in the mission work. He published his opinion in 1792 in a tract named: *“An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens”*. There he postulated that since all Christians had the same obligation to partake in mission work, all churches should form missionary societies to help them in performing that challenge. Carey succeeded to form the first missionary society in the Baptist Church that same year: *“The Particular Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel amongst the Heathens”*, and next year he was sent to Calcutta as the first missionary of that Society.

Interest for mission work rapidly spread amongst the Evangelicals, even though many of the main churches were sceptical. Thus the missionary work became an obligation for the people with a “burning heart”, and those people gathered in the work for the new missionary societies that rapidly was established many places in Europe in the next decades. In 1795 Evangelicals both from Church of England and the Non-conformist churches gathered for a great conference, where they decided to form a society for missionary work, which was later named *London Missionary Society (LMS)*. LMS was proposed to be an inter-confessional society for all the Evangelicals. Its purpose was to bring the gospel and the revival movement out to the heathens and it was supposed that all the practical and theological differences could be left behind. But only four years later the Evangelicals in Church of England formed their own society: *Church Missionary Society (CMS)*, and in 1818 the Methodists formed the *Methodist Missionary Society*. Thus LMS became a missionary society mostly for the Non-conformist or congregational and independent churches in England, Wales and Scotland. The forming of those Missionary Societies took place at the time when The Second Great Awakening (1800-1850) started, and the economic progress in England in the following years soon gave the missionary cause good progress over a vast part of the world.

2.4.2 LMS’s interests in Madagascar and their contact with Farquhar

London Missionary Society soon started their work in places like Tahiti in the South Seas and in South Africa. One of their missionaries in South Africa, the Dutch doctor *Vanderkemp* (John Theodore van der Kemp) had got an early interest in extending the mission work to Madagascar and he wrote home to the directors of LMS about that item several times. Emil Birkeli states that Vanderkemp was a widower about 50 years old when he started his work in South Africa and that he married a Malagasy woman there.¹³¹ That could certainly explain his obligation to start mission work in Madagascar.

In late 1811 Vanderkemp wrote home that the hope of starting mission work in Madagascar was brighter than ever. Certainly the British expansion in the western part of the Indian Ocean had caused his optimism, and he said he hoped to go there in a few months. But he was never allowed to start that journey, because he died in South Africa a short time after he wrote this letter. But the directors of LMS were now engaged in starting a mission in the great island since the visions of Vanderkemp had become well known in England and Wales, and many people wanted LMS to fulfil his visions. In a theological seminary in Wales two candidates were willing to be pioneers going to Madagascar. Their names were Thomas Bevan and David Jones,

¹³¹ Birkeli, E, 1935, Vol. I, p. 309-10. See also: Neil, 1972, p. 209, where she is said to be “an African woman», while Hübsch: *Histoire Oecumenique*, 1993, p. 190 tells that she was a slave born of a Malagasy mother.

and they were placed in the Missionary School in Gosport to get one more year of preparation before leaving for their field.¹³²

LMS had for some time gathered information about the possibilities in different parts of Madagascar. They had for example asked British officers and traders in South Africa about their knowledge of the western coast.¹³³ In 1813 the first envoy arrived on Mauritius in order to make a closer study of the proposed mission field. *William Milne*, a LMS missionary going to his working place in China, was ordered to visit Madagascar on his route and observe the possibilities there. Further on he should visit Ceylon to see if that place would be better fit for mission work? But soon after his arrival in Mauritius Milne wrote home explaining that the secretary of governor Farquhar, Charles Telfaire, had informed him that it would be in vain to visit Madagascar in the bad season. He stated that he would get more information in Mauritius than during a short visit in Tamatave, and his decision to drop the visit in Madagascar allowed him a passage directly from Mauritius to China, saving a lot of money and time.

Milne used the few weeks he resided on Mauritius to gather all available information and sent the directors a 40-page report¹³⁴ and several letters. Although he urged the start of mission work both in Mauritius and Madagascar, he positively warned LMS that it would cause a lot of problems. He suspected both the Catholic majority of the inhabitants, their priests, the police and the politicians to be enemies of a Protestant mission on Mauritius,¹³⁵ and related that the police and other men in power already had showed their hostility against the Protestant preaching of the Gospel:

*"In my last (letter) I think I stated that I hoped to preach to the Government slaves, which I did once, but was not permitted to continue. On Sabbath the 18th I went by permission of the secretary, to a large open place where about 1000 slaves assembled, and behaved in a very decent & orderly manner (---). I stood before the door of the office, on a high stone step, with my French Testament & my discourse in my hand, and with a Black man holding a large umbrella over my head to shelter me from the sun. I addressed them as well as I could, not knowing the language well & began to pray, in the midst of which I was stopped by two Police officers & some servants, who could not let me proceed till I should show a **written official permission**. This I had not, mine was only verbal.(---) It was not orderly to call an assembly without official authority; I thought mine was sufficient, but it was not written. Let this not be forgotten by my Missionary Brethren, who may come out. I do not at all blame the police, but I believe that my friend, the Rev. Abbe Gulord, had been at the bottom of this business."*¹³⁶

Milne was not sure whether the Catholic Father in Port Louis or the Catholic majority in town had caused these difficulties, but he was not inclined to give up, and as he was authorized by LMS to prepare for starting the proposed work, he sent a Memorial in the name of LMS to governor Farquhar pointing to proud British traditions, asking for protection and help for the proposed mission work:

¹³² Birkeli, 1935, p. 310

¹³³ LMS, Mad, 1.1.C, 13.01.13: "Enquiries respecting the Island of Madagascar, with the view of sending a mission -." by Wm. Campbell, South Africa,

¹³⁴ LMS, Mad. 1.1.C, Milne to the directors: "Result of some inquiries made at Mauritius, relative to Madagascar, with a view of establishing a united mission in that Island, & in Mauritius & Bourbon - April 1813."

¹³⁵ LMS, Mad, 1.1.C, Milne to the directors, 28.04.13: "I am decided of opinion that the mission should be attempted with all convenient speed. (...) We live with the rev. Mr Jones, Colonial & Military Chaplain. (...) Priests here are well paid to maintain the bloody church of Rome. They may be expected to be very great enemies to Missionaries who come here."

¹³⁶ LMS, Mad, 1.1.C, Milne to the directors, 30.04.13

“- as it has always been the glory and delight of the British Government (---) to scatter around them those blessings, which have rendered their own nation superior to every other in knowledge, (illegible) & happiness, so it is presumed that Madagascar, adjoined la Mauritius & Bourbon, may, by a well conducted mission under your Excellency’s patronage & support, enjoy those advantages which have not been carried to them by any other nation - those fruits of British benevolence, which can be tasted beyond the grave as well as in all the (illegible) of this life.

Would Your Excellency condescend to sanction this mission; to take the Missionaries under the care and protection of Government (---) to afford them any assistance in regard to passages, and grant letters of introduction to the agents of government on the coast? (---) Your memorialist further begs Your Excellency’s indulgence whilst he would represent that in order more effectually to accomplish this Mission, it is highly requisite that a branch or branches of the same should exist in Mauritius and Bourbon. Would Y.E. therefore, be pleased to approve of such branch or branches; - to grant, to Missionaries employed therein, the free exercise of their ministry in its different parts, as in other places where they are established? That the object of such branch or branches, would be, not only to hold communication with the Mission at Madagascar, but also to instruct such slaves and black people as might be at liberty, and disposed, to attend. Would Y.E. be pleased to afford any aid to the Missionaries in regard to places of worship, - and should they in addition to their other labours act the part as schoolmasters, would Y.E. be pleased to allow them any salary for this latter part of their work?”¹³⁷

A secretary named Rossi wrote an answer only two days later:

“I am directed by His Excellency the Governor to acknowledge the receipt of your memorial of yesterday date, on the subject of a Mission to Madagascar, and to communicate His Excellency’s sanction to the measures you propose. On the subject of salaries to such of the Missionaries as may act as schoolmasters, I am directed to add that his Excellency has requested that Schoolmasters be sent out (---) Should these people therefore arrive they have the first claim to the situations for which they come out, but should their numbers be insufficient or their arrival be deferred, His Excellency will extend to the Missionary School Masters, the indulgence he had intended for the others.

N.B.: Being doubtful by the word “Sanction to the measure” was meant any more than a bare approval, I waited on Charles Telfaire Esqr. Chief Secretary (---) The answer: “They are to be understood in the utmost latitude, as granting every thing you specified except what is objected to in His Excellency’s answer. (---) This however must not appear in public”.¹³⁸

It is truly astonishing that Farquhar in his first contact with the Non-Conformist Missionary Society not only granted the government’s protection and help to the proposed mission work on Mauritius and Madagascar, but also accepted to give economical support to a certain degree. From other parts of the world we know that the British authorities often mostly preferring the mission of the Anglican Church were quite sceptical towards supporting the work of LMS in references to problems arising with their missionaries. Therefore I suppose that Farquhar’s hearty welcome and his

¹³⁷ LMS, Mad, 1.1.C, Milne to Farquhar, 01.04.13: “You will see in the memorial that I have represented the mission here, as a branch of the Mission at Madagascar, and as a necessary means of accomplishing it. **Let not this be forgotten**”.

¹³⁸ LMS, Mad, 1.1.C, Rossi to Milne, 03.04.13: (The NB. must be a commentary made by Milne)

great promises of real support to the missionaries indicate that he was in desperate search of a partner to help him in his great plans to extend British influence to Madagascar. That may also explain the orders from the governor's secretary that this arrangement must not appear in public. A British missionary society starting work in Madagascar might certainly change the situation for the governor, bringing in new resources and being useful both to the British and Malagasy governments. Therefore Farquhar was eager to use the missionary plans to support his own political ambitions in that area. Later both British and Malagasy negotiators used all possible means to combine the missionary plans with their own political interests in the new context created there.

In his last letter Milne also gave the names of several people who could give valuable help if LMS decided to start such work, but he pointed out as an indisputable condition that they had to start mission work on Mauritius before going to Madagascar.¹³⁹ Clearly LMS had studied the report and letters from Milne well and mentioned what he had recommended, because next year the first Protestant missionary arrived on Mauritius in order to take up the work at that place. LMS had been in search of a francophone missionary and in Reverend John Le Brun they had found a man who managed to stay on for more than 50 years.¹⁴⁰ Le Brun firstly got a lot of support and help from the governor for his work on Mauritius, and Farquhar used this help, arguing that LMS ought to start the proposed mission work in Madagascar:

"I have therefore allowed him on his first request, to open a school at Port Louis on the plan he proposed, and to show the inhabitants that this measure had my sanction, I directed it to be published officially in the Government Gazette countersigned with my name and approval. (---) I therefore beg leave to recommend to the Directors of the Missionary Society, the present period as eminently adapted to the introduction of Missionaries in Madagascar. I have caused every preliminary step to be taken to facilitate their labours, by collecting materials for a complete Vocabulary and Grammar and I hope to accomplish a translation of the Gospels in that language".¹⁴¹

Farquhar's boasting of having collected materials for a complete vocabulary and grammar in the Malagasy language, and confessing to have a hope of accomplishing a Malagasy translation of the gospels soon proved to be incorrect, because very little of the said translation was done when the missionaries arrived, and those who had collected the vocabulary etc. would not give the missionaries free access to their work, since Farquhar then had left for Europe. It was not until Charles Telfaire returned to Mauritius that Jones got some help, being allowed to use his great library.

Le Brun accomplished different commissions for the governor, like teaching Christian religion to the Malagasy princes (see ch. 2.3.1.). But the Catholic majority in the population was unwilling to accept the Protestant intruder, and in one of his first letters Le Brun complained about great difficulties. He had already been carried to the police court twice because of his preaching the gospel, and he was driven from all his usual preaching-places – except one. His enemies also made their attack through the newspapers and otherwise, and many children were forced to leave his

¹³⁹ LMS, Mad, Milne, op.cit, 30.04.13: Charles Telfaire is especially mentioned as a great friend of the Mission.

¹⁴⁰ Birkeli, F. 1952, p. 97. Le Brun was still in Mauritius when the Malagasy minister for foreign affairs, Rahaniraka, wrote to him that the suppression of the Christian religion had been stopped. The letter was written 16.08.1861, the day after Radama II's ascending to the throne. Le Brun was then an old man, but two of his sons had become pastors, and one of them was immediately sent to Madagascar to support and encourage the Christians.

¹⁴¹ LMS, Maur, 1.1.A, Farquhar to Burder, 20.06.14

school.¹⁴² Undoubtedly the Catholic majority was not used to his Protestant preaching, and probably his school for coloured people provoked them because they may have feared a slave-rebellion if the slaves should be educated or be allowed to gather listening to Le Brun's speeches. But that he should be carried to the police court twice and driven from most of his preaching-places was perhaps stronger opposition than supposed. Such reactions made it difficult even for Farquhar to let him continue, as he liked:

*"I wish to state, that the success of a mission here, depends, so far as human means are concerned, on the (illegible) and address with which prejudices should be sapped, and overthrow, rather than by open and unguarded attempts to force conviction by strength of argument, or strong and violent opposition to predominant opinions. To me Le Brun, I, by no means, attribute any intention of this latter nature, but the extraordinary jealousy of the inhabitants requires unusual caution, and I have been obliged to calm the minds of the people here, a few days ago, by the enclosed notice from the haut police department. I hope, and trust that Mr. Le Brun, whom I see often, will continue to act with that increased circumspection, which cannot but be attended with the happiest effects".*¹⁴³

Le Brun probably changed his status among the inhabitants in Mauritius a little when he married Mlle Coralie Mabile, the daughter of his landlord, a marriage including him in a rich and old family in the colony. His father-in-law was not satisfied with the economical status of the poor missionary couple and decided to give them a monthly allowance of 40 francs¹⁴⁴. After a short time Le Brun managed to form an English-speaking and a French-speaking congregation in Port Louis but his Protestant religion and his suspicious work among the slaves and the free coloured population still caused real hostility against him, especially when the final Abolition of the Slave-keeping approached in 1835.

In 1816 Farquhar wrote a new letter to the directors of LMS, claiming that he still wanted them to start the mission work in Madagascar. He also mentioned the support he had given to Le Brun concluding with a proud statement:

*"Such are the means which I offer to the Directors of your Society and I shall be most happy to be instrumental by these means to give the blessings of Christianity to the numerous and ingenious population of the vast Island of Madagascar, which is now become a portion of the British Empire".*¹⁴⁵

I can only state that there was no reality in these proud words because neither the French nor the British government would recognise Madagascar as a part of the British Empire, and the proposed treaty with Radama was not yet concluded. Therefore it looks like Farquhar tried to cajole the directors into getting their work in the great island started as soon as possible. Likewise he tried to avoid the

¹⁴² LMS, Maur, 1.1. A, Le Brun to the directors, 26.06.17: "C'est avec une plaisir mêlé de tristesse que je prend la plume pour vous écrire deux ou trois lignes afin de vous informer des choses que j'ai eues à éprouver dans le ministère. J'ai été appelé pour le deuxième fois a comparaitre devant les tribunaux a la police pour la predication de l'Evangile. On m'a forcé de quitter toutes les places ou je prechais dans le courant de la semaine, a l'expection d'une. Je ne puis plus aller dans les Habitations, ni au camp Malabard, ni dans le camp de l'O(illegible). Le nombre de mes enemis est tres grand mais le Seigneur que je sers me garantera de leurs main, et sans doute: je suis heureux de ne pas voir mon danger si grand comme on veut me le représenter car cela m'empêche (...) a mes propres affaires. Ces Messieurs ont eu la bonté d'afficher a un coins des reces et de mettre dans les Gazettes un écritau, que je vous envoy. Cet écritau a fait peux a quelques uns, qui ne sont plus venir écouter la predication de l'Evangile, beaucoup d'enfant ont aussi quitté l'école. Dimanche deux petite filles de l'école furent enfermées pour ne pas venter écouter le sonnerie, mais ces enfants malgré leurs parens sortirent de leur prison et s'en allent chez la maitresse pour venir au service."

¹⁴³ LMS, Maur, 1.1.A, Farquhar to Hankey, 13.06.17

¹⁴⁴ LMS, Maur, 1.1.A, Le Brun to Burder, 28.09.18: "Ma lettre le 12e Juillet vous a instruit de mon decision de me marrier, c'est ce qui a eu lieu le 6e Aout. Mr. Mabile père de Mme Le Brun, connaissant ma position nous a fait une Pensin de 40 piastres par mois."

¹⁴⁵ LMS, Maur, 1.1.A, Farquhar to Burder, 20.05.16

impression that it could be dangerous to live in Madagascar when the report arrived that four traders were killed in Port Loquez. Farquhar then wrote to the directors:

"I lose not a moment in assuring you that the reports relative to the Madagascar massacre, have been extremely exaggerated, and raised, from slight causes, into a phantom of no ordinary magnitude. I have now living, in my house, the presumptive heir of the most powerful Kingdom of Madagascar. He and his brother were sent to me by the present King for instruction in the various arts of European Life. I have put them under Mr. Le Brun for religious instruction. No doubt he will have reported to you in this subject. These Princes are shortly to return to their own Kingdom, and as I am in constant communication with the Court of Ova, I shall be enabled to ensure a favourable reception to such persons as you may be disposed to send out for that Island, where I cannot help repeating, the fairest field seems open, for the most prosperous mission that has ever been undertaken".¹⁴⁶

His boasting of having the presumptive heir of the most powerful kingdom in Madagascar living in his house proved to be little realistic, as was his supposing that LMS could open the most prosperous mission that had ever been undertaken. These examples of Farquhar's behaviour may indicate that he was in desperate political need of getting LMS to join his efforts of promoting British interests in the great island. His repeated promises of support and protection to the missionaries of LMS, created an ardent hope that they should have a lucky start and be able to make rapid progress when they arrived in the promised country.

2.4.3 The fatal start in Tamatave (1818)

Everything seemed to be well prepared to create a flourishing mission in Madagascar when Farquhar went to Europe for his leave, and the two young missionary couples were optimistic when they left England on the 20th of March 1818. But arriving in Port Louis four months later they found all the conditions changed. After a meeting with Acting Governor Hall they wrote home to the directors with distressing news:

"This morning at ten o'clock, accompanied by Mr. Le Brun, we appeared before his Excellency Governor Hall, and were kindly received. After informing him what we and our intention were, he expressed himself exceedingly sorry that we were come at this crisis, because of the unfavourable aspect of the time to commence a mission at Madagascar, and on account of the unhealthiness of the place - he said, that scarcely any European lives there for any length of time. (---) The aspect is so gloomy, that he did not know what to recommend us to do. However he expressed himself highly pleased with the object of the Missionary Society; and that he thought the world wanted such an institution for a long time. Then we asked him, whether he would think it proper for us to go there at first as private gentlemen, not making known our intention, in order that we might make our own observations? He said, that that would be the best plan, and he kindly offered to us any assistance in his power".¹⁴⁷

The whole aspect of their work was radically changed for the missionaries because they could no longer hope for any assistance or protection from the governor when they should go to Madagascar. On Mauritius nobody was willing to care for them, and they thought it impossible to live and work there for a long time. Le Brun was poorly

¹⁴⁶ LMS, Maur, Farquhar, op.cit. 13.06.17

¹⁴⁷ LMS, Maur, 1.1.A, Jones & Bevan to the directors, 09.07.18

established at that time and the small apartment he rented before his marriage was not sufficient to help the newcomers. Nobody else would give them a place to live without a high rent, and other living-costs were also very high. Therefore they thought it impossible to stay on Mauritius, and they considered it better to go further eastwards to other mission fields if they should not be able to find a working place in Madagascar within a few months. Therefore they asked the directors for instructions:

*“In case that we should not see it proper to commence a mission at Madagascar, we wish that the Directors would appoint us another station in the East, where they see it proper. (---) We earnestly desire an interest in the prayers of all the Directors, and the friends of mission, while we shall be travelling thro’ the deserts of Madagascar, to explore the country”.*¹⁴⁸

Both wives were pregnant and unable to go to Madagascar before giving birth to their children, since the uncivilized conditions there would be too dangerous for childbirth, being far from any doctors and other facilities. But their husbands could not wait for those births, because the bad season was approaching and the rain would make their primary plan of visiting Antananarivo unhealthy and dangerous. David Jones explains that plan in a letter to the directors:

*“Many here are giving the account of Madagascar. Yesterday I received a letter from a friend here, in which he said, that we must not attempt to establish a missionary station near the coast among Europeans; for they know that the doctrine which we carry with us, militates against the slave trade and tends to destroy it entirely, therefore they will irritate the natives against us by telling them that we are come to injure them etc. Therefore that we ought to go immediately into the interior about 120 leagues; i.e. to king Ova who is reported to be the strongest Prince in Madagascar, and a well natured man. Two brothers of him have been here instructed and taught to speak French and English a little by Mr. Le Brun. I have seen some of their handwriting, which is very good. Now they are returned to their Brother”.*¹⁴⁹

The counsel that they should go directly to the king of Ova (i.e. Imerina) proved to be wise and would certainly have saved them from the fatal climate and the hostility from the slave-dealers in Tamatave. Before they left Mauritius, they often referred to the plan of visiting king Radama as their main plan, but arriving in Tamatave they were soon convinced to quit that plan and find other solutions.

Many preparations should be done before leaving, and one of the difficult questions was how they should get interpreters or teachers in the Malagasy language. Jones later relates that the governor proposed a solution and was willing to give the needed assistance:

*“It was thought just & necessary as we could get no Malagash teacher, to take with us two slaves or servants who could speak French and Malgash; and who would act as interpreters between us and the Malgash, besides taking care of our luggage. We petitioned his Ex. G. J. Hall for two Government slaves, whom he gave us with the greatest pleasure, and rice for two months. (---) On the 16th of Oct. when I visited him after my return from Madagascar, His Excellency presented me with a **good working Neegress** who will render Mrs. Jones assistance in teaching the Malagash women”.*¹⁵⁰

It must have been quite unexpected for the missionaries to be forced to be slave-keepers, and in their letters to LMS they made some lame excuses because of the

¹⁴⁸ LMS, Maur, Jones & Bevan, op.cit, 09.07.18

¹⁴⁹ LMS, Maur, 1.1.A, Jones to the directors, 11.07.18

¹⁵⁰ LMS, Maur, 1.1.A, Jones to the directors, 10.11.18

difficulties with the Malagasy language. The directors were not content with the arrangement and claimed that the missionaries ought to use freemen for all the work they needed. The missionaries replied that it had proved impossible to get anybody to work except slaves, and they kept their slaves and even bought new ones until they left Madagascar. A slave named Joseph became David Jones' faithful follower during all the years he stayed in the island, helping him with the language, Christian work and practical things. When Jones left the field in 1830 Joseph stayed behind in Antananarivo. Jones then asked the governor to set him free because he was still a "government slave" belonging to the government of Mauritius. Joseph was then about 60 years old, and Jones considered he would not be able to proceed to Mauritius and do any work there. In Antananarivo he could live peacefully with his family, work for the Church and care for Jones' house and garden, he argued.¹⁵¹ Chief Secretary Viret promised that Jones' loyal servant should be set free and be allowed to stay where he liked, and Jones was eager to take care of all formalities before leaving for Europe:

*"In your note of the 14th ulto you promised (---) that «Joseph will be allowed to remain where and as he is». When the act of enfranchisement of Joseph will be ready, it may be sent to the Revd, Messrs. Griffiths and Johns, missionaries in Tananarivo, who will do every thing for me according to the instructions you will send them, and they will also instruct Joseph to **manamasina** the Queen according to the law or usage of the Country to make slaves free in her Dominions; for this will be necessary to make him a true **Hova or Ambaniandro and not Andevo**".*¹⁵²

Professor Bengt Sundkler in Uppsala has in his studies of the mission history in different parts of the world pointed out the great importance the witnesses of Christian slaves, servants, soldiers, traders, etc. had for spreading the Christian faith. This history of Joseph proves that also in the mission work in Madagascar there were "silent workers" for the Lord from the very beginning.

The two heroic missionaries sailed for Madagascar via Bourbon on the 18th of August 1818 and arrived in Tamatave ten days later. Notwithstanding his first statements, governor Hall had given them introduction letters to two persons in the town. One of them was the governor, Jean René, who was sceptical of the missionaries' work but agreed with them that they might try to establish a school in the region. The other person was the British slave-dealer and plantation owner, Mr. Bragg, who seems to have expressed much more optimism about their possibilities. I stated above that Bragg received 18 Indians whom Hastie brought back from Radama in 1817, which indicates that there was a kind of co-operation between Bragg and the government of Mauritius since they let him keep "Indian convicts" working for him (see ch. 2.3.2.). But Jones comments that they were especially warned against him and very sceptical before they left Mauritius:

"- soon we began to hear a different account of Madagascar from J. René and Mr. Bragg, an English gentleman who was reported at Port Louis to be the greatest villarn and slave dealer at Tamatave. Hearing this account, we took courage, and began to form a different opinion both of Mr. Bragg and of

¹⁵¹ MA, HB-20.3, Jones to Viret, 05.01.30: "In 1818 General Hall, then Acting Governor of the Mauritius, granted me a Government Slave, named Joseph, to assist me as a interpreter and to render me assistance in the Mission." See also: MA, HB-20, 3 Jones to Viret, 12.01.31: "He has been, on the whole a good servant (...) They are living comfortable together in company with their friends and relations, taking charge of my garden during my absence."

¹⁵² MA, HB-20.3, Jones to Viret, 04.02.31

Madagascar. Nevertheless I was afraid that it was all hypocrisy in them both.¹⁵³

But their prejudice against Bragg soon disappeared when they arrived in Tamatave, where Bragg “happened to be” present when they visited governor Jean René. He made a good impression upon them and by his friendly proposal of giving them lodging he soon succeeded to change their plans, as Bevan wrote home:

“Mr. Bragg, who happened to be in the chiefs house at the same time (---) kindly offered us a room in his house during our stay in that quarter. Mr. B’s habitation is about two miles out of the villages of Tam. (---) instead of being a slave dealer we found him to be a great manager of cultivation & very earnestly seeking the civilization of the Malgash. He has got about 100 acres of land cultivated with cotton of the finest quality. He has resided there nearly 7 years & had likewise made several tours into the interior. (---) It was always our intention to write a letter to Radama (---) asking his permission to go and settle in his territory. We have also engaged J.R. the chief at Tamatave to write for us. But upon a more deliberate consideration, we have determined not to send the letter, because it appeared to us very improbable that he would receive us at the present crisis, for it is said that he is much offended at the English for not receiving the money promised him in the treaty. Our opinion is that it is best to give up every idea of proceeding there until matters is arranged between him & Gov. Farquhar”.¹⁵⁴

The stories recounting that Radama, for instance, was not friendly towards British citizens obviously convinced them. That conviction was the reason why they changed their mind and decided not to send the king the proposed letter, says Bevan. Jones arguing a little differently, relates that it was Bragg’s receiving them so warmly and giving them much more help than they could expect that primarily convinced them:

“Hearing of the despotism, the pride and the (illegible) of Radama; also seeing the way long, the expense great and the approach of the bad season, we deferred visiting him then, as we once intended, and proposed to establish our mission in one of the villages near the coast. Within 3 weeks after our arrival, he having heard of us, sent us an invitation to visit him immediately; but we could not go at that time for many reasons”.¹⁵⁵

Certainly Bragg’s charm had turned their decision from visiting Radama immediately. He had won their confidence and made them suspicious of Radama, thus preventing them from going up to Imerina – even though they got a personal invitation from the king after only three weeks. This letter from Jones proves that nobody had snatched the invitation before the missionaries received it, as some accounts later suggested.¹⁵⁶ Jones and Bevan really got the invitation from the king, but the helpful and friendly Bragg had already changed their minds, and their listening to his accounts of the despotic king and the long and expensive journey up to Imerina had already formed their decision not to go there.

But remembering the advice not to start their work too close to the Europeans in Tamatave, they went a little further south to Ivondro, where René’s brother Fisatra resided. He welcomed them heartily and allowed them to start a school where his son Berora and other children from his town should be educated. The missionaries wanted to start with only 10 children because they soon should go back to Mauritius and carry with them their wives. These children followed the missionaries back to

¹⁵³ LMS, Maur, Jones, op.cit. 10.11.18

¹⁵⁴ LMS, Maur, 1.1.A, Bevan to the directors, 20.11.18

¹⁵⁵ LMS, Maur, Jones, op.cit. 10.11.18

¹⁵⁶ Birkeli, 1935, p. 311, and Clark, 1887, p. 13

Bragg's house outside Tamatave, where Bragg gave them lodging and immediately erected a small school building. After a few weeks of teaching, Jones and Bevan were very optimistic about the aspects of their work before they returned to Mauritius:

"These and many other things which I might mention, prove that the Malgash are not such as they are reported by Europeans; but they are far civilized compared with others in Africa, and the Chiefs, when we asked them were they willing to cultivate the land and to learn every thing that may contribute to the cultivation of the Madagascars & &, answered that they were perfectly willing, and would do it with great pleasure, if they had any couragement from Europeans; but they said, Europeans are coming here to buy slaves, and not to courage us in civilization. Being convinced of the falsehood of the common report concerning Madagascar at the Mauritius and seeing a beautiful prospects before us, we parted with the little children Sept. 24th, and embarked on board of a ship sailing to Isle of France, with the intention of returning and of taking our dear Partners with us as soon as possible –".¹⁵⁷

Back in Mauritius they found that Mrs. Jones had given birth to a girl the 24th of August. And the 15th of October Mrs. Bevan had a boy. But the idyllic atmosphere soon disappeared, and Jones was thrown into a very upset state of mind, when he, during his first severe attack of the Malagasy fever, heard people talking badly about them:

"I was not long in this state, before other trouble (---) threw my mind into a great perplexity and my body into a violent fever, the effects of which I constantly feel now acutely. - It was soon reported unto me that a report was circulated at Port Louis that Mrs. Jones was brought to bed and was delivered of a child in his full time, and before her time by marriage; i.e. as well as to say that Missionaries make children before marriage, and saying that Dr. Sibbald, who attended Mrs. Jones, was saying this".¹⁵⁸

Certainly this was a severe accusation against the puritan missionaries. Not only would the inhabitants in Mauritius doubt their moral qualifications, but more probably they would also receive a reprimand from the directors or they could even be relegated from LMS. However, as soon as Jones recovered a little from the fever, he went to Dr Sibbald, who had attended the birth, and confronted him with the case. The doctor was astonished and furious since his name was used in such rumours, and he immediately issued an attestation that the child was prematurely born in the 7th or 8th month. Jones then gave this attestation to his landlord, Mr. White, and let him read it for Le Brun and Bevan. After that the rumours stopped! For Mr. and Mrs. Jones the most painful thing in this case was the fact that the rumours came from persons close to them. Jones does not mention any name but by explaining to the directors that there was only one person in Mauritius who knew their wedding-day, he clearly pointed to Mrs. Bevan as the guilty one. The case also accelerated other problems developed between them, as Jones explains:

"Thus you see that Mrs. Jones and myself have suffered a good deal from enemies and false Brethren!!! I have one thing farther that is rather unpleasant to mention to you. I mentioned in my last to you of the disagreement between myself and Mr. Bevan which is continually getting worse from many reasons. I mentioned that the Directors have given the seniority to Mr. Bevan (which certainly with justice is mine, if it is (illegible) in the Seminary (---), and I am frustrating to be in sub junction to Mr. Bevan (---) He knowing all this gives a

¹⁵⁷ LMS, Maur, Jones, op.cit. 10.11.18

¹⁵⁸ LMS, Maur, Jones, op.cit. 10.11.18

*loose to his bridle, and such arose temptation in him & & are most disgusting and unbearable to me, so that I have separated myself from him and have determined that I shall never be in the same place as he, nor be joined with him in any thing. But by being in a different place it is more likely that much more work shall be done and more friendship exist between us than to be in the same place".*¹⁵⁹

The directors would certainly not have been satisfied with this hopeful excuse that by separating they should be able to do more work. Neither would Jones' request that the families should be regarded as two different parties in all things – even in the correspondence with the directors – have been agreed upon. But things happened very fast, and before the directors were able to answer Jones' letter death had taken away most of the group and terminated all discussions. Nevertheless, I wonder if this case shows a weak point in Jones' character which was going to disturb the peaceful relations with other persons several times. Certainly this pious man had a problem with authorities, because I find that every time somebody put pressure on him or tried to place themselves above him, he withdrew from the conflict in a thoroughly stubborn manner. This is clearly demonstrated both in the discussions with Jeffreys (ch. 3.3.2.) and in the quarrel with doctor Lyall (ch. 4.2.3.). I also suppose that it might have been the same stubborn attitude on the part of Jones before leaving England that caused the directors to appoint the more benevolent Bevan to Senior Missionary. When the LMS wanted to send the two candidates alone to Madagascar to prepare a place to live before their true loves were sent out, Jones stubbornly refused to go unless he got married first, and the directors finally consented to his will.¹⁶⁰

David Jones and his small family sailed for Madagascar on the 14th of November. Being unwell after the birth, Mrs Bevan caused the Bevan family to wait for a while. In a letter to LMS Bevan expressed some thoughts about the difficult language and a pious wish of being useful for Christ before leaving this life. He did not mention the uneasiness felt by Jones, but only noted that their child was prematurely born.¹⁶¹ The fact that Bevan does not say anything about the controversies with Jones does not prove that they had resolved the issue and become friends again before Jones left. Rather I think that the Jones family leaving alone may indicate that the problems still existed. Although the Bevan family passed away about two months later, Jones felt obliged to write home again sending a copy of doctor Sibbald's attestation, because he feared that either Bevan or Le Brun should have written to the directors about the case. That should indicate that his suspicions against the Brethren still remained.

Bragg had promised to keep the little school running during their absence, but soon after their departure he wrote a letter stating that it had proved impossible to get rice to the children, and therefore he had sent them back to Ivondro. He had from the first advised the missionaries to give the children clothes and food, but that arrangement proved to be expensive. To me, it looks like he played a double game, binding them to himself with goodwill and friendship, but giving them expensive

¹⁵⁹ LMS, Maur, Jones, op.cit. 10.11.18

¹⁶⁰ Brown, 1978, p. 153

¹⁶¹ LMS, Maur, Bevan, op.cit. 20.11.18: *"Perhaps, before we shall be buried in the dust, we shall have the happiness to see these poor ignorant creatures, keep the Sabbath holy, love Jesus Christ, & observe all his commandments. (---) Mr. & Mrs. Jones have been favoured with a little girl - she was born the 24th of August - premature birth - Mr. & Mrs Bevan have been favoured with a little boy. He was born the 15th of Oct. Mr. J's little girl was baptized on the 11th Inst. by our dear brother Mr. Le Brun. On the 14th Inst. Mr. Jones together with Mrs. J. & the child embarked for Madagascar. Mrs. Bevan having had a relapse 3 weeks after her confinement, & having not yet gained her strength, was the reason that I did not sail with them. I shall avail myself of the first opportunity to go. But I am much afraid that I shall not be able to find a ship going before the bad season, which commences about the middle of next month."*

solutions and not keeping his part of the deal he made with them. Probably the real object of his efforts was to prevent them from going up to Radama, since that could cause some new initiatives in the British anti-slave trade campaign. Jones was seriously worried both about the economy and the progress of the missionary work, and he requested that LMS not publish anything yet, because things could change so quickly. He also wrote that the Malagasy were not fools or simple beings, because their “Kabary” had impressed him and the judging system seemed to function well. He therefore stated that LMS ought to send out well-trained workers. It would not be enough to read a Bible to the heathens.¹⁶²

The rainy season had started when the small family landed in Tamatave and lodged in Bragg’s house again. Jones started his schoolwork again but was not allowed to do much before he fell foul of a severe attack of fever (02.12.18) The following weeks he was too feeble with the fever to help his family, and when first his little daughter and then his wife got sick and died (13.12.18 and 29.12.18), he was unable to follow his loved ones to their graves.¹⁶³ But he comforted himself that he would very soon follow them, because he was again thrown into a serious attack of the Malagasy fever.¹⁶⁴ Thomas Bevan got a real shock when he arrived in Tamatave some days later, hearing about the death of Mrs. Jones and her child, and seeing that Mr. Jones was still very ill with the Malagasy fever. At once he fell into a state of illness that in a few weeks ended his life, Jones tells us: He died on the 31st of January, three days after his infant child. Three days later his wife followed him (03.02.19). Unsurprisingly, Jones was suspicious against the sudden death of all his family and colleagues:

*“Here 5 have died and none, but one child, at least, died of the Malgash Fever; and myself, who have had the Fever very severely, who have been longer in it than they have been sick, have been recovered in a great measure, from it, though I am still very unwell and very weak”.*¹⁶⁵

Wondering what could have caused the death of the 5 persons if they did not really suffer from malaria, Jones hesitated at first to name his fear. But some symptoms indicated that they were exposed to poison, perhaps the Tangena poison. The Malagasy historian Rabary states in his book “Daty Malaza I” that shortly after the death of the Bevans, Bragg came running into Jones’ room saying that he had found some Tangena poison in the kitchen they had used, accusing their servant of poisoning them. But Rabary wondered who other than Bragg himself had used the poison.

The only survivor, David Jones, recovered a little during the following months, and he began to teach the children and study the language again. He wrote home

¹⁶² LMS, Maur, Jones, op.cit. 10.11.18

¹⁶³ Brown, 1978, p. 154: Quoting a letter from Jones to Le Brun 24.02.19: “Dec. 2nd I was taken ill with a very severe cold which soon brought on me the Malagash fever. In 2 or 3 days the child got very ill and died the 13th. Soon after Mrs Jones was pained with a bad cold and got very weak; she died on the 29th of Dec of milk fever (...) All this time I was very sick of the fever, while I was seeing my child and my dear wife carried off dead.”

¹⁶⁴ LMS, Mad. 1.2.A, Jones to Burder, 03.05.19: “After her death I had the fever very severely, and I thought that I should soon follow her; but the Lord hath hitherto preserved me in the land of the living.”

¹⁶⁵ LMS, Mad, Jones op.cit. 03.05.19: (hearing) “that Mrs Jones and her child was dead, and that I was very ill with the Malagash fever. At this, he took such a fright which enfeebled him greatly at the instant, which rested daily in his stomach and affected much wind continually into it (...) and which at last terminated his mortal life Jan. 31st at 10 in the morning. He told Mr. Bragg the first day he landed, that he should shortly die; and when he fell sick he said unto me that he should never get well, for an angel had told him that he should soon die (...) In two days after Mr. Bevan falling sick, Mrs. Bevan was seized by affliction from fatigue, vexing and crying, hearing him saying daily: I am dying &. She had a strong Fever, which had the symptom of the Inflammatory Fever. It is doubted to be the Malagash Fever for not seeing in her the peculiar symptoms of it. We thought she was getting better the two days after the death of Mr. Bevan; for she was conversing sensibly, free from pain and the hot Fever (...) But a little after midnight Febr. 3rd she suddenly awaked, and there was a great change to be seen in her, and she was deranged, and she departed this life ½ after 7 in the morning. The child died 3 days before Mr. Bevan’s death. Blessed are those that die in the Lord.”

asking for new missionaries not only to replace those who had passed away but also to extend the work into the kingdom of Radama, who again had invited him to visit Antananrivo:

“At the capital where Radam resides there is enough of work for 3 or 4 Missionaries for the inhabitants are very numerous. Radam’s General visited me lately and said that Radam is very desirous for Missionaries, and for me to go and see him. He said that Radam sent people to Tamatave for us, but

*(writers translation: our enemies told them that we all died), while they know better things. Then the messengers returned and told the false report to Radam; which he said caused him a great disappointment and much grief. I desired his General to tell him that I will visit him with pleasure upon the condition of liberty to return to my school at Tamatave and of his protection to me; and for him to write me personally, with his own hand, a letter of invitation upon the said conditions. A journey to his country will afford me an opportunity to know the different dialects of the language, to see different villages, to learn the language, to convince self the peoples, the chiefs in may way on the journey, and, perhaps, it will be good for my recovery. May the Lord always direct me in all things to his praise and glory”.*¹⁶⁶

Certainly this visit of Radama’s General encouraged Jones. The visitor was sergeant Brady, who had now advanced to be Radama’s first general. In reality this was the third invitation Radama sent him, but Jones was still too weak to go up to Imerina before a return to Mauritius caring for his bad health. The inserted phrase in Greek letters and language looks suspicious and indicates that Jones was afraid of those “enemies” who told the lies to Radama’s envoys. Obviously he dared not tell the truth about those enemies before he had left Madagascar, fearing that they should intercept the letter before it left Tamatave and understand the accusations against them, but he would rather wait until after his departure when he could no longer be exposed to their rage or punishment. Being back in Mauritius he openly stated that Bragg, who had been so friendly when they arrived, proved to be a true hypocrite soon after the death of Jones’ family and colleagues, turning out to be very hostile against the last survivor:

“I was greatly tried in seeing my child and my dear Partner dying leaving me ill in the midst of enemies. Afterwards in seeing Mr. Bevan dying from a (illegible) of the fever, and soon after him Mrs Bevan who was the last. But these sort of (illegible) were small in comparison to what I suffered afterwards. For immediately after the death of all, Mr. Bragg who had acted at first towards us as a friend manifested himself as a complete hypocrite. He and some of his comrades and mine enemies, being European traitans at Tamatave and slave dealers, did all they could to impinge my recovery and, I think, to hasten my death. For Mr. Bragg, after the death of all, and seeing me so ill and debilitated, began to take all that he could find, unknown to me. But it was not long before I found him out (---). I judge that he and others with him have stolen from me the value upwards of 1500 dollars, though I paid him for lodgings, attendance on the sick, and the burying of the dead. At other times, I heard him (illegible) and swearing me and calling me by all the names they could find, and carrying on their (illegible) me under the name of a dog, pig &, and then at a time when I was confined to my bed, nearly overwhelmed with grief and melancholy thoughts and shrivelling with the force of feverish

¹⁶⁶ LMS, Mad; Jones op.cit. 03.05.19

(illegible). Many other unpleasant things I suffered which I might mention. I was more tried and grieved by the latter trials than the former: in my former the hand of our Lord was working; but in the latter, the hand of the devil. Such things continually impinged my recovery and grieved my spirits, and I had no friend to sympathise with me and comfort me. Seeing a similar act done by (illegible) was the cause of my last (illegible), when I was on the point of recovery, and I was obliged at last to take a voyage to the Mauritius, for my recovery and to go through an exercise of Medicine under the inspection of W. Sibbald M.D. As to the behaviour of the Madagascars towards me, it were much kindness and affection, except those who had been instructed in wickedness and were influenced by ungodly Europeans.»¹⁶⁷

I wonder if Jones really felt that it was worse to lose the stolen things than his child and wife and colleagues; more probably, his expression was a way of conveying a sense of how terribly attacked he was by the enemies surrounding him.

The hostility from the Europeans in Tamatave made it impossible for Jones to stay there although most of the Malagasy were kind to him. In July he gave up and returned to Mauritius to care for his health and prepare for a new start. He was much better received on Mauritius this time, not only because the inhabitants pitied him for his great losses, but also because the greatest friend of mission work to Madagascar, Charles Telfaire, had returned to the island. Telfaire had served in the British Navy as medical officer, and he was appointed governor of Ile de Bourbon after the British occupation of that island. When this island was restored to France in 1815, he was appointed Private Secretary to governor Farquhar, and for some years he served in this and other important positions until he retired from official life. He had followed Farquhar on his journey to England in 1817 and married there, and now he had returned home and resided at his great plantation named “Belle Ombre”. It is evident, that if he had been at home when the missionaries first arrived in 1818, they would have got much more help and advice, and probably they would not have been forced to start their fatal journey to Tamatave. Now he invited the poor refugee to “Belombre”, caring for him, and doing all in his power to encourage him, as Jones tells us:

*“I am now remaining with Mr. Telfaire, a great advocate for the Madagascar Mission, at Bellombre, about 38 miles south of Port Louis. Mr. Telfaire has collected many vocabularies of the Madagascar language, and also the journals of many persons who have been travelling and remaining in Madagascar, and I am daily engaged in writing after them and in comparing them with mine own vocabulary. It was a great loss to us that Mr. Telfaire was gone to England with His Excellency Governor Farquhar when we arrived at the Isle of France. We have established at Belombre a day and Sunday school (illegible) first school in the Colony (---) for the children of the slaves. The numbers of children which attend is about forty-four, and it is astonishing how rapidly they learn”.*¹⁶⁸

Jones was allowed to start a weekly English worship for members of the Telfaire family and others who understood the English language, and they planned to have Christian worship for the about 500 slaves at Belombre. Jones also ran a school for about 40 children of the slaves there. Thus he was not waiting passively while he slowly recovered from the much feared Malagasy fever. He eagerly grasped the possibility of studying the Malagasy language and other items in the large library of

¹⁶⁷ LMS, Mad, 1.2.A, Jones to the directors, 07.08.19

¹⁶⁸ LMS, Mad, Jones, op.cit. 07.08.19

Charles Telfaire, who had gathered a lot of manuscripts concerning history, language and geography of Madagascar. Telfaire wrote about his busy guest:

*“The voluminous mass of manuscripts on the manners, language, opinions, rites and customs of that island, written by the Catholic missionaries of former times and the agents of the government of these islands have been deeply studied by Mr. Jones, and his progress has been proportionally rapid. (---) It was as a relaxation from these severe studies that Mr. Jones undertook the superintendence of our school, and in this he has been eminently successful. I put forty children under his care, they are now increased to sixty. Several can read - a few can write, but their progress in religious knowledge is the most striking. I have never met even in Europe an instance of such rapid progress - their answers to the catechism show that they understand what they learn - it is not a mere effort of memory but an exercise of the understanding which he has accustomed them to - so that they do not repeat by rote, but give the ideas in their own words”*¹⁶⁹

Le Brun also wrote about Jones' health and his new work, explaining that he had commenced to translate the gospel of St. John.¹⁷⁰ The studies in Telfaire's library, the translation of the gospel, the Divine services and the school for the slave-children were all useful preparation for the continuation of his work in Madagascar. Jones had not lost his challenge, and the death of his beloved and his colleagues had made him even more convinced that the blessing of the Lord would certainly yield a rich harvest among the Malagasy people, if he would be able to enter the promised land where the Lord had prepared him a field of work.

¹⁶⁹ LMS, Maur, 1.1.D, Telfaire to the directors, 15.05.20

¹⁷⁰ LMS, Maur, 1.1.D, Le Brun to the directors, 29.05.20: “Mons.r Jones étant encore très faible est ici très deligemment occupé à traduire l'Evangile selon Jean dans la langue du Madagascar.”

2.5 Analysis

The study of this period of preparation for the great changes in the Malagasy History did not show any direct role or influence of the missionaries in the process. The pioneer missionaries in Madagascar arrived late in the period (1818) just when the Treaty and the friendly relations between king Radama and the British authorities were broken, and their fatal attempt in Tamatave produced few lasting results. The only known influence of the education given to the children at the coast was that Berora, son of chieftain Fisatra in Ivondro, continued his education after Jones retired to Mauritius as the only survivor. In fact this influence did not suit the progress of the British-Malagasy politics, but rather became a negative influence, since Sylvain Roux, a French Agent, brought Berora to France and let him study there in order to check the British politics and renew the former French dominance on the eastern coast of Madagascar. But Berora's family was not accepted as royal, even in the Betainmena province, because Fisatra and Jean Réne had usurped the throne there. Although the French tried to use him in their attempt to take control of parts of the coast after Radama's death, their politics failed.

But a further study shows that LMS was not without influence in this important period. William Milne, who made the investigations for a mission work in Madagascar, arrived on Mauritius in 1813, just at the time Farquhar was struggling hard to establish his new politics concerning Madagascar. Knowing that the British government would hardly accept his proposals to check the former French influence in the great island, he made all efforts to find other solutions to succeed his aims. But he might have concluded that his ambitious plan of entering an alliance with one of the Malagasy kings needed more resources than he could expect to be made available by the government in London. Therefore he needed an alliance partner which could promote personnel and other resources. Only this fact can explain why the governor so eagerly grasped the proposal made by William Milne in the name of LMS, expressing a wish to start mission work both in Mauritius and Madagascar. Other places in the world British authorities were suspicious to the Non-Conformist society, preferring to invite the missionary societies of the Anglican Church to work in their dominions. Also on Mauritius a few Anglican reverends had started to work, and Milne stated that they would probably be enemies to the missionaries from LMS, as would the many Roman Catholic priests certainly be.

Nevertheless, Farquhar invited LMS to send missionaries to both islands, and he even promised that his government would give practical and financial help to them to a great extent. When Reverend John Le Brun arrived in 1814 Farquhar promoted him by different means to the inhabitants, although his schoolwork and preaching amongst the coloured population caused much hostility against him. It is significant that when Farquhar succeeded in inviting two of Radama's brothers to visit him in Mauritius and acquire some education there, he asked Le Brun to give them some instruction in the Christian religion. Obviously his reason for not asking an Anglican reverend to do that job was his wish to promote the coming LMS mission in Madagascar. Farquhar's different letters to LMS about his help to Le Brun urging them to start the proposed mission in Madagascar as soon as possible shows how important the Missionary Society was in his politics. (I have consulted 8 letters from Farquhar to the directors in the LMS archives from 1814 to 1822. Governor Hall also sent 2 letters to the directors in 1818.)

Farquhar's policy was immediately overthrown by Governor Hall, and when the missionaries destined for Madagascar arrived in 1818, none of Farquhar's many promises proved efficacious. His introduction letters to governor Jean Réne and Mr.

Bragg proved rather disastrous since those persons in fact were enemies of a Protestant mission, and especially of the planned visit to king Radama. The only efficient help they got from Governor Hall was some government slaves he placed with them as servants and interpreters.

But although the attempt to start work in Tamatave was a complete fiasco, it was not without importance. Radama, who had declared that all British persons were liars and not welcome in his capital, sent messengers to invite them to visit him on three occasions. Thus they in some way kept up his hope of a renewing of the broken Treaty. And when Jones, the only survivor, returned to Mauritius he was heartily welcomed by Charles Telfaire. As Farquhar's secretary he had followed him to England, but now he could take care of the unlucky missionary and give him courage to form new plans that could be laid before Farquhar as soon as he returned. The importance of these plans and the alliance between Farquhar and Jones became efficient when Farquhar tried to renew the broken Treaty.

Chapter 3: A NEW START FOR THE BRITISH-MALAGASY COOPERATION: 1820 - 1828

3.1 The new friendship changed both the King and the Country

Radama was not the same traditional Malagasy king in 1827 as described before the year 1820. Both the king and his kingdom had undergone radical changes, and Radama explained the changes to Dr. Robert Lyall, new Resident British Agent in Madagascar, during his first visit in Tamatave late October 1827, by these words:

*“England, said The King, was my first ally, and has been my faithful supporter. I can never forget King George III, and far less King George IV. The British Government has done every thing for me, and made me what I am. All you see around me (looking at His dress, His Officers, His Soldiers, His Band of musicians, His Table & &) does honour to your Country”.*¹⁷¹

I will try to show some moments in the British-Malagasy cooperation that caused those changes for Radama and his country.

3.1.1 Farquhar dispatched David Jones and James Hastie for new negotiations

When Governor Farquhar returned to Mauritius in July 1820 his most important task was to restore the “Treaty for the Abolition of the Slave Trade” with Radama. He was willing to use all available channels, but two persons soon proved to be his best Agents: James Hastie and David Jones. Governor Farquhar immediately started a correspondence with Governor Jean René in Tamatave and other important persons in Madagascar to prepare his sending of envoys. But the most important letter was sent to the king himself:

*“Je saisis avec empressement l’occasion d’un Batiment qui je rend a Tamatave pour donner avis à votre Majeste de mon retour à l’Isle Maurice & pour vous exprimer toute la satisfaction que j’éprouverai à retablir entre votre Majeste et mon Gouvernement les relations d’amitie qui n’aussent jamais du souffrir d’alteration d’après le traite d’alliance signe entre nous & approuves par sa Majeste le Roi d’Angleterre qui en Temoinage de son amitie & de sa satisfaction de vous compter au nombre de ses allies m’a ordonne de profiter de l’agent que je vais incessamment envoyer a Madagascar pour vous faire parvenir les present dont il m’a charge pour votre Majeste”.*¹⁷²

It is significant that the first question mentioned in this letter was Farquhar’s wish to re-establish the “Treaty of Peace and Friendship” between the two parts. Secondly the governor promised to send his agent to Antananarivo to deliver the presents from King George III to King Radama, which obviously was a good occasion to send a delegation to him. But it is noteworthy that the really difficult question, i.e. the Treaty for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, was not mentioned at all in this first letter to the king. The broken treaty had caused so much bitterness among the Malagasy and disgraced the British government so profoundly, that Farquhar dared not enter that discussion before his envoys came to Antananarivo.

This time there was no doubt what person the governor wanted to dispatch on the special mission to Radama. Sending a letter to James Hastie, he demanded that Hastie engage in robust negotiations to re-establish the treaty:

“His Excellency the Governor having in conformity with the orders of His Majesty, resolved to establish a friendly and beneficial communication with the

¹⁷¹ MA, HB-14.2, Lyall’s journal from the negotiations with Radama, 28.10 – 01.11.1827

¹⁷² MA, HB-21, Farquhar to Radama, 01.08.20

*Chieftains of Madagascar (---) I have the honour to signify to you His directions to hold yourself in immediate readiness to proceed to Madagascar on Special Service. (---) His Excellency wishes it to be understood that you should be prepared to meet all difficulties, and to make every personal sacrifice, as the due and complete execution of this important service may require a residence in Madagascar, even after what is considered the unhealthy season there”*¹⁷³.

Hastie who had suffered a lot after being dismissed from the job as Assistant British Agent in Madagascar in 1818, consented to enter this important engagement and do all in his power to realise the governor's wishes. But since he still was in debt caused by his former engagement in Madagascar, he felt obliged to ask for pecuniary help to outfit himself for the journey without being forced to borrow more money. But he professed that neither economical problems nor personal easiness or fear for the approaching bad season should prevent him from performing to the governor's orders.¹⁷⁴ Farquhar could therefore appoint him “British Agent in Madagascar”, and he gave him a better salary and all the economical help he asked for. He also gave him a detailed instruction of what he wanted him to do. Firstly, he advised him to take care in Tamatave, because there were both French agents and other persons contradicting the interests of the British government, and they would certainly do what they could to discourage both Hastie and David Jones by telling stories about Radama's enmity towards the English.¹⁷⁵

Secondly, Farquhar ordered Hastie to talk with Jean René presenting to him that the British government was not at all satisfied with his role in the re-establishing of the slave trade in 1818. But Farquhar was willing to enter the former engagement with René, proposing to give him the same yearly allowance as before for the work he was expected to do for the British. Hastie was also ordered to observe all things about the slave trade in Tamatave: who was engaged in the traffic, how many slaves they exported yearly, etc. And when he should talk with Fisatra in Ivondro, he should ask why he had let his son, Berora, who firstly frequented Jones' school in Tamatave, be sent to France by Sylvain Roux for education there. When Roux returned to Madagascar in 1819, he was not able to reinstall himself as governor of Tamatave any more since Radama had taken control of that town, but was installed as commandant for the French establishment in St. Mary's Island. However, Farquhar was now eager to know if René cooperated with Roux.

But the most important part of the instructions was the arguments he should use in the negotiations with Radama. Firstly, Hastie should point out how profitable conditions a renewing of the treaty would offer the king, and the “Equivalent” for the lost revenue would be an infallible source of revenue. Together with other help from the British it would certainly make Radama the most powerful ruler in Madagascar, because no other king should be allowed to enter a similar alliance with the British government. A British Agent should be placed with Radama's court to assure him of the help and perpetual friendship of the British government. This point, so occasionally inserted in the discussion, should prove to be one of the most difficult

¹⁷³ MA, HB-13.4, Chief secretary Barry to Hastie, 18.08.20

¹⁷⁴ MA, HB-21, Hastie to Barry, 20.08.20: “I am ready to exert my humble effort on any service His Excellency may be pleased to employ me and that no idea of difficulties, personal consideration, or opinion of seasons can in any way influence me when on such service, which shall be conducted without any interruption on my part & and with a strict attention to the interest of Government.”

¹⁷⁵ MA, HB-13.4, Farquhar to Hastie: “Instructions”, 04.09.20: “There are now active French Agents at Tamatave & other parts of Madagascar & care must be taken to counteract their endeavours to incense the natives against the English. - The object of those Agents is rather to engross the whole trade of Madagascar, than the Suppression of the Slave Trade, or the benefit of its population. On landing therefore at Tamatave you will no doubt hear much of the resentment of Radama and of his irreconcilable enmity towards the English, but this I am sure will neither discourage you nor Mr. Jones.”

points when growing scepticism and crisis later destroyed the good relations. Secondly, Hastie should state to Radama that if he should refuse to renew the treaty, the British Navy would be able to stop the slave trade by other means, and place the king's revenue in a great deficit. Notwithstanding the fact that Farquhar knew very well that the Navy could never put an effective stop to the slave trade, he used this argument to press an agreement forward.¹⁷⁶

The last point in the instructions may seem astonishing, because the governor ordered Hastie to give the missionary David Jones protection and help on their way up the country to Antananarivo. Farquhar gave strong political signals that the British government was not only interested but also involved in the work Jones was planning, when he stated:

"You will take Mr. Jones, the Missionary, under your protection, and recommend him to Jean René, Fish, Radama & every Person in power & authority at Madagascar, over whom you may have any influence, informing them of the true object of his labour - & promoting them to the utmost of your power, & stating that the British Government watches over his safety, and will be pleased with all facilities afforded to him"

From his return to Mauritius in 1819 David Jones had used his time well in preparing for a new attempt of starting missionary work in Madagascar. Farquhar's return gave him his great chance, allowing him to present his plans to the governor who immediately approved them:

"I have had a long conversation with His Excellency Governor Farquhar since he landed on the 6th of last July, relative to Madagascar. He received me very politely and gave me every encouragement to continue my preparation saying that he was going to renew the Treaty this year with Radama if it is possible. Since my first conversation with him I have drawn out two plans for recommencing and continuing the Madagascar Mission, which have been approved by him, and the first plan (---) will be put in effect this year. This plan, in short, is that a missionary accompany the English Agent to Radama in order to pave the way and to make every preparation from Tamatave to Ova for future exertions the next year (---) It will be the work of the missionary to talk with Radama about missions, to endeavour to gain his permission and that of his ministers, to send missionaries among them (---) The second is (---) a plan for supplying the missionary stations with suitable missionaries and artificers for evangelising and civilizing the inhabitants of Madagascar. His Exc. sent for me yesterday and said that he approved of the plans, which I laid before him, and said that he thought that both of them could be executed. (---) (Charles Telfaire) is the greatest friend of missionaries in this Island and a warm advocate for the Cause of Missions particularly in this Island and in Madagascar(---) He is now the Governor's private Secretary and helped me to draw out my plans concerning the Madagascar Mission".¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁶ MA, HB-13.4, Farquhar, op.cit, 04.09.20: "You will propose the ratification of the treaty by Radama. (...) you will make him understand that his interests are imperishable united with our Success, in this point. For we have taken such means by our Ships on the Coast of Madagascar (...) that consequently an offer on our part to renew the equivalent agreed upon, is a proof of the disinterested friendship & prohibition of the King of England who might effect his purpose without the aid of any other power, & that the branch of Revenue thus offered on our part is an infallible Source, which will render him the most powerful & independent Prince in Madagascar (...). You will explain to Radama, the preference this Government has ever given to him over all the other Chieftains of Madagascar, who have anxiously sought the alliance thus voluntarily offered to him on our part & assure him, that he is the only power whom we shall treat with on such a footing, & that whatever Communications are made to other Chieftains in Madagascar shall in all cases be made known to him by the English Resident (Agent) who remains at his court to assure himself of the treaty & that Arms and Ammunition shall not be furnished to any other power, or the Materials of War, in any way."

¹⁷⁷ LMS, Maur, 1.1.D, Jones to Hankey, 19.08.20

This letter shows that it was not “by chance” David Jones was travelling together with Hastie up to Radama, but as a result of discussions between the missionary and the governor and a strategy developed by them. Other documents show that the governor paid all Jones’ expenses for the voyage and made him an integrated part of the political mission to the king. Although it was agreed that Hastie should be responsible for the political negotiations and Jones should care for the religious items, I will show that both cases soon were mixed together, and the future missionary work became an integrated part of the conditions approved upon in the coming negotiations.¹⁷⁸

Hastie and Jones used some days in Tamatave to obtain provisions and bearers, and Hastie made investigations into the items demanded by Farquhar, reporting that there was a lot of slave trading in the town. Jones noted in his journal that he had never seen so many slave dealers there before. The conversation with governor Jean René proved to be hard, and Hastie reported back to Mauritius:

*(René told us that) “Radama on finding the Treaty violated by the English, had issued a proclamation annulling that which prohibited the Slave Traffic, declaring vengeance on all who opposed the slave trade, and promising never to renew any intimacy or connexion with the British Government, - that Jean René had Radama’s positive command to explain to any person arriving from the English, that he hold no communication with them (---). He says that Radama has in some measure apologized to his People for having entered into any agreement against their wishes, which the treaty of 1817 was, and has now made a solemn covenant that he will not again do so or hold any friendship with those who have deceived them - that an intercourse with such unsteady Allies may prove his overthrow as he never was shaken in the esteem of his people till the failure of his intended alliance with the British Government”.*¹⁷⁹

Unsurprisingly René wished to prevent their going up to Radama, because such a visit certainly could change his working conditions. David Jones later wrote to Mrs. Telfaire that René opposed their plans so hard that they had been afraid he would use his soldiers to stop them, but Hastie’s steadiness soon enabled them to start the journey.¹⁸⁰ Hastie said that he had acted in a cool and stubborn manner against all who opposed him, knowing that if he was allowed to visit Radama and succeeded in renewing the treaty, he would probably be able to answer them in a better way later. And Hastie stated in his Journal that they were not without friends:

“Mr. Glond, a Portuguese Creole of India or Mauritius (---) told me that I had nothing to fear from Radama, and tho’ the King had publicly sworn to make an example of any Englishman sent to him - yet he was satisfied from the way the ovahmen lately down here expressed themselves, - that I shall be perfectly safe. (---) Jean René has shown me Radama’s written command to prevent any Englishman proceeding to Ovah. It is written in this character and to be read in the Madagascar language. He says the English are double-dealers or promise-breakers, and that Hastie had caused him much trouble. - I can read it so as to understand its purpose - I also find Radama has written privately to me, but Jean René makes a lame excuse for not forwarding the letter. I deem

¹⁷⁸ LMS, Mad, Journals, 1, Jones’ journ. 04.09.-14.10.20, especially 08.10.20 and the following days.

¹⁷⁹ MA, HB-13.4, Hastie to Farquhar: Diary from the days in Tamatave, 11.09.20

¹⁸⁰ LMS, Mad. 1.2.A, Jones to Mrs. Telfaire, 16.10.20: “We met with every discouragement possible from our enemies at Tamatave and all opposition from Jean René the chief, that I thought he would have stopped us by force of Arms, but through the cool manner of Mr. Hastie, and his steadiness in acting to what he said, we commenced our journey.”

*it best to let no trifle prevent my visit as afterwards I trust I shall be able to speak a little to the Chief on these tricks of his".*¹⁸¹

It is interesting to state that this letter from Radama to René was written in the Malagasy language in the Roman alphabet. That might prove that his French secretary, Robin, had already developed a written Malagasy language in parallel with Jones' work, and probably Robin's work had some consequences for the final result.

The last days of their stay in Tamatave Hastie reported that it was lucky for the two travellers that "The Industry" came into the port. This vessel was a slaver in search of new cargo, and some men in power wished to get Hastie and Jones away before loading the ship. Therefore they soon got bearers and permission to start and could leave the town. Farquhar thanked Hastie for his journal and especially for the exactness with which he had followed the given instructions. In the same letter he stated that the real presents from King George had arrived from London and should be sent to Antananarivo immediately.¹⁸²

The tedious journey took a fortnight and they arrived in the capital on the 3rd of October. On their way up the country they met a slave dealer who carried with him 200 slaves, and later others came with about 1000 slaves from Antananarivo.¹⁸³ Hastie had already sent a letter to tell Radama about his arrival in Tamatave, asking permission to proceed to the capital to visit him. Contrary to all negative reports in Tamatave about the king's attitude to the English, the reply was affirmative and let them look forward with expectation:

"A Mon cher James Hastie J'ai appris que vous attendiez à Malgouro mon ordre pour monter a Tananarivoux - Je vous l'envoie, Mon ami avec empressement, car j'ai toujours du plaisir à voir mes anciens amis. -(Signe) Radama

Veloumahanao hastie. Ravouravou zaou - Hanao Tsimeti Manaharre, hanao James Hastie A Tananarivoux. Sceauele Radama

*Adresse: A Mon cher James Hastie Bien camarade pour Roi de Tananarivoux".*¹⁸⁴

Being "Bien camarade pour Roi" would have given them a bright hope of success even though Jones was not mentioned in Radama's answer, and when they arrived in the capital they were received with pomp as prominent guests. Jones wrote in his journal that the king's secretary together with the two princes, who had been in Mauritius, welcomed them at the bottom of the hill. A canon fired from the palace at 4 o'clock was the sign to start ascending the hill, and two rows of soldiers were lined up all the way to the king's palace on the top. Jones also told that when they arrived in the courtyard they were kindly received by Radama:

*"-we arrived in the court-yard before the Royal Palace, where the king ran to receive Mr. Hastie with much joy. After Mr. Hastie had saluted him in the usual custom, he introduced me to his Majesty & I myself saluted him in the same manner, bending one knee, kissing his hand & giving a piece of gold in his hand, saying, **Manassin a Thumpoca-lahi: i,e Token of respect to you Master.** His Majesty then requested us to enter his Royal Palace (---) On entering, the King requested us to take our seats, Mr. Hastie on his right & myself on his left (---) After we had sat down at table, the King appeared as if*

¹⁸¹ MA, HB-13.4, Hastie op.cit. 11.09.20

¹⁸² MA, HB-21, Farquhar to Hastie, 26.09.20

¹⁸³ LMS, Mad, Journals, Jones, op.cit, 04.09.-14.10.20

¹⁸⁴ MA, HB-21 Radama to Hastie, undated. The letter is a mix of correct French, Creole-French and Malagasy. Parts of it – at least the signature – are certainly written by the king's own hand. Translation of the Malagasy passage: "Good-by Hastie. We are rejoicing now. Do not stop any place, Hastie, on your way to Tananarive."

he was lost in an ecstasy of joy & mirth - overwhelmed with rejoicing & laughter, that he could hardly keep his seat - hugging & pulling about Mr. Hastie in such a manner that I never have witnessed such a sight & such excess of joy on any occasion".¹⁸⁵

Jones' observations did not show an unwilling or sceptical betrayed ally. We know that Radama felt a warm personal friendship towards Hastie, but the hearty welcome he gave his guests indicated that he was sincerely hoping for new contact with his British friends, being even more convinced than before how profitable the treaty would be for him. His harsh statements about the British promise-breakers that many people in Tamatave referred to should not be taken at face value. His statements were purely tactical, his way of satisfying the people in Imerina. In the evening Hastie handed over the presents from the governor, promising that the presents from king George would be delivered as soon as they arrived. That promise satisfied Radama as did the silver plates and disks and some new horses from the governor.

Next day Hastie and Radama had a long conversation. The king spoke about the treaty he had entered against the advice of his counsellors, even those who had taught him from when he was a child, and how deeply wounded he had been when his confidence in the British was broken immediately. Now he would go through great difficulties trying to persuade his counsellors and people to enter the same treaty again:

*"-what am I now to do - I am not independent: the support of a King is his subjects" (---). He concluded by saying that however easy it might be to convince him of the occasion that created the foreseen difficulty, it would be next to impossibility to induce his subjects to believe it, & they were most materially concerned, as of the vast number of slaves we met proceeding to Tamatave only but a few belonged to him - and fathers were now so accustomed to consider children (as) property & sell them, that he was quite at a loss for means to enable him to support the amity he would wish to retain with the English. (---) - that he feared little short of a general insurrection would be occasioned by his trying again the English. That it was become a King of proverbs among his subjects, **False as the English**".¹⁸⁶*

Certainly Radama had enormous difficulties because the period he had suppressed the traffic was wasted in expectation, and the broken treaty was followed by an unlimited sale of slaves. The inhuman practice of fathers selling their own children to slaves shows that money had become an important force in the community. Although the king could get very good conditions by entering the treaty again, the people were neither willing to cut off their most profitable income nor to trust the British promises any more. The king had also disgraced himself and his British ally profoundly when he executed the husband of his sister together with his brother and father because they had mocked the British ally when he first entered the treaty. Hastie had a hard job explaining to the counsellors and the people that when the British king himself had now signed the treaty it could never be broken again from that part.

On the 8th of October the king conversed with his counsellors or ministers the whole day, but in the afternoon he called for Hastie and shortly afterwards for Jones. Hastie first explained for them Jones' role: *"that I had nothing to do in political affairs, but that my mission was of a religious nature."* Hastie then started to apologise profusely, telling them how much power Radama would get and how enlightened and lucky his people would become if they entered the treaty again. When the king

¹⁸⁵ LMS, Mad, Journals, Jones, op.cit, 03.10.20

¹⁸⁶ LMS, Mad, Journals, Jones, op.cit, 04.10.20

complained that nobody was willing to educate his people, Hastie answered that Farquhar had agreed to take some Malagasy youths to Mauritius and let them be educated there and also promised to send some good artisans to teach people useful things. Hastie also stated that Jones and the LMS would be very useful for the cause of education:

*“- that the Missionary Society had sent out me to teach them to read & write and every thing in a religious view. Mr. Hastie mentioned the improvement the Society had made within a few years among people more ignorant than his people, particularly those of the South Sea Islands - relating some of the improvements made among those people. The king then said that he thought he could suppress the slave trade for three years –“.*¹⁸⁷

It is very interesting to observe that Jones was called to the meeting, and that LMS's possibilities to educate people became a key question in the following discussions. It is noteworthy that it was the proposed education work from the LMS that seems to have moved the king to declare that he would perhaps be able to suppress the slave trade for three years. The discussions continued a few days between the king and his counsellors, and Hastie was called for several times to explain the British conditions. To Radama it was important to get better conditions this time, and that was a reason why education became a key question in the discussions. Already in 1817 he had wished to get some of his subjects educated in Mauritius, and he had been discontent with his ministers who forgot that point when they concluded the treaty in Tamatave. Some youths had been sent to Mauritius at that time, but Governor Hall soon sent them back. Now the request for instructing the people became the main subject that should prove that Radama had not submitted to the British government and was able to demand his own conditions from them. Therefore he gave Hastie this letter to the governor on the 10th of October:

“Conformément a votre demande pour la ratification du Traité fait entre moi & votre Excellence j'ai fait appelé en conseil toutes les personnes des ma Cour et apres plusieurs sémens nous avons délibéré que la somme promise était suffisante pour moi, que les autres le sent aussi, mais que rien de tout cela ne pouvait adoucir les Misères des notre peuple - en conséquence je demand a votre Excellence d'ajouter au Traité l'article suivant.

Savoir - Que votre Excellence prendra quelques personnes de mes sujets pour etre conduit en Angleterre pour y etre instruit, et c'est a dire pour apprendre les différents Métiers propres a aducir les premiéres Misères de notre peuple, tels que charpentiers, tisserand, orfure(?), serrurier & &, et que votre Excellence enverra des personnes de ces états prés de moi pour nous faire connaitre en un mot l'usage du travail des Européens, le tout aux frais de votre Gouvernement.

Si votre Excellence consent à ajouter au Traité ces deux Articles, je consens aussi de mon coté a ratifier le Traité dans toutes ses formes et il sera conservé a jamais; au cas contraire je me voir avec peine forcé de refuser vos propositions - J'attends de votre Excellence une réponse par première occasion. Recevez l'assurance de Mon estime et de mon affection. Signé / Radama. Fait a Tananarivoux le 10 Octobre 1820.

*Ajouté au Traité vingt personnes pour être instruit en Angleterre”.*¹⁸⁸

Hastie was greatly troubled to see that even though a breakthrough was very close it was not within his authority to accept Radama's conditions. Both the education of

¹⁸⁷ LMS, Mad, Journals, Jones, op.cit, 08.10.20

¹⁸⁸ MA, HB-21, Radama to Farquhar, 10.10.20. See also: Jones, op.cit, same date.

some youths in Mauritius and sending of some artisans to Antananarivo were subjects of negotiation given him in Farquhar's instruction. But who would pay for the education of 20 youths in England: the Home government or the government of Mauritius or somebody else? In this tricky situation Hastie again sought the counsel of Jones:

*"Mr. Hastie consulted with me on what was to be done as the king was so determined. Then it was agreed that six of his free subjects should be sent to England for Education - & I said that I was almost certain that the **Missionary Society** would take two or three for education if that would give us success in opening a door for Missionaries to come with perfect safety. This agreement was sent to the King (---) After this we translated into French what the Society has published in its report with regard to Madagascar & informing him that I was an ambassador from the Missionary Society to ask his permission & protection to Missionaries & also liberty to exercise their office - and, that if he agreed to this I had the promise of the Society to send out some more Missionaries to civilize his people as well as to evangelise them".*¹⁸⁹

In the conclusive moment of the negotiations David Jones and his missionary society became a real political partner, giving some important promises and conditions to Radama. When the king and his ministers had discussed the conditions during the whole day they came to Hastie and Jones' house in the evening. Hastie again explained the British conditions, trying to convince them how profitable the treaty would be. Before the king left them, Jones gave him a little more to think about:

"Before he went away I told him that unless he should agree, I should be obliged to relinquish Madagascar entirely & proceed to India where I should meet with liberty & protection".

It is not mentioned whether Jones' threat of entirely leaving Madagascar really bothered Radama, but he continued the discussion with his ministers for a long time that night, and the next morning he told Hastie and Jones that he was willing to agree to the treaty of 1817, if they could promise to send 10 youths to England for education and 10 to Mauritius. Hastie then showed his greatness after having asked Jones what to do:

*"The moment arrived when the welfare of millions was to be decided. Mr. Hastie called me and asked me what was to be done & whether the Missionary Society would take some of them – then I hesitated & did not know what to answer. However Mr. Hastie said that he would agree if he himself should pay for their expenses in England".*¹⁹⁰

Hastie's manner of taking responsibility far beyond the call of duty made him the great Agent in the British-Malagasy cooperation. I will show later that he was going to be the only beloved Agent. After having discussed a lot of questions and settled the text of the treaty Radama sent his secretary to David Jones asking whether he would stay with him. The King promised to give him protection, working possibilities, housing and two servants. Although the plans discussed with the governor before leaving Mauritius considered it to be convenient for him to return with Hastie and rather go and settle in Antananarivo when the next good season came around, Jones accepted Radama's proposal. The good reception Radama had given them made Jones eager to stay, considering that it was safe and sanitary enough to stay there.

¹⁸⁹ LMS, Mad, Journals, Jones, op.cit, 10.10.20

¹⁹⁰ LMS, Mad, Journals, Jones, op.cit, 11.10.20

He argued to his supporters that his study of the language was a good reason to stay:

*“I find myself at a loss in the language, as it is very different in dialect from that on the coast. I shall be able in the course of six month to have a good knowledge of this dialect as I shall have every day some good teachers to instruct me –“.*¹⁹¹

Thus it happened that David Jones with only very little luggage for travel was left with Radama as a kind of symbol for the new time approaching, or as a hostage for the fulfilment of the treaty. Both parties were glad to have him there, Radama considering him to be an assurance that the treaty should not be broken again, and Farquhar being thankful because he found it important to have a British envoy in the capital promoting British interests, and preventing French influence at the Malagasy court.

3.1.2 David Jones left behind as a hostage for the fulfilment of the renewed Treaty

David Jones had been presented with his great chance and he had seized the opportunity given to him. In the next few months the lonely “hostage of peace” created a strong foothold in Antananarivo, which gave the mission a possibility of rapid expansion the following years. In those months he earned the respect and confidence of both the king and many other important persons in the capital, and this respect endured during all problems and crises until his retirement in 1830. He later stated that it was his ability in the French language that created his close friendship with Radama.

Jones was installed in one of the houses in the court yard, and after some weeks Radama gave him some children of his own relatives and of the high Nobles to be instructed in the English language, reading and writing. This gave him a prominent place in the capital, and soon he could write to Governor Farquhar:

*“His Majesty is always very Kind and attentive to render me comfortable & gives me every encouragement in my Mission wishing to have his people instructed in every branch of knowledge like the English both in Christianity & civilization. He has given under my care for education a son & a daughter of his eldest Sister, the son is the presumpt heir to the crown; and he has given three boys besides who are sons of some of the Nobles; and there are about five more appointed to join them”.*¹⁹²

The teaching was entirely in English the first year but provided important experiences and was an excellent basis for the expansion of the schoolwork in the following years. I have already mentioned that Farquhar boasted of having got the presumptive heir to the throne as pupil when he had the king’s two brothers living in his house,¹⁹³ a statement that soon proved to be of little value. Probably Jones’ statement that his pupil Rakotobe was supposed to succeed the king was of more value. He was the son of Radama’s sister Rabodosahondro and Prince Ratefy (named Rataffe by the British). However, Radama did not formally appoint the prince to succeed him. Although some persons stubbornly expressed that this was the king’s will he was easily overthrown and killed after Radama’s death. After the murder of Rakotobe his father also claimed that he had been the heir to the throne in a letter to the governor in 1828.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹¹ LMS, Mad. 1.2.A, Jones to Telfaire, 14.10.20

¹⁹² MA, HB-21, Jones to Farquhar, 26.11.20

¹⁹³ LMS, Maur, 1.1, Farquhar to Hankey, 13.06.17

¹⁹⁴ MA, HB-20, Rataffe to governor Colville, 28.08.28: “And my son was intended to succeed him to the throne. But Radama bearing hard on the people to improve them in knowledge and civilize his country, and also seeing the youth, my son, attending the School and improving very fast, the old people and the judges did not like that any of Radama’s relations should reign as he died without appointing his successor”.

Many free people (or Hova) wished to send their children to Jones' school, but he found it impossible at that time to place anyone other than the children of the nobles together with the king's relatives. Neither did he wish to have too many pupils, because he needed a lot of time to study the language. Jones repeatedly claimed this point in his letters both from Tamatave and his first years in Antananarivo. Obviously, he deemed the linguistic work and the translating of the Holy Scripture to be his most important tasks, while teaching and preaching were practical necessities allowing the people to hear and read the word of God.

It soon proved very important for the future of the Protestant mission that Jones was well established at the king's court. A few weeks after Hastie's return to Mauritius other interests were approaching king Radama, as Jones tells in a letter:

"The Roman Catholic Priest at St. Denis in Bourbon has written a very flattering letter to the King asking his permission to send to teach his subjects the roman catholic religion some roman catholic Missionaries then ready at Bourbon to come up if His Majesty would give them his royal permission. The King wrote an answer denying his permission in the strongest terms, saying that he had entered into an alliance with the British Nation, & wished consequently to have British Protestant Missionaries to instruct his subjects, to whom he would give his permission & protection in all his dominions.

The King also requested me afterwards to explain to him the difference between the roman catholic religion and the protestant religion, which I did (---) saying that it (LMS) was sending out Missionaries to Christianise people by persuasion & conviction & not by force contrary to the light of their own understandings (---) He said then in laughing: Ay, ay, very well indeed - I wish they would send many to teach these people of mine in that manner. Well said I, the best plan will be for your Majesty to write a letter to this effect to the Society stating your real sentiments to the Directors & promising at the same time Your Majesty's permission and protection to their Missionaries (---) then he wrote a letter to the Directors of the Miss. Society (---) asking them to send as many as they can and may think proper make his people good Christians & good artificers upon the principles I had mentioned to him".¹⁹⁵

It looks like Radama made his negative response to the Catholic priest before he consulted Jones. But I find it doubtful if Jones should not in some way have influenced the king's decision, and in fact Radama's answer was sent by Jones to Mauritius begging the governor's secretary to transfer the letter to the priest in Bourbon. At least Jones was allowed to present the Protestant principles of mission work to the king, explaining that their aims were to Christianise people by persuasion and conviction, while the Catholic mission was said to use force to convince people to adopt their religion. Certainly this presentation of the Catholic mission was both unfair and unfavourable but may be typical of the lack of ecumenical understanding at that time. Obviously, it prevented Radama from inviting the missionaries from Bourbon to come and start instruction of his people, which probably would have been the result if Hastie and Jones had not already succeeded in re-establishing the English-Malagasy relations. Le Brun expressed clearly the existing hostility between the denominations, showing his pleasure that it was the Protestant mission which won the race against Antananarivo, when he stated:

"What a Glorious blessing of heaven, for those unfortunate people, that my fellow labourer arrived just in time to prevent the Catholic Missionaries going there, to spread their deadly poison in the hearts of those poor, unfortunate creatures".¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁵ MA, HB-21, Jones to Telfaire, 03.11.20

¹⁹⁶ LMS, Maur, 1.2.A, Le Brun to the directors, 16.01.21

The quoted conversation between Radama and Jones also caused the former to write the famous letter to LMS, asking them to send as many missionaries as they liked to his country. Radama had, already when Jones accepted the invitation to stay with him, allowed Jones to write and ask for more missionaries, provided there were some skilful artisans amongst them, able to teach people useful work and industry. Now Jones advised him to write the required letter himself, because that would have much more effect in England than many letters from the missionary. The king then ordered his scribe to write the famous letter to LMS where he asked the directors to send him all the missionaries they found convenient.¹⁹⁷ This letter was read to the yearly mission conference in England and caused a very optimistic interest for the mission work in Madagascar. Together with the many letters from Farquhar urging the Missionary Society to do their utmost to civilize and Christianise the Malagasy, Radama's letter caused the directors to make decisions placing many missionaries and artisans in the great island the following years.

The presence of David Jones at the Malagasy court also had a more important political sense than Hastie and Farquhar knew before the envoys left Mauritius. In the absence of British help and influence Radama had hired a Frenchman as his secretary, and Hastie wrote in his diary from Tamatave that a bearer from Antananarivo had told him that: "*a Mister Robin is living with Radama and acts as his Scribe*".¹⁹⁸ This was bad news for British interests, even though Robin turned out to be a deserted French sergeant from Bourbon and thus under military prosecution. He was then unable to represent the French government but his French background would be a serious hindrance for Farquhar's political aims in different ways. The problem proved to be delicate, since it would be insulting to the King if they immediately criticised his secretary and close friend. Therefore neither Hastie nor Farquhar mentioned this problem at first, probably hoping that the lonely missionary could represent the British political interests and diminish Robin's influence at court until the return of the British agent. At first Jones was suspicious against Robin, but soon his fears disappeared. The king placed them in the same house, and after a few weeks Jones wrote about him:

*"I am living very comfortable in one of the royal houses with Mr. Robin, who renders me much assistance in my success for every thing with the King, & watches the movements & the conversations of the slave dealers & tells all to the King & to myself, which is contrary to my first opinion of him".*¹⁹⁹

It looks as though the two Europeans at court lived peacefully together for some months. Later the relations changed and Robin would often contradict both the missionaries and the British agent when he was in Radama's favour. However, I find that Jones played an important political role for the governor and the British interests this first year, which Farquhar also stated clearly in a letter to Burder, the secretary of LMS:

*"I consider his residence at the Court of Radama, as a proof and severity of the good faith of that Sovereign for the full performance, on his part, and on that of his subjects, of the articles of the important treaty I have once more and, I trust, finally, concluded with him, for the entire extinction of the slave traffic for ever, through the whole of his extensive dominions".*²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁷ LMS, Mad, 1.2.B, Radama to the directors, 02.11.20: "*C'est pourquoi messieurs je vous fais cet demande de m'envoyé a votre société autans de missionaire que vous pouvez ou que vous jugerez convenable avec leurs famille s'ils le désirens, pourvu que vous envoyer des personnes de metiers et de talents pour faire dè mon peuple des ouvriers et de bons cretiens. Je puisse aussi de la même occassion faire vous assurer messieurs toute la protection, le salut, le respect et la tranquillité qu'auront messieurs les missionnaires de moi et de la part de mes sujets. Tans qu'aux missionnaires les plus necessaires pour les moment sont des personnes pour (faire) instruire mon peuple dans la religion cretienne et dans les different métiers tels que tisserand,s charpentiers, botanists etc, etc"*

¹⁹⁸ MA, HB-13.4, Hastie, op.cit. diary, 11.09.20

¹⁹⁹ MA, HB-21, Jones to Telfaire, 03.11.20

²⁰⁰ LMS, Maur, 1.1.A, Farquhar to Burder, 03.01.21

Jones performed his political role by writing reports from the life in the capital about, for example, the slave dealers returning from Imerina without obtaining a single slave, Radama's preparing for war with the Sakalava king etc, and the report concludes with a wish of being useful for the governor's political aims:

"Having thus given your Excellency some account of things at Tananarivo; I conclude assuring you of my desire & readiness to give every effect to Your Excellency's Laudable plans for the welfare of the Madagascars both temporally and spiritually".²⁰¹

Sometimes he was allowed to have confident conversations with Radama, and many times he served as counsellor and scribe for his English correspondence. This basic confidence between Jones and the King was never altered even in the political crises in the last year of Radama's reign. Jones was fully aware of his important political role, and back in Mauritius the following year he used this role as an argument to get more financial support from the governor for his schoolwork in Madagascar:

"Your Excellency has been pleased to acknowledge me on several occasions that the presence of the British Missionary at the Court of Radama was useful in a political point of view to Your Excellency's Government in promoting the influence of Great Britain and removing that of France, thus securing to Madagascar the full effects of Your Excellency's treaty with Radama for the abolition of the Slave traffic".²⁰²

The governor willingly consented to this not only by giving great subventions to the schoolwork, but by paying all travelling costs for him and all other missionaries going to Imerina, which were not small sums in those days. He also paid most of the Creole artisans an allowance of 10 \$ a month, and the missionary artisans got 20 \$ a month until they were well established and earning enough money on their own. The pastors received a monthly allowance of 30 \$ as a subvention for their living costs the first years. Thus the missionary work in Imerina as a whole probably got more subventions from the government than any other known mission work. That indicates both how eager Farquhar was to use LMS as his partner and how important a role they played for his political aims at that time.

Some weeks after Hastie had left the capital the presents from King George IV of England arrived. Jones was invited to represent the British nation when they were unpacked, and he wrote in his report:

*"The superb presents from His Majesty King George the 4th to His Majesty King Radama arrived here in good condition on the 21st instant & were opened in the presence of His Majesty, his brother, some of his Ministers, his Secretary and myself. The King and all present were much astonished at the sight & highly pleased with them. His Majesty was enraptured with joy, saying that they were presents for him from his Father in England & that he (Radama) was his child. The people were exclaiming **Tarantitr Tompak-i-lahé** both to Radama and to the Royal Donor - which expression is much of the same meaning as "long live the King".*

*Their **Skid** or fortune teller is (illegible) continually that the British Government will again break the treaty; but seeing such presents they began to suspect the truth of what the skid was telling them".²⁰³*

The most interesting fact in this story is that the superb presents from the British king made such an impression on the people in Antananarivo that their confidence in their

²⁰¹ MA, HB-21, Jones to Farquhar, 26.11.20

²⁰² MA, HB-21, Jones to Farquhar, 27.08.21

²⁰³ MA, HB-21, Jones to Farquhar, 26.11.20. See also: MA, HB-21, Radama to Farquhar, 29.11.20

religious leaders was shaken. Certainly that opened their minds to new ideas and gave the newcomer and his message a good start.

Radama did his best to take care of his new friend and make him comfortable, and soon he started building a new schoolhouse in the courtyard with dwelling rooms for Jones upstairs. This house was later taken from the missionary and given to the new queen Rasalimo when she arrived from Menabe in January 1823 (see chapter 3.2.1). Jones was very pleased with Radama's care for him this first year, even though he was longing for a return to Mauritius to catch several things left behind there, as he stated in a letter in the end of the year 1820.²⁰⁴ Jones used his time as "prisoner in friendship" well, and at the end of the bad season Hastie returned from Mauritius. He brought some Creole artisans as promised by Farquhar, and also a new missionary sent to replace the deceased family of Bevans. He was named David Griffiths and was going to be one of the most powerful and important missionaries in Madagascar until he was ordered to leave the country in 1840 as the last of them all. Both Jones and Griffiths came from Wales and they led the missionary work in a strong and consequent manner, which some English missionaries disliked very much, as I will show. When Jones left Antananarivo shortly after the arrival of Griffiths going back to Mauritius, he had two important aims for his short visit there: to be fitted out for a long stay - and to seek a bride.

3.1.3 Prince Ratefy and the Malagasy youths going to England

When Hastie left Antananarivo in November 1820, he brought with him several Malagasy youths together with Ratefy, the king's Brother-in-law. Ratefy (or Rataffe) was son of a former king in western Imerina, but when Andrianampoinimerina had occupied the whole Imerina, he arranged a marriage for the prince to unify the country, as Ratefy later says:

"- my wife Rabodosahondro is the eldest (child) of Andrianampoina, Radama's father, and of Rambolamasoandro, Radama's mother. I being the direct descendant of the principal chiefs of the western parts of Imerina and my wife, Rabodosahondro, the direct descendant of the Eastern part of Imerina and in order to unite the kingdom, the King Radama's father requested that we should marry - And my son was intended to succeed him to the throne".²⁰⁵

Ratefy was Radama's most confident and loyal friend and relative at that time, and he was chosen to follow the Malagasy youths who were sent to be educated in England, as confirmed in the renewed treaty. Travelling together with him was Andriamahazonoro, Radama's Antaimoro scribe, who could write down the results from the negotiations in England in the Malagasy language with Arabic letters (Sorabe). He had partaken in the negotiations in 1817 and 1820 and could be an important help for Ratefy in the political discussions he should undertake in England. Simon Ayache describes how important it was for Radama that Ratefy was allowed to go to England and meet the authorities, and

²⁰⁴ MA, HB-21, Extract of a letter from Jones to a friend at Port Louis, 30.12.20: "His Majesty is building a magnificent house for me in the court yard containing two stories high. He is going to fit up the lower part of it for the Royal School, which will contain nearly a hundred children & he is going to make my dwelling rooms upstairs. Here is also a house to be fitted up for the English Agent & another for his Secretary - there are about two hundred carpenters & stone hewers at work every day; and it is expected to be finished in six months, and will be more beautiful than any house ever built before in Madagascar (...) I remain very comfortable with Radama & would have been much more comfortable if I had come here immediately on my first arrival at Tamatave. - I want very much to return to Port Louis to fit myself better for remaining here constantly, as I took nothing with me in last September but what I thought was sufficient to serve me as a traveller going & returning to the place from whence I set out. The wants of many things which I left behind renders me a little uncomfortable - but I am obliged to put up as well as I am. The King says that I shall not return to the Mauritius on a visit even be the space of two years, and he will not be willing for me to go then but on a promise of returning again therefore I am a sort of prisoner in friendship, but not as a criminal to have my head cut off by his Majesty as it has been often told me concerning him. I am now no more afraid of having my head off with him than I was in my fathers house"

²⁰⁵ MA, HB-20, Rataffe to Colville, 28.08.28

especially that the king, through that would get assured that they would care for the treaty with great sincerity in the future:

*“Le premier choix significatif est celui du prince Ratefy, désigné pour conduire le groupe, et présenter, au nom de Radama, les neuf écoliers ou étudiants malgaches aux autorités anglaises et à leurs éducateurs: “Ratefy a tous égard est plus propre pour ce voyage (...) il est aussi le prince qui tient la première place de mon royaume, je n’ai pu mieux choisir que lui, lui seul connaît mes vrais intentions, il est aussi muni des mes pleins pouvoirs” Très précisément, le prince devra s’assurer de la sincérité anglais dans l’application future du traité. C’est pour être bien sûr que Ratefy pourra poursuivre sa route jusqu’à la cour de George IV, que Radama sacrifie, pour lui, l’un des “dix voyage” accordés”.*²⁰⁶

One half of the Malagasy youths were left in Mauritius to get instruction there when Ratefy and his followers left for England in the middle of January 1821. Farquhar then wrote to LMS asking the directors to help the government care for the young Malagasy and their needed education.²⁰⁷ Later he wrote a letter to Radama stating which vessel they travelled on.²⁰⁸

In England the travellers were received with much attention from the people and the newspapers and also from the highest political authorities. Farquhar later sent an article from Star Newspaper on the 20th of April 1821 to Hastie, telling him that the company had arrived in safety in London on the 14th of April. Asking him to transmit this news to the king, he proudly admitted:

*“It will be gratifying to King Radama to learn that those interesting strangers were received with the most marked attention by the highest public authorities in England - that Prince Ratafe was to be admitted to the presence of His Majesty, and that he and his followers appear to have enjoyed the most perfect health –”.*²⁰⁹

Prince Ratefy had a good stay in England, and the most important task for him was his admittance to the presence of the English king and his negotiations with the political authorities. He also saw the Malagasy youths well established in the school where they should make basic studies in English language and culture. When he returned together with his secretary, some new missionaries and missionary artisans followed the same vessel to Mauritius. They were ordered to wait on Mauritius for the good season, while prince Ratefy, who had been absent for more than one year and had important things to report to the king, was impatient and immediately set out for Antananarivo.²¹⁰ Farquhar sent a letter to Radama with him, telling him that the new missionaries and their luggage would require about 250 bearers from Tamatave around the 1st of May 1821.²¹¹

The good reception his envoys received in England - even with king George IV - certainly convinced Radama that the treaty he had entered with the British nation was a great step forward to be accepted amongst the powerful monarchs. This made him even more eager to keep the treaty and care well for his new friends, the missionaries. In some

²⁰⁶ Ayache: 1976, p. 70

²⁰⁷ LMS, Maur, 1.1.A, Farquhar to Burder, 03.01.21

²⁰⁸ Ayache, 1994, p. 77, quoting a letter from Farquhar to Radama, 20.04.21: *“The prince Ratafe (Ratefy) accompanied by his secretary Dremauzanouran, (Andriamahazonoro) Shermishe (Ratsiorimisa), Verkey (Ravarikia), Rolan Balan (Raolombelona), Coutamauve (Rakotomavo), Zafincarafe (Razafinkiarefo), Thotoos (Raombana), Volave (Rahaniraka), Rumboo (Ramboa), and Drinave (Andrianaivo) sailed from this place on the 16th day of January last on board a fine vessel, The Colombo, Captain William Ricardson, for London -”* (their real Malagasy name in parenthesis)

²⁰⁹ MA, HB-21, Farquhar to Hastie, 21.07.21

²¹⁰ LMS, Maur, 1.2.A, Farquhar to Hankey & Burder, 05.12.21: *“his impatience to return to his Country and communicate his reception in England, is beyond all conception great and he will therefore proceed.”*

²¹¹ MA, HB-21, Farquhar to Radama, 14.12.21: *“Prince Rataffe can inform you of all that has happened, and that we have here in readiness to join you several Missionaries & artificers who will proceed as soon as the season is favourable. The tools they have brought with them from England as necessary in their various Trades of Blacksmith, Carpenter, Weaver & Shoemaker, will require at least 250 Men to transfer them from Tamatave to your Capital, & I should recommend to Your Majesty that they may be in readiness to meet the Missionaries there on the 1st of May Next”.*

ways they were considered as a kind of envoys from the British nation, and the king was even willing to use armed force against his own people to make it clear that the protection he had promised to give them was absolute (see chapter 3.2.1). Promoting Radama's great expectations and hope, Farquhar concluded a long letter to him in the following manner:

"These are the means by which Madagascar will speedily become a great country - You are young enough to have the Glory of effecting this great change, and witnessing its happy accomplishment (---) and to leave it (the country) to your posterity united under one Dominion, with its inhabitants secure and happy, advanced to an equality with European Nations, and attributing all these blessings to your Majesty, whose name will live for ever in the recollection of Madagascar, as the Regenerator of your Country".²¹²

The Malagasy youths in England had different fates. Seven of them came from important nobles families in Madagascar, a fact that indicates that the king wished to build a group of well-educated nobles. The last two were not from the noble class, but Ratsiorimisa's father was in the wealthy middle class, and the youth had already some experience as a silversmith. The real outsider in the group was Ravarikia – or *Verkey* as the British usually named him. He had been a government slave on Mauritius and was sent to Madagascar with Captain Le Sage as interpreter. Le Sage left him there because it was deemed convenient for Radama to have a good interpreter when he had entered a Treaty of Peace with the British government, and Radama later redeemed him. Obviously, Verkey was allowed to join the group going to England because Prince Ratefy needed an interpreter, since neither the prince nor any other person in the group could speak English. Thus the conversations were held in French to be translated into English and Malagasy.²¹³

After finishing the primary school²¹⁴ the youths were placed in different towns to get the education asked for. The British government had asked LMS to organize their studies, which they willingly agreed upon since the government would pay all costs. Some of the youths were placed in government institutions while others got contracts of apprenticeship in private enterprises or societies. They were divided into three groups. Three of them were placed to learn the fabrication of canons, guns and gunpowder; three should study production of cloth, dyeing of woven material etc, and the last three should get a good general education to be able to help the king in his work when they returned. Ratsiorimisa (Shermishe) on his part was considered to be too old and unable to make the right progress and therefore it was decided to send him back with Prince Ratefy.

The most interesting of the students getting a general education were the twin brothers, named Totoos (the mouse) and Voalave (the rat). It is said that they were so small and weak when they were born that the parents gave them such ugly names to defend them from the influence of bad spirits, etc. When Radama ordered them to go to England they were only 12 years old, and their father protested vigorously against sending more than one of them. He tried to hide Tootos in a distant village and send his cousin instead of him, but when Hastie protested against that arrangement the king made investigations and Tootos was found and sent after the others joining them before they reached Tamatave.²¹⁵ After the primary school the twins were placed in Manchester on "Leaf Square Academy School" and got a profound Humanistic and Christian education.²¹⁶ That made them in some way English gentlemen, and although they

²¹² Ayache, 1994, p. 83, Farquhar to Radama, 20.04.21

²¹³ Ayache, 1976, p. 71

²¹⁴ Ayache, 1976, p. 80: All the students were placed at "Borough Road School" in London, 1821-1823.

²¹⁵ Ayache, 1976, p. 72

²¹⁶ Ayache, 1976, p. 83-87

returned to their home culture they retained most of the English culture and were able to shape the personalities of many of the youths in Antananarivo whom they educated, such as the heir Rakotodradama and other “up and coming men”.

After Radama’s death Queen Ranavalona I ordered all students and apprentices home, both from Mauritius, England and from the British navy. At that time the twins were in fact already on their way home as the last of the youths in England, because of their bad health.²¹⁷ After waiting some months in Mauritius for the good season, they reached Antananarivo in July 1829, and entered the work as secretaries, teachers and interpreters for the queen and the government. Soon they changed their ugly names – Totoos changed his name to Rafaralahy and shortly afterwards to Raombana, while Voalave changed his to Rahaniraka. The latter was Foreign Minister a short time before his death in 1863, while Raombana became the first Malagasy historian, leaving a great manuscript unpublished when he died in 1854.

Not all the students were as lucky as the twins, because sickness in the cold climate took heavy taxes. Raombana relates that the brothers Ramboa and Andrianaivo were condemned to the saddest fate:

*“- they are two brothers and they are also great nobles, being nobles from the District of Marovatana. The first one is to learn the business of musket-making at Birmingham, an He made great proficiency in the above art; but being deranged in his mind whilst learning the above business there, He was sent home and died on his arrival at Tamatave. His brother Andrianaivo, (Drinave) in conjunction with Rolan Balan who is also a noble learned to weave and Dye at Manchester, where he died after giving evident proof that he died a true Christian”.*²¹⁸

Andrianaivo had not been baptised before his death but Raombana’s testimony that he died as a true Christian points to firm evidence of his informal connexion to the Christian faith. He and his brother were never baptised but they joined the congregation in Griffiths’ chapel from 1831-1835, and they never returned to the pagan religion. Only two of the students were baptised in England: Verkey in London and Raolombelona in Manchester. On the other hand, also the missionaries professed that it was not necessary to be baptised to become a true Christian, when the baptism was prohibited in 1831 (see chapter 5.2.1.)

Raombana tells that Razafinkiarefo (Zafincarafe) studied the making of firearms 3-4 years but was hurt by «*an ulcer or lameness in one of his arms*». He was then sent home and arrived safely in Madagascar. Ikotomavo (Coutamauve) was not so lucky. After only half a year “*he was found to be ill on account of the climate of England not agreeing with him at all*”. He was transported on board a “Man of War” going to the Indian Ocean but died before they raised the anchor. He was then buried in England.

Ravarikia (Verkey) studied the production of gunpowder for some years, and returned in 1825 – attending the sick students Ramboa and Razafinkiarefo on the journey. Verkey got important jobs at home and we will later meet him both as interpreter and as producer of gunpowder. In a letter he sent to the directors when he reached Mauritius he used very Christianised language with a lot of quotations from Holy Scripture.²¹⁹ But being back in Antananarivo he was not so eager to attend the Sunday worship, and the missionaries soon criticized him. The same was the case with Raolombelona. Obviously it could be more difficult to be a Christian in a pagan society than in England. When the Christian faith was prohibited in 1835 they all had to conceal their faith, especially since they worked for the government and Queen Ranavalona I. But

²¹⁷ Ayache, 1976, p. 88

²¹⁸ Ayache, 1994, p. 73

²¹⁹ LMS, Mad, 2.2.A, Verkey to the LMS Board, 02.02.25

some of them made evident testimonies of their Christian faith, especially Razafincarefo and the twins.

It is evident that this sending of 9 youths to England was in many ways not very successful. Some of them died, and some got sick and returned without finishing the intended studies, and with the exception of the twin brothers, only Verkey had success in his business after the return. But on a political level the sending of those youths was important, because Radama got signals about his equality and importance when his students were received and paid for by the British government. This fact and the visit of his envoy Prince Ratefy in England were important for Radama's confidence in his new ally and shows that Radama wished to take control over the process in Madagascar. On the other side the British government succeeded in strengthening the fragile treaty after the re-establishing in 1820. LMS also obtained some benefit in caring for the studies for these youths, because that made them an important ally to both governments and gave them possibilities to influence those youths. Only two of the youths were baptised in England, but undoubtedly the impression made upon them was going to bear fruits later. And the receipt of the students in England probably improved the estimation of both the missionaries and other Europeans in Antananarivo.

The Malagasy youths who studied in Mauritius

As mentioned above some of the youths who followed Prince Ratefy were left in Mauritius to study there, and others were sent there later. They ventured into different apprenticeships but most important were perhaps those who studied music to form a military band for Radama. They had a lot of problems and were living quite uncomfortably in a military camp at Port Louis. In the HB-series in the Mauritius Archives there are a lot of letters concerning their health and living conditions etc. But when the musicians returned in 1823, they met the king at Ambohiboahazo²²⁰ near Foulepoint on Radama's campaign against the peoples of the eastern coast. Hastie arranged their secret arrival at the king's parade. Leguevel de Lacombe wrote about Radama's strong emotional reaction:

"As soon as Radama heard them, all his faculties seemed to be suspended and for several minutes he remained in a state of complete immobility, with his eye fixed, his neck stretched and his head bent on the side where the musicians were concealed. Suddenly, as if he had been dreaming, he put his hands on his brow and withdrew them almost immediately, giving a great shout, which startled us. This first explosion of pleasure was followed by dancing, shouts of laughter and tears which indicated to Hastie a complete success".²²¹

When the Music Band arrived in Antananarivo with the king after the campaign, the people assembled at Andohalo received them with joy when they played military marches and other band-music for the first time in the capital. Hastie later mentioned this in a letter:

"You will observe by my diary that Music had a powerful effect on the people assembled to receive Radama 1st January, it was the first time they ever heard a band. I send a Clarinet (one of seven made here since that period) as a specimen of the ingenuity of the Natives, will you have the goodness to show it to H.E., if it is found useful, I will send several".²²²

It is interesting that Malagasy artisans immediately proved their skill by making copies of some of the instruments. Several times we hear that the band always followed the king,

²²⁰ Ayache, 1994, p. 133

²²¹ Brown, 1978. p. 148

²²² MA, HB-5, Hastie to Cole's secretary, 22.04.24

and the king loved their music and thought that they lent lustre to him when they played “God save our gracious King” or other favourite pieces of music.

About 30 other youths were later placed on board an English ship of war to learn seamanship and navigation, a programme based on an agreement between king Radama and commodore Nourse when they met in Majunga during the campaign against Boina in 1824. Radama wished to build up a navy for himself, and Hastie argued that the government of Mauritius should lend a ship to him, and thus permit the king to be responsible for the control of the borders of the island. However, Ranavalona soon ordered all apprentices home when she came to power, because it was no longer thought convenient to get help from abroad and owe a debt of gratitude to another government.

The Artisans sent to Antananarivo

Another important point in the treaty was Farquhar’s promises to send some good artisans to teach the people of Imerina different European handcrafts and industry. One part of these promises supposedly should be fulfilled by LMS, but another part was due to the government of Mauritius. Therefore governor Farquhar sent some Creole or French artisans together with Hastie when he returned to Antananarivo in June 1821. He also sent a new missionary, David Griffiths, and a captain in the artillery, Mr. Douglas, who should visit Radama and encourage him to build up a modern army. Radama wrote back and thanked Farquhar especially for that last visit:

*“J’ai reçu vos lettre le 3 de ce moi. Elles m’ont été remise par votre agent Mr. Hastie qui est arrivé ici le 30 du moi dernier accompagné des Messieurs Douglas Capitaine & Gréfisse Missionnaire & des quatre personnes que vous avez eu la bonté d’encourager a monter voir mon pay”.*²²³

The governor promised those Creole artisans a monthly allowance until they were well established and able to live off what they were producing. At first there were 4 Artisans who arrived in Antananarivo, but others followed. We learn from a letter written by chief secretary Barry in 1822 that there were tree carpenters, a tailor and a tin man each getting 10 dollars per month, and a weaver getting 20 dollars per month.²²⁴ The king welcomed them heartily and placed apprentices under each of them to let his people learn the handcraft and industry of the Europeans. But not all of them worked successfully because it turned out to be difficult to earn enough money in a money-less country. Only the king, the few rich Malagasy and the Europeans could afford to use them, and when Farquhar left his duties and the governor who succeeded him was eager to cut down the allowances, some of them resigned.

Some of the Creole artisans caused the missionaries a lot of problems because they were not living according to the Christian moral code the missionaries wished them to. On the other side they were not connected with the mission and therefore the missionaries had no problems or costs if they did not succeed in their professions. It was much more difficult for the missionaries when some of the missionary artisans were unable to live off their work, because the mission was then forced to give them an allowance. Farquhar’s great idea had been that European industry and handcraft should give new income to the people and the king when the slave trade stopped, and Radama

²²³ MA, HB-21, Radama to Farquhar, June 1821

²²⁴ MA, HB-7, Barry to Hastie 28.03.22: “His Excellency having had under his consideration your letter under date the 22nd of March 1822, enclosing an Estimate for the Subsistence of the Mechanics who proceeded with you to Ovah last year, for a twelve month from the 1st May 1821, to the 30th of April 1822, viz, Louis Gros, Philadelphie Gabriel, Jean Sullien Carpenters, - Morillion Charles Tailor, & Louis Carvaille Tinman, at Ten Dollars each per month, and S.M.Saviney a Weaver at Twenty Dollars pr month, amounting per annum for the whole to Eight Hundred and Forty Dollars in Specie - I have the honor to inform you that H.E. has been pleased to approve thereof, and to authorize you to charge the amount annually in a contingent account, so long as the above mentioned Mechanics remain at Ovah on duty”.

had laid much prestige in those projects. Therefore many of them continued until his death, even though there were a lot of problems connected with some of them.

3.1.4 “Equivalent” of the treaty and the military campaigns against Menabe, the East Coast and Boina

Although the teaching of the people became the great subject in the negotiations between Radama and the British envoys in 1820, there was another part of the British help which was much more important both for Radama and Farquhar. This help did not need much time in the negotiations since the fulfilment of the treaty was completely dependent on the success of creating an army strong enough to subdue the coastal peoples and bring all Madagascar under Radama’s control. In chapter 2 I stated that Andrianampoinimerina only succeeded in bringing the neighbouring inland areas under his control, and even though Radama received his father’s ambitions, he soon found it impossible to realise them within his limited resources.

Impressed by the drill and precision of captain Le Sage’s soldiers, Radama asked for British help to build up a modern army. Two British officers were therefore left behind in Antananarivo in order to start instruction of Radama’s soldiers. Although the allowance from the government of Mauritius stopped as a consequence of the breakdown of the British-Malagasy cooperation, Sergeant Brady decided to continue his engagement with Radama. He was soon promoted the first general in Radama’s army and as such he visited Jones in Tamatave in April-May 1819, as I mentioned above.

Radama’s campaigns against the Sakalava kingdom of Menabe (1820-1822)

The king was always eager to encourage Brady’s training of his elite-corps of soldiers. When James Hastie and David Jones arrived in Antananarivo in 1820 those soldiers were an essential part of the welcome ceremony and Jones was really impressed by their military skill.²²⁵ But the military importance of this small elite-corps was not great in the first campaigns, and Brown evaluate the army thus:

*“The essential instrument of Anglo-Merina policy was the Merina army. By 1820 Brady had already trained a small elite corps to a high state of drill and discipline. The money, arms and uniforms supplied under the Treaty enabled this professional nucleus to be expanded. (---) But first there were some lessons to be learned in the use of this new force. At the outset it was envisaged as merely the spearhead of the old-style armed mob. In 1820 a large force, which probably included a few hundred trained soldiers was sent under Robin against the stubborn Sakalava king of Menabé, Ramitràho. After a prolonged but inconclusive battle, the Merina retreated in disorder”.*²²⁶

It is interesting to mention that Radama did not mention this defeat of his army in a contemporary letter to Governor Farquhar, but on the contrary boasted of victory everywhere and a great booty taken from the enemies.²²⁷ Farquhar also boasted of Radama’s victory in his answer, even he might have known that this campaign was not really a success. His great words about the king’s wisdom, power and great aims for his politics did not describe any good feelings or happiness amongst the subdued people, but were most likely used to press the king forward on the difficult way of subduing his stubborn neighbours:

²²⁵ LMS, Mad, Journals, 1, Jones, op.cit, 03.10.20: “I confess that I cannot describe in writing the order among such a number of soldiers under arms, (all going through their exercise by English commands) the music, the dancing – “.

²²⁶ Brown, 1978, p. 146

²²⁷ MA, HB-21, Radama to Farquhar 29.11.20: “P.S. Au moment ou je finis ma lettre j’apprend que l’arme que j’ai envoyé contre les Sakalaves ont battu partous ou ils ont passés et pris quatre vingt milles boeufs a l’ennemi.”

"I congratulate you upon the success of your arms in the west Coast of Madagascar for I am convinced that it will be a happiness to the countries whom you bring under your protection to enjoy the Government of so wise a Prince whose first measures will be to relieve the conquered from the horror of the slave traffic and to prevent it on all succeeding time over the whole of the vast Island".²²⁸

However, this defeat certainly provoked Radama to seek revenge and therefore he led a vast army of some 70.000 soldiers into Menabe the following year (1821).²²⁹ Raombana, on his side, relates that during the year 1821 no armies left Imerina because Radama was so deeply engaged in training his soldiers,²³⁰ but that must be an error like a lot of his statements about things that happened in the days of Radama when Raombana himself was in England. The campaign of 1821 ended in disaster, and at least 25.000 of the soldiers died, mostly from sickness and starvation.²³¹ When the army passed by the flat country of Mandoto they named many of the places there after what occurred to them. Some kilometres west of Mandoto centre, the road today climbs a hill named "Tsaramody" (Best to go home). The history of that name is connected with the return from the said campaign. The army camped on the top of the hill one night, and in the morning they found that many soldiers had starved during the night. Radama then asked the question: Shall we bury the dead, or go home? And the soldiers answered: It's best to go home, so that not all of us shall die by starvation (*"Tsara no mody, sao maty mosary isika rehetra"*) People told me that even today bones and skulls can be found on the place Radama's camp was situated - on the top of the hill still named "Tsaramody".²³²

During the time Radama and his great army explored the vast plain of Menabe in search of the evading enemy, the Sakalava king sent a lot of his own warriors up to Imerina to burn and plunder the villages, carrying the inhabitants off as slaves. In his journal concerning Radama's return from the campaign against Boina in 1824, Hastie speaks about this event at the time they returned from the western coast and travelled through the area west of Antananarivo – perhaps somewhere between Sakay and the capital:

"In 1821, whilst Radama was in Mainabay, a party of the Sakalaves of that place, plundered all this neighbourhood, and carried off most of its population, to which circumstance possibly in some measure, may be attributed the uncultivated state of the country at present."²³³

Late in 1821 Hastie commented on the disastrous campaign in a letter to Charles Telfaire, expressing a hope that Radama had really learned a lesson and was now convinced that he must change his strategy on essential points:

"The unreasoned intimacy existing between Radama & me, puts me in full possession of the exact situation, & the state of his affairs, & I possibly know him, at least as well as any other person whatsoever - There cannot be a doubt of His Excellency's measures relative to this country and particularly the selection of Radama as the engine of his laudable purposes, being perfectly correct, and the most certain means of effecting the grand object, Mr. Farquhar has in view. But there still remain a great deal to be done (---) Radama is now turned, and may easily be actually made, King of Madagascar, Tho' he in reality governs only a very small district indeed, at the present moment,

²²⁸ MA, HB-21, Farquhar to Radama, 14.03.21

²²⁹ Brown, 1978, p. 146: *"To avenge this defeat Radama, accompanied by Hastie, returned to Menabé in 1821 with a vast army of some 70.000 including a thousand professionals. Ramitrâho's skilful guerrilla tactics and scorched-earth policy led to enormous losses, mainly from disease and starvation, and Radama had to return without achieving any of his objectives."*

²³⁰ Ayache, 1994, p. 115

²³¹ Raison-Jourde, 1991, p. 117

²³² This history was told me by local people when I was working in that area in the middle of the 1970's

²³³ MA, HB-10.3, Journals, Hastie, 26.05.-02.11.24

'tis true that he has passed victoriously over large tracts of the Island, but he does not retain any force outside the boundary of Ovah, nor is he even acquainted with what passes, or the state of the country, at any great distance from the capital. - His revenue is very limited and collected from but a very small portion of the produce of the country, and the little he has is not well husbanded or expended. I know his disposition well and am confident that his inclinations are exactly such as may be turned to the best purposes, and finally make him a truly great King and a grateful ally to England.

Radama was certainly actuated by a hope of glory, in the conquest of Mainabay, yet his numerous undisciplined mob assembled against that district were collected under a hope of plunder, and tho' a law exists relative to the division of gain in warfare, it was so very poorly acted on, that it may be said that neither law nor order was observed on any occasion, and as there were no hired men and every person found his own provisions, so the King had neither profit nor command, and each individual pursued his own inclinations.

I feel pleasure in reflecting that my presence was not without some advantage and that Radama is now well convinced of the impropriety of the system that he has hitherto pursued. It is therefore next to certain that he will never assemble so unruly a body again. He is also aware that establishing a regularly disciplined force, can alone enable him to effect his great object (subduing the Island), and as a preliminary step to that object, I have represented to him the necessity of his securing the part which he already governs and habituating his troops to act like men when out of his presences, by which means he will be enabled to collect a sufficient revenue, to remunerate them for their services and have thereby an actual command over them".²³⁴

This letter shows that Farquhar still was far from realizing his great aim of making Radama a true ruler over the whole island. That problem was not only connected with the unsuccessful military campaigns, but perhaps even more with the extending of Radama's power over the subdued district outside Imerina. Up to that time Radama had neither stationed forces or administrators in areas outside Imerina nor received any revenues collected from them. Therefore he did not really govern more than Imerina. Now Hastie had explained to him that only if he would use disciplined forces, he would be able to remunerate them for their services and have thereby an actual command over them. By such means Radama could easily be made king of Madagascar, Hastie stated, even though he was far from that position in 1821. Nevertheless the king had learned a lesson, and from the counsels of Hastie he had derived some bright ideas about how he should change things in his favour. As a result, he changed tactics and during the next three years he was extremely successful in pursuing his aims. The first success was the subduing of Menabe in 1822:

"But the lesson had been learned. In the following year Radama led a much smaller army consisting only of trained troops, whose numbers had risen to 13.000 supported by 7.000 slaves to carry baggage and provisions. This force was able to move more rapidly and bring some of the Sakalava to battle. But the elusive Ramitràho continued to fade into the bush at the approach of the Merina troops, and Radama was again faced with serious supply problems. A diplomatic solution was suggested involving Radama's marriage to Princess Rasalimo, a daughter of Ramitràho, and the latter's acceptance of Radama's suzerainty. Peace was

²³⁴ MA, HB-21, Hastie to Telfaire, 08.10.21

*agreed on this basis and a string of Merina garrisons was left in southern Menabé and along the western plateau”.*²³⁵

The placing of Merina garrisons on strategically important places was a proposal of Hastie's that soon proved effective for governing the subdued areas. This strategy had been made possible by the work of the missionaries, because it was only the contacts by means of written reports and orders that enabled the king to place such garrisons in distant areas. The progress of the missionary schools very soon gave the king a corps of well-educated secretaries. Without that source it would have been impossible to build up his great kingdom, and therefore the missionaries played a key role in the Merina expansion. Already during the miserable campaign in 1821 Hastie stated that Radama had acquired some ideas about the usefulness of the arts of writing and reading.²³⁶

The campaign against the tribes at the eastern coast in 1823.

The control of the eastern coast of Madagascar was a key subject for the fulfilment of the promises given to the British government in the treaty. Only by subduing the whole island and taking control of all ports could Radama put an effectual stop to all exportation of slaves from Madagascar and also prevent the Betsimisarakas and Sakalavas on the northern part of the island from making their yearly raids against the “Island of Johanna” in the Comoro Islands (today's Anjouan), as specified in the treaty. This became even more actualised by the French re-establishing of their colony on St. Mary's Island in 1819. Sylvain Roux, former French governor of Tamatave, returned from France that year with some troops and colonists. But since Tamatave had come under the control of Radama he turned northwards to Foulpointe and Tintingue, making some agreements with local rulers there, and finally settled on St. Mary's Island. Another expedition took control of Fort Dauphin a little later.²³⁷ When Hastie made his investigations about the slave trade in Tamatave in 1820, he reported what Jean René told him about the French plans:

*“He then told me that the late Governor of Bourbon on the Establishing the Colony at St. Mary's after my leaving this place at general Hall's command in 1818, had an authorized Agent here who pointedly stated that he would renew the ancient commerce of the Island - this says Jean René was of course understood to be the Slave Trade”.*²³⁸

The French established contact with their former friends on the mainland of Madagascar and carried on the former commerce with them.²³⁹ Hastie later accused them of selling arms and stirring up petty wars among the peoples around Foulpointe and other places

²³⁵ Brown, 1978, p 146

²³⁶ MA, HB-21, Hastie op.cit, 08.10.21: “Radama now begins to feel the value of instruction & he already anticipates the pleasure of being acquainted with what occurs in distant districts by letters from the students of his family, who have made great progress under care of Mr. Jones, & affected by this hope he has promised me to give every encouragement to the Missionaries.”

²³⁷ MA, HB-5, Blevec. Le Commandant particulier des Etablissements Français à Madagascar, 19.08.23, Protestation: “Aussitôt que la paix heureusement rétablié entre les puissances Européennes eut permis au Gouvernement Français de tourner de nouveau ses vues sur Madagascar, un de ses premiers soins fut de se remettre en possession des droits qu'il avait autrefois exercés dans cette Ile et de replacer, au terme des traites, le pavillon de Sa Majesté très-crestienne sur les divers points qui avoient appartenu à France a 1er Janvier 1792; à cet effet, une expedition fut dirigée de la Métropole même sur la Côte Est de Madagascar, avec ordre d'y rétablir l'autorité de la France et dans le but special et hautement annoré(?) d'y préparer l'Etablissement futur d'une colonie. Cette expedition passa successivement par Tamatave et Foulpointe et viseta toute la côte jusqu'à Tintingue et St. Marie; elle répris solennellement possession de ces deux derniers lieux et annonca aux chefs et aux Naturels qui les habitaient l'arrivée prochain d'une expédition plus considerable (...) Presque dans le même têmes et pour completer ces mesures, le Gouverneur fut reprendre possession, au nom de Sa Majesté très-crestienne du Fort Dauphin et du St. Luce, et y placa une garnison qui y est encore entretenue.”

²³⁸ MA, HB-13.4, Hastie to Farquehar, 11.09.20

²³⁹ MA, HB-5, Blevec, op.cit. 19.08.23: “Dans cet état de choses, la France fidele à ses promesses fut occuper l'île St. Marie, la nation des Betsimissarrars réunie à la pointe à Larré dans un Kabar solennée, en l'absence de toute force militaire et de tout agent français, renouvela son sermet d'allégeance à Sa Majesté le Roi de France: le princes Tsifanin, Lass et Tsimarouvole et autres chefs de cette côte joignèrent leurs serments à ceux de leurs tribus, se placerent volontairement sous la protection de Sa Majesté T. C. et lui jorèrent obeissance et fidelité.”

under their influence. Such petty wars created a lot of prisoners of war, who were sold as slaves to the French on St. Mary's Island.²⁴⁰ This happened because the French tried for several years to carry on the trade in order to supply the colonists at Bourbon with the needed number of slaves for their plantations.

Hastie proposed that Radama should start some great cultivating projects at the eastern coast in order to supply Mauritius with rice and other products needed there, which would certainly augment the king's revenue a great deal.²⁴¹ To succeed with that project he invited Prince Rafaralahy or Rafaralahindriantiana (he was named Farla by the British) to go with him to Mauritius and stay there for some months. Rafaralahy was brother-in-law to Radama and one of his most important relatives, but he had strongly opposed the renewal of the Treaty:

"in wishing to get Farla to go with me, I am also actuated by a desire to get him into our interest, as tho' he originally approved of the treaty, he has been a strenuous opposer to the renewal of it, in consequence of the breach that occurred, & as the equivalent is not yet all paid I am desirous to remove him from exciting the people to murmur about it, and at the same time I expect to impress him with such a favourable opinion of the British constitution, as will make his interest of future advantage in effecting His Excellency's wishes".²⁴²

During prince Rafaralahy's stay at Mauritius, Farquhar convinced him about the blessings of the treaty and the necessity of starting such a project as proposed by Hastie. Back in Madagascar in 1822 Rafaralahy and Hastie obtained the king's permission to start the project, and when Radama left the capital on his final campaign against Menabe, Hastie and Rafaralahy went to the eastern coast with a troop of soldiers and about 2.000 men ordered to do feudal service (Fanompoana) and establish the said project.²⁴³ The project was placed in Foulpointe about 60 km north of Tamatave and was called "Mahavelona" (Giving life). The political tactic is quite obvious when we regard the placing of the establishment. Mr. Blevec, the new commandant at St. Mary's Island (replacing Sylvain Roux, who died 02.04.23) later protested vigorously against the Hova troops intervening in the affairs between the French establishment and the Betimisaraka people. And he protested especially against the Hova occupation of the former French establishment at Foulpointe, since they placed the camp just where the stone with the inscription about the French interests was placed.²⁴⁴ Placing the establishment in precisely that place was undoubtedly a real provocation, indicating that King Radama wished to chase the French out of the mainland.

²⁴⁰ MA, HB-5, Hastie to gov. Lowry Cole, 05.09.23: "Your Excellency should be acquainted that marauding and petty Wars were the great sources by which the Slave Market was supplied and the Slave dealers were always assiduous in furnishing the Natives with arms and ammunition to encourage them to continue these ruinous contests, it consequently became the paramount object of King Radama when he entered into the Treaty with the British Government for the abolition of the Slave Trade for exportation, to suppress the means by which the Market had been supplied, and he issued a Proclamation in October 1820, ordering an entire cessation of marauding and petty wars."

²⁴¹ MA, HB-21, Hastie op.cit, 08.10.21: "As the first advance to what he has approved of, I have described it requisite that he should occupy a part on the Eastern Coast & form such a settlement as will enable him to supply the Mauritius almost immediately & very soon produce cargoes of value for foreign exportation as such commerce will introduce to his country the articles which slaves have heretofore been exchanged for -"

²⁴² MA, HB-21, Hastie op.cit, 08.10.21

²⁴³ MA, HB-21, Hastie to Farquhar, 14.11.22: "I anticipate that the Commodore's (Nourse) report on the infant Establishment which he visited with attention will evince to Your Excellency that the counsels you were pleased to bestow on the Prince Farla during his visit to the Mauritius have been attended to & that a respectful feeling for the kindness he experienced will guide his conduct towards every Officer introduced by Your Excellency -"

²⁴⁴ MA, HB-5, Blevec, op.cit, 19.08.23: "Une nouvelle aussi invraisemblable fut accueillir d'abord avec défiance; on ne pouvait croire que le Roi des Hovas rompit ainsi, sans provocations et sans motif apparent les liens qu'avoient des longtems formés entre son peuple et les français, d'anciennes habitation de commerce et de constante rapports d'amitié. On ne pouvait d'ailleurs imaginer sur quel titre se fonderaient d'aussi étranges prétentions de la part d'un Gouvernement qui n'avoit jamais exercé soit directement soit indirectement les plus légers droits sur St. Marie, et dans l'absence de tout document officiel, on commençait à mettre au rang des fables un bruit si dénué de probabilité, lorsqu'on fut informé qu'un corps d'armée Hova venait d'entrer à Foulpointe, ancien chef-lieu des établissemens français à Madagascar, et avait établi son camp sur la pierre même où sont gravés les droits de la France."

On the other hand, the French pleaded for the re-establishing of their “historical rights” at east-Madagascar. They had planned to take a great part of the coast under the protection of King Louis XVIII, and the local chiefs were more than interested in such an arrangement because they were already scared of Radama’s occupation of Tamatave and his different proclamations as “King of Madagascar”. The French protest clearly pointed out that Radama never had possessed any power or rights in that area. Therefore they considered all claims from his side to be unjust and only founded upon the false title he had taken as “King of Madagascar”, and they made it clear that they would never recognise him as more than “King of the Hovas”.²⁴⁵ As I mentioned above, it was Hastie who proposed the project in Foulpoint to the king and later undertook it together with Prince Rafaralahy. Thus it is evident that Hastie had a political aim with this project besides producing food for sale to Mauritius. More important were the efforts to check the French interests in Madagascar – and Radama fully agreed with that aim.

Nevertheless, the French protestations were of no use when Radama in 1825 led his great army against the eastern coast. One part of the army was sent northward from Antananarivo under the command of Prince Ratefy to subjugate the tribes in the inland up to Vohemar (Vohimarina) on the northeastern coast. The other part of the army, led by the king himself, went firstly down to Manajary to subjugate the southern part of the Betsimisaraka areas and point out a place for another planting and industry project (sugar cane culture and Rum production). Everywhere the two armies ventured they forced the inhabitants to make their oath of allegiance to King Radama.

But the long journey with a great army through unknown terrain took more time than supposed, and this caused Radama to lose the great opportunity to meet his best ally, governor Farquhar. The governor, who was taking leave from his duty in Mauritius, had invited Radama to meet him in Tamatave in June when he was on his way home to England. But Radama did not reach that place in time, and the two allies, who had in a few years changed the history of Madagascar profoundly, were never going to meet each other. Farquhar gave his friend a last recommendation or political testament in a letter he left for him in Tamatave urging him to continue the path they had followed together, promising the help of the British navy and stating that the British nation now regarded him as “Sole Monarch of Madagascar”. In the same letter he mentioned how important the missionaries were for the great aim:

“Commodore Nourse who is commanding His Majesty’s Ships in these seas, will work together with you - and you will be seconded on all occasions by His Majesty’s Navy

(---) The British nations regard you as Sole monarch of Madagascar and claims no dominion or sovereignty over every part of your territory or subjects, nor does it acknowledge in any other European nation, the right to possess itself of, or usurp any power, over any portion of your dominions. I trust that your Majesty is sensible of the disinterested nature of our connexions, and that no other foreign nation will be allowed to affix that stain we have laboured so successfully to efface - but that you will regard with a watchful eye all attempts, which may be made against the independence & indignity of your power & dominions - or any efforts may be made to detach you from that alliance which subsist between your Majesty and our

²⁴⁵ MA, HB-5, Blevac, op.cit, 19.08.23: “En consequence le Gouvernement de St. Marie considérant que les injustes prétentions du Roi Radama ne reposent que sur un prétendu titre de Roi de Madagascar qui, n’étant fondé ni en droit ni en fait, ne peut être considéré que comme un véritable abus de mots qui ne saurait lui même constater un droit (...)

Proteste solennellement au nom de Sa Majesté Louis XVIII Roi de France et de Navarre et des Chefs malgaches ses vassaux, contre le prétendu titre de Roi de madagascar illégitimement pris par le Roi des Hovas, et contre toutes les consequences directes ou indirectes qu’il voudrait en faire resulter.

Déclare qu’il ne reconnaît au Roi de Hovas aucun titre à la possession légitime de quelque partie que ce soit de la côte Est de Madagascar. etc”

*gracious King. (---) Be careful of the Missionaries - show honour to their Chief Mr. Jones & cherish them all - increase their comforts and more will come to you".*²⁴⁶

Proud to see his visions on the path to fulfilment, Farquhar then returned to his home country, where he entered British politics for a few years – until he died in 1830.

Radama and Hastie went northward from Tamatave and visited the project "Mahavelona" in Foulpointe. Detachments of soldiers were sent in all directions to stop all the petty wars that flourished under the influence of the French colony at St. Mary's Island. Everywhere the inhabitants were induced to swear the oath of allegiance to Radama. Those expeditions to the different tribes and kings in the area enforced the protestations from the French government at St. Mary's Island, because their interests, which had already been badly insulted by the establishing of the project in Foulpointe, were now seriously undermined by the subduing of all their allies on the coast, who they considered as subjects of the French Majesty. They also remonstrated about the messengers saying that Radama considered all the French in Madagascar to be merchants under his authority, like the traders residing in Tamatave.²⁴⁷ Certainly Blevec had a historical point of view, stating that the "Roi de Hovas" had never possessed any sovereignty over that part of Madagascar, and that France in former days had great influence there. The French government therefore continued to insist on their claims in the great island up to the occupation in 1895.

The vigorous French protestation made a certain impression upon the new governor of Mauritius, Sir Lowry Cole, causing him to write to Hastie and order him not to involve the British government in the struggle between Radama and the French government.²⁴⁸ Although Hastie clearly had pushed Radama's expansive politics, he did not get involved in the political discussions between the two parties because Radama himself answered the said protestation with a pompous declaration:

"Nous Radama Manjaka, Roi de Madagascar.

Si quelque Chef des côtes du Madagascar seduit par un langage subtil, par les ruses et les promesses des agens ou préposés de la Nation française a pu prêter serment à cette Nation, lui offrir hommages et lui faire des concessions, il a agi contre toute autorité parce qu'aucune terrain de notre royaume ne peut être ni vendu ni concédé à des étranger, sans notre plaine autorisation et le consentement unanime des Princes soumis à notre royauté.

Nos vassaux et nos sujets ne reconnaissent donc à la France aucune droit imprescriptible et valable, aucune titre légitime sur l'établissement d'une colonie

²⁴⁶ MA HB-21, Farquhar to Radama, 02.04.23

²⁴⁷ MA, HB-5, Blevec to Rafaralahy, commandant in Foulpointe, 19.08.23; protestation which should be sent to Radama: *"Telle était la situation des choses, lorsque de nouvelles insultes commises sans provocation, sans prétexte et avec tous les caractères d'une hostilité ouverte, sont venues avertir le Gouvernement de St. Marie que le tems de la modération était passé. Une troupe indisciplinée à parcouru toute la côte sous le commandement de Ramananoloun; elle a dispersé, égorgé ou réduite en esclavage au nom de Radama, les Betsimissaracs sujets de Sa Majesté T.C. (Tres-Creتيenne) elle à incendié leurs villages, pillé leur propriété et pour que rien ne manquat a l'hostilité d'une telle conduite, leur Chef n'a pas craint d'attenter à la propriété du Gouvernement français et de faire enlever ou tuer de nombreux tropeaux faisant partie de l'approvisionnement de St. Marie, malgré les réclamations de l'agent à la garde duquel ils étaient confiés, enfin, joignant l'insulte à la violence, il n'a pas craint de faire dire au commandant de St. Marie que lui et ses soldats ne devaient se considerer que comme des marchands établis à St. Marie sous l'autorisation de Radama et y commercant aux conditions qu'il lui plairait de prescrire. (...) Proteste solennellement au nom de Sa Majesté Louis XVIII Roi de France et de Navarra et des Chefs malgaches ses vassaux, contre le prétendu titre de Roi de madagascar illégitime-ment pris par le Roi des Hovas, et contre toutes les consequences directes ou indirectes qu'il voudrait en faire resulter. Déclare qu'il ne reconnait au Roi de Hovas aucun titre à la possession légitime de quelque partie que ce soit de la côte Est de Madagascar.*

Proteste contre toute occupation faite ou à faire des points de cette côte dependantes de Sa Majesté T.C.

Proteste en outre contre toutes concession qu'on pourrait ou qu'on aurait pu extorquer aux divers Chefs malgaches qui se font reconnues dépendantes de Sa Majesté T.C., concessions qui seroient évidemment l'ouvrage de la séduction ou de la violence, et qui en admettant même qu'elles fussent volontains, ne pourraient annuler les déclarations anterieurs des même Chefs, ni à plus forte raison, les droits anciens et imprescriptibles de la France

²⁴⁸ MA, HB-5, Cole to Hastie 20.10.23: *"With regard to the misunderstandings between Radama and the French settlement at St. Mary's, you must be cautious not, in any way, to commit His Majesty's Government".*

dans nos états, attendu que jamais aucune puissance étrangère les a subjugués, que jamais ils n'ont prêtés des sermens d'obéissance, de fidélité et de soumission qu'à Moi seul, La France n'est que notre alliée nous ne prétendons nullement de l'attaquer, tout hostilité est loin de notre pensée –"²⁴⁹

Raombana relates that the king laughed heartily when he received the protestation with the boasting French words, stating that France would be compelled to wage wars with him if he continued to provoke them.²⁵⁰ Compared with the text of the quoted protestation we find that Raombana also recounted an imprecise version of the story here, probably passed on to him by some of the officers.

Marching northward from Foulpointe, Radama and Hastie met with representatives from the British navy who pretended to take an active part in the battle of Madagascar. Last year Farquhar had sent commodore Nourse to meet Hastie and Rafaralahy at Foulpointe recommending that they use the navy in future campaigns.²⁵¹ Now Captain Moorsom, who was in command of His Majesty's Frigate "Ariadne", met the army in Mananara (Bay of Atongile). He invited Radama and his staff on board ship, and it was decided that Radama with a suite should follow the "Ariadne" for a stretch, while the army followed him ashore. Raombana, calling the port Vohibinany, says that:

*"the officers and soldiers remonstrated with Him about his sailing in the vessel of war, because they thought that He and his followers might be seized and then ironed by the English and sold as slaves in some unknown land"*²⁵²

Again Raombana's story is imprecise and other sources state that Radama went on board with great pleasure on the next day with a suite of 140 persons, and sailed northward for one day to Maroansetra. The army marching ashore used about a week to reach the same place.²⁵³ From Maroansetra the army marched northwards while they continued to send detachments of soldiers to different areas along the route, inducing the inhabitants to swear the oath of allegiance to Radama.

Arriving in Sambava the army met with one of those detachments, commanded by general Ramanetaka. Then some questions were raised about punishing some officers who had run away from the fighting. Wishing his soldiers to be invincible, Radama had passed a military law saying that every officer or soldier who fled for an enemy should be burnt alive. That law was a terrible threat to the army and made the men fight with desperate bravery, knowing that if they tried to escape from the battle, they would face a worse fate.²⁵⁴ In Sambava two sergeants were accused, and everybody cried for their condemnation. The king had already agreed to that when Hastie told him that in the civilised nations nobody should be condemned without a trial. Radama consented to that and some officers were chosen to form a tribunal. After that procedure only one of the sergeants was condemned and burned alive.²⁵⁵

The army had taken about 1600 prisoners of war during the campaign. Such prisoners were usually brought back to Imerina, reduced to slavery and sold. But next

²⁴⁹ MA, HB-5. Radama's proclamation, 04.09.23

²⁵⁰ Ayache, 1994, p. 133 – 137

²⁵¹ MA, HB-7.2, Farquhar to Hastie, 24.10.22: "This letter will be delivered to you by Commodore Nourse C.B. and Commander in Chief of all His Majesty's Ships and Vessels employed or to be employed on this station. You will therefore receive him with that Consideration which is due to his high Character & rank in His Majesty's Service and communicate with him frankly and freely and without reserve on all points relative to the abolition of the slave traffic and the extension of British influence in Madagascar –"

²⁵² Ayache, 1994, p. 139

²⁵³ BAM, 1918-1919, Tome IV, p. 160: Hastie's journal, 25.09.23

²⁵⁴ Ayache, 1994, p. 95-99

²⁵⁵ BAM, 1918-1919, p. 170: Hastie, op.cit, 20.10.23: "J'ai prié le roi de me permettre de lui faire connaître la procédure habituelle des Nations civilisées dans des cas de ce genre. Je lui donnai à entendre que, à titre de roi et de père de son peuple, il devait employer tous les moyens dont il disposait pour protéger ses homes contre la fureur populaire, considerer comme innocents ceux qui n'avaient pas encore été prouvés coupables et leur donner tous les moyens possibles de témoigner de leur innocence".

day in Sambava Radama asked the representatives from the different subdued districts who followed him to point out those who had been made prisoners without fighting with weapons against his army. About ¼ were thus released from slavery. Many others were stated to be fugitives, and not really from areas opposing Radama's authority. The king then consented to release them if they could pay 3 dollars each. But a lot of them could not raise the needed money and were left as prisoners. Hastie, unhappy with that fact, intervened again, telling the king that he felt it unjust to reduce poor people to slavery while rich people were set at liberty. The king then changed his orders, setting all the prisoners free and repaying the 3 dollars to those who had paid for the liberty the former day. Many cattle were restored to their owners.²⁵⁶

These stories have some very important consequences. Firstly, King Radama showed a new attitude against the people of the subdued areas. In former days the army was often more concerned about taking slaves and booty from the areas they were fighting against than truly extending the king's power. Now Radama changed that radically: should he be "Sole Sovereign" for the whole island, he could not take anything from his new citizens – neither slaves nor booty. Hastie later boasted that in 1823 and 1824 not a single slave was brought back to the capital.²⁵⁷ This fact made it much easier for the people in distant provinces to accept the submission under Radama. Up to the revolts in different districts after Radama's decision in August 1824 to collect all firearms from the inhabitants, Radama tried to act like a father against all the people in the subdued districts. This fact is quite contrary to the image given by Raombana, who blamed the king for great cruelties against the subdued people from the days he entered the treaty with the British.²⁵⁸ Although it is certain from the contemporary reports that nobody was taken prisoner or made slaves during the great campaigns in 1823 and 1824, that may possibly have changed during the different rebellions after that time, because the king used harsh repression against those who stirred rebellion against his rule. On the other hand, many stories about cruelties against the provincial people may certainly be true, but most of them did not happen during Radama's reign, but after the great changes in 1828. Secondly, we learn from these stories that Hastie several times dared to intervene publicly and force the king to change his orders, and I will discuss this important observation in chapter 3.3.3.

The army proceeded along the coast up to Vohémar (Vohimarina). Raombana states that Radama continued to Diego Suarez to meet the army under Prince Ratefy's command, but he certainly made another error²⁵⁹ because Hastie's official report from the campaign shows that it was in Vohémar the king met with the other army. Ratefy reported to the king that most of the areas visited by them had submitted peacefully except the northern part of the Antsihanaka province. On the other hand the Tsimihety and Antankarana peoples had made no resistance. General Ratefy also reported that he had made an attack on a part of the Sakalava kingdom of Boina and taken a lot of slaves, cattle and other booty there. All these things were placed in a safe place with a strong guard.²⁶⁰ Ratefy's statement was bad news for Radama, because he just had planned to try to make the kingdom of Boina submit peacefully, and he had already spoken to

²⁵⁶ BAM, 1918-1919, p. 170: Hastie, op.cit, 21-22.10.23: "On signala la chose à Radama et on lui fit comprendre que c'était l'infortune et non la faute de ces prisonniers qui lui condamneraient à soupirer dans l'esclavage, et qu'ils n'étaient pas coupables de crimes envers lui (...) On lui fit ensuite remarquer qu'il serait très inopportune de sa part, comme roi, de se laisser influencer par des considérations pécuniaires lorsqu'il rendait la justice (...) Ces remontrances eurent les résultats les plus heureux: Radama, à son grand honneur, donna l'ordre que tous les prisonniers qui étaient hommes libres fussent rendus à leur condition etc."

²⁵⁷ MA, HB-5, Hastie to Cole, 10.12.24: "there were not a single individual reduced to slavery during the two last campaigns –"

²⁵⁸ Ayache, 1994, p. 113-115 and also other places

²⁵⁹ Ayache, 1994, p. 141

²⁶⁰ MA, HB-10.2, Hastie's journal 08.09.23 – 01.01.24. Raombana is again making an error when stating that this booty was taken from the Betsimisaraka tribes (see: Ayache, 1994, p. 141)

Captain Moorsom about asking Commodore Nourse to make a visit to Bembetook (Majunga) to try to induce the king of Boina to accept such an agreement. The taking of slaves and other booty was also contrary to Radama's new policy just entered into in Sambava, which aimed to maintain good terms with all submitted peoples by giving them equal rights as the citizens of Imerina. Ratefy's raid was therefore ridiculous to the king, who blamed him and degraded him and some of his officers of one of their military Honours.²⁶¹ But Ratefy was still kept in command of the one part of the army. He was ordered to march southwards along the eastern coast to see if all were quiet in the subdued areas, and he should continue as far as Vohipeno and take the oath of allegiance from all peoples who had not yet taken it.

After placing a garrison in Vohémar, Radama and Hastie marched westwards with the army and then turned southwards along the western coast. Reaching the border of Boina, they went inland again pursuing the route of Ratefy. They had two reasons for taking that path. Firstly, Radama wished to restore peace with the Sakalava people of Boina. After sending messengers to king Andriantsoly (named Andrian Soul by the British) to beg forgiveness and propose to restore all the booty and slaves taken by General Ratefy, he went to the place where Ratefy had placed all the prisoners and booty. His proposal was received with joy from the Sakalava people, and peace was restored for that year. Secondly, Radama had decided to attack those people who had made strong resistance against Ratefy. In the Anosy region the Antsihanaka people had retired to an island in Lake Alaotra where they thought they would be safe from every attack. But with the help of canoes and rafts, the soldiers managed to take the island. The defenders were punished, and the whole region submitted to Radama. Returning to Antananarivo the 2nd of January 1824, the king was received with triumph.

The British Navy made diplomatic pressure against the King of Boina

After following Radama's army along the eastern coast, the British "Men of War" were bound to go back to Cape Town, where they were stationed during the hurricane season. According to the agreement with Radama, they visited Majunga on their way home trying to make a diplomatic arrangement with King Andriantsoly in the name of Radama. It was important for the British government to secure change in Boina, because most of the Arabic slave trade to and from Madagascar was through that province. Therefore they had several times mentioned this item to Radama. In 1823 Hastie was instructed by the Home government through the new governor to talk with the king again and persuade him to carry out a campaign against Boina in the next good season:

"His Majesty's Sloop Delight (---) being about to proceed to Madagascar, I am to acquaint you that the Right Honorable the Secretary of State has had under consideration the Instructions furnished to you by Sir Rob. T. Farquhar, and has directed that I should especially call your attention to such part of them as relate to Bombetooka. (---) I request, therefore, that you will endeavour to impress this point on the mind of Radama, and urge him to the fulfilment of His Lordship's suggestion".²⁶²

This pressure from the highest British authorities suited Radama well, because Boina was the last strong independent kingdom in that part of the island. But knowing that it would be a hard task to subdue that kingdom by military force, he was glad for the proposed help from the British Navy. Commodore Nourse entered the harbour of Majunga with several ships in the beginning of December 1823. He called a meeting (or

²⁶¹ Ayache, 1994, p. 141. This fact is confirmed by others, see MA, HB-19, Lyall's Journals No. 6; 10.10.28

²⁶² MA, HB-5, Cole to Hastie, 20.10.23: The name Bombetooka or Bembetoka etc. was the name of the famous Queen Ravahiny's capital. Now it was reduced to a small village and the king resided in another place. The British still used this name for the whole region, while others usually talked about Boina. Majunga was the greatest harbour in the region.

Kabary) where representatives from King Andriantsoly met him on the 2nd of December 1823. Nourse stated that he was willing to mediate between King Andriantsoly and Radama to prevent bloodshed, and he proposed that Andriantsoly should hoist Radama's flag and salute it with guns as a token of respect for Radama and his supremacy over Boina. After long discussions, the meeting decided that Nourse should send a delegation to the king's residence one day's journey up the river Betsiboka.

Next day Captain Robert Hay from "H.M.Sloop Delight" and two officers formed the delegation that was sent to the king. When they arrived at the king's residence after a four hours march from the river, they had to wait for a long time while the king discussed Nourse's proposal with his counsellors. In the evening some of the counsellors came to the British delegation asking about the consequences of the hoisting of Radama's flag, and they concluded:

"That if the king hoisted Radama's Flag he would do so solely on account of the English Mediation, as he held the power of England in the highest Estimation, and would acknowledge Radama's superiority from no other Nation whatever. That as to Radama, he had sent him open Defiance, and his Troops were now collecting on the Frontiers to resist him, every man of whom would shed his last drop of Blood rather than yield. That the intervention of the English at this critical juncture, "Was like a Messenger from Heaven", as nothing but his Esteem for our Nation would make him do a thing he was ashamed of, and that it will be with burning Cheeks when he sends the order of recall to his Troops who has sworn to support him to the last, or die in his Cause. - That he felt himself the injured Person during all the contests between him and Radama, the latter having broken the Pacific Treaties which had existed for a length of time. (---) That he would have declared War before this, had he not known that Radama was coming to attack him, and that if the English Ships had arrived a few days later they would not have found a man in this part of his dominions".²⁶³

Next day the "Kabary" was summoned and Andriantsoly's Arabic counsellor, Mousadbey, opened the meeting by relating what Commodore Nourse said in Majunga. Then captain Hay was allowed to explain the case:

"I explained England having abhorrence of the Slave Trade, and having expended great sums of Money to put an end to it, had entered into a Treaty with Radama, who calling himself King of all Madagascar engaged to discontinue the traffic in slaves of that Island.

That although he was not then in possession of the whole Island, he soon would be, and that he would ensure the observance of the treaty in every part of it - That Commodore J.N. (---) finding Bembatocka a strong and independent Country though in his opinion not able to Cope with the great Force of Radama, and looking with an Eye of Pity on the horrors of war between two rival countries, had offered his Mediation with Radama to arrange it amicably, if possible. (---) The King replied that having always considered himself equal to Radama he wished to know how the latter could be King of all Madagascar, and whether he was made so by the English? I answered that he sign'd himself as such, and we believed him.

The King then enquired if the English could not receive him as a friend, and acknowledge him king of his own country, having always been Radama's equal and having no dread of his power. I replied that we came only as Mediators between him and Radama, and that our Wish was to prevent Bloodshed. (---) The King then added that knowing the great power of the English Nation he would

²⁶³ MA, HB-5, Hay to Nourse, 08.12.23

*(solely) on account of their being Mediators hoist Radama's Flag and send Deputies to his Capital, "as the English Nation never told a Lie" and he would take no other Nations Word - hoping that we should have no cause to complain of the want of good faith in Radama who seemed to be taking advantages of our good Officers in his favour with no other guarantee than his Word, which they themselves would not trust to".*²⁶⁴

Radama's flag was then hoisted and saluted with 21 gunshots before the British delegation returned to Majunga. Captain Hay's report clearly shows that it was not by some trickery Andriantsoly was persuaded to hoist Radama's flag, as one writer has argued,²⁶⁵ but by arguments of brutal force from the British navy – the only power feared by the Sakalava. The capitulation of Andriantsoly signalled that he had no confidence in Radama, but knowing the British power he agreed, hoping they would be a guarantee for the conditions of the surrender "*as the British Nation never told a Lie*". This expressed condition for the submission later became a disgrace to the British nation because they could not honour the guarantee since the new Malagasy government did not care about British counsels or mediating any more. Commodore Nourse immediately wrote a report to Hastie, begging him to transmit the news to Radama:

*"I do myself the honour (---)to acquaint you that I have made known the sentiments of King Radama to the King of Bembatooka, who is pleased to say that it is at the instigation only of the English that he is induced to accept the offer made to him by King Radama of entire protection to the people of Bembatooka, and that their persons and property shall be considered sacred if they will acknowledge allegiance to him & remain at peace in their possessions. The King of Bembatooka hoisted King Radama's Flag and saluted it with 21 Guns in the presence of Captain Hay and two of his Officers, and promises to send deputies to his Capital".*²⁶⁶

Receiving this letter in Antananarivo 11.04.24, Hastie wrote an answer informing him that Radama was thankful for the good news and agreed to meet Commodore Nourse and the British navy in Majunga in the middle of July 1824.²⁶⁷

The campaign against Boina in 1824

King Andriantsoly sent his deputies to Radama as he had promised to commodore Nourse. Different reports show an uncertain young king without the required authority over his people. Being the grandson of the famous Queen Ravahiny (who died in 1808) he was made king in 1822 when his father died. Soon afterwards he provoked a great part of the Sakalava people of Boina by converting to Islam. Led by his Arab counsellors, his policies failed to unite the kingdom in this critical juncture of history. The deputies from Andriantsoly arrived in Antananarivo in April, and Radama repeated the conditions for their submission, especially his laws concerning the slave trade.²⁶⁸ Knowing that he still had to arrange a lot of things there, Radama gathered his army and marched against Boina with 4 battalions the 29th of May 1824. Nobody opposed the great army, and on the 27th of June they were within 10 miles of the king's residence, Andoany. (The Sakalava word "Doany" means capital, and the capital at that time was Mahitsipanjara). Hastie was then allowed to go on a parliamentary mission ahead of the army, but he could only state that King Andriantsoly had left the town. Radama's flag was still hoisted at the king's

²⁶⁴ MA, HB-5, Hay op.cit, 08.12.23

²⁶⁵ Brown, 1978, p.149: "By combining a show of force with some blatant trickery, Nourse persuaded Andriantsoly to salute a flag which turned out to be Radama's flag, so that the king appeared to be recognising Radama's authority"

²⁶⁶ MA, HB-5, Nourse to Hastie, 08.12.23

²⁶⁷ MA, HB-5, Hastie to Nourse, 11.04.24

²⁶⁸ BAM, 1918-1919, Hastie, op.cit, p. 187, 03.07.24: "qu'il avait répété lui-même le texte de ces lois aux ambassadeurs qu'Andriantsoli avait envoyés aux Hovas en Avril dernier –"

residence,²⁶⁹ but all the people had left the capital, except a few persons engaged in evacuating the storage of gunpowder.

When Radama arrived in the capital Hastie again proposed to go ahead of the army to assure all the people that the king would respect their interests. Radama consented to that plan and Hastie went ahead of the army in search for Hussein, the governor of Majunga. In a note sent to Governor Hussein he expressly presented himself as “British agent but bearer of a message from king Radama”.²⁷⁰ Next day Hastie met the old governor at his residence outside the town, and tried to persuade him to submit peacefully to Radama. But the old man interrupted his explanations about Radama’s peaceful intentions, saying he had decided to make resistance against Radama, and he declared that all forces in the region were at his disposition. He begged for 5 days to prepare, which Hastie could not allow him. After several attempts at mediation between the governor and the king, Hastie witnessed the musket firing when Radama’s soldiers attacked the governor and his defenders and killed the stubborn old man who would not accept Radama as his sovereign.²⁷¹ After the death of Governor Hussein, Radama’s army met no more resistance in Boina. Raombana is responsible for a new error when he relates that only two or three thousand soldiers followed Radama, and that several battles were fought before the army could arrive at Majunga.²⁷² In fact the army might have consisted of 12-15.000 trained soldiers – a force nobody in the island could make much resistance against.

Radama then sent Hastie together with the generals Ramanetaka and Ramena into the town of Majunga. At their approaching the town people shouted: “We are Hovas, we are the subjects of Radama”, and they repeated the same shouts when the king entered the town. Radama made a great speech telling them that all the people who obeyed his orders would be allowed to live in peace and do their business as usual, except the slave trade, which was forbidden by him.²⁷³ Hastie states that the town had about 22.000 inhabitants and was certainly one of the greatest towns in Madagascar at that time. But Radama soon left Majunga and moved to Marovoay, where rice and other necessities for his great army were abundant.

In the following days Hastie entered some hot discussions with the king about his policy in different matters. Firstly, they discussed whether the importation of African slaves was prohibited by the treaty or not, and Radama, who at first thought the importation to be free since that would not depopulate his country, was forced to accept Hastie’s statement that the spirit of the Treaty certainly prohibited it. Secondly, Hastie remonstrated against the king because he had announced he would give a reward to those who could lead his soldiers to King Andriantsoly’s hiding place. Hastie declared that the civilized people would certainly have acted otherwise, giving a beaten king asylum and a pension, and not treat him as a criminal.²⁷⁴ After considering the situation, the king altered his orders, and Hastie got three days to find King Andriantsoly and bring

²⁶⁹ BAM, 1918-1919, Hastie, op.cit, p. 181-82, 27.06.24: “*étant à moins de dix milles de la ville principale de Boïna je suis parti de bonne heure, accompagné de 10 soldats et de 4 indigène du pays; nous avons traversé le Marovoay au lever du soleil et sommes parvenus à Andonany la capitale, à 8 heures. Porteur d’un drapeau blanc, je me suis avancée et j’ai constaté que le drapeau remis par le Commandant Nourse au nom de Radama avait été hissé dans la cour du palais. (...) – me dit qu’Andriantsola était parti avec deux Ngaramaso (c’est le nom que les Boïna donnent aux Blancs). Ceci se passait hier à midi (Footnote to the text: “Le mot Doany en Sakalava signifie le lieu de la résidence du roi. A cette époque la capitale du Boïna était Mahitsipanjara”).*”

²⁷⁰ BAM, 1918-1919, Hastie, op.cit, p. 182, 29.06.24: “*Monsieur Hastie, Agent Britannique, a l’honneur de présenter ses hommages au Commandant en Chef de Majunga et de l’informer qu’il est chargé par le roi Radama d’une mission pacifique. –*”

²⁷¹ BAM, 1918-1919, Hastie, op.cit, p. 183-85, 30.06 – 01.07.24

²⁷² Ayache, 1994, p. 147

²⁷³ BAM, 1918-1919, Hastie, op.cit, p. 185-87, 02.07.24

²⁷⁴ BAM, 1918-1919, Hastie, op.cit, p. 187-90, 03.07-05.07.24: “*Il serait tout à fait conforme aux usages de peuples civilisés, que Radama déclarait vouloir imiter, qu’Andriantsoli fût traité en prince vaincu et que, après avoir abdiqué son pouvoir et abandonné ses sujets, il recut un asile et une pension au lieu de voir sa tête mise à prix comme s’il n’était qu’un vulgaire assassin.*”

him to Radama. Some days later Hastie proposed to the king to let the people of Boina pay 10 % taxes on what they produced like the people of Imerina. Approving this as a compensation for the costs of his campaign, Radama put it in force after a few days discussion with his counsellors. Later Hastie also proposed that Radama should take in all firearms from the Sakalava people. From all these cases and others too, we can state that Hastie was very active in forming Radama's policy. Most likely this was a growing problem that created suspicions and discontented feelings in the king and his counsellors, as will be discussed in chapter 3.3.3.

To solve the problems with King Andriantsoly, Hastie set out with only a few attendants together with three ministers of the Sakalava king. Going by canoes to different small islands in the Majunga bay, they found the king in a small village named Ankabaka. Hastie used a lot of arguments to show Andriantsoly that the only thing he could do now was to submit peacefully to king Radama:

"I told him that it was incumbent on me to tell him, that tho' born to title, to honour, & to command, he had by revoking his own deed, abandoning his subject, & seeking personal safety by flight, forfeited every claim that he had inherited by birth, & that he was now entirely dependant on Radama, as the utmost that I could obtain in his favour from the King, on commencing this negotiation, was a promise of security for his person, therefore behoved him to pursue with readiness such proceedings as Radama should point out, as the sure means of entitling him to consideration (---) The ministers said I had given him good counsel, Radama was not to be trifled with - He (---) asked Bonomarie what he was to do - the old man spoke a few words in a low tone, on which Andrian Soul said that he would be guided by me, & send his ministers with me to the King, to reassure him of his respect - & at the same time solicit permission for an interview - On these conditions I agreed to wait for the old men until sunset, & wind & tide being favourable we reached Majunga at 3 o'clock in the morning, when I found that the scarcity of provisions had occasioned Radama to move up on the eastern bank of the river".²⁷⁵

Hastie's arguments persuaded Andriantsoly to come to Radama's public meeting or "Kabary" in Marovoay on the 3rd of August 1824 to show his submission to Radama and to swear the oath of allegiance to him. Radama had also expressed a wish that Andriantsoly's aunt Ratarats and his sister Ranantetra should follow him to the meeting, but only his aunt was able to come. Having reported the result of his efforts to Radama Hastie was sent back to Andriantsoly and he acted as mediator between him and Radama until they met in Marovoay, and also afterwards. Some of the ministers of Andriantsoly helped him in that profession, most of them being Antalaotra or Arab people, whom Hastie called "Moors".

Receiving a letter from Commodore Nourse on the 22nd of July intimating his arrival in Majunga, Hastie soon went to see him. Finding that Radama and Hastie had already succeeded in subduing the whole region of Boina nearly without use of force, and therefore were not in need of help from the British navy any more, Nourse invited Radama to visit him in Majunga, which he willingly agreed to. The visit took place in town on the 25th and 26th of July:

"Commodore Nourse having been pleased to direct that some of the boats of the squadron should proceed to Ambatoulampa, & that Radama should be offered a passage in his Barge, (---) Radama was received on board the barge, at 7 o'clock & his staff attendants & band accommodated in other boats, the King was highly pleased at the attention thus paid him, & particularly so by the honour done him,

²⁷⁵ MA, HB-10.3, Hastie's journal 26.05 - 02.11.24; date 12.07.24

by Captain Chapman; he landed at Majunga at 10 o'clock and Commodore Nourse accompanied by some officers waited on him at two.

After friendly salutations the Commodore explained that in consequence of the very gratifying reports that he had heard of Radama, it had for some time been his desire to have a personal interview with him, (---) then reverting to the success of all Radama's undertakings, recommended him to continue the system which he had pursued, & which had led to such happy results, & he particularly advised Radama to give due consideration to every circumstance connected with the advancement of commerce, as he had already established his power so firmly by his conquests, & due administration of laws, as well as by the decided superiority which a powerful disciplined army gave him, that he is now well entitled to consider & report himself Sole master of the Island, in which character, he would certainly be authorized to invite people of every nation to visit his country, on lawful commercial pursuits.

Radama replied, that in the early part of his life, he was in a state of darkness, his forefathers whom it was his duty to look up to with respect, were entirely unacquainted with the proceedings of the world, & consequently were incapable of giving him such instruction as could advance him. He had however by application & perseverance got into a path by which he was enabled to advance, the success attending his endeavours was such as satisfied him that was correct in attributing all he know to the lessons that he had received from the British Nation & Government, he was confirmed in the propriety of his present plans & he would pursue them with increased ardour²⁷⁶

Radama also accepted an invitation to visit Andromache, the commodore's flagship, and next day he boarded the commodore's barge at noon, & on his arrival on board he was saluted with 21 guns. His attendants were allowed to see the ship, and were conducted through the different decks etc, a world which excited more than ordinary amazement. Radama found ample occupation in Commodore Nourse's cabin until the dinner hour, when the band attracted his attention, and he was highly delighted by the commodore's proposing to take a few of his young musicians on board to receive some lessons from the Music Master. Later it was also decided to take some Malagasy youths on board the squadron and give them some instructions in the duty of mariners. Four musicians and 26 other youths were then placed on board 4 ships before they left Majunga.

Radama also agreed to Nourse's proposal of making a general Port Regulation, and after some days work he signed the following declaration in Marovoay:

"By Radama, King of Madagascar:

Whereas having recently possessed myself of the town of Majunga, and the Boyana harbours of Bembatok, and it appearing, that various exorbitant and undefined sums, have heretofore been extorted from British Vessels, as well as others, visiting this harbour, for the purpose of trade or refreshment, and being desirous of manifesting on all occasions my high consideration for the British Nation, and my friendship for Commodore Joseph Nourse C.B. Commanding His Britannic Majesty's Ships and Vessels in these Seas.

It is hereby ordered:

That all British Vessels, visiting the said Ports and harbours, for the purpose of, and engaging in lawful trade, shall have free liberty to do so, without let or hindrance of any kind, on payment of fifteen Dollars anchorage money, and of five per cent duty, on all articles the produce of Madagascar, exported for the purpose

²⁷⁶ MA, HB-10.3, Hastie, op.cit, 25.07.24

*of such trade and traffic, the said duty to be levied in the most equitable and convenient manner, and no other duty or fees of any kind to be imposed. That, with a view to encourage the residence of British subjects in my Dominions, for the better civilization of my people, and the introduction of various Arts & Sciences, I hereby assure them of my special protection, that they shall have free liberty to dwell therein, to build Ships, and Vessels, and Houses, and cultivate Land, to carry on lawful trade, and traffic, to come and go at their own will and pleasure, without let or hindrance of any kind, and without payment of any other duty, or tax than before mentioned. (Signed) Radama”.*²⁷⁷

This Port Regulation was certainly a kind of reward for the great help Commodore Nourse and the British navy provided in late 1823 by pressing the king of Boina to submit to Radama. In the present situation Radama was generous to his British friends, inviting all to come and make profit in his land without much tax or payment of any kind. Only two years later, however, after the death of Hastie, he altered his politic by changing this Port Regulation, and the British-Malagasy cooperation then entered a deep crisis during the last year of his reign (see chapter 3.4).

Some time before Radama’s great “Kabary” in Maovoay the king received a communication from the officer commanding the 3rd & 4th Brigade who was sent to the western bank of the Betsiboka River, who informed him that no opposition was offered to the troops until they arrived at Miva Mahomi, where they had met some hostility. This occasioned the officer in command to prepare an attack on the village the ensuing morning, when the chieftain “Triefendrezzen” and 183 of his followers fell and 235 were taken prisoners, and as were customary, all the property found in the neighbourhood were seized. Hastie explained:

*“The greater part of the people who fell were of the Maninde class, & people of Ovah mostly slaves deserted, or persons who had offended the Laws of their country, and who abandoning their homes, had joined a sort of republic, formed by a runaway Ovah Chief called Triefendrezzen, & some others of minor note, who forsook Emerin during the reign of Radama’s father, and with the sanction of the chieftain of Boyana, established themselves at Miva Mahomi, from where they have made many marauding incursions on the adjoining districts and particularly on Ovah, & had amassed a great deal of property, & augmented their numbers by pillage, their plans had been generally laid (---) by a woman, once a slave, who made them believe that she was the spirit of a Chieftain of note called Tsiemamoshima maam who formerly was possessed of great power in the district named Valanlafouts (Valafotsy)”.*²⁷⁸

Such hostilities from the “*Maninde Republic*” was the only attack on the whole campaign up to that time, except for an attack on a troop of 100 soldiers bringing post from Imerina some days before, and the people of this republic was perhaps the most interesting group they met in Boina. Certainly, a republic of runaway slaves from Imerina needs some closer investigation, and in the report of Nicolas Mayeur from his visit in Antananarivo in 1785 I found this note about the Maninde from when he dealt with the different classes in the Merina society:

*“La troisième, celle des esclaves d’heritage des princes, nommée dans le pays **Zazamainthi**, laquelle se divise en deux classes particulières: l’une appelée*

²⁷⁷ MA, B-10.3, Hastie, op.cit, 03.08.24

²⁷⁸ MA, HB-10,3, Hastie, op.cit, 27.07.24. (In Hastie’s handwriting it mostly looks like “Manaind” but his writing of Malagasy names are usually a little uncertain.)

Mangnissoutres qui depend de Simaroufe (Andrianamboatsimarofy), l'autre Maninde qui appartient à Dianampouine (Andrianampoinimerina)".²⁷⁹

Mayeur's explications make me consider the possibility that the Maninde were a class of slaves by heritage owned by the king, like Radama's famous "Tsimandos", being the king's special servants and attendants. Mayeur explained that such a clan of slaves had their special rights. They were living quite comfortably in their own villages when they were not on service, and they were allowed to keep slaves for their own use. The king dared not sell any of them, because that would certainly provoke a revolt.²⁸⁰ I do not know exactly what may have happened with the Maninde clan, but I suppose they revolted against Radama's father for one cause or another. Pier M. Larson discusses the Ravoandriana who revolted against their king Andrianamboatsimarofy in Antananarivo because he tried to sell a lot of them to be exported as slaves.²⁸¹ I suppose something similar might have happened the Maninde. If Andrianampoinimerina for example tried to sell some of the slaves from this inherited clan of the Maninde, that might have caused them to revolt against him and to run away and settle in Boina together with other runaway people. Hastie relates that these people had caused much trouble by marauding incursions in their former home country. When representatives from the Maninde later came to Radama to submit peacefully he answered them quite brutally and ordered them all to go back to the district Valalafotsy – northwest of Antananarivo – and wait for his return there.²⁸² They were thus treated in a totally different manner from all other inhabitants of Boina. At Radama's great Kabary, which was summoned in Marovoay the 3rd of August, Radama mentioned the Maninde republic as one of the key reasons causing him to lead his army into Boina:

"you will touch on the circumstances that occasioned me to lead an army into this country, and dwell with severity on the conduct of the Chief of Boyana, in affording my immediate Slaves, the Maninde, a retreat amongst them, and encouraging them both to plunder Ovah, and entice my subjects to join them in their lawless pursuits".²⁸³

At the same time Radama also stated that he would expect the compliance of the people of Boina with his published laws, and that they should, as is customary in Ovah, pay into his treasury a tenth part of the productions of the earth and of their gains on mercantile concerns. He desired that their particular attention should be called to his laws relative to slave dealing, and that it should be clearly understood that the importer would be considered as criminal as the exporter. No kidnapping or marauding raids should take place. He had also decided on preventing his subjects from resorting to the use of nostrums, charms, or unknown medicines.²⁸⁴ And since Radama's Army would now be the guardians of the people of Boina like the people of Imerina, they would no longer be allowed to retain arms. It would therefore be necessary for all the arms in the district to be immediately surrendered at a fair valuation; and parties of soldiers would be sent out

²⁷⁹ BAM, 1913, Volume XII: M. Mayeur: Voyage au pays d'Ancove, 1785, p.36.

²⁸⁰ BAM, 1913, Mayeur, op.cit, p.42: "Les naturels de caste esclave, don't j'ai déjà parlé sous le nom de Zazamaintis, sont au nombre d'environ six mille. On n'en vend aucun dans la crainte de les voir tous s'enfuir. Ils vivent par cette raison assez contents de leur sort, étant d'ailleurs plus liés entr'eux que ne le sont les gens libre appelés Hovas-lahés. Ils sont robustes, courageux et bons cultivateurs, mais ils n'ont pas l'industrie des autres castes pour fabriquer les ouvrages de gout et d'utilité qui se font dans le pays. Il ne leur est pas permis de sortir de leur caste par le mariage ou autrement. Quand ils vont chez les souverains auxquels ils appartiennent, l'entrée du logis leur est donnée par une petite porte pratiquée expres pour les esclaves. Ils ont néanmoins dans les villages de leurs districts des esclaves en propriété, qui les servent et dont ils peuvent disposer librement."

²⁸¹ Larson, 2000, p. 5

²⁸² MA, HB-10.3, Hastie, op.cit, 07.08.24

²⁸³ MA, HB-10.3, Hastie, op.cit, 03.08.24

²⁸⁴ MA, HB-5, Hastier to Nourse, 02.08.24: (those who by them) "were cajoled into a belief that these nostrums possessed such powerful Qualities that many relying on this false security, have been thereby led so far astray as to attempt to shake off their allegiance to the legitimate Sovereign, and grievous and sanguinary Wars have Entered."

without delay to receive the arms and pay for them. The former king was allowed a yearly allowance of 1200 dollars and has a residence erected on the place he preferred.

After arranging all these things and sending off detachments of soldiers to all districts in Boina to put his orders into effect, Radama decided to leave four officers of rank in command of the Boina district and all the northern part of Madagascar.²⁸⁵ The most important of the new governors was Radama's cousin Prince Ramanetaka, who was placed to govern Majunga and the central part of Boina. Being one of the most important ports in Madagascar, Majunga needed an able governor who could cope with the Arab traders. Hastie expected him to be fit for the job, because he had already refused illegitimate payment, saying the king's confidence was more important than any wealth.²⁸⁶ Nevertheless, we may observe that Ramanetaka could also care for his own wealth when out of the king's sight, since he is reported to have carried great wealth with him when he fled from Ranavalona's soldiers four years later.

Radama, being anxious to leave Boina because the army was suffering seriously from fever, decided to return his sick soldiers to Imerina and march against Menabe and Fiherena with the soldiers able to do their duty. Hastie explained that on leaving Marovoay no more than a tenth of the division under arms accompanied Radama, nearly a quarter being sick and two thirds employed in aiding them. Also the garrison left in Majunga had felt the effects of the climate and the fever, and only 300 of the 1.100 soldiers were able to do their duty when the army left the district.²⁸⁷

The army crossed the river Betsiboka, and after sending off the sick soldiers with some people to help them, Radama marched towards Menabe in the last days of August. His plans of arranging a great Kabary when he reached the western coast failed because the inhabitants were scattered over an immense district, and the shortage of provisions did not allow him to use time to gather them. Therefore he did not succeed in subduing the Ambongo district during this campaign. Hastie made his own journey together with a guard of soldiers to explore a part of the western coast, but he was not very successful either, and he joined Radama and his army somewhere south of the river Manambolo on the 8th of October. Some days later they were informed that a group of soldiers sent to transmit a message to Ramitraha, the king of Menabe, had been attacked by a group of the Maninde people, and some cattle were stolen. Radama immediately sent out several detachments of soldiers and soon most of the group were made prisoners. The leaders, Tsiemamoshina mame and Rabevolo, were asked why they had not yet obeyed Radama's orders in Marovoay and proceeded to Imerina waiting for his arrival there. They made poor excuses, but they were found to be lying and consequently condemned to death for failing to follow the king's orders. The female leader asked to be killed by the spear since she had some aversions against the shooting, which was agreed to.²⁸⁸

The sickness of the soldiers and lack of provisions forced Radama to quit the plan of going to Menabe to take in the arms of the people there, and to Fiherena to place a garrison in St. Augustin. Consequently the army turned eastwards going home to Imerina to the great joy of the tired soldiers. When they crossed the border of Imerina people began coming from the capital to meet them, carrying provisions and looking for friends and relatives. Reaching Antananarivo on the 2nd of November, the king and many of his

²⁸⁵ MA, HB-10.3, Hastie, op.cit, 28.08.24: "*Ramanetac should govern at Majunga, and comand from the river Kamour in the South, to the river Majamba in the North - all lying East of the Baytsibooka. Ramaraseckin to all the province of Boyana, lying west of the Baytsibooka. Ramam to govern all lying between the river Majamba, and Soumalaza, and eastward to rofia - and Razatouva all nort of Soumalaza to Cape d'Ambre, and on the eastern coast Diego-Suarez, Port Loquez and Voemare.*"

²⁸⁶ MA, HB-10.3, Hastie, op.cit, 11.08.24: "*Abdalla had been tampering with Ramanetac, and offered him 3000 dollars, to be permitted to report himself Radama's Agent; but his plans were all defeated, on Ramanetac remarking, that he possessed but little worldly wealth, yet the confidence that he enjoyed with his Sovereign made him rich indeed, and no money would induce him to forfeit it.*"

²⁸⁷ MA, HB-10.3, Hastie, op.cit, 11.08 and 15.08.24

²⁸⁸ MA, HB-10.3, Hastiel, op.cit, 11-14.10.24

soldiers suffered much from fever, and Radama postponed the usual great Kabary of triumph for one week to allow them all to recover a little first.

The successful campaign nevertheless caused a lot of disturbance, because many districts soon rebelled against the general orders of surrendering all arms. Radama's father-in-law King Ramitraha in Menabe stubbornly refused to comply with the king's orders, saying that if Radama was asking for a certain number of arms, he should willingly afford them. But the Sakalava needed their weapons every day and therefore they could not give them up entirely, he stated.²⁸⁹ Later it was reported that the Sakalava of Menabe, hearing that their neighbours in Boina had surrendered their arms, made incursions into the latter country and returned with vast herds of cattle, and that Ramitraha proposed to share his arsenal of arms with Andriantsoly if he would stir a rebellion in Boina.²⁹⁰ But the Merina army soon subdued the rebellion in Boina, which occurred the following year, and King Andriantsoly fled to the Comoro Islands.

Local rebellions and massacres of Radama's soldiers and other people who were supposed to be favourable to Radama's reign were reported from different places in the first half of 1825, and many detachments of soldiers were sent on punitive expeditions or were placed as guards in different districts.

Fort Dauphin taken from the French

In the end of 1824 Radama's cousin Prince Ramanolona was ordered to set off with an army of 3.000 soldiers proceeding to Fort Dauphin to take possession of that province. He was also ordered to take command of a garrison of 1.100 soldiers there, and to place detachments in strategic places in the district around Fort Dauphin and up to Vangaindrano. Reaching his destination some months later, he used some trickery to get the few French soldiers there to surrender. They were sent off to Bourbon, and Radama later received a protestation from the French Governor there. But Radama, referring to all Madagascar as his property by heritage, refused the rights of the French to any part of the country.²⁹¹

Certainly there were still some parts of the island not subdued by Radama and his British allies. But the alliance had proved very effective because during the campaigns of those few years most of the important parts of Madagascar were gathered under Radama's rule.

²⁸⁹ MA, HB-10,4, Hastie's journal 14.11.24-07.05.25, date 16.11.24: *"The Ambassador said that the people of Sakalave were so used to arms that they would suffer any persecution rather than be dispossessed of them, they are said to be a people accustomed to the chase, they seldom use spear or trap to destroy their game and it is rare that they resort to any means but the Musket to kill their cattle - If we are without arms say they, the Makis of the wood will drop their ordure on us with impunity, the wild fowl destroy the little grain that we sow, and the wild boar dislodge us, beside we are so situated bounded by the sea and consequently requiring means to repel foreign invaders and surrounded on sand by a revolted late our Vassals on whom we cannot place any dependence, that our safety is in our arms alone - yet said the Ambassador I am charged by Ramitrah to say that he entertains a proper sense of the contract that he entered into with Ovah and is anxious to fulfil his part of it, in testimony of which he therefore requests that you Radama will make a demand for a defined number of muskets say 300 or 500 or even to the extents of 800 and he will furnish them, he will always acknowledge your authority yet he cannot insist on his people obeying your orders with regard to the arms."*

²⁹⁰ MA, HB-10.4, Hastie's journal, op.cit, 28.11.24 & 11.01.25

²⁹¹ MA, HB-4, Radama to M. Freycinet, Commandant à l'île de Bourbon, 06.09.1825: *"Votre Excellence me charge de vous avoir fait la Guerre. Permettez moi de répondre que je ne fais pas la guerre sur quelque nation que soit, que mon seul desir est de gouverner mes propres subjects avec justice et d'avancer leur prosperité autant que possible, et J'espère que tous mes efforts pour atteindre ce but lesquels J'ai toujours poursuivre sur mon propre territoire de Madagascar, le mien par le droit de naissance, ce droit par lequel tous les rois Gouvernement leur territoires ne fourront pas etre considerés comme un desir de faire la guerre aux puissances étrangères."*

3.2 “Progress and Civilization”, the prospected influence of the missionaries and artisans

In the negotiations in 1820 Radama stated that if he should be able to renew the broken Treaty he needed something more than the conditions already agreed to. But the only new condition he put forward was the education and instruction of his people. Without a pledge to be allowed to send some youths to Mauritius and England for instruction, and to get artisans to Imerina from those places, he should not be able to convince his people to renew the Treaty, he said.²⁹² Obviously, it was instruction in different practical Arts that was on his mind, and he did not name the arts of reading, writing and arithmetic etc. It looks like he first became aware of the great possibilities in those arts after some months. But principally he asked for artisans, certainly with a hope of changing the warfare industry and other aspects of culture in order to change the whole society. He wanted to produce many of the articles imported at the time, wishing that Madagascar should be a modern nation. Some years later Cameron wrote:

*“The chief attention of the Malagasy at present seems directed towards establishing themselves as kingdom and it is with that view they chiefly employ us. The principal part of our employment at present in the wood way is some machinery to be turned by water to be used for the Manufacture of Gunpowder. The Machinery etc, which Joseph Verkey has had hitherto, being rather imperfect for that purpose. The Soap Manufactory has given good satisfaction – about 11000 bars 4lbs each have been made. At present they have stopped the importation of Soap. Several other branches of my manufacture also succeed well considering the state of the country”.*²⁹³

I think Cameron was right to suppose that the leaders used the artisans primarily to establish the young nation and seek progress on the path of knowledge, handcraft and industry. But the proud programme for “progress and civilisation” had another side, which the missionaries, who hoped for spiritual success, either did not recognise at first or, more probably, closed their eyes to, not wishing to see the negative consequences. The dark underside of all the education work was Radama’s application of the Malagasy system of non-paid feudal servitude (Fanompoana).

3.2.1 The education caused cultural changes

When the king asked Jones to stay with him after the renewing of the treaty in 1820 it seems to have been primarily caused by a wish to have a representative from his new British ally at his court. Jones immediately asked if he could write to the Missionary Society asking for more missionaries, but Radama’s answer was rather sceptical:

*“His secretary returned an answer, that the king should not like to have a great many to instruct his people in the principles of the Xan religion without having his people at the same time instructed in the different Arts. I then explained that the Missionary Society sent out persons to instruct them in religion & also in the different arts of civilisation: as carpenters, blacksmiths, tanners etc. etc, and I mentioned Africa & the South sea Islands as examples of it; but that my work was more particularly confined to study the language, form a Dictionary & Grammar of it, and to translate the Bible into the Madagascar language – that it will be the work of another to keep a school etc. etc”.*²⁹⁴

²⁹² LMS, Mad, Journals, 1, Jones, 04.09. – 14.10.20, date 10.10.20: “The king sent a letter to Mr. Hastie addressed to Governor Farquhar, saying that he was anxious to cement the proposed alliance, but as nothing but instruction could alleviate the misery of his subjects, he could comply with the treaty on one term only, which was that he should receive artificers & be permitted to send some of his people to the Mauritius & England to be instructed.”

²⁹³ LMS, Mad, 4.2.C, Cameron to Arundel. 11.04.32

²⁹⁴ LMS, Mad, Journals, 1, Jones op.cit, 11.10.20

The king consented to that, though stating that the artisans were most expedient. The tradition of reading and writing in Malagasy culture may explain a little more why the King was not disposed to ask for education in those arts for his people. The old culture of most people in Madagascar was strictly oral, because they could not write. The exception was the Antaimoro people at the eastern coast (Vohipeno), because they had some Arab ancestors who had brought with them the Koran and the Arab alphabet. During the centuries they started writing the Malagasy language with Arab letters, which became the first Malagasy in written. They named it "Sorabe", which means "Great Scripture". But that was a holy scripture, and only members of a few families were allowed to learn writing and reading. This fact has recently caused some disturbance in the region of Manakara and Vohipeno, as an Islamite effort in promoting that religion tried to educate all Islamite people in reading the Koran, which offended the old customs that only people from certain families were allowed that privilege.

Andrianampoinimerina had invited a Taimoro scribe to work at his court and had succeeded in getting one to come. His name was Andriamahazonoro, and he continued his work under Radama, and we know that Radama and a few other youths had been taught reading and writing the Sorabe. Given what has been said, it must have been less than ten youths who could read and write the Sorabe,²⁹⁵ and Prince Ratefy (Rataffe), who visited England in 1821, was one of those.²⁹⁶ I suppose that the education in Sorabe followed the old Taimoro tradition that only a few families should be allowed access to it. Although the Taimoro scribe had transgressed the old customs by including the king's family in the art of writing and reading that would probably be strictly confined to that family. In such a perspective we may understand why the art of writing and reading was not included in Radama's first requests when he renewed the Treaty: that art was not considered useful for the people, but confined to his own family. If that is true, we can better understand why only children from his close relatives or high noble families were put under the instruction of Jones the first year of his work in Antananarivo. An exception to the custom that only the king's relatives could read and write Sorabe is the young man Verkey or Ravarikia, who followed Prince Ratefy to England.²⁹⁷ But it has been said that he was not an Imerina citizen, but a slave arriving from Mauritius as interpreter. He was freed and allowed to study in England, because Ratefy needed an interpreter on his journey. Hastie presented him as "the son of Moncawn of Tassimo".²⁹⁸ I suppose the name Tassimo may be Hastie's version of the name Tatsimo, which means "the southerner". That may indicate that Verkey derived from the Tatsimo clan, which is a part of the Tanosy people, with their homestead situated in the area of Manambaro, a little west of Fort Dauphin.

Radama used his Taimoro scribe, Andriamahazonoro, during the negotiations in 1817 and 1820, and also sent him to England with Rataffe to write down what the king needed to know from the negotiations there. Nevertheless the king must have felt a need to have another secretary, one who could communicate in a less secret language, and therefore he had engaged a Frenchman, Robin, as his scribe from 1818 or 1819. Maybe he considered Creole French to be the lingua franca that everybody visiting his country could understand and use, and I have found out that he could speak it and even write it a little himself. But as I stated above, Hastie saw a letter from Radama in Tamatave written

²⁹⁵ LMS, Mad, 2.4.A, Jones & Griffiths to Burder, 30.05.27: "there are now thousands knowing to read though eight years ago there were not half a dozen who could read their own language even in the Arabic character."

²⁹⁶ LMS, Mad, 1.2.C, Hastie to Griffiths, 18.02.21 Explanations to the new missionary, p. 39: Rank of the Malgash sent to England: "Ratafe is Commander in Chief of the King's troops and can write the language of his country in the Arabic character."

²⁹⁷ Munthe, 1969, p.15

²⁹⁸ LMS, Mad, Hastie, op.cit, 18.02.21, p. 40: "Verky – Son of Moncawn of Tassimo, has had some practice in Tin work & is sufficiently acquainted with the language spoken by Creoles at the Mauritius to enable him to act as an interpreter – he is under the immediate protection of the King."

in the Malagasy language but in the Roman alphabet. Now David Jones was allowed to work out his plan for writing the Malagasy language, and after some discussions the king later approved his plans with some needed corrections. See chapter 3.3.2 about the quarrels between the missionaries, and the king's decision about the language on that occasion.

Soon a few pupils were placed under Jones' instruction, and three of them were even boarding with him in order to learn English manners and politeness.²⁹⁹ Jones then established the Royal School within the Courtyard on the 8th of November 1820.³⁰⁰ The first year all teaching was in English. When he left for a visit to Mauritius the new missionary, David Griffiths, took his place until he returned. Many Hova or free citizens had asked Jones for a place for their children, but he thought it would not be convenient to place them together with the royal and noble children.³⁰¹ Therefore they had planned that Griffiths should form another school for such children outside the courtyard, which he did as soon as Jones returned in October 1821. When the wives of the two missionaries arrived together with Jones, they soon started sewing courses for girls, and they were proud when they could present the king with some specimens of their art.³⁰² The third missionary school was founded in another part of the town when Jeffreys arrived in May 1822.

Radama soon changed his mind respecting the education promoted by the missionaries. Hastie relates that on the military campaign in Menabe in 1821 Radama was impressed when he got letters from some of the pupils in Jones' school with news from the capital:

"Radama now begins to feel the value of instruction & he already anticipates the pleasure of being acquainted with what occurs in distant districts by letters from the students of his family, who have made great progress under care of Mr. Jones, & affected by this hope he has promised me to give every encouragement to the Missionaries - Thus is there on the most certain footing an opportunity of introducing religion amongst this numerous race & diffusing Christian instructions".³⁰³

Radama probably discovered that the art of reading and writing created great new possibilities for the administration of his country and his control over his army. Hastie states in the same letter that he had often explained his ideas of what could help the king to expand and secure his reign; he had also promoted the plans to place garrisons in the occupied territories to the king. Certainly Hastie impressed upon him that written communications with those garrisons and other parts of his army should be an indisputable condition if he wanted to expand his country and truly be the sole King of Madagascar.

²⁹⁹ MA, HB-21, Extract of a letter from Jones to a friend in Port Louis, 30.12.20: "I am daily engaged here in studying the language and in teaching twelve children given under my care by Radam for receiving an English Education – four of them are spelling words of three syllables in English and can form the writing characters wonderfully well on the sand & one of the children is the Heir to the crown. Though he is not five years old he beats all the other children in learning and he is quicker in understanding than any child I have ever seen; he will know as much as I do know in ten or twelve years longer if he receives a constant education, and much more than myself; he and two of his sisters (or rather one is his cousin) are boarding with me in order to learn to speak English & English manners and politeness."

³⁰⁰ LMS, Mad, 1.3.C, Jones to Hastie, 15.06.22

³⁰¹ LMS, Mad, 1.2.C, Jones to Burder, 03.05.21: "If I had two missionaries with me, I could immediately establish another school in another part of the town on an extensive plan for all children who would be willing to come: for this school now under my care is confined to the children of the Royal family and some chosen children of the Nobles, and to attend to this school and other studies is more than I can do without injuring myself."

³⁰² MA, HB-7.2, Griffiths to Hastie, 25.03.22: "The little girls during the last month have made a shirt for His Majesty, which was by them presented to him as a specimen of their first work of the kind. To evince his high approbation of their progress, he presented to each of them a quarter of a dollar, & when they found that this pleased the King, they were so overjoyed, that it proved no small stimulus to further improvement."

³⁰³ MA, B-21, Hastie to Telfaire, 08.10.21

When Hastie returned from Mauritius with the new contingent of missionaries on the 10th of June 1822,³⁰⁴ he immediately asked Jones in the name of Governor Farquhar to give an account of the state of the mission work, expressing fully how far his wants and expectations had been attended to, and also to explain his wishes for the future advancement of his undertaking so that Hastie might comply with them as much as possible. It looks a little strange that the governor demanded a report, but that shows that the mission work had strong political implications, and the promises of future help certainly induced the Senior Missionary to comply with such wishes. Another point in the same letter had even greater political consequences, as Hastie wrote:

“I also beg to submit to your consideration the propriety of a public examination taking place at your school and at that of the Revd Mr. Griffiths, your fellow labourer, as the progress of your exertions is a matter which claims the attention of a great part of the Christian world, and a report therein at the moment of your being joined by the Revd Mr. Jeffreys must materially tend to extend that interest your unwearied perseverance has created, not only in the hearts of the highest authorities, but among all good men.

*Should this measure meet your approbation, I beg that I may be permitted to invite His Majesty King Radama to preside at it, and that it may take place on Monday next 17th instant, as my departure from the Capital, for a short period, is fixed for that day week; and it will afford me sincere delight to be enabled to forward to His Excellency a report, that I am already conscious, will be most truly gratifying to him”.*³⁰⁵

On the next day Jones answered and thanked the Agent for “your instructions for my perusal”. Giving a short report, he concluded that the missionaries gave their entire approbation to the plan of a public examination presided by the king.³⁰⁶ I suppose that Jones and Griffiths were not at liberty to choose another solution, even if they were worried about the intervention in their mission work by the governor and the king. But it seems clear to me that by this act Farquhar threw the schoolwork entirely into the hands of the king. At this time also the missionaries might have considered this solution to be excellent for the progress of their work. But in the course of a few years the missionary schools were politicised to a very high degree, and they were only practically under the care of the missionaries. Thus they became a part of the king’s political strategy, especially his use of the schools to recruit people to the feudal servitude as secretaries and soldiers, and even Radama’s interest for the schoolwork might have given it a flying start it also seems to have caused its final ruin. The proposed public examination took place on the 17th of June 1822 and Radama presided at the meeting,³⁰⁷ which caused much interest for the schoolwork and might have been important for the plans of extending the schools to the villages in the neighbourhood.

The schools certainly made some progress in the following years, but the great change came when Radama implemented a total reform to the schools on the 10th of March 1824. (See chapter 3.3.2) Throwing all the three schools together in a Missionary Seminary, which should be the parent institution to all schools that might be formed in his dominions, had great consequences. Firstly, Jeffreys lost all his work and was thereby forced to conform with his brethren and to the king’s will, though that might be of secondary interest. Secondly, the missionaries were allowed to form a school system after the Lancaster model, using the advanced pupils as teachers for the others. That also opened up the possibility of the proposed great expansion in the neighbouring

³⁰⁴ LMS, Mad, 1.3.C, Hastie to Farquhar, 11.06.22

³⁰⁵ LMS, Mad, 1.3.C, Hastie to Jones, 14.06.22

³⁰⁶ LMS, Mad, 1.3.C, Jones to Hastie, 15.06.22

³⁰⁷ LMS, Mad, 1.3.C, Hastie & Jeffreys to Farquhar etc, 17.06.22

villages throughout Imerina, where a lot of new schools were established over the next few years. Thirdly, Radama used this reform to break down the old caste system. Children from the Andriana caste or nobles were mingled with the children of the Hova caste or free men, and those who obtained the best results were often promoted to serve in the best jobs as secretaries, Aid de Camps, officers etc. Through this reform and through the equality practised in the army the Andriana caste soon lost their privilege of governing, and that might have been one of the essential incidents causing the following revolution when the king died.

The Madagascar Missionary School Society

During the first years the missionaries received considerable subventions from Governor Farquhar in materiel to the schools, travel expenses to Imerina³⁰⁸ and even monthly allowances of \$ 30 to each of them. But as soon as Farquhar left, the new governor used the quarrel between Jeffreys and his colleagues as a pretext for stopping all subventions to the missionary work. As a small substitute or encouragement Hastie convinced him to give a yearly grant of paper and slates to the schools.³⁰⁹ Later, when they found slates somewhere in Betsileo, they asked to get more paper from the governor instead of the slates formerly given.

Radama was neither inclined to grant them any subvention nor to pay anything to the schools. But when the missionaries created new schools, the king issued orders to the inhabitants in the neighbourhood to build schoolhouses, as part of their feudal servitude. When the great expansions of the schools into the neighbouring districts were planned, the missionaries were quite at a loss as to how to channel economical resources to that great endeavour. Although they could direct some money to it from the LMS funds, that would scarcely be enough for buying materials for the children and paying wages to the teachers etc. It was then proposed to form a School Society that could ask subventions from interested persons both in Madagascar and abroad.

The Madagascar Missionary School Society was established in Antananarivo on the 14th of November 1825³¹⁰ under the patronage of King Radama, and it was decided to establish a Library and to build a Repository for the use of the Society. In search of money from abroad they sent an open letter to Mauritius and England asking for help,³¹¹ and through this "Appeal to the Christian World" they succeeded in obtaining the wherewithal for their work. Thus the School Society enabled them to expand the schools far away in Imerina and Vakinankaratra, and this system worked well during the reign of Radama. But when the schools were re-opened after the death of the king, the missionaries were neither allowed to give wages or presents to the teachers nor materiel to the pupils, and so the School Society ceased to work. But after some years the proprieties of the School Societies caused some disturbance between the missionaries in the field, as I will show in chapter 5.1.

In the Missionary Seminary (also named the Central School) and in all other LMS schools the education in arithmetic, reading, writing and some other subjects was carried out during the week, and bible texts were mostly used as reading texts. In the Sunday – or Sabbath as they often preferred to name it – the schoolchildren were obliged to return

³⁰⁸ LMS, Mad, 1.2.C, Jones to Burder, 18.09.21: "I must say that His Excellency has proved to me always a constant friend ready to second my exertions with regard to the Madagascar mission, and has not denied me any reasonable request for the use of it. His Excellency has promised that the expenses of my passage from Port Louis to Ova and that also of Mrs. Jones and of Mrs Griffiths with her child will be paid by the Government, which will at least spare a thousand dollars to the Missionary Society, having much luggage to take with us as I left almost all my books and trunks behind the last year."

³⁰⁹ MA, HB-4, Hastie to Barry: 04.07.26

³¹⁰ MA, HB-4, Plan of The Madagascar Missionary Scool Society, 14.11.25

³¹¹ LMS, Mad, 2.2.C, "Appeal to the Christian World", 16.11.25, signed David Jones, Chairman, James Hastie, Treasurer & David Griffiths, Secretary.

to the schoolhouses to partake in the divine service. The missionaries or the teachers preached and prayed, they sang the new psalms together, and usually there was catechisation of the children to show what they had learned. In that way the children got accustomed to attending the divine service, and often the parents and others came to hear the children sing and be catechised.

The first years the schools were popular, since parents wished their children to be educated.³¹² The king had at first guaranteed that the schoolchildren would not be drawn to the army. But after some time, some of the cleverest boys were chosen as secretaries or Aid de Camps to officers at different stations,³¹³ and soon Radama's pledge showed to be without much valour. During the first years not many were taken to serve the king, but in 1827 Robin, who was taken back as the king's chief secretary as soon as Hastie died, sent a letter explaining that Radama wished for better control over the schools.³¹⁴ Later this year there were strict examinations of each school in Imerina, which occupied the missionaries' time for a whole month since the schools were so many. Radama sent some of his first officers charged to attend the examinations in his stead and send him a full report. When he had got the report he ordered the missionaries to collect all the scholars at "Champ de Mars" (Andohalo) where his officers gave the great assembly his message:

*"that those of them who had been diligent so as to have made the best progress in reading, writing, arithmetic etc were not constrained by him to attend there (---) He said farther that the poor were to assist their poor parents to get their livings & the big boys were to do the same and also to learn military exercise, but that they were not to be sent into the war far from home as his soldiers were, and lastly that those who were yet small and had rich parents were to assist in teaching other children whom he should to replace them, and at the same time to improve themselves more and more in what was taught them. And after choosing out those who had made the greatest progress, he charged the remainder to be attentive and diligent this year and as soon as they would be able to know so much as those picked out, they also should enjoy the same liberty and privilege, and that he did not intend to bind them to attend the schools longer than to learn what would be beneficial to themselves and useful for the country".*³¹⁵

Thus many of the boys in the schools were sent to military education, and as soon as they reached a sufficient age they might be sent to the war. And when the politics changed after the king's death the schools became one of the main sources to draw recruits to the army. Lyall pitied the students of the missionary schools, whom he called the flowers of the nation, because they were perishing everywhere in military campaigns for the new government.³¹⁶ And Jones complained in 1829 that it would be of little use to print the bible, because all the good readers were taken away and lost in the wars.³¹⁷ Unsurprisingly the parents changed their mind when they observed that the schools

³¹² LMS, Mad, 2.1.A, Jones & Griffiths to the Directors, 02.06.24: "There are many applications made unto us for more teachers to go into large and populous villages to teach schools, and we shall comply with their request as soon as possible."

³¹³ MA, HB-4, Hastie to Cole, 03.09.25: "There has been sixty two Boys, selected from the Schools for the army and some of those have already merited, and been rewarded by promotion."

³¹⁴ LMS, Mad, 2.4.A, Robin, Le Secrétaire en Chef et privé du roi Radama etc, to Jones & Griffiths, 24.01.27: "Sa Majesté donnera des ordres à ses ministres pour que l'instruction public soit d'orrenavant mieux dirigée, c'est à dire que les écoles soient fréquentées par les farantsa (head of the districts) plus souvent afin qu'ils puisse punir les fénéans."

³¹⁵ LMS, Mad, 2.4.A, Jones & Griffiths to Burder, 30.05.27

³¹⁶ MA, HB-20.2, Lyall's Journal of Madagascar affairs 1829-1830, date 18.02.30: "It is impossible not to leave a sigh on seeing the greater part of the flower of the Malgash Nobles, and of the well informed youths - the hopes of the spread of knowledge and of religion; - laid in the dust, by murders and death within two short years !!!"

³¹⁷ MA, HB-20.3, Jones to Viret, 02.12.29: "Troubles on every side exist here. Wars and dissatisfaction are the news of the day. Our schools seems to be tumbling to ruin through negligence & want for attention; and also for want of proper teachers: for those who were capable of teaching have been taken to increase the Hovah Army though they be hardly strong enough to carry their Muskets. (...) The printing press is constantly kept at work: but books will be worthless without persons found able to read them. Many, yeah many of our readers have died in the war since I wrote to you last."

became a recruiting office for the army, and nobody wished to send their children to school any more. Each time some students were drawn to the army, the missionaries asked the government to give them new students and fill up the schools. Many times they got promises that the schools should be filled with the same number of students as in Radama's days, but since the parents often protested vigorously, much fewer students were procured. Thus the schools became hated among the people, and in many places they dwindled away before the missionaries left. Other places the government tried to continue the work by the help of Malagasy teachers also after 1835.

Alternative schools were also established. Mr. Robin created the first one in 1823, when Radama was forced to remove him from his duties as chief secretary (chapter 3.3.1). He kept the school for two years, but left that work in 1825. After Hastie's death he returned to work close to the king again (chapter 3.4). During Ranavalona's reign there were also established other schools run by the Malagasy. The best known is the school run by the twins, Rahaniraka and Raombana, and these schools became very important at that time, because they produced the new reigning elite in the country.

Radama's new counsellors, who replaced Hastie, probably caused the important changes in the school politics. Louis Blancard and Prince Coroller may be important although they were most concerned by the trading. But one man also had his interests in school politics, and in counteracting all British interests including the missionaries. Certainly the British Agent and the missionaries might have caused Radama to remove Robin, but when Radama engaged him again as secretary after Hastie's death, he could easily take vengeance against the British. Together with Blancard and Coroller he created a profound crisis in the relations between Radama and the government of Mauritius, trying to fight off the British traders on the eastern coast. (chapter 3.4) But he was also able to do much mischief to all the missionary work, even though Radama's friendship with the Senior Missionary avoided the total ruin of their work. Therefore I suppose that Robin to a great extent caused the changes in 1827.

Provoking Culture and Taboos

The missionaries and their work unavoidably provoked the old religion, taboos and culture. An essential part of all puritan mission work at that time was to proclaim that the Christian God was superior to all other gods and idols, and we know that in many places in the world the inhabitants were seriously provoked by such proclamations. In Madagascar people were not allowed to counteract such provocations from the missionaries and artisans, because the king protected them. And he soon showed his people that they were not allowed to do his new friends any harm.

The first year proceeded without real confrontations, but in the beginning of April 1822 the king changed his forefather's customs by employing one of the Creole artisans to cut his hair after the European fashion.³¹⁸ We do not know whether his plaited hair had made it difficult for him to use the uniform hats he had got as part of the "Equivalent", or if he just had decided to change the customs in order to become a modern monarch. Probably the last reason was most important, because Griffiths says that from this time on he also dressed in European clothes or uniforms every day. But cutting a man's hair short was contrary to the old customs and maybe it was a taboo too, because the customs ordered all male (and sometimes also the females) to shave their heads when a king died. History says that after the death of Andrianampoinimerina, Radama waged wars against some districts where the inhabitants would not shave their head as a sign of mourning. And half a century later some young Christians in Tulear, who had their hair cut in the European fashion, were accused by the local king that they wished his death.

³¹⁸ LMS, Mad, Journals, 1, Griffiths, 15.01 – 19.07.22, date 03.03.22

Nevertheless, Radama's transgressing of this old custom provoked many people. Returning from his country seat, Mahazoarivo, Radama informed the missionaries what he had done, and next day many officers and males wishing to follow the king's example, ran to the Europeans to have their hair cut, as Griffiths explained:

"I am certain that if a person would offer one of them thousand pound for cutting his hair, he would not accept of it; but their attachment to the King and their high regard for his character and actions are such that they thought nothing of their platted hair & would not rest satisfied till the King was pleased to give them his consent to cut their own also. Next morning the children of the school and the principal folks in town would give us no rest either tormenting us to cut their hair or to lend them combs & scissors – saying that they become like the whites".³¹⁹

Griffiths also explained that though the missionaries considered it to be a trifling affair, they looked upon it as an important preparation for other changes needed in the future, if they should succeed with the instruction in Christian religion and manners. Many of those who had cut their hair put on hats or caps. But many people, especially amongst the women, were deeply grieved by this transgressing of the old customs. A fortnight later (15.04.22) some 2000 women from a northern district gathered and made resolutions against the king's behaviour and his white helpers. Radama sent some messengers to them to ask about their fidelity to their allegiance to him, but they offered harsh criticism. Next day more than 4000 women arrived close to the capital:

*"They sent their kabar to the King, saying that they came hither to inform His Majesty that they were not satisfied with his proceedings. The King sent to them back to demand what were their grievances – Whether they were vexed because their friends and relations were sent as soldiers and employed in his service, or because they were too heavy taxed? To these questions they gave negative answers. But the leaders came forward & said that they came hither to testify that they were dissatisfied with His Majesty's proceedings, and request Him to change his conduct, and put an end to deliver the **whites** in town to them. His Majesty sent them a second message to ask them: Was he not King, and could not he do as he pleased in these things without consulting them?"³²⁰*

This story contains much more than a little quarrel about the king's hair, as far as I can see. These women tried to actuate the old right the people had to meet the king in Kabary and discuss his proceedings. If he did not consent to the people's will, they would have the right to elect another king. Radama was placed in a tricky situation, both because it was a confrontation between the people's will and the king's will, and since they demanded him to deliver over to them the missionaries and artisans. He had guaranteed the security of those strangers, and he could not give them up without changing all his plans about progress and modernisation. And if he should govern his people in the way he wanted, as an omnipotent monarch, he was obliged to statute an example. Therefore harsh means were ordered. Four of the leaders were selected and executed. Griffiths explains that the soldiers from their district were ordered to kill them with the bayonets, but I am uncertain how well he knew the details. Raombana, who was much concerned with the injustice of this story and knew the children of those unfortunate women, said that the heads of three women were cut off.³²¹ That corresponds with Radama's own account:

³¹⁹ LMS, Mad, Journals, 1, Griffiths, op.cit, 03.03.22

³²⁰ LMS, Mad, Journals, 1, Griffiths, op.cit, 16.03.22 Griffiths being a Welch man was not able to write perfect English at this time, and this manuscript shows that it was much corrected by the directors before they printed parts of it.

³²¹ Ayache, 1994, p. 101-103, Raombana knew only three executed women, but Radama & Griffiths stated that there were four.

*“Moi fini coupe cheveux pour moi, tout femme bien fache avec sa qui fini coupe - li fini faire cabar avec moi - moi fini coupe la tete a quatre - appresent le bien tranquille”.*³²²

This letter, which also concerned other items, was sent to the governor, and Hastie wrote on the other side of it:

“Note: It is to be remembered that every assertion in Cabar subjects (expose) the deposer to confiscation or death should it be proved false. J.H.”

I consider Hastie’s note to be wrong, because I think till now the Kabary system had been a legal meeting between the king and his people, where they could speak freely without any danger of being executed. The Kabary of Andrianampoinimerina was famous, not because he used force against those who might oppose him, but because he was always able to persuade the people to follow his will. And when Radama had great problems meeting his people in Kabary when he proposed the renewal of the Treaty in 1820, he could not use force, but had to persuade them in some way or other. In the same way as Radama in 1818 had changed the trials in the country by placing himself as supreme judge in all affairs of national interests,³²³ he now with this act changed the Kabary to be a place where the people were allowed to hear the king’s will only, and to answer it in the affirmative. Thus the Kabary from this time became a means to suppress the people, which became perfectly clear in the days of Ranavalona.

The king’s haircut became much more than a quarrel about customs and fashion. This incident turned the king from being a traditional Malagasy king with a need to secure the consent of his people in the Kabary, to a despotic ruler whose power did not derive from his people any more, but from his new force, the army. Thus the missionaries and artisans unintentionally caused a kind of revolution by cutting the hair of those who asked them. Probably Radama had worked for the idea of the omnipotent monarch for a long while, because Hastie had many times held this forth to him. Obviously, Hastie thought it would be much easier to get approbation for the needed changes, if he should persuade the king only – and not the whole people. Certainly he was right at first, but all his efforts to make Radama an omnipotent King of Madagascar had another side. This new power changed the king’s mind, and as soon as Hastie had left the stage, other British envoys described him as intoxicated by power and pride, thinking that he was one of the most powerful monarchs in the world.³²⁴ And the new people reigning after his death were no better.

When the women were executed and the Kabary finished, Radama sent for the missionaries and artisans and told them what had happened, assuring them that he would care for their security etc. They thanked him for his promises of regard and protection, though unhappy for the unpleasant affair. From that time very few dared to oppose the missionaries and artisans, because they knew that those strangers were under the king’s special protection. And when the Creole artisan Le Gros some years later had his house burnt down by some of his workers opposing the fact that they were

³²² MA, HB-21, Radama to Hastie, 26.04.22 (Creole French) Translation: I have cut my hair, and all the women were furious with those who cut it. They met me in a Kabar and I cut off the head of four of them. Now all are quiet.

³²³ LMS, Mad, Hastie, op.cit, 18.02.21, p.12: *“This conversation was carried to the ear of the King, who caused an assembly of His Ministers and sat himself as senior judge to investigate into Dremanallise’s expression – the culprit endeavouring to vindicate himself implicated his Father and brother – who as well as himself were chiefs of large villages, and evidence being adduced in support of the charge, these three persons were sentenced to be executed. Under an impression that the punishment of these people would create a disgust, and antipathy in the minds of the natives towards the British government, I endeavoured to obtain pardon for them, but all my endeavours were in vain as they had added falsehood to a species of Treason in giving even an opinion on an act decided upon by the King.”*

³²⁴ MA, HB-22, Campbell to governor Cole, 01.09.27: *“The sycophants about his person, Mr. Robin and Coroller persuade him that he is the most powerful Monarch in the World and can civilize his Country without the aid of Europeans. In fact he is so intoxicated with his power, that I should not be surprised to find him issue an order for them to quit his Country.”*

ordered by the king to work for him without wages as part of their feudal servitude, the king investigated the case, and those who were found guilty were burned alive.³²⁵

Trusting in the king's promises of regard and protection, the missionaries were not afraid of provoking religious feelings and taboos both for schoolchildren and adults. Griffiths gives some examples of that in his journals. Starting his school in October 1821, he soon became aware of some religious problems when he was informed by the children that an absent girl could not attend because a diviner had stated that she would certainly die if she did. He then told the children that he would not educate them at all if they believed in such foolery, because neither the diviner nor any other living man can tell you when you shall die, but God alone. Some month later two boys were taken ill and fell down quite insensible and speechless. Inquiring what was the matter, he was informed that they were taken ill because they were so frightened by the "Vazimba". Griffiths then delivered a speech telling them that whatever they had seen, he would fight it out and protect them all by the help of God, etc. The children were impressed by his verbal bravery. But he inquired more about the problem:

"All the information I could get of this Vazimba, was that he was the departed spirit of one of their Ancestors – that his tomb is to the East of the town surrounded by wood – that the Malagash are afraid of him and believe that if any person cut a branch of the threes around his tomb, he would make him sick and cause him to die. – To confirm their belief in this, one of the Bengalese residing here, were laughing at them for talking so; cut a branch of the tree without asking the Vazimba. He returned home, was taken ill and died in the course of three days".³²⁶

Obviously, Griffiths felt a need to demonstrate how confident he was of God's protection in such cases. Some weeks later when he took a walk with Jones in the neighbourhood, they saw the said Vazimba grave, and in order to show one of the schoolboys, who happened to be there, that it was foolery to believe that the Vazimba could inflict illness and death upon him, Griffiths cut a branch of the tree. Three days later he asked the children in the school why the Vazimba had not punished him.

"All seemed ashamed and said they did not know whether it was true or not, so it is handed down to us by our fathers etc, etc, – but as you are wiser, you must know better what is true or false, right or wrong. Since this time I have not found any of the children frightened by a fancied glance at him".³²⁷

Another time Jones, Griffiths and Canham made a journey to the districts around the capital together with schoolchildren and others in search of some good places to establish new schools. On their way they heard about another sacred tomb, where a hero or giant called Rapetou was buried. They were told that 5 of 6 men, who had once stolen some money placed upon the tomb, died soon afterwards because of the sacredness of the tomb. We are not afraid of Rapetou, they said, and consequently they went up to the tomb and rolled away stones in search for money, to demonstrate that the sacred tomb could not hurt them. They found nothing, but by profaning the sacred tomb they demonstrated to the inhabitants in the area, and to all those who travelled together with them (60 persons), that they were unhurt by the old taboos.³²⁸ Such proceedings certainly hurt the religious feelings amongst the people and could have provoked disturbance, but nobody dared to say anything. Together with the education and preaching about the almighty God etc, such demonstrations from the missionaries effectively changed the mind of the schoolchildren and many others – making them uncertain of the religion and taboos of their ancestors.

³²⁵ MA, HB-9, Baker to the governor, 13.09.36

³²⁶ LMS, Mad, Journals, 1, Griffiths, op.cit, 29.01.22 & 10.05.22

³²⁷ LMS, Mad, Journals, 1, Griffiths, op.cit, 08.06.22

³²⁸ LMS, Mad, Journals, 1, Griffiths, 01.08.22 – 10.04.23; date 27.08.22

It is well known that Radama changed many religious customs at his Court. For example, he sent the idols (Sampy) away from the capital to their home villages. He also omitted the work of the diviners (Sikidy) and stopped the use of the ordeal (Tangena). I have not found anybody who argues that the influence of the missionaries might have caused those changes, and I am inclined to think Hastie's influence was much greater in those cases, since he often talked about the items of laws and justice and certainly disfavoured the ordeal and diviners etc. He often explained to the king what customs the civilized people (i.e. the European) used. But I think this secular approach to these problems, bereft of any religious substitute, made the changes badly founded in the people's mind and thus caused the strong revival of all such customs as soon as Radama died. On the campaign to Boina Radama prohibited the use of charms and unknown medicines etc, as I mentioned above, but that was a political more than a religious based decision.³²⁹

A resource for Radama

The missionaries soon became an important resource to Radama in different ways. Already from his first years in the capital Jones acted as counsellor, interpreter and scribe for the king,³³⁰ as well as an intimate friend. The king even used the missionary as interpreter of the customs at his court when the Assistant British Agent behaved rudely and improperly (chapter 3.3.1). Although Hastie became his principal informant about the civilized nations, Jones also had a free hand to inform the king during his whole reign. Radama was very anxious not to lose his new friend, and Jones was not allowed to return to Mauritius before a new missionary arrived. And when he was on his route to Tamatave he got a letter with a gold chain from the king, begging him to be back in the course of 4 months.³³¹ Within two months after Jones' first arrival, the king started to build a nice schoolhouse for him in the courtyard, with a dwelling room for his family upstairs,³³² and Hastie describes this house in the School report in June 1822.³³³ However, Jones was not allowed to rest a long time in this new house, because when the king returned from his campaign to Menabe in January 1823, he needed the house for his new queen, princess Rasalimo, as Jones with a little melancholy reported home.³³⁴

³²⁹ MA, HB-10.3, Hastie's Journal 26.05. – 02.11.24, date 02.08.24: "He according to the circumstances of the case also commanded that it should be published that he had decided on preventing his subjects, from resorting to the use of nostrums, charms, or unknown medicines, which are frequently, to their great detriment, imposed on them by designing people. at high prices, and which have in many instances occasioned much disturbance and bloodshed by inducing the credulous who trust in them to disobey the Laws and even to rise arms against the lawful authorities. Radama ordered that these particulars should be fully explained, & that the heads of tribes and all persons in power, should be enjoined to give publicity to them as any infraction of these his special commands would without fail subject the delinquents, to the punishment of the crime."

³³⁰ LMS, Mad, 1.3.B, Jones to the Directors, 29.03.22: "My time is occupied and employed in the following manner. As soon as I am up I attend to the school until ½ past 8. After breakfast I give lessons in English to Prince Rataffe and to others of the Royal family, and some times on different occasions I have to read, to translate and to write letters in English for His Majesty. – At 1 o'clock the school again begins and is not over until 5, when I feel myself in general very much fatigued after the labours –"

³³¹ LMS, Mad, 1.2.C, Jones to Burder, 25.07.25: "I have every reason to believe that I can take them up safely with proper management – and unless it was with this view Radama would not have let me quit Tananarivu this year, and before I was half way to Tamatave, he sent me a letter with a present of a fine gold chain, hoping, says he, that you will be back to me in four months -"

³³² MA, HB-21, Extract of a letter from Jones to a friend in Port Louis (probably his true love, Miss Mabelle?), 30.12.20: "His Majesty is building a magnificent house for me in the court yard containing two stores high. He is going to fit up the lower part of it for the Royal School which will contain nearly a hundred children & he is going to make my dwelling rooms upstairs."

³³³ LMS, Mad, 1.3.C, Hastie & Jeffreys to Farquhar and the directors, 17.06.22: "The first established school is Royal College situated in the Court Yard is enclosed by a neat palisade, the ground enclosed thereby is 20 spans square and forms a garden in front of the house, which latter is a uniform building 40 feet long an 14 wide having 3 windows in the ground floor, which is appropriated to a school room, and 5 windows in the upper stay, which is divided into four apartments conveniently fitted up as a residence for Mr. Jones and his family, and commanding an extensive view to the westward."

³³⁴ LMS, Mad, 1.4.B, Jones to Langton, 16.12.22: "I have received orders from His Majesty to give up my house within the Royal Court yard for his bride and her suite who is enter the capital with him in next January, and that I must try to dwell in another house granted me until he will be able to have a better one built and furnished for me. This will in a great measure put a stop for a time to the instruction of many children in the school. This instance shows how much better it would be to have land bought and houses built for the mission independently of the King. His Majesty has paid all expenses in building the present house for me and said it was to be for me as long as I should remain with him, but when necessity demands, he orders me to remove and

After this loss Jones, was no longer confident about living in one of the king's houses, and soon he was placed outside the Rova like all other strangers.

Only the pastors were named missionaries, and those who were sent to Antananarivo to evangelise, translate the Holy Scripture and work in the schools were: David Jones (1820), David Griffiths (1821), John Jeffreys (1822), David Johns (1826), John Freeman (1827) and Theophilus Atkinson (1831), all of them married before they arrived, except Jones who was widowed when arriving. Also some of the artisans partook in the schoolwork in periods, and John Canham was even appointed pastor and ordained in 1832.

Besides the schools their most important work was the translating of the Bible. Most of them spent much time doing that as soon as they had learned the Malagasy language sufficiently. Also schoolbooks, hymnbooks, religious tracts and other reading materiel occupied their time. In the first years they usually let the schoolchildren copy most of those things, but the dream of printing what they needed was often mentioned to the directors. Farquhar's secretary, Charles Telfaire, first expressed that dream when Jones was still alone in Antananarivo.³³⁵ They first obtained a lithograph press, which they were not able to use well,³³⁶ but in 1826 a printing press was sent out. But alas, Mr. Hovenden, the printer, who arrived in the bad season in the last week of November 1826, died a few weeks later. Although one of the other artisans managed to put up the press, little printing work was done before the new printer, Edward Baker, arrived in August 1828.

The New Testament was finished in 1830, but when the Malagasy started reading it the translation soon showed not to be good enough, because many questions were caused by faults in the texts. The Board of Directors therefore decided to stop the printing of the Old Testament until the missionaries managed to provide a better translation. But when the missionaries argued that they would very soon be sent out of the country, they were allowed to continue the work, and the whole bible was finished in July 1835 when most of the missionaries left the capital. The revision of the New Testament continued, and in 1837 a revised edition printed in England arrived to the missionaries still in Mauritius, and was smuggled into Madagascar.

Their primary work as evangelists was less advantageous during the first years. The king was not very interested in the new religion, and he neither wanted them to explain the Christian principles to him nor allowed them to have divine services in the Malagasy language the first years. When they asked his permission to administrate the baptism and the Lords Supper to the Malagasy, he replied that his people were not yet ready to that. Only the administration of Christian marriage to the native won the king's approbation in 1827.³³⁷ The king mostly advised them to be patient less there should be any reactions from the traditionalists. The story about his haircut and the harsh means he used against those who criticized him shows that he was not really afraid of reactions from the people, and in that perspective I suppose that Radama was not interested in the progress of the new religion. He would certainly attend to examinations and other great days in the schools, but though invited to some great days in the church, he often presented some lame excuse not to come. For example, Griffiths had invited him to attend the baptism of his son in the divine service on the New Year's Day 1822. It was the first Christian baptism in Imerina and the king had promised to attend, but pretending

give up the house under a promise to furnish me after his arrival with a better which, after being built, may be taken away again, if he will have any need of it in particular, and I cannot make any refusal as it is his own house."

³³⁵ LMS, Maur, 1.2.A, Telfaire to Burder, 22.01.21: "The press might be established at the capital of Ova under Mr. Jones eye."

³³⁶ LMS, Mad, Jones op.cit, 16.12.22

³³⁷ LMS, Mad, 2.4.A, Jones & Griffiths to Burder, 30.05.27, p. 20

to have forgotten the day, he took a ride to his countryseat, Mahazoarivo, and did not return until it was over.³³⁸

Raombana criticized the missionaries for not having tried seriously to convert the king,³³⁹ but I suppose all such efforts would have been rather unsuccessful, because he usually showed no interest at all in the new religion, even in the most intimate talks referred to by the missionaries. But Raombana also speaks of a curious exception to that. When Radama heard about Jesus who was crucified, he got an idea of a new mode of how to execute his enemies, and he tried it once when a Sakalava attendant to his wife, Rasalimo, was condemned to death.³⁴⁰ But that poor man was probably the only victim crucified by him, as he mostly preferred to burn the victims alive when he wished to inflict sufferings on the executed.

The Sunday worship

During the first years the missionaries did not mention their evangelising and the divine service on Sunday very often in their letters. But that does not mean that they neglected the essential point in their work. For a Protestant missionary the key has always been to pass on the Word of God to those around them, and I am sure they endeavoured to do that even if the results were meagre among the adults for the first ten years. Certainly they formed a Christian church and commenced Sunday worship as soon as the two first families were gathered there in October 1821. In April 1823 Jones speaks of a communion meeting on Sundays.³⁴¹ I suppose this was in the divine service in the evening, which was for the missionaries and artisans with their families alone. For some years the official worship in Sunday morning was held in the English language. The schoolchildren were included in the worship very early, and Jones and Griffiths wrote in April 1823 that the present place of worship was too small to contain all the scholars comfortably, and therefore many who would willingly attend every Sabbath absented themselves for want of room. On Wednesday evening they had singing school for the improvement of the children in particular, and afterwards a prayer meeting. About the Sunday worship they wrote:

*“On Sundays we begin to catechize the children as early as possible and dismiss them with singing and prayer at ½ after eight. After breakfast we assemble ourselves together for divine service, which is concluded about noon. Then the children are catechized again, and we explain unto them and to others of the natives who may be present, the contents of the Sermon, and we read a chapter and explain it to them also – and they are dismissed as in the morning about 4 or 5. Then we dine and have divine service again in the evening, which concludes the work of the day”.*³⁴²

The want of a great house made it difficult to start official worship in the Malagasy language, but at the close of the year they wrote that they hoped to start such

³³⁸ LMS, Mad, 1.3.B, Jones to the Directors, 29.03.22, In an P.S. to his own letter Jones transmit greetings from Griffiths and gives the story about the baptism: *“His Majesty promised to attend, but having happened to forgot the day, He took a ride to His country seat and did not return until it was over. To apologize for this seeming neglect, He wrote to us the following morning, stating His great regret that he had forgotten the day, and that he was very sorry that we had not found Him as good as His promise by this apparent neglect – but however, said He, what has been short in me in this, I shall make up in the future welfare of the child.”*

³³⁹ Ayache, 1994, p. 181: *“Had the missionaries taken any pains to teach Radama the principals of Divine Religion, they would have made a Convert of Him; but they were perhaps ashamed or afraid of him, and therefore it is said that they never spoke much to Him about the Christian ...”*

³⁴⁰ Ayache, 1994, p. 131: *“He ordered the man-slave to be crucified at Ambohipotsy which is the place of execution – No person has ever before been crucified in Madagascar, for such a mode of killing people was not before known; but I suppose that Radama from the Missionaries has heard of the death of Jesus Christ by the cross, and so ordered the poor man to be crucified like him –”*

³⁴¹ LMS, Mad, 1.4.D, Jones to Jeffreys, 02.04.23

³⁴² LMS, Mad, 1.5.A, Jones & Griffiths to the Directors, 28.04.23

services as soon as Griffiths' house was finished.³⁴³ In April 1824 Jones could state that they had commenced a regular service in the Malagasy tongue and many of the natives attended. They had also composed a small collection of hymns for the use in these meetings.³⁴⁴ Some months later they stated that they had services in Malagasy, English and French every Sunday.³⁴⁵ "At first few had attended the Malagasy worship", Griffiths explains, "but lately the chapel has been filled with approximate 1000 hearers".³⁴⁶ Later they began to visit the schools in the villages around the capital in turn and have divine services there, and when the teachers became more advanced they were appointed to preach and perform the Sunday service in their own schools. But the attendance of the adults soon declined, and shortly after his arrival in November 1826 David Johns wrote that the parents and adults did not evince a great desire for hearing the gospel and receiving instruction. Much good could certainly be done in the rising generation, however. After describing the worship of the day, he continued:

*"In the evening there is a prayer meeting held at the chapel, and although the children are not compelled to attend as on the other services yet a great number of them are never wanted, many of them engage in prayer who appear to me very earnest before the throne imploring the divine blessing".*³⁴⁷

This lack of interest from the adults and the attendance and engagement of the scholars were quite normal during the later years of Radama.³⁴⁸ Certainly some adults liked to attend now and then to hear the preaching, which they called "Kabary tsy valiana" (a message you are not obliged to answer), but very few were interested in the Christian faith and morality etc. A few years later that would change when the New Testament was printed, as the missionaries had expected:

*"How beneficial would it be, had we some portions of the scriptures printed for those who are able to read and anxious to learn. We have great number of youths who have the gift of prayer and whom we would not hesitate to baptize had it not been for a certain political consideration which makes us judge it better and more prudent protract it a little longer".*³⁴⁹

3.2.2 The artisan's education and work

When the first four missionary artisans arrived in Antananarivo in June 1822, there were already half a dozen Creole artisans from Mauritius, who had been sent there by Farquhar the year before. The four young missionary artisans were: Thomas Brooks (Carpenter), Georges Chick (Blacksmith), John Canham (Tanner) and Thomas Rowlands (Weaver). Unfortunately Brooks died only a few weeks after his arrival.

The others had a number of Malagasy youths placed under their instruction by the king, and started their work. The idea was that they should support themselves by this work, but soon it became evident that in a community where money was scarce it would be difficult for them to make their living. At first they were disappointed because the king did not wish to pay them for the instruction. Later they were frustrated because he stated that they were to pay a tax of 20% on what they earned – a statement that caused hot discussions between Radama and the

³⁴³ LMS, Mad, 1.5.D, Jones & Griffiths to the Directors, 20.11.23

³⁴⁴ LMS, Mad, 2.1.A, Jones to the Directors, 21.04.24

³⁴⁵ LMS, Mad, 2.1.A, Jones & Griffiths to the Directors, 02.06.24

³⁴⁶ LMS, Mad, 2.1.B, Griffiths to the Directors, 17.06.24

³⁴⁷ LMS, Mad, 2.3.C, Johns to the Directors, 08.11.26

³⁴⁸ LMS, Mad, 2.4.A, Jones & Griffiths to Burder, 30.05.27: "but after all we are sorry to say that there are very few adults that attend the preaching of the gospel on the sabbaths."

³⁴⁹ LMS, Mad, Jones & Griffiths, op.cit, 30.05.27

Assistant British Agent, which caused a stop to this taxation. (Chapter 3.3.1) Their best economical help in the first years was an allowance from the government in Mauritius, which allowed them to survive without needing any help from LMS.³⁵⁰ Farquhar had fixed this allowance to \$ 20 per month when they parted from Mauritius.³⁵¹ That allowance continued for some years, but in the middle of 1825 it was reduced by one half and ceased altogether at the expiration of that year.³⁵²

In the first period the greatest problem for the artisans was to get the raw materials they needed. The tanner, John Canham, could not find lime anywhere in Imerina, and was not able to start tanning without import from abroad. He started making shoes of imported leather from Mauritius, but that was expensive and he could not sell much. In periods Canham worked with success as secretary for the missionaries in copying from their manuscripts, etc.³⁵³ When the allowances stopped LMS was obliged to help Canham in his misery since he was a missionary artisan, and he was placed in Fenoarivo 8 miles west of the capital to teach and take care of the schoolwork in that place. After a while lime was found in Betsileo, and before Canham left for England in 1826 he could sign a contract with the king to establish a great tanning project when he returned. Canham then engaged a young man, Dick Kitching, in England to follow him and participate in the new project. However, when the king died, this project was neglected by the government and stopped after a few years. Kitching earned his living by trade for a while, before he was engaged to keep the printing press running during Baker's absence. On the other hand, Canham went back to the schoolwork and was placed in Ambohimandroso. He succeeded as a teacher, and after some years he was appointed missionary and ordained in 1832.

George Chick, the Blacksmith, had also much trouble in obtaining charcoal and iron, as the forest and the iron foundries were far from the capital, and the carriage of those articles was expensive. After some while he found possibilities, and his work became important. When the Creole artisan Le Gros started building a new palace for Radama at Soanierana in 1825, Chick concluded a contract with the king to furnish the palace with all the required ironwork.³⁵⁴ This contract caused him not to be able to follow Canham to England in 1826. After Cameron's arrival Chick entered many contracts with the government together with him, and the cooperation with the blacksmith became important for Cameron's successful industry.

The weaver, Thomas Rowlands, laboured under the difficulties of getting enough cotton properly spun. The cotton produced in the country was not abundant and the price was high, therefore he had great problems getting a tolerable price for his products. When the allowances from the government in Mauritius ceased, he was forced to quit his profession to be able to survive, and the missionaries asked for Radama's permission to place him as teacher in a school at Antsahadinta about 15 miles to the south.³⁵⁵ But Rowlands was less educated than Canham in such arts, and he was forced to study for a while before he could start this work. He worked with limited success, and when he failed to please the missionaries who

³⁵⁰ LMS, Mad, 1.5.A, Jones & Griffiths to the Directors, 28.04.23: "Messrs Canham, Chick and Rowlands are able to carry on their trades with the allowance of Government to them without incurring any expenses on the Society."

³⁵¹ MA, HB-7.2, Farquhar to Hastie: Instructions, 30.04.22

³⁵² MA, HB-4, Cole to Hastie, 15.07.25

³⁵³ LMS, Mad, Jones & Griffiths, op.cit, 28.04.23: "After all the researches no lime can be found out in this part of the country to teach the art of tanning and currying. Mr. Canham has rendered us a great assistance these last months in copying from our manuscripts spelling and reading lessons for the schools. He has been also writing out some parts of our vocabularies according to the present orthography settled by the King. We could employ him many months more as a writer if the supply of leather had not arrived from the Mauritius and want of shoes did not call him away."

³⁵⁴ LMS, Mad, 2.2.C, Chick to Burder, 16.12.25: "I have constant and full employ at my business which I expect will continue yet a long time as I have undertaken the iron work for a palace which his Majesty Radama is building. The King furnishes iron – charcoal – and as many native smith as shall be requisite to accomplish the work. My apprentices hare now become very useful

³⁵⁵ LMS, Mad, 2.4.A, Robin, Secretaire en Chef et privé du roi, Commandant et l'administrateur civil etc, to Jones, 14.02.27

superintended the schoolwork he suffered a personal crisis. He accused Griffiths of being his enemy because he preferred not to use his catechism in the education.³⁵⁶ On the other hand the missionaries stated that they had many Malagasy teachers better fitted than Rowlands, and they proposed to let him go home if he could not - or would not - go back to his own trade.³⁵⁷ In the meantime Radama had ordered a spinning machine to be sent from England. When the machine arrived in 1826 together with a spinner, named Cummins, Radama was stupefied with the price of the machine and not willing to pay for it. But he ordered Rowlands to start the education in weaving again.³⁵⁸ Rowlands was not inclined to do that, but had to submit to the king's orders. But as the problems continued it was decided to let the spinner return home, and Cummins left in August 1828. Rowlands died the 27th of July 1828, the same day as king Radama, and to my astonishment I find that his death is scarcely mentioned in any letter or report. I suppose that might be a consequence of the missionaries' great preoccupation with the sickness and death of Rev. Tyerman, one of the deputies from LMS, who died the 29th of July and was buried the day when the death of the king was published. But certainly Rowlands' death released them from a long-lasting problem.

Single men.

When the artisans arrived, the missionaries in the field were surprised to find that LMS had sent four young single men to Madagascar. It was already well known that the temptations of living single in the Malagasy culture were manifold. David Jones wrote home to the directors after his first half year in the capital, speaking about the free sexual culture in the country, and how the Europeans usually were received:

*“The greatest sin of all they are guilty of, are adultery and fornication which reach to the highest pitch among the people universally so that there are few husbands and wives who are not guilty of adultery and not one young person above ten years of age I believe free from fornication. The venereal diseases, which young and old have upon them so generally shows that they are very guilty of these crimes. When I arrived here at first many were expressing their wonder at me in not sending for a woman to sleep with me every night; and they said that I was very different from European traitants who used to trade with them and that they were so fond of women as any; and they thought me to be a very strange sort of a being acting contrary to what nature had given to men. Besides I have received messages sent me by women requesting me time after time to send for them to sleep with me. But thanks be to God who has given me strength to overcome their temptations hitherto and to keep my character blameless in this respect. These instances out of many which I have witnessed in so short a time may show you how great are the temptations before Missionaries in this place particularly those who may reside here unmarried, for they are men of like passions with others and not angels”.*³⁵⁹

³⁵⁶ LMS, Mad, 2.4.B, Rowlands to the Directors, May 1827

³⁵⁷ LMS, Mad, Jones & Griffiths to Burder, 30.05.27: “It would have been much better for the Society had Mr. Rowlands been sent home before His Majesty wrote for a spinning machine (...) He has neglected lamentably his trade since he was permitted to teach a school and it was with a great difficulty that we could prevail him to try the best he can do in weaving the yarn spun by the machinery. (...) We send home to the Directors the letter, which Radama wrote relative to Mr. Rowlands after the arrival of the machinery. Should Mr. Rowlands not be able to go on with his trade or should it be that he will not, it will be best for him to go home; for as a teacher of a school we have many teachers who are stronger than he already, and who have distinguished themselves as teachers far superior to him”

³⁵⁸ LMS, Mad, Robin, op.cit, 14.02.27: “En consequence Sa Majesté aujourd'hui ayant reussit dans sa demarehes vous prie de vouloir bien donner écrite à M. Rolland de quitter l'école et l'inviter à reprendre son metier.”

³⁵⁹ LMS, Mad, 1.2.C, Jones to Burder, 03.05.21

Maybe the four young men were already on their way to Mauritius when this letter reached the Directors, and therefore they cannot be blamed. Nevertheless the Senior Missionary soon after their arrival wrote home, stating that it would have been far better if the Directors had sent out married men to this place of corruption snares and temptations, declaring that should any disgrace be brought on their cause through the power of temptations, it would be impossible for him to conceive of the evil and mischief it should occasion in this place. But he also makes a positive statement about the role of the missionary wives:

*“and their wives, possessing proper qualifications for their station, would be as useful as themselves within their spheres. We have a daily proof of this from the labours of the females that co-operate with us in the schools”.*³⁶⁰

Also Griffiths wrote home after the arrival of the unmarried artisans and quoted the warning Hastie had given:

*“Our Brethren are going on successfully with their trades but live in hopes that the Directors will be as good as their promises to them. The other day I took a walk with the British Agent to see our Brethren. He remarked that it would not do for them to take any of those women, meaning the natives, nor even any from the Mauritius – But, said he, if no attention be paid to my requests I know what I would do, I would put up my forge and go and look for a suitable partner; without a doubt Madagascar should be the last place where single men should be sent to”.*³⁶¹

As time passed by, all of them chose their way. Chick was the first to write home to the Directors begging them to send him a bride.³⁶² To his great grief the girl he named and hoped for was not inclined to take the risk of travelling so far, and when he got her refusal he asked the Directors to be allowed to go to Mauritius or England to seek a bride there.³⁶³ Also Canham requested the same favour with a strong recommendation from Jones and Griffiths,³⁶⁴ and both he and Chick were later allowed to go to England. When they got this permission, Chick was too involved in the building of Radama’s palace and had to defer his journey. Canham, on the other hand, went home in 1826 and returned one year later with his wife. It was reported that Mrs. Canham made a very good job in the school and among the women in Ambohimandroso. Chick’s plan of going to England was overthrown by the arrival of some new artisans. The printer, Hovenden, and his family were soon severely attacked by the fever. A son died first and Mr. Hovenden soon afterwards, leaving his wife and some children behind.³⁶⁵ After some months Chick could write home thanking the Directors for their great kindness in granting him permission to visit England, but since he had engaged Mrs. Hovenden and was going to marry her, he was no longer in need of going home.³⁶⁶ Rowlands on the other hand was the only LMS connected person that married a Malagasy woman. Later only Edward Baker, who was sent to replace Mr. Hovenden, was single when he arrived, but he had an arrangement at home, and went to England in 1832 and married there.

³⁶⁰ LMS, Mad, 1.4.A, Jones to Burder, 24.06.22

³⁶¹ LMS, Mad, 1.4.C, Griffiths to Burder, 25.03.23

³⁶² LMS, Mad, 1.4.A, Chick to the Directors, 09.07.22: *“I have therefore with the approbation of Mr. Jones and our other Missionary Brethren sent requesting the favour of you to send out Mary Mitchill the person whose address I left with you”*

³⁶³ LMS, Mad, 2.1.C, Chick to Burder, 26.10.24

³⁶⁴ LMS, Mad, 2.1.C, Canham to the Directors, 24.10.24: *“We know that the Divine grace can preserve the Christian. But when I consider how many even strong men such temptations have caused to fall and the utter irreconcilableness of my mind to a state of celibacy in this country, I feel it my duty to make every possible consistent effort to extricate myself from such a critical situation.”*

³⁶⁵ LMS, Mad, 2.4.A, Mrs. Hovenden to Arundel, 08.01.27

³⁶⁶ LMS, Mad, 2.4.C, Chick to Burder, 18.07.27

James Cameron was a carpenter sent to replace the deceased Mr. Brooks, and he arrived with his family in August 1826. He became the most famous of all the missionary artisans. When he found that there were already many carpenters educated by Le Gros etc, he turned to other industries and nearly all kind of practical work. First he put up the printing press and managed to print some texts until the new printer arrived. But it was his skill in making soap and sulphur, glass and other wanted products that made him famous. He built a Powder Mill with a great water reservoir to turn the mill (Lac Anosy today) and undertook different projects for the government. His first house and atelier at Ambatonakanga were burnt down by an accident, and he moved to Analakely, while he later built the new Chapel and the house for the printing press on his first premises. But most of his work was done in the period after the king's death and will be considered in a later chapter.

The crucial problem

As alluded to above neither the missionaries nor the artisans often mentioned the crux of the matter of their work. Probably they were not bothered at first by seeing their students or apprentices appointed by the king. But seeing the carpenters work on their houses without wages because they were ordered by the king to do feudal servitude, or seeing every kind of person working without any remuneration should probably have warned them. We may wonder how they could ask the king for workers again and again on such terms. And when they saw that nearly all the schoolchildren were sent off to perpetual non-paid servitude in the army or other professions, it is somewhat astonishing that they could request the king or the queen to appoint new children to learn in their schools every year. Certainly they were aware of the problem. Griffiths says in 1825 that some of the girls in the sewing classes were taken as second wives for the king's officers, because they wished for a young wife that could sew trousers and other things for their husbands. And the king consented to such proceedings. When Griffiths asked a man that had already two or three wives, what he thought about this matter, he answered:

"If the king would marry all the girls in the school to his officers, I would not speak against the king – but I do not like such proceedings and I must disapprove of them as long as I live. And all the good people in England and in all the world would consider you all more like beasts than men".³⁶⁷

Perhaps ashamed of this conversation Griffiths told his wife about it. She was so discouraged by her pupils being taken as second wives to the officers that she did not know what to do, whether she should continue the teaching or drop the sewing class entirely. But Griffiths relates that he persuaded her to persevere still, and recommend them to the grace of God! In the same letter Griffiths talks about their teachers going to villages far away, stating:

"Without having means to remunerate the worthy teachers it would only introduce a species of slavery, that is too prevalent in this country, by sending them out to teach as at present. – And getting nothing for their trouble some of them do not know the taste of a bit of meat for weeks with their rice and have hardly a bit of cloth to cover them. We feel this very keenly but are not able to remedy it. It would only be useless but imprudent to apply to the king for any more than his sanction and approbation of what they do, as he is not able to pay his soldiers that are harassed about from one end of the Island to the other – not much more than his thanks to them".³⁶⁸

³⁶⁷ LMS, Mad, 2.2.D, Griffiths in private letter to Arundel, 20.12.25

³⁶⁸ LMS, Mad, Griffiths op.cit, 20.12.25

Yes, they knew about the slavery of feudal servitude in all the branches of their work, and I wonder how they could accept to be a part of the oppression of the people. Perhaps the consequences of their work were not evident when they started, and when they became aware of them it was too late to turn around. I suppose that they sincerely hoped that their work would give progress and prosperity to the people, but I am astonished that they never discussed this problem in their official letters to the Directors. They accepted the feudal structure of the society perhaps not knowing the great changes Radama lately had made with their own help.

As mentioned above (chapter 2.4.3) they accepted to become slave-keepers at an early date. And when the directors prohibited them from employing slaves in their work, they never changed their view although they could change some forms. After Radama's proclamation in 1823 that all strangers residing in the country were allowed to buy slaves under the condition that they had to redeem them after ten years service,³⁶⁹ they could buy slaves, redeem them immediately under the condition that they should serve them the said ten years, and use them without pay the whole term. Without slaves they must give up their work in the mission and turn cooks etc, because they could get no free servants, they argued. With the king's permission they were allowed to give their "servants" some money now and then, at their own discretion. "Hence it appears to us", they stated, "that we have not deviated from the Spirit of the resolution".³⁷⁰ I wonder if their slave keeping promoted their acceptance of the feudal servitude in their work. When Baker left the country in 1836 he stated that the problem of feudal servitude in their work was so fundamental that the mission was unable to continue in its present form any longer. See his evaluation of the work in chapter 5.3.3. As Christians the missionaries should be salt and light in this world, but by accepting entirely the unjust structures in the society, they cemented or even promoted the darkness.

³⁶⁹ MA, HB-5, Avis – Par Sa Majesté Roi de Madagascar, 13.02.23

³⁷⁰ LMS, Mad, 2.3.B, Jones & Griffiths to Burder, 14.06.26

3.3 Growing Scepticism about the British influence

When Dr. Robert Lyall arrived in Madagascar he found a great scepticism against the British influence. Not only Queen Ranaivalona I and the traditionalists supporting her showed such scepticism, but also King Radama had shown growing scepticism in his last years. Half a year before Lyall settled in Madagascar Prince Coroller, the king's secretary, wrote a letter to him pointing out clearly that Radama wanted no interference in his politics or power--:

*“comme tous les rois, il est jaloux de son pouvoir absolu. - Il est emporté sur tout grand s'il voit son autorité un peu froissée. Il ne pardonnerait pas à qui que ce soit de se permettre de se mêler de la politique & des affaires Madégasses ou de lui donner des conseil ou de lui faire des observations sans son assentiment lorsqu'il a prononcé une affaire quel quelle soit ou qu'il à Signé & Scellé une pièce, il faut qu'on s'y conforme (---) Il n'aime pas du tout qu'on se permette des libertés ni qu'on s'occupe de ses affaires de la politique & du Gouvernement Madégage, sans son approbation”.*³⁷¹

This expressed scepticism can partly be explained by the severe crisis between the two parties after the death of Hastie, as I will discuss in this chapter. But the scepticism started long before that crisis, and I will try to study its development from the first years of the cooperation.

3.3.1 The “Assistant Agent”, Georges Barnsley, provoked Radama seriously, 1821 – 1822

The placing of a Resident British Agent at the court of Radama was not mentioned in any of the articles of the treaty for the abolition of the slave trade, but we know that Hastie in 1817-18 stayed with the king after concluding the first treaty, until he was ordered back by General Hall. In the instructions Farquhar issued for the new negotiations in 1820, we find that Hastie should tell the king that a “Resident British Agent” would stay with him as an assurance of the fulfilment of the treaty and the promise not to sell arms and ammunition to other chieftains in Madagascar.³⁷²

Although offered as a guarantee for the fulfilment of the treaty, this Agent thus secured great influence for the British government over Radama's politics. This is also clearly expressed in a despatch from the British Foreign Minister, Earl Bathurst, when the Home government appointed Hastie to the duty of Resident British Agent:

*“His Majesty considers that the most effectuate course of keeping up the good disposition of Radama, and of watching over the fulfilment of the Treaty itself, is by the nomination of some person as a Resident Agent at the Court of Radama, & by maintaining that influence which he now appears ready to admit on the part of Great Britain”.*³⁷³

During the first years Radama might have been glad for the help and good counsel of the British agent, but it looks like interference from Hastie soon became a growing problem.

After the request of Hastie, Governor Farquhar had appointed George Barnsley as “Assistant Agent” to Madagascar, and he was instructed to act as British agent whenever Hastie was absent. Hastie thanking the governor for the appointment of Barnsley in a letter in October 1821 also expressed his fear for the

³⁷¹ MA, HB-19, Lyall's Journal No.2, 20.08.28, quoting the letter dated 18.03.28.

³⁷² MA, HB-13.4, Farquhar to Hastie: Instructions, 04.09.20. “You will explain to Radama, the preference this Government has ever given to him over all the other Chieftains of Madagascar, (...) that whatever Communications are made to other Chieftains in Madagascar shall in all cases be made known to him by the English Resident who remains at his court to assure himself of the treaty & that Arms and Ammunition shall not be furnished to any other power, or the Materials of War, in any way.”

³⁷³ MA, HB-7.2, Farquhar to Hastie, 23.01.22, quoting from the Despatch from The right Honourable The Earl Bathurst, 02.05.21

travellers from Mauritius, because they had already missed the good season for travelling in Madagascar. He was not afraid for Barnsley, who had reported himself “well seasoned”, but for the health of David Jones, who had already suffered much of the Malagasy fever, and for those he expected to accompany them.³⁷⁴ David Jones had left Madagascar earlier that year to go to Mauritius and seek a bride, and he was now on his way back with his wife, Marie Anne Mabile, a sister of Mrs. Le Brun, whom he had married on the 20th of July 1821. Travelling together with Mr. and Mrs. Jones were also Mrs. Griffiths and her little son. A short time after Hastie wrote his worried letter the group arrived in Antananarivo and caused much interest among the inhabitants because it included the first white women and child coming to Imerina.

Perhaps Hastie’s impatience was also occasioned by his wish to bring the new agent with him to visit Mananjary, which Radama had in mind for a settlement. After bringing the missionaries safely up from Tamatave, Barnsley joined Hastie on his way to the coast. Hastie left for Mauritius after the visit in Mananjary and Tamatave while Barnsley returned to Antananarivo. But reporting himself to be well seasoned, Barnsley obviously had underestimated the dreadful Malagasy fever. Returning from Tamatave with much luggage for the missionaries, he became so weak with fever that he was unable to ride up the hill when he arrived in Antananarivo.³⁷⁵ Two months later he wrote to Hastie that he was still so weak with the fever that he could scarcely write a letter to him. He stated that Radama had frequently visited him, and the king was daily increasing and training his army, but all other items were not cared for, such as the building of houses for Hastie and Griffiths etc.³⁷⁶

Barnsley soon entered a hot discussion with Radama, who had ordered the Creole artisans to pay him 20% out of all they earned. David Jones referred to the discussion developing when the king dined with Barnsley and Jones:

“It will be recollected by you, that I informed you in November last concerning some unpleasant things which happen’d here after your departure between the Tradesmen and the King when they did put up all their tools, and had determined to return to Mauritius, because His Majesty had informed them, through the mouth of Mr. Robin, that he would not pay them for teaching apprentices: at length every thing was well arranged and they went on quietly with their work until the 23rd of last month, when Mr. Robin was sent again to tell them, that they were to pay a tax of 20 pr. Cent, out of their profit to the King (---) The King answer’d that it was himself that had done it, and argued very warmly, that he had a right to tax the Tradesmen, from some assertions in the letters of His Excellency Governor Farquehar & likewise from what you yourself had often told him. Mr. Barnsley laid before him many forcible arguments to show him the absurdity, the impropriety and the unreasonableness of exacting such an impost from persons sent by the British Government to Teach his people, and who were paid also by the same every month. - The King brought forward many things in his own defence and rested himself particularly in saying, “Mr. Hastie, it appears, has entirely misunderstood me, and I have misunderstood him.”

³⁷⁴ MA, HB-21, Hastie to Telfaire, 08.10.21: “I beg to express my thanks for (...) the appointment of Mr. Barnsley. (...) yet I cannot conceal that I am much disappointed at learning that neither him, Mr. Jones or those I expected to accompany them, are yet arrived. I have no apprehensions for the safety of Mr. Barnsley as he reports himself to be well seasoned, but I regret that Mr. Jones delay is in such open defiance of what he knows to be right, as nearly to merit being termed presumption”

³⁷⁵ MA, HB-7.2. Hastie to Farquhar, 14.10.22, quoting a letter from Griffiths, 09.01.22: “I received on the 4th Inst. your letter by Mr. Barnsley whom we unhappily found at the foot of the hill very ill of fever and in such a feeble state that he could not ride up - we feel extremely obliged and especially for your kind attention in forwarding all our things from Tamatave”.

³⁷⁶ MA, HB-21, Barnsley to Hastie, 06.03.22

*After arguing very warmly on both sides, and seeing the King so positive, Mr. Barnsley said, that it would be best for His Majesty to let the tradesmen go on with their work as usually until your return, when he would be able to arrange every thing concerning them. To this, the King consented, and it terminated the Kabar”.*³⁷⁷

Being forced to postpone his decision and wait for Hastie’s return before settling the case probably provoked Radama. Jones’ letter also shows that it was already the second time the newcomer had forced the king to retreat, and it would not be surprising if he was a little upset about this British Agent interfering in his affairs.

Neither did the criticism of Barnsley and Jones for his use of Robin please the king:

*“In the same evening Mr. Barnsley told the King of the bad conduct of Robin, and of the impropriety of keeping about him a man of no character, and one who delighted in stirring up trifles among people of a peaceful disposition, & I embraced the opportunity at the same time to tell the King in the plainest language about Robin’s conduct to me on several occasions, and of all I had heard about him. (---)The King listen’d attentively to all, and said to me, that I had no reason to fear any thing from Mr.Robin as he knew me now too well to believe any thing that Mr.Robin would tell him about me. (---) Nothing would more rejoice the heart of Robin, than to set us all at a discord, and as long as such a man remains whispering in the Kings ears there will be neither peace nor tranquillity either for Artisans or for Missionaries, and I repeat now of having written to the Missionary Society, as they are to meet with discouragements from a taxation of so high a percentage etc, from the King on their arrival here. The King says that the Missionary Tradesmen will be obliged to pay a Tax as well as the others”.*³⁷⁸

This letter shows that both missionaries and other British persons were seriously bothered by Robin’s conduct. If he should be allowed to conspire against them, they would never be sure of being allowed to work quietly. Barnsley stubbornly refused Radama’s mediating between Robin and the British and he declared that he did not wish to keep any communication with the latter.³⁷⁹ It must have been strange to the king to be plainly told that they wanted him to cut off his friend and European scribe. I have not found much more about Robin in the correspondence for the next few years, even though he is mentioned when Radama threw all the schools together in 1824 (chapter 3.3.2) I suppose Hastie settled the case with Radama as soon as he arrived, and maybe the king again was forced to agree to the views of the British agent. The next note mentioning Robin’s name in the correspondence is a short explanation Hastie gave Mr. Viret, the new governor’s secretary, in 1825:

*”Mr. Robin of whom you speak was in Radama’s employ, circumstances occasioned his being appointed preceptor in a school formed by the King in 1823 - and he was successful in it. He left this in March stating that it was his desire to return to France - perhaps his means does not enable him to do so. There was a fault in his education which unfortunately has not been amended by his pursuits in the life - the word «truth» was printed upside down in his dictionary or totally omitted”.*³⁸⁰

³⁷⁷ MA, HB-7.2, Jones to Hastie, 02.03.22

³⁷⁸ MA, HB-7.2, Jones op.cit, 02.03.22

³⁷⁹ MA, HB-21, Barnsley, op.cit, 06.03.22: “Robin is in great favour with the King altho’ I have so often pointed out to Radama the inconsistency of his conduct after what he knows of his character - but all to no purpose. Radama has tried to introduce him to us but I plainly told him I should never think of sitting at Table with so base a man.”

³⁸⁰ MA, HB-4, Hastie to Viret, 01.11.25

This statement was neither flattering for Robin nor leaves any doubt that Hastie had succeeded in removing Robin from his work close to Radama, to the satisfaction of the missionaries and maybe the grief of the king. Nevertheless Robin was far from omitted from Malagasy politics, even though Radama placed him in charge of a school created for that purpose for some years. As soon as Hastie finally left the scene, Robin entered it again, and he became a trusted man about the king in his last years - to the grief of every British person in Madagascar.

The relations between Barnsley and the king grew even worse. Barnsley, who was still very unwell with fever and desperately wishing to get better, found that neither food nor medicine suited him any more.³⁸¹ His manners were probably influenced by his desperate state of health, and in the last months of his stay Radama accused him of breaking the conduits of the court. In plain language he ordered Barnsley to follow the customs of the court, asking for an audience before entering the king's residence, etc.³⁸² And in a letter to Jones in his own handwriting Radama explains a little more about Barnsley's bad conduct, accusing him of trying to force his way into the king's bedroom and other rude behaviour. Asking the missionary to transmit his will to the Agent, Radama stated that white people were not allowed to do what they want at his court, but have to follow the king's will like all others.³⁸³ It may be significant for the new scepticism that it was the missionary who was asked to mediate between the king and the British agent.

The last controversy occurred when Barnsley was going to quit the capital. Radama wished him to attend his great yearly parade for the army in Ambohimanga, but eager to comply with Hastie's declared wishes to meet him in Tamatave on the 1st day of May, Barnsley left the town. In a letter to Hastie Radama expressed his displeasure with Barnsley's conduct on that point.³⁸⁴ But Barnsley did not manage to comply with Hastie's orders, because Radama had given him bearers hired to go only to a place called Ambohitroon. When they left him there he could not get new bearers to carry him down to Tamatave without paying them in advance. Unfortunately he was out of money and thus he was trapped there and forced to stay half way without being able either to proceed or to return. After Hastie's arrival in Tamatave Radama sent Barnsley a nice letter and five bottles of wine, inviting him to return to Antananarivo.³⁸⁵ Barnsley thanked him for the wine and made an excuse for having offended him unintentionally, but stated that he had received Hastie's positive orders to wait for him right where he was.³⁸⁶

Certainly matters were made up under Hastie's mediation, but soon afterwards Hastie sent Barnsley back to Mauritius - officially because he had suffered so badly of ill health. Later Hastie wrote to Farquhar stating that Barnsley's present state of

³⁸¹ MA, HB-7.2, Barnsley to Hastie, 06.04.22

³⁸² MA, HB-7.2, Radama to Barnsley, undated and in Creole French: "*Moi prie vous de vous faire avertir toujours quand vous voulu voir Moi dans ma maison; Moi prié vous de vous conformé aux usages de Ma Cour.*"

³⁸³ MA, HB-7.2, Radama to Jones, undated: "*Ayez la Bonté de me servir d'interprete Au pres de Mr Barnsley. Vous demande & vous rapellé li tout ca qui li fini faire avec Moi & avec vous, vous dire une-fois li fini entré chez Moi, li fini cassé une Boutaille, sur mon table & une chandailler, & lautre fois Mois encore dormir li voule rentré dans Ma Chambre Malgré l'opposition de mes gardes, une autre fois li fini cassé la porte pour vous (...) Mais si (c'était) son habitude Moi conné qui Moi faire, parceque Mr farquehar Mr hastie, & Moi ont été trompé dans sonduite alors, Moi capable arrangé parcequé Moi que le maitr ici. Niandriana*" Hastie has written on the Cover: "*A Curiosity: Letter of H.M.Radama in his own handwriting and in Creole French, addressed to Mr. Jones, respecting various irregularities in Mr. Barnsley's Conduct -*"

³⁸⁴ MA, HB-21, Radama to Hastie, 26.04.22: "*Moi parlé vous juste mr. Hastie. moi napas bien contant avec sa que Mr. Barnsley fini faire pendant son sejour a ma Cour dernierelement avant qui li parté.*"

³⁸⁵ MA, HB-7.2, Radama to Barnsley, 31.05.22: "*As I have received lately some wine from Tamatave I do send you five bottles. I beg to acquaint you that if you wish to return here again, I will send people to carry you and your trunks. I have received the wine with Rafarla and was sent to me by Mr. Hastie. (signed) Radama sakaysa. (The signature, translated: "Your friend Radama" - is in the king's own handwritings, while the letter is in David Jones' handwriting).*

³⁸⁶ MA, HB-7.2, Barnsley to Radama, undated: "*Your Majesty has been pleased to communicate to Mr. Hastie Your displeasure with regard to me and however I may have offended I can assure Your Majesty it was not intentionally.*"

health should leave no hope of his recovery in Mauritius, and he therefore suggested he be sent back to England, even though he regretted being deprived of his assistance.³⁸⁷ It appears generous that Hastie permitted his assistant home leave. On the other hand, it is significant that he did not ask for any replacement of Barnsley neither in this letter nor in any other communication I have seen. This may indicate that the experiment of placing an Assistant Agent at Radama's court turned out so badly that they never chose to try this solution again. Only Hastie was able to keep the position close to the king, and when he died nobody was really able to replace him, except David Jones, who was appointed Acting Agent until a new Resident Agent could arrive.

3.3.2 Growing scepticism also to the missionaries?

Radama often expressed his goodwill for the missionaries and the missionary artisans and his pleasure with their works in different matters. His friendship with the Senior Missionary David Jones was undoubtedly profound and lasting. But probably the king's satisfaction with the missionaries became seriously troubled when the unity and cordial cooperation between them were broken. We have seen above how David Jones got seriously troubled when placed under the leadership of Thomas Bevan. After the death of Bevan he was naturally appointed "Senior Missionary" for the field – a function that not was altered when new missionaries arrived. His first colleague, David Griffiths, was also a Welshman with similar background, beliefs and ways of thinking as him, and they worked closely for a long time together. But many different churches composed the London Missionary Society, and therefore it should not be surprising that there would be great differences between the missionaries arriving. This fact soon caused fundamental problems when a new pastor, John Jeffreys, arrived in June 1822.

Jeffreys was said to be an Englishman of good family, and Farquhar wrote in a letter introducing him to Hastie that he anticipated Jones would be satisfied with his new co-worker.³⁸⁸ But Farquhar's strongly worded instructions to Hastie in the same letter, stating that he should impress upon Jones the need to avoid giving the slightest cause of offence, might show that the governor was a little worried about this new arrangement, although he did state that he gave this advice not with specific reference to Jones conduct in general but as consequence of an anxiety that the mission work should meet with success.³⁸⁹ Notwithstanding Farquhar's instructions the arrival of Jeffreys and his family soon proved to cause great problems within the small group of missionaries. I infer from different correspondence that both Mr. and Mrs. Jeffreys had personalities and appearances that did not suit the collaboration with the other missionaries very well. And in the course of a few months it was also clearly demonstrated that they were not inclined to accept the seniority of the Welsh veteran, David Jones. Even before his arrival in Madagascar Mr. Jeffreys demonstrated some haughty ideas about his own position, accusing the missionary

³⁸⁷ MA, HB-7.2, Hastie to Farquhar, 14.10.22: "Where it for me to offer any suggestion on the subject I would most respectfully solicit that Y.E. may be pleased to grant Mr. Barnsley permission to proceed to England for the recovery of his health".

³⁸⁸ MA, HB-7.2 Farquhar's Instructions to Hastie, 30.04.22: "He will be glad to have an assistant in so respectable a family as that of Mr. Jeffreys."

³⁸⁹ MA, HB-7.2 Farquhar, op.cit, 30.04.22: "You will inform the Reverend Mr. Jones, that his name has been mentioned with high Approbation by His Majesty's Ministers, and that this Government trust he will Continue to Merit this distinction by his perceiving & zealous Attention to his duties, and be careful abstaining from the slightest cause of offence either on his own part or those under him, which might throw an obstacle in the way of his Holy Ministry - this Advice is given from no want of Confidence in the Mild, and unobtrusive piety which characterises Mr. Jones conduct - but from an anxiety that the great work he has commenced should answer by its success, all the promises it holds out - the eyes not only of Government, but of a Great portion of Europe, will be fixed on this Mission to Madagascar, and the Credit which will redound to those engaged in it will be proportionate to the way they win by the most conciliatory means."

artisans travelling together with him - Chick, Canham, Rowlands and Brooks - to be troublesome and discontent persons. These four young men complained loudly because they were treated differently on board ship from the Pastor and his family.³⁹⁰ However not only Jeffreys distinguished between the two groups in that way, but also LMS and the other pastors. Only ordained pastors were named missionaries and held responsible for the whole missionary work. All others were named missionary artisans and they could neither vote nor give their opinion to the missionary work in general, except when the pastors quarrelled or their support was needed for other causes.

Arriving in Antananarivo on the 10th of June 1822 Pastor Jeffreys and his family were well received by the king and the missionaries. He got a house in another quarter than his colleagues, and after the advice of his brethren and the British Agent the king soon placed some children under his instruction in a new school opened for that purpose. The directors of LMS had expressed a wish that all the missionaries and artisans should live together in the same place, but Jones explained that it would be impossible to find enough space for such an arrangement within the town.³⁹¹ At first they cooperated quite peacefully, but in the course of some months problems arose and late in March 1823 those problems exploded in a bitter quarrel that lasted for more than a year.

The establishing of a written Malagasy language was the formal cause of their differences. Jones had already used much time the last five years to study the Malagasy language and had developed a written form of the Merina dialect. Griffiths had cooperated well with him on that job. I have mentioned that also Robin had tried to write the language with the Roman alphabet, and it is also evident from Hastie's many letters that he could read and write some Malagasy of the same kind. But no real decision had been made about what principles should be followed, and I suppose the missionaries, the scribe and the agent differed in many details. When Jeffreys entered the scene he soon tried to create his own mode of writing the Malagasy language, opposing his brethren. Together with Hastie he wished for a more patriotic use of the English vowels. As it turned out this was only one part of the problem, and maybe the real cause was that he would not accept the authority of the Senior Missionary. Only such a cause may explain why the quarrel was not settled by Radama's decision in the questions about the mode of writing the language, but continued for nearly one year more. Probably it was some opposing commentaries from Jeffreys that caused Griffiths to write a letter to Jones on the 14th of February 1823 asking him what would be the best principles for writing the Malagasy language. Three days later Jones responded pointing out the principles created by him and Thomas Bevan in 1818. They had informed the directors about those principles and no protestation had been made, but they had printed some Malagasy words in their papers etc. Jones concluded his letter by asking Griffiths' opinion, as the most experienced of the colleagues:

³⁹⁰ LMS, Mad, 1.3.C, Jeffreys to Burder, 03.05.22. (on board "HMS Menai" on her way to Tamatave): *"Even before we were out of the English Channel and had begun to feel a little of the inconvenience of a sea voyage(...) they began to manifest a spirit of discontent and I am sorry to say that this spirit has not yet disappeared in some of them. They appear to have been much grieved at the difference of accommodation provided for myself and Mrs. J. They have even said that there ought not be any difference between a Minister & Mechanics. (...) You know how painful it must be to the mind of a Minister to hear sarcastic remarks & witness a coldness of affection from some whom he would wish to love & treat as brethren."*

³⁹¹ LMS, Mad, 1.4.A, Jones to Burder, 24.06.22: *"It is stated by the Directors in their last letter to me, that it seemed to them agreeable that we should live together; but there are many things which prevent us from doing so now: viz, Mr Griffiths having a house commenced to be built for himself in the northern end of the town, Mr. Jeffreys having had a comfortable place in the southern end of it and myself remaining within the Court yard in a house built for me expressly by His Majesty Radama. I have to observe farther that there is no spot of ground within the Capital that will suit the artisans, as their trades require them to be near much water -"*

"I submit the whole to your consideration as the next in seniority and who is most acquainted with the language, whether you approve or disapprove of it and whether you can suggest any improvement upon it".³⁹²

When the missionaries discussed the future of the mission in a meeting next day, Jeffreys received the said letter and studied it for a few days without saying or enquiring anything. But when his brethren also proposed new rules for the correspondence with the directors, he objected seriously:

"That in order to avoid every possible contradiction arising from unacquaintance or non-attention that no Missionary at this station should write any letter or letters to the Directors secretaries & in town or country about the Mission Customs, Manners, Superstitions & of these people, without perusing the said letter or letters to the Senior Missionary. To this also Mr. Jeffreys objected & said that he would not consent to any such things".³⁹³

I find this proposal astonishing, because it looks like a kind of censure showing real defiance to the newly arrived missionary. I do not know exactly what act of Jeffrey's that have caused this wish of censure, but probably the colleagues had got aware that he had written to the Board of LMS criticizing Jones and Griffiths. Obviously this proposal from the brethren provoked Jeffrey to act, and in a few days the war broke out. It was also proposed that one of the missionaries should move out of town to start a school and mission work in another place, and Jeffreys objected strongly against this idea declaring that he would not trouble himself with a school, but rather wished to work with the translation of the Holy Scriptures etc, i.e. he was not inclined to start schoolwork outside the capital. Griffiths, on the other hand, declared that he had often heard from the directors and from the famous Dr. Bogue that the schoolwork was amongst the most important duties for a missionary. Also Mrs. Jeffreys took an active part in the discussion and certainly provoked the others by her unusual behaviour.³⁹⁴

Even Hastie could not help them to settle the hot dispute. He summoned them and asked if they were of the same opinion respecting the language, because he thought they should not appear divided before the people and the king. When they denied to be unified with respect to the question, he said that the missionaries were "a parcel of apes and fools", and Jeffreys later pronounced Jones and Griffiths' plan for writing the language to be a "Heap of confusion". Such was the state of things when the king summoned them to the palace asking about their plans for writing the Malagasy language. When they gathered Radama told them that he was the sole master of decisions about the writing of his language, but he had honoured the missionaries by wishing them to create the grammatical construction etc.³⁹⁵ After having seen samples of the different plans and discussed them for a day or two, the king decided that they should use French vowels and English consonants. Ludvig Munthe has given a full explanation of details in the decision about the writing of the language in his thesis: *La Bible à Madagascar. Les deux première traductions du*

³⁹² LMS, Mad, Journals, 1, Griffiths 01.08.22 – 10.04.23 (also signed by Jones, Canham, Chick and Rowlands) The said letter is copied in the Journal the date: 17.02.23

³⁹³ LMS, Mad, Journals, Griffiths, op.cit, 18.02.23

³⁹⁴ LMS, Mad, Journals, Griffiths, op.cit, 19.03.23: "Mr. Jeffreys said: The directors never intended that I should trouble myself with a school (Griffiths then referred to him that the directors and especially Rev. Dr. Bogue had) declared to him that if he did not consider the establishing and superintendence of schools as constituting an important part of the duties of a Missionary and exert himself to the utmost in his power to promote them he must give up all thoughts of going on as a Missionary. (...) During this conversation the haughty and irritable temper of Mrs. Jeffreys was strongly manifested, and tho' all present appeared to take no notice of it." Dr. Bogue was a famous linguist and had in the Mission school at Gosport taught the Missionaries Jones and Bevan (and probably also Griffiths?) how to create a written language. See also: Munthe, 1969, p. 43 ff.

³⁹⁵ LMS, Mad, Journals, Griffiths, op.cit, 22.03.23: "-as to writing my language, (...) none else is to approve or decide on the manner in which it is to be written. But it is an honour given to the Missionaries to form my language into a grammatical construction and teach my people to read and write it etc

Nouveau Testament Malgache.³⁹⁶ It is not those details but the consequences of the struggle that is most interesting to my study.

Some details were still left unsettled after the king's decisions, and Jeffreys terminated the discussion at a missionary meeting on the 23rd of March 1823 by declaring that he would write to the king that they were going to act contrary to his orders. David Jones then rose up and took his hat, saying, that it was of no use to try to settle any affair if Jeffreys was present.³⁹⁷ When Jeffreys a few days later sent a proposal to Jones of how he would like to write different Malagasy words Jones answered in the negative:

*"I have just received the list of words for mine inspection and I candidly tell you that I do not understand one word out of ten of them".*³⁹⁸

Jones was hurt by Jeffreys' repeated declaring that he would never consent to the proposed plans or to the will of the majority. When Griffiths visited Jones' home one day Mrs Jones told him that her husband was so discouraged on account of Mr and Mrs. Jeffreys conduct that he could neither eat nor sleep, and she was afraid he would ask the king's permission to leave the country. Griffiths then impressed upon him that it would be unjust to let those who opposed the majority win, and that if he left the country great disturbances would occur in the mission work.³⁹⁹ As the struggle developed Jeffreys expressed a wish for reconciliation if the colleges could prove any error he had made, but he would not agree to the accusations of *"his disaffection towards the Senior Missionary, Party spirit etc"*.⁴⁰⁰ Next morning, however, he received a letter from the Senior Missionary excluding both himself and his wife from the missionary fellowship:

*"I have been desired last occurred evening by the brethren, who form the Christian church at this Capital, to request that you and Mrs. Jeffreys will absent yourself from the communion next Sunday, as they cannot partake of the ordinance in a proper frame of mind if you be present".*⁴⁰¹

New discussions followed but the majority of missionaries and artisans kept their decision of dissolving every connection with Mr. and Mrs. Jeffreys.⁴⁰² Although they made some new effort to justify themselves in communicating with the missionaries both verbally and in written, the union was really broken and should not be restored for nearly one year. Jeffreys also wrote a lot of letters to the directors and other persons both in Mauritius and England trying to justify them, but since the communication to England necessitated half a year each way the answer from the directors with some criticisms of their fellow missionaries came to late to give them any help.

Hastie was several times mentioned as Jeffreys' close friend, but there was in reality not much he could do in the case. His proposal of asking the authorities in Mauritius about the better way of writing the Malagasy language was immediately refused by Jones and his friends, because they thought nobody would be qualified to judge in the question. I find it astonishing that such a difficult problem was never mentioned in Hastie's own correspondences with the governor. The only letter

³⁹⁶ Munthe: 1969, p. 40-61.

³⁹⁷ LMS, Mad, Journals, Griffiths, op.cit, 27.03.23 This meeting was held in the evening the day that Radama had declared he wished to appoint *"the French vowels and the English consonants to write my language"* – (23.03.23 at 10 o'clock a.m.) See Ludvig Munthe: NOTM, No. 4, 2001, page 223.

³⁹⁸ LMS, Mad. 1.4.C, Jones to Jeffreys, 31.03.23

³⁹⁹ LMS, Mad, Journals, Griffiths, op.cit, 28.03.23

⁴⁰⁰ LMS, Mad. 1.4.C, Jeffreys to Jones, 01.04.23

⁴⁰¹ LMS, Mad. 1.4.D, Jones to Jeffreys, 02.04.23

⁴⁰² LMS, Mad. 1.4.D, The missionaries to Jeffreys, 02.04.23: *"And further allow us to acquaint you that we dissolve every connection with you as far as it regards Christian fellowship and the affairs of the Mission, until we receive a visible change of conduct. We remain, Rev. Sir, yours truly, D. Jones, Griffiths, Canham, Chick and Rowlands."*

alluding to this problem is a question mediated to the governor by captain Moorsom, acting commodore of the British navy, whether the missionaries were placed under the authority of the British resident agent or not. But the new governor gave a very evasive response to that question:

*"I gave the Governor a memory of your wishes respecting the Missionaries but he hesitates about giving any thing more than an opinion that all British Subjects in Madagascar are to a certain extent amenable to the authority of the British Agent".*⁴⁰³

No agent could use authority against the missionaries in such terms, as Dr. Lyall later lamented. The missionaries were therefore left outside the authority of the British agent and that was not without consequences in other struggles. Hastie had to keep quiet and complained about their lack of patriotism for the British way of writing vowels etc. in a long letter to Farquhar in London.⁴⁰⁴ Poor Jeffreys! Their efforts to overthrow the Senior Missionary and the democratic function in the small LMS group in Antananarivo had in reality no chance of success. Neither the king nor anybody else in the capital was interested in their respectable family background, and the only authority in the LMS body in the view of the Malagasy was the Senior Missionary, David Jones.

Besides the withdrawal of the missionaries from the authority of the agent this affair had also another important consequence of great interest for my study: when Jones proved to be so easily vexed and troubled, Griffiths to a certain extent took the leadership, even though he always referred to Jones' duties as Senior Missionary ones. From that time nearly all important letters and reports from the missionaries in Madagascar were signed not only by the Senior Missionary but also by Griffiths, and both letters and journals relating all the intricate details of this affair are written in Griffiths' handwritings and signed by Jones and eventually all the brethren. It is also significant that when the directors' letter with strong criticisms against the majority group arrived about one year later, it was Griffiths who answered it in quite strong terms.⁴⁰⁵ Thus the whole affair weakened the authority of the Senior Missionary and thereby the possibility of making decisions in the future. On the other hand Griffiths gained strength and acquired a central place in all future personal conflicts, such as the struggles with Rowlands in 1827-28, with Robert Lyall in 1828-29 and with Johns, Freeman and the other LMS-connected personnel in the 1830's. All those struggles finally produced a disastrous effect for the whole missionary work.

My research has not uncovered many details on how Radama acted in this conflict and what consequences it had for the missionary work, but I can suggest one or two things: Firstly, that Radama clearly disfavoured Jeffreys' proposal of how to write the language and approved Jones and Griffiths' plan with some necessary corrections. Secondly, that for a long time he did not act against the schism among the missionaries, even though that must have caused some growing scepticism in his mind. Lyall later wrote that some Malagasy told him that such affairs among the missionaries were the subject of amusement and laughter of the king, disgracing the Missionary Society and the British character.⁴⁰⁶ Since Lyall himself was quarrelling

⁴⁰³ MA, HB-5, Moorsom to Hastie, 02.11.24

⁴⁰⁴ MA, HB-5, Hastie to Farquhar, 17.07.23: "A War amongst the Missionary Gentlemen has occasioned the entire dismissal of the English pronunciations of the alphabet for the Madagascar tongue, their want of Patriotism on that subjects and their want of Union does not tend to augment the favourable opinion entertained of them as civilized Brethren by the King."

⁴⁰⁵ LMS, Mad. 2.1.B, Jones & Griffiths to the directors, 24.06.24: (in the handwriting of Griffiths) " - but as we look upon their hints evincing great partiality and most of their observations on that subject founded on false data, our feelings were much hurt, and we are sorry to say that we could not receive them with that filial affection, humility and (...) which the Directors expressed in their letter. (...) And we hope from henceforth that we shall receive no more letters from the Directors either to hurt our feelings or to discourage us in the work -"

⁴⁰⁶ MA, HB-19, Lyall's journal No.18, 01.03.29

with the missionaries at that time, his observations were far from neutral, but even though he was extremely critical of them, his attitude might indicate an important fact: such problems disgraced the missionaries not only for the king but also for the people and especially for the coming men in power. And the fact that the king many times had to decide in different matters concerning the missionaries' work because they could not make the needed decisions themselves, gave the king much power over the mission work. Thus it became easy for his followers to act against the missionaries and the church in the final struggle.

For nearly one year this unpleasant affair continued with Jeffreys' family totally separated from colleagues. The king was absent on his campaign along the eastern coast for more than half a year, but when he returned to the capital in the first days of January 1824 he soon was forced to act in the case. The letters shows that the majority group in the middle of February 1824 sent a letter to Mr. And Mrs. Jeffrey in order to make up differences and establish reunion, peace and concord again. But Jeffreys refused to agree with the conditions mentioned in the letter, and the reconciliation could not be effected at that time.⁴⁰⁷ However, on the 10th of March 1824 Radama called the British agent and the missionaries up to the palace. Arriving there, the king's orders were delivered to them by Robin and the princes Ramanetaka and Ramananolona, saying:

"that King Radama wishes to throw the three schools into one – to form a college at Griffiths' (---) and that it should be called the Missionary Seminary and the parent institution and the fountain head of all the schools that might be formed at any future period in any parts of his dominions. And that his Majesty was asking Messieurs Jones and Griffiths the favour to superintend this seminary and also of Mrs. Jones and Mrs. Griffiths the female school in needle work &".⁴⁰⁸

Those orders from the king caused profound changes in the mission work, and different factors might have caused the decision. On the one hand, I have pointed at the fact that formerly only children from the royal family and some noble families were allowed to study in Jones' school in the courtyard, while Griffiths had formed a school for children mostly from the Hova caste. Now the king saw the utility of throwing them into one school, primarily in order to get more children educated and able to serve him either as secretaries or in the army. For that purpose he was willing to set aside the formerly very strict caste regulations. This act also consented to the missionaries' proposal of using the most advanced pupils as teachers in the new schools they wanted to establish in neighbouring villages after the Lancaster system of education. On the other hand, there might actually have been another cause for the change, because in so doing Radama withdrew from Mr. And Mrs. Jeffreys the right to teach any Malagasy children, since their school was thrown together with the two others and none of them were asked to partake in the teaching there. Jones and Griffiths complied with the king's wishes, but assured the directors that they were not the cause of Jeffreys' being deprived his school:

"We forbear to state why Mr. Jeffreys was not requested to take a part in the superintendence of the school that was formed out of his into one as well as out of ours, as it was not his conduct towards us that prevented him to take a part in it – but his conduct towards other individuals, the particulars of which we leave him to state to you".⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁷ LMS, Mad, Journals, 1, No.8: Jones & Griffiths, 23.11.23 – 28.05.24; date 13.02.24

⁴⁰⁸ LMS, Mad, Journals, Jones & Griffiths, op.cit, 10.03.24

⁴⁰⁹ LMS, Mad, Journals, Jones & Griffiths, op.cit, 10.03.24: Griffets later tells that Jeffreys would have been obliged to quit the island had it not been for the interference of the missionaries. See: LMS, Mad. 2.1.B, Jones & Griffiths to the directors, 24.06.24

I have not found that Jeffreys explained to the directors why he was deprived his school, but if the missionaries was not concerned, I suppose he must have offended some Malagasy citizens with his conduct.⁴¹⁰ Nevertheless, Jeffrey was now placed in a tricky situation without a concord with his brethren for nearly one year and deprived of his missionary work by the king. That forced him to change his conduct and a short time after this meeting he wrote a letter to Jones and Griffiths asking to be allowed to enter the concord proposed by them one month ago. He declared that he and his wife would comply with the conditions made by the colleagues in the said letter.⁴¹¹ After some communications from both Mr. and Mrs. Jeffreys confessing their errors and begging forgiveness, all the brethren went up to them to shake hands and show that all former differences were now made up.⁴¹²

I do not know exactly why Jeffreys at the same time asked for a new place to work, but I suppose his position in Antananarivo had become so difficult that he could not continue his work there. After some days the king fixed upon Ambatomanga as a new station for him, and a fortnight after the reconciliation Jeffreys and his family moved out there to start a new work. But Jeffreys was now a broken man, and the work in the town of Ambatomanga soon became difficult because once he had ordered his servant to do some work with the “angady” or spade on a Friday. When the inhabitants told him that it was taboo to them to use the spade on Fridays he answered boldly that he was not bothered by that, since he did not observe the same taboos. Very few dared to send their children to his school or attend the Sunday worship after that time. He was better welcomed in the neighbouring villages, but after some time his wife got ill and could not stay alone. No medicine helped her, and Mr. Jeffreys was thus effectually hindered from working in the neighbouring villages. Also their teenage daughter caused a lot of problems, and after having placed her in Griffiths’ house for a while, Jeffreys regretted that they had her with them in Madagascar and expressed a wish of sending her home to England.⁴¹³ Finally Jeffreys gave up his work, asked permission to go on a vacation in Mauritius to care for his sick wife, and left Ambatomanga. But on board the ship going to Mauritius both he and his daughter fell sick and passed away, while his wife recovered and returned to England with the remaining children. She later published her memory in a very critical book.⁴¹⁴ I have mentioned above that the cooperation between Radama and the missionaries also suffered when the missionary artisans did not succeed in bringing him the expected revenue.

⁴¹⁰ I have lately got aware that Dr. Ludvig Munthe in his last article in Norsk Tidsskrift for Misjon (NOTM) No.4, 2001, stated that some letters from Jones and Griffiths sent to friends and church leaders in Wales, may explain more about the quarrels between the Welsh pioneers and some of the English missionaries. Those letters were partly written in the Welsh language to prevent other people than their friends in Wales to read them, and they have newly been translated into English.

In a letter to Rev. Thos. Phillips in Newaddlwyd, written on the 10th of June 1824, they say that they had been at the point of being thrown out of the country. They had been called to the palace again in February 1824 because Jeffrey had accused them to the king stating that they had counteracted his decision about the Malagasy alphabet. Jones and Griffiths assured Radama that they had not disapproved his decision but kept truly to his orders. But Jeffrey, who had got mighty friends amongst the King’s counsellors, had also proposed that the king should throw the three missionary schools together under Jeffrey’s supervision. Radama then gave Jones and Griffiths two days to answer this proposal. They first tried to get reconciliation with Jeffrey and his wife, as I have explained above, but in vain. Then they answered the king that they would rather close their schools and go home than throw them under Jeffrey’s care. The counsellors who had promoted Jeffrey’s proposal then urged that the pioneers ought to leave. But Radama wished to investigate the case once more, and after a few weeks he concluded that Jeffrey had performed disinformation and intrigues and acted like a criminal. Jeffrey’s friends amongst the counsellors were relegated and Jeffrey lost his school and his dwelling house and would certainly have been sent away had not the missionaries begged for him. Can we trust this story from Jones and Griffiths letters it is obvious that such proceedings from one of the missionaries have created growing suspicions against all missionaries in Radama’s mind, even though he kept his confidence in David Jones until he died.

⁴¹¹ LMS, Mad, Journals, Jones & Griffiths, op.cit, 29.03.24

⁴¹² LMS, Mad, Journals, Jones & Griffiths, op.cit, 01.04.24

⁴¹³ LMS, Mad. Journals,1, J.Jeffreys , 22.08.24 - 04.03.25, date 09.03.25.

⁴¹⁴ Keturah Jeffreys: The Widowed Missionary’s Journal, containing some account of Madagascar, Southampton 1827.

3.3.3 Growing scepticism even against Hastie because of his increasing influence

During the army's stay in Sambava on the eastern coast in 1823 Hastie several times dared to force king Radama to change his orders, as I have shown in chapter 3.1.3. Maybe these changes were wise and necessary but certainly it was not easy for the king to accept correction publicly by the British agent. From different occasions we hear about people asking "if he was to be dictated to by a White, and if they were to be ruled by a White?" Radama's true friendship with Hastie prevented him from accusing him for interfering in his affairs. But we can find several examples that show that Hastie discussed the king's orders in public or that he forced the king to change his mind during their private discussions. The most marked example was perhaps some discussions during the Boina campaign in 1824, particularly the discussion about the importation of slaves and about king Andriantsoly's fate, as I have mentioned above. When they returned to Antananarivo Radama had to undergo a treatment for the fever. Hastie states that he had given some medicine to the king several times, but in vain, since he stopped the treatment as soon as he became a little better.⁴¹⁵ The king was probably glad to get some medical help for the fever, but in many other cases he might have been bothered by the interference of the Agent.

Perhaps Lyall's interpretation of the letter he received from Radama's secretary in Tamatave in July 1828 is correct (see chapter 3.3.). He explained to the governor:

"At first I knew not to whom certain hints alluded, - whether to the late Mr. Hastie, - to Messrs Cole and Campbell, or to myself. As the account received from Mr. Robin, on my landing at Tamatave, tallied with that of Mr. Coroller on my arrival here, their explanation, at least, has the semblance of truth. I give it nearly in their own words:

"Mr. Hastie had gained a great ascendancy over Radama's actions, but reckoning too much upon his influence, he had overstepped the bounds of prudence and had sometimes given the King counsels in presence of his Ministers and Officers and also in public. This conduct led to the displeasure of the King, whose indignation was tanned by the native officers asking, «if he was to be dictated to by a White, and if they were to be ruled by a White?» The King notwithstanding his high regard for Mr. Hastie thus feeling himself grieved by his presence, found a kind of deliverance, when the latter died. As you were appointed by King George the Fourth, and sent purposely to his Court, from England, Radama fearing that you might consequently take still greater liberties with him than Mr. Hastie, and act as if you had a right to control his measures, thought it advisable to have a complete understanding as to the footing upon which you entered his country, and, therefore, to prevent disappointment and disagreement, he ordered Mr. Coroller to give you a précis of his character."⁴¹⁶

I find it interesting to see how precisely the Malagasy officers close to Radama expressed his fear of being ruled by the British interests. The same fear could be the main reason why the new government later decided to quit the treaty with the British government late in 1828. Further, Lyall stated that it was his personal opinion that

⁴¹⁵ MA, HB-10.3; Hastie, op.cit, 31.10.24: "The King sent for me at three o'clock in the morning, and I found him suffering much from fever. His appearance since leaving Douane, frequently induced me to recommend him to take some medicine; when he got a little relieved, he was always anxious to discontinue it, and try to appear well tho' the fever was only checked, however a violent attack during the last night, has decided him on taking what ever may be necessary."

⁴¹⁶ MA, HB-19, Lyall's journal No.8, 06.11.28.

some influential persons eventually had induced the king to send this letter because they were jealous of him since the king had shown him so much attention when they met in Tamatave. But he also stated that the missionaries strongly denied the account of Robin and Coroller.⁴¹⁷ I suppose that Lyall's last interpretation where he made himself very important may be less trustworthy than Robin and Coroller's version. The missionaries' statement may be important since they had lived together with both Hastie and the king for many years. But in fact most of the important events of these relations between Hastie and Radama happened far away from the capital and might therefore have been out of the missionaries' knowledge. Nonetheless, we may conclude that Hastie's behaviour probably caused growing scepticism not only against himself but also against all the British involved in Malagasy affairs. This scepticism might be one of the important factors leading the British-Malagasy cooperation into real crises immediately after Hastie's death.

⁴¹⁷ MA, HB-19, Lyall, op.cit, 06.11.28: "My opinion is, that the influential persons near the King, having remarked the distinguished attentions paid me by His Majesty, and the confidence he reposed in me, at Tamatave, and fearing to be outdone in many of their calculations, induced the King, by false alarms, to send the said letter. As thing are now totally changed, it matters little how the affair originated. But in justice to Mr. Hastie's memory, I must mention, that the account of Robin and Coroller is reckoned a fable by the Missionaries."

3.4 The cooperation immediately entered deep crises when Hastie died (1826)

Vincent Huyghues-Belrose concludes in his study about the first Protestant missionaries in Madagascar that they were in great difficulties in 1827 fearing to be thrown out of the country and even fearing for their own lives.⁴¹⁸

*“La mort de Radama ne changea donc rien à la situation qui s’était créée en 1827, mais au contraire, apporta peut-être aux missionnaires un répit de sept années supplémentaires. (---) A l’échelle du demi-siècle, cette crise de 1827 doit être interprétée comme un avertissement donné aux missionnaires de ne pas avoir à se mêler d’affaires politiques, de ne pas outrepasser leur rôle d’éducateurs. A cette époque, l’activité de Jones et du nouvel arrivé, Freeman, était ouvertement celle d’agents britanniques. (---) Le conflit entre le pouvoir royal et les missionnaires qui éclatera en 1835 et s’achèvera par leur départ n’avait sans doute été évité en 1828 que par le mort de Radama”*⁴¹⁹

Huyghues-Belrose gives a good account of the missionaries work up to 1827 and analyses closely what could have provoked the king and caused the crisis. But he is mostly concerned about the religious and cultural aspects of their works, such as the teaching and the evangelistic work, and in my opinion he has not investigated closely enough the present political problems in the British-Malagasy cooperation at that time. I will therefore in this chapter discuss whether the Missionaries were involved in problems vis-à-vis the king because of their missionary work or because of the high political tension, i.e. because they were evangelists or envoys. Perhaps they were among the least involved British citizens in this conflict.

3.4.1 Hastie’s death and Radama’s agreement with the Blancard Brothers

On the 23rd of October 1826 Radama wrote a letter to governor Cole in Mauritius telling that his good friend James Hastie was dead, having been ill for a long time.⁴²⁰ Several times it has been stated that both Radama and Hastie’s health were injured because of their hard military campaigns in bad climate, etc. Concerning Hastie, this may be a mistake, even if many historians have repeated that argument, because just before he was injured by an accident he was as vigorous as ever. For example he wrote to the governor from Tamatave in the last days of February 1826, about his visit in Foulpoint:

*“On the 11th (of Febr.) I accompanied Farlahy to hunt wild boar. (---) after our repast an old trui led us several miles amidst underwood and swamp and at her death I found myself near ten miles on route to Tamatave, and as I had intended leaving Foulpoint the next day I waited to sun set and walked across in the cool of the night, My attendants followed me the ensuing day and on their arrival here most of them were ill with fever - Jean René had been dabbling with the famed medicine of Le Roy during my absence and had taken too little or too much and was much worse than when I left him (---). Jean René is again mending yet pleads so hard for me not to abandon him, that tho’ I am anxious to take advantage of the moon light to return I cannot with propriety leave him for a day or two “*⁴²¹

⁴¹⁸ Belrose–Huyghues, 2001, p. 366.

⁴¹⁹ Belrose–Huyghues, 2001, p. 292 & 294

⁴²⁰ MA, HB-4, Radama to Cole, 23.10.26: “I have the honour to do the painful and lamentable duty of informing Your Excellency that James Hastie Esq. the enlightened and faithful Agent of your Government at my Court for several years is no more. He expired on the 18th instant (...) after having been very ill for a long time. By his wise counsels and his promptitude always to assist the needy and distressed, he has not only attached myself to him more and more every year, but also my people who lament his loss as a friend and a father.”

⁴²¹ MA, HB-4, Hastie to Cole, 25.02.26

Walking many miles hunting through wood and swamp, and then continuing all the way to Tamatave (ca. 60 km) shows an able and sporty man, and not a man with a wretched health. As he found his friend Jean René very ill in Tamatave he stopped a few days to give him some medical care, before going up to Antananarivo. In the capital he worked with great plans of a sugar- and indigo-plantation at Mananjary, and he finished this work by signing a contract with Radama in the middle of March.⁴²² He later explained to the governor that this was done to prevent the king from entering such arrangements with some French merchants from Bourbon.⁴²³ But even that last great effort to promote British capital and interest in Madagascar failed when Hastie died, and it was the French interests led by M. Arnoux and M. de Lastelle and others that were allowed to make the big enterprise near Mananjary. Hastie was not allowed to stay a long time in Antananarivo because already in the last days of March he wrote to the governor's secretary from Tamatave, where he had hurried back for the purpose of settling the problems caused by the death of Jean René:

*"I wrote to you (---) from Tananarivo on the 10th instant, on the 14th I was apprised of the death of Jean René and returned (---) where I arrived this morning for the purpose of settling his affairs and installing the new Commander who is agreeably assented to, to be the nephew of the late Chief, Mr. A. Coroller. You will possibly ask why the King has not appointed an Ovah Chief to the command: the fact is, he has not a man fit for the situation".*⁴²⁴

Those proceedings of Hastie also show that Raombana is guilty of another erroneous story when he states that Hastie and another officer killed Jean René by sword because he was Hastie's enemy.⁴²⁵ David Jones stated when he visited Antananarivo in 1840 that this story was one of the lies used as political argument at that time (see chapter 5.5).

After the installation of Prince Coroller as new governor, Hastie entered a ship going to Mauritius. He wanted to confer with the governor and also to care for the new missionaries who were proceeding to Madagascar at that time. On board the ship the fatal accident occurred, as the missionaries later related in a letter to the directors in London:

"He left Tamatave on the 20th (of May) and embarked for the Mauritius in good estate of health, but in the morning of the 22nd he got up on deck in his sleep. The officer on the watch saw him and spoke to him but did not know that he got up in his sleep. (---) he startled, turned suddenly and fell down (---) On the 30th he arrived at the Mauritius and His Excellency the Governor ordered a committee of Surgeons to examine him and they gave it in as "Their opinion, that two of his ribs were dislocated and that his liver were hurt". They put him into a salivation and he suffered very much for twenty-eight days. Many did not expect him to survive this shock. As soon as he got a little better he made all possible preparations to embark for Tamatave and arrived at this place with our Missionary friends on the 12th

⁴²² MA, HB-4, The articles of agreement between Radama and James Hastie, 17.03.26

⁴²³ MA, HB-4, Hastie to Cole, 12.06.26: *"I beg leave to submit to Your Excellency that a company of Bourbon merchants have made proposals to King Radama on very advantageous terms to establish extensive Sugar and Indigo manufactories in Madagascar, in consequence of which and under impression that the manufacture of these articles being introduced by British capital must tend to support and even augment the ascendancy that the Government retains with King Radama, I have made arrangements in partnership with the King and subject to Your Excellency's approbation or disapproval for the commencement of the necessary works - "*

⁴²⁴ MA, HB-4, Hastie to Viret, 26.03.26

⁴²⁵ Ayache: 1994, p 275 – 277

Aug. (---) The second evening after his arrival he went on board and fell again and hurt himself very much and was very ill for eight or nine days".⁴²⁶

Although Hastie was injured again he soon started his journey to Antananarivo, but one of the new missionaries travelling together with him, David Johns, states that he got so sick when arriving at Ivondro that he was unable to follow them, even though they waited several days there. Luckily for the new missionaries they met with Chick and Rowlands in the course of two days, coming from the capital to help the newcomers on their journey up the country.⁴²⁷ Hastie waited for two more days to regain strength before he left Ivondro travelling together with three Frenchmen. One of those was Louis Blancard. On the road Hastie had another accident when his "Corne à poudre" exploded in his right hand.⁴²⁸ Hearing about his sickness and this last accident Jones volunteered to meet him on the road, and he met him and the three Frenchmen about 60 miles from the capital. He relates that one or two days later:

"They arrived within eight or nine miles to the Capital by dusk on the evening of the 4th September. Anxious to see Mrs. Hastie and his little boy he travelled after it was dark this evening over a bad road. His bearers slipped and he fell down on his head in going over a steep place and hurt himself again".⁴²⁹

Hastie did not mention this accident in his last letter to Viret, but was only talking about his wounded hand, which was healing fast.⁴³⁰ But a few days later he had new problems with his dislocated ribs and his hurt liver and he died after 22 days of sickness on the 18th of October 1826. Louis Blancard was the first one to write the sad news to the governor.⁴³¹ But immediately after the funeral Radama wrote a nice letter to Governor Cole explaining that his enlightened and faithful Agent was no more, concluding:

"Notwithstanding the death of James Hastie Esq. Your Agent at my Court, yet I Radama who have stopped the slave trade in accordance with His Britannic Majesty, am still alive; and I am determined by every means in my power to abide unchangeably by my stipulations in the treaty, if your Government will continue to give me annually what is stipulated therein".⁴³²

The Blancard Treaty

Radama's proud words of being still alive and willing to abide unchangeably to the treaty soon proved to be of little worth when new advisers led him far astray from all intentions of the British-Malagasy Treaty. Five days after Hastie's burial Radama and Louis Blancard signed a new treaty monopolizing the trade from nearly all the eastern coast of Madagascar, stating that "La Maison Blancard" were to pay the king 30.000 piastre (Spanish dollars) the first year, and 40.000 the following 4 years, and were thereby allowed to trade without any taxes, while all other merchants were forced to pay high taxes for their trading. The 12 paragraphs in the treaty gave the Blancard brothers wide authority acting in the name of Radama.⁴³³

⁴²⁶ LMS, Mad, 2.4.D, Undated & unsigned report from the missionaries

⁴²⁷ LMS, Mad, 2.3.C, David Johns to the directors, 08.11.26

⁴²⁸ MA, HB-4, Hastie probably to Viret written by a French hand, 27.08.26: "L'accident facheux qui vient de m'arriver est cause que je suis obligé de me servir d'une main étranger pour vous aviser. La Corne à poudre dont je me sert, a malheureusement éclaté dans ma main droite, son explosion a occasionné un déchirement total de son interieur"

⁴²⁹ LMS, Mad, 2.4.D, Undated and unsigned report from the missionaries.

⁴³⁰ MA, HB-4, Hastie to Viret: 08.09.26

⁴³¹ MA, HB-4, Blancard to Cole, 19.10.26: "En vous avisant de ce facheux événement, je ne remplis que sa volonté cincere qui est une qu'il m'a dictée en expirant dans mes Bras."

⁴³² MA, HB-4, Radama to Cole, 23.10.26

⁴³³ MA, HB-22, Convention passé entre Sa Majesté Radama Souverain de Madagascar et le r. Louis Blancard agissant au nom de M.M.Blancard & Co négociary de Maurice. Fait (...) au Palais Royal de Tananarive le 25 octobre 1826

We may question why the king could change so rapidly from all former conditions in the British-Malagasy Treaty of Friendship and accept a trading monopoly. Had Louis Blancard been able to persuade Radama in those 6 weeks he had stayed at the court? Or did Blancard's proposals correspond with ideas Radama had met and discussed for a long time with his counsellors? I have found some interesting indications of the latter possibility in the letters from Dr. Nils Bergsten on Mauritius. There are two letters addressed to Radama found in the HB-series in the Mauritius Archives. The first one is very long and written on the 15th of October 1825, while the second is short and written half a year later, on the 4th of April 1826, but accompanied by a very long "Memoire".

Dr. Nils Bergsten

Who was this Dr. Nils Bergsten? There has been an awakening interest in recent years for this Swedish surgeon who settled on Mauritius as a young man in 1802, married a girl from a French family in 1808, and spent all his life working as a surgeon on Mauritius. Materials from his "Memoire", first published by "La Revue Historique et Littéraire de l'Île Maurice" from the 1890's, have been made available by "La Gazette des Îles de la Mer des Indes" in Port Louis. Amédée Nagapen has also written different articles in "La Gazette", which give us some traits of his life. Also Dr. Ludvig Munthe has produced interesting studies of him and given an outline of his life, describing him as:

(an) *"interesting man who, through the first half of the 19th century, played an important role in the Mauritius-Madagascar milieu both as physician, businessman, diplomat and church / mission-related person"*.⁴³⁴

I wonder why his contemporaries on those two islands very seldom seem to have considered his ideas worthy a discussion. Being a Protestant stranger who had got his connections with the French-Catholic community through marriage might be a reason for his non-acceptance into the leading circles in the country after the British occupation. That might also be the reason to his quite strong criticisms of the British leaders, especially Governor Farquhar. That critic went so far as to suggest that Farquhar had stolen the money from the colony treasury.⁴³⁵ Maybe Bergsten was an important personage in the colony in one way or another. At least he was a good linguist and was often called for as interpreter. But his political ideas and recommendations were sometimes a little odd, like the letter he addressed to the Swedish government and Minister Witterstedt on the 14th of July 1821 proposing that the Swedish government should buy the islands Bourbon and Mauritius. That proposal was far from the realities of politics in the region at that time.⁴³⁶

The most important questions to my study must be how I can evaluate Dr. Bergsten and his political ideas. What ideas could his two letters give King Radama? Were the ideas expressed therein easy to understand for a monarch on his path of modernizing a primitive kingdom, or could it cause confusion and great problems in the future? A proclamation in a Mauritian paper on the 18th of June 1825 about the possibility of residing and trading in Malagasy harbours caused Bergsten to write his first letter. Obviously, this must be Radama's "Port regulations" given to Commodore Nourse in Majunga the year before. Bergsten started his letter by flattering the king, who he compared to Tsar Peter the Great of Russia, stating that Radama like Peter

⁴³⁴ Dahl, 1993, p. 40: Ludvig Munthe: 19th century contact between Mauritius and Madagascar. Contribution to the ongoing Dr. Nils Bergsten-studies.

⁴³⁵ La Gazette, No.20, july 1988, p. 23, Nagapen: Mémoires du Dr Bergstén

⁴³⁶ La Gazette, No.14, avril 1987, p. 16: Jean Benoist: Nils Bergsten propose à la Suède d'acheter les îles Bourbon et Maurice.

the Great, had managed to unify and organize his country. After a long history he concludes:

“profiter des leçons que donne l’expérience les autres peuples; marchez sur les traces de Pierre le Grand; attirez auprès de vous beaucoup d’étrangers a talent; le grand ouvrage de la civilisation sera accéléré; la stabilité de Votre gouvernement deviendra plus grand, et Vous, Sir, Vous aurez même plus de sûreté pour Votre vie.

*Ceci peut paraître un paradoxe; mais rien n’est plus positif que l’expérience et le succès obtenu déjà en pratique. Il est facile a concevoir que tous les étrangers, dont la fortune et le bonheur est attaché a la vie du Prince qui les accueille, et au forme de Gouvernement qui fait leur bonheur, ils seront tous très zelés pour conservation et pour la prospérité de l’une et de l’autre. (---) Si bien disposés que puissant être vos princes Malgaches, ils ne sont pas en état de vous assister; il vous faut des Européens instruits; ces derniers inspireront plus de confiance aux Européens travailleurs et artisans, tout sur les intentions du Gouvernement, que sur l’exemption des lois protectrices, que sur les secours dont ces gens peuvent avoir besoin”.*⁴³⁷

The interesting point in this letter is his recommendation that Radama should call for as many Europeans with talents and good will as he could get to come and trade and work for him. It is also significant that he recommended free work and trade without any protection law, because only that measure would make the needed progress possible. He says that Peter the Great even used the beaten Swedish army in his search for progress, placing the officers and soldiers scattered among his own people to teach them all their metiers etc. Bergsten himself volunteered to help Radama organize research for minerals from the whole island, on the condition that he would send samples of all kind of stones to him in Mauritius, allowing him to make analyses of them. He also asks the king to cut down 1000-1200 trees of a special kind and send them to him when he could get a good price for them. Finally, and probably as his major reason for writing this letter, Bergsten expressed a wish to be given diplomatic status as minister for production of minerals, and to be appointed official commercial Agent representing Madagascar on Mauritius.⁴³⁸ The king did not answer this letter, certainly since it was far from his mind to nominate an unknown surgeon on Mauritius neither his minister for production of minerals nor his trading agent in that country. The French adventurer A. Copalle, who resided in Antananarivo 1825-1826 in order to paint a portrait of Radama, states that he often discussed actual items with the king. After a dinner with Radama on the 12th of November 1825 the king showed him a letter and asked him to read it to him, and Copalle stated that the contents of the letter greatly amused the king.⁴³⁹ Although Copalle neither did name the author nor give a just resume of the letter, there is no doubt that he was talking about Bergsten’s first letter.

⁴³⁷ MA, HB-8.8, Bergsten to Radama, 15.10.25

⁴³⁸ MA, HB-8.8, op.cit Bergsten, 15.10.25: *“Il est naturel, pour bien faire, que j’aie la direction en chef de toutes les production minérales, si vous desirer d’obtenir de mon travail et de mes talens tout l’avantage possible; pour cela, il faudrait que j’aie à Madagascar une qualité avec le pouvoir d’agir suivant les circonstances; si telle est la volonté de Votre Majesté, elle est prié de me faire expedier un diplôme Royal qui me nomme à Madagascar le Ministre et premier secretaire d’Etat pour toutes les productions minérales de Votre Royaume, et par un autre diplôme Royal Votre agent à Maurice.”*

⁴³⁹ BAM, 1910, Vol. VIII, Voyage dans l’intérieur de Madagascar et à la capital du roi Radame pendant les années 1825 et 1826. Copie faite en 1909 d’un manuscrit autographe de A. Copalle, appartenant à la bibliothèque de M. De Froberville, à la Pigeonnière, commune de Chailles (Loir-et-Cher), p.34, date 13 novembre : *“Il a soumis à mon interprétation une lettre qu’il vient de recevoir de Maurice. Elle est d’un M. B...n, qui s’annonce à la fois comme militaire, négociant, chimiste, homme d’état, etc,etc, et finit sa volumineuse épître par une demande de **premier ministre secrétaire d’État**. La lecture que j’ai faite de cette extravagante production a beaucoup amusé le Roi.”*

In his second letter Bergsten change his proposals and gave them a quite different direction. Firstly, he regretted the lack of answer to his former letter, but since he had then promised to propose means for augmenting the export from Madagascar, he would try to fulfil this promise with the co-joint “Memoire”. This Memoire is the main work of his correspondence starting with a statement he had heard that the Malagasy did not like to work. He then recommended the king to order them to work for the community, alluding to God’s orders to Adam and Eva in Genesis 3,7.⁴⁴⁰ Certainly, such a recommendation could inspire the king and his followers to the large augmenting of the feudal servitude (Fanompoana), which became a crucial problem in the Malagasy community in the 1830’s. Lining up all possible kinds of products, Bergsten tried to guide the presentation of different products for sale to the Europeans. So far, so good, but when he lined up the trading principles the king ought to follow, he stepped into a new area that we can name: *Trading Monopoly*. His principal argument is that the usual trading in the Malagasy ports is not beneficial neither for the king nor for his country, because so many traders and their small ships all needed benefits from the trade.⁴⁴¹ He no longer alluded to his proposals from last year of using all Europeans of talents and good will to make progress in the country. Now it looks like all Europeans are considered to be intriguers and a threat for the country:

*“Ceci est ceulement considérer la chose sous le point de vue commerciale et d’economie politique, mais il y a une autre tout aussi interessant, celui de la haute police et polithique en général; car tout intrigant, tout agent secret d’une gouvernement jaloux ou ennemi, alors, ne peut rester à Madagascar sous le pretexte de commerce”.*⁴⁴²

Instead of the old system Bergsten proposed that the king nominate an agent on Mauritius to take care of all merchandise from a monopolized trade. This agent would be able to get better prizes and sell larger quantities than anyone before. He also proposed that the king nominate agents in every harbour in Madagascar to take care of buying merchandise and sending them off to Mauritius.⁴⁴³ Maybe the Malagasy people will be little content at first and probably make some protestations, he states, but they will soon learn that they can get more goods at better prices in the new system. Bergsten concluded his letter by ensuring that the results of his proposed system will be even better than he can imagine, because he knows that the principles are just and that many countries have used the system for centuries. Concluding the letter, he again proposed himself as Radama’s agent in Mauritius, if that should please the king.⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴⁰ MA, HB-8.8, Bergsten to Radama, 04.04.26 : “Le malgache, me dit on, n’est pas habitué a travailler; chez Eux, ce sont les femmes qui font tout, et le Gouvernement n’a pas le droit d’exiger d’Eux un travail continuel; ce n’est pas non plus un travail continuel que je désire qu’on exige des hommes; mais quand au droit il est incontestable; car l’homme est condamne par Dieu de travailler tout sa vie (...) Toute Gouvernement a donc le droit d’exiger de ses sujets qu’ils travaillent, il a le droit de prendre une portion du produit de leur travaille pour survenir a sa depense, comme aussi, il peut exiger d’Eux l’emploi de leur bras et de leur terms, pour les ouvrage du Gouvernement.”

⁴⁴¹ MA, HB-8.8, Bergsten, op.cit, 04.04.26: “Pour mieux comprendre mes raisons et faire ressortire l’avantage qu’il y aurait a changer la marche actuelle de commerce de Madagascar, je vous entrer dans quelques detaillles. Le commerce de Madagascar est entre les mains des traitans de Bourbon et de Maurice, qui sont de petits gens, qui chargent sur des petits batiments des marchandises acheter à crédit; chez d’autres petits marchands, qui (eux) souvent ont ces marchandises de la second et 3eme main; sur les quelles, il faut que chaquun fasse des benefices. C’est le malgache qui, au dernier resultat, paye tous ces frais (...) La depense qu’exige l’armement d’un petit batiment est considerable; il y a beaucoup d’economie a charger sur un grand batiment, qui peut diminuer son frèt en raison de ses dépenses.”

⁴⁴² MA, HB-8.8, Bergsten, op.cit, 04.04.26

⁴⁴³ MA, HB-8.8, Bergsten, op.cit, 04.04.26: “Le moyen de parvenir promptement et surement au but que le gouvernement se propose; c’est nommier des gens instruits, intelligens et actifs a instruir les autres, a surveiller les travaux, l’emballage, le transport et l’embarquement des marchandises, de nommer un Agent à Maurice qui recoit tout, et qui fait faire des achâts et de retour d’autres marchandises, par le produit des ventes et par son crédit.”

⁴⁴⁴ MA, HB-8.8, Bergsten, op.cit, 04.04.26: “En dirigeant de cette maniere le peuple malgache dans leur travaux, et en faisant parvenir le produit, exclusivement, à l’Agent, etabli pour cet effet à Maurice; le resultat surprendra meme ceux qui peuvent

I can conclude my examinations by stating that in this letter, as in other situations, Bergsten looks like a political fantasist proposing changing ideas unfit for practical politics. Most of his ideas did not do any harm, because the men in power ignored them. But this idea about a trading monopoly for Madagascar caused great disturbances because there were some people willing to put it into effect. I do not know whether Radama gave Bergsten any response to this second letter, but most probably he did not. Neither do I know whether Bergsten and Louis Blancard were cooperating. But I am sure that the latter knew about Bergsten's proposals to the king before he left Mauritius to visit Radama, and that this letter in some way became a model for the "Blancard Treaty". Blancard says in a letter to Governor Lowry Cole that he was on train to go to Madagascar in order to make important trading relations. He also proposed taking charge of whatever the governor would ask him to do, if he could be furnished with an introduction letter to the king.⁴⁴⁵ It should thereby be evident that he did not yet know Radama, but hoped to make important trading relations with him. It is not important whether he was charged with Bergsten's proposals or not, but I suppose he might have known its contents. Arriving at Radama's court in the critical juncture of Hastie's sickness, he soon managed to secure the king's confidence, and Bergsten's proposals might have been used by the two parties when they formed the new treaty, because even small points in the proposal are found there, such as allowing Radama to send some youths with Blancard's vessels to study seamanship, and allowing him to use the vessels for a while when needed, when going to the garrison in Fort Dauphin for example.

3.4.2 The British protests against "the Blancard Treaty" caused a deep crisis of confidence

When Radama published his new tariff of taxes⁴⁴⁶ all the traders both in Mauritius, Bourbon and Madagascar were shocked, and the traders from Mauritius complained to the governor, because it would be next to impossible for them to trade in Madagascar any more.⁴⁴⁷ No leader of a colony's government could accept such terms of trading, and in Mauritius Archives the whole volume HB-22 contains letters concerning that case, which clearly shows that Governor Cole gave the question high priority. G.S. Chapus and G. Mondain later printed French translations of some of the most important letters in this correspondence.⁴⁴⁸

The governor could do little during the bad season except his nominating of the missionary David Jones to Acting British Agent in Madagascar. Radama was pleased by this nomination, because Jones had worked closely together with him and Hastie during so many years.⁴⁴⁹ David Jones also accepted the nomination and was willing to enter the difficult political role. He was soon sent with a letter to the king

comprendre mes idées: je me trouverais en état d'indiquer d'autres productions et donner au commerce de Madagascar le plus grand développement. (...) J'ose répondre du succès, si on voudrait me confier l'exécution de mon plan, tant je suis certain de la vérité du principe sur lequel il est basé: l'expérience heureuse de plusieurs peuples et de plusieurs siècles en a fourni la démonstration, l'expérience pratique est de toutes les démonstrations la meilleure"

⁴⁴⁵ MA, HB-22, Blancard to Cole, 15.03.26: "Excellence, ayant l'intention de me rendre sous peu de jour à Madagascar, pour y établir des relations du commerce très important, devant y visiter les principaux établissements, & pousser jusqu'à la Capitale, j'ai cru de mon devoir d'en donner connaissance à votre Excellence & lui offrir mes services s'ils peuvent lui être agréables. (...) Si ce n'était point une indiscretion, j'oserais vous prier de m'accorder comme une haute faveur une lettre d'introduction tant auprès de l'agent de Sa Majesté Britannique, que de Sa Majesté Radama, ou tel autre titre propre à me faire respecter comme Sujet de Sa Majesté Britannique."

⁴⁴⁶ MA, HB-22, Ordonnance du Roi, le 26 Xbre 1826

⁴⁴⁷ Chapus & Mondain: 1954, p. 14, quoting a letter from many traders to Cole, 12.12.26

⁴⁴⁸ BAM, Tome XXX 1951-1952, p. 111: "Un chapitre inconnu des rapports de Maurice et de Madagascar".

⁴⁴⁹ MA, HB-4, Radama to Cole, 08.01.27: "J'accepte la (...) David Jones, en ce qui concerne momentanément les affaires de votre Gouvernement avec moi, et je dois vous dire que sa conduite ici lui a mérité mon estime particulière, depuis longtemps il a été souvent initié dans mes affaires et feu mr. J. Hastie en son absence l'avait chargé d'être près de moi l'interprète de ses écrits."

explaining the governor's point of view concerning the "Blancard Treaty", and giving him a preview of the arrival of an embassy in the approaching good season. Jones answered the challenge stating:

"I shall with the greatest pleasure do the utmost in my power to further the views of the British Government with regard to this country, and will communicate to His Excellency any thing interesting that will fall under my observation, and state also with fidelity any which His Excellency may wish to communicate to Radama until the arrival of another Agent.

After the decease of Mr. Hastie, Radama was rather doubtful whether the British Government would continue the treaty with him any more (---) but I took the liberty of telling and explain to His Majesty that the continuation of the treaty did not depend on the life of Mr. Hastie but on his vigilance and attention to His stipulations to stop the slave trade in his dominions and the authority of His Britannic Majesty to pay him the equivalent. I believe Radama perfectly understood me and seemed satisfied".⁴⁵⁰

Jones reported that Radama listened to his explanations about the governor's letter with great attention and kept him about two hours to converse with him on the subject, and that the king seems to be convinced of the disadvantage that might arise, but after having signed this treaty he was at a loss as to how he could change it without losing his honour. Radama had intended to go to Fort Dauphin with his army as soon as the good season arrived, but he changed his plan in order to wait for the embassy's arrival in June.⁴⁵¹ Jones entered the affairs of meddling between the two parties in a delicate political case, and he did his best to convince his friend, the king, but Radama defended his position by making it a question of honour if he should change anything in the treaty.

On Mauritius the governor had nominated an embassy going to explain his point of view to Radama. In a letter to him he presented his two "Aide de Camps":

"The former, Lt. Campbell, will with Your Majesty's permission, remain about your person as British Agent, until the pleasure of the King my Sovereign shall be known (---) The latter, Lt. Cole, is entrusted with a Special Mission to Your Majesty arising out of your Proclamation of October last, establishing new and heavy duties and Port charges, and out of the agreement into which your Majesty would appear to have entered with Mr. Blancard".⁴⁵²

In the instructions to Lt. Henry Cole, who was the governor's own brother, he pointed out that his main object was to convince Radama of the injurious consequences to be expected from the injudicious arrangement into which he has entered with Blancard. And even the governor being far from interfering in the internal regulations of Madagascar, Lt. Cole should point out that the "Treaty of Friendship" must have some consequences for what the king could do in such cases.⁴⁵³ The governor also declared that Blancard should not be able to hold the capacity of being Radama's agent in Mauritius, both since he was a British subject and being very involved in the said trade himself.

⁴⁵⁰ MA, HB-4, Jones to Viret, 09.01.27

⁴⁵¹ MA, HB-4, Jones to Viret, 10.05.27: I have not found the said letter of 14th March, which Jones explained to Radama but only seen Jones remarks to it in this letter.

⁴⁵² MA, HB-22, Gov. Cole to Radama, 08.05.27

⁴⁵³ MA, HB-22, Gov. Cole to Lt. Cole, Instructions, 07.03.27: "Assuring King Radama at the same time that it is very far from my desire to interfere with the internal arrangements which he may think proper to make for the Government of his kingdom, and of his People, but, from the Treaty of Amity which exist between King Radama and the British Government, I feel it my duty to point out to him the very ill effects which must be produced by the measures he has recently adopted en regard to the trade of Madagascar with foreign States."

The Embassy's difficult actions

When they arrived in Foulpoint at the end of May Lt. Cole and Lt. Campbell were eager to comply with their mission, and they immediately set out for the capital. On the 4th of June they arrived in Ambatondrazaka after 12 days journey over a bad and little used road. Cole especially had suffered severely from fever during the last part of the journey. Late in the evening they got a letter from Robin, now the king's chief-secretary, expressing his Majesty's commands that they should instantly retrace their steps to the coast, and wait for him in Tamatave.⁴⁵⁴ They wrote immediately to David Jones asking him to talk with the king in hope of being allowed to proceed to Antananarivo.⁴⁵⁵ Unfortunately this letter did not find Jones in Antananarivo, but 40 miles from the capital. He returned home with all speed to speak with the king, asking permission for the embassy to proceed to the capital. Radama was astonished and said he had ordered Robin to direct them to proceed to Tamatave, because he expected that they would receive his orders before leaving Foulpoint.⁴⁵⁶ When he heard they were now so close to the capital he regretted them being sent back, and he sent off messengers inviting them to proceed to the capital and join him at the great parade of his troops.⁴⁵⁷ But this effort was in vain since so much time was lost because Jones was not present when their letter arrived. In fact Radama's letter did not reach them before they arrived in Tamatave. I do not know whether the messengers did not find the envoys since they travelled outside the main road from Tamatave to Antananarivo, or someone had done their utmost to prevent them from entering the capital. Certainly, Lt. Cole did not believe Radama's explanation of his good will, since he later complained so loudly of the king's bad conduct against the British envoys.⁴⁵⁸

It may be true that Radama really wished them to proceed to the capital when he heard they were so close, because he repeated this explanation so many times and was hurt when not believed.⁴⁵⁹ It is more likely that some persons around the king did their utmost to prevent such a solution, and it is suggested that Robin and Louis Blancard were most active in that game. Jones explained to the governor that the political climate had become very difficult, stating that he could not satisfactorily account for this act except through suspicion alone, and regretting that he was not able to render the embassy full assistance, since there were many things he could not write to them, but only pass on confidentially by word of mouth. And he continued:

"I beg leave to inform you that we here as British subjects are held in jealousy, if we be found too inquisitive or conveying any information, except what is good and praise-worthy: therefore for the sake of our mission we are obliged to be on our guard, yet after all we may do many things unintentionally. However you may conceive the reasons of my being sparing in my information relative to many things, and particularly as I doubt the sacredness of

⁴⁵⁴ MA, HB-22, Lt. Cole to Gov. Cole, 04.07.27 with copy of: Robin to the agents, 07.06.27: "Son Majesté Radama etant sur son depart pour Tamatave, me charge de vous ecrire la présante afin que vous ne continuez pas la route pour Emirne, mais au contraire de vous rendre à Tamatave le plus promptement possible. Son Majesté se propose de vous recevoir dans cette place ou elle sera sous peu de jours."

⁴⁵⁵ MA, HB-22, Lt. Cole, op.cit, 04.07.27 with copy of Lt. Cole to Jones 05.06.27 from Ambatondrazaka.

⁴⁵⁶ MA, HB-22, Lt. Cole, op.cit, 04.07.27 with copy of: Jones to Lt. Cole 13.06.27

⁴⁵⁷ MA, HB-22, Lt. Cole, op.cit, 04.07.27 with copy of: Radama to Lt. Cole 14.06.27: "However, as soon as I was informed that you were within a few days to this place I sent off messengers with the greatest speed to request you to continue your journey hither, and as I have this week a large assembly of my people, when many strangers will be present, I should be glad for you to be here."

⁴⁵⁸ MA, HB-22, Memorandum of Lt. Cole, 27.07.27, date 17.07

⁴⁵⁹ Chapus et Mondain, 1954, p. 44. Radama gave a full explanation in a letter to governor Cole, 02.08.27, regretting the death of Lt. Cole and the circumstances which led to their return to Tamatave.

communication by letter in this country, though as to King Radama Himself I have not the least fear".⁴⁶⁰

Negotiations in Tamatave

Radama arrived in Tamatave on the 16th of July and received the waiting envoys the same evening. Next day Lt. Cole had a private audience with the king and could transmit the governor's letter. This letter was written in English, but Cole was obliged to read it in French while Robin translated it into Malagasy. Not allowing the translator to deliberately make errors, Lt. Cole was *"taking care to have an Englishman who understood the language, but was too timid to speak it, at my side"*.⁴⁶¹ He does not name his helper, but I suppose it could be one of the British traders in the town or possibly the missionary artisan Canham, who happened to be in Tamatave about this time on his way back from England.⁴⁶² Lt. Cole had got some advice about how he ought to talk to Radama, but he did it his own way and maybe the final failure of his mission was to a great extent caused by the wrong strategy used:

"It had been occasionally hinted to me by those who professed to know the character and disposition of Radama, that the only likely mode of proceeding to gain the object of my Mission was by flattery, and the greatest precaution not to utter any thing that could possibly be annoying to his pride, as the self-appointed greatest Monarch in Christendom. Such however was contrary to the view I had taken of the case and so far from acting, according to the counsels thus proposed - I adopted an opposite style" -⁴⁶³

Cole started his speech by stating that since the death of Hastie there were persons around the king who tried to interrupt the friendship that existed between the two governments. Further he asked if the British government had ever failed to respect the content of the treaty or whether the king had anything to hold against them in terms of friendship or his and his country's welfare. Radama, looking surprised, replied that his answer would be given on paper, and Lt. Cole continued by blaming the king for the bad reception they had got from the first day they entered Madagascar, especially the fact that they were not allowed to proceed to the capital. He also stated that the government of Mauritius was astonished that Radama with a single stroke could stop all trading between the two countries, because the new taxes would certainly prevent nearly all ships from visiting his shores in the coming year. In a diplomatic manoeuvre Cole guided the conversation away from controversial topics to more congenial ones towards the end of the interview so that by the time the talks came to an end the king was in good spirits.

The British envoys dined with the king and conversed with him several times in the next few days. On the 19th of July Lt. Cole presented for Radama's consideration a proposal for new taxes that would give him as much revenue as the Blancard Treaty, but give all traders a fair chance to survive in the trade too. Radama gave his answer to this proposal on the 25th of July in presence of all his officers, saying that he had examined very closely the progress his country could be able to make before signing the new Treaty, and he was convinced that he had chosen the best solution. He was also a little surprised by and upset with the idea that the governor of

⁴⁶⁰ MA, HB-4, Jones to Viret 18.07.27

⁴⁶¹ MA, HB-22, Memorandum, op. cit, 27.07.27

⁴⁶² Canham was allowed by the directors of the LMS to go to England in 1826 to seek a bride, and he returned in 1827 with his wife. We know he was in Tamatave in August because he then assisted Lt. Campbell as interpreter in a quarrel with the king.

⁴⁶³ MA, HB-22, Memorandum, op. cit, 27.07.27

Mauritius should try to change his mind in that affair.⁴⁶⁴ Radama had already written his response to Governor Lowry Cole, saying that this treaty would not last forever but only five years. Should it turn out to be unfavourable, he would then be willing to change it:

“mais avant cette Epoque je ne puis rompre des engagements de ma signature et de mon sceau, c’est loin de mes sentimens et de mon caractère, et je puis vous déclarer formellemens Mons. le General que toute les observations qui peuvent m’être faites dans cette circonstance deviennent inutile attendu que je ne puis Changer de résolution sans y compremèttre mon honneur et ma gloire”.⁴⁶⁵

Radama’s fear of destroying his glory and honour was his most stubborn reason for not changing anything. But I suppose there must have been other reasons for Radama’s hanging on so doggedly to this new treaty. Obviously, he had made up his mind that this was the best solution for the trade, which would give him the greatest revenue and power, just as Dr. Bergsten’s letter had told him. I also suppose that his counsellors, Blancard, Robin, etc, told him that the governor’s efforts to force him to change the treaty were the best proof that it would augment his power and glory. Lt. Cole was very upset since the king refused to change anything in the treaty, and in their next meeting on the 27th of July he blamed the king for changing the treaty he had concluded with Commodore Nourse without any precaution or negotiation (viz. the “Port Regulations” from Majunga, 1824). This was deceit against his British ally and could also lead to great economic consequences, because the governor would be able to prohibit all trading with Madagascar in the following years and so stop Blancard’s speculations.⁴⁶⁶ But all his arguments did not move the king to change anything and he left the meeting impressed by the total failure of his mission to Radama. That seems to have had fatal consequences for him because next day he felt ill, and he expired on the 31st of July after being speechless and insensible for three days.⁴⁶⁷ Both Radama and all British persons lamented the death of Lt. Cole, and the king cared for all honour given him in the funeral.⁴⁶⁸ In a nice letter to Governor Cole he explained the problems the embassy met on the route and the discussions they had concluded in Tamatave, saying:

“Le Capitaine Cole a eu autant d’audience de moi qu’il a désirée; déjà, il avait reçu ma réponse relative à la mission dont il était chargé; déjà il était sur son point de départ lorsque tout à coup il tomba dans une agonie qui ne cessa qu’a son dernier soupir. (---) Ci-incluse est ma réponse à votre lettre et à la mission de feu Capitaine Cole”.⁴⁶⁹

The death of Lt. Cole and Radama’s letter to the governor, stating that he was not inclined to change anything, was followed by a public proclamation to the same effect.⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁶⁴ Chapus et Mondain, 1954, p. 42, report 25.07.27, signé: W. Campbell: “En conclusion, Sa Majesté exprimait sa surprise et même son indignation à la pensée que le Gouverneur de Maurice avait pu envoyer un officier pour l’amener à rompre un engagement pris et à renier sa parole royale”

⁴⁶⁵ MA, HB-22, Radama to Gov. Cole, 24.07.27

⁴⁶⁶ MA, HB-22, Memorandum, op. cit, 27.07.27: “The British Government has been allowed, for nearly three Years to believe that a Treaty did exist between the King and the late Commodore Nourse, and which was suddenly broken by His Majesty without offering any explanation, or previously communications”

⁴⁶⁷ MA, HB-22, Campbell to Cole, 03.08.27: “I regret to state, that the Mission with which he was charged has failed; the failure of which, in my humble opinion, contributed in a great measure to his death.”

⁴⁶⁸ MA, HB-22, Campbell, op.cit, 03.08.27: “He was interred on the following evening at 5 o’clock, with all due Military Honour which his Majesty King Radama paid (...) His body was attended to the Grave by all the General & Staff Officers and a large portion of the Military as well as by the Christian Inhabitant residing here. Canon was fired every half hour after his death to the moment of his interment and the Ships in the harbour with their Colour half Mast high following the example”

⁴⁶⁹ Chapus et Mondain, 1954, p. 44, Radama to Cole 02.08.27

⁴⁷⁰ MA, HB-22, Proclamation made by Coroller, Rataffe and Philibert, 25.07.27

Lt. Campbell continued his work as “Acting Resident Agent”, and soon he was forced to intervene in a difficult case. One of the British traders, Mr. Poumaraux, not knowing that two visitors came from the king did not let them in, because his wife was unwell. Soon afterwards, when Mr. Poumaraux had left the house and the door was locked, Radama and some of his staff came to the house. The king ordered the door broken down and entered together with Blancard and some others. They stayed in the house until Lt. Campbell as British Agent asked them to leave, because of Mme Poumaraux’s sickness. Next day the king’s officers decided to throw Poumaraux’s goods into the sea and burn his house because of his neglect of the king’s men, but by the intervention of Lt. Campbell this decision was changed to a fine. The same evening Robin knocked down a young British seaman without cause. Lt. Campbell complained to Radama about Robin’s bad conduct, but Radama’s response was to promote Robin to “Grand Marchall of Madagascar” the same evening. Next morning Lt. Campbell was allowed to meet the king together with the insulted persons while the missionary artisan Canham assisted him as interpreter. The king was not willing to discuss cases decided on by his officers, but Campbell insisted, since the officers had not examined the cases sufficiently. Although Radama accepted to listen to the complaints – it soon proved a mistake:

*“Mrs. Poumeraux scarcely said a few words when His Majesty put himself in a dreadful passion and in a very improper manner putting his fist in her face, exclaiming in Creole French that he was King of Madagascar and could do as he thought proper. (---) Finding that His Majesty was in a passion and would not listen to reason, I begged to drop the subject until H.M. was cool, in order that he may be fully acquainted with the circumstances. The King reflected a little and then burst out in a violent Rage, stamping the ground and putting himself in a menacing attitude, addressed me in the following word in Creole: That he could not behead me, because I was an Ambassador, but that he could put me in Irons & send me to the Mauritius. As for the reminder of the White men, English or French, I can take the heads off whenever I think proper - I am King of Madagascar and am not accountable to any mortal breathing, and in a savage manner desired Mr. & Mrs. P. to leave his House concluding that if we were disappointed with the Laws we might leave his Country”.*⁴⁷¹

The crisis between Radama and the British citizens and agent was total, and Lt. Campbell concluded his report stating, that from their first days at Madagascar they had met nothing other than reluctance and vexations from the king and his counsellors, and now Radama probably wished to get rid not only of the envoys but of all tradesmen too:

*“I believe from his conduct to the British Subjects residing here, he wishes them to leave the country in order to throw the trade entirely into Mr. Blancard’s hands, **that Gentleman never leaves him for a Moment.** The sycophants about his person, Mr. Robin and Coroller persuade him that he is the most powerful Monarch in the world and can civilize his country without the aid of Europeans. In fact he is so intoxicated with his power, that I should not be surprised to find him issue an order for them to quit his country. The natives on the coast are very much disappointed with His Majesty’s measures, regarding trade, as they cannot dispose of their goods but to Mr.*

⁴⁷¹ MA, HB-22, Campbell to Cole, 01.09.27

*Blancard, who in consequence take advantage of the circumstance & offers them a price far below their value”.*⁴⁷²

The crisis was so profound that Governor Cole in his next letter both regretted the failure of the embassy’s mission, which would cause a break in the trade and growing industry at Madagascar, and complained about the treatment of his officers and messengers, which caused the immediate withdrawal of Campbell. Finally he stated that the new Resident British Agent in Madagascar, Robert Lyall, had now been appointed by the British Sovereign and was on his way to Madagascar, but until his arrival David Jones would communicate the king’s wishes to him on all points.⁴⁷³

David Jones was still willing and ready to afford “every assistance” in his power to the British government, stating that Lt. Cole’s failure with Radama was but what he had prognosticated before Radama left his capital, because the king’s mind was prejudiced against the embassy as well as against the British government before he left Antananarivo. But even then Jones was astonished that Radama should suffer himself to be led so far astray by ignorant persons who surrounded and flattered him in a disgusting manner. Jones was now afraid the quarrel in Tamatave could have great consequences for all British subjects in Madagascar, including the missionaries:

*“I shall be very happy and even anxious to hear of the result of the failure of Lt. Cole’s mission on the part of Government to Madagascar: for we are afraid (though hoping for the best) that we shall be chased out of the country if matters cannot be arranged peaceably between the two Governments - in the mean time, if we can depart out of it alive and arrive at the Mauritius, we shall carry along with us a knowledge of the Madagascar language and of many other things.”*⁴⁷⁴

Still residing in Antananarivo David Jones was not able to interfere in the politics during Radama’s stay in Tamatave, and before his return to the capital the worst consequences of the crises were solved. Certainly, Radama understood that the breaking of faith between the two allies could have bad consequences for his country, and cooling down a little before the arrival of the governor’s letter he answered it very gently, promising to receive the new agent, Dr. Lyall, with all affection and honour.⁴⁷⁵

3.4.3 Dr. Robert Lyall settled the dispute in October 1827

Arriving on Mauritius in October dr. Lyall found it too late to proceed to Antananarivo immediately, because the bad season of travelling had already commenced. But the governor deemed it necessary that he tried to meet Radama in Tamatave before the king left that place. Lyall then left for Tamatave in the “Colonial Ship Eirin”. On sea they met a ship carrying Lt. Campbell on his way back from Madagascar. Lyall invited him onboard and persuaded him to return with him, because he was in need of all the information Campbell could give. Arriving at Tamatave on the 28th of October, Lyall sent his secretary on shore asking for an interview with the king. Robin, who was now governor of Tamatave, sent his letter to the king outside town, and he answered that Lyall was welcome to see him next morning.⁴⁷⁶ While “Eirin” gave a salute and “la Batterie” responded to that, Lyall went

⁴⁷² MA, HB-22, Campbell op.cit, 01.09.27

⁴⁷³ MA, HB-22, Cole to Radama, 29.09.27

⁴⁷⁴ MA, HB-4, Jones to Viret, 04.10.27

⁴⁷⁵ Chapus et Mondain, 1954, p. 48, Radama to Cole, 16.10.27.

⁴⁷⁶ MA, HB-14.2, Lyall’s Journal from the visit to King Radama in 1827, date 28.10.27: Robin was now entitled: “Grand Marchall of Madagascar, Commander in Chief of the Forces, General and Private Secretary of the King, Governor of Tamatave.”

on shore next day in a splendid uniform and rode up to “la Batterie” where the king resided, trying to impose the king by elegance and flattery, quite contrary to Lt. Cole’s behaviour. He succeeded in that plan, and in the next days he met daily with the king to dine with him or discuss important matters.

The main discussion was held on the 30th of October with Philibert, the Great Judge, as interpreter. They discussed a great number of items and after the conference, which lasted for three hours, Radama requested that Lyall furnish him with a list of the subjects discussed. He quickly consented and sent the king a list of 16 subjects. The most important subject was the Blancard treaty, and Lyall tried to show how many documented difficulties this treaty would cause the king, and how probable a failure of Blancard’s fulfilment of the payment due to the treaty would occur in the short-term. Lyall reported that the king was now sensible of the disadvantages of the treaty, and looking for an opportunity to cancel it.⁴⁷⁷

Later in the afternoon Lyall visited Robin. There he also met with Coroller and Philibert and Lyall wanted to discuss the Blancard treaty with those important persons around the king:

*“They all agreed in opinion, as to injurious results, and expressed a wish that it were at an end: Indeed, Mr. Robin advised me to speak, on every occasion to Radama on the subject, and promised to second all my endeavours, in enforcing its disastrous consequences, upon the King’s mind, so that in future, His Majesty should not be cajoled by the **belles paroles** of M. Blancard, who is a very insinuating character, but keep strict by to his word, and seize the first honourable opportunity to free himself and his people from the burden they now support”*⁴⁷⁸

It is interesting that those three important persons no longer supported the treaty. The Great Judge Philibert had been trading a little himself, but was now unable to do so because of the high taxes. Also other Malagasy involved were against the treaty because “La Maison Blancard” used the trading monopoly to force down the prices. The climate in Tamatave had really changed since Lt. Cole struggled there three months before. Later both Robin and the king explained once again the circumstances of the letter ordering Lt. Cole and Lt. Campbell back to Tamatave.⁴⁷⁹ It was crucial for the King to seem honest when stating that he only wished to spare them a useless journey in the bad climate.

After eating and drinking well together many days Radama and Lyall separated in good humour, saying: Adieu, Adieu - till next June – in Antananarivo. But unfortunately they were never allowed to meet again.

3.4.4 The British missionaries and the crisis

⁴⁷⁷ MA, HB-14.2, Lyall, op.cit, date 30.10.27 “I added that, so far from incurring blame for versatility, or bad faith, the annihilation of that Treaty would be the brightest ornament in His Crown. It would demonstrate to the World, that as soon as Radama was convinced of the sad results of a convention, which he had entered into, by the advice of interested individuals, He looked only to the good of His nation, and acting with firmness and dignity, he seized the present opportunity (Mr. Blancard being much in debt), of cancelling a mischievous contract. Radama (...) was now perfectly sensible that the convention he had concluded with Mr. Blancard’s House, was a disadvantageous measure, and therefore, that he had no arguments to oppose to my reasoning, except this, that His honour must not be compromised. He there added, that he awaited an opportunity to **break the treaty, when he could do so, upon fair and honourable grounds**, which would satisfy the world that he held His signature sacred. He further uttered as nearly as I can recollect the following sentence in French: “Je crois que cet homme (M. Blancard) doit tomber, et je cherche l’occasion pour le faire tomber avec l’honneur.”

⁴⁷⁸ MA, HB-14.2, Lyall, op.cit, date 30.10.27

⁴⁷⁹ MA, HB-14.2, Lyall, op.cit, date 01.11.27: “His Majesty then added, that he never wished, nor intended to prevent Mess.rs Cole and Campbell from visiting Tananarivo, but at the time, he had prospect of daily quitting the capital, and thinking they were still near Foul Point, he wished that they should not have an useless journey, as he might be gone from it. Three times, Radama repeated the same thing to me in French -”

I have explained that some missionaries were directly involved in the crisis, especially Jones, who was appointed Acting British Agent and paid by the governor for the work he was ordered to do.⁴⁸⁰ Also Canham, who had acted as interpreter for Lt. Campbell in the stormy meeting with the king in the late August, was deeply involved. But I do not think the missionaries were really afraid of not being allowed to depart alive if the crises should develop and they were forced to leave the country. This point is made by Vincent Huyghues-Belrose in his book (see chapter 3.4). I suppose his conclusion is not exact enough when he seeks the cause of their fear only in their evangelistic and teaching work. What Jones really says in the letter of 4th of October about that fear, is that he is afraid the missionaries shall be chased out of the country if matters cannot be arranged peacefully between the governments.⁴⁸¹ It should be clear from this text that his fear was closely connected to the political struggles explained in this chapter, since he did not point at anything in their work or lives which could be injurious to them or cause their removal.

When Jones also suggested that they might not be able to depart out of the country and arrive alive in Mauritius, I am convinced he pointed especially at the bad season. Writing in October, Jones knew very well that if the missionaries were forced to leave Antananarivo and travel down to Tamatave in the following months not all of them should escape the fever and arrive alive in Mauritius, because there were so many examples showing that travelling in the bad season had a very high death rate amongst Europeans. I therefore suppose that most of the problems for the missionaries were connected with the political quarrels between the king and the governor. At least, Jones did not mention any change in Radama's attitude to the missionaries when he met the king in Antananarivo again:

"I have had an occasion to wait on His Majesty several times after His return from Tamatave and I was not little astonished to see Him so kind and affable after certain reports carried to my ears from Tamatave - and now after enquiry I find that His Majesty knows nothing of them (---). Radama appears to me from conversations, which I have had with Him, to be as favourable as ever to our mission and the welfare of His country, which astonished me after what I have heard some month ago. He has spoken to me very highly and respectably of Dr. Lyall, Lieut. Campbell and particularly of the lamented Lieut. Cole".⁴⁸²

I deem it certain that the king being as favourable as ever to the missionaries and their work after the crisis in Tamatave was settled, clearly shows that the missionaries were not involved as a body in this crisis, and those who were involved behaved in a manner not disgracing them in the eyes of the king. I will also point to the fact that among all the Europeans, David Jones kept a special place as the king's intimate friend. He was the last man outside the Rova called by Radama to see him, and maybe he was the last man (except his attendants) allowed to speak with him before his death.

Intermezzo:

After his return to Mauritius in November 1827 Lyall wrote a letter to the governor proposing that he stop all trade between Madagascar and Mauritius in the next season. Should "La Maison Blancard" be able to pay the debt to Radama, the king would not be free to cancel the treaty as soon as hoped "in consequence of the

⁴⁸⁰ MA, HB-4, Jones to Viret, 04.10.27: "I beg of you to present my sincere thanks to his Excellency the Governor for the handsome remuneration which He has been pleased to order for me."

⁴⁸¹ MA, HB-4, Jones, op.cit, 04.10.27

⁴⁸² MA, HB-4, Jones to Viret 12.12.27

sacredness of his signature". An interdiction of all trade between the two countries would certainly stop for Blancard's ability to fulfil his duty.⁴⁸³ I have not found anything about the governor's response to the proposal, but I suppose he might consider that the Blancard brothers would be unable to pay their debt in due time, and therefore it would be not necessary to act against them. In the course of a few months Lyall could write to Radama that since the crises had struck the "La Maison Blancard", the king was now free to cancel the treaty.⁴⁸⁴

An intermezzo occurred when the Blancard brothers addressed themselves to Lyall in June 1828, just before he left for Madagascar, asking him as British agent to take care of their interests against Radama because of the broken treaty. Lyall consented to discuss the affaire with Radama deeming it necessary to settle the question finally. But the following day "La Maison Blancard" had inserted a notice in "Le Journal Général de Maurice" saying that the British agent going to Madagascar should care for their "just claims" towards Radama.⁴⁸⁵ Next morning Lyall got a letter from Viret, private secretary to the governor, asking him by which authority he had accepted to intervene in that affair, because he ought to remember that last year he had been sent especially to Tamatave to avoid that treaty and the bad consequences of it. He answered that he thought it his duty to protect all British subjects, but that he did not agree with what Blancard had written in the paper.⁴⁸⁶ But the governor was not satisfied with the explanations and stated in the next letter:

"you have taken, not only an unauthorized, but a very injudicious part, in having pledged yourself, even so far as you have done, with Mess. Blancard & Co (---) His Excellency now deems it necessary to explain that the official Situation, which you hold, is under the Colonial Government, and His Excellency desires that you will carefully abstain from affording any kind of assistance or support to the claims of Mess. Blancard, arising out of their late agreement with King Radama: that agreement as before stated, was concluded originally without the knowledge of the local Government, and throughout its continuance, has been opposed by His Excellency on the grounds that it was no less unjust in its principle than prejudicial to the commercial interests both of Madagascar and of Mauritius. In conclusion: It is His Excellency's directions that you will insert a notice in the Public Papers disavowing the Statement which has been published there by Mess Blancard".⁴⁸⁷

Lyall was obliged to accept the governor's judgement and insert a note to that effect in the papers. A few days later he left for Madagascar, and perhaps he was glad to get a new governor before he started his work there. Governor Charles Colville arrived in Port Louis on the 18th of June 1828, and in the course of a few weeks he replaced Governor Lowry Cole.

⁴⁸³ MA, HB-22, Lyall to Cole, 08.12.27

⁴⁸⁴ MA, HB-22, Lyall to Viret, 13.06.28

⁴⁸⁵ Chapus et Mondain, 1954, p. 94: (La Maison Blancard) "peut (...) compter sur la justice du Roi Radama, qui sans doute a été trompé, et sur l'agent anglais, qui a bien voulu se charger de présenter ses justes réclamations à Sa Majesté."

⁴⁸⁶ MA, HB-22, Lyall to Viret, 13.06.28

⁴⁸⁷ MA, HB-22, Viret to Lyall, 14.06.28

3.5 Analysis

The role of the British missionaries who worked close to Radama became much more important than their number would indicate. David Jones called himself a loser after his first attempt in Tamatave, but it was no loser that accompanied James Hastie to Antananarivo in September 1820. All his travel expenses were paid by Governor Farquhar, who also had given his envoy Hastie instructions to care for him and introduce him to all the important people in Madagascar, because he was the bearer of a plan approved by the governor. Although it was Hastie's role to negotiate in all political matters concerning the renewal of the Treaty, Jones was in some way Farquhar's envoy, trying to establish mission work in order to promote Christianity and British civilisation.

As soon as Hastie found his negotiations becoming difficult because Radama wanted to add education of his people to the conditions of the Treaty, the lone missionary got caught up in the political questions. The Missionary Society's possibility to send artisans to Antananarivo and also to take care of the Malagasy youths that Radama wished to send to England, became a key that opened the shut door, even though that is not mentioned in the documents of the Treaty. Whether Jones' threat, that if Radama did not agree to the Treaty he would leave Madagascar and go to India, was important or not, is difficult to say. But when the Treaty was concluded, Radama immediately invited Jones to stay with him, to which he consented. For about 8 months Jones was a kind of "hostage of peace" both to Radama and Farquhar, witnessing that both parties kept the Treaty inviolate. The governor later expressed that it had been extremely important to British political interests to have Jones placed at Radama's court. One reason might have been his counteracting the French influence from Robin, the king's scribe, another that the king prohibited the Catholic mission from Bourbon to establish work in Imerina, as they had demanded. But Jones' ability in the French language also opened for an intimate friendship with the king that lasted until his death and became very important for the progress of the mission.

Radama was at first little interested in a broad education in reading and writing, because those arts had been confined to the royal family hitherto. But seeing that those arts promoted great new possibilities for his army and administration in distant parts of the island, he set up new schooling opportunities for his subjects. There is no doubt that this work was an indispensable condition for the expansion of the Merina kingdom the next few years, and thus the missionaries' role in Radama's military and political expansion was indisputable.

Also the role of the Missionary Society caring for the Malagasy youths studying in England became important, since Radama had placed such great hopes on that project. The role of the missionary artisans arriving in 1822 was less important, because only the blacksmith, George Chick, succeeded in his trade, entering an important project of furnishing the king's new palace with the needed ironwork. The others made more problems for the king, especially Thomas Rowlands, who caused the king to order a spinning machine sent out from England, though he was unsuccessful when it arrived. Some of the Creole artisans who Farquhar sent from Mauritius in 1821 and the following years had more success, especially the carpenter Louis le Gros, but it is significant that the Creole weaver was also soon dismissed. In 1826, James Cameron, the most famous of all the missionary artisans arrived. Together with Chick he created many kinds of industries in the young nation, and his influence was enormous. But most of his work fell in the following periods.

In the religious and cultural spheres their influence was great, not because of their preaching or Sunday worship, since so few adults attended, obviously thinking that such meetings were for the schoolchildren who were ordered to attend, but because of their provocative treatment of Malagasy customs and taboos, aimed at showing that the Christian God was above all other gods and idols. The missionaries did not propose Radama's haircut, but they partook in the activities that followed, and the 4000 women opposing the king's behaviour begged the king to get the whites delivered to them. Radama's deadly answer shows that he would defend his teachers with all force. This event, which the missionaries got involved in, changed the king into an omnipotent Monarch in force of his new army, and it destroyed effectively the people's former possibility to influence or correct the king's proceedings through the Kabary.

As to the writing of the Malagasy language, the work of Jones and Griffiths became essential. In the struggle developing in 1823 between the two veterans on the one side, and Jeffreys and Hastie, who wished for a more "patriotic" use of English vowels, on the other side, the king approved the plans of the first party. But he applied some needed corrections, which partly may derive from the work of his French scribe, Robin. The education in reading and writing the Malagasy language, and the translating or writing books in that language, became extremely important for cultural development and the future political changes in the country.

The school system developed from Jones' Royal School and Griffiths' and Jeffreys' schools of Hova children to be thrown into one school called the Missionary Seminary, which was declared to be a parent school for all schools they planned in Imerina. (It may be noteworthy to state that Robin's school (1823-1825) was not included in the central school.) This reform allowed the missionaries to use the Lancaster education system, where the advanced pupils could be used as teachers for the others. That enabled them during a few years to expand the schoolwork and establish about 30 schools throughout Imerina reaching Betafo and Mahaiza etc in the province of Vakinankaratra (or Betsileo). Trying to get support from abroad, they established the Madagascar Missionary School Society in 1825, asking subvention by an "Appeal to the Christian World" and getting a lot of money from Mauritius and England. But the school reform in 1824 also changed the social system in the country, because Radama now mixed the children from the Nobles (Andriana) and the free people (Hova), and selected those he would use to work for him. Together with the equality practised in the army this change took away the Nobles' exclusive right to govern the society, and thereby laid the ground for the great changes after his own death.

From Jones' first days in Antananarivo, Radama had decided many things concerning the schools. But the initiative from Farquhar in June 1822 demanding an official examination of the schools presided by the king, threw the whole work entirely into his hands. Soon Radama selected the cleverest boys from the schools to be appointed secretary or Aid de Camps in the administration and the army. The first years not many were taken to that kind of work, but from 1827 all the great boys were transferred to military education, even though a pledge was given not to send them to the war. This pledge soon turned into a lie, especially after Radama's death, and the schools became hated by people who did not wish to lose their children in the wars, and it became extremely difficult for the missionaries to get new scholars. Although the schoolwork entered a period of great difficulties in 1827 and never regained its former strength, the missionaries had already spread different knowledge and brought about important cultural changes in society to a very considerable extent.

Even though many of the “readers” perished in the wars etc, new people became interested in learning voluntarily, and that caused great changes in the next period.

Radama’s last two years were turbulent. The death of the British Agent opened for new counsellors etc. The “Dark horse”, Mr. Robin, may have caused important changes in the school policy. The British Agent and the missionaries might have caused his removal from the work close to the king in 1823. Returning to the job as Radama’s secretary as soon as Hastie died, Robin could seek revenge. Working against all British influence and interests he soon created strong anti-British feelings at court aided by Louis Blancard and Prince Coroller. Being appointed Acting British Agent in Madagascar, David Jones ventured into this conflict. He was sent to Radama to explain the letters from Governor Lowry Cole, and though he was friendly received by the king, Jones could later state that he was prejudged against the British by the counsellors surrounding him. When the king left the capital and went to Tamatave, Jones was left outside the hot political quarrel down there, because William Campbell had replaced him as Acting British Agent. But he opined that unless the difficulties between the two governments should be settled, they should probably all be chased out of the country.

But when Radama returned to the capital after Dr. Robert Lyall’s negotiations with him in November 1827, he received Jones in as friendly a manner as ever when he visited him. And when the Blancard treaty was cancelled the missionaries could work in peace and optimism, still hoping for progress and a lasting influence on the religious and cultural sphere.

Chapter 4: KING RADAMA'S DEATH, THE REVOLUTION AND THE NEW LEADERS (1828 – 1831)

4.1 The death of a King and the revolution that followed

The correspondence I have seen did not contain many letters either from Radama or the missionaries for the period from he left Tamatave on the 4th of November 1827 to his death on the 27th of July 1828. I have shown above that Jones wrote to the governor in December 1827 after talking with Radama. From the following 8 months I have found no letter in the Mauritius Archives and only two letters in the LMS archives. Both of them are written by David Jones: The first is a copy of a proposal to Radama how to dispose of the spinning machine brought out from England,⁴⁸⁸ and the second is a letter to the treasurer of LMS complaining about the pecuniary difficulties due to the extraordinary progress of the school-work. Jones further announced that he was going to Tamatave to meet the deputation from LMS. At the same time he confessed the best hopes for the mission work in the future:

*“Should I fall a victim now, on my journey down the country, to the fever, this mission I am confident will prosper under the blessing of God alone, and if conducted in much wisdom & prudence”.*⁴⁸⁹

This contemporary correspondence did not at all mention the sickness of the king, but Raombana give us a detailed history about that event, stating that his health was injured during his long visit in Tamatave in 1827:

*“Radama was very fond of drinking ardent spirits, etc, which joined with his other manner of life (laying with women) produced a disease on him called Hanatra (swelling on the Groin) which pained him very much. At the advice of Monsieur Blancard, a Frenchman, he had the swelling opened by him at Tamatave, which did not at all produce any benefit on him, but more harm, for the wound instead of closing after some times after the above operation, increased more and more, and became a complete large ulcer; and the constant drinking of brandy and rum (---) had a hand in keeping the wound open, and not heal”.*⁴⁹⁰

It may be significant that also in his private sphere Radama's contact with Louis Blancard had a ruinous effect. Had the “Hanatra” been cared for in the usual Malagasy way it should have been rather harmless, said Raombana. The worst consequence was Radama's shame of his sickness, which forced him to withdraw from his friends and his people. Thus nobody was able to help him during his long sickness or give him medicine when he was growing worse, and when he became too sick to leave his house, he instructed the “Tsimandos” - his attendants or slaves living together with him at the “Silver Palace” - that nobody but themselves should be allowed to approach him.⁴⁹¹

Contrary to his own orders he called for a visit from David Jones. Returning from Tamatave on the 21st of July, where he had received the LMS deputation, he was called to the Rova on the 25th. Approaching the palace, he was astonished that the king neither met him at the door as usual, nor was sitting on his chair, but he was lying down on a sort of sofa:

“I approached him, and behold: poor Radama was lying down very ill & in a dangerous state. I was obliged to approach my ear in order to understand what he was saying to me. After I had come near to him, he took hold of my

⁴⁸⁸ LMS, Mad, 2.4.C, Jones to Radama, 25.02.28

⁴⁸⁹ LMS, Mad, 2.4.D, Jones to Hankey, 12.05.28

⁴⁹⁰ Ayache, 1994, p. 185

⁴⁹¹ Ayache, 1994, p. 195

hand, which he squeezed in a most friendly manner. Then he made his attendants to bring me a chair to sit by his side. Then he asked me with a low tone of voice, how Mrs Jones & family were – how I had been since I had left for Tamatave – what the people were doing on the Coast –where was Dr. Lyall – why he was delaying his arrival so long (---) and several other questions. (---) Seeing that it caused him pain to converse with me (and really my feelings were moved at the unexpected miserable sight of the man who had always been my intimate friend and like a Father and Mother to myself & family) I withdrew with a heavy heart to go home. Having taken my hat to depart, he gave me two sweet oranges to carry home to Mrs Jones (---) I am the only European who conversed & saw him last of all in this world, and I am astonished how he permitted me to have admission to him forasmuch as none was allowed to enter into the Court of his palace except six of his confidential attendants”⁴⁹².

I wonder why the king allowed a stranger to visit him at this stage of his sickness, only two days before his death. That indicates at least a great confidence in David Jones, and should be proof enough that Radama was certainly not at the point of sending away the missionaries. But was he really so fond of the pioneer missionary that he ought to see him before he died, or should he eventually want to ask him some question. Jones did not suggest that anything of religious character were discussed during this visit. Probably we can understand his wish to see Jones to be a sign that he still had a hope of getting help from the Europeans with his health. It is significant that one of his main questions was about the expected arrival of Dr. Robert Lyall. Radama knew that the new British agent was a skilled doctor and he had already sent him two letters at this time, asking him to hasten his journey up to Antananarivo because his health was feeble.⁴⁹³ This may tell us that Radama still hoped for help from his new friend from the days in Tamatave last year, though he hoped in vain.

4.1.1 Dr. Lyall lost his most important race –

When Lyall parted from Radama in Tamatave they went their separate ways saying: “Next June - in Antananarivo”. Certainly that would be the best time for travelling up to the capital, and I have not found any details why Lyall was unable to follow this plan. But he had a big family to care for, and a secretary; Captain Morgan, with his family and also some other servants followed him. He also had a great deal of goods to care for. Other circumstances might also delay him, such as the strangers travelling together with him. The deputation from LMS, Rev. Tyerman and Rev. Bennet, who was appointed to visit king Radama and the Madagascar mission, followed Lyall to Tamatave, and we know they arrived there late because Jones, who went down to meet them, had to wait five weeks before they appeared there. When they all finally arrived about the 28th of June, Jones had already organised bearers for the deputation. They set out for the capital without delay, where they arrived on the 21st of July. On the other hand, Lyall and his many followers needed many bearers and used some days to arrange the journey. On the 28th of June Lyall wrote his greetings to Radama from Tamatave, immediately answering the letter:

“Your coming up neither to trouble me, nor disturb me, but is good, and afford me pleasure. And as you Mr. Lyall are coming up soon, I shall be happy to see

⁴⁹² LMS, Mad, 2.4.D, Jones to the directors, 10.09.28

⁴⁹³ MA, HB-19, Lyall's Journal, No. 2, 20.08.28: These two letters are dated 08.07 and 16.07.28. (The whole volume of HB-19 consists only of Dr. Lyall's Journals and consequently I will only refer to the Journal's No. & date.)

you, as I am a little indisposed, but do not leave your wife and children behind. Saith Radama".⁴⁹⁴

The king's cry for help is evident in this letter and Lyall later confessed it caused him much pain, because he could not leave his wife and children behind on the difficult journey through the forest without someone to care for them. On the 24th of July Chick met them in Ranomafana wishing to be useful for them on the bad road.⁴⁹⁵ Raombana is clearly inaccurate when saying that Chick was sent to meet Lyall to try to hasten his travelling up the country after Jones' visit to the king, because Chick had already joined Lyall in Ranomafana when Jones visited Radama on the 25th of July.⁴⁹⁶ Next evening a new letter reached Lyall in Ampasimbe and caused him to travel with all speed, because Radama wrote:

"You Mr. Lyall please to make all possible haste to come up, for I am still feeble - Therefore come up quick".⁴⁹⁷

While Lyall and his group struggled through the feared forest, other persons must have become aware of Radama's bad state of health, and tried to intervene. Obviously the missionaries knew something about the king's sickness because Griffiths had translated the above letters from the king to Lyall. But probably it was not until Jones' visit that they really understood how bad and dangerous the king's state of health was. I do not know whether they talked with Radama's secretary, Prince Coroller about the case, or if he acted solemnly as Radama's friend and secretary, but the next letter to Lyall was written by him on the 27th of July, and he was then unaware that Radama died that same day:

"Confidentiell & Secrete. (---) En quelqu'endroit que cette letter puisse vous trouver, Nous vous prions de venir ici le plus vite que possible. J'irai a votre rencontre et en route je me ferai un vrai plaisir d'accompagner votre famille et de faire hâter vos paquets, tandis que, pour vous rendre à la capitale où nous avons besoin de vous, vous courrez à grande Journée - n'y manquez pas d'autant qu'avant de vous joindre vous avec Mr. Chick.

Votre très dévoué Serviteur. A. Coroller. Prince - Com.dt Général".⁴⁹⁸

I have not found anything indicating whether Coroller was acting together with other officers who wished to become involved in the politics surrounding the succession of the king, or if he only did his utmost to help his master. But we know he made great efforts by joining Lyall on the road and forcing him to travel with all speed. On the 29th of July Lyall wrote to the king from Ambatomanga, telling him that he had left his family behind and was travelling by moonlight together with Coroller in order to come to Antananarivo as fast as possible.⁴⁹⁹ But a new letter written to Dr. Lyall that same date (29.07.28) in the name of Radama, stated:

"I salute you Mr. Lyall and thank you for I have received your letter informing me of your rapid travelling up to Antananarivo. But do not leave your wife and children behind you - for it is my desire that you should accompany your wife and children and also your packages, for I am a little better. Saith Radama (A true translation - by me, David Jones)".⁵⁰⁰

This last letter was written two days after Radama's death – but in his name – and evidently Coroller must have had some companions at court knowing about the

⁴⁹⁴ MA, HB-19, No. 2, Radama to Lyall, 08.07.28: Litteral translation by Griffiths.

⁴⁹⁵ MA, HB-19, No. 2, Lyall to Radama, 25.07.28

⁴⁹⁶ Ayache, 1994, p.195

⁴⁹⁷ MA, HB-19, No. 2, Radama to Lyall, 16.07.28

⁴⁹⁸ MA, HB-19, No. 2, Coroller to Lyall, 27.07.28: The last phrase is nearly incomprehensible French, said Chapus & Mondain, 1954, p. 100

⁴⁹⁹ MA, HB-19, No. 2, Lyall to Radama, 29.07.28

⁵⁰⁰ MA, HB-19, No. 2, Radama to Lyall, 29.07.28

king's death. I suppose that should be persons working for another solution than Ranavalona's group, and when they became aware that their efforts to get help for Radama had failed, they might have written this new letter in the king's name to hide their former proceedings.

Lyall lost his most important race. Entering the capital on the 31st of July he could only state that he did not arrive in time to be of any use.⁵⁰¹ Knowing very well that the death of the king would change all his expectations, he expressed his regret and his hope for the future:

*“Speaking individually my expectations and plans are totally overthrown. The Sovereign is “gone home” with whom, in proud anticipation, I expected to have spent a number of the best years of my life, occupied in aiding that mighty object, - the civilization of Madagascar. I have lost a friend whom I sincerely loved, - and, as I have many fresh assurances to show, by whom I was beloved (---) I have lost a father, a brother, and a friend, and my family is deprived of its promised protector. My heart keenly feels the stroke of fate. However I have formed new plans, (---) I am happy to add, that I am on the best terms with **all parties**, so that a change of dynasty is the less likely to affect me **individually**, or the amicable relations existing between Great Britain and Madagascar”.*⁵⁰²

Certainly the stroke of fate was soon going to overthrow all his hopes, and in the course of a short period he was living on bad terms with all parties, which also caused his sad exit from the country and its fatal consequences.

4.1.2 The Traditionalists and the Officers placed Ranovalomanjaka on the Throne

The force of the new army had deliberated Radama from all traditions and from the will of his counsellors. Probably he was aware that the army could be able to play its own game when he got sick, but paralysed by his sickness he did nothing to prevent it. The dispositions made towards the occupation of the new territories also compromised the possibility of carrying out his last wishes when he died. All his strong relatives were sent to important stations in those new territories, like his cousins Ramanetaka in Majunga and Ramananolona in Fort Dauphin, and his Brothers-in-Law prince Rafaralahy (Rafarla) in Foulpointe and prince Ratefy (Rataffe) in Tamatave. His own brothers were either sent away from the capital or imprisoned, and only his mother and some sisters remained at court. Therefore there was no confident man able either to care for the health of the dying monarch or to put his will about his successor into effect. It had always been the correct way of succession in the Malagasy tradition that the reigning king appointed his own successor, but now the old system did not approve.

Radama had never announced in public his will about his successor, but it was well known that he firstly had intended his nephew Rakotobe, the son of his sister Rabodosahondro and Prince Ratefy, to replace him.⁵⁰³ When Radama later

⁵⁰¹ MA, HB-19, No. 1, Lyall to Colville, 05.08.28

⁵⁰² MA, HB-19, No. 2

⁵⁰³ MA, HB-20, Rataffe to Colville, 28.08.28, asking permission to fly to Mauritius: *“It is well known that I am a Prince of (...) the Western part of Imerina, the original kingdom of King Radama's father - And my wife Rabodosahondro is the eldest (child) of Andrianampoina, Radamas father and of Rambolamasoandro, Radama's mother. I being the direct descendant of the principal chiefs of the western parts of Imerina and my wife, Rabodosahondro the direct descendant of the Eastern part of Imerina and in order to unite the kingdom, the King Radama's father requested that we should marry - And my son was intended to succeed him to the throne, But Radama bearing hard on the people to improve them in knowledge and civilize his country, and also seeing the youth, my son, attending the School and improving very fast, the old people and the judges did not like that any of Radama's relations should reign as he died without appointing his successor.”* See also: Ayache, 1994, p 231.

had a daughter, it was said he wanted her to become reigning queen⁵⁰⁴ and eventually to marry Rakotobe. But they were still young or even infants, and since no preparation was made to put Radama's will into effect they were easily overthrown.

Two groups joined forces and succeeded in making a real revolution. Firstly, there was a group of old counsellors often called ministers or judges – and also referred to as the king's "namana" – or friends. They were leaders of the traditionalists, who did not like Radama's politics of innovations and sudden changes, because that had deprived them for their former influence and privileges. They often disliked all strangers, and especially the Missionaries because of their efforts to change the Malagasy culture and religion. Secondly, there was a group of officers wishing to augment their own power and privileges, who mostly originated from the Hova cast. In old Malagasy culture the political leadership was entirely in the hands of the Andriana cast with the King at the top. Therefore those new men coming from the free cast of agrarian and mercantile families were eager to care for the new possibilities their military power could afford them. Many of them had studied in the schools of the missionaries and favoured their work, and they were usually more progressive than the traditionalists.

Raombana relates that one of the Tsimandos (the king's attendants) was afraid to be held responsible of the king's death and therefore he called for Radama's wives to come and visit him. They were all shocked by his feeble state of health, and the "Sikidy" or divination was immediately put to work to discover means to cure him and bring him back to life. This interview with his wives created a possibility to make intrigues for usurping the power, and Raombana says that the one who grasped that chance did not have any right to the throne but bought it by promising gold and power to the men helping her.⁵⁰⁵

It was Ramavo, Radama's first wife, who immediately formed a plan when she saw her dying husband. Raombana tells several times that she had no right to the throne since she was daughter of one of Andrianampoinimerina's distant relatives. However it must have been close enough to be a threat to King Radama, because Radama or his Prime Minister Ralala's orders to secure his reign when he ascended the throne killed Ramavo's father, mother and two brothers.⁵⁰⁶ Certainly it was no wonder that Ramavo was upset with her husband and made up her mind to overthrow his family. Ramavo contacted one of the old ministers or judges named Andriamamba. He was a brave old man who had formerly fought in the civil war and later as chief commander of some military campaigns. Radama's mother had tried to have him executed, but the king had not accepted her proposal because Andriamamba had worked so closely with his father. Now Ramavo offered him money and power if he would help her to succeed her husband,⁵⁰⁷ and Andriamamba immediately called for two important officers, Andriamihaja, colonel and "Head Aid de Camp" of Radama, and Lieutenant Colonel Andrianisa, who later changed his name to Rainijohary. When they argued that Ramavo could easily forget the risk they were going to take for her, Andriamamba swore that she would not deceive them:

⁵⁰⁴ Ayache, 1994, p. 213

⁵⁰⁵ Ayache, 1994, p. 199. *"The interview of His wives with Him produced a revolution which completely upset the Dynasty of Andrianampoinimerina and Radama, and set the Crown or Kingdom on the hands of a person, who has no claims at all to the Throne, but mounted the Throne through Her intrigues, and a few persons whom she had promised to raise and to enrich if they set Her to be the Sovereign."*

⁵⁰⁶ Ayache, 1994, p. 237. See also: MA, HB-19, No.6, 10.10.28: *"I have been informed, that when Radama ascended the throne, the father, the mother and two brothers of the present Queen were put to death, and it may be questioned how such sacrifices can be avoided?"*

⁵⁰⁷ Ayache, 1994, p. 199

“That they have his words and promises that when she has got and mounted the Throne, they will be the first officers of Her Majesty; and in fact shall reign in Her name without possessing the titre of Royalty (---) These officers then got the General Ravalontsalama, and a few others; and in the House of Andriamamba they concerted means for accomplishment of their treacherous design”.⁵⁰⁸

This promise, that they were to reign in the queen’s name, is very important to my study because it indicates that this was going to be a real revolution, where the power should be transferred from the Andriana cast (viz. the king) to the Hova cast (viz. the officers). The queen would then be a kind of marionette without much real influence or power, and my investigations indicate that this scheme was to a great extent carried into effect.

The plot could not be completed immediately after the king’s death because Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday all were designed as bad or unlucky days for Ramavo, and she therefore begged to be made sovereign on Friday. Andriamamba and his group then decided to keep Radama’s death secret until Friday morning.⁵⁰⁹ This was a hazardous project because if the news of the king’s death should be known, all their plans would eventually fail and have fatal consequences for the small group. But even someone might have known the fact, according to the letters written to Lyall, and Corollers engagement to get him quickly up to the capital, as shown above, nobody dared to do anything effectively, and the group succeeded in putting their plans into effect. On Friday the 2nd of August a body of soldiers entered the courtyard together with the said officers. Raombana vividly explains how Radama’s attendants were deceived and two of their leaders who stubbornly maintained that the king wished his own daughter as his successor were speared to death. Rainijohary then proclaimed: “Ranavalomanjaka is the Sovereign”. All the people crowded in the courtyard were struck with terror when Ramavo was thus proclaimed Radama’s successor under the name of Ranavalomanjaka or Ranavalona I. Nobody was able to make any effective protest because they were too astonished or afraid.⁵¹⁰

After the Malagasy custom at that time, some of Radama’s close relatives and friends were immediately put to death to secure the new sovereign. Radama’s mother and his nephew Rakotobe were the first who were killed, but also Radama’s Prime Minister, Ralala, and other of Radama’s important supporters were killed in the following weeks. It was supposed that if Ralala had been in town when the king died, the plot should certainly have failed. Prince Ramanetaka, the Governor of Majunga, escaped in an Arab dhow to the Comoro Islands, where he later became King of Mohilla, but the princes Rafaralahy, Ramananolona and Ratefy, were all killed.⁵¹¹

The missionaries were not directly involved in the events around Radama’s death, except Jones’ visit to the king two days before he died. Rev. Bennet, a member of the visiting deputation from LMS, states that they had received letters from the king both in Tamatave, where he ordered housing etc. for them, and on their route to Antananarivo. When they arrived in town, Radama sent a letter by his secretary Coroller regretting that they could not dine with him because of his illness, and he also sent gifts of food etc. They were soon deeply occupied by other sorrows and problems because a few days after the arrival of the deputation one of the visitors, Rev. Tyerman, felt sick, and he passed away on the 30th of July. His funeral

⁵⁰⁸ Ayache, 1994, p. 201-203

⁵⁰⁹ Ayache, 1994, p. 207

⁵¹⁰ Ayache, 1994, p. 207-229

⁵¹¹ Ayache, 1994, p. 229-241

was scheduled for Friday the 2nd of August, the day when the king's death and the appointing of the new queen were made known. A military guard was appointed to them and general Brady and Prince Coroller followed them to the funeral. More astonishing is the fact that the death of the missionary artisan Thomas Rowlands on the 27th of July was hardly mentioned in any missionary letter or report. Probably they might have supposed that Bennet would state that event to the directors in his report from the visit.

On Sunday the 4th of August the missionaries were invited to assist at the great "Kabary" when the people were summoned to make their oath of allegiance to Ranavalomanjaka. Bennet reported vividly about this ceremony, which he found "was quite peculiar to this Country":

"A calf was slaughtered in the midst of the assembly. It was first speared – then its head was cut off – afterwards, the hind part cut off (---) In the carcase were plunged a considerable number of spears. The Chief Judge then stood up, and called first the chiefs of the principal districts, who standing around the slaughtered calf each seized hold of one of the spears, while the Judge, with much vehemence of mention and language, administered the oath, which consisted of a declaration of allegiance, and an imprecation on him that fulfilled not this oath, wishing that he might become like that calf."⁵¹²

Afterwards the chiefs of the other districts made their oath, then the officers of the palace and the army, and the judges.

The queen also invited the missionaries to assist in the funeral ceremonies commencing on Monday the 12th of August. Brady and Coroller conducted them through the crowded streets to the palace where they witnessed the corpse being clothed and placed in a wooden coffin. The stench soon forced them to ask permission to retire, which they were granted provided they attend next day at the entombment, which they did. Rev. Bennet gives many details of the funeral but to my study the most interesting thing is that the Missionaries and other Europeans were invited to carry the coffin, and that they followed next to the queens and other close relatives in the funeral procession.⁵¹³ Certainly they still were as highly estimated as in the days of Radama. Lyall later blamed the missionaries severely because they ignored him at this occasion and took the precedence of him and his family in the procession.⁵¹⁴

4.1.3 Broken Promises and deep Changes

The new queen sent messengers to the missionaries and other Europeans the first day of her reign to tell them that she would fulfil all the plans and promises Radama had given. Rev. Bennet says that they first got the promises verbally through General Brady when he came to assist the funeral Friday morning, but later they got the following message in writing:

"You Missionaries, and all you white persons, do not be afraid, though you have heard that four of the principal Chiefs were speared in the palace this morning. It is true that they were put to death; but it was because they opposed me being Queen, - that was all. Don't you fear, for thus saith

⁵¹² LMS, Mad, 2.1.B, Bennet's letter is printed in Cape Town, 29.12.28

⁵¹³ LMS, Mad, Bennet, op.cit, 29.12.28: "The coffin was then carried from this white palace back to the silver palace, in solemn procession, the Queens & following next the coffin, and we succeeded them; some of the Europeans had accepted the honor of assisting to carry the coffin, which was a tremendous weight, judging from appearance; I declined the honor"

⁵¹⁴ MA, HB-19, No. 18, 01.03.29: "They and their wives even had the want of common sense, and the impertinence, to take precedence of me, and of my family, in removing from the gallery of the palace to a different station, while Mr. & Mrs. Freeman, the late Mr. Gros, and Mr. Corvest, a stranger, stood back and let us pass before them".

*Ranavalona (sic) Manjaka – I will protect you, I will cherish you, and whatever Radama did for you, that I will do, and still more. So don't be afraid".*⁵¹⁵

Ranavalona's promise to the missionaries that she would do even more for them than Radama had done was good news on the sad day when their sincere hope of having Rakotobe, their student during many years, on the throne, was effectually destroyed. And to my astonishment this promise to the missionaries seems to have been fulfilled to a great extent during the first years of Ranavalona's reign.

Politically she promised to follow the plans and the politics of Radama, as Lyall states in his first communication from Antananarivo.⁵¹⁶ He stated that she in all her verbal communications perseveres steadfastly in saying that on ascending the throne she bound herself to tread in the footsteps of King Radama, and of Andrianampoinimerina, especially by maintaining the Treaty for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. On the other hand, Lyall assured her that the British government would certainly give her the same support as Radama got.⁵¹⁷ Very soon those proud promises proved to be falsehoods because the politics of the government went through material changes, especially in regard to the treaties with the British government. That soon proved to have some bad consequences for Lyall personally because the new reign never would recognise him as ambassador. But also in many other ways the politics changed in this first year of the new reign, and I wonder if those changes were primarily caused by the Malagasy government's new religious orientation, viz. of their taking no decision without consulting the "Sampy" (idols) and the "Sikidy" (diviners), or if some of the changes were caused by Lyall himself in his efforts to promote his role as British Resident Agent.

Certainly there was a strong party at court wishing to continue the cooperation with the missionaries and the British government in those first years. But another party wished to keep close to the old Malagasy culture and religion. This party had a strong anti-Lyall image the first year, and later it gained strength and tried to force away all cultural and religious actions that could be a threat to the traditional culture. I will show that up to the death of Prime Minister Andriamihaja the first party were in power most of the time, and even though it was often forced to compromise with the other party it could promote a policy for acceptance of the missionary work. But in the struggles after the murder of Andriamihaja some changes destroyed the goodwill for the missionaries.

⁵¹⁵ LMS, Mad, Bennet, op.cit, 29.12.28

⁵¹⁶ MA, HB-19, No. 1, 05.08.28

⁵¹⁷ MA, HB-19, No. 2, 20.08.28: "She promises to maintain the Treaty for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, and to act in all affairs with the British Government, as Radama would have done, and I have assured Her Majesty, **also verbally** that if **she** abides by these promises, I have no doubt that she will receive the same support that Radama did from Great Britain."

4.2 The cooperation soon came to a breakdown

The British king had appointed Lyall Resident British Agent in Madagascar in order to live at Radama's court and take care of British interests there. But now he was placed in a tricky situation. Arriving after Radama's death he soon tried to obtain recognition by the new government as ambassador. They gave him honour as an important stranger, but when he asked for a meeting with the queen to transmit his accreditations and give her the presents from the governor of Mauritius intended for Radama, he received only evasive answers for a long time.⁵¹⁸ More and more desperate he tried different tricks to force the government to recognize him, but in vain. All his efforts effectively created more scepticism against the British influence and soon drew the British-Malagasy cooperation into permanent crisis.

The most important documents concerning this drama can be studied in the "Journals" sent by Lyall to the governor of Mauritius during his stay in Madagascar. The originals of those journals are placed in HB-Series volume 19 in the Mauritius Archives, and I will only refer to number and date of the journal, since the whole volume of HB-19 consists only of Lyall's journals. G.S. Chapus and G. Mondain have edited a French translation of those journals and some other important letters from those years. But after my consideration this edition has two essential failures. Firstly, that they have broken up Lyall's journal No. 2 and placed the letters quoted there other places after their date, which destroys the dynamic of that journal. Secondly, they have missed or omitted Lyall's Journals No. 17, 18 and 19, just stating: "*Trois dépêches, les no 17, 18 et 19, manquent dans le journal*".⁵¹⁹ Those three journals are the most interesting and important documents in Lyall's different communications with the governor of Mauritius, explaining many of the questions arising about Lyall's struggle with the Malagasy government and the missionaries, and thereby the final failure of his mission and his harsh expulsion from the country. When I visited the Mauritius Archives in 1995 I found that those three "lost" journals were still there. All Lyall's journals were once bound in one volume or book, the HB-19. Although the binding is now cut up, perhaps in order to copy the journals, every sheet was still placed on its right place. Therefore I cannot believe that those three journals might have been missing when M. Chapus visited the Archives, and I am really surprised that Chapus and Mondain have omitted them from their book – an act I consider to be a capital historical fault. Certainly the contents of those three journals were not flattering, neither for the missionaries nor for Lyall, because they detail the whole quarrel between the two parts. I will use those journals to explain some fatal errors made in that period.

4.2.1 Dr. Lyall provoking the government caused them to quit the treaty and ask for his removal

Radama had ordered two houses to be fitted up for Lyall and his family to live in. The first weeks he kept quiet there and did not meddle in the politics of the government. But soon his reports to the governor at Mauritius changed from well-meaning acceptance to scepticism and criticism. In the middle of September he wrote:

"The Queen is guided by men, who were the ministers of Andrianampoinimerina, the father of Radama. The latter kept them at a respectable distance, and even despised their counsels. On ascending the

⁵¹⁸ MA, HB-19, No. 4, 15.09.28: "I have not seen the Queen. She cannot receive any foreigner until she has appeared publicly to the people. We had hoped for that event last Monday, it being the first day of new moon, and one of the lucky days of this country, but we were disappointed."

⁵¹⁹ Chapus & Mondain, 1954, p. 173

*throne, Her Majesty Ranavalona-Manjaka, promised to all parties here, to tread in the steps of the late Radama, and perhaps she does so, but assuredly she goes retroversum or in the retrograde tract to sheer barbarism. Every day furnishes new proofs of this melancholy facts".*⁵²⁰

He then gave three examples of how the queen went backwards to sheer barbarism: Firstly, that the missionaries were not permitted to continue Divine service on Sundays to the Malagasy. Secondly, that the missionary schools were not allowed to assemble, - it was said that these orders were only to be in force during the three months of mourning - but Lyall doubted that the schools would be allowed to continue even after that time. Thirdly, that "a British subject has had a heavy account settled at the point of the dagger", referring to the affairs of Louis le Gros, one of the Creole artisans from Mauritius, who had been occupied building a huge palace for Radama and now was told that the new government would not pay his outstanding debt. Lyall stated that this last example appeared to him an insult to the British government and deeply wounded his feelings. Being asked officially to take care of the interests of this British subject,⁵²¹ he tried to intervene, and thereby he caused the first crisis between himself and the Malagasy government, because they would not allow the non-accredited agent to meddle in this affair. Lyall then mocked them by stating that the gods or idols, like Kelimalaza and Manjaka-Tsiroa, and the "Skid" or diviners, might be called the present prime ministers of Madagascar.

In the mean time he tried to invite some men in power to breakfast or dinner, like Andriamamba, the prime minister, and Rainimahay, another important minister, and he was in return invited to dine with Rainimahay. But it soon became evident that being too familiar with Lyall was not promoting the power and influence of those men, because they were ordered by the diviners to leave the queen and the government.⁵²² In the following months such palace revolutions often changed the governing group, and those who accepted any friendship with Lyall should not last long in that forum. After some time nobody dared to accept his invitations any more.⁵²³

On the 24th of September 1828 Robin reached the capital after receiving the queen's orders. He was neither "Grand Marechall de Madagascar" nor "Governor of Tamatave" any more, and his reception was far from flattering. I don't know what the queen had planned about Robin, but after a few days it came to a break between them and he was ordered to leave the capital within 24 hours. During his stay in Antananarivo Robin had visited Lyall twice and had also dined with him, which in some way made Lyall suspicious, and when it was announced that the queen would deliver a message about Robin's affairs to "All the Whites" next morning, Lyall certainly provoked the authorities by not attending this meeting. The communication not being sent directly or officially to him had made him angry:

"This morning early, I learned from Mr. Freeman, that an order has been sent yesterday afternoon to Messrs Jones & Griffiths, to assemble "Tous les

⁵²⁰ MA, HB-19, No. 4, 15.09.28

⁵²¹ MA, HB-19, No. 2, quoting 3 letters from L. Gros, the second is a "Protestation de L. Gros adressée à R.t Lyall", 12.09.28.

⁵²² MA, HB-19, No. 8, 26.10.28: "This day, by written invitation, I, my two sons with their tutor, and my eldest daughter, dined with the prime minister, Reinmahi (...) I learned, that, by order of the Skid a total revolution had taken place at Court. Reinmahi and Andriamamba were ordered for a time, not to appear in the presence of the Queen, as well as some of her most attached officers, including Ravalsalam."

⁵²³ MA, HB-19, No. 10, 21.11.28: "This being my son (...) birthday, I sent a small box of Raisin's to the Queen. At the same time I invited the most distinguished and influential Malagasy officers, Rafousane, Ravalsalam, Andriamiadz, Andrianiss, Ramanandaf &, and any of their friends, to dine with us. I received a very polite thanks from the Queen for the small present sent to her, and a general excuse from the officers as a body to the following effect: Rafousane &, "present their regards to Mr. Lyall, and thank him for his kind invitation, which, however, they cannot now accept, because during the mourning for His late Majesty Radama, according to the custom and law of Madagascar, they cannot be present at any festival. But they hope to have the pleasure of dining with Mr. Lyall at a future period."

Blancs” at 9 o’clock this morning, in the reading room of the Repository, and ten minutes before 9, I received a second note from Mr. Freeman, informing me, that I was included in the general invitation. Having received no official communication about the said Kabary from the Queen, nor her Government, - conscious that it would be beneath my dignity to receive a communication through any other channel, - and convinced that I had nothing to do with the measures to be adopted toward Robin, I remained tranquilly at home”.⁵²⁴

His decision not to attend and hear the queen’s message certainly was a great impoliteness, and in the following weeks he continued to stress his view that official communications from the queen should not be sent to him through the missionaries or any other persons. Sending his felicitations to her majesty when she had changed her name to Rabodoandrianampoinimerina, he received a very polite message and thanks from her.⁵²⁵ Maybe his felicitations was the cause of the fact that the next message from the queen to “All the Whites” was sent directly to Lyall:

*“The Queen sent a message begging me to call a Kabary or meeting of “All the Whites”, It being Sunday, and nearly church-time, I wished to know what was the nature of the business, - but this was impossible. Therefore I immediately held an assembly of “All the Whites” at my house. All being ready and in expectation of some important communication, the Queen’s deputation entered, and one of them, addressing himself to me said “That on account of the Queen having changed her name, Her Majesty presented two bullocks to **The Whites** according to the Malagasy Custom”. In my own name, and in the names of all present, I returned her thanks, but at the same time, begged that in the future, She would be so good as not to send messages in Sunday - except on affairs of immediate importance - to “All the Whites”, as it was impossible for them, and especially for the Missionaries, to transact business on that day”.*⁵²⁶

As far as I can see, Lyall’s begging “that in the future, she would be so good as not to send messages in Sundays” was no less than a capital impoliteness of Lyall, since the queen had so often declared that nobody should be allowed to order her in any question. It is therefore significant that this was the first and only occasion they let Lyall call a meeting for “All the Whites”. Afterwards the government turned back to their habit of sending all such messages through the missionaries, asking them to assemble “All the Whites”. Those difficulties culminated on the 2nd of February 1829 when Lyall told the queen’s messengers that he would not attend the messages (Kabary) to all the whites any more, since they were not transacted through himself as British agent. He expressed a wish that the queen or her messengers should only maintain correspondence directly to him and not through anybody of “the Whites”. Therefore he would transact business only in his own house, or eventually in the palace. The queen accepted his wish, and in the future all official messages were sent to “All the Whites except Mr. Lyall”.⁵²⁷ Thus Lyall had managed to be set aside from the group of Europeans and in that way he had undermined his own existence

⁵²⁴ MA, HB-19, No. 6, 13.10.28

⁵²⁵ MA, HB-19, No. 10, 18.11.28: The meaning of the name is: Andrianampoinimerina’s favourite.

⁵²⁶ MA, HB-19, No. 10, 23.11.28

⁵²⁷ MA, HB-19, No. 16, 02.02.29: “- that “I could not attend Kabarys “of all the Whites”, and that my correspondence could only be maintained directly with Her Majesty, or through Her Officers and Her deputation”. I added, “that the latter medium of correspondence was admissible only because the custom of the country prevented, for a time, any oral communication with herself, and because I could rarely obtain written documents to communicate to Government. I also informed the Queen, that no person had the smallest right to interfere in political affairs between the British and the Malagash Government but myself, and that henceforth, I would transact business **only** in my own private chamber or in the palace.(---) Another Kabary was this day delivered from the Queen “to all the Whites except Mr. Lyall”

in the country.⁵²⁸ The cause was certainly his quarrel with the missionaries, but the government was provoked by his haughtiness and his wish of being the sole master of communications between the queen and all the British citizens. Therefore they opted to send their main messages to “all the Whites except Mr. Lyall”, and to send their messages directly when they had something to communicate especially to him.

Lyall had often and by many means tried to press the government to recognize him as British ambassador in the country, but for several months they would neither receive the letters nor the presents from the British government and the governor of Mauritius. Some days after the said Kabary in Lyall’s house in the last days of November 1828, a deputation from the queen agreed that those things could now be sent up to her.⁵²⁹ Sending them to the palace next day he hoped for a satisfying answer, since the last day’s communications from the Queen had been of a obliging nature, but when the answer came he was really disappointed:

“About noon to day, I was informed that a deputation of considerably number above 100 officers had arrived in the Court Yard, with a Message for me from the Queen. As many as the room could hold were immediately admitted, consisting of all the principal officers and individuals immediately attached to Her Majesty, when a letter written in Malagasy and sealed with the Queen’s seal, was put in my hands, of which a literal translation, by Mr. Jones is added.

Antananarivo 24 Alakarabo 1828.

To Mr. Lyall. Peace be to You. And says Ranavalomanjaka, With regard to the things which You English give every year, stop them, for I will not receive them, because Radama has not ordered me to do so. And with regard to yourself to replace Mr. Hastie, he has neither ordered me to do that.

(Seal of Ranavalomanjaka)

In consequence of the obscure manner of expression, though not of intent, of the above letter, and the unwillingness or incapacity of the Queen’s deputation, to give me a full explanation, and deeming the affair of the highest importance, I almost immediately addressed a letter to the Queen, of which a copy is subjoined:

Tananarivou Nov. 29th 1828

To Her Majesty Ranavalo-Manjaka, Madam, I had the honour of receiving Your Majesty’s letter today announcing that You wished no longer to receive the “Equivalent” from the British Government, and that You did not recognise me as the Agent of the said Government, because the late King Radama had not ordered You to do so. I beg that Your Majesty will be so Kind as to inform me, whether in consequence of the above resolutions, I am to understand that the Treaty for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, which existed between His Britannic Majesty George the 4th, and His late Majesty Radama, is, from this date, broken on Your part, and whether the traffic in slaves is to be renewed, so that I may be enabled to communicate Your Majesty’s sentiments accurately to the British Government.

I have the honor to subscribe myself Your Majesty’s Very Obedient Humble Servant Rob.t Lyall, British Resident Agent Madagascar.”⁵³⁰

⁵²⁸ MA, HB-19, No. 16, 03.02.29: “The deputation came to me this morning with the Queen’s regards and following messages: The Queen thanks Mr. Lyall for having communicated his wishes. She thinks that his arrangements for maintaining future correspondences are very good, and henceforth, She will consider Mr. Lyall as **totally separated** from “All the Whites”.

⁵²⁹ MA, HB-19, No. 10, 27.11.28: “The Queen delayed till now, the reception of the presents, sent by Sir Charles Colville to His Majesty Radama, and also of a letter from H.E. sir Lowry Cole, and another from His Excellency the Governor of the Mauritius, both addressed to the late King of Madagascar. While talking to day with a deputation from the Queen, about some trifling affairs, it was signified, that Her Majesty could **now** receive both the letters and the presents.”

⁵³⁰ MA, HB-19, No. 10, 29.11.28

Lyall continues his journal by stating that he first got a verbal reply that the queen herself detested the slave trade, but she would not be ordered in connection with it. His status as resident agent was not mentioned at all in this answer, and he used the opportunity to deliver a speech about the vanity of renewing the slave trade, and of the value of the alliance with England. It would be unwise to renounce the friendship with their good ally, which had given so much benefit to both parties.⁵³¹ By means of this speech the deputation assured that the queen certainly wished to preserve the friendship with England.

But this important communication from the government proves that a material change had taken place in the British-Malagasy cooperation. The decision not to receive any more the "Equivalent" from the British government was certainly a political decision with great consequences. The main reason might have been to free the Malagasy government from the slightest possibility of British interference. Certainly the treaty had given the British government some possibility to interfere in Malagasy affairs. They had tried to interfere in that way in the struggles in connection with the "Blancard Treaty" the year before, which was certainly not forgotten by the Malagasy. On the other hand, the Malagasy government's uneasiness with Dr. Lyall, and their unwillingness to recognize him as Resident British Agent, might be another reason. The men in power had certainly observed so much of his ambitions and intrigues that they may have decided not to recognize him anyhow, and since the British "rights" to have an agent placed at the Malagasy court was closely related to the treaty, Lyall may unintentionally through his behaviour and efforts to be recognized, have caused the Malagasy government to quit the treaty.

Lyall continued to stress the question, whether the quitting the treaty would cause a renewal of the slave traffic or not, and the 3rd of December he got a letter from the queen binding her to maintain inviolate the treaty, even though she would no longer accept the "Equivalent" from Great Britain:

"I shall not sell people to be exported to other countries. And the things which you English give me every year, I shall not take. This is therefore the business, which I tell you English".⁵³²

Continuing to reflect on the cause of the queen's determination not to receive the equivalent any more, Lyall guessed that it might be dictated by some wish to be independent and allowed to adopt whatever measures she pleased without breaking any treaty. It was also said that Radama some time before his death had expressed an opinion that it was beneath his dignity to be paid by another king, and that he would soon relinquish the equivalent but still maintain the strictest friendship with his good ally, King George the 4th. He also wished to keep the Treaty for the abolition of the slave trade, which should be abolished forever.⁵³³

⁵³¹ MA, HB-19, No. 10, 29.11.28 and 01.12.28: "Her Majesty's verbal reply is that, "She herself detests the Slave Trade in her country, but She is master of that affair". - i.e. She can do what she pleases with respect to the renewal of the Slave Trade, in her own Kingdom. Not another iota of information could be elicited, notwithstanding different methods of putting questions, and encouraging development. The principal persons of the Kingdom being present, I seized the opportunity of alluding to the probable effects of the renewal of the Slave Trade, - of explaining that the principal powers of Europe were now leagued against it, - of recalling to mind the immense effort and sacrifices Great Britain had already made to obtain its abolition, and especially in Madagascar, - of the value of Old England's alliance, - of her power to prevent the Slave Trade from being lucrative, and, in conjunction with her allies, of completely annihilating it, - of the power and territory acquired by the late Monarch, Radama, in consequence of the aid of the British Government, - of the general good that had resulted to Madagascar, from British assistance, of the impolicy of rejecting the Equivalent & & & I then wished the Queen and the Malagasy nation health and prosperity, and added by stating my individual feelings, and my desire, that the government would ponder well their conduct, before renouncing the friendship of the King of England and of the British Nation. The reply to the latter part was that the Queen wished to preserve the friendship with England."

⁵³² MA, HB-19, No. 11, 03.12.28

⁵³³ MA, HB-19, No. 11, 03.12.28

The expressed wish not to accept Lyall's replacement of Hastie as British agent, which was mentioned in the queen's letter (29.11.28), may be a key question of the communication. Lyall's questions about that point was not answered, as far as I can see, but he should certainly have been aware that he was now "persona non grata" to the Malagasy government, and thereby he should have behaved more prudently. Instead of acting more prudently, it seems that the queen's and the government's promises to maintain inviolate the intention of the treaty,⁵³⁴ may have induced him to consider them to be willing to recognize him in some future time, and thus led him to continue his provocative proceedings to the bitter end.

4.2.2 The controversies between Lyall and the missionaries

Lyall had many times presented himself as a friend of LMS and the missionaries as a body. But it is obvious that he had in some way feared the well-established missionaries and thought them to be a threat against his office and work. Before leaving London he had therefore visited the Colonial Minister in order to ask instructions how to act against them:

"From what I knew of Missionaries, and from hints given me in London, I purposely went to the Colonial Office to ask instructions. The substance of what Mr. Hay said to me, is contained in the subsequent: Regulations, or Laws, respecting the conduct of the Madagascar Missionaries etc: "The Missionaries and the Missionary Artisans, are not to be permitted, in any manner whatever, nor in any degree whatever, to interfere with the political affairs, nor to interfere with your affairs. It is considered by Government, that they are bound to attend to their own concerns, and to them only, unless you call upon them for assistance, when, of course, Government would expect compliance, in whatever is just and reasonable. On your part, it is expected that you will render the Missionaries and the Missionary Artisans, every assistance in your power, to forward the views of the Missionary Society, and that you will extend your protection to them, in whatever manner you deem necessary, or proper, in Madagascar."

*In conversation with His Excellency Sir Lowry Cole, in 1827, respecting the Missionaries etc, I found his views exactly to correspond with the instructions furnished by the London Missionary Society to all their **employee's** –"*⁵³⁵

Lyall states he had also been searching among the papers left by the late Hastie for information about the relation between the British agent and the missionaries, but the only passage found was in a letter from 1824. Hastie had asked governor Cole's view when he wished to intervene in the struggle between Jeffreys and his colleagues, but obviously even the governor hesitated to enter into such discussions with the missionaries, because Hastie received only an evasive answer, neither useful for himself nor for any future agent, saying:

*"I gave the Governor a Mem. of your wishes respecting the Missionaries, but he hesitated about giving any thing more than an opinion; **that all British Subjects, in Madagascar, are, to a certain degree, amenable to the authority of the British Agent**"*⁵³⁶

⁵³⁴ MA, HB-19, No. 11, The letter from the Government, 02.12.28: "– although Her Majesty has relinquished the receipt of the annual Equivalent, formerly given by the King of Great Britain to His late Majesty Radama, yet the terms of the Treaty for the Abolition of the Slave Trade entered into between the British Government and the Government of Madagascar, shall remain inviolate and in full force –" (the letter from Ranavalomanjaka 03.12.28. is quoted in the text above.)

⁵³⁵ MA, HB-19, No. 18, 01.03.29

⁵³⁶ MA, HB-19, No. 18, 01.03.29, with a quotation from a letter from Moorsom to Hastie, 26.11.24

Even before his arrival in Antananarivo Lyall wrote a letter to the missionaries stating that he had heard rumours during his visit in Tamatave in 1827 that they had lent out money at a very high rate of interest etc, and positively warning them not to do anything disgracing themselves as British citizens and missionaries. This letter was sent to Freeman, who later stated that it caused some dissonance between the missionaries and the new agent when he communicated the contents of the letter to them.⁵³⁷ Lyall did not explain more about this question to the governor, but in the correspondence from the missionaries I have found that this accusation against them was the question that caused greatest grievance against the new agent.⁵³⁸

Arriving in Madagascar, Lyall soon found that the missionaries did not honour him in the way he expected them to, but by their ignorance they hurt his feelings in the funeral of the late king, as I mentioned above. Finding that the Malagasy government followed a fixed procedure in conveying messages to the Europeans, by asking either the senior missionary, David Jones, or David Griffiths, who possessed the largest house, to assemble “All the Whites”, he deemed it necessary to write a letter to Jones a fortnight after his arrival, warning him not to interfere in political affairs.⁵³⁹ Jones seems in his answer to be really shocked and unable to understand that their complying with the queen’s orders as they had always done, should in any way be injurious neither to Dr. Lyall or the British government.⁵⁴⁰ This struggle developed in the following months and ended with Lyall’s withdrawal from all official meetings of “All the Whites”, since neither the queen nor the missionaries would change their customs on that point (see chapter 4.2.1).

Lyall’s final controversies with the missionaries started when Louis le Gros died in the first days of January 1829. Farquhar had sent this Creole carpenter to Radama in 1821 and Le Gros had served the king by teaching apprentices and building different houses in the capital. In the last years of Radama’s reign he built a huge palace for the king south of the capital. As mentioned above, the queen and her government would not accept to pay him his outstanding debt. Louis le Gros then asked Lyall to intervene in his case, left the capital and the unfinished palace and went to Tamatave, where he settled for a while. But in the unhealthy season he became sick and passed away. Le Gros had left a native wife and many children, and the crucial point was who would now be the master of his properties. This case would not be treated in the native way since he was a stranger in the country. Lyall had just been appointed “Delegate of the Mauritius Curatelle at Madagascar” by the governor’s sanction before he left Mauritius, and now he thought it to be his duty to care for this case – if le Gros was a British citizen. Others supposed that Le Gros

⁵³⁷ LMS, Mad, 3.4.D, Freeman to Hankey, 12.03.29: “I communicated his remarks to my brethren. I saw then what I have witnessed in fifty forms since then, a prejudiced view of Mr. Lyall, an unwillingness to accept any kind of hints from him (...) in a word, the spirit shown & the expression used have been “Mr. Lyall has nothing to do with us & we wish to have nothing to do with him”

⁵³⁸ LMS, Mad, 3.1.A, Report from a meeting of the missionaries and the artisans, 19.02.29

⁵³⁹ MA, HB-19, No. 18, Lyall to Jones, 13.08.28, quoted 01.03.29: “As I take a deep interest in the Missionary Society, allow me to suggest to you, that, while I am here, by becoming the organ of communication to, «tous les Blancs», and particularly to British Subjects, you may be doing what will highly offend our Government, and thus injure the great object of all our labours, - the civilization of Madagascar”.

⁵⁴⁰ MA, HB-19, No. 18, Jones to Lyall, 13.08.28, quoted 01.03.29: “We have never hitherto been accused of either inferring with Government, or with the politics of the Country, nor have we been accused of interfering with the duties or interests of any Europeans who belonged not to this Mission. Nor can we persuade ourselves that our Mission Society or our beloved country will ever have to blame us on these accounts, for, as we have in times past endeavoured with all simplicity to have a conscience void of offence toward God and man, so we humbly hope he will continue to give that wisdom which is needful to direct. During the period from the first of our coming hither we have ever shown a cheerful readiness to comply with any request with which the King and Government have honoured us, and which did not hinder our Mission objects. By continuing to comply with such request from the Government, when honoured with them, we feel sure there is no ground to fear offending any Government either at home or abroad, or any reasonable person whatever
Not being able to comprehend the meaning of your note just received, I have consulted with some of my Missionary Brethren - and with their approbation, I have the honour to send this answer.

was a French citizen, in which case the Bourbon Curatelle should care for his case. Immediately Lyall entered a complicated dispute with the government. They stubbornly stated that all foreign curatelles were abolished in Madagascar⁵⁴¹ and ordered Lyall not to interfere in the government's affairs. Nevertheless he soon became involved in the case when Laurine, the native woman who cared for Le Gros' house in Antananarivo, came and delivered him a key to an important box in le Gros' house. Forced to try to protect the woman, who had lied before the queen's officers, he a second time received the queen's orders neither to visit the late le Gros' premises nor to meddle in these affairs. Lyall had to make a very humble answer, expressing a wish that this affair being settled by the queen, should not disturb the good relations between the two parties.⁵⁴² He got some thanks from the queen but was probably well aware that he had provoked the native government seriously in this case.

As Lyall himself was set aside from all responsibility in the affair of le Gros, he was jealously making sure that no other British persons should be allowed to meddle in the affair. But soon he was disappointed, because several of the missionaries and artisans accepted the invitation from the government to act as scribes and helpers when some of the officers were taking the inventory of le Gros' effects. Warning them in several letters in the strongest language, he tried to force them to withdraw from this affair. For example, in a letter on the 27th of February, brought to them personally by Lyall's secretary, Mr. Morgan, Lyall writes:

*"Lest any of the Missionaries, or Missionary Artisans should pretend ignorance as a justification of conduct, Mr. Lyall is willing to show each of them the law, **privately and confidentially** at his house, for his guidance, as laid down to him in England, and afterwards confirmed at Mauritius. Every one who acts contrary to that law will be reported to Government".*⁵⁴³

But the answer was in the negative and only three of them did not follow the Senior Missionary when he stated to Morgan:

*"I wish nothing but quietness. Mr. Lyall may send as many letters as he chooses to me, but I shall never answer one of them. I am answerable for my conduct to the Government of Mauritius, and to the British Government, and when I hear from either Government that I have acted wrong, or that I have disobeyed any law, then I shall give every explanation, but, I shall receive no orders from Mr. Lyall. **My** cause is now going on prosperously, and it is my ardent wish that it should continue so to do, but, if I enter into any dispute with the Queen, - as asking her what is her will, - the cause of the Missionaries might be put an end to tomorrow. Therefore, in reply to the paper you have*

⁵⁴¹ MA, HB-19, No. 16, 26.01.29: "On my arrival at Tana., the death of the late Mr. Tyreman led to the immediate question, on the part of that Curatelle, - Whether he had left a testament. - As he had, the Curatelle had nothing to do with the business, and his Missionary brethren arranged all Mr. Tyreman's affairs. At this time I was informed by Mr. Coroller (...) that Foreign Curatelles were abolished here. The following quotation from a copy of a letter, addressed to Mr. Telfaire, dated Aug. 21st 1828, I find no reason to change: "On the 4th December 1827, by an ordinance in Malagash, and signed by the royal hand, all foreign Curatelle's are abolished. A Malagash Curatelle **alone** is permitted. The Sovereign takes charge of the effects of all **interstates** in the Capital, and the Governor's, each in his respective province». This arrangement seems fraught with difficulties, but I fear it is immutable. I have already had a verbal communication with the Queen, who in regard to this point, and indeed all other subject, says She will abide by Radama's proclamations."

⁵⁴² MA, HB-19, No. 16, 26.01.29: "The Queen says, That you, Mr Lyall, are come here, not to interfere with her, the affairs of her Kingdom. That all Foreign Curatelle's are abolished in Madagascar. That if King Radama gave Mr. Lyall any written document, with respect to the Curatelle, She wishes to see it. That you, Mr. Lyall, are not to go down to the late Mr. Gros' premises, nor to intermeddle with his affairs, - that is Her Business. That as the woman, Laurine, who kept the late Mr. Gros' Magazine, came to Mr. Lyall with every good intention - tho' she acted contrary to the Queen's orders, - Her Majesty thinks no more of this affair. (...) (Lyall) then added: "The affair of the Curatelle, in connection with Mr. Gros' effects, being settled, I consider every thing to be explained on the part of the Queen and the Delegate of the Curatelle, and that it had no relation to the amicable relations existing between the Br. Gov. and that of Mad., and between Her Majesty and myself."

⁵⁴³ MA, HB-19, No. 18, 01.03.29

just read, no law can be private business, if it is a law, it must be publicly known".⁵⁴⁴

This discussion shows that the Senior Missionary was no longer disposed to answer any letter or obey any orders from Lyall, because he thought that his missionary work could be damaged if he appeared to be connected with the disputed British agent. David Griffiths' answer was in the same strong language, and Lyall accused those two veterans of being his chief enemies among the Europeans. But Lyall's letter also provoked other missionaries and artisans, especially by his talking about a "law" for them. Obviously Lyall alluded to the instructions he got from Mr. Hay in the Colonial Office in London, as I have mentioned above, and his proposal of showing them the law "privately and confidentially" amounted to claiming that the native government ought not know about his interference. But the missionaries thought it impossible to refuse to help the queen's officers without being blamed, as Edward Baker said in his answer:

"No law can be private. I conceive the business to be quite inconsistent, that we should go and seek after any law. We are only obeying the Queen's orders, by attending, as witnesses, at the inspection of Mr. Gros' property, and a refusal, I think, would be highly improper".⁵⁴⁵

The correspondence from the missionaries to LMS tells that on the 19th of February both missionaries and artisans were gathered in Griffiths' house to discuss the different attributions of blame and accusations of Lyall. The report from the discussion about their efforts to communicate with Lyall contains 13 huge double pages and shows that they were badly wounded by his accusations. Worst of all was his unsubstantiated portrayal of them as a body that followed "Damnable principle" by lending out money to a very high rent. They obviously had felt badly insulted when Lyall, dining in his house on the 3rd of January, accused them of having such degenerate principles.⁵⁴⁶ Later he had written a sharp letter to the four missionaries, Jones, Griffiths, Johns and Freeman on the 10th of January 1829, stating that he considered them to act contrary to the will of the directors of LMS:

*"I am really sorry to find that any of the Madagascar Missionaries should ever have imagined, that the board of the London Missionary Society would, for a moment, tolerate the idea of its Missionaries or Missionary Artisans, lending money, taking rent upon property, or receiving profit in any way of business or traffic, at a rate, not only illegal but reckoned highly disputable in Great Britain, viz. of 30, 40 or 50 pour cent, besides a surety for the Capital, from the people among whom they were appointed to sojourns and to instruct in morality and religion. (---) Concerning that at least some of you labours under **false impressions** I have so far addressed you in compliance with my pledge to the London Missionary Society –"*⁵⁴⁷

Obviously, this attack was felt to be much more injurious to the missionaries than the former accusation of political interference, because this was a practical attack on

⁵⁴⁴ MA, HB-19, No. 18, 01.03.29. Jones answer to Lyall's letter. Lyall also stated that: "Only Mr. Freeman and Mr. Cameron came to see the above regulations, but Mr. Johns wrote a satisfactory note, in answer to mine of the 26th, stating that he had nothing to do with Mr. Gros' affairs, and Mr. Freeman did the same."

⁵⁴⁵ MA, HB-19, No. 18, 01.03.29

⁵⁴⁶ MA, HB-19, No. 18, 01.03.29: "While all the missionaries and others were dining at my house on the 3rd January, in commemoration of the birth-day of my eldest daughter, the conversation turned upon a house which had been let to Mr. Morgan, at an excessively high rent, by two of the Missionary Artisans, and I alluded to the impropriety of Missionary receiving 30, 36, or more per cent, as interest on money lent in Madagascar. I also declared that I could not bear the idea of such «a damnable principle» being entertained, or acted upon, by Britons, and especially by Missionaries. The remark of Mr. Jones on this head, recalled to my mind, the observations made to me by His Majesty Radama, his officers etc, at Tamatave in 1827 ("In consequence of which, I then inserted a general advise, and a caution to the Missionaries, in a private letter to Mr. Freeman)"

⁵⁴⁷ LMS, Mad. 3.1.A, Minutes of a Missionary meeting, quoting Lyall's letter of 10.01.29

their character, morality and dignity as missionaries. Therefore they seriously discussed all Lyall's letters and notes to them, and Freeman was for a while acting as messenger between the two parties, since Lyall did not include him in his accusations any more. In the last days of January Griffiths had written a sharp letter to Lyall requesting a full explanation of his letter of the 10th of January:

*"After repeated requests by letters and messengers and your promise as a Man of honor to meet us at any place publicly or privately, conjointly or separately, for a full explanation of your letter of the 10th Inst. in which it seems I am implicated, I beg to inform you at once, that unless you fulfil your promise I must take another step for the justification of my character".*⁵⁴⁸

But Lyall stated that he could only meet them at his own house, because he had newly informed the queen that he was not transacting business in any other places (except if allowed into the palace). This statement forced Griffiths and Jones to profess themselves ready to meet him anywhere except in his own house, because they had three causes not to meet him there. The most important cause was that they thought the Malagasy could dislike them to go there.⁵⁴⁹

After an investigation they found that it was Prince Coroller who had informed Lyall about the said transaction of lending out money, and that also Mrs. Hastie had told Morgans some stories. Especially Coroller was known to be a famous liar, and when asked by Griffiths and Jones both he and Mrs. Hastie denied what Lyall had stated as the damnable actions of the missionaries. The real history behind the whole case was that Coroller, when asking to borrow some money a long time ago, had got an answer that he could borrow some at a high rate of interest from the fund of the school society, paid out by Griffiths after the orders of Radama.⁵⁵⁰ When they thus saw the realities behind the accusations the missionaries decided to stop their engagement in the affair. But together with the accusations of political interference mentioned above, it definitively caused the termination of the missionaries' friendly relations to Lyall:

*"We are as anxious as he is to have an immediately termination of the affaire, and that at Tananarivo, but as he commenced it and has carried it on thus far it must go wherever he carries it".*⁵⁵¹

After Lyall's attack on them in the affair of late Le Gros on the 27th of February the relations between the missionaries and Lyall came to a total breakdown in a few days. Only one missionary remained Lyall's friend within the critical juncture he entered: Rev. John J. Freeman. From his arrival in Antananarivo Lyall always talked about Freeman in such terms as "the only well educated person" or "the only Gentleman" among the missionaries. In the final struggle Lyall forced Freeman not only to make objections to the decisions made by his brethren, but also to write to the directors of LMS accusing Jones' and Griffiths' conduct of being unjust.⁵⁵² Freeman later wrote:

⁵⁴⁸ LMS, Mad. 3.1.A, op. cit. Minutes, quoting Griffiths' letter of 29.01.29

⁵⁴⁹ LMS, Mad. 3.1.A, op. cit. Minutes: (They wished Freeman) "to state their objections meeting him on the affaire in his own house for 3 reasons: 1st It being impolite for the Missionaries, to be seen assembling, or known to assemble at the House of the Resident Agent, as the natives watch their every action minutely, and view their actions in such cases with jealousy. 2nd Because they have felt themselves insulted in his house when dining with him 3rd Because they think the parties who would be called on to give their information in the case would not meet at Mr. Lyall's"

⁵⁵⁰ LMS, Mad. 3.1.A, translation of a letter from Prince Coroller stating that the missionaries had not done anything wrong, etc See also: LMS, Mad. 3.1.A, op.cit, Minutes, stating the missionaries' view in the case

⁵⁵¹ LMS, Mad. 3.1.A, op.cit, Minutes.

⁵⁵² LMS, Mad. 3.4.D, Freeman to Hankey, 28.02.29 – which is a postscript to a letter from Lyall - See also: LMS, Mad. 3.4.D, Freeman to Hankey 03.03.29, where he try to detain the former letters because he was afraid of the consequences of his complaint against Griffiths and Jones

“The fact is that very serious misunderstandings have arisen between Mr. Lyall and some of my brethren. A wound has been inflicted that cannot be healed. (---) Mr. Lyall has often assured me & in the strongest language, that he had repeatedly heard the most unfavourable reports of some members of this mission, in the Mauritius & in the highest circles – That far too much impatience, I think, has been attended, by my brethren, to that incidental matter, they have been too eager to grasp at little apparent discrepancies instead of told by, and in a straight forward manner meeting the accusers with Mr. Lyall “⁵⁵³

Freeman’s wish of meddling in the business of the two parties proved impossible, but when the idol “Ramahavaly” sent Lyall into exile outside the capital, Freeman acted as his only helper and defender. This engagement should cost him much and it is typical that he was much more pessimistic about the future of the mission in March 1829 than the other missionaries.⁵⁵⁴

Lyall made some final desperate attempt to check Jones and Griffiths. On the 5th of March he sent them an ultimatum *“to prevent their continued offences to the disadvantage of their own government”*. There he officially warned them that he had reported their conduct to the highest authorities, and if they continued this conduct they would be responsible to the British government.⁵⁵⁵ Sent to the senior missionary and marked, *“On his Britannic Majesty’s Service – Strictly Confidential”*, this letter was absolutely thrown out of the door by Jones, as a sign that he would receive no more letters from Lyall. Naturally Lyall concluded that all communication was then broken, but even though he had complained so seriously about the conduct of the missionaries in his last two journals, he concluded:

“In my various dispatches to Your Excellency, I have uniformly maintained the same opinion, ever since the death of Radama was announced, - viz, that it was a finale to intimate correspondence with European powers, and to the sejour of Whites, at least, in the interior, of this Kingdom, Imerina. Or, as it was afterwards expressed, “L’heure des Blancs etait passée avec Radama” (---) Therefore, it would be unjust, false, and cruel to say that the Missionaries Mess.rs Jones & Griffiths, have been the cause of my non-recognition at this Court. But, I will be able to prove, that proper conduct, on their part, would have given the British, a greater chance of influence, and would most probable have kept affairs quiet, and en train, for some months, and this time would have been gained for the development, perhaps, of important events”⁵⁵⁶

I am not sure, however, whether Lyall’s trouble was a mere political question arising from the government’s unwillingness to have any foreign agent at the court, or if in fact a part of this problem really originated from the missionaries. Had any of the missionaries such influence with the men in power that he could be able to injure Lyall’s position? Maybe I must answer this question in the affirmative since both Jones and Griffiths had so many friends and former pupils at court, although it is

⁵⁵³ LMS, Mad. 3.4.D, Freeman to Hankey, 12.03.29

⁵⁵⁴ LMS, Mad. 3.2.C, Extract from the Minute Book of the Missionaries, 05.12.28 to 23.03.29

⁵⁵⁵ MA, HB-19, No. 19, 05.03.29: **Strictly Confidential:** *Gentlemen, You will herewith receive a copy of my instructions, in relation to yourselves. (...) That crisis, however, has now arrived. Far from assisting the “British Resident – Agent” (...) in the imperative and legal, discharge of his arduous and dangerous duties, some of you, I have strong cause to believe, have exercised an unwarrantable interference, and a pernicious influence, in regard to his rank, his title, his conduct, and his character, - an interference and an influence, which - admitting that he was wrong, - you ought not to have exercised, in the manner you may have done, at this critical juncture, to the disadvantage of the British Government, and finally, I fear, to the injury of your own Mission. If any of you were injured, you should have appealed to your own Government, as by it, you will, always be protected in the part of rectitude and justice, and in the due exercise of the duties of your profession. I have already detailed the facts to the highest authorities, and now, in the best tone of feeling, - I officially warn you all, that whoever acts contrary to the tenor of my instructions, does it at his peril, and will be responsible for his conduct to the British Government.”*

⁵⁵⁶ MA, HB-19, No. 19, 05.03.29

difficult to know exactly since no written material of this case is known from the court. But when Freeman some years later quarrelled with Griffiths, he got very upset about Griffiths' many friends caring for his case, and he stated:

*"When Mr Lyall had a dispute with Mr. Griffiths the latter remarked "I will never rest, till I bring that fellow down". He laboured and the object was effected".*⁵⁵⁷

Other examples also show us that it was dangerous to quarrel with Griffiths. Both missionaries and artisans were badly injured when they disputed with him - like Jeffreys and Rowlands. And in the critical juncture of the missionary work in the 1830's Griffiths' influence with the men in power became one of the important problems.

Lyall did not stop his war against Jones and Griffiths, even though he had concluded that his problems were not arising principally from their deeds. On the 15th of March he sent a long letter to LMS complaining about their conduct, and promoting Freeman as the only correct person among the missionaries.⁵⁵⁸ And in a journal to the governor the same day he stated that Jones and Griffiths would be ready to dispute the authority even of the British government, thinking themselves responsible only to the LMS and the Malagasy government.⁵⁵⁹ He also made a final attempt to disgrace them before the queen in a great "Memorial" to Her Majesty on the 9th of March. Still complaining of his non-recognition at court he argued against the missionaries' bad conduct and their interference in political business, and he attached to this Memorial a copy of LMS' Instructions to the missionaries and an "Extract from a Sermon" held in 1895.⁵⁶⁰ By this act the war between Lyall and the missionaries was officially made known to the Malagasy government. But since the time was running out for Lyall this act should probably not do any harm to the missionaries, but on the contrary even help them by proving that they were not close friends of the disputed British agent.

It is interesting to observe Lyall's manner of making reports or journals for the governor. When Hastie wrote his journals he was mostly stating what happened around him and giving his opinion upon that. Seldom did he discuss things that had happened some time ago. Lyall's journals are much more complicated. In many cases he did not tell all that happened but was hiding things to see what use he could make of them in the future. Later he made long despatches developing all that had transpired in such a case from his first arrival in Madagascar or even before that. In his quarrels with the missionaries their disputes started a few days after his arrival in the capital, but he did not mention anything to the governor before his letter of the 1st of March 1829. Then he made serious accusations against Jones and Griffiths and begged the governor to interfere in the case, either by sending instructions to them, by sending envoys to investigate the case in Antananarivo, or by calling those two missionaries to Mauritius to explain their behaviour before the government. Lyall's proceedings against the missionaries – and also his communications to the Malagasy government in the last period of his stay in Madagascar, were so extraordinary that I wonder if he played a psychopath's game with all persons around him. The sources are not sufficient to state such things, but if he behaved as a psychopath that can probably explain why the government became so desperate, when he did not comply

⁵⁵⁷ MA, HB-20.3, Freeman to Colville, 09.12.31

⁵⁵⁸ LMS, Mad. 3.1.B, Lyall to Hankey, 15.03.29 (18 pages)

⁵⁵⁹ MA, HB-19, No. 19, 03.03.29: "I must here say, however, that their (Jones & Griffiths) conduct has astonished me to an inexpressible degree. I have really been ready to admit aberration of mind, as an excuse. They say, not only, that I have nothing, whatever, to do with them, but, the impression made upon Mr. Morgan, the other day, when he went to give them an explanation, was, that notwithstanding their written promises, they would be ready to dispute the authority even of the British Government. They appear to think themselves responsible only to the Missionary Society and to the Malagash Government."

⁵⁶⁰ MA, HB-19, No. 19, 14.03.29

with their hints and orders, and also the unusually harsh means they used to force him away.

4.2.3 Refusing the government's second demand of his removal Lyall caused them to act

Obviously, Lyall was well aware that he, at least from the cancelling of the British-Malagasy treaty, was not wanted by the Malagasy government to stay in the country. His many requests to be recognized were all in vain, and many other applications of different kind were also rejected, such as his asking to be allowed to use Verkey, one of the interpreters, to teach him the Malagasy language.⁵⁶¹ Although he kept up an optimistic tone in his journals to the governor up to the 1st of March, his meddling in the affair of the late Louis Le Gros, and maybe his quarrelling with the missionaries and his almost total isolation from both Malagasy and Europeans in the capital obviously caused the earth to burn under his feet. But from that date he expressed a fear of soon being forced to leave the country:

*"- I do think they are searching to find an assignable cause, for giving me "leave to depart". This conduct render me particularly cautions, and makes me bear even with inattentions, and slight insults, especially as the good season is still distant.*⁵⁶²

On the 9th of March he wrote that it was his opinion that the Malagasy government was seeking a pretext to order him to return to Mauritius.⁵⁶³ And some days later he stated:

*"On public grounds, I scarcely know whether to rejoice, or to be sorry, at my **apparent** approaching departure from this Capital. (---) All the events of the last few days, and some very indirect remarks, have led me to suspect, that a letter, either has been sent, or is about to be sent, to Y.E., **apparently**, from the Malagash Government without passing through my hands. As the enemies of our Government have some influence, at present, I am prepared to find the strongest argument used, in order to sacrifice me, and to **pretend** warm friendship to the British Monarch, and the British Nation, indeed, every kind of pretext, deceit, and falsehood, will be employed, by Mr. Coroller, assisted, indirectly, by Messrs Jones & Griffiths, in the name of the Malagash Government, and of the Queen, **who may know nothing of the business, even tho' the royal seal may be used**".*⁵⁶⁴

An interesting detail occurs in his journals those first days of March. Never being mentioned before he now details that a severe cough, which he had caught on the road up to the capital last July, while travelling in the night, had ever since been his constant companion. This cough had of late returned upon him with renewed violence, and given much uneasiness to himself and his family.⁵⁶⁵ The following weeks he mentioned this cough nearly every day, arguing (on the 8th of March) that he would like to go to the Mauritius by and by, as a cool winter was approaching, and it would prove most injurious to his health. It looks to me, that he created a new factor

⁵⁶¹ MA, HB-19, No. 16, asking the Queen in a letter 26.01.29 and receiving the answer next day; *"that Verke being much engaged as a colonel in the Army, and as one of the fixed Deputation, She was sorry She could not spare him to teach me the Malgash."*

⁵⁶² MA, HB-19, No. 18, 01.03.29

⁵⁶³ MA, HB-19, No. 19, 09.03.29: *"From the uniform cool conduct of the Malagash Government, toward me, ever since my arrival (...), from the whole detail of events (...), and from various hints, I am quite certain, that the Government here, is **wishing and seeking**, a pretext to give me notice, that "I may return to Mauritius". I do not think it a duty to my King, to my Country, nor to Your Excellency, to submit, any longer, to inattentions, neglect, and indignities unworthy and beneath the character of all. Besides, I do not see that the views of the British Government can be answered by my residence here -"*

⁵⁶⁴ MA, HB-19, No. 19, 15.03.29

⁵⁶⁵ MA, HB-19, No. 19, 03.03.29

that should give him an excuse to escape from his post in Antananarivo. Certainly it would be beneath his dignity to leave his post without a good cause, or be driven away by the native government. But Lyall proved both demagogic and unwise, by starting the process that would cause his removal from Antananarivo while the good season of travelling was still distant, and the development of those events proved to have the most serious consequences for himself and his family.

Just having expressed his fear that the government was seeking a pretext to send him away, he called for the deputation on the 9th of March to take a great communication to the queen. Firstly, it contained the memorial mentioned above, expressing his complaints about the missionaries' conduct, and repeating his complaints of not being recognized by the queen. Secondly, he again made some excuses for his role in the affair of the late Le Gros. Thirdly, he stated that he might be forced to take a leave in Mauritius because of his health:

*"As it is well known I caught a severe cough, when travelling from Tamatave to Tananarivou, this cough has never left me, and, as the winter season is now approaching, **providing I am not better in the course of six weeks, or two months**, I shall be obliged to proceed to Mauritius for a short time, on account of my health, besides I may have business there. In case I may be necessitated to quit Tananarivou, I wish you to ask the Queen, if She would allow my family to occupy this house, and Mr. Morgan to remain here, during my absence, and also whether Her Majesty would grant a guard of 50 soldiers to accompany me to the Coast -*

About 1 o'clock Verke & Rolambeloun returned with the following answer:

*"The Queen says, that She will give you a guard of 50 soldiers, and that you **may take all your family with you**", which reply as afterwards appeared, was also applicable to Mr. Morgan and his family, indeed, it is tantamount, in the Malagash manner, to an order, **to take all with me, who came her with me**. I took special care, however, to let it be known, **that I only asked a guard for myself**. No answer was brought to the other two points".⁵⁶⁶*

The answer came promptly and thus Lyall was plainly told a second time that he was "persona non grata" in Madagascar. But far from complying immediately with the wishes expressed by the government, or asking to be allowed to stay until the approaching good season for travelling, he continued his politics and different provocations just as before - without giving them any hope of change. As he explained to the governor:

*"As my proposed departure was **conditional** - i.e. if my cough is not better, - and as the Queen's answer, founded upon it, is therefore **virtually conditional**, I propose to remain here at least till I shall receive Y.E.'s answer".⁵⁶⁷*

His British logic, which concluded that the conditional in his question made the queen's answer virtually conditional too, was probably impossible to understand for people at court. The queen and her government had obviously lost the last hope of his withdrawal, and they acted now against him in a typical non-European way, using religious rather than political measures. Lyall's first reactions after having been thrown out of the capital was connected with his political duties as British resident agent, supposing that the real cause of his problems should be a wish from the Malagasy government to renew the slave trade. Although that conclusion obviously was wrong and his analysis had little political relevance, this statement would

⁵⁶⁶ MA, HB-19, No. 19, 09.03.29

⁵⁶⁷ MA, HB-19, No. 19, 12.03.29

certainly make his case more interesting for the governor and make himself a political victim or martyr. Lyall wrote about these aspects:

*“The grand secret is, that when notice was given of my non-recognition, and of the Rejection of the Equivalent, it was expected that I would immediately depart, notwithstanding the bad season. Having in the contrary, remained at Tanarivou, and having made a spirited speech against the renewal of the Slave-Trade, I displeased the **principal** people of this Kingdom, whose views were, and are, far different. Seeing no appearance of my immediate departure, and the **trading season** being at hand, it was deemed necessary to get me out of the way, and, as the Queen could assigner no reason for such a measure, they recurs to the **Gods** and **Skid**, who soon found a remedy, and, I believe, to Her deep regret”.*⁵⁶⁸

Although the analysis I have made so far has mostly been occupied with the socio-political problems concerning Lyall, there are also some important socio-religious aspects that might have been even more important and caused the government to act in the way they did. Lyall explained in the same journal about some problems connected with his medical and scientific work, and the fact that he had more than often filled his days with activities like collecting samples of botanic, zoological, and geological specimens and with meteorological observations. Both the queen and her government with their weight on the worship of idols and the superstitions among the people, got more and more provoked by those activities, and in fact that might be an important cause for Lyall’s expulsion, as indicated by himself in the report after his deportation:

*“My medicines have proved charms, which worked against the oudi, or charms, of the Gods, - I have caught serpents, which belongs to the Gods, - I have seized “locusts and Butterflies”, and have collected plants, which operated contrary to the Gods, - I have taken observations of the Sun, Moon, & Stars, and have divined against the Gods, - I have been in a holy village (tho’ never there), and highly offended the Gods, - In fact, I am an astrologer, a magician, a sorcer, a genius or spirit, adverse to the Gods of Madagascar, an all my goods and chattels are enchanted or bewitched. So the Gods, and the Skid, have determined, and all this must be truth. (---) it may be added, - that my pluviometer was either for the purpose of preventing, or of bringing, rain, at pleasure, - that my vane was designed to warf diseases to the Kingdom of Imerina, and especially to the Capital, (---) and that my positive prognostication that iron (and not silver) would be the only metal found in one mineral, and Mica (and not silver) the principal ingredience of another mineral showed extraordinary, indeed, supernatural, knowledge. In fact it was concluded, that I was too wise, and that I possessed the Oudi Maheri, or charm, of which, I have given some account in my Journal”.*⁵⁶⁹

Lyall’s final provocation was a visit to a small village called Ankadivory some km. east of Antananarivo on the 15th of March 1829. He went there to care of the sending of a letter to Mauritius, because the bearers from Tamatave were no longer allowed to enter the capital. Together with him was his servant Louis, who was a government slave from Mauritius. This village was related close to Ambohimanambola, a greater village and homestead for the famous idol Rakelimalaza. Not knowing that this village was just restored to its former holiness from the time of Andrianampoinimerina, Lyall was not on his guard, and his behaviour and the behaviour of his servant and some

⁵⁶⁸ MA, HB-19, No. 20, 31.03.29

⁵⁶⁹ MA, HB-19, No. 20, 31.03.29

bearers whom they met there greatly offended the restored holiness - or taboos - of the whole area around Ambohimambola. Lyall left his servant there, asking him to care for some things and to collect more butterflies etc, and rode back to Antananarivo. Next day he was informed that Louis and some others were arrested in Ankadivory because he and Lyall so had greatly offended the taboos of the area. Lyall used the next 9 days to get his servant free, and succeeded only when he argued that Louis was not a Malagasy subject but a slave belonging to the government of Mauritius.

On the 24th of March Lyall wrote in his Journal that another famous idol, Ramahavaly, was brought to the palace with great ceremonies, not knowing that this idol soon should make the greatest changes hitherto in his life in Madagascar.⁵⁷⁰ Next morning a great number of people came to his house asking him to come out and talk with them. He answered that it was beneath his dignity to go out of doors on business, and let in as many as possible. The visitors were neither officers of the palace nor police, and many of them had adders or serpents twisted, like bracelets, around their wrists, and also around their bodies:

*“As soon as silence was obtained, a tall man who called himself, “Ramahavally”, the name of one of the Malagash Gods, of which he was the Chief Keeper, addressed me, nearly in words to the following effects: “I, Ramahavally, have to inform you, Mr. Lyall, that you, your wife, your children & your Effects, by desire of the God, Ramahavally, are to go to Mauritius”.*⁵⁷¹

Struck by astonishment Lyall inquired whether this order came from the queen or the government, but the visitors explained that neither of them was concerned with this order, but it came from Ramahavaly alone. Claiming that he was an ambassador from a mighty nation and thus under the queen's special protection, Lyall said he could not accept such an order. But the visitors urged even harder his removal and finally he was forced to accept the orders. Demanding when he was expected to depart, he got the answer:

*“Immediately, with us, you, your wife, and your children will go to Ambatoumanga, and you must entrust your property to friends, or to us, who will take care of it, and when it is packet up and arranged, the whole will follow you. At Ambatoumanga you may remain a day, or two days, to complete your arrangements, and then you are to proceed to Mauritius”.*⁵⁷²

Lyall protested vigorously against the idea that his wife and children should depart immediately with him without getting time to prepare for the journey, and he obtained a pledge that they should be allowed to stay to the next day at noon. He also gained a lot of time by asking different questions. When he asked about the nature of his crime he was told that he had not done the least harm, but they forced him to leave because Ramahavaly had ordered so, and they had to obey that idol because he commanded all Madagascar. It was agreed that his eldest son; John, who had just returned from a trip outside town, should follow him. They were neither allowed to use horses or palanquins but forced to walk by feet nor were they allowed to carry with them any provisions and other necessities. During the walk Lyall recalled to his mind all he had heard about how the Malagasy used to kill their victims, and he was in a melancholy mood when arriving at a village called Ambohipeno about 7 miles east of Antananarivo. There they were placed in a little house, and not allowed to do

⁵⁷⁰ MA, HB-19, No. 21, 24.03.29: *“To day the God Ramahavally was brought to town, clothed in a red mantle, and carried to the palace with much ceremony”.*

⁵⁷¹ MA, HB-19, No. 25, 25.03.29 See also: HB-20.1, Lyall to Colville, 19.10.29, transmitting the said Journal No. 25

⁵⁷² MA, HB-19, No. 25, 25.03.29

anything. They were only waiting for help, and in this state Freeman found them in the afternoon.⁵⁷³

Alarmed in the morning by John Lyall who hurried home on his horse to help his father, Freeman went to Lyall's house to ask if he could be useful. When he came there just after Lyall's departure another party of men was just rudely urging the immediate departure of Mrs. Lyall and all the children, notwithstanding the pledge given Lyall before he left. When she objected that they had no palanquin-bearers at hand, they told her that she could walk. Freeman sent the fixed deputation to the queen begging more time for Mrs. Lyall and her children, and at length he got an answer that she was allowed to remain for some days. In the meantime soldiers had taken control over Lyall's courtyard to prevent plundering or new assault from his enemies. Freeman brought the captured some provisions, and Lyall was highly grateful for what he had done, showing himself as the sole friend of the family at this critical juncture:

"As Mr. Freeman risked the displeasure of the Malagash Government, by his visit to me, and as it was an act of the greatest kindness, he deserves the eternal gratitude of myself & family".⁵⁷⁴

4.2.4 Lyall's "Tsiny" (guiltiness) in the eyes of the government made the question of a British agent a "Taboo" in Malagasy politics for decades

Next day, on the 26th of March, a deputation from the government arrived at Ambohipeno to talk with Lyall. It consisted of Andriamihaja, now considered as Prime Minister, and Ratriimo, the queen's brother-in-law, together with the 3 fixed interpreters, Verkey, Rolambeloun and Sherry.⁵⁷⁵ With a long explanation they tried to show that the Malagasy had as much faith in their gods as the Europeans had in their religion and God, and that their gods would always take care of them. When the gods were consulted they would advise what was the best for the sovereign and her people to do. When Lyall had made a mistake in going too close to the holy village Ambohimanambola, the idols and the diviners had decided that he ought to leave the capital, and this decision was carried into effect immediately. The queen regretted that act, but could not have prevented it even though she was sovereign and commanded Madagascar because it was a religious decision. The deputation added:

*"The Queen, knowing that you have always professed yourself a friend to Madagascar, - and, more specially on the day you made a speech against the renewal of the slave trade (---), ardently desires that you should not feel offended, nor be angry, nor quit Her Kingdom discontented, nor displeased, nor with unfriendly feelings, and **She trust, that after the explanations just given, your removal from the capital, by the Gods and the Skid and not by the Sovereign, will be regarded merely as a private affair. (---)** You proposed to go to Mauritius about the end of April, - provided your cough was not better, - you and your family may remain at Ambouhipainou till the expiration of that period or longer, **in a word, you are to have your own time for preparation. (---)** The Queen wishes you to make known your request to herself, and she will comply with them, as far as it may be in her power, and in*

⁵⁷³ MA, HB-19, No. 25, 25.03.29: "While lying in a musing melancholy mood, a well known voice was heard, asking, "Are the Whites here?" while at the same moment, the door opened, & my friend, Mr. Freeman, presented himself. He was not allowed to enter our prison, but we went out & spoke with him for a few minutes."

⁵⁷⁴ MA, HB-19, No. 25, 25.03.29

⁵⁷⁵ Verkey (Ravariaka) and Rolambeloun (Raolombelona) had studied in England and together with Sherry they formed the fixed deputation of interpreters designed to be the organ of contact between Lyall and the queen. Sherry was another government slave from Mauritius who had worked as interpreter for the British in Madagascar. Since he was a good violin-player Radama asked to buy him and later redeemed him. Under the queen's reign he worked as officer of the palace, interpreter etc.

conclusion She trust that you will forgive and forget what has just passed, and not depart as an enemy, but retain your good intentions toward Madagascar”⁵⁷⁶

Obviously, the plot was to use the gods or idols as an excuse for Lyall's removal from the capital. The government must have been unhappy to be forced to expel an ambassador in that way, but after having requested his removal twice without getting any sign that he wanted to comply with their wishes, they chose a non-diplomatic measure according to Malagasy religion and culture. Although they vigorously stressed that fact that the queen did not know that his removal from the capital had been carried out, she certainly would have known about such a step, especially since the idol was brought to the palace when entering the capital the day before Lyall's removal.

I do not know exactly what happened at court at that time, because there are few written reports from that area. Lyall had many times talked about one or another officer or minister being the actual leader of the government and regretted how changeable the court was. In his first reports, for example, Lyall mentioned Andriamamba as the Prime Minister, but in December 1828 he said that Andriamahery, an old judge, was the present Prime Minister.⁵⁷⁷ It is an interesting question what might have caused such changes in the power, but we know too little about that. In the middle of January Lyall explained that there were two strong parties at court and they had grave discussions about the residence of all the Europeans.⁵⁷⁸ I have already explained that those leaders who had accepted invitations from Lyall soon were removed from their duties, and I supposed that Andriamihaja was placed in the capacity of Prime Minister, because he was considered to be a strong and flexible man, able to check Lyall's provocations. Certainly Andriamihaja was also one of the officers of rank placing Ranavalona on the throne, but he is not mentioned very often before the time of Lyall's removal. I therefore find that Lyall himself might have been an important cause behind Andriamihaja's rise to power.

The proposal that Lyall should regard his removal merely as a private affair and their request that he would forgive and forget what had just passed, shows that the deputation were afraid this case could cause diplomatic problems with their good ally, the King of England. From many other hints at that time I find that they really wished to keep up a good relation with Great Britain, especially since they feared that France would soon wage a war against them. That may be the reason why they pressed so hard upon Lyall that he always had professed himself a friend of Madagascar, and begged him not to part as an enemy.

Nevertheless Lyall stated in his answer that he never could accept the rule of the diviner or the Malagasy idols over him, and he pointed at the fact that he

⁵⁷⁶ MA, HB-19, No. 25, 26.03.29: *"In going near Ambouhi-Manamboula, the Queen says you "missed", i.e. made a mistake and the Gods & Skid determined on that account that you must leave Tananarivou, a determination which had, accordingly, unknown to Her Majesty, been carried into execution. Although She deeply regretted this act, She could not have prevented it, for the Gods whose will is known by working the Skid, must be obeyed. The Queen is the Sovereign of her country. She commands all Madagascar. The Gods have the power of removing every individual from place to place within her territories, but they cannot injure the person of any individual, nor touch his property. The Queen has the exclusive power of life and death, and of banishment from her dominions."*

⁵⁷⁷ MA, HB-19, No. 12, 05.12.28: *"Andriamahery (...) is at present the head person at court, he directs both civil and Military affairs, and very naturally because he is the chief keeper of Gods, whom he may have secret means of influencing. He is a very old man, who has long resided at a small village called Ambouatany near Ambohimanga, which it will be remarked, is also the residence of the Idol, Ramahavally."*

⁵⁷⁸ MA, HB-19, No. 15, 14.01.29: *"Grave discussions are going on at Court again, and the two more powerful parties, - one composed chiefly of the Military Officers, the other of the Ministers, judges, etc. - have been on the point of coming to blows. Among other matters, the Knotty question, "Whether all the Whites shall be sent from Madagascar?" has engaged a due share of attention, and respecting it the parties cannot agree."*

represented the sovereign of his country at the court of Antananarivo, and was entitled to kind attention by the laws of hospitality. And he stated:

*“Mr. Lyall’s removal from the capital in so illegal, so disgraceful, and so barbarous a manner, was an insult to His King, to his Country, to the Government of Mauritius, and to himself, indeed, he might say, to the civilized world, whose opinions of such an act, would not fail to be expressed, and he regretted to add, that their sentiments were not likely to be favourable to the Madagascar Government, nor to the Malagash nation. (---) He may control his own feelings, but he could have no influence over those of the King, of his country men, of the Government of Mauritius, nor of the world in general, at the relations of the deeds, which have just taken place, (---) The King of Great Britain is a **most mighty Monarch**, and commands a high spirited nation, and, therefore, it was not likely that His Majesty, nor his subject, would allow any insult to pass unnoticed, or with impunity”*.⁵⁷⁹

Further his long answer to the deputation detailed clearly that he was deeply wounded and discontent. He sent them back to the queen with a request, that he should be allowed to return to the capital and remain there for 8 days, for the purpose of selling or packing up his property and settling his affairs like a honourable man. The next days passed without any answer to that request, and Freeman sent him several letters from town, guiding him not to return even he should get permission. On Sunday the 29th of Mars his family and most of his property arrived in Ambohipeno assisted by Freeman and some officers.⁵⁸⁰

For nearly three weeks Lyall was peaceably arranging his affaires at Ambohipeno, selling some of his properties and packing the remainder. He had planned to leave for Tamatave about the 5th of May to profit from the moonshine, but on the 18th of April in the middle of the night things happened that caused him to change his decision. The guardian saw a lot of people surrounding Lyall’s huts and raised the alarm. The intruders fled immediately, but Lyall and his family found to their horror that their houses were filled with snakes, which had been put through the simple walls. All hands were occupied in killing snakes and cleaning the houses. Next day Lyall told the villagers that they ought not approach his camp during the night – otherwise they might be shot. He also tried to get bearers and start the journey immediately although the good season had not yet commenced. But it proved difficult to get enough bearers.⁵⁸¹ Three days later they were again alarmed by loud cries from the children’s hut, because two men had thrown snakes at his young daughters there.

When Lyall desperately tried to get bearers, Sherry and Rolambelon arrived with presents from the queen to him. He told them in a plain language that he had received presents from Radama, who had recognized him and treated him well, but he begged them to state to the queen:

“That since I had experienced the most disgraceful and degrading treatment (treatment unworthy the character of man), from the Malgashes, - that although I had made no communication to the Queen, she could not be ignorant of the fiendish deed, executed on the 18th instant, the thrusting of numerous serpents into the houses occupied by my family and self in Ambouhipainou, - and, that very probably Her Majesty was aware, that, only the evening before last, two of my children had been dreadfully alarmed, -

⁵⁷⁹ MA, HB-19, No. 25, 26.03.29

⁵⁸⁰ MA, HB-19, No. 26, 29.03.29

⁵⁸¹ MA, HB-19, No. 27, 18.04.29

indeed I may say the whole family, - by the dastardly act of two men throwing serpents upon our innocent and defendless daughters.

I then explained to the deputation that, in consequence of the general conduct of the Malagash Government toward me, and more especially of the above deeds, it was altogether impossible to receive any presents from the Queen. Therefore, I begged them to take back the intended presents to Tananarivou, to make known my sentiments to Her Majesty, and to add, that I hoped she would regard the returning of the articles, not as an insult, but as a duty, - and that I had no bad feelings toward her (---) I then stated that I was willing to accept the greatest favour the Queen could render me, - Her assistance in speedily procuring bearers, for a just remuneration, to carry myself, my family and property, to Tamatave, in order to quit Madagascar".⁵⁸²

His decision not to receive the presents from the queen, was indeed a strong testimony of how injured he felt by the Malagasy people and their leaders. Therefore it is not astonishing that a great deputation arrived next day, and a long conversation took place between the two parts:

"Andriamiadz commenced the business of their visit, by informing me, from Her Majesty Ranavalona Manjaka: That it was the custom of her country, on the departure of any stranger of distinction, for the Sovereign to make him a present of the products of Madagascar, - and that, in conformity to ancient usage, She had sent me some articles yesterday, which, though rejected, were again forwarded, for my acceptance, by the present deputation, as a public testimonial of good feelings towards me. (---) The Queen still hopes that you, Mr. Lyall, will not be angry, nor quit her country displeased, but will place past acts to the account of Rakelimalaza and Ramahavally. (---)

I declared that I really pitied the Queen, that I hoped to see Madagascar flourish, and, that I felt obliged by the sentiments conveyed to me. At the same time, as I considered myself an injured man, and that my King had been insulted in my person, without a more satisfactory explanation and apology than they, the deputation, appeared either able or authorized to give, - without written and attested documents, that the deeds, so often alluded to, were not Her Majesty's, I added, "I cannot, nor will not receive any present from the Queen".⁵⁸³

Refusing a second time the presents from the queen obviously was a hard attack from Lyall to the Malagasy pride and honour and may have hurt their feelings seriously. As the injured person, Lyall showed clearly that he would not forgive or forget anything, and then he charged the queen and her government with heavy blame or guilt. By making them guilty in this way, he entered the Malagasy religious complex of the "Tsiny" (guilt) and the "Tody" (retaliation), and by leaving them no chance to get off their guilt he condemned them to carry these Tsiny and Tody for all future. That was a heavy burden laid on the Malagasy leaders, and that may have caused the question of placing a new "British Resident Agent" in Antananarivo to be a real taboo in Malagasy politics for several decades. I will later show how Freeman, by introducing this question in his political communications with the government from 1831, may have seriously wounded their good relations with the missionaries.

As a last attempt to stress the questions of the British-Malagasy cooperation, Lyall wrote to the queen next day. Firstly, he requested whether she still intended to maintain the abolition of the slave trade. Secondly, he asked if he would be allowed

⁵⁸² MA, HB-19, No. 27, 22.04.29

⁵⁸³ MA, HB-19, No. 27, 23.04.29

to return to Antananarivo in the future in his capacity of British Resident Agent. And thirdly, if any other individual could at any time be received and recognized as such by the queen.⁵⁸⁴ On Sunday the 26th of April he got his answers by the last deputation from the queen. It is significant that this deputation did not request or hope for Lyall's forgiveness any more, and therefore they were speaking more plainly than before. Andriamihaja stated that even though the queen herself detested the slave trade she would neither be directed nor governed in her affairs by another sovereign. To the other questions he remarked that in the future all foreigners should be compelled to ask for permission to proceed to the capital, and that neither King Radama nor the present queen wished to have a Resident Agent at court. But since Lyall had expressed a wish to visit the capital, he had secured Radama's permission to do that. The king had also been interested in Lyall's medical skill and had therefore wished him to visit Antananarivo, even though he thought that his primary task was to watch over the slave trade, which he could do from Tamatave or other places at the coast.⁵⁸⁵

Obviously this interpretation of Radama's politics concerning the British Agent was not true, and we can observe that using such false interpretations as political arguments became normal in the 1830's. Lyall protested vigorously against the idea that his only task was to watch over the fulfilment of the treaty, and he repeated that he was sent from the English king to be his ambassador at Radama's court. Further he made some remarks about those British subjects who were likely to remain in Madagascar. Most of them had come hither by invitation of Radama under the royal promise of protection, and therefore the power of idols should not be exercised over them since the missionaries should never be able to admit the authority of any Malagasy idol over their principles or conduct, he said:

(They) "were sent (---) for the express purpose of preaching the vanity & sin of trusting in Idols and of reverending them as Gods, and of making known the religion of the only true God, - the God of Gods, - in whose presence all false Gods, and all Idols, were but as dust in the balance. Therefore, said I, in the execution of the special duty of their calling, the Missionaries may offend the Malagash Gods, - indeed, they must either do so, or cease to pursue the conversion of other to Christianity. I concluded by requesting special protection for the Missionaries in Madagascar".⁵⁸⁶

If Lyall really wanted special protection for the missionaries he should have kept quiet in this situation, or at least expressed his wishes in more diplomatic terms. Maybe he did not understand the religious feelings of the Malagasy leaders when he said that their gods were nothing, and that the missionaries would preach the vanity and sin in trusting in those idols. Certainly the missionaries would have regretted his pointing at the dilemma of their work, and I wonder if he did that as a revenge for the total break between them and himself. Nor do I know what impression this statement made upon the leaders, but it could easily render many of them more suspicious to the missionaries and be the cause of some of the changes that took place after the murder of the progressive Prime Minister Andriamihaja.

⁵⁸⁴ MA, HB-19, No. 27, 24.04.29

⁵⁸⁵ MA, HB-19, No. 27, 26.04.29: " - that Radama did not wish to have a successor to Mr. Hastie at His Court, nor to any permanent British Agent in his Capital, and that he did not wish me to visit Tananarivou. "You came to this country to watch over the Slave Trade, and as you expressed a wish to visit the Capital, the King did not like to refuse you. Besides, as you are a medical man, His Majesty said he might wish to employ you, but of this he would be better able to judge, after you had been some time at Tananrivou; and he thought this visit would also afford you a good opportunity of seeing how strictly the Treaty for the Abolition of the Slave Trade was carried out in the centre of his territories

⁵⁸⁶ MA, HB-19, No. 27, 26.04.29

Appendix: Lyall's sad fate

In the course of a few days Lyall got his bearers and his guard of soldiers and he proceeded to Tamatave. Arriving there in the last days of May, he had to wait several weeks for a good vessel taking them to Mauritius. But their travelling before the termination of the bad season, and their stay in the wet and bad climate in Tamatave, proved dangerous to them. One of his sons had a violent attack of hot fever, but soon recovered. Later Lyall himself fell ill and had what he thought were some "symptoms of Typhoid fever".⁵⁸⁷ Back in Mauritius it proved to be the dreaded Malagasy fever, better known as malaria.

For the following two years he wrestled with his illness and his wish of still being recognised as Resident Agent to Madagascar. His temper had always been a little choleric, and the check in his work together with his illness soon caused him to quarrel with everybody around him. Firstly, he accused Morgan, his loyal secretary during the stay in Madagascar, of having published a part of his journal from the visit in Tamatave in October 1827. This confidential journal had been published in *Revue Britannique*, and Lyall supposed Morgan was responsible for that deed.⁵⁸⁸ Morgan left Mauritius at the beginning of October 1829 hoping to get his rights in a trial in London. Thus being deprived of his secretary, Lyall requested the governor to be allowed to pay his eldest son, John, as his secretary from the 1st of October.⁵⁸⁹ The answer was in the negative because the government in London would not let him charge anything for a secretary because he was relieved from the active duties of his mission in Madagascar. Upset about that decision, he requested the government of Mauritius: "*that such instructions may be allowed to stand over, until the result of another reference to England, may be known*".⁵⁹⁰

A lot of other supplications are also found in the archives, for example respecting his financial problems caused by his abrupt stay in Madagascar, which caused him to beg that he should pay his debt by monthly sums of £20.⁵⁹¹ But the really bad case was caused by a quarrel between Lyall and a government slave working for him. The report from the police states:

*"After the report of Assistant Civil Commissary of Moka, and other information I have been enabled to collect on the subject, it would appear that the Government Negresse "Anne", lately in the service of dr. Lyall, committed suicide, in consequence of a serious dispute she had with her husband, and a flogging inflicted on her, by order of her Master".*⁵⁹²

When the slave committed suicide Lyall was reported to the police, and on the 3rd of May 1830 he was condemned by "The tribunal de la Police Correctionelle" to a fine of £20, because his proceedings had caused her death and deprived the government of its propriety. He immediately appealed this trial to a higher court.⁵⁹³ This sad case and his financial problems together with his bad state of health made his last year gloomy. His friend Charles Telfaire wrote in January 1831 about the retrenchment against Lyall, that it would be fatal to Lyall in his present state if they presented that to him now, because he was in the last stage of the Malagasy fever.⁵⁹⁴ This observation soon proved real, and a few months later Lyall passed away as a

⁵⁸⁷ MA, HB-19, No. 24, 09.06.29

⁵⁸⁸ MA, HB-20.1, Lyall to Governor Colville, 31.08.29, and the following correspondences to the same case in HB-20

⁵⁸⁹ MA, HB-20.1, Lyall to Colville, 08.12.29

⁵⁹⁰ MA, RA-438, Lyall to Barry, 30.08.30

⁵⁹¹ MA, RA-438, Lyall to Smith, acting Chief Secretary, 12.02.31: He requested that the answer to that letter should not be sent to England, because it might cause some unnecessary trouble with the payment of his debt. See also: MA, RA-438, 23.02.31.

⁵⁹² MA, RA-438, Lyall to Barry, 11.05.30 Appendix: Extract from a report 20.10.29

⁵⁹³ MA, RA-438, Lyall to Barry, 05.05.30

⁵⁹⁴ MA, HB-20.3, Telfaire to Viret, 16.01.31

consequence of his residence in Madagascar and his travelling during the bad season there. His widowed wife, Mary Lyall, thanking the governor for a pension of £200 per annum, requested his permission to stay in Mauritius, not returning to England.⁵⁹⁵

⁵⁹⁵ MA, HB-20.3, Mary Lyall to Colville, 24.06.31.

4.3 The missionaries and artisans working under new aspects

Having examined a lot of political problems and changes during the first eight months of Ranavalona's reign, I found it important to study more minutely the missionaries' and the missionary artisans' work and life under the changing aspects up to the year 1831.

On the one hand, many historians have quoted the well-known story of Cameron's efforts to make soap for the queen, using that as a sign that the missionaries were at the point of being thrown out of the country few months after the death of king Radama. Professor S. Chapus, for example, concludes that it was only Cameron's work that saved enough time for the missionaries to make their work so good founded that it could survive the persecution.⁵⁹⁶ Certainly Cameron did valuable work, but I wonder if his recapitulation of a meeting between the missionaries and the representatives from the government after less than one year of Ranavalona's reign was correct, or if this story can be partly influenced by events from the following years. Therefore I will discuss what the contemporary sources tell us about this meeting, and also Cameron's valuable work, in order to see whether the crisis and the ultimatum from the queen occurred already in 1829 as Cameron says, or if it was not until a few years later that the artisans work became so important for the missionaries permission to stay in the country.

On the other hand, Lyall had many times hinted that the Malagasy government had a deep wish to expel all Europeans from Antananarivo, and maybe from the country. During the first five years of the queen's reign it was only Lyall himself who was expelled. And I wonder why those wishes, if really existing, firstly were effected after 1832. And what was the missionaries' political role for the queen's government in this first period (1828-1831)?

4.3.1 Unaltered status of the missionary work the first months of Ranavalona's reign

My investigations in chapter 4.2 pointed out some differences between Freeman and his brethren, both in their valuation of Lyall and of the aspects for the missionary work. In the Minutes from their meetings in March 1829 this was clearly shown when they concluded with these views:

(02.03.29) *"That in consequence of the conduct of Mr. Lyall in reference to this Mission, - as it respects his behaviour to the Deputation while in the Mauritius, - to Mr Jones while at Tamatave, - to Mr. Chick on the road, - and especially to the Missionaries while at Tananarivo since his letter of 10th January, we cannot consider him as having been hitherto the Friend of this Mission, but the reverse, - consequently that we resolve to have nothing to do with Mr. Lyall in any Missionary proceedings so long as we continue to regard him in this light. Mr. Freeman expresses his Dissent from the above opinion and resolution. (---) 23.03.29) It is thought that the prospects of the Mission are more favourable now than they were a few month ago. Mr. Freeman does not think they improve in appearance".*⁵⁹⁷

The views of the prospects of the mission continued to divide the missionaries up to the departure of Freeman half a year later. My key question is why the views of the more experienced missionaries was much more optimistic than Freeman's views,

⁵⁹⁶ Chapus, BAM 1925, p. 197-198: *C'est donc grâce à Cameron que la Mission eut le temps de fonder une oeuvre assez solide pour résister à la formidable réaction qui suivit.*

⁵⁹⁷ LMS, Mad, 3.2.C, Extract from the Minute Book of the Missionaries at Tananarivo. Signed by Jones, Griffiths, Johns and Freeman

and why they in fact could improve and make the mission more prosperous and flourishing the next two years than during the whole reign of the late king Radama.

Firstly, it looks like the missionaries and their work were not so disgraced by the criticism from the traditionalists as we usually think. All communications to them from the new government in the first months were positive, assuring them that the queen would help them and encourage them as much as Radama had ever done, or even more. It is true that the schoolwork and the public services on Sundays were stopped for about five months caused by the mourning for the late king, but that was quite normal in the Malagasy culture and not considered to be a threat especially to the missionaries' work. The killing of several members of Radama's family and especially of Rakotobe, their friend and student since their arrival in Antananarivo, was a tough blow to them, but they did not consider those sad events to be an attack on their own work, but a dynastic quarrel within the noble caste. Certainly they were much more worried about the political struggle going on between different parties at court, and how that would influence their work. But many of the men in power were their friends or former pupils and soon they supposed that things would go the right way. They were extremely cautious not to offend the government in any question, but were always willing to give any help or do any work they were asked for. I have already mentioned how suspicious Lyall became when he saw some of the officers of the palace frequently visiting Jones' house, obviously to get some text translated or other work done.⁵⁹⁸ On the other hand, the missionaries assured that they had asked the officers always to make special invitations to Lyall, but refusing this, the officers ordered the leading missionaries to invite him like all the whites, a fact that greatly provoked Lyall. And when the missionaries agreed to assist the officers when they made up Louis le Gros' property, Lyall was seriously alarmed and made his strong attack against them, as shown above.

Secondly, it became more and more important for the missionaries and artisans to keep a distance to the British agent and all his efforts, especially after the 29th of November, when the government decided to quit the treaty with the British government and told Lyall that he was neither wanted in the country nor recognised as ambassador. Chick said that he was really afraid that Lyall should meddle in the affair of his claims against the government about his work at the new palace, but luckily Lyall was kept out of the business by the queen's orders, and the two parties could settle the affair peacefully.⁵⁹⁹ As I have already shown in chapter 4.2.2. Jones expressed the best hopes for his work if he could keep away from quarrel and never

⁵⁹⁸ MA, HB-19, No. 18: *"In my journal of the 13th Oct. 1828, I have detailed what happened, in reference to the Kabary, summoned to make known the Queen's will with regard to Mr. Robin. It appeared to me that Mr. Jones seemed to court the new arrangement, and to accept the communications, and publish them with pleasure, to "Tous les Blancs", or, in other words, he seemed as if he wished to establish a 2nd political agency, at Tananarivou, under pretence of necessity to obey the Queen's commands, even after the positive warning given him by me.*

He was afterwards occupied in making translations, I believe, for the Queen, and the officers of the Army, and often had assemblies of the latter at his house with the object of which, I was not made acquainted. In fact, if he had an order, he seemed to assure a right to interfere with affairs in general, a right, which an ignorant court and people, through old acquaintance, his immense advantage of knowledge of the language etc, willingly gave him, - a right to, quite independent of my office and duty, - in a word, he assumed as it were, a political, as well as a Missionary existence, - and at all times, assigned the confusion, the difficulties, and the dangers of the times, the interest of the Missionary Brethren and of the Schools etc, as reasons for such conduct, whenever, I, directly or indirectly, hinted at the necessity of his keeping strictly to his own pursuits, in obedience to the orders of the Missionary Society, and to the understanding of the British Government. He seemed infinitely more desirous to please the Malagash Government than the British Government."

⁵⁹⁹ LMS, Mad. 3.1.B, Chick to Orme, 23.03.29: *"And I in return consented that some of the Officers should in connection with the Europeans be appointed to value the work. Mr. Lyall offered me his assistance in the affair - this I could not refuse although I was fully persuaded that his being present would materially injure my cause - knowing that the Officers minds were strongly prejudiced against him, I thanked him for his kind offer, and when the day appointed by the Queen for valuing the work arrived I was in some doubt whether to invite him myself or not, but was relieved by his secretary informing me that Mr. L. had made application directly to the Queen himself on the business, but her answer not being according to his wish he did not interfere, and happily the concern was brought to an amicable conclusion - "*

be forced to ask for the queen's will in any case. He also expressed his valuation of dr. Lyall in a letter to the directors:

*"Mr. Lyall has acted so imprudently & foolishly since his arrival in Madagascar, that he is not only disliked by the Hovas in Imerina, but by the bearers of packages who dwell on the eastern Coast not far from Tamatave, whom he has ill treated in coming up the Country. He has vexed the present Government so much that he seems to be generally disliked from all appearances. I have been told that the present Malagasy Court is not displeased with the Agency, but only with the Agent. Mr. Lyall has brought against some of the members of this mission some disrespectful charges, which he has failed entirely to establish. Then he insinuated that some of us had interfered with politics etc, but I think that every member belonging to this mission, as far as my knowledge extends, is conscious of perfect innocency".*⁶⁰⁰

Also David Johns stated that probably nobody would try to justify Lyall's proceedings neither against the missionaries nor the Malagasy government.⁶⁰¹ The only exception found was Freeman, who really tried to justify Lyall. When the crisis between Lyall and the government developed, the missionaries withdrew more and more from him and in the beginning of March 1829 they decided to break all connections with him. It is significant that during the six weeks Lyall was exiled in Ambohipeno only 7 miles from the capital, not a single missionary visited him there, except his friend Freeman. Thus they effectively demonstrated to the Malagasy government that they were not in the slightest degree connected with the disputed agent.

I have already mentioned the question of whether the missionaries might have asked their friends at court to have Lyall sent out of the country, and concluded that two of them would have been able to do such a deed since they had so many friends and former pupils at court, i.e. the veterans Jones and Griffiths. But as far as I have seen the views and strategies of Jones in different cases, it would be far beyond his honour to ask the Malagasy government to send away the British agent. I am more uncertain about Griffiths, since he later brought every discussion with his brethren to the decision of the government and thus politicised his missionary cause. Freeman was often grieving about this behaviour and accused Griffiths for having caused not only the expulsion of Lyall,⁶⁰² but also the expulsion of Atkinson in 1832, and in consequence the expulsion of all the missionaries in 1835-36, as I will show later.⁶⁰³ Therefore I find it possible that Griffiths may have asked his friends at court to get rid of Lyall.

However, it looks as though the friendly party succeeded in getting more influence at court in the period they quitted the treaty in late November 1828. Soon afterwards the missionaries were allowed to re-open the great Central-school in the capital (25.12.28). That indicated a positive change for the work of the missionaries, but they were neither allowed to teach religion nor let the pupils assist in public services on Sundays. Provoked by this, they submitted an application to the government, saying that they did not want to teach at all if they were to be deprived of the right to teach religion. This ultimatum was followed by a request to re-open all

⁶⁰⁰ LMS, Mad, 3.1.B, Jones to Hankey, 25.03.29

⁶⁰¹ LMS, Mad, 3.1.B, Johns to Arundel, 28.03.29

⁶⁰² MA, HB-9, Freeman to Colville, 26.09.32: "Without pretending to justify all that the late Mr. Lyall said or did when here, I must say, because the occasion now demands it, that many of Mr. Lyall's difficulties here, and in a part, the unjustifiably manner of his removal, arose out of the mischievous influence of Mr. G. with certain parties then in power."

⁶⁰³ MA, HB-9, Freeman to Dick, 26.02.34: "We have but one opinion in the case, namely that the removal of Mr. G. from Madagascar, is essential, not only to the continued usefulness of our Mission in the Country, but I may say to its existence in Madagascar, and to the residence of Europeans at the Capital."

the schools in the neighbouring districts. Lyall warned them against using such an ultimatum, because he thought this would put a stop to all their teaching work. But obviously the experienced missionaries knew better than him the government's strategies, and they hoped soon to be allowed to teach as they liked again. In the course of a few weeks they got the permission both to teach religion and to re-open all their schools. Freeman wrote on the 10th of February that this day the teachers were sent off to the country schools to collect the scholars and proceed with their work as before.⁶⁰⁴ The pupils were also allowed to assist at the public services on Sundays, but still they were not allowed to sing during the mourning for the late king.

The Missionaries suffered only one serious drawback: They were not allowed neither to give the teachers any wages or valuable gifts, nor to give the pupils slates, paper or other materials for their studies.⁶⁰⁵ But the schools continued their work as well as possible, and even the schools in the distant province of Vakinankaratra or Betsileo were re-opened. In January 1828 David Jones had started 4 schools in places named Betafo, Mahaiza-manjaka, Antananarivo and Antanamanjaka in that province.⁶⁰⁶ And in the 1830's the missionaries even talked about the possibility of constructing a chapel and a congregation about 120 miles to the south. As far as I can see, that corresponds well with Betafo or the other places in that province. But those wishes were probably never effectuated. Most of the missionaries became more optimistic as the events developed, and even before the removal of Lyall, Chick expressed that pleasing changes had gradually taken place.⁶⁰⁷ And Jones wrote in the beginning of May in a very optimistic mood:

*"Every thing relative to the Country & also our Mission wears a favourable aspect, in my opinion, from all that I can learn from the present Court of Her Majesty".*⁶⁰⁸

On the other hand, Freeman had made his own analysis and he was very sceptical about the future of the mission of different causes: Firstly, he was worried because of the lack of brotherhood and friendly feelings he found amongst the missionary personnel in Antananarivo. He had been carefully instructed before leaving England not to quarrel with the Welsh veterans and had really tried to keep a friendly tone towards them. But now he was so grieved by all that had happened in Lyall's case that he dared not tell his colleagues that he wrote to the directors, since he mistrusted their reactions too much.⁶⁰⁹ Secondly, he thought their efforts were too concentrated on the schoolwork and artisans work, which were both very susceptible to political changes, stating that King Radama and his successors had obtained too much influence over all the missionary work:

"But it is requisite I should now add, as the result of my experience some month past, - in fact, ever since the death of Radama, that far more than I imagined was due to him for the success & encouraging aspects of the

⁶⁰⁴ LMS, Mad, 3.1.A, Freeman to Hankey, 10.02.29

⁶⁰⁵ LMS, Mad, 3.1.A, Freeman to Hankey, 10.02.29: "We received also another Message from the Queen a few days ago, at the same time that the opening of the Country Schools was intimated to us: "No payments are to be made to the Teachers & Monitors - and nothing given to the Scholars, except books, - the parents must buy the slates etc."

⁶⁰⁶ LMS, Mad, 3.2.C, Report of the Madagascar Missionary School Society from March 1828 to December 31st 1929

⁶⁰⁷ LMS, Mad, 3.1.B, Chick to Orme, 23.03.29: "In mine of Nov. 12th 1828 I expressed my apprehentum of the failure of this Mission altogether, and that I myself expected to sustain a serious loss & this was also the opinion of many others at the time. But contrary to our fears, a gradual and pleasing change has since taken place."

⁶⁰⁸ LMS, Mad, 3.1.C, Jones to Hankey, 04.05.29

⁶⁰⁹ LMS, Mad, 3.4.D, Freeman to Hankey, 28.02.29: "I have been but to often forcibly remembered of all the hints, you, and other friends gave me before deciding on Madagascar as my field of labor. I have said thus much, because I see evils arising - " See also: LMS, Mad, 3.4.D, Freeman to Hankey, 12.03.29, p.15: "I have been silent - not because I did not see them (the problems), and lament them. But because I wished for peace (...)" p.17: - but I grieve from my heart that the case should be as it is & could I have foreseen all that has occurred, never would I have asked the Society to appoint me to Madagascar. One point more and I close. I do not tell the brethren I am writing this. I dare not risk doing it. I distrust too much."

Mission in extending education. With the word of a king, there was power. That being suspended all has been interrupted and checked, - I might say perhaps for the time annihilated, for we could do nothing of Missionary character in public, till the word of the Queen renewed our services. And this, I cannot but regard, as one of the fundamental evils in this mission, - its absolute dependence on the orders of the Sovereign. But in this, and some other points, affecting the Origin of the evils connected with the Madagascar Mission I shall embrace an early opportunity of conveying my views. (---) The death of the King has thrown a dark cloud over all around us. My brethren entertain some brighter hopes. I am convinced they are mistaken, and while I regard the Mission as ruined, I think as to Mess.rs J,J & Gr. they will find it very difficult to extricate themselves from the extremely painful circumstances into which they have in past plunged themselves by the want of a prudent and conciliatory spirit, - and in fact unwillingly drawn, as the too willing instrument of those, who I fear, will in the end, smile at them for their credulity".⁶¹⁰

Freeman's conclusion, that the fundamental evil in the mission was its absolute dependence of the queen's orders, is important to my study. And in the 1830's this dependence became clearer and clearer each time a new case was brought to the decision of the authorities. Freeman's analysis in March 1829 shows how worried and grieved he was about the future of the mission. His fear that they would all soon be forced to leave failed at first, but in the course of only 6 years it proved to be the most realistic analysis. His colleagues did not approve of his analysis at this time because they were more optimistic about the future.

The most interesting matter of question concerning the time after Lyall's departure is the meeting described in Cameron's memoirs. As I mentioned above, S. Chapus concluded that it was only grace to Mr. Cameron's work that the missionaries were permitted to stay for a while. Cameron tells us in his memoirs that the queen's messengers stated that the many items they had taught the people were now perfectly known and therefore the queen asked them if there were any new items they could teach. They answered that there was still a lot of knowledge unknown to the Malagasy, and among other items they mentioned the Greek and Hebrew language, which they had just started to teach to their helpers. When the messengers came back after consulting the queen they said she was not interested in dead languages, but demanded if they could make something useful out of the products of the country, such as soap. Cameron says he demanded one week to try to comply with the queen's wish, and when the messengers returned in the end of the week they had two pieces of tolerable white soap. Cameron then added that this episode made the native government more friendly and changed their attitude towards the missionaries.⁶¹¹

⁶¹⁰ LMS, Mad, 3.4.D, Freeman to Hankey, 12.03.29, p.16

⁶¹¹ S.Chapus, BAM 1925, p. 197-198. His translation of Cameron's story is taken from: "The late Mr. Cameron of Madagascar" (opuscule nécrologique), page 14-15: "*Quand nous fûmes assemblés, des messagers vinrent en son nom, nous remercier pour le bien que nous avions fait au peuple, déclarant que nous avions enseigné à un grand nombre de personnes la lecture, l'écriture, l'arithmétique et beaucoup d'autres choses qu'ils possédaient bien maintenant. La Reine nous faisant demander s'il y avait encore quelque chose à apprendre à son peuple. Nous leur répondîmes que ce que nous avions enseigné et que le peuple avait appris n'était que le commencement de l'éducation. Il avait encore une foule de choses que les Malgaches ignoraient. Nous mentionnâmes alors différentes branches du savoir et, entre autres, le grec et l'hébreu que nous avions déjà commencé à enseigner à quelques personnes. Les envoyés retournèrent vers la Reine, puis revinrent en déclarant qu'elle n'avait que faire de langues que personne ne parlait plus. Mais elle aimerait savoir, disaient-ils, si nous pourrions, avec les produits du pays, apprendre à ses gens à faire quelques chose de plus utile, du savon par exemple. Je leur dis: "Revenez dans une semaine et nous donnerons peut-être, alors, une réponse favorable à la demande de la Reine". Les messagers se retirèrent porteurs de cette communication. A la fin de la semaine, ils retournèrent. Après avoir effectué des recherches et préparé certains matériaux nous avons, pendant ce temps, fabriqué deux barres de savon assez blanc et d'assez bonne qualité que nous leur donnâmes. Il avait été entièrement fait avec les produits de l'île. Cet épisode ainsi que les entretiens auquel il donna lieu semblèrent retenir le gouvernement sur la pente où il glissait. Le ton qu'on prit envers nous parut se radoucir et se faire plus*

My principal question is how minutely Cameron has told this story. It is important for my investigations to this chapter if it is correct that the missionaries were close to the point of expulsion in the springtime 1829. A search in the contemporary sources shows at least that such a meeting took place on the 19th of May 1829. And in the minutes of a missionary meeting, signed by David Jones and John J. Freeman, they gave the following report:

“On Tuesday 19th, about 2 o’clock, all the members of the Mission were summoned together, at a moments notice, to receive a deputation with a Kabary from the Queen, consisting of 5 Officers. The Kabary was to put various questions respecting what objects had been taught by the different members of the Mission, and what progress had been made in teaching the youth, whether in the School, or under the care of the Artizans. The officers seemed desirous of ascertaining what else could be taught in connexion with the civilization of the Country, especially from the Native productions, without having recourse to the necessity of importations.

It was explained to the officers that the grand and leading object of the Missionaries was to teach the Word of God, - to make the people acquainted with the truth of the Christian Religion; - to convey other useful knowledge was also our aim, but that the rest of all, & the primary design of our labours, was to teach the religion of the Bible. It was also explained that with regard to the Artizans, the officers and people themselves had seen what was taught the apprentices, and the aim was to make them more perfect in their respective branches, but that much depended on the diligence of the youth themselves. The officers mentioned that the Queen had heard respecting these objects, but now wished them to be stated and explained from ourselves in a regular, and formal manner.

It was told the officers that we should be happy to answer any questions respecting the efforts of our Mission, and that there was nothing secret nor sinister nor political about it. We wished them to inform Her Majesty of this, and to tell her that the Word of God was the foundation of all true knowledge, and that no Nation became wise without it. They inquired how many of us were here for that purpose, and were told: four. They entered into a communication respecting Paper Making and the erection of a Paper Mill, - as to the making Cannon by Mr. Chick, and the manufacture of Soap. They asked if a Soap Making could be got here in a year, & were told that could be an affaire of future consideration.

They conversed for a length of time respecting Different Countries, & their respective productions, and then left.⁶¹²

When comparing this text with Cameron’s account I find some important differences. The contemporary source did not allude to any ultimatum – and the making of soap is an affair of future consideration – probably within a period of one year, and not something they must accomplish in a hurry. The Minutes did not mention anything about the Greek and Hebrew languages, but say that they discussed other plans for future industry and production. The minutes further concluded by stating how the missionaries were invited to attend the queen’s coronation. This coronation of queen Ranavalomanjaka took place at Andohalo – the old sacred meeting-place in the middle of Antananarivo – on the 12th of June. The missionaries and a few other

respectueux. Cela révéla aux Malgaches leur ignorance même des choses les plus ordinaires et leur montra le besoin qu’ils avaient encore d’une instruction pour le moins élémentaire”

⁶¹² LMS, Mad, 3.2.A, Copies from the minute book of the missionaries, 04.05 - 08.07.29, signed by Jones and Freeman, date 19.05.29

strangers were honoured with a special place during the ceremonies and were well guarded and cared for by soldiers.

About six weeks after the first meeting with the officers the minutes of the 8th of July can tell us more about the soap project:

*“Memorandum: In consequence of the Kabary mentioned in the last meeting respecting various manufactures, such as Soap etc. Mr. Cameron made some experiments and succeeded. A small piece of soap was presented to Her Majesty. The officers have subsequently entered into an agreement on behalf of the Queen, with Mr. Cameron, for the Manufacture of Soap on a large scale, July 7th.”*⁶¹³

These minutes clearly explain that the representatives from the queen asked the missionaries if they could make some useful products for the country. But not a single word indicates that it should be an ultimatum to do this or leave the country. Neither the minutes nor contemporary letters from the missionaries give us any hint of such an order. In the contrary Jones wrote in the last of July:

*“With regard to the present aspect of the Mission, as all are not of the same opinion, I shall say nothing in the present letter. This I only mention for the fear that contradictory accounts may be sent home etc. Time will show future events. Mr. Cameron has succeeded in the manufacture of soap from materials in the Country; and the Queen & the Court are highly pleased at it, and have signed favorable contracts – one with Mr. Cameron to teach the Art etc, and another with Mr. Chick to make the boilers, iron work etc, so that this year all the Artizans, as well as the Missionaries, are fully occupied in their respective labours.”*⁶¹⁴

This letter from Jones clearly shows that the differences between Freeman and the other missionaries in regard to the aspect of the mission work, was not connected to the soap-project. And even Freeman, who was the most pessimistic of the missionaries, did not mention the discussion about this project or an ultimatum from the queen in his many letters, as far as I can see. Also Cameron wrote in a letter in September 1829, where he had mentioned his arrangements for manufacture of potash, soap, sulphur and nitre, and the officers' wishes for glass, indigo, copper etc, stating:

*“The state of the Country, which you will no doubt learn from others, are certainly discouraging, but having made agreement with them to stay at least some years to attend to the soap etc, I must endeavour to do the best according to circumstances, hoping for more cheering prospects in regard to the future state of affairs.”*⁶¹⁵

In this letter Cameron also referred to all the existing cooperation between the artisans and the government, like the plans for a Paper Mill, the search for minerals etc. From this it seems to be clear that the discouraging state of the country is in no way connected to the government's attitudes towards the missionaries, but the waging of war from peoples in distant districts and from France, which was just on the point of attacking the eastern coast in those days. About the Malagasy leaders he wrote in the same letter:

“Andriamihaja, the person next in rank to the Queen is an active and sensible young man brought up at the feet of Radama, he has imbibed most of his notions of Politics, grandeur etc, added, to which he appears to me, to

⁶¹³ LMS, Mad. 3.2.A, op.cit. minute book, date 08.07.29

⁶¹⁴ LMS, Mad. 3.2.A, Jones to Hankey, 24.07.29

⁶¹⁵ LMS, Mad. 3.2.B, Cameron to Arundel, 25.09.29

possess a more liberal heart and a steadies determination to Patronize the introduction of such knowledge, arts and manufacture as may be useful to the Country”.

All these quotations make it obvious to me that Cameron’s story of the manufacturing of soap as a key for the permission to stay in the country, is not precise but greatly influenced by later events. There is no doubt that in the difficult years after 1831 Cameron’s and Chick’s work became an answer to such an ultimatum to do something new and useful, or leave. This was clearly expressed in the discussions about the expulsion of Atkinson in 1832 when they also had the discussion about Greek and Hebrew mentioned by Cameron,⁶¹⁶ and the ultimatum from the queen became a continual threat to all missionaries from that time until they left the country.

Another interesting object to my study is the discussions about the project of writing the History of The Mission Work in Madagascar. Certainly they wished to write such a history book as a kind of “White Book” justifying the missionaries’ proceedings and defending them against any accusations from the Malagasy government or other persons. Freeman proposed this book in 1827, and the four pastors wrote the manuscript the following years. Freeman brought the manuscript with him to Mauritius in 1829, but before publishing it Freeman several times wrote to the directors to have part of it changed after the changing political aspects. Therefore it was not until their final removal from Madagascar that William Ellis edited the book in 1838, named History of Madagascar. I am certain that a study of this book in the light of the letters and other documents from the years the missionaries worked in the country, would most probably show that many details had been changed for political purposes.

Therefore I suppose that also Cameron put some later moments into his recapitulation of the important meeting in 1829, and I conclude that it is definitely wrong that the missionaries in May 1829 were on the point of being expelled from the country. At that time they were still respected by the leading men in the government and most of them felt that they were sincerely wished to stay in the country. The only exception was Freeman who might have felt that his close connection with Lyall made his relation to the government difficult. Another factor that caused goodwill to all British citizens was the growing problems between Madagascar and France, the other great European force in the region.

4.3.2 Freeman left the field in September 1829

In September 1829 the rumours of the coming French attack at the east coast of Madagascar reached the missionaries. Freeman, who had for a long time been worried about the future of the mission, seems to have been struck by panic. He made up his things and left for Mauritius on the 30th of September. But that was probably the worst thing he could have done, because the good season for travelling was nearly terminated. After having crossed the feared forest, the small family arrived in Andevorantra on the 12th of October, and Freeman relates how they were trapped in the small village in a tricky situation:

“We had not long left the boat before a Messenger came and informed us that several of our bearers had run off & returned home, - that they had just received intelligence of an Attack having been made on Tamatave by the Vazaha (French) and consequently they were afraid to go forward. We soon afterwards understood that persons had arrived from Tamatave and its neighbourhood, with information that 3 French vessels on the harbour, had

⁶¹⁶ LMS, Mad. 4.2.D, Atkinson to the directors, 18.06.32 - See also: LMS, Mad. 4.2.D, Freeman to Hankey, 18.06.32

*fired upon the town – that several houses were burned down, - several of the inhabitants killed and many of the soldiers”.*⁶¹⁷

In this situation Freeman could neither get bearers nor canoes to proceed to Tamatave. For about two weeks they were forced to stay under poor conditions in the bad climate, and Freeman’s wife and two children soon were attacked by fever. When they heard that the French troops had left Tamatave advancing northward to attack Foulpoint, they managed to get canoes taking them to Tamatave, where they arrived on the 29th of October. They got a passage to Mauritius on board the ship “Radama”, but before they could leave the harbour Freeman’s son died and was buried on shore.⁶¹⁸ His daughter and wife also suffered seriously by the fever, and they later left for England, where they stayed for several years. Thus Freeman paid a harsh price for his sudden departure from Antananarivo.

The loss of Freeman was painful and discouraging for the small group of isolated missionaries and artisans, and a lot of them lamented the loss of the valuable and friendly college. On the day of his departure David Johns wrote:

*“I am exceedingly sorry that he should leave, undoubtedly it is a great loss to this Mission, his aid at the revision was very valuable and I am persuaded, unless he will return hither himself, we shall never see such a valuable Missionary here again”.*⁶¹⁹

Also some others expressed similar views in later communications, especially in 1830-31 when they hoped for his return to Madagascar. Johns continued his letter by stating that the present aspect of the mission was very discouraging, because the queen was so much attached to the idols and the superstitions of the country that she did not encourage the children to learn anything, but let the schools dwindle away one by one. Rebellion in the provinces and the French troops on the eastern coast forced the government to build up a great army, and if the French troops should advance a little towards the capital the missionaries expected great confusion in the town. They also reported that the senior missionary David Jones was sick and unable to work, and therefore he prepared to leave during next good season. Evidently the missionaries were most worried and grieved by the sudden changes caused by the French attack. In Mauritius Lyall reported to the governor that the missionaries immediately had requested the queen to be named publicly that they were of a different nation from the French, though also whites. The royal answer was sufficiently laconic: *“No one shall put you to death unless you betray the country, take Courage”.*⁶²⁰

The bright hopes they expressed in April and May were now changed. Although Jones might have expressed his own melancholic moods more than the general views amongst the missionaries, it is interesting to see him state to the governors secretary, Viret, in December:

“Troubles on every side exist here. Wars and dissatisfaction are the news of the day. Our schools seems to be tumbling to ruin through negligence & want for attention; and also for want of proper teachers: for those who were capable of teaching have been taken to increase the Hovah Army though they be hardly strong enough to carry their Muskets. (---) The printing press is constantly kept at work: but books will be worthless without persons found able to read them. Many, yeah, many of our readers have died in the war since I wrote to you last. By the present opportunity I have little good to inform

⁶¹⁷ LMS, Mad. Journals, 1, No. 13: Freeman, from Tananarive to Tamatave, 30.09-06.11.29

⁶¹⁸ LMS, Mad. Journals, Freeman, op.cit, p. 36

⁶¹⁹ LMS, Mad, 3.2.A, Johns to Arundel, 30.09.29

⁶²⁰ MA, HB-20.2, Lyall’s Journal of Madagascar affairs 1829 – 1830, 26.12.29

*you. Most here think that they know enough, either as to books or sewing. If things do not take a change I think I shall suffer worse than in 1818 & 1819. (--
-) The war on the eastern coast with the French has done much mischief, there and here also. What will be the end, I am not able to say in these Days. We as British subjects, are, **hitherto, partly** respected by the most knowing among the people but as to the future I do not know".⁶²¹*

A little later he wrote to Freeman in Mauritius about the gloomy prospects for the mission. He stated that there were only a hundred good readers left, and that he had spoken seriously to Andriamihaja about the schools, but even though he seemed to understand his arguments nothing was done, because the leaders were all occupied by preparation for manufacturing of powder, caring for the army etc. And Jones concluded his melancholic letter:

"I am sick through vexing day & night to see that my labours & exertions, & that through much suffering from diseases since 1818, are falling to ruin. Thus I have spent the best of my strength, health and days for the good of Madagascar & after all I have no thanks for what I have done".⁶²²

Although the sick and melancholic missionary was worried by the government's neglect of the schools etc, it is not astonishing that the government was primarily occupied by different military concerns in those days. Except for their fighting with the French on the eastern coast, they had also two great armies sent off against rebellious provinces. The army sent to Fort Dauphin returned with success, and Johns says that about 800 women and children were brought back as slaves, together with 20.000 cattle and a great lot of booty, while about a thousand men were killed. He also states that a lot of the Tanosy people fled to Menabe for refuge.⁶²³ Later these refugees, who were known as the "Western Tanosy tribe", settled North of Onilahy River - up from St. Augustin. On the other hand, the Hova army, who were sent against the Ambongo district westward from Majunga, returned in disaster. The Sakalava managed to escape with all their cattle and rice etc. to some small islands in the ocean where the army could not follow them, and the soldiers were starving for lack of food. Lyall says in a report:

"Of the six thousand troops which marched to Ambonghou, we have only heard, as yet, of the return of six hundred. The mortality among them has been dreadful - especially lamented as a great loss to the Country are a number of young Officers, who had been educated by the Missionaries".⁶²⁴

For the missionaries the greatest loss was that so many of the youth they had educated perished in the military campaigns, but also their difficult working conditions affected them seriously at that moment.

After his arrival in Mauritius Freeman wrote several long letters to different leaders in LMS in order to justify his decision of leaving his field of work. In a long letter to William Orme, the new secretary of LMS, he gave some analyses of the political state, telling him that he thought the French would succeed in taking the eastern coast, supposing they would afterwards attack the capital. And since he thought it to be dangerous for all strangers if the war reached Imerina he decided to leave his work.⁶²⁵ The other missionaries were not able to leave, he stated, some of

⁶²¹ MA, HB-20.3, Jones to Viret, 02.12.29

⁶²² LMS, Mad, 3.2.C, Jones to Freeman, 24.12.29

⁶²³ LMS, Mad, 3.2.A, Johns to Freeman, 14.10.29

⁶²⁴ MA, HB-20.2, Lyall's Journal op.cit 1829 - 1830, 26.12.29

⁶²⁵ LMS, Mad, 3.2.B, Freeman to Orme, 21.11.29 - See also: LMS, Mad, 3.4.B, Freeman to Hankey, 30.11.29; and: LMS, Mad, 3.2.C, Freeman to Orme, 10.12.29; and: LMS, Maur, 1.3.C, Freeman to dr. Philips, 24.12.29

them because they had entered engagements or projects for the government, others because they waited for the birth of a child, or were sick themselves.

He also expressed in strong terms to Orme that the want of cordial union and cooperation in the mission was a strong cause to his retiring. He opined that the problems existed long before his own arrival and were mostly connected with one person: Mr. Griffiths. The three other pastors felt so much hurt about his bad behaviour that they found it impossible to cooperate with him, and Freeman considered that Jones' indisposition was in some degree related to those problems. The situation was especially delicate since the only missionary chapel was situated in Griffiths' private house, and therefore he behaved as if it was his private property. That fact had caused Freeman and Johns to travel to the schools outside town on Sundays in order to preach the Word of God in the Malagasy language. In Freeman's opinion Griffiths was too ambitious and jealous in all what concerned the mission work, and he deemed it possible that both the death of Jeffreys and Rowlands were partly caused by the quarrels with Griffiths. He also stated that even Jones was a better linguist than Griffiths the revision of the Holy Scripture before printing was too much influenced by Griffiths, and his faults in the English language also influenced his writing of the Malagasy, etc. And Freeman concluded:

*"Though I would par the utmost deference in my power to the opinion and wishes of the Board, I must say that to work again in the Mission while Mr. G. is a member of it, is with me a thing that cannot be effected".*⁶²⁶

Certainly this was an important statement which should have alarmed the directors and told them that sending Freeman back to Antananarivo would cause problems in the small group of missionaries and artisans, and do much harm to the work. I wonder whether the directors did not reflect seriously upon this question, or if they just forgot it when the secretary William Orme died a short time after receiving this letter. A third possibility might be that even though they knew the problems, they decided to send Freeman back to Antananarivo in order to check Griffiths' proceedings.

Another person also made his reflections about the leadership of the mission in the light of a quarrel about the printing of a tract written by Griffiths. The other pastors did not agree to print the said tract, and blamed the printer Edward Baker since he already had prepared for printing it. He wrote in a letter to Arundel, that even though the case was a trifle, it illustrated some problems relative to the principles of congregationalism and the operation of the missionary society:

*"It shows that under those principles, disputes do frequently arise, whilst there is no adequate procedure for the adjustment of differences. Independence seems to know little or nothing of the sending rule of providence in the system of created beings, the Rule of subordination. And whilst it thus admits a law of equality the same order and regularity is expected to resume as from an opposite rule. And then to secure this order, it does not leave (at least in the operation of our Society) every individual **absolutely** free, but expects an agreement, cooperation and orderly arrangement of affairs (without differences) equal & precisely similar to what takes place under a Presbyterian or Ecclesiastic form of Governments. It omits the rule and efficient rule & order, and expects an uniform result, looking for the effect without the cause, the consequent without the antecedent. This appears to me aiming at a medium between two extremes, which cannot admit of a happy medium. I confess that my sentiment is strongly impressed upon my mind, that unless*

⁶²⁶ LMS, Mad, 3.2.C, Freeman to Orme, 10.12.29

the rule of subordination be clearly recognized as the principles of Congregationalism, every member and Missionary, indeed every individual, should enter (---) bearing the simple character of a servant of Jesus Christ, into the field of Christian warfare, without being restrained by the necessity of consent of brethren, cooperation & &. A missionary going forth on such footing would have to elevate his whole energies against the power of sin & darkness, standing or falling by his own works, he would feel more anxiety to see his labours established & blessed, - alone responsible for his conduct he would regard with a more jealous eye every transaction of his Missionary life.⁶²⁷

Impressed by the problems the missionaries had evinced the last year Baker pointed here on a crucial problem: As the leading principle of the mission was not subordination under a responsible leader, like a Senior Missionary with clear and formal authority like a bishop, they were left to find agreements in every case. But when they could not reach such agreements, what were they then going to do? A lot of differences dividing the brethren had already illustrated this problem, and obviously Baker was pessimistic about the collective leadership in the future. His alternative to the Congregationalist leadership was to make every individual solely responsible for his own work. This is in a few words the line of conduct chosen by Griffiths in his later differences with the brethren, and I will later show how those principles worked.

4.3.3 The aspects of the Missionary work became brighter than ever

Those missionaries who had no possibility of escaping the field were greatly troubled by fears that the French invasion should be extended to Imerina. But having expressed this fear, Baker wrote a few weeks after the news of the French attack reached the capital that other important aspects had occurred in the new situation

*“There is too, as far as the present Government of Madagascar is concerned, a considerable prospect of the Mission again flourishing. – At a Kabary yesterday many youth who had distinguished themselves as teachers, were encouraged by the presentation of a honorary degree, - and the vigorous prosecution of the teaching business was pressed upon the attention of the Missionaries, & the native Teachers. – Still we have no ground of confident & sanguine expectation, knowing that a few months may bring about an entire or considerable change of affairs. (---) Certainly our past experience ought to admonish us to “trust in the Lord” for results have usually proved better than our expectations”.*⁶²⁸

This quotation shows that there is little doubt that the French attack in some way helped the missionaries because the Malagasy government’s attitude towards the Mission suddenly changed for the better. The enemies of the Christian faith were forced to keep quiet for a long time, because the government preferred to keep up better relations with the British nation after the French invasion. Johns stated in February 1830 that the encouraging of the teachers late in 1829 was followed by orders to all the children who had left the schools without permission to return and follow their instructions until they were permitted to leave. The government also proposed that the missionaries should make an English – Malagasy and Malagasy – English Dictionary.

Also Canham and Kitching, who had evinced great problems with the tanning project undertaken with Radama in 1827, now received a lot of encouragement for

⁶²⁷ LMS, Mad, 3.2.B, Baker to Arundel, 26.09.29

⁶²⁸ LMS, Mad, 3.4.D, Baker to Arundel, 29.12.29

their work, and when they stated a debt of \$4000 the government was willing to pay out that money immediately.⁶²⁹

In March 1830 the printing of the New Testament was finished, and the printer expressed his thankfulness to God when remembering all problems and turbulence in the period they had accomplished that work:

*“For myself, I feel strongly disposed to regard our New Testament as a token for good, - to thank God, and take courage, – it cannot be for no purpose that we have been preserved unto its completion, and it may, at some future period, be very obvious, that purpose of great faithfulness & mercy have been contemplated by Divine providence, both in this and all other at present not interpreted events connected with our Missionary labours at Madagascar”.*⁶³⁰

A few months later Baker reported that many people were now reading the New Testament, but because many of them did not understand too well the meaning of the texts, they came to the missionaries’ houses in the evening in order to study the N.T. and ask for explication of difficult parts of the texts. He concluded with a hope that very soon proved to be prophetic:

*“I presume not to anticipate or guess at the events of the future, which must rest in the eternal councils of the most high, until the elapse of years reveal them. – Yet one thing I venture to believe, that, whatever may become of us as individuals here, or of our cause as a Society, I cannot think that the word of God will ever be destroyed from this land, or the name of Jesus Christ will ever be forgotten before the dawning of a brighter day perpetuate the one, & exalt the other. (---) Our cause is manifestly disliked by the power that be, - yet in some degree supported for the sake of learning which they have learned to appreciate, & perhaps also for the sake of keeping up (in the eyes of the natives) political relations with us as Europeans and British subject”.*⁶³¹

In September 1830 Baker presented even more positive details about the interests and the inquiring spirit among those who frequented the chapel, because they also conversed about their new faith with their own countrymen.⁶³² At the same time Griffiths expressed in a letter, that he now experienced the same things as he did during the revivals in Wales when he was a young man. However, all revivals constrained him to tremble, he wrote, because then the devil was like a roaring lion walking about seeking whom he might devour. Griffiths was convinced he could get thousands to hear him, but the missionaries did not enjoy the liberty to assemble so many people, for those in power, though professed friends, looked at them with a jealous eye lest they should get too popular amongst the people.⁶³³ Nevertheless, Griffiths and Johns wrote in the half-year report in December 1830 that the queen gave them liberty to do what they could among her people, and therefore they informed the directors that the mission enjoyed better support than ever.⁶³⁴

Not all were as optimistic as Baker, Johns and Griffiths. Four weeks before his departure David Jones wrote that the affairs of the country appeared very dark, and that *“Satan seems to aim, now, at overthrowing, step by step, all the good which has been done in Madagascar”.*⁶³⁵ But he was at that time a sick and melancholic man, who had scarcely been able to do any work the last two years, and therefore it is not astonishing that he was more pessimistic than his colleagues. Jones left Antananarivo

⁶²⁹ LMS, Mad, 3.3.A, Johns to the directors, 19.02.30

⁶³⁰ LMS, Mad, 3.3.A, Baker to Arundel, 17.03.30

⁶³¹ LMS, Mad, 3.3.C, Baker to Arundel, 01.07.30

⁶³² LMS, Mad, 3.3.D, Baker to Arundel, 01.09.30

⁶³³ LMS, Mad, 3.4.C, Griffiths to the directors, 01.09.30

⁶³⁴ LMS, Mad, 3.4.C, Griffiths & Johns to the directors, 06.12.30, referring to a letter 04.09.30 explaining the same (Mad. 3.4.A).

⁶³⁵ LMS, Mad, 3.3.A, Jones to Hankey, 27.05.30

on the 23rd of June 1830,⁶³⁶ and the queen sent a letter to the governor of Mauritius that Jones was welcome to return if he should wish to do that, because he had done so much good for Madagascar.⁶³⁷ From Mauritius Dr. Lyall and Freeman continued to write pessimistic letters, but they did not always know exactly what aspects the country gave, and since they had left the great island themselves, they had some interest in pleading the negative news. While mentioning that the French attack certainly had favoured the mission, Freeman expressed a fear about what would now happen if the French should fail.⁶³⁸

More alarming was the tricky situation Johns was placed in. Since the chairman or Senior Missionary, David Jones, was too sick to retain his duty, and since Freeman was going to leave the field, the four pastors decided on a special meeting on the 29th of September 1829 to give the duty of Senior Missionary to David Griffiths.⁶³⁹ For a long time the two remaining pastors reported quietly and amicably together to the directors of LMS about the translation of the bible, the crowded worship in the chapel each Sunday and their hope for the salvation of thousands of Malagasy in the future.⁶⁴⁰ Nevertheless, some things were not so easy for Johns, because the problems with the chapel mentioned above badly reduced his duty of preaching the gospel, as he was only allowed to care for the English worship there and preach in Malagasy once in the month.⁶⁴¹ Not wishing to quarrel with the Senior Missionary, Johns proposed to build a second chapel in the northern part of the town. As soon as the queen gave the permission, Cameron built this new chapel in the quarter called Ambatonakanga, where his own house and atelier had been located before they were burnt down by an accident, and moved to Analakely.

“Dark clouds brings waters while the bright bring none.” With this expression from John Bunyan’s book *Pilgrim’s Progress* the two pastors stated that the queen’s unwillingness to help them in their work during the first two years of her reign had taught the people to come to the chapel of their own accord. In that way her indifferences to the missionaries was a blessing for Christianity.⁶⁴² This statement that the lack of support from the queen made the people aware that the Christian religion was not a “fanompoana” or a feudal servitude for the Sovereign is an important observation needing a more thorough consideration later. But the missionaries also knew that those dark clouds still hanging over their heads made it uncertain whether they would endeavour more blessing or rather experience some unfavourable changes in the future.

Changing of the power.

As I have stated above, the first years of Queen Ranavalona’s reign were very changeable, since the queen had allowed the officers, ministers and judges who helped her to usurp power to *“reign in her name”*. This vow was primly given to the

⁶³⁶ LMS, Mad, 3.3.C, Griffiths & Johns to the directors, 28.06.30

⁶³⁷ MA, HB-20.2, Ranavalomanjaka to the governor, undated in July 1830: *“As Mr. Jones is returning to the Mauritius, he has the liberty to come back to Madagascar again if he pleases. Mr. Jones has done a great deal of good here by teaching the Madagascar youth to read and write, and he has conducted himself exceedingly well during his residence in my country.”*

⁶³⁸ LMS, Mad, 3.3.C, Freeman to Orme, 02.08.30: *“Should the French abandon their project, (a conclusion I cannot anticipate) it is not impossible a change would occur on the part of the Malagasy, - and Missionaries would fall under the general prohibition which will forbid any stranger from travelling up into the interior of the Country.”*

⁶³⁹ LMS, Mad, 3.3.A, Minutes from the Missionary meetings, from 11.09.29 to 19.03.30, dated 29.09.29: *Memorandum: Mr. Freeman delivers this book of Minutes into the hands of Mr. Jones as Senior Missionary, & Mr. Jones delivers it to Mr. Griffiths as next Senior Missionary.”*

⁶⁴⁰ LMS, Mad, 3.4.A, Griffiths & Johns to the directors, 04.09.30: *“We have no more to add at present, - we earnestly beg an interest in your prayers. Many have been and still are our discouragements, but we trust the time is not far distant when the Lord shall make bare his Holy Arm in the salvation of many thousands of the natives of Madagascar, should our lives be spared to witness so glorious an event, we shall be amply paid for all our labours and trials.”*

⁶⁴¹ LMS, Mad, 3.4.C, Johns to the directors, 04.12.30

⁶⁴² LMS, Mad, 3.4.A, Griffiths & Johns op.cit., 04.09.30

two head officers of the revolution, Colonel and Head Aide Camp of the king, Andriamihaja, and Lieutenant-Colonel Andrianisa, who later changed his name to Rainijohary⁶⁴³, but as soon as the revolution was completed it looks as though the court was left in a struggle for power between different groups of officers and ministers etc. Many times real changes were effected in the name of the national idols, like the famous Ramahavaly and Rakelimalaza. I have supposed above that the young ambitious Andriamihaja was placed in power primly to check Dr. Lyall. It may also be important that he was said to be the queen's principal lover and the supposed father of her son, Rakotondradama (Radama II), who was born more than a year after Radama's death. Certainly it should also be a key question that he was one of the two leading officers who had placed Ranavalona on the throne. Andrianisa, the other leading officer in that event secured a leading position up to the last days of Ranavalona, though he never obtained the position of Chief Officer or Prime Minister. But he was born in a good family and was a strong supporter of idols and traditional religion, and he corresponded well with the queen and the traditionalists' wishes.

Andriamihaja, on the other hand, was an ambitious young officer without the support from a mighty family. He had studied in the missionary schools and made a carrier as officer and attendant to Radama. Although he dared not support the new religion directly, he firmly tried to secure good working conditions for the missionaries and artisans, because he believed in Radama's program for progress and civilisation. His strong leadership was highly needed, not only in the fight with Lyall, but even more in the defence of the country when the French army attacked the eastern coast in 1829. But he also provoked many officers and the persons at court and made them his enemies. He had already been forced to pass the ordeal (or the tangena poison test) together with 11 other officers early in 1830, to secure that they were not the cause of the queen's illness at that time. That poison causes suffocation if administrated in too strong a form to the victim, and it had nearly ended Andriamihaja's life. Freeman (still in Mauritius) deemed it serious for the mission that the old judges, civilians and diviners should have recovered enough influence to get the Chief Officer compelled to submit to the tangena test, and he stated that Andriamihaja was now standing alone in adhering to the plans of improvement commenced by Radama, since so many others had already perished. And he concluded:

"That young man I consider the only remaining friend of the Mission, Missionaries & solid improvement. Had he died by the ordeal, not a single school had been continued, - and the Artizan's work had come to a close".⁶⁴⁴

These prophetic words were completed in the course of only five years after Andriamihaja's death. His influence declined when the queen because of her sickness for a while settled in the palace of Ambohimanga (Andrianampoinimerina's homestead), and on the 24th of July 1830 Lyall wrote in a report about the news he had got from Madagascar:

"Andriamiadz, although the Chief Ruler, is said to become less overbearing in his manner : - not so Dogmatical in his opinions: - more complaisant to his brother officers: - and less deaf to the counsels of his seniors. But it may be doubted how far these changes are the effects of necessity, and not of mind: - perhaps he now sees the danger of the post he holds, and has learnt something of the direful passions which have long been, openly and secretly,

⁶⁴³ Ayache, 1994, p. 201

⁶⁴⁴ LMS, Mad, 3.3.B, Freeman to Orme, 17.05.30

*fomenting against him. As often mentioned in this Journal, I have long looked upon his life, and the life of Prince Coroller, as insecure, and that a molest death must ultimately, be the portion of both”*⁶⁴⁵

Obviously it was too late for Andriamihaja to change his behaviour, because some of his enemies at court had already determined to have a change, and on the 18th of October 1830 Lyall made a new note about him in his journal:

*“As was expected, Andriamiadz has, at last forfeited his life. By some he has been accused of secreting official letters, or of imperfectly communicating their contents to the Ministers who cannot read: - by others he is supposed to have, some way or other, influenced the Queen’s disease: - but it matters not what pretence was set up. The ruling ministers, and the officers of the army, were equally glad to get read of the Queens favourite. In the hands of the Ministers he had rendered himself a suppliant tool, and aided all their plans - having, at least apparently, sacrificed all the opinions he had formed, as an élève of Radama, and assisted in, or assented to the execution of every measure, in their retrocession’s to barbarism. (---) It has been remarked (in this journal 9th May 1829) that when Andriamiadz took the **Tangen**, he was nearly suffocated, and has sworn never to take it again: - he said he would rather lose his life, by the **sagaye**. (---) He kept his former vow, he positively refused: and he was stabled to the heart!”*⁶⁴⁶

Normally all people refusing to undergo the ordeal would be considered guilty and killed by spear. But by this murder the queen’s vow to the two leading officers in her revolution, saying that she would secure their life and let them reign in her name, was effectual extincted for the part of Andriamihaja. It is well known, that all revolutions kills some of its children - or acting persons.

The missionaries on the field did not mention the death of Andriamihaja much in their letters. Probably they did not know much about what happened at court and therefore did not see the consequences of his death, especially since there were many encouraging things that happened at that time. But the murder of Andriamihaja was most probably the real turning point for the Christian mission in Madagascar. Notwithstanding his successors need of time to consolidate their power, and therefore being careful about the resident Europeans until the French army had left the Coast, they had another agenda from Andriamihaja for the future of the country. Although the missionaries enjoyed better conditions than ever for their work the first year, they soon learned that this blessing would not last.

⁶⁴⁵ MA, HB-20.2, Lyall’s Journal of Madagascar affairs 1829 - 1830

⁶⁴⁶ MA, HB-20.2, Lyall’s Journal, op. cit, 1829 - 1830

4.4 Analysis

This period started with the death of three men. On the 27th of July 1828 king Radama and Thomas Rowlands died, and on the 29th of July Reverend Tyerman followed them. The death of the latter was a heavy loss to the missionaries and highly lamented, because he was newly arrived as one of the two members of the Deputation from LMS, which was sent to decide in intern problems and different strategies in the small congregation of missionary workers. His death, together with the turbulence after Radama's death, meant that very little was decided upon. On the other hand, all who had been protected and encouraged in their work by Radama, fearing that the new queen and her government should not wish them to continue their work, greatly lamented the king's death. But Rowlands death is hardly mentioned in the letters and reports from the missionaries. I am not sure whether they left to Bennet's report to state that event to the directors, or if they did not lament his death in the same manner, since Rowlands had for a long time been a problem for them, and he had partly absented himself from them.

Up to that time the missionaries and artisans had been welcomed and honoured by the king. It is significant that he had welcomed the visiting deputation from LMS by letters, both when they were still in Tamatave, during their journey up the country and after their arrival in the capital. Most exceptional is the fact that David Jones was called to the king's bed only two days before his death, and was allowed to speak with him, probably as the last person except his attendants. We do not know if that was because of Radama's long and heartily felt friendship with the Senior Missionary, or if he only tried to get news about Dr Lyall's travelling up to the capital, hoping for his medical help. But anyway it shows Radama's fundamental confidence and friendship with his first missionary.

King Radama's death changed the conditions for all foreigners in Madagascar. The British interests and the new Resident British Agent was firstly and most brutally concerned by these changes, because Dr. Robert Lyall never got recognised as British ambassador. Provoking the Malagasy government by different means in his search for such recognising, he soon caused them to quit the "Treaty for Abolition of the Slave Trade", which they had entered with the British government, and finally to use harsh means expelling himself from the country. Although the "Treaty of Friendship" still remained unbroken, the British influence declined and soon became just verbal without significant political meaning.

The missionaries were soon placed between the devil and the deep blue sea, because their loyalty to the British authorities relegated their loyalty to the native government. From their very first day in the capital the king and his government had governed nearly all their official work. Now they had to be extremely cautious not to provoke the new rulers, especially since Ranavalona and her government immediately retraced the path to the old religious customs such as ordeal, diviners, idols and taboos. The missionaries were a little comforted when Ranavalona on the first day of her reign sent a message to them that she would do as much for them as Radama had ever done – and even more than that. But even then they felt great uncertainty about the future, and they tried by all means to answer all expectations or expressed wishes with loyalty. During Radama's funeral the missionaries were invited to partake in the first rank of important strangers, and Lyall was strongly provoked when he found that they received even more honour than himself. The government later often employed the missionaries to write things or translate letters, and they loyally produced all the kinds of works they were asked for. This also shows

that they were an honoured group - and not suspicious strangers - who were not wanted in the country.

Lyall must have been a strange person. Within a few months of his arrival he was quarrelling with nearly every important person in the town – except Mr. Freeman – whom he reported to be the only gentleman amongst the missionaries. His behaviour had some resemblance to that of a psychopath, but the sources are too scarce to state such things. Within a fortnight he accused the Senior Missionary for interfering in political matters, which neither Jones nor the other missionaries were able to understand. What provoked him may have been their wish to comply with all demands from the government, especially the calling of “All the Whites” when the queen's officers brought a message to the Europeans. Although the missionaries had demanded that the officers send such requests through Lyall, that happened only once, and he seems to have offended the queen seriously at that time, though perhaps unintentionally. After half a year he was isolated from all the other Europeans in regard to the question of receiving messages from the queen. Lyall also tried to interfere in the missionary work by giving advice and meddling between them and the government. He wished, for example, to interfere in the discussions between Chick and the government about his reward for supplying Radama's new palace with the needed ironwork. Even though Chick knew that Lyall's meddling would cause more problems to him, he dared not refuse him. Luckily for Chick the government cut Lyall off.

When the missionaries complied with the orders from the government to assist the officers in making an inventory of the late Mr. Le Gros' properties, Lyall accused them in the strongest terms. From rumours he had heard in Tamatave in 1827 he also accused them for lending out money at an extremely high rate of interest, which turned out to be a case about the School Society's funds, decided by Radama. The last case especially seriously provoked the missionaries, and in a meeting they decided not to have any more to do with the British Agent. Only Freeman voted against that resolution. Lyall regretted that their popularity was so strong that they could counteract him, and he accused them of political interfering and other injustices, begging the Governor of Mauritius to call Jones and Griffiths to Mauritius and let them justify their behaviour before him. But before anything could be done Lyall was chased out of the capital and later forced to leave the country, while the missionaries were as firmly established in Antananarivo as ever. Arriving in Mauritius Lyall found to his great regret that the governor had lost interest in his case. Probably the governor might have deemed the missionaries who were still residing in Madagascar to be much more interesting for future British politics than Lyall, and therefore did not care about Lyall's accusations against them. Lyall lost his political duties and suffered great pecuniary problems because of his abrupt stay in Madagascar. Therefore he was an embittered man when he died from the feared Malagasy fever about two years after his removal.

The role of the missionaries had become especially difficult since they knew the Malagasy culture and customs so well that they could expect Lyall's proceedings to cause the ruin of the British interests. They dared not unite with his politics, even though they professed loyalty to the British government, lest that should cause the ruin of the mission too. It is significant that during Lyall's exile outside the capital not a single missionary, except Freeman, wished to show any connection with Lyall by visiting him. I have also discussed whether Lyall might have been right when alluding to the fact that some of them went so far astray as to ask the Malagasy government to remove him from the country, and I found that Griffiths possibly could have done

such a thing, as Freeman later stated. If this was the case, one of the missionaries had played a truly negative role in the British-Malagasy relations, politicising the missionary cause in a pro-Malagasy way against British interests.

Griffiths and Jones having many friends and former pupils at court, were easily informed of the discussions going on there, and they could conduct the work in a way that let the mission flourish during the whole period. On the other hand, it is obvious that the Malagasy government wished to use the missionaries to keep up a good tone with the British government, in spite of the problems caused by Lyall. The experienced missionaries sensed this fact already before Lyall left, and they soon reported that their work had brighter aspects than ever. The only exception was Freeman, who had exposed a strong friendship with Lyall, and now expressed a pessimistic view of the future of the mission. His analysis argued that since every branch of their work was totally under the decision of the queen's government, they could easily be counteracted and their work be ruined by superstitious leaders. Also the lack of brotherhood and cooperation between the missionaries affected him seriously and made him declare that he would never work in this mission field if Griffiths was allowed to continue his bad conduct there. The gloomy aspects of his analyses totally failed at that time, but within a few years the changes in the Malagasy government and the polarisation between the missionaries justified all his views and put the worst scenario in his analysis into effect.

A few weeks after Lyall had left, the officers summoned the missionaries asking what they would be doing in the future. Cameron's story about the ultimatum given them either to make soap or leave the country certainly was a good story in the time of persecution, but not necessarily true. Through the report from the actual meeting I can find no ultimatum, but rather a wish to know what work each of them performed and also a humble question if they could make useful products like soap etc, which they answered to be a question for future considerations. Many weeks later Cameron presented them with some soap and entered a contract of soap-making etc. Nobody had mentioned any form of ultimatum from the government in any letter or report from the field, until Mr. Atkinson was thrown out of the country in 1832.

French politics also caused the government to treat the missionaries amicably. From Radama's death the French government had demanded to re-establish the former French dominance over parts of the eastern coast, and they had proclaimed that they would wage war against the Hova government if they did not consent to this claim. Freeman left the field in panic when it was reported in Antananarivo that the French army was going to launch an attack on the coast, and he was heavily punished by the death of his son and the family's ill health. But when Freeman left late in 1829 the remaining missionaries soon reported that the government showed much more goodwill against their work than any time before. This goodwill testifies a wish to please the missionaries in order to keep up the British government's friendly attitude towards the Malagasy government (even though they had quitted the Treaty and expelled the British Agent), and the desire for the British government not to join the enemy. In that way the missionaries were considered to be a political guaranty, and they were well treated.

But their work ventured through great problems because the wars against rebellious provinces and the French attack caused the government to use all their recourses on the army. Nearly all schoolboys were conscripted to the army, and it proved impossible to get the schools filled again. Jones' ill state of health made him unable to work, and before he left the field in 1830 he wrote a melancholy report,

saying that though he had given all his strength to the mission work, he now saw it all tumble into ruins. But when the army returned with victory from most of the wars, the other missionaries sincerely expressed a hope of having brighter aspects for the work than ever, knowing that there was still a mighty party at court wishing for the progress they could obtain from the missionary work.

But there were growing problems between the missionaries. Obviously Griffiths judged the chapel, which was located in his own house, to be his private property, and the other pastor, David Johns, was not allowed to preach in Malagasy there more than once a month. If he should not be reduced to care for the British-speaking congregation only he was forced to build a second chapel. Baker's analysis that the principles of leadership amongst the missionaries were unclear would within a few years prove to be true, and those principles would cause great problems and disaster to the small group.

"Dark clouds brings water while the bright bring none." With this expression from John Bunyan the missionaries stated that the queen's unwillingness to help the mission had opened the adults' eyes to the fact that the Christian religion was not a part of the feudal servitude to the Sovereign, and thus created a promising new interest for the gospel. Knowing that dark clouds were still hanging over their heads, they hoped for more blessing from God, but feared that some unfavourable changes might arrive. On the other hand, the murder of Prime Minister Andriamihaja and the French withdrawal from the coast in 1831 one year after the July-revolution in France, opened new political aspects, even though the missionaries did not yet imagine that those events would raise a force able to throw them out of the country.

Chapter 5: A NEW OPENING BEFORE THE DOORS ARE FINALLY SHUT: 1831 - 1840.

5.1 The changeable year 1831

In the beginning of 1831 the missionaries expressed the best hopes for the mission work. Edward Baker, the printer, wrote in February a letter stating:

*“The Government seems disposed to grant all that we require. Already a pledge from the Queen is obtained for refilling the schools & bringing the numbers compelled to learn to their original highest amount, - and in a ten-days a public kabary is to be delivered to the whole people to tell all that any, who are disposed to be baptized & married by the whites, are at perfect liberty to be so; as well as to join them in all the ordinances of religion. Two years ago the door for the Gospel seemed to be closed against us, and we were some of us much disheartened, but now I must confess for myself (---) I can see more danger of erring by hoping the best, than by fearing the worst”*⁶⁴⁷

Although it would go much more than a ten-days before the expected permission to be baptised was proclaimed, I find from this letter that Baker was quite well informed about the general state of things at court. As a single man Baker was lodging for some years in Griffiths house after his arrival, and probably he was well informed by Griffiths about these facts. I have already mentioned Griffiths' close relation with some persons at the court, and this fact made him perhaps the best informed of all the missionaries. But his close relations with those persons seems to have been a threat to the missionary work too, because some of them were not really the friends of the mission and the Christian religion even though they were Griffiths' friends. In a letter from December 1830, where Griffiths stated that the mission continued to wear a promising aspect, he expressed some doubts about those friends:

*“My warmest friends in power are the Chief supporters of idolatry and superstition in this country, - and are perfectly aware of the tendency of Christianity to pull down their fooleries. The Queen shows herself more friendly to me at present than ever she has done since she has commenced to reign”*⁶⁴⁸

A closer examination will probably show that Griffiths' friendship with the enemies of the Christian faith was a cause of many disturbances and problems for the whole missionary work in the following years. All the missionaries were probably well aware that they had a dagger hanging over their heads, and David Johns expressed this fear in a letter in the middle of April 1831. After having expressed how bright the prospects for their work had become, he stated:

*“However we must not be too sanguine in our expectations - much depends on the Officers in power, all our prospects may be cut off in a day, therefore it behoves us to be more diligent while liberty is granted, to make known the glad tidings of salvation to the perished heathen”*⁶⁴⁹

These words would prove to be prophetic before the end of the year.

5.1.1 Breakthrough for the Christian cause

The first ten years the missionaries worked in Antananarivo they had limited progress except with the schools. People certainly liked to come and hear their preaching, which they called «Kabary tsy valiana» (a speech which needs no

⁶⁴⁷ LMS, Mad, 4.1.A, Baker to the directors, 01.02.31

⁶⁴⁸ LMS, Mad, 3.4.B, Griffiths to Hankey, 29.11.30

⁶⁴⁹ LMS, Mad, 4.1.A, Johns to the directors, 12.04.31

answer). But it was a long time before they were inclined to follow the words. The Christian morality was in many respects far from the usual Malagasy morality, and common people did not want to change their moral code. Probably there was much fear for what the king or the queen should say if anybody chose to follow the new religion, since neither Radama nor Ranavalona had up to that time publicly allowed their subjects to be baptised. But a change took place during the turbulent year 1830. Many young people had died in different military campaigns the previous year, and many people in the capital and its neighbourhood had perished by the administration of the ordeal to them. Therefore many people were deeply troubled in their hearts by different disasters. Almost at the same time the printing of the New Testament was finished, and those who could read were able to study the word of God themselves. A kind of revival or movement to the Christian faith started among the people, and the two pastors, Johns and Griffiths, later stated in their report to the directors:

*“We began to observe a very improved state of feeling amongst the natives towards the month of Aug. and Sept. 1830. It manifested itself in an increased spirit of enquiry, an earnest desire to obtain copies of the Malagasy New Testament, and increased and more attentive congregations of worshippers. This improved state of feelings continued to increase, until we thought it desirable to get the permission granted by the late King, renewed, for the baptizing of native converts and the receiving of them into the commemoration of the Lord’s death etc. - It is not necessary for us to enter minutely into particulars of this event but we will let it suffice to say that permission was granted several month past & published by several officers at the Chapel in town on Sunday May 22nd, saying that Her Majesty does not change the words of the late King - all are at liberty that like to be baptized, commemorate the death of Christ and marry according to the European mode. - No blame is to be attached to any for doing it or for not doing it”*⁶⁵⁰

Their stating that Radama had already granted them the freedom to baptise converts is very interesting, because we do not know any public proclamation to that effect. Also others gave similar testimonies to the new state of things. Razafinkarefo, one of the youth who had studied in England, wrote in a letter to Arundel that formerly the darkness had covered the land and the people, but now the light of God was shining out of the darkness, and many of his countrymen were seeking salvation. He concluded his letter by speaking about their evangelistic work team:

*“There is a 12 boys with me under the care of Rev.d D. Griffiths and Rev.d D. Johns. On Sunday some of us go from Tananarivo to some village to give an address to the boys that are in school, and the rest at Tananarivo”*⁶⁵¹

Baker wrote at the same time that the English worship had moved to the new chapel at Ambatonakanga in the northern part of the town, where also a new Malagasy congregation were gathering every Sunday. He also told that Griffiths’ chapel at Andohalo was crowded every Sunday with sincere hearers, consisting chiefly of young men with their wives, families and friends. Seven new places of worship and evening prayer were also opened in the town, conducted almost entirely by the natives. And Cameron had in his working place in Alakely formed a large and intelligent congregation of his workmen. Baker usually preached there on Sunday mornings every fortnight, and there were usually more than 200 hearers, of whom numbers could read fluently and all were learning to read. He stated that LMS had not really calculated what a great evangelistic work Cameron was doing, together

⁶⁵⁰ LMS, Mad, 4.1.B, Johns & Griffiths to the directors, 20.08.31

⁶⁵¹ LMS, Mad, 4.1.A, Razafincarafe to Arundel, 10.04.31

with his important industry.⁶⁵² The “worship and evening prayer” in the houses in town is an interesting form for evangelistic work, especially since it was led primly by the Malagasy themselves – although none of them were baptised at that time. Very soon those meetings became more and more important because through them the converts had got a possibility to take care of their new faith when the government tried to make it difficult to join the worship in the chapels. And when the chapels were finally closed and the missionaries sent away, those evening prayer meetings became the real Christian worship for the persecuted Malagasy during more than 25 long years.

In a letter in April 1831 David Johns said that the queen and the officers in power felt much pleasure to hear that Freeman would return in the course of two or three months, and the queen gave orders to the officer in power in Tamatave to furnish him with bearers etc. Johns also stated that Ranavalona had shown great goodness to himself when he was building the new chapel:

*“I am happy to say that the Queen has granted the wood for the benches and the pulpit, this will save us hundred Dollars”.*⁶⁵³

This statement is very interesting because it shows clearly that the pro-missionary party at court had really great influence the first half year of 1831. Who should expect the queen to pay for the pulpit in a Christian chapel only 4 years before the Christian faith was entirely prohibited in the country? This fact can tell us a little of how changeable the situation was. And the first blow against Christianity came less than three months after Johns wrote this letter.

The revival among the Malagasy and all the spiritual conversations with them made the missionaries well prepared to form real congregations when the permission to baptise was proclaimed in Griffiths’ chapel the 22nd of May 1831. Baker tells in a letter to the directors that already one week later (29.05.31) the first Malagasy were baptised by Griffiths:

*“In accordance with this Kabary, Mr. Griffiths after much previous conversations, and a meeting on the Saturday evening preparing the last Sunday in May, admitted 20 candidates to Baptism, 8 the Lords supper. (---) I myself know most of them personally, & can truly testify that to the best of my opinion they are both in regards, knowledge and feeling most suitable persons to introduce into church membership. - Mr. Griffiths has subsequently baptized 8 other adults & 2 children”.*⁶⁵⁴

Baker also named all those who were baptised and stated that five of the youth were sent on a military campaign to the south a few weeks afterwards They had reported that they gathered in the tenth of the prince or other places to have their prayer meetings in the evenings. Baker also told that he had joined Griffiths’ church, and soon after we learn that he was appointed deacon there. The baptism continued nearly every Sunday in this church, and in the middle of October Griffiths reported that he had baptised 67, and there were also between 20 and 30 baptised in the new Chapel.⁶⁵⁵

All the other British joined the English or Malagasy worship in the new chapel conducted by David Johns. Already next Sunday, the 5th of June, he followed Griffiths’ example and baptised 8 of the Malagasy converts who attended the Malagasy worship in his chapel. One of those was a former diviner and his wife. He had been persuaded by a friend to attend the chapel and had soon become a true

⁶⁵² LMS, Mad, 4.1.A, Baker to Arundel, 05.04.31

⁶⁵³ LMS, Mad, 4.1.A, Johns to Hankey, 12.04.31

⁶⁵⁴ LMS, Mad, 4.1.A, Baker to Arundel, 27.06.31

⁶⁵⁵ LMS, Mad, 4.1.C, Griffiths to the directors, 12.10.31

believer who had drawn a lot of others to the chapel. In the next few years he did a great evangelistic work. When he was baptised he chose the name Paul, and this man, Rainitsiheva Paul, or “Paul the diviner” became an important church leader when the missionaries were forced to leave and one of the most famous martyrs in the young church when he was executed in 1840. The missionaries and artisans were all optimistic for the new possibilities, and Johns wrote that he was happy to relate the news about the permission given by the queen, and he continued:

*“I hope there is some good going on in the Country. We have seen enough here already to convince us that the Lord’s ways are not our ways, and his thoughts not our thoughts. We thought some time ago that little good could be done under this Govt But the hearts of Kings and Queens are in his hand and under his control, he maketh the wrath of man to praise him. Our Mission is going on far better than we anticipated, and we trust that it will continue so till all the inhabitants of this Island will be brought to embrace the Saviour”.*⁶⁵⁶

But just amidst their joy and their praise to the Lord, some signs of an overwhelming fear reached the small group of missionaries.

5.1.2 Turning of the tide

Just like the tide on its highest level are turning out again there came a sudden change to the missionary work. There were two alarming signals occurring in the first half year of 1831. Firstly their fear that a sudden change might take place at court materialized itself, and secondly the differences amongst the brethren themselves exploded in a bitter quarrel.

The first threat is not clearly described in the contemporary letters from the missionaries, obviously because they did not yet know exactly what was going on at court. But half a year later Griffiths and Baker could explain what had happened. Surely the vacuum of power arising after the murder of Andriamihaja had caused the pro-missionary party to assume much power for a while, but probably there was no strong leader in that party that could assume the favour of the queen, as did their opponents. However different signs show that a new strong leader had already ascended to power and was ready to act against the missionaries at the time when the first converts were baptised.

I have already mentioned different statements about the goodwill from the queen and the government towards the missionaries in those days. Maybe Griffiths had become too certain of that goodwill and therefore gave the new “Men in power” a good chance to strike a serious blow against his work when he sent a petition to the queen. Griffiths later tried to defend himself by stating that he had posed this question in accordance with the advice he received from the Deputation of LMS during the visit in Antananarivo.⁶⁵⁷ But obviously the general state of affairs had changed so much that advice given in 1828 proved to be unwise in 1831. The day after he had baptised the first 20 Malagasy, Griffiths wrote a letter to the queen reminding her about a law Radama should have issued, that the strangers were allowed to stay for ten years in the country under foreign laws. After that term they should be obliged to become like natives under the laws of the country. Now Griffiths demanded her to say what he was supposed to do since his 10 years was up, and thus Johns described the reaction from the government:

“You have heard that Radama made a law for the strangers that settle here, those that came out from the London Missionary Society were to remain 10

⁶⁵⁶ LMS, Mad, 4.1.A, Johns to Hankey, 15.07.31

⁶⁵⁷ LMS, Mad, 4.1.B, Johns & Griffiths to Clayton, 20.08.31

*years without coming under it, and as Mr. Griffiths ten years were up last May he wrote to the Queen to say so - She sent back that she had received his letter and was pleased at it etc. and says she, ties up your luggage and go home - he begged to have a little time to finish the work he had in hand - she sent back that she would give him 5 months, he sent again to beg a year or two but has not received an answer yet, it is uncertain whether he will be obliged to leave or not. It will be a lamentable thing if he must leave and no one coming out from the society to replace him –“.*⁶⁵⁸

I have found no allusion to the said law in any document from the time of Radama.⁶⁵⁹ If it was really a written law, it should certainly be implicated to the missionaries sooner or later, and then it would have been wise of Griffiths to ask what he should do. But if he only remembered some oral statements from Radama we must wonder if anybody at this court, which had changed so much from the time of Radama, really would remember the king's word. Certainly it would be much wiser of Griffiths to remain quiet and not ask too much in such a case. Nevertheless, Griffiths gave the new "Men in power" a golden opportunity to get rid of the missionaries because his letter gave them the idea that Radama had given a law fixing ten years stay to the missionaries. And I can only state that for the missionaries the following five years were spent chiefly fighting against their time running out.

When Griffiths received so unexpected and unfavourable a message he tried to explain the intentions of the late king in another way, as he and Baker reported in a letter to Rev. Clayton, the new secretary of the LMS:

*"Mr. Griffiths explained in his reply the nature of the late kings intentions, as not implying that the white people were to go home after that period, but to come under certain laws which he had purposed to put in force after the expiration of 10 years, - and said Mr. G. for himself, he was not disposed to forsake the Queen, but wished to see things which he had taught arrive at greater perfection, and, especially since some things he was engaged in, as the translation of the Bible and the preparation of a Dictionary and Grammar, were not yet completed, - his request therefore was to know, if the Queen would give another period, as the late king had done previously, or if he should be subject to her Majesty's laws whilst he remained here".*⁶⁶⁰

This request only gave him the 5 months prolongation mentioned above. Griffiths' explication possibly proves that there was no written law, but only some verbal communications from the late king. Given this fact, I deem it to be next to foolishness or haughtiness on the part of Griffiths to pose his question, which in only 5 years caused the ruin of the whole mission work. But Griffiths was so used to putting all kind of questions concerning his work and life before the queen that it must have been quite natural for him to do so also in this case. Many times his questions to the queen had driven his fellow missionaries to despair, but up to that day Griffiths mostly had managed to get the reply he wanted because he had so important friends

⁶⁵⁸ LMS, Mad, 4.1.A, Johns to the directors, 15.07.31

⁶⁵⁹ Ludvig Munthe, NOTM No. 4, 2001 page 229, relates that David Johns had written a letter to the directors on the 12th of May 1828, telling that Radama had invited the missionaries and other Europeans to become Malagasy citizens. If they did not wish to come under the Malagasy laws he wanted to give each of them a ten years visa. After a throughout deliberation the missionaries answered that they did not wish to become Malagasy citizens. I have not seen this letter, which can explain more about this important point. But it looks like nobody at court remembered this initiative from Radama when David Jones left in 1830, because even though he had finished his ten years in the country he got an unlimited invitation to return and work in Madagascar in some future time. This may be quite natural since Radama in 1828 was a sick and partly isolated man who's proceedings was not much in public, and neither was Queen Ranavalona in his favour at that time, nor was Rainiharo more than a young and inferior officer at court. Therefore they might easily have known nothing about Radama's proposal of giving the missionaries a ten years visa.

⁶⁶⁰ LMS, Mad, 4.1.B, Baker & Griffiths to Clayton, 18.08.31

at court. But this time he really failed. Many of his friends among the officers begged the queen to let him stay,⁶⁶¹ and also the queen's secretaries, the twins Totoos and Voalave who had studied in England, strongly engaged themselves in the same manner.⁶⁶² After having waited a long time Griffiths was allowed to stay for one more year.

All the missionaries were discouraged by the tricky situation, and they did not understand the reasons why Griffiths was ordered to leave:

*"Imperfectly as we are acquainted with the principles which guide the Malagasy Government we cannot assign with certainty the motives which induce them thus to reject knowledge, and despise instruction, we know that two or three supporters of the idols have had a principle shave on it, and hatred to the gospel has doubtless its share. (---) It is the more important that Mr. G. should endeavour to remain here, since his removal at the expiration of 10 years would be a precedent for other missionaries --"*⁶⁶³

Obviously they were right when supposing that some supporters of the idols had assumed more power. David Johns also told a discouraging story about some of the 12 boys who had been the principal helpers in the translation of the Holy Scripture and in doing other things for the missionaries. They were among the first pupils in the schools and most of them were of high rank. They had always been spared for the use of the missionaries when other pupils or teachers were drawn into the army or for the use of the government. As helpers in the translation of the Holy Scripture they were strongly influenced by the Christian faith and a few were already baptised by Griffiths, but when some others wanted to join the church in Ambatonakanga they met with unexpected problems:

*"When the permission was granted by the Queen to baptize the natives etc, 8 of the 12 boys expressed a wish to join us at our new place, we have been conversing with them and were all perfectly satisfied as to their sincerity, we had a meeting the Friday before the communion, every thing was settled and it was intended that they should be received on the following Sabbath – however on the Saturday they withdrew and would not come forward. We were all quite astonished – but upon enquiry we were told that the Queen sent them a private message saying that she did not like them to join the Church – and that whoever would tell that, she said to them, would be put to death – we were exceedingly vexed at this and the young men were and are equally so"*⁶⁶⁴

Johns supposed the queen prevented them from being baptised because some of them were Nobles of high rank – and one of them the nephew of the queen. But given other circumstances, I think it is more likely that the orders did not come from the queen herself, but from the enemies of the Christian faith among the leading officers. If someone had made them a false order in the name of the queen, that would better explain the harsh order not to say anything – and we can also suppose

⁶⁶¹ LMS, Mad, Baker & Griffiths, op. cit. 18.08.31: "– on the last week of July, Saturday 30th of July, all the officers of the 10th honour remaining in town, and several inferior officers, presented a verbal petition to her Majesty, praying that Mr. Griffiths might remain here to promote the good of the country. This was their own spontaneous act, entirely unrequested by any European."

⁶⁶² LMS, Mad, 4.1.A, Baker to the directors: Notes after the translation of the "Agreement of the New Church", 06.08.31: "An observation ought to be made on the great concense shewn by the twins (Voalave and Toutous - now named Rahaniraka and Rafaralahy) - in respect to Mr. Griffiths leaving. - As soon as they heard of it, they came to Mr. Griffiths and begged of him to give a written assurance that he was willing to submit to the new laws and desired to continue to teach the people, pledging themselves to take this to the general in Chief, and press upon him the importance of keeping Mr. Griffiths here. The letter was written and they had a long interview with the general who promised to submit the letter to her Majesty (...) It is but just to observe of these two young men who have been so long in England, that they never miss the services at Mr. G's chapel on Sunday Morning except unavoidably detained by the Sovereign's services."

⁶⁶³ LMS, Mad, Baker & Griffiths, op. cit. 18.08.31

⁶⁶⁴ LMS, Mad, 4.1.A, Johns to Arundel, 15.07.31

what person it might be who dared to do such an act. Some month later Griffiths stated that most of the natives were greatly concerned about the orders that they should leave, though one man seemed to enjoy it:

“- weeping and praying for my staying in the country to teach them the word of God - with the exception of one in high honour that supports the principal god in the land - One told me that he was heard saying that if we allow Mr. G. to stay in the country another 10 years he will spread this new religion over all the country, as he did the schools in the time of the late king”.⁶⁶⁵

This last passage indicates that the idolatry party had now got the supreme power at court, and was inclined to start the suppression of the new religion. The argument that Griffiths was so dangerous for the old religion seems reasonable, since he was actually Senior Missionary and the most progressive leader of the Christian religion. But why did they then change their orders, and let him stay until 1840 - nine years later? My research will show some reasons for that decision.

In the middle of 1831 the international pressure on the Malagasy government was taken away, since the French army and navy withdrew from the mainland of Madagascar⁶⁶⁶, only leaving some troops and traders at St. Mary Island. That could either be a consequence of the July revolution in France in 1830, or a consequence of the great losses in money and human beings they had suffered in the military campaign so far. I stated above that the French attack in 1829 helped the missionaries, since they were representative from the other great European power frequenting the country. And the Malagasy government cared so well for the missionaries the next two years because it was important for them not to offend the British government while they were in war with the French nation. When that pressure abated the Malagasy government was at liberty to choose a new policy towards the missionaries and the British interests, which soon brought serious consequences.

5.1.3 A new ruler

I believe that the man *“in high honour”* mentioned by Griffiths in the quoted letter was the Chief Officer, as they often called the man ruling in the name of the queen. It is difficult to know exactly what was going on at court, but it is not astonishing that sooner or later there would come a new strong leader, since the queen herself did not really rule the country. It could have been a leader from the pro-missionary party, but if not so, it should not be astonishing if one of their opposites was chosen.

In the last month of the year 1831, when they could see more clearly what had happened, Griffiths and Baker wrote a letter to the directors, trying to explain the political situation for them:

“So clearly is Christianity, at the present period, understood to be a regenerating system, that none of the higher authorities here can hide their real sentiments (as all used to do) in an ambiguous neutrality, and hence the government & country are divided into two parties. - The first party, of which R + + the present chief officers is the head is unquestionably opposed to Christianity. R + + is a partisan of the great national idol called Rakelimalaza & learned to support it, & it him. - The idol guardians frequently leaving their

⁶⁶⁵ LMS, Mad, 4.1.C, Griffiths to the directors, 12.10.31

⁶⁶⁶ LMS, Mad, 4.1.A, Freeman to dr. Philips, 31.08.31: *“And now I have some further good news to tell you: The French have withdrawn their hostile forces from the shores of Madagascar. See also: LMS, Maur, 1.4.A, Le Brun to the directors, 06.10.31: The present French Government seems to leave the poor Madagascar people quiet. They have even abandoned Tintin, a strong military position, which they had fortified in the coast of Madagascar.”*

complaints to him and he seeks to redress their grievances. - He is supported by one brother among the judges & another among the officers immediately about the queen's person; by numerous relatives, inferior officers & whoever chooses to take umbrage at the offence of the cross. - Of course this support is modified in many cases by individual views of right and expediency. - A spirit of moderation seems hitherto to have ruled in the supreme councils. - About 12 month ago this officer possessed almost supreme power but he has subsequently seen his influence weakened by various circumstances. - On one occasion he pleaded hand with the queen for the exclusive & full support of the national idols pleading that it was by **them** alone the sovereigns here were made to reign, and condemning the late Radama for his obvious disregard to them. - He pressed the subject so (illegible) that her majesty was obliged to put a stop to the petition by sarcastically observing. "It is you, I suppose, that reign & not I".

This officer too in going to a late war in the south had all his men sprinkled by the idol on parting for the war, and divided the troops into 3 general divisions, himself leading the largest division, & taking the symbol of the renowned idol. The two minor divisions of troops were amazingly successful, scarcely losing a man and capturing great prizes. - But the head general suffered an unmovable defeat. In the attack upon a strongly fortified village (the power of war, by which the idol pretends especially to render successful) he had between 4 & 500 soldiers and officers killed & not less than 6 or 700 civilians, a disastrous event totally without parallel in the whole history of Madagascar warfare. Notwithstanding the unpopularity of this event he continues to venture his post of honour & his opposition to christianity becomes more obvious. He has been unable to put a stop to the baptism & conversions but has partially accomplished that by a secret interdictions to all the soldiers & scholars forbidding any more to come forward in baptism, or any communicants to renew their observance of the saviours death. - The glaring inconsistency of this prohibition with the notorious fact of public permission having been twice given to **all** the people to use their own discretion is obvious to the merest children, but enmity easily finds an alsike for inconsistency, - in the case the interdicts was given as from the officers themselves & not direct from the queen.

There is also an equally numerous party who explicitly express & affirm that christianity is good for the country & therefore they encourage it. This party is not in possession of the highest power and have perhaps no one upon whom they can look as their head, - but several of them have access to the queen, and hold high stations in the military & civil departments. - **They** obtained permission for baptizing etc, or rather its renewal, as all favour shown to christianity is on the foundation the late kings acts".⁶⁶⁷

It may be natural that this Chief Officer, who had seen his influence weakened by various circumstances the last year including the great losses in the war, was in search of a good cause to assume the supreme power again. And one of the best things he could do was perhaps to fight for religion and culture. The history has many examples that somebody fighting for a new religion or culture often will succeed in

⁶⁶⁷ LMS, Mad, 4.1.C, Griffiths & Baker to the directors, 02.12.31: (in Baker's handwriting) The person they alluded to by R + + is certainly Ravoninahitra the second of the Andafiavaratra-brothers. Like many other Malagasy in that period Ravoninahitra changed his name after the birth of his eldest son. His new name was Rainiharo, i.e. the father of Maharo. His youngest brother, Ratsimanisa, who soon changed his name to Rainimaharo, was a strong man and perhaps the leading force in the persecution of the Christians until his death in 1841.

augmenting their own power. In the Malagasy context I can point at Radama who became an omnipotent monarch over most of the island through his introducing European culture, religion, industry and military instruction. But other examples can be found that demonstrate that the fighting against a new religion could also secure more power for the ruler. And certainly that was the way chosen by the chief officer, Ravoninahitra, or Rainiharo as he later was named, and his two brothers.

This family, better known as the Andafiavaratra (those from the northern side), had since the days of Andrianampoinimerina been great pecuniary supporters of the king and were also guardians or “keepers” of Rakelimalaza, one of the most famous of the 12 national idols. This position gave them power and influence even though they were not of the noble (Andriana) caste but of the Hova caste of free citizens. They therefore stuck with the idolatry, and now they used the fighting against the Christian religion as a cause to create a strong position of power for themselves. I have mentioned above that just after the revolution in 1828 other idols like Manjakatsiroa and Ramahavaly were perhaps more important than Rakelimalaza. But by promoting their idol by different means the Andafiavaratra-brothers managed to make Rakelimalaza the most important idol of all and assume the supreme power in the country to them. And this family kept the real power in Madagascar until the occupation by the French nation in 1895. It is significant that the Chief Officer late in 1831 gave the prohibition of the baptism and the Lord’s Supper in his own name, showing clearly that it was no longer the noble caste, i.e. the queen, who was ruling but that the Hova caste had usurped the power. The same fact is expressed in the quotation with the queen sarcastically observing: *“It is you, I suppose, that reign & not I”*. Edward Baker, the last missionary leaving Antananarivo in 1836, explained his view of those three brothers in a memorial to the governor of Mauritius about Malagasy politics:

“The ruling officers of the Government at present are 3 brothers. They are of plebeian birth, but connected with the idolatrous party, and firmly established in the queen’s favour. They came into full power by the murder of their predecessor in 1830. The eldest (Rajery) is a Chief judge. His mind is entirely wrapped up in superstition. The second eldest (Ravoninahitra) is the highest officer of Government. He is an exceedingly weak childish character but of insinuating and pleasing manners and countenance. With his childishness however, he possesses the worst passions of man, excessive cruelty, pride, and drunkenness, etc. The youngest brother, Ratsimanisa, is one degree lower in rank, but has equally free access to the queen. He is bold, crafty, ambitious, and thoughtful. His councils & designs are in reality the mainspring of the Governments proceedings. There is no doubt that he has often had the character of Napoleon Bonaparte held forth to him as a model by the late Prince Coroller, and it would not be very surprising if at some future day, he should endeavour to possess himself of the throne. He has been the principal, though not the ostensible agent in the late suppression of Christianity, and in every commercial measure adopted by the Government. His eagerness to press many obscure measures is difficult to be accounted for, except he secretly wish the downfalls of his Government”.⁶⁶⁸

These three brother and their many relatives and supporters became the real power in Madagascar for many decades, and it is evident that they used the fighting against the missionaries and the Christian religion as a cause to suppress not only the Christians but all the people.

⁶⁶⁸ MA, HB-9, Baker to Dick, 05.09.36

5.2 Politicising of the differences between the missionaries

I have different times mentioned that there were a lot of differences between Griffiths and his brethren. Mostly those differences had been intern discussions in the missionary group without consequences for the Malagasy government's regard of the mission. But from the year 1831 those differences went through a material change and became a real threat to the missionary work and the newborn Malagasy church.

In a private letter in May 1835 Freeman answered some inquiries from William Ellis, Foreign Secretary of LMS, about his role in writing to the Governor of Mauritius, especially if he had written in the name of LMS, and if Griffiths knew that he had said anything about him. Probably Griffiths had complained to LMS about this letter. But Freeman answered:

"With regard to my communications to the Gov. at Mauritius I think you should feel no uneasiness whatever. I wrote as a private individual - not compromising the Society. I had been in previous confidence with the Gov. & felt that there were ample reasons for the measures arising out of the (illegible) of the case. It failed of its object through the haughtiness of this Govt (i.e. the Malagasy) & the determined ill will to our Society & wish to threat & annoy us so far as they could, - & then I am inclined to think the matter terminates. I am not aware that G. knows of any application having been made to the Mauritius Govt respecting him".⁶⁶⁹

This correspondence refers to a letter from Freeman to Captain Dick, chief secretary to the Governor of Mauritius, complaining loudly about Griffiths' behaviour and soliciting a letter from the governor to be sent to queen Ranavalona, telling her that it would not be considered friendly towards the British government to retain a man who was twice recalled by the society that sent him, and therefore begging the queen to order Griffiths' removal. Freeman sent a copy of this letter to Ellis, and in a postscript Freeman even stated that LMS ought to solicit a similar letter from the king's government in London.⁶⁷⁰ Thus Freeman tried to bring the differences between the missionaries up to the highest political level. But his efforts did not succeed as we learned from the quoted letter.

I am a little surprised that this correspondence is the only piece of writing I have found where Freeman openly tells LMS about his political engagement in writing reports to the governor and also promoting British interests in Madagascar. In some way I wonder if he told a lie to LMS or only hide his real engagement. Maybe he thought his correspondence with the governor really to be private and therefore never mentioned his many letters of that kind to the directors. Nevertheless I have not found he wrote a single word to LMS about his reports to the governor of Mauritius before he sent the copy of this letter to them. In fact Freeman wrote no less than 30 letters or political reports to Governor Charles Colville and his successor Governor William Nicolay or the governors' secretary Captain Dick from his arrival in Antananarivo in September 1831 to his departure in June 1835. At least seven of those letters deal with the case of Griffiths, and Freeman's strong accusations against him, and solicitation to get the governor's help to remove him, are far from neutral. It is also questionable if he really wrote as a private individual when he in the name of the missionaries in Madagascar solicited the governor to write to Queen

⁶⁶⁹ LMS, Mad, 5.2.A, Freeman to Ellis, 18.05.35

⁶⁷⁰ LMS, Mad, 5.1.B, Freeman to Ellis, 13.03.34: "I beg to repeat therefore my conviction that Mr. G. is a dangerous man, and that his conduct in Madagascar in reference to the Society and to the interests of the British Gov.t is such as to render the official interference of His Excellency not only desirable, but highly expedient and, I am persuaded from all that I have heard that if a letter(sealed very officially) should be addressed by His Excellency to the Queen, desiring that Mr. G. may be told to leave Madagascar, so that the King of England when he hears of it, will not think the Queen is not acting a friendly part, will immediately and quietly terminate this unpleasant affair."

Ranavalona and ask her to send Griffiths out of the country.⁶⁷¹ At least twice he asked for such a letter, and the governor willingly sent him what he asked for. I suppose that Freeman should be well aware that when such a letter finally was laid before the Malagasy government, Griffiths would soon exactly know its content. All those factors show that Freeman did not tell the whole truth to William Ellis, and I wonder if he was afraid of the directors accusing him of politicising of the mission work. But Freeman was not alone in such politicising of the missionaries cause. Griffiths was even more active in that business, but in another direction, as I will try to show.

5.2.1 Did the differences cause the close of the baptism?

It is difficult to understand exactly what matters the two parties of missionaries quarrelled about, because there were several items at the same time, and sometimes the quarrel started concerning one item and the solution or restoration of the peace was connected with another item. But there were at least four major problems, as far as I can see.

In the bottom was Griffiths' jealousy and wish to take complete control of the work concerning the growing Malagasy congregation. This was connected with the unclear principles of leadership in the Mission, as mentioned by Baker in the letter quoted in the last part of chapter 4.3.1. In fact the missionary group did not have any possibility to make decisions in a case if they could not find agreements together. Secondly we find the quarrel about the 12 boys or "principal teachers" given to help them with the translation work. Thirdly there was an intern quarrel about the control over the propriety of the closed "Madagascar Missionary School Society". But the most serious problem was that the two parties accused each other of conspiring to get rid of the other one through denouncing it to the Malagasy government and through forming different political alliances. All those items and others too, caused an extreme polarisation and politicised their work to an extreme degree in the following years.

In a letter in October 1831 Griffiths stated that he and David Johns had promised the directors that they would follow the good advice about brotherhood and friendship given to them in a letter of December 1830. But he states that when he twice had begged Johns to cooperate for the cause and prosperity of the mission among the heathens, he had failed in his attempts. In Griffiths' view it was the other pastor who did not want peace and friendship. But what conditions did Griffiths give for such a peace? As far as I can see, he did not explain clearly to the directors what conditions he gave, but his proceedings seems a little strange, when he explained in the same letter:

"In the course of a short time, orders came to me from the Queen to request all the whites to assemble at my house, and they assembled according to the orders. - This took place in Febr. last 1831. - In consequence of Her Majesty's request, to agree with one another and be of one mind Mr. Johns and the Artisans agreed to all my proposals at the time in the presence of six officers, but Mr. Johns changed very soon and did not abide by the agreement then made".⁶⁷²

⁶⁷¹ MA, HB-9, Freeman private to Colville, 25.09.32: "And should it accord with Y.E.'s view, in making any reply to the letter from the Queen, I should feel greatly obliged on behalf of our Society, if Y.E. would support the instruction of our Directors, by simply assuring Her Majesty that Mr. Griffiths has been desired to leave Madagascar by those who sent him out, and that it is also Y.E.'s opinion that he should comply with those instructions in the earliest part of the next good season. (...) The wish I have thus taken the liberty of expressing is not mine exclusively. It is equally the wish of all the Members of the Mission on the spot."

⁶⁷² LMS, Mad, 4.1.C, Griffiths to the directors, 12.10.31

It was certainly not normal procedure for the Senior Missionary to present his views of cooperation to his brethren in a meeting called by the queen and in presence of her officers. Obviously Griffiths by this procedure tried to manipulate the working conditions for them all according to his own wishes, and thus force his brethren to agree to his proposals. But those proposals must have been quite unacceptable for the others, since they changed their mind as soon as the officers were out of sight. In the same letter Griffiths told that when he had received the directors' advice for brotherhood and friendship, he sent his friend Baker to Johns and the artisans asking if they would accept such a peace upon his proposals, but they all refused. Thus it is clear that he tried to use the directors' letter to the Senior Missionary to press his own conditions upon his colleagues. He also stated that Johns' and his friends' not inviting him when they were drawing up the regulations for the building of a new chapel had wounded his feelings and had shown a "party spirit" from his brethren. And finally he blamed them for having shown total indifference to the fact that he was ordered to leave the country, contrary to his native friends.

All those statements from Griffiths show that the differences between him and most of his colleagues had grown worse during the year since David Jones left, and we must wonder how the other part felt. David Johns, for example, stated to the directors in a letter concerning the building of the new chapel:

"- had I not adopted some measure of the kind, it is very probable I must have left the Country as Mr. Fr. (Freeman) did, or remain here useless to the natives, for Mr. G. told me that he did not want me to preach more than once a month in the Malagasy language. If Mr. Jones life be spared to see England, he will be able to explain these things to the Directors".⁶⁷³

Also John Canham tried to give a full explanation of his problems with Griffiths in a 34 page long report to the directors complaining about his behaviour. Canham said that the actual controversies between himself and Griffiths started in February 1831 when some friends were dining in his house in Ambohimandroso. During the dinner the bad state of the library came under consideration, and since Canham was the chosen librarian he was asked to do something to solve the problems. He did not hesitate to call a meeting of all missionaries and other persons who had been connected to the Madagascar Missionary School Society. But he dared not invite the queen. This School Society had been an important instrument for the progress of the teaching work in the days of Radama, caring for money and materials to the many schools. And the king or the representatives he sent were always called for as prominent members of the school committee. But when the missionaries got permission to reopen the schools in February 1829, they were clearly told neither to pay the teachers any money for their work, nor to give slates or paper or other materials to the pupils. The School Society was therefore actually closed since its project was forbidden, and for two years there had been no meeting in the committee. The library was opened by the School Society and was placed in the "Repository" - a house built for the purposes of the same Society. Griffiths was the secretary and Johns the treasurer of the society while Jones had been Chairman. During the two last years Griffiths mostly used the house as a storehouse. Nobody should therefore be astonished there were different reactions when Canham called a meeting to consider the state of the library, which was placed in the said house.

Griffiths immediately declared that he would not meet because the calling of the meeting was illegal since the queen was not invited. But after a request he sent the protocol of the School Society when the meeting started (01.03.31.) After

⁶⁷³ LMS, Mad, 4.1.A, Johns to Arundel, 12.04.31

receiving Griffiths' objections to the calling, the other missionaries decided to defer the meeting and ask the queen's permission, which they got the next day. They then met again (03.03.31.) and decided to move the books of the library to another place and ask everybody to remove their private luggage that was placed in the house. This was surely a provocation against Griffiths, since most of the things placed there belonged to him, and already on the same day "All the Whites" were summoned by some officers in the name of the queen, with the declared purpose of settling the disputes amongst them. (Griffiths' letter quoted above placed this meeting in February, while Canham in this letter dated it to the 3rd of March, which may be the most correct).

When all the whites had gathered the officers said they had been sent for because the queen had heard that the missionaries did not "mifanaraka", i.e. they were not agreeing with each other. Griffiths then tried to get some Malagasy friends to speak in his favour, but the officers did not allow them to speak. Then Griffiths started his own speech by saying:

"Izaho no lehilahy lehibe amy ny ity tany ity, tsy misy na iray akory tsy nasiako soa izy. Izaho efa namono tena sy nikeliaina ela taty etc, and the Queen sees what good I have done in the Country, and I shall do all I can to advance the kingdom of the Queen, and if all the Whites here conspire to oppose me in doing good to the Kingdom I shall oppose them to the utmost of my power".*⁶⁷⁴

His alluding that other whites might oppose him in his doing good for the country was a hard attack against his colleagues. They felt this attack so unjust that they begged the officers to be allowed to answer next day, and when they assembled again Chick made a speech stating that they supposed the queen would not forbid them to meet and arrange their own business? Griffiths dared not keep up his former statements to that effect, and the officers then asked David Johns why he was discontent? Johns replied that he and Griffiths were both sent out by LMS to do the same work in teaching the Malagasy to read and write, in preaching the word of God and in translating books for that purposes. Some time ago Griffiths had proposed to Johns that they should both take an equal share in all the labours of the mission, to which he had consented. But after a short time Griffiths told Johns to preach only once a month in the Malagasy language, since he himself wished to take the entire charge of the Malagasy congregation and be the pastor of the future Malagasy church. He left to Johns the role of pastor of the English congregation. This and some other circumstances had induced Johns and his friends to ask the queen's permission to build another place of worship, which was granted them. They hoped that everything unpleasant between them and Griffiths would be prevented in the future through doing this. But now Griffiths tried to take away the 6 helpers that were given to Johns, and whom he had instructed and used in the translation work the last years. That was the reason why he was upset and discontent towards Griffiths now.⁶⁷⁵

Griffiths declared in one of his letters quoted above that his colleagues agreed to all his proposals but did not abide with the agreement. In the contrary Canham's

⁶⁷⁴ LMS, Mad, 4.3.D, Canham to the directors, 07.12.31, p. 4: (* Authors translation of the Malagasy passage: "I am the big man here, there are nobody whom I have not done something good for. I have already long time "killed myself" and made the strongest efforts etc.")

⁶⁷⁵ LMS, Mad, Canham, op. cit., 07.12.31, p. 5: "But a short time after, Mr. Griffiths wished that Mr. Johns should preach but once a month in the Malagasy, instead of each alternate Sabbath - that he himself should take the entire charge of the Malagasy congregation and be the pastor of the Malagasy church, (when one should be formed), and that Mr. Johns should be the pastor of the English church, which was to be kept quite distinct from that which might be formed among the natives. This (together with some unbecoming expressions used by G in regard to the other members of the Mission) induced Mr. Johns & his friends to build (by the permission of the Queen) another place of worship, and we all hoped that by taking this step every thing unpleasant between us and Mr. G would be prevented in future. But now Mr. G wished to take away the 6 Boys that were given to Mr. Johns, and whom he has instructed for some time past, & most of them since the death of Radama"

letter shows that Griffiths was checked in different ways and forced to change his proposals about the 12 boys who seem to have been the chief cause of the quarrel. After some discussion in the presence of the officers they formed a compromise allowing Johns to keep his part of the translation work and the 6 helpers that were left him by David Jones. There is also an interesting note in Canham's letter, saying that this message from the queen primarily was given as a check to Griffiths, because some of the leading officers were really provoked since he so often used to state what the queen's will was in different cases.⁶⁷⁶ Both parties now agreed to a compromise proposed by the officers, and they managed to keep the quarrel about the Repository and the School Society out of sight this time, but in the course of some months this question exploded again.

Nevertheless the peace was restored for a short while, and each of them could do their efforts in grounding a native church. Certainly there soon occurred some concurrence between the two parties as to which chapels the natives should attend, but for some months they were positively occupied with the new possibilities, although each of them blamed the other part for things they had done, etc. Baker wished to be a friend of both parties and he wrote a letter asking not to be involved in the differences between them.⁶⁷⁷

Mr. Freeman who had hesitated a long time, decided to return to Madagascar when encouraging news of the state of the mission reached him in 1831. Sailing directly from Cape Town together with the new missionary, Theophilus Atkinson, he reached Tamatave the last days of August, where Canham and Kitching met them. The queen had ordered bearers for them without any cost, and that was considered a great favour and a token of goodwill. More discouraging was the fact that Atkinson only got permission to stay one year, but Freeman expressed a sincere hope that he would get a prolongation later.⁶⁷⁸ The newcomers joined the majority group, and since Freeman already had made strong statements about his feelings against Griffiths - even though he later expressed that he was willing to accept much from him for the sake of the heathens⁶⁷⁹ - nobody should be astonished that the differences between the two groups soon became worse.

The problems developed during the last months of the year 1831. In October Baker wrote two notes to Johns, who had accused him, saying that Griffiths had got more of the finished New Testaments than the other group, which he stated was absolutely false.⁶⁸⁰ Certainly this case was a trifle but it shows how bad the atmosphere was amongst them. Much more difficult was the discussion about the propriety left by the closed School Society. The stock of paper and other materials had been sold, and Griffiths who cared for the sale, had kept the money without informing the colleagues about the details, even Johns was the legal treasurer of the society. Freeman brought some information from Mauritius about how much material and money the society had received from the friends there, and even though Griffiths tried to stop the investigations the brethren concluded in October 1831 that he was responsible for a sum of \$333. Griffiths never agreed to pay this money to the treasurer, objecting that the missionaries could not dispose of the property of the

⁶⁷⁶ LMS, Mad, Canham, op. cit., 07.12.31, p. 6: *"We are privately assured from good authority on the day before that this Kabary was intended as a check upon Mr. G. for his arbitrary proceedings, and for saying, without foundation, that the Queen forbade the Whites to meet, when she had never done any such thing. And we were also assured that the Queen had given her decision that the 12 Boys should be divided as above (6 to be with Mr. Griffiths and 6 with Mr. Johns) And it is probable that he was told by some one that such was the decision of the Queen, otherwise he would not have been so ready to assent to it."*

⁶⁷⁷ LMS, Mad, Canham, op. cit., 07.12.31, p. 6

⁶⁷⁸ LMS, Mad, 4.1.A, Freeman to dr. Phillips, 31.08.31

⁶⁷⁹ LMS, Mad, 3.3.C, Freeman to Orme, 02.08.30

⁶⁸⁰ LMS, Mad, 4.4.A, Baker to Johns, 25 & 26.10.31

School Society since that was forbidden by the queen, and that all properties in that Society belonged to her.⁶⁸¹ The majority group then asked the government's permission to use the funds of the School Society to buy a new printing press, which was granted them. At the same time they also got a promise to get the press cost free up from Tamatave,⁶⁸² but Griffiths still refused to pay the money and the quarrel about those \$333 was not terminated when Griffiths went home to England in 1835.

As a consequence of Griffiths' proceedings the brethren decided that he was no longer competent to be secretary of the said Society, and they left the secretary's protocol with Johns and later elected Freeman as new leader. They also requested Canham to care for the removing of all private propriety from the Repository.⁶⁸³ When Griffiths refused to come and take care of his things they were sent up to him. This act caused a real war between the two parties:

"A few days after this, a message was sent from her Majesty to enquire why we had sent away Mr. Griffiths' goods from the Society's house".⁶⁸⁴

Certainly Griffiths must have denounced his brethren to the Queen in this case, and thus badly politicised their differences. In a letter to the directors he stated that an officer "who happened to be in his house when the said luggage arrived", had asked the queen about the case. But I suppose that Griffiths himself had called for this officer's assistance, because later he explained to the directors that he was afraid that the proceedings of the other missionaries would provoke the queen and cause him to be removed from the capital in January with his family, a development that could have fatal consequences for them all. That was his real reason for asking for the queen's help, he said.⁶⁸⁵

After some explanations and letters the missionaries were all summoned together the 22nd of November, and they were quite surprised to find that the officers, who were all Griffiths' friends, let him charge them with their turning out his goods from the Repository – a house he urged belonged to the kingdom. Before he had always said that the house belonged to LMS, and he had even proposed to sell it, but now he had changed his mind and declared that the house belonged to the queen, a statement that made problems much more difficult for the others. The officers went back with the explanations given, and the 7th of December all the whites were summoned to receive the decisions of the Queen. The most important decisions were: firstly that the Queen ordered them to bring Griffiths luggage back to the Repository, and secondly that everyone should continue to attend the chapel they used to attend in the days of Radama. Thirdly she ordered that if the school society still kept some property it should be sent back to each donor.⁶⁸⁶ The majority group of missionaries were greatly provoked, especially by the second point, which they thought would put an effective stop to all their work in the new chapel and place them

⁶⁸¹ LMS, Mad, Canham, op. cit., 07.12.31, p. 13: *"Immediately after this the conversation was reversed as to the propriety belonging to the Society, when Mr. G again urged questions to that effect: - Does the Government permit the operations of the Society? Can the Society dispose of its funds even if it has any?"*

⁶⁸² LMS, Mad, Canham, op. cit., 07.12.31, p. 26

⁶⁸³ LMS, Mad, Canham, op. cit., 07.12.31, p. 15: *"Mr. Canham is requested to have all private propriety removed from the Society's Building, and that the Keys of the Library be left with Mr Canham, Librarian."*

⁶⁸⁴ LMS, Mad, Canham, op. cit., 07.12.31, p. 19

⁶⁸⁵ LMS, Mad, 4.2.A, Griffiths to the directors, 06.01.32: *"The illegality of these proceedings & the fear of incurring the displeasure of the Queen by violating her orders and the consequence of endangering my life and that of my family by being banished at a moment's notice in the very commencement of bad season – constrained me to state the whole affair to the Queen and ask Her how I was to act in such a case. Here I have heard from undoubted authorities that nothing would please the whites more than that the Queen should send me away in a month's time – in the midst of the bad season – and I have documents to prove the above statements as matters of facts."*

⁶⁸⁶ LMS, Mad, Canham, op. cit., 07.12.31, page 27: *"1. That the Queen decided that Mr. Griffiths might send back his goods to the Library, which had been sent away by us 2. That all the whites and the congregation should attend at Mr. Griffiths Chapel, as the Queen did not change what Radama had done. 3. That as to presents from our friends for the Society: each one should take what was his"*

entirely under Griffiths' care. They therefore assembled immediately afterwards and decided to make a protestation against the unjust decisions made. They wrote a letter in Malagasy and sent it to the queen the same day. There they expressed their grievances and declared that if the queen would not send Griffiths away, they would better all leave the country.⁶⁸⁷

But Freeman was not satisfied with those proceedings, and the 9th of December he also sent a long letter to Governor Charles Colville in Mauritius about the differences that had now changed to a real war among the missionaries, accusing Griffiths of being a threat not only to themselves as missionaries, but to all British interests in Madagascar. He then solicited the governor's intervention for them in writing a letter to the queen. He also explained Griffiths' suspicions that it was his colleagues that had caused the queen to order him to leave the country, which was absolutely false. Nevertheless Griffiths had by different means formed a strong party at court in his own favour, and he blamed the missionaries and the artisans in his messages to the queen. Therefore they had formed a resolution and laid it before the queen that unless she would send Griffiths away they would all leave the country, as I have already stated in chapter 5.2. And Freeman continued:

*"Here then is one point where I humbly think Your Excellency might serve the Mission effectually, by plainly assuring the Queen, that her causing to go home one of the European Missionaries whose time is expired **will not** give offence to the British Government; - less offence in fact, than her causing all the rest to remove, by encouraging him to remain. The loss of Mr: Cameron to this country will be immense, - Your Excellency would be surprised & delighted, could I detail the whole of his operations. But he has primly wished on leaving if Mr. G. remain - as a 10 years trial of the latter proves that where he is, - peace & union cannot be.*

*After all, I cannot help suspecting these disputes are furnished by some parties within the Government with the secret view of getting rid of **all** the Europeans from the Country, who could be watch or check in any way on the measure of the Government.*

When Mr. Lyall had a dispute with Mr. G. the latter remarked "I will never rest, till I bring that fellow down". He laboured and the object was effected. And now since being informed that he himself would have to leave this Country, - rather than bear alone, what appear to him a disgrace (though not perhaps really so), he has resolved that other shall fall with him - & in labouring with but to much success to affectionate so unworthy a purpose.

To avoid the imputation of being dismissed by the native Government, he has endeavoured to make it appear that the other members of the Mission have instigated the measure. This is absolutely false. The act originates with the Government itself, and surprised all here when they heard it. During the period of 5 month Mr. Griffiths has formed by various artifice - bribes etc. - a pretty strong party in the Government in his favour, & adopted means to throw an odesion on the character of other members of the Mission, particularly the Artizans - reporting that they have been cheating the Queen etc. in the moneys they have received for work done etc. (though in fact he himself drew up their accounts, - & the documents still exist with his own signature & many of them in his own handwriting.(---) One circumstance has led on to another, -

⁶⁸⁷ LMS, Mad, Canham, op. cit., 07.12.31, p. 28 & 29: Having received private information that one expression in their letter was understood as they tried to command the Queen and thus giving offence to her, they wrote a new letter to explain their opinion – but in vain.

like we (Mr. Johns, myself, Mr. Cameron, Mr. Chick, Mr. Canham, & Mr. Kitching; Mr. Baker alone remain neutral) have been compelled to form the resolution and have laid it before the Queen - that unless she will send away Mr. G. who has been the cause of all the disputes in the Mission since the day of his arrival, - we must leave the Country, so soon as the next good season arrives. We were summoned together today to receive the final message from the Queen on the subject, but as all were not present, (including wives and children) the message from the Sovereign is deferred till next Monday".⁶⁸⁸

This letter is the first written accusation against Griffiths to the Governor of Mauritius, begging him to intervene in the favour of Freeman and his friends to get rid of their troublesome colleague. It also shows that Griffiths believed that his problems came from the brethren, and therefore he had formed an alliance with members of the court against his colleagues. As Freeman suspected, this might be a good cause for the enemies of the missionaries to act against them. Griffiths' accusations that the artisans were cheating the queen in their contracts with the government might have been especially disastrous for the future missionary work.

Both Griffiths' alliance with persons at the Malagasy court, and Freeman's solicitation of the governor's intervention in the case, shows an extreme politicisation of the conflict. But I believe that the really disastrous act was the resolution they laid before the queen - that unless she would send away Griffiths they would all leave the country. Even though they trusted in the government's need for the work of Cameron and Chick in constructing a Powder Mill and other projects, they should be fully aware that sending a kind of ultimatum to Queen Ranavalona would never cause any good. From the first days of her reign there were many examples that nobody should try to order the queen and the government in any question. Even though they were greatly provoked it was a foolish politicisation of their work to place such a resolution before the rulers.

The answer came promptly and was a hard blow to their work and existence in the country. In his next letter to the Governor of Mauritius Freeman referred only to the fact that the message from the queen had changed their position and they would all remain at their post and no alteration should be made. Even though he was glad for the letter sent to him by the governor, asking for the removal of Griffiths, he dared not lay it before the queen in the present situation. He also explained that the permission to administrate the baptism and the Lord's Supper to the natives was recalled a few days after the meeting when they got the final decision from the queen.⁶⁸⁹ Freeman neither entered into any details about the meeting that changed their conditions, nor related this happening to the recalling of the permission to baptise.

Griffiths explained these facts more fully in a long letter to the directors complaining about his brethren's behaviours. He states that "All the Whites" including women and children were assembled the 15th of December 1831 to hear the queen's message delivered by a great number judges and principal officers:

⁶⁸⁸ MA, HB-20.3, Freeman to Colville, 09.12.31

⁶⁸⁹ MA, HB-20.3, Freeman to Colville, 17.12.31: "The message sent us Monday last from the Queen, changed our position, by changing the substance of the Anxious Message which had been previously delivered to us in Her name - a message which I believe was got up or perverted by a party, but which never emaciated from her. We all remain at our post, with our respective engagements and no alteration is to be made (---)Your Excellency heard most probably some few month ago, of permission having been granted to administer the Institutions of Christianity among the Natives who might wish to receive them. That permission has this week been recalled, on the ground that such observances are not compatible with the established customs & usage's, of the Country. We are however still left at liberty to instruct the Natives so far as we can - and with this, which form a wide sphere of usefulness, we must be content, till some future period for the observance of Christian Baptism etc"

"The speaker asked them in the name of the Queen: Do you 6 men, Messrs Johns, Freeman, Canham, Chick, Cameron and Kitching adhere to the words of the letter which you wrote to the Queen - saying that you would not remain in the country where Mr. G would remain - and that if he would be sent away you would stay & &. - Be it known to you that no person commands in this island but Ranavalomanjaka, and that she will not be commanded nor ruled by any person living - If these words are your sentiments you all go home, and I, saith Ranavalomanjaka, will give you letters to tell your friends what good you have done in my country - Mr. Johns spoke and said: we did not intend to say nor write any such thing. We then, said the Generals, tell a lie, but we have your letter that such are your words - He then began to retract and said: God forbid that we should command or dictate to the Queen - If the boys are taken from us we do not know what good we can do in the country. (---) The Officers and Judges carried their words to the Queen and returned in the course of an hour with her replay - Her Majesty the Queen asks you - Who are going home? Let us write your names - Do you that intend to stay in her country consent to be judged by her laws and agree to her decisions will you not mention any such things any more - viz. that if a person whom you dislike remain in the country you will leave. If you would not consent to this, you had better say now that you will leave - All were silent for a moment, and then they begged to stay. - As you retract and beg to stay, the boys that assist Mr. Johns and Mr. Freeman may remain with them as usually, but they must attend the monthly examinations at Griffiths. - It ended there, and they are quiet at present.

The Generals who are great idolaters said to one another on the road home: the Whites are bad people and deny what they had written - Let us ask the Queen to stop the baptism etc. - In the course of two days it was forbidden to the sorrow and disappointments of hundreds".⁶⁹⁰

This report shows that Griffiths believed that there was a close connection between the totally defeat of the missionaries' ultimatum to the queen and the forbidding of the baptism etc. After his point of view the politicising of their differences placed them all under the queen's judgement and gave the enemies of the Christian faith a cause to forbid the baptism and the Lord's Supper. The majority group answered the officers in the meeting of the 15th of December that their letter was misunderstood, because they never intended to command the queen. They only wished to tell her that if all the scholars and the 12 helpers were forced to join Griffiths' chapel, they themselves would have nothing more to do in the country, and consequently they should go home.⁶⁹¹ The officers agreed to this explication and Johns and Freeman were allowed to keep the 6 boys they had been given, and to continue the work in their chapel and schools mostly as before.

Although Griffiths blamed his brethren for having caused the close of the baptism, he might have been much more directly involved in provoking the government than he suggested in his letter to the directors. The other missionaries soon accused him of having provoked the Chief Officer in different ways and thus caused him to stop the baptism. Cameron wrote in April 1832 that Griffiths had written a letter to the leading officer about the union consisting between the missionaries and the members of the Malagasy church, telling him that they were

⁶⁹⁰ LMS, Mad, 4.2.A; Griffiths to the directors, 06.01.32

⁶⁹¹ LMS, Mad, Canham, op. cit., 07.12.31, p. 31: "Far be it from us to **command** the Queen. She is the Sovereign of the Kingdom and can do whatever she thinks proper in it. But if all the Scholars are to go up to Mr. G's so that we have nothing to do in the country, we shall go home, for why should we remain here, doing nothing? We came to instruct the people."

brethren in all things and willing to help each other and to guide each others in all things. The Chief Officer misunderstood this information and supposed the baptism to be a strong pact like the Malagasy blood-covenant. And he became afraid that if enough entered such a pact with the whites, it would threaten the government since such a group might easily stir up a rebellion when it became strong enough.⁶⁹² In Cameron's opinion Griffiths' letter had given the government a pretext to forbid the baptism, even though the letter had a positive aim.

Writing in April 1832 David Johns supposed that Griffiths may have caused the forbidding of the baptism, firstly by addressing his friends among the inferior officers when he made the applications for the first baptism, a fact that had provoked the Chief Officer greatly. Secondly Griffiths had started to baptise all he could find willing to receive the ordinance, without sufficient examination of their character. Then he got a problem because one man, who had taken the wife of another man, had managed to be married to her and be baptised together with her in the chapel. When her husband claimed his wife this man argued that since they were baptised together, they could never be separated again. This case went to the judges and ultimately to the queen, and they were all really upset with Griffiths, saying that if the baptism counteracted the laws of the country, it should be forbidden immediately. Griffiths then wrote the letter to the chief officer, which Cameron mentioned above, causing the queen and the government to conclude that the Christians were really forming a dangerous party:

*"The contents of this letter was told to the Queen & the other officers, who said: "We were jealous that the whites were making a party, now it is evident, Mr. Griffiths was formerly talking continually of going home, but since the permission was granted to baptize etc. he will not go home tho' the Queen told him again & again to go, he insist to have some end in view that we cannot see. The baptism, said they, is like an oath of allegiance, and when the whites get sufficient number on their side they will rise against the Govt & take the Country" etc, consequently the soldiers were first prohibited to receive the ordinances, and after a few weeks it was prohibited to all – "*⁶⁹³

Although each of them blamed the other part for those changes I find that all arguments may be plausible. The leading officer, who was an enemy of the Christian faith, could easily find different arguments from both sides for his wish to stop the spreading of the gospel. Therefore the struggle between the two groups became more and more disastrous to the mission work and the newborn church as time passed by.

But even though the closing of the baptism to the Malagasy converts was a hard counterattack to their work, the missionaries did not despair, because they did not consider the baptism to be necessary to be a true Christian. Their Non-conformist background had an anti-ritual concept only looking for the soul of the converts. If the souls were truly converted, no baptism or other ritual would be necessary to salvation. David Johns wrote a year later about a convert:

⁶⁹² LMS, Mad, 4.2.C, Cameron to Arundel, 11.04.32: "1. We were as brethren in the strongest use of the term - 2. We were not to forget each other however far we may be separated - 3. We were to admonish each other in case of any sin or fault - This though very good in itself was misunderstood by the Proud, Idolatrous and Ignorant Officer - he said if such is the case it will never do for this country, and he compared it to a species of Brotherhood that exists among the people, and of which the Government is said not to be very fond of, that is formed by tasting each others blood - A member who conversed with the Officer on the subject tried to soften the matter, but he was told that the paper came from one of the whites themselves and that the Queen could not confide in those who were baptized. (...) I have no doubt but that the Government had rather a dislike to Christian associations before that time - But that letter furnished them with a pretext for withdrawing the privilege from the people."

⁶⁹³ LMS, Mad, 4.2.C, Johns to Arundel, 10.04.32

*“Shortly after this he proposed himself as a candidate for baptism & church fellowship; at that very time however an order was issued by the Govt prohibiting the administration of the ordinances to the natives. Knowing that these external ordinances are not absolutely essential to salvation, he was not discouraged, but steadily persevered in reading, praying & attending the means of grace whenever an opportunity has offered”.*⁶⁹⁴

Johns and Freeman had also a difficult marriage to count for, namely that of Mrs. Hastie and a Malagasy youth she wanted to marry. James Hastie reporting in a letter in May 1822 the death of the first English woman married to a Malagasy man,⁶⁹⁵ used a haughty tone about that misalliance and criticised the pastor who had married them.⁶⁹⁶ He could not know that only about five years later his widowed wife should marry a Malagasy youth. After only a few years of marriage she was divorced and now she wanted to marry another Malagasy youth. Johns and Freeman were willing to arrange the marriage in the new chapel, and Griffiths criticised their decision severely, saying that the missionary character and the chapel had been lowered by this affair, since her former husband still was alive, and the Malagasy youth she married had sent away his wife and children just a few days before.⁶⁹⁷ A few months later he even reported that Mrs. Hastie was already asking for separation again to the shame of Johns and Freeman.⁶⁹⁸ But it seems as though this separation was not effected, and it is doubtful if those affairs of Mrs. Hastie injured the mission as much as the said misalliance Griffiths himself had effected, because her affairs probably were more acceptable in the Malagasy culture than the other. In May 1832 Baker reported that Mrs. Hastie had been observed dancing and participating in some idolatrous ceremonies together with her husband.⁶⁹⁹ She later left Madagascar for a while taking her son to Cape Town to care for his education there.

However Griffiths tried to get an order from the government that all former pupils should join the chapel where they were educated, which would force most Christians to join his chapel. The government agreed to his proposal and even though there were exceptions for some of the 12 boys and others who were already connected with the new chapel, this regulation stripped many youths of the liberty to choose what chapel they would attend. There were even a couple who were not allowed to attend the same public service, since one of them was at liberty to choose the new chapel, and the other one, who had studied at Griffiths' chapel, was compelled to attend there.⁷⁰⁰ Neither did Griffiths give up his attempts to take control of the whole group of helpers. Cameron told the directors that some youths, who were working for him, had heard Griffiths discussing such a plan with one of the helpers:

⁶⁹⁴ LMS, Mad, 4.4.B, Johns to the directors, 30.05.33

⁶⁹⁵ LMS, Mad, Journals, 1, Griffiths, 15.01 – 19.07.22: *“March 8th – Was interred the remains of Elizabeth Stephans (formerly Elizabeth Stings), the wife of Mr. Stephens, a Malagash who had been in England for some years and who accompanied Prince Rataffe from England and arrived here in January last. She departed this life on the morning of the 6th of the Malagash fever and was buried after the Malagash fashion.”*

⁶⁹⁶ MA, HB-21, Hastie to Farquhar, 11.05.22

⁶⁹⁷ LMS, Mad, 4.2.A, Griffiths to the directors, 06.01.32

⁶⁹⁸ LMS, Mad, 4.2.B, Griffiths to Hankey, 26.03.32

⁶⁹⁹ LMS, Mad, 4.2.C, Baker to Clayton, 23.05.32

⁷⁰⁰ LMS, Mad, 4.2.C, Freeman to dr. Philips, 12.06.32: *“to forbid those Natives connecting themselves with the new Chapel, who had been educated in his. Knowing at the same time that all who had been educated at all had been educated there - for there was no other place! And to this many here - those who were taught there are **compelled** by the Govt's order to attend there - with a few exemptions of those who had joint Mr. Johns prior to the decision of the Gov.t. It was ordered that those who had joined themselves to Ambatonakanga (Mr. Johns - or rather the New Chapel), should remain there & those who were at this place should remain there. No real liberty therefore exists so far as scholars are concerned. Others enjoyed in public liberty (...) a fine youth attends with us - his wife was the daughter of poor Rataffe - of course a niece of Radama - she wishes to attend with her husband - No - she must not, - she was brought up at the other place & must attend there, - of course the consequence is she seldom attends at all – “*

“On last Monday week three men from my works went to the Missionary Prayer Meeting at Mr. Griffiths. (---) When the three men entered the house (the Chapel I believe) he was engaged in conversation in an adjoining room with the superior young man of the twelve in point of Honour. He was complaining to Mr. Griffiths that the others did not obey him as they ought - the conversation referred chiefly to the state of feeling among the Missionaries - and to 7 or 8 of the 12 who were more particularly engaged with Messieurs Johns and Freeman. Mr. Griffiths at length gave him this advice that the young man apply to the Queen to get the other eleven entirely under his own control so that the Missionaries might have no control over them - for why said he should they be left with the others who have done no good for the country & when he began talking in this way, the first mentioned visitor went into the room where they were - another said he left the place directly without seeing him being quite ashamed.”⁷⁰¹

This report shows how Griffiths manipulated his Malagasy friends, and tried to outdo his colleagues. Freeman later told the directors that Griffiths soon afterwards tried to take all the schools out of the missionaries’ hands and place them under the care of one of his Malagasy teachers.⁷⁰² Obviously that was a new attempt to take control of the whole missionary work, and they considered him to use “dirty tricks” to obtain his aim. Such examples may explain why the directors were compelled to try to stop him by different means.

But the very bad consequence of Griffiths’ trying to force his own will through against the colleagues’ with his many applications to the queen, was much worse than some unfair result now and then, because his asking for the queen’s decision in every small thing greatly politicised his work – and certainly had a ruinous effect on the whole missionary work. Freeman dealt with those consequences when he in April 1832 stated:

“I am convinced that these applications to the Malagasy Govt - and they have not been a few - and an willingly exempt entertained by a Despotic Govt even fond of having to make great decisions & to hold the (illegible) of all human activities in their own hands, - these applications of Mr. G. & his tools have undermined the foundations of liberty in this Country for the next Century. I am the first to lament it – because it is the outset – the inter ducts – the precedent. (---) It has given a colouring to the institutions of Christianity - & connected them in the view of the Natives with something selfish - quarrelsome - petulant & party spirited. And yet with all this - the blame of the whole is thrown by Mr. G. on Johns – “⁷⁰³

Freeman might have expressed the truth when he stated his fear that allowing the government to get used to making decisions about everything certainly undermined the foundations for the mission work for the next century. Thus the differences between the missionaries gave the government many good reasons to counteract Christianity - using Griffiths’ politicising of his cause to check the other part in many ways. But probably the government’s suspicions against the missionaries did not

⁷⁰¹ LMS, Mad, 4.2.C, Cameron to Arundel, 11.04.32

⁷⁰² LMS, Mad, 4.2.B, Freeman to Hankey, 06.04.32: Griffiths is “urging a plan for getting the schools taken entirely out of Mr. Johns’ hands and mine, - that we may have nothing more to do with them, - also for getting the part of the 12 senior youth with us removed from us & our direction & instruction, - on the grounds that we who have done nothing & are doing nothing for the good of the Country have no claim on them. All this was being arranged with a native, Tsimandisa (a valuable and talented youth - but (illegible) by Griffiths’ spirit, - and done too, in such a way as to be carried into effect with the sanction of the Government - if carried at all, - & then for to degrading us to the Queen and the Govt. I don’t think the plan will succeed - but it is the temper, the determination and the unjust opposition, that I lament.”

⁷⁰³ LMS, Mad, 4.2.C, Freeman to dr. Philips, 12.06.32

arise from those differences alone, but even more from Freeman's political engagement.

5.2.2 Freeman's political engagement

There is little doubt that Freeman's political engagement started when he was fighting for his friend Dr. Lyall in the first months of 1829. As I stated in chapter 4.2 Freeman was strongly engaged not only in Lyall's quarrel with the missionaries, but especially in Lyall's fight with the Malagasy government when they forced him to leave the capital and finally the country. This engagement was not popular at court, and the uneasiness Freeman felt after that situation might have been one cause for his leaving the field some months later.

Arriving in Mauritius late in the same year I find it probable that he had some political discussions with Governor Charles Colville about how he could be useful for the government in the case that he returned to Madagascar before the government could place a new "Resident British Agent" there. I suppose he must have been in such contact with the governor since he so eagerly entered the political engagement proposed by the governor in a hasty letter when he did not return via Mauritius but went directly from Cape Town to Tamatave in 1831.

A Resident British Agent

A few weeks after Freeman's return in Antananarivo he wrote to Governor Colville (15.10.31) and thanked him for his letter of the 12th of September:

"Had I returned from the Cape of Good Hope to Madagascar by way of Mauritius, it would have afforded me the utmost pleasure to have been charged with the packet and presents which are destined for Her Majesty Ranavalona (---) The packages forwarded by Your Excellency's directions to this Government, have I understand from the Principal Officer, all arrived safely. I presume they will write to Y.E. on the subject for themselves. On the particularly topics adverted to in Y.E's letter, I shall not fail to make what observations may come within my reach, and will communicate them with as little delay as possible. In present I can merrily assure Y.E. that the general aspect of affairs in Mad. is highly encouraging. The Queen's Government appears to be as firmly established and consolidated as ever that of Radama did, and her arm's are crowned with great success. (---) I have not yet had any communication with the mentions of the Government bearing upon the residence of an Agent pour the British Government. But I confess my present impression is that the Malagasy would not entertain the subject. Their jalousie of foreigners is boundless, at the same time they are well disposed towards the English. Their friendship, in this respect, has been augmented & confirmed by the late conduct of the French, in the attack they made on the coast of Madagascar. But the more deeply this people feel their own independence and power, the less willing they become to join so close an alliance with any Foreign power, as they suppose is involved in the constant residence of an Agent".⁷⁰⁴

Freeman details here, soon after his arrival in Antananarivo in 1831, how he entered a double political engagement for the government of Mauritius; firstly to make political observations and reports to the governor, and secondly to communicate the governor's wishes to the Malagasy government. This last point included the difficult point of promoting an official Resident British Agent again. I concluded in chapter

⁷⁰⁴ MA, HB-20.3, Freeman to Colville, 15.10.31

4.2.4 that this question had become a political «taboo» in Malagasy politics. Therefore Freeman's engagement to re-establish such an office in Antananarivo may have thrown a suspicious light on the returned missionary as soon as he mentioned this question to the government. And Freeman did not mention this question only once, but he continued to present many times to the Malagasy government the British wish of having an agent in the capital. He stated, for example, in a letter of the 9th of December 1831 that it was difficult to get an answer to the question, because the government was so cautious about foreign interference. But he did not say how many times he had conversed with them about that topic.⁷⁰⁵ In September 1832 he stated again that he had conversed with the Malagasy government about a renewal of the "Equivalent" given to Radama, which would probably open for an agent again.⁷⁰⁶ In a letter in January 1833 he stated that there was nothing new about the requested agent,⁷⁰⁷ but in November the same year he expressed a hope that the government would soon be willing to accept an agent as he had repeatedly recommended.⁷⁰⁸ In January 1834 he asked for instructions from the new governor regarding this question, because he had just been under the necessity of stating to the principal officers that it was still the wish of His Majesty's government that an agent should reside in Antananarivo as formerly.⁷⁰⁹ And in February 1834 he also stated that he had expressed the former Governor Colville's willingness to make some annual presents to the queen, equivalent to that formerly given to Radama, if she would accept a resident agent again, and he continued:

"Her Majesty's Officers have within the last few days called on me again in reference to the same subject, and I have again stated to them, for the Queen's information & guidance the exact impact of Sir C. Colville's letter of Sept. 1831 addressed to myself. The officers of the Queen desired me, at the same time to assure His Excellency, Sir Wm. Nicolay of the very friendly disposition of the Queen and of Her Majesty's Government at large towards the British Government.

*In my last communication I also intimated, wishing H.E. to be in possession of all the facts being on the case, that some subtle intimations had been made to this Government to **induce** the Queen not to accept an Agent. And I fully intended explaining this more minutely and actually drew up on another sheet what I am now about adding in this, - but which, on consideration, I detained for the time, nor would I convey it now but from a conviction of its imperious necessity. The passage I kept back are as follows: "It will however excite the*

⁷⁰⁵ MA, HB-20.3, Freeman to Colville, 09.12.31: "It remains extremely difficult to know the real (...) dispositions of this Government on the subject of the residence of an Agent pour the British Government. They will not answer a plain question at all, and they are extremely wag (vague?) in giving any satisfactory answer when they fancy they are being sounded. Their white line of policy is that of jealous caution, they seem to have a sort of instinctive horror of any foreign interference, lest it should arise out of some sinister motive and lead them into any compromise of their independence."

⁷⁰⁶ MA, HB-9, Freeman private to Colville, 26.09.32: "I have also heard it intimated, as probable, that the renewal of the equivalent may be requested of the Malagasy Government, with whom I have conversed on the subject, that the residence of a duly accredited British Agent would certainly be expected in the event of the Equivalent being renewed. And I believe in doing this I have adhered to the intimation whith which Your Excellency favoured me on my return here about a year ago. I think the present feeling of the Malagasy Government inclines to concede the point, - but it is not improbable that they again may expect too much in return for the concession; - they will not improbably want something amounting to a pledge on the part of the English that the French **shall** not be allowed to take any part of Madagascar. Indeed I am convinced if the English could, or would, make such a compact as this, they might fix an Agent here, and obtain other concessions agreeable to their own views."

⁷⁰⁷ MA, HB-9, Freeman to Colville, 16.01.33

⁷⁰⁸ MA, HB-9, Freeman to Dick, chief secretary to government, 29.11.33: "I have repeatedly recommended this to their consideration, as explained to me by letters of Sir Charles Colville some time ago, and I think they are inclined to view it more favorably now than they did some time back. (This is confidential)."

⁷⁰⁹ MA, HB-9, Freeman to Dick, 03.01.34: "I presume the wishes of His Majesty's Government at home, remain unaltered on this point. But I shall be glad to receive specific instructions again how to act in the case, whether to remain silent, or whether I am authorized still to recommend the Queen's Government to recognise a Resident Agent. I have within the past few days been under the necessity of stating distinctly to the Queen's Principal Officers, that it **is** the wish of His Britannic Majesty to have an Agent here as formerly."

*surprise and regret of H.E., when I assure him, that those intimations have come from a British subject, and he too - a member of our Mission, at least one who has been so for many years 'till about the present time, and who received from His Majesty's Government at Mauritius, under the administration of Sir R. Farquhar a monthly allowance as a Missionary for a length of time".*⁷¹⁰

Obviously Freeman has been a very active agent for the governor of Mauritius in this case, as he also was in accusing Griffiths of working against British interests. Thus he greatly politicised their differences in his pro-British engagement. In another letter he expressed a willingness to render any service for the governor's political aims, and offered his aid to fulfil any of the British agent's duties.⁷¹¹ Before Governor Colville left Mauritius he informed Freeman that the British government had decided to recognise and pay him as interim agent:

*"I therefore take this opportunity of informing you that in the absence of a regular agent and so long as you shall continue to communicate with the Colonial Government, His Lordship The Secretary of State has consented to make you an allowance, to cover the additional expenses and trouble, which this devalue on you (---) that allowance I have fixed at the rate of one hundred pounds a Year, reckoning from the period when you returned from the Cape of Good Hope; and the same will be paid to your agents here, upon their producing the requisite power or authority to receive it".*⁷¹²

Being paid £100 each year, which was a good additional income for Freeman, might have induced him to work even more for the British interests. Nevertheless it was no wonder that he a little later expressed a fear that the Malagasy government suspected the missionaries of a form of spying on the state of the country and the proceedings of the chiefs,⁷¹³ because that was exactly what he himself had done.

Free trading at the coast

Freeman also interfered in the discussion about the trading conditions at the coast. In a letter to the governor in December 1831 he referred to the fact that he had heard that an order was issued that cattle and rice should be sold to the traders in exchange for powder and muskets only.⁷¹⁴ One month later he wrote that the traders

⁷¹⁰ MA, HB-9, Freeman to Dick, 26.02.34. Freeman continued: *"The truth is that the Revd. D. Griffiths has long been a great annoyance to this Mission, and has been positively recalled by the Directors of our Society in London, as an impracticable man, - headstrong, ambitious and violent, with whom no cordent co-operation has ever been gained by any members of this Mission during the ten or twelve years he has been in the Country. Mr. G. refuse to obey the instructions of our Society on the subject, (and they have also other, and very strong reasons to justify their decision,) and of course his pecuniary support is discontinued. His aim now is, to depreciate the Society in the estimation of this Government; and one means of doing so, has been by representing the Society as at variance with the King of England! And that for the Queen to dismiss him from Madagascar at the wish of the Society would rather be to give offence to the British Government. Other representations equally unjust & unfounded have been made on the subject, - to prejudice this Government against the Society, and the other members of the Mission here (...) to Mr. G. to have a Resident Agent on the spot, to contradict all this authoritatively, and to expose his improprieties. Such was the case with regard to the late Agent R. Lyall Esq.. Mr. G. was one of the most active in bringing about those measures, which ended in Mr. Lyall's harsh expulsion from Madagascar. I named this in a former private letter to Sir C. Colville and I repeat it now as a fact I wish known to His Excellency the present Governor, - not only as illustrating Mr. G's character, but as tending to justify the interference of H.E. in the case, which I am about to solicit*

⁷¹¹ MA, HB-9, Freeman to Colville, 26.09.32: *"It only remains for me to assure Y.E that I shall still be most happy to render any services here in my power in promoting Y.E's wishes. (...) if in the mean time (...) Y.E. should wish me to fulfil any of the duties of the officer, it will afford me the greatest pleasure to receive specific instructions, & to communicate with Y.E on what may transpire."*

⁷¹² MA, HB-20.3, Colville to Freeman, 24.09.32

⁷¹³ LMS, Mad, 4.4.A, Freeman to Ellis, 20.02.33

⁷¹⁴ MA, HB-20.3, Freeman to Colville, 09.12.31.: *"Here has been, I understand, an order sent by the Government to the Coast, requiring that cattle and rice shall be sold by the traders in exchange only for powder and Muskets. The precise object of this line of policy it is somewhat difficult to see, but I suspect there is some ultimate scheme in view. It is true the Government may not have any great stock of powder on hand, and they are not yet able to manufacture it in very large quantities. The materials for the manufacture are obtained in abundance, but the Mill, which is proposed to erect, is far from being completed. Probably the measure is only intended to obtain a supply for present use, and the above order will be forthwith resigned. But the*

in Tamatave had sent a petition to the queen about the impossibility of the new trading regulations, and this letter had been forwarded through Griffiths and himself. Freeman had also conversed personally with the leading members of the government, but could not get any other answer than a short letter to himself and Griffiths, telling him that the queen had written to the governor, and the law could not be changed.⁷¹⁵ He supposed that the Malagasy government needed some supplies in order to augment the army, but he was suspicious if it was rather a policy designed to annoy the traders and force them to leave the country. In fact this last scheme became clearer and clearer in the following years, and the mighty Hova families took over most of the trade on the eastern coast. In a memorial of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Stanley, Edward Baker explained that those problems were caused by the French attack in 1829-30. Many traders lost considerable property in that war, and when they claimed compensation from the Malagasy government, which was also promised them, their claims were extremely high:

*“It was doubtless therefore, to prevent the recurrence of such claims, by causing their own people, (who could not claim compensation) to carry on the traffic with foreign nations, that the Government enacted this law”.*⁷¹⁶

The interesting point to my study might be that Freeman engaged in a discussion with the Malagasy government about this question as if he was a regular political agent, not only in forwarding the petition from the traders but also in writing to the queen urging the justice of such claims.⁷¹⁷ That should certainly augment the government’s suspicions against him. In April 1832 he stated that the government had succeeded in getting a great stock of powder, and they bought a considerable number of firearms from the Americans who traded in Majunga.⁷¹⁸ The governor at the same time wrote a letter to the queen objecting seriously against the trading regulations, requesting the authenticity of the queen’s last letter and stating that her advisers must have acted on the basis of very erroneous information when they recommended to her such a sudden discontinuation of the export commerce:

*“The Government of His Britannic Majesty is not in the habit of trafficking in arms or Gunpowder, any more than in any other article - and does not permit, to its subjects, any large depot of the two former in its colonies, so that what, now becomes wanting for the carrying on of their long accustomed Trade with Your Majesty’s Ports, is equivalent to the breaking off of all intercourse between the two Islands, and will force Mauritius to open a more active Trade with the Arab Coasts –”*⁷¹⁹

regulation seem to indicate some want of arms, and I shall be glad if Y.E. finds that nothing else is exchanged for them more valuable than rise and cattle.”

⁷¹⁵ MA, HB-20,3, Freeman to Colville, 06.01.32: *“I embrace a few moment just to remark on the Law of this Government respecting the importation of Powder and Muskets. I named this business in my letter to Y.E. of the 8th Dec. A petition has been sent up here by the Merchants at Tamatave, addressed to the Queen stating their grievances, the difficulty of obtaining a supply of the articles require, and the impossibility of procuring produce from the Natives. The petition has been forwarded, and I suppose an answer to it will be sent direct to Tamatave, but as it was conveyed at the request of the Tamatave resident through Mr. Griffiths and myself, the Queen sent us a short but firmly letter saying «she had written to the Governor of Mauritius stating the above Law», and adding that the Law **could not be changed**, but that the Traders were at liberty to dispose of the stock they had previously on hand. (...) I should think such a measure cannot last long, but in the mean time it may ruin the Traders who have large establishments, and considerable stocks on hand. I have conversed personally with the leading members of the Government here, on the subject, but cannot obtain any new views; - they merely say, such is the law, which the Queen has made, & as to its continuance they can make no observations. I confess it really seems intended to annoy foreign settlers, so as to induce them to leave the country, and I think this is the aim of the present line of feeling adopted by some parties in the Government just now.”*

⁷¹⁶ LMS, Mad, 3.4.G, Baker to Stanley, undated, with a note from the directors explaining why they did not transmit it to the Secretary of State for the Colonies

⁷¹⁷ MA, HB-20.3, Freeman to Colville, 13.02.32: *“Their petition has been sent in and we have written to the Queen urging the justice of such a claim, but no answer has yet returned.”*

⁷¹⁸ MA, HB-20.3, Freeman to Colville, 10.04.32

⁷¹⁹ MA, HB-20.3, Colville to Ranavalona, 18.04.32

But neither the governor's letter nor Freeman's political arguing could in a short time change the decision of the government. In October 1832 Freeman wrote again to the governor that there was nothing new about the government's intentions on the subject of the restriction on trade, but probably they still needed arms and ammunition since they were in the process of augmenting the army. He later said that he had been very active, trying to convince them of the impoliteness of their interruption of the trade.⁷²⁰ He also wrote a letter to the Malagasy government in May 1833 about the prosperity for the country of having a free trade and the importance of their maintaining a friendly intercourse with their British ally.⁷²¹

But all efforts of Freeman and the governor were in vain, until Freeman late in 1833 brought back a letter from the Minister for the Colonies in London, Lord Goderich, together with a new letter from the governor, when he returned from Mauritius. In the answer to Governor Nicolay the Malagasy government then announced that the trade should now be carried on, as before, and only the taxes and duties ought to be paid in muskets and gunpowder.⁷²² Thus the two parties finally solved the difficult political question peacefully. But both Freeman's engagement in the case and his being the bearer of those official letters from British authorities, should leave no doubt that he was materially involved as envoy from the British government in Mauritius.

Smallpox vaccination

Freeman also provoked the government unintentionally when he in Tamatave on his way to Mauritius in July 1833 vaccinated the British trader, Mr. Reddington, and his family against the smallpox. He went to Mauritius in the hope of meeting his wife there on her way back from England, because it was planned that she should follow Edward Baker and his wife on their journey to Madagascar. Mrs. Freeman did not follow her husband back to Madagascar when he returned in 1831, because her health was still poor. Instead she went to England with their children, and Mr. Freeman had written many letters in the previous years urging her return to Madagascar. Unfortunately his hope was broken when he arrived in Mauritius by letters telling that both his wife and the Baker family had deferred their return till the next year.⁷²³ But I suppose he had also some political consultations with the governor and his secretary during his stay in Mauritius. On his way back to Antananarivo he was detained in Tamatave for several weeks, because it was reported to the queen that by the vaccination of Mr. Reddington and his family, he had purchased something to give them smallpox. The answer from the government to Freeman's explanations was a question sent down to Tamatave, demanding him to name the officer who had authorized him to vaccinate. As he had never asked for any

⁷²⁰ MA, HB-9, Freeman to Colville, 16.10.32: *"I have not failed to embrace every opportunity of endeavouring to impress on the minds of the members of the Queen's Government the utter impolicy of their interruption. I had some hope a short time since that the (...) regulation would be abolished, but I begin again to suspect it will be enforced. Nothing but necessity, - some present self-interest, seems to induce the Government to charge its measures of assume anything like an amiable attitude towards Foreigners in any of their transactions with them. A friendly concession or conciliatory overture, they are apt to fancy might be construed into an indication of timidity or weakness, or some compromise of their dignity."*

⁷²¹ MA, HB-9, Freeman to Nicolay, 06.06.33: *"I embraced an opportunity lately of conveying at length a few suggestions respecting Commerce, to the principal Officers of the Queen's Government, in which I urged on them, not merely the consideration that the prosperity of Madagascar depends on her encouraging Commerce, but the importance of the Queen's Government maintaining the most friendly intercourse with the English Government, the latter having steadily showed its friendship for many years past, (...) I received a day or two ago an acknowledging of my letter on the subject, thanking me for the communication, and stating that they should still take the subject into consideration."*

⁷²² MA, HB-9, Ratiaray, Her Majesty's 2nd Principal Secretary to Nicolay, 17.11.33: *"I have laid at the feet of my Sovereign your letter dated 30 August 1833 (...) As you have said, that you have no muskets, & that the King of England does not sell muskets, but it is his people that Trade in them, Her Majesty now opens the Trade of Madagascar, to be as it was in the time of Radama, but the duty on things imported and exported is to be paid in muskets and gunpowder. These are the wishes of Her Majesty, & I inform you of them."*

⁷²³ LMS, Mad, 4.4.B, Freeman to Ellis, 29.08.33

authorization, he was obliged to answer that no one had authorized him. In his view all the trouble was caused by ill will from some officious Malagasy because he considered that there was actually no law prohibiting such vaccinating, as he wrote to Captain Dick:

*“Vaccination was introduced, as you are most probably aware, by the late James Hastie Esq. British Agent, and had never been disallowed from that term to the present. Finding some lymph therefore just arrived (sent by the late Mr. Telfaire) I had no hesitation in complying with Mr. Reddington’s request to apply it to his family. (---) For a straight-forward mind the thing carries its own confutation. I never **heard** of any authority being requisite, - & of course never appealed to any. There is **now** a law made against vaccination in the Country, but there was none at that time. I now await a second reply from the Government at Antananarivo, but as it may be equally indefinite as the former one, & I may yet be detained here a few weeks longer ‘til the rainy & fever season (---) and then, should it be quite agreeable to his Excellency’s views, I think it would be highly useful in bringing the case to a favourable issue, if H.E., would address a few lines to Her Majesty –“⁷²⁴*

But certainly Freeman had not been cautious enough, since he did not know the whole history of the smallpox vaccination in Antananarivo. As shown in chapter 2.3.3 it was not Hastie who introduced this kind of vaccination, but Mr. Brown – the British Agent in Tamatave – who visited the capital in Hastie’s absence. He vaccinated Radama and about a hundred persons after the king’s request, but the vaccine must have been defective and the smallpox attacked both Radama and many of the other vaccinated persons. The king survived but a great number died in the epidemic that followed, and Radama prohibited further smallpox-vaccination to the Malagasy. Obviously Freeman did not know the prohibition given by Radama in 1820. And probably the Europeans had not been inflicted by the said law, and therefore allowed to vaccinate their own children. But since Mr. Reddington was married to a Malagasy woman it is possible that his family were considered as Malagasy. After Freeman’s affair all vaccination was prohibited – even to the European children.

As we saw in the last quotation Freeman asked the governor to write a new letter to the queen complaining of the government’s bad conduct against a British subject residing amongst them. Captain Dick soon answered his proposal, and even though Freeman in the meantime had reported that he had got permission to proceed to the capital, Dick sent him the letter from the governor, as he deemed it useful to show the Malagasy authorities that the governor was aware of their bad treatment of British subjects residing in Madagascar.⁷²⁵ Freeman later answered Dick that he did not lay the letter before the authorities because the queen had behaved so kind and friendly to him after his return to the capital. He was also afraid that she would not like to know that he had written to Mauritius and complained to the governor about her government’s proceedings.⁷²⁶

Communicating with the Queen

⁷²⁴ MA, HB-9, Freeman to Dick, 03.10.33

⁷²⁵ MA, HB-9, Dick to Freeman, 30.10.33: “As soon as your letter of the 3d, reached me, I spoke to the Governor for such a communication to the Queen as you wished, and yesterday I received the enclosed, which I hope may suit your purpose, - Altho’ no longer wanted for its original object, it may perhaps be useful in a general way to show the Madagascar authorities that the Governor is alive to their treatment of the British subjects residing amongst them, and particularly of yourself. - The despatch is under a flying seal and delivery of it is left to your own discretion - only let me know what you do with it, that the Governor may know how to regulate his allusions to it in a future communications, for if you find it advisable to withhold it, he would not, of course, make any mention of it hereafter.”

⁷²⁶ MA, HB-9, Freeman to Dick, 29.11.33

Freeman often complained about the fact that nobody was allowed to speak with the queen, neither foreigners nor Malagasy. When he dealt with the other questions mentioned above, he proposed that an embassy from Mauritius should be sent to Madagascar to speak gently with the government, even though he did not think they should obtain an interview with the queen.⁷²⁷ Later he stated that even an embassy from the King of England could not suspect to be allowed to see her.⁷²⁸ Only the officers decided what questions could be laid before the queen, and since nobody except a few superior officers were allowed to converse with her, it was difficult to know if the decisions made really came from the queen. And letters neither were allowed taken into the courtyard, nor could the queen read them herself. The officers who opened the post then could present what cases they wished to her, and Freeman stated that it was demonstrated that in some cases messages had been falsified both to and from the sovereign.⁷²⁹ And later Freeman told the governor that the queen did not really know that the new missionary, Atkinson, was expelled from the country:

*“Your Excellency will have heard long in this, of Mr. Atkinson, one of our members having been required to leave the Country, as the Queen did not accept his services any longer. I have since been most credibly informed that the Queen know nothing of the measure till he had actually left, - and then it was intimated to her, that it was his own wish & request to leave! I do not name this as a circumstance of any importance to Your Excellency in itself. - But as an illustration of the state of affairs, and of the mode of conducting business. The Sovereign’s name is used by the party that may happen to have the effrontery, or the meanness to do it, for any purpose that may answer their views at the time. And it appears to me to show that but little confidence can be placed in any of the professions of a Government thus constituted. There cannot be confidence, - for there is no security as to any permanency with order of things. Up to the present period, no change has taken place in the search of obtaining communications with the Sovereign, and its limitations I have already explained to Y.E.”*⁷³⁰

This observation corresponds well with many others telling us that the primary cause of the problems the Christians and the Europeans met was not the queen herself, but the Men in Power who reigned in her name.

Instead of having a British embassy visiting Antananarivo Freeman soon could inform the governor that the Malagasy government was in the process of sending an embassy to Mauritius:

“It is hinted here that a deputation or Embassy is about to be sent to Mauritius to converse with Your Excellency on some point of importance. I presume there are two or three topics in contemplations, and I merely name them, - not to prepare Y.E’s mind for the discussion, but just to intimate the subject talked about here. The state of commerce, - especially the Law respecting the importation of arms & ammunition, will most likely come under review. The contemplated attack of the French on the Coast, - so reported, is perhaps another point; - and a third I expect is some alluding to the report of a British

⁷²⁷ MA, HB-20.3, Freeman to Colville, 09.12.31: “That an interview could be obtained with our Sovereign herself is out of question. The Embassy would be met by a Deputation of Officers and the decision in the case probably made by the Skid. No Europeans can see the Queen. She seldom leaves the Palace Yard.”

⁷²⁸ MA, HB-20.3, Freeman to Colville, 10.04.32

⁷²⁹ MA, HB-20.3, Freeman to Colville, 16.05.32

⁷³⁰ MA, HB-9, Freeman to Colville, 25.09.32

vessel of War having been round to the Johanna Islands, - to visit a relative of the late Radama etc.

*I have no doubt this Government wishes to retain the friendship of the British Government, - especially if danger were likely to arise in any quarter, and which could be superseded by English interference & goodwill. To secure the latter many fair concessions and promises may be made. But there has been from the commencement of this reign a superciliousness about the Government that requires a check. Their disclaiming to acknowledge communications, - and their despotic manner of arranging all their affairs with foreigners, are proceedings unworthy of the grade of civilization to which they have attained; and though too proud to receive advice, it may yet do them good to be lectured a little on their gross want of courtesy & propriety”.*⁷³¹

When the proposed embassy visited Mauritius they got a cool reception there, perhaps in some way caused by Freeman’s reports, while they on their way home were courteously received in Bourbon. But Freeman concluded that flattery may create suspicions and therefore he was well pleased with the governor’s conduct, even though he was a little annoyed about the French courtesy.⁷³² Freeman also regretted that the French army had made so miserable an attack on the east coast three years ago. They should either have done nothing or done the work more effectively, because the troops of Madagascar were neither formidable nor despicable. But the French despised them, underrated their abilities and were punished for their temerity, he stated:

*“Had they humbled this people a little, it would have done them good, - had they made them respect European skill, power & resources it had been of service to the broad interest’s of Humanity. But the very reverse is the case, and semi-civilized Malagasy look with haughtiness on the French, and are wonderfully elated with their own newly discovered magnanimity”.*⁷³³

If anybody in power had known about Freeman’s wishes that the French army should have humbled the Malagasy people a little, his political career would perhaps have soon been troubled. However they could know more about him than he fancied, because of the differences between the brethren.

Political support of the Missionaries

The differences between the Missionaries became more and more dangerous and gave the discussion a more political tone as the time passed by. When Griffiths in the first month of 1834 got his second recalling from LMS, the temperature of the quarrel augmented fiercely. All the Europeans were gathered to hear the queen’s message about Griffiths, stating that if the King of England called him home she would not detain him, but if he was recalled by his equals (i.e. the directors of LMS), she would neither detain him nor force him to go. In the discussion after this message General Brady and two French gentlemen who had newly arrived there argued:

“- that as the King of England had not sent out Mr. Griffiths, and in fact, know nothing about him, the Queen could have no blame in the event of Mr. G’s

⁷³¹ MA, HB-9, Freeman to Colville, 25.09.32

⁷³² MA, HB-9, Freeman to Colville, 16.01.33: *“The Deputation that was appointed by this Government to wait on Your Excellency, returned home by the way of Bourbon, at which island, it appears, they were very courteously received, as though the French Government was anxious to establish itself in the good opinion of the Queen’s Government, either as an example of courtesy, or as an indication of such a friendly feeling towards this Government as might prelude all suspicions of hostile interactions, or the approach to war – (...) But – “Flattering attentions may create a suspicion of insincerity; - the cool reception in the other case is interpreted as a gentle reproof, & the hint may perhaps not be lost.”*

⁷³³ MA, HB-20.3, Freeman to Colville, 16.05.32

remaining in Madagascar. Mr. G. added that so far from the King censuring the Queen for keeping him in the Country, the Missionary Society & the British Government were at variance.

We replied, that though it was true, we were not sent out by the King of England, and that must probably the King had never heard of our names, yet the Society was perfectly known to the King & Government and was acting in entire conformity with the principles and laws of the British Government. And that with regard to the Mission in Madagascar in particular, so far from their being in variance in the case, it had always had the sanction and support of the British Government both at home and in Mauritius, in proof of which, we said, the first Missionaries had been sent here by the expense of the British Government, (all their expenses from Port Louis to Tananarivo were defrayed by the Government at Mauritius & and particular recommendation were given them by Sir R. Farquhar to introduce them to Radama,) that further, the Government at Mauritius had made a monthly allowance to the Missionaries and artizans for a long time after their arrival in Madagascar; - that the Malagasy youth who were sent to England for instruction, were placed by the British Government under the care of the Missionary Society, but all their expenses were defrayed by the Government. These things we thought were sufficient to show that there existed a perfectly friendly understanding between the Government, and the Society. (---)

It appears to me, that to represent our Society as at variance with the British Government, is an injustice to us on the spot, because it involves the conclusion that we also in some way, are inimical to the British Government, and so it tends to withdraw from us a broad shield of protection, besides diminishing the respect the natives might otherwise entertain for us; - advantages which we can ill afford to spare among a people scarcely more than semi-civilized".⁷³⁴

From this letter I learn that Griffiths and his new French friends, M. Droit and M. Laborde, provoked the missionaries into stating how close their connection with the British interests and politics were. They felt that Griffiths insinuation of the LMS and the British government being at variance, was a lie and an unjust accusation against them all. Therefore they professed a very close connection to the British authorities, the first missionaries being sent to Madagascar at the expense of the British government and also being supported by the same government for a lot of years. Their proving that they worked under the care and protection of the British government would normally have secured them respect from the Malagasy people and government. But in the actual context it could also manifest the suspicions from the same government that the missionaries were British envoys more than Christian evangelists. Therefore I think this event may have prompted the government to be much more sceptical and unfriendly than before. Their statements about their close connection with the British authorities might therefore be a very important cause behind the fact that the Malagasy government in the span of one year prohibited all their work, and forced them to leave the country.

When Freeman was at the point of leaving the field, he still expressed his wish to be a British envoy or an important political person, when he in a letter to Captain Dick begged that there should be a Ship from the government of Mauritius (for example a Sloop of war) waiting for him in Tamatave to take him to Mauritius in order to show the Malagasy government that the missionaries were under the protection of

⁷³⁴ MA, HB-9, Freeman to Dick, 13.03.34

the British government.⁷³⁵ Certainly he argued that such a measure would be useful for the colleagues who should remain for some months in the country, but in fact it shows his interest of being accepted as an envoy from the British government. As far as I can see, his wishes were not granted, and he was obliged to seek a passage with a trading vessel like all the others.

Freeman had mixed his role as Senior Missionary with his role as British envoy in a way that made him most suspicious and hated in the eyes of the Malagasy government. In that way he had badly injured the missionary cause and the young Christian church. Edward Baker, who stayed behind together with David Johns when the other left, confessed that he was glad that Freeman left the field at that moment:

*“With regard to Mr. Freeman, although no one more highly values his energetic and extensive service here than I, yet I think it was **more expedient** that he should leave at the present time – because his departure will demonstrate to the Govt how deeply we are affected by their change of policy & because if **they** are at **all** disposed to moderate their unfounded jealousy of us, **his** departure will aid to accomplish that **moderations, as circumstances & use F’s** sake or manners (not certainly any one of his acts) have directed a great portion of this jealousy against **him**”.*⁷³⁶

Thus Baker confessed that Freeman at that time was the most unpopular missionary in the view of the Malagasy government. From all we have discussed in this chapter it should not be surprising if it was his political engagement that caused this unpopularity. The government probably felt their suspicions against the missionaries - that they were political envoys more than evangelist - was proved in his case, and therefore they enjoyed his departure from Madagascar.

5.2.3 Great British pressure against Griffiths

I explained in chapter 5.2.1 that the differences between Griffiths and his colleagues disturbed their work and allowed their enemies late in 1831 to close the administration of the sacraments to the Malagasy. Only Edward Baker, who had lodged in Griffiths’ house in the first years after his arrival in Antananarivo, still professed a close friendship with him, even though he expressed a wish of being neutral and keeping friendly relations with both parties.

The affairs were complicated, but there were no great problems arising in the first half year in 1832. Even seemingly straightforward concerns resulted in problems. When Baker asked the missionary committee (Griffiths, Johns and Freeman) to augment his salary from £ 100 to £ 150 per annum because of the higher costs he encountered when living alone after having left Griffiths’ house,⁷³⁷ they were only able to decide that each of them should write their opinion home to the Board of Directors.⁷³⁸ In their letter to the directors all of them agreed that Baker should have an additional sum, but some murmured that they would all need a higher salary, or

⁷³⁵ MA, HB-9, Freeman to Dick, 13.04.35: “If it were not thought presuming too much, or encroaching on His Excellency’s goodness, I confess I should be extremely glad, if there happened to be any out of His Majesty’s Ships at Mauritius, say a Sloop of War, sufficiently disengaged at the time to make the trip of Tamatave, & afford me a passage back to Mauritius, with any other Members of our Mission who might wish to proceed to Mauritius. My object would be to show the Malagasy Government that British subjects here are decidedly under the protection of His Majesty’s Government. Such a measure would be useful to the other members of the Mission remaining here some few month longer, by inducing this Government to treat them with the more respect, especially as we have been most barely calumniated, & represented to this Government as (...) sinister & political objects in view.”

⁷³⁶ LMS, Mad, 5.2.B, Baker to Ellis, 19.06.35

⁷³⁷ LMS, Mad, 4.2.B, Baker to Hankey, 26.03.32

⁷³⁸ LMS, Mad, 4.2.B, Griffiths to Hankey, 26.03.32: “March 5th 1832: Resolved that in reference to Mr. Baker’s letter requesting an additional £ 50 for the current year, we write to the Directors of the London Missionary Society, expressing our opinions individually and the hope that they will grant the sum.”

queried whether Baker should be paid for doing work other than printing, since he had argued that he needed more money because he was preaching and teaching and doing a deacon's duty.⁷³⁹

Chick was strongly troubled by Griffiths' behaviour at that time and he accused him of having advised two of his apprentices to desert their work. With the help of some officers the two men were ordered back to work, only causing one of them to inform the queen of Chick's having struck him with iron. Luckily there were many witnesses who could state that the accusation was false.⁷⁴⁰ Chick was also troubled about with work at that time, because he was on course to finish his former project and therefore needed a new contract with the government. But after Griffiths' accusation the year before that the artisans were cheating the Queen for money in their contracts, the government was not willing to make lucrative contracts any more. Chick's new contract was to last for about 4 years, and the government proposed \$300 per annum, which was only 1/3 of his proposal. He was forced to sign the contract, since he had no real choice. The only two alternatives he could see were to make the best agreement possible – or leave the country. He therefore asked LMS to grant him a minimum salary if he encountered pecuniary problems with this new project, because he had a family with 5 children etc.⁷⁴¹ And since Cameron's and Chick's projects was the best guarantee for the whole body of missionaries to be allowed to stay, they accepted his wishes.

The first recalling of Griffiths

An important letter from the Board of Directors arrived in the beginning of June 1832 and changed the relative peace that had existed in the last five months. In that letter the directors ordered Griffiths to leave the field as soon as possible, and they gave him the choice if he wanted to go to Cape Town and work in the LMS mission there or return home to England.⁷⁴² Griffiths had just two weeks before the arrival of that letter, written to the directors telling them that since Baker was going to England in the course of two months, he had resolved to send Mrs. Griffiths and their daughters home with him, as he himself thought it his duty to remain at his post even if somebody wished to drive him away. He also stated that it was for the sake of the poor heathens he would stay, since his leaving would certainly be most injurious to the whole mission.⁷⁴³

Certainly the recalling from the directors created bad feelings in him, especially since he was aware that the other pastors were waiting for that act.⁷⁴⁴ His replay to the writers seems satisfactory but it also opened for other solutions:

“Dear Sirs, I Embrace this opportunity of acknowledging the receipts of your letter of Aug. 31st 1831 which was duly received on the 4th Inst. – After sixteen days' prayer and serious meditations I have resolved to comply with your commands and injunctions as far as it lays in my power. – Though I shall be a

⁷³⁹ LMS, Mad, 4.2.B, Freeman to Hankey, 06.04.32

⁷⁴⁰ LMS, Mad, 4.2.B, Chick to the directors, 10.04.32

⁷⁴¹ LMS, Mad, 4.2.B, Chick to Senior Missionary, 10.04.32

⁷⁴² LMS, Mad, 4.2.C, Freeman to dr. Philips, 12.06.32

⁷⁴³ LMS, Mad, 4.2.C, Griffiths to the directors, 23.05.32: “- I have resolved after a mature deliberation and I hope earnestly seeking the divine direction to send Mrs Griffiths and our little girls with him to England, as I think that it is my duty to remain at my post to the last, whoever may wish to drive me away. (...) I would have left with my family, this good season, had it not been for the extreme attachment I have for these poor, ignorant Heathen that perish for lack of knowledge. – For I am certain that my leaving at this present crises would ruin the whole Mission. – My case would be taken as a precedent for acting toward others – Mess.rs Canham & Atkinson's stay is as indefinite and uncertain as mine.”

⁷⁴⁴ LMS, Mad, 4.2.A, Griffiths to the directors, 06.01.32: “I hope you will not condemn me on the tales of others without giving me an opportunity to answer for myself, because I believe that you are lead astray sometimes by an unfair and incorrect communication. (...) It have been told me by the natives that if they, Mess.rs Johns and Freeman, could not succeed with this Government to get me out of this country they are certain that they will succeed with the Directors to call me home.”

*great sufferer in temporal affairs I intend to leave, if the Lord permit, this good season as you have so peremptorily ordered me to leave without delay. (---) Perhaps the Directors will see and be convinced 'ere long that my plans, labours and endeavours have been accepted by the Lord and approved of by the Government here".*⁷⁴⁵

Certainly it was not easy for the Board of Directors to lead the mission in Antananarivo when letters took 9 months to arrive there. However the directors had now thrown the dice, and Griffiths was on course to cross the border to an area not under their direction any more. The pious and obedient letter he sent them as answer left no doubt that he had wished for another solution, stating that the directors must have been misinformed about his role, and that they soon could be happy to avail themselves of his knowledge and his established friendship with the Malagasy government and people, and he added that surely their letter would require much explanation before it could be effected. And the postscript closing his letter shows a man's will more than an obedient worker:

*"P. S. The Lord seems to have answered my prayers for getting my children to England for education and I feel secretly persuaded that this God whom I serve and the Saviour whom I trust, will open a wide door of usefulness for me yet in Madagascar and for the conversion of these Heathens that perish for lack of knowledge".*⁷⁴⁶

The Malagasy twins, who had studied in England and were now named Rahaniraka and Rafaralahy, engaged in writing to their friend amongst the directors, Rev. Arundel, soliciting LMS to revise the decision of recalling Griffiths, because no Malagasy individuals had ever complained about his behaviour, and they considered him as the best missionary on the field etc.⁷⁴⁷ A year or two before, the other missionaries had expressed a very critical view of the twins and named them as their adversaries who openly criticised the mission etc, but now they had joined Griffiths' church though not yet baptised, and it was said that they didn't fail to join the public service in Sundays as often as possible.

Freeman, who had got his will through the recalling of Griffiths, took a haughty tone and declared that certainly the government would soon have sent him away anyhow and his colleagues knew that he could not stay much longer. Although Griffiths had shown level-headedness and cooperation after the said letter arrived, Freeman was glad he would soon leave, because if he were allowed to stay there, LMS would never get any new missionaries authorised by the government.⁷⁴⁸

This last accusation was caused by the case of Theophilus Atkinson. When Atkinson and his family arrived in Antananarivo in the late 1831 together with Freeman, they only got a one-year's permission to stay in the country. For a long time the government would not answer his requests of a permanent permission to stay, but in May 1832 Johns, Freeman and Atkinson were summoned for the decision in the case. They brought Cameron and Chick with them to the meeting because they were considered to have the greatest weight and influence with the government. But all their arguments that Atkinson should teach the foundation of knowledge in a new way necessary for the progress in arts and mathematics etc, did not gain, because the officers replied that all this was merely "taratasy" (=paper i.e. reading etc) and they did not need any more of that kind. If Atkinson could not teach

⁷⁴⁵ LMS, Mad, 4.2.D, Griffiths to the directors, 20.06.32

⁷⁴⁶ LMS, Mad, 4.2.D, Griffiths op.cit., 20.06.32

⁷⁴⁷ LMS, Mad, 4.2.D, Rahaniraka & Rafaralahy to Arundel, 21.06.32

⁷⁴⁸ LMS, Mad, 4.2.D, Freeman to Hankey, 18.06.32

anything practical and new – like founding cannons or painting portraits – he would be better to go home, since the year given him was now terminated.⁷⁴⁹

When the missionaries saw that there was no hope of a change, Atkinson agreed to leave the country.⁷⁵⁰ But they were much concerned about the leadership in the country as expressed in Atkinson's letter:

*"It is the opinion of many, that it is not the Queen who is unfriendly to us, but the **Officers** of the Government. They however have the management of all the affairs of state, and they merely follow their own will – the Sovereign is little more than a name. They use her name to sanction their measures, but make her acquainted with them or conceal them from her, as may best suit their purpose. It is now a question whether the Queen knows any thing at all of the present measures respecting us".*⁷⁵¹

Freeman later stated as certain that the queen did not know anything about the affair before Atkinson was on his way down to Tamatave, and then it was presented to her that he left of his own free will.⁷⁵² The missionaries thought that Griffiths had caused the expulsion of Atkinson by asking the queen if she considered it to be right of LMS to send out a new missionary at the same time as they recalled him - the experienced veteran. And thus, in the view of the other missionaries, he was responsible for the new situation in which no new missionary was allowed to come to the field as long as he would be in the country.⁷⁵³

The case of Atkinson also threw a gloomy aspect over Canham's work. When his tanning project did not succeed, he was requested to keep a school in Ambohimandroso – a village situated 10-15 miles to the west of the capital. He worked with great skill both in the teaching of the children and in the preaching to the adults, and when the mission was in need of more pastors the missionaries asked the permission of the Board of LMS to ordain Canham and change his status from missionary artisan to an ordinary missionary. When this permission reached Antananarivo in the first half of 1832, Canham was soon ordained and acknowledged in his new status.⁷⁵⁴ Canham also communicated his appointment as missionary to the queen by a letter to the chief officer Ravononahitra (or Rainiharo as he mostly was named), and he got a friendly letter in answer. But Canham and his friends were uncertain how to understand this letter since his appointed time of ten years was actually running out about that time:

"We do not see either approbation or disapprobation in the reply, she merely thanks me for letting her know of it. My ten years are up including the time occupied in visiting England, and if the Govt adheres strictly to that term I am

⁷⁴⁹ LMS, Mad, 4.2.D, Freeman to Hankey, 18.06.32

⁷⁵⁰ LMS, Mad, 4.2.D, Atkinson to the directors, 18.06.32: "On the Wednesday following (13th inst) they came again and said nearly as follows – "the Queen has heard what you said, she thanks you for what you have done, but she knew before that you were "mahay taratasy", or competent to give instructions in **the book**, or **paper** (i.e. learning of every kind), but as there is nothing **new**, you are to return home". We saw that there was no hope of effecting a change of measures, and therefore I only replied through Mr. Chich (who was the only one of our number present at the time): "We have heard the message of the Queen, & shall comply with it".

⁷⁵¹ LMS, Mad, 4.2.D, Atkinson to the Directors, 18.06.32

⁷⁵² MA, HB-9, Freeman to Colville, 25.09.32: "Your Excellency will have heard long in this, of Mr. Atkinson, one of our member having been required to leave the Country, as the Queen did not accept his services any longer. I have since been most credibly informed that the Queen knew nothing of the measure till he had actually left, - and then it was intimated to her, that it was his own wish & request to leave!"

⁷⁵³ LMS, Mad, 4.3.C, Johns to Arundel, 06.09.32: "I was told on good authority that the Queen knew nothing of Mr. & Mrs. Atkinson's going away till they were more than half the journey to the Coast. Some of Mr. G's friends told her that they wished to go – (...) No doubt, the persons that got them out of the country were well paid for these labour, and you may rest assured that no new Missionary will be allowed to come & settle here as long as Mr. Griffiths remains in the Country."

⁷⁵⁴ LMS, Mad, 4.3.A, Minutes of the proceedings of the Missionaries, 02.01.32 – 06.06.32, dated 06.06.32: "Resolved – That Mr. Canham, having been appointed by the London Missionary Society, by letters dated July 1831, as full Missionary in Madagascar, and that appointment having been communicated to the Malagasy Government, we do hereby acknowledge & recognize Mr. Canham in the capacity of a Brother Missionary & fellow labourer."

*liable to be ordered home as well as another. (---) It will no doubt be very painful to the Directors to hear of Mr. & Mrs. Atkinson leaving us so soon, we are all pained and grieved, as we think the conduct of Govt to him manifest a direct hostile feeling on the part of some in power against all Missionary labours”*⁷⁵⁵

Hoping for the best, Canham worked in uncertainty a whole year, and the school and congregation in Ambohimandroso made good progress during that time – they were even proposing the building of a chapel on that place. But on the 5th of July 1833 two officers visiting him in Ambohimandroso brought him a message that the queen wished him to leave the country. After consulting Freeman, Canham wrote a respectful letter to the queen and begged her for another year - to be allowed to write to the directors of LMS and to arrange his affairs before leaving.⁷⁵⁶ Canham got the additional year he asked for, and he left Antananarivo the 17th of July 1834 with his wife and 3 children. The directors wished him to stay in Mauritius, but it proved difficult to work there since he did not speak French, and therefore he soon went to Cape Town to work in the LMS mission there.

Those two first expulsions of missionaries made it clear that the government did not wish to make many exceptions to the law fixing their stay to the said 10 years. Chick was allowed to stay a little longer since he and Cameron were engaged in projects for the government. And the great exception was Griffiths, who was allowed to stay for many years. Probably the government was interested in using him to check the other missionaries. Maybe they also had esteem for his work as trader in the capital and wished him to continue that work. Not astonishingly, Freeman expressed as his view that the expulsion of both Atkinson and Canham was caused by Griffiths because of his own struggle to be allowed to stay in the country.

The expulsion of Atkinson was a clear sign that within a few years the missionary work would come to a moratorium, and Freeman immediately wrote to the directors that they needed a new press to be sent out together with Baker, because the time allowed for their work was so uncertain:

*“In a few years, therefore, unless some change transpire in the meantime, no Missionaries will be left in Madagascar. (---) On this ground we are desirous of having the Scriptures (illegible) to the people without unnecessary delay”*⁷⁵⁷

Freeman’s statement that the government would have sent Griffiths away in a short time anyhow, proved to be erroneous. While pretending to leave, and even sending some of his properties off to Tamatave, Griffiths worked hard to be allowed to stay. And in the middle of August 1832 he wrote home that as the queen detained him to work for her, he was not able to comply with the orders of the directors.⁷⁵⁸ His adversaries later argued that it was not the intention of the queen to detain him, but only to declare that she would not force him away, but by bribery and the fact that many of those in power owed money to him, he obtained orders to that effect. An examination of the letter from the queen, which Griffiths sent home as proof of the

⁷⁵⁵ LMS, Mad, 4.3.A, Canham to Clayton, 25.06.32: The text of the queen’s letter was as follows: “To J. Canham. And saith Ranavalomanjaka. I thank you Mr. Canham, I have heard the word you caused to be told me by Ravoninahitra and thank you. Saith Ranavalomanjaka.”

⁷⁵⁶ LMS, Mad, 4.4.B, Canham to Ellis, 20.07.33: “After dinner one of them said: We are sent over by the Queen to say that your agreement with Radama is finished, therefore **go home**, says Tompokovavy. I thanked Her majesty as a matter of course, but said: “I shall beg some time to write to the Directors and to arrange my affairs before I go.”

⁷⁵⁷ LMS, Mad, 4.2.D, Freeman to Clayton, 21.06.32

⁷⁵⁸ LMS, Mad, 4.3.A, Griffiths to the directors, 13.08.32: “On the 10th Inst Her Majesty’s officers came with an answer to my request on the 4th Inst, saying that Her Majesty has written to the Governor of the Mauritius and to the Directors of the London Missionary Society my character, and that she requests me to remain where I am and go on with my work. This constrains me to stay as Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar has laid upon me the responsibility you have been pleased to take from me to themselves – you see how true is the proverb saying, Man proposes, God disposes.”

queen's will, shows no such orders. It is an standard letter like the letters given to all missionaries leaving the country – explaining that Griffiths had behaved well and had done much good – teaching the children and not offending the laws, etc.⁷⁵⁹ Thus the orders to remain in the country must have been given orally by the officers bringing him the letter, or they must be a fantasy or a lie made up by Griffiths, and certainly it is impossible to prove if he really received any orders.

But Griffiths was well comforted with the sudden change created, declaring that his great sin must have been his want of paying deference to the opinion of others, but if he had violated any resolution agreed upon it must be because they were changing so often. And he also gave a warning to the directors:

*“You must not expect me to agree with them in opinion when I am convinced that theirs militates against the future prosperity of the Mission or would be disapproved of by Government. Here I take my stand, and if I had not taken my stand here I would have stumbled many years ago, and you have seen what prosperity I have had after Mr. Jones’ departure and while Mr. Freeman was away – And what check the Mission had on the latter’s return”.*⁷⁶⁰

In this letter Griffiths’ expressed clearly that he considered his own work and methods to be far better than those used by his colleagues, and that he even deemed his colleagues to be a check to his real aim. As I have already shown, the most prosperous period for the mission was from August 1830 to June 1831, and that corresponds well with the period when neither Jones nor Freeman was present in Antananarivo. But I found that there were some important political reasons for that progress, while it seems as though Griffiths believed that his work alone had caused the breakthrough for the Christian cause, and that colleagues had only ruined his efforts. In my view these are probably the proceedings and thoughts of a psychopath, and in some ways Griffiths’ behaviour in the 1830’s make me wonder if he was in psychical balance. Anyhow he fought his own battle to the bitter end.

The twins applauded the decision of the queen, and proposed that the directors should write and thank her for permitting Griffiths to remain in her kingdom, because – as they argued – *“by the missionaries’ efforts may this interesting Island soon be turned into a garden of the Lord”.*⁷⁶¹ Griffiths also wrote a long letter to Arundel – the only of the directors he knew personally – and expressed his view in strong words:

*“I will rejoice in the God that I adore, and trust in the Saviour that I serve and glory in the cross that I publish to these perishing Heathen. – Instead of destroying my influence and popularity in Madagascar they have been the means through their abuse of me of increasing it a thousand fold – Haman designed a gallows for Mordecai; but it was used for himself. (---) And I think I can adopt the language of the great Apostle of the Gentiles with much propriety: “By the grace of God I am what I am; and his grace which was bestowed upon me was not in vain; but I labour more abundantly than they all; yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me”. – No man shall stop me from this boasting in the regions of Madagascar. – Let no man think me a fool; if otherwise, yet as a fool receive me, etc. (---) The Madagascar Mission was on the point of its ruin when I was about to leave – some said: if we can not detain Mr.Griffiths, let all be sent away – we can get another man to make powder”.*⁷⁶²

⁷⁵⁹ LMS, Mad, 4.3.A, Ranavalona to the directors, 11.08.32

⁷⁶⁰ LMS, Mad, 4.3.A, Griffiths to the directors, 13.08.32

⁷⁶¹ LMS, Mad, 4.3.A, Ra-Haniraka & Rafaralahy to Arundel, 14.08.32

⁷⁶² LMS, Mad, 4.3.C, Griffiths to Arundel, 30.08.32

There is little left of the obedience to the directors found in his former letters, and obviously that was all hypocrisy until he gained a strong foothold in the said orders from the queen. Thinking himself almost invincible and not under the directions of the Board of LMS any more, Griffiths continued the path he had chosen – to the despair of his colleagues and the joy of the men in power. Soon after his decision to remain, the colleagues heard from friends that Griffiths had proposed to the queen to get out a new printing press, obviously because his colleagues had now excluded him from caring for the printing press, since he was recalled by the LMS. He assured the queen that he would give some money to buy a press and write to Baker about it. Probably he wished to use the money left from the School Society to that purpose, as he had not yet paid this money to the treasurer. But David Johns strongly opposed this idea in a letter to Arundel:

*“In my humble opinion, and, I believe, in the opinion of all the brethren, it will be far better for the Mission that Mr. Baker should stay at home than to bring out with him a press for private individuals or the Govt here, for such a press, no doubt, is intended and would soon put a stop to the press of the Society. I am sorry to say that Mr. G does every thing in his power to degrade in the eyes of the natives, the Society & every member of the Mission (except Mr. Baker), and has by various artifices and bribes, done more harm to us all than we ever expected, Baker alone support him. (---) There is nothing more acceptable with the Queen & her officers than a bottle of brandy or gin etc, and we understand that many a bottle has been given lately to them”.*⁷⁶³

Thus we find that the letter recalling Griffiths did not restore the peace, but only forced him to accelerate his own proceedings, using all means to promote his own case – to the despair of his colleagues. He also drew a bill of £15 on the LMS to the account of the expenses in sending his packages to Tamatave and getting them back again.⁷⁶⁴ But even though his colleagues were vexed by his different proceedings, they could join him in some proceedings of common interest. Late in October 1832 Griffiths received a packet of letters from a Jesuit at the coast, telling him that a Catholic ambassador, Mr. Solage, had asked permission to go up to the capital but was still detained by the officers in Tamatave. Now he sent this packet of letters to be distributed to different persons whom he thought would be able and willing to help him. Griffiths brought personally such a letter to a French trader in his neighbourhood, and when the trader opened the letter there was enclosed a letter to the queen. Griffiths was allowed to read the letter to the queen (which was not sealed), and found that Mr. Solage had declared himself as an ambassador from the French king and the Pope – wishing to introduce and establish the Catholic Church in Madagascar. Griffiths immediately communicated his view in the case to his friends among the officers at court and he also contacted Johns and Freeman asking them to join him in a protest against the Pope’s messenger. To this they consented willingly and they joined in writing a letter to the government warning them not to let Mr. Solage visit the capital.⁷⁶⁵

⁷⁶³ LMS, Mad, 4.3.C, Johns to Arundel, 06.09.32

⁷⁶⁴ LMS, Mad, 4.3.C, Griffiths to Hankey, 04.10.32

⁷⁶⁵ LMS, Mad, 4.3.C, Griffiths to Clayton, Foreign Secretary of LMS, 25.10.32: “- in my neighbours letter there was enclosed (unsealed, written in English) to Her Majesty, complaining most bitterly of the treatment he received from Prince Coroller in detaining him from coming up the country, that he might deliver to the Queen the communicating he has to make to Her Majesty from the King of France and the Pope of Rome, making himself out to be a person of great consequence and no less than an Ambassador of His Holiness the Pope. My friend the French Merchant having favoured me with a sight of the enclosed letter (being unsealed) from the popish Vicar Apostolic to Her Majesty, I lost no time to communicate my ideas on the object of his mission to Madagascar to Officers in immediate communication with Her Majesty. (...) And I went down to Mr. Johns to ask him and Mr. Freeman to join in writing a letter to Her Majesty that we might bear an (illegible) testimony against the Pope and his messenger of fooleries to Madagascar. They joined me the following day in writing. And we received an answer –”

Mr. Solage, who seems to have tried to force his way up the country, was detained in Andevoranto for a long time not wishing to go back to Tamatave. The missionaries warned the government that the climate there was too unhealthy for a European in the bad season, but before anything could be done he suddenly died there.⁷⁶⁶ The Catholic Church later accused the Protestant missionaries of having caused his death, which they strongly denied, but Griffiths' letter shows that in fact they tried to influence the Malagasy government not to receive him, and thereby might have caused his detaining in the unhealthy place.

The second recalling of Griffiths

The year 1833 passed without too much quarrelling, as the two parties worked each with their own projects and the government let them continue mostly as before. But in the beginning of 1834 Griffiths received his second recalling by a letter from LMS, where the directors renewed their desire that he should return home. They also addressed the queen on the subject stating their wish – in the same letter as they informed her of their appointing Canham to missionary or pastor in her country.⁷⁶⁷ From Freeman's letters to the Governor of Mauritius I find that this recalling must have arrived between his letters of the 3rd of January and the 26th of February - but probably in the first part of January.⁷⁶⁸ LMS also stopped Griffiths' salary, even though they knew that this decision would not have a great effect since he already for a long time had earned his own money by trading. This second recalling from LMS provoked Griffiths greatly and the differences between himself and his colleagues become a real war, where also the Missionary Society was seriously attacked. Freeman wrote in the said letter to the governor the 26th of February 1834 that:

“Mr. G. has however earnestly solicited of the Queen permission to remain in her country, and by misrepresentation of the Society and an influence obtained by highly improper means with some of the Queens advisers, he has succeeded in obtaining her answer, - “that she does not force him away from her Country, nor detain him; - that she allows persons, if they wish it, to remain in her Country, especially one who has done good to it; but that if his remaining would be the means of attaching any blame to her, by her friends across the water, (meaning the English Government), she much prefer that he should go home at once”. With this Cold permission Mr. G. resolves on remaining.”

⁷⁶⁶ LMS, Mad, 4.4.B, Minutes of the proceedings of the missionaries, Nov. 1832 to May 1833, dated 07.03.33: “The Queen refused him permission to come to the Capital. He remained some time in Andevorantra. We wrote to the Queen recommending that he should not be detained there during the fever season, but suggesting that possibly his visit to the capital might not promote the general good of Madagascar.”

⁷⁶⁷ LMS, Outgoing letters to Mad, 4.4.B, The directors to Ranavalo Manjaka, 14.06.33: “We now take the liberty of informing your Majesty, that Mr. John Canham, having shewn that he possessed qualifications which fit him for usefulness in the capacity of Missionary, the Directors have regularly appointed him to that office, (...) In regard to Mr. David Griffiths, as he has now continued many years as a Missionary in your Majesty's dominions, and has been long absent from his own Country – and as the Directors are desirous to have personal conference with him on several points of importance, relating to the Mission, we have instructed him to return, with his family to England, as soon as he conveniently can, after the receipt of a letter which we send to him by the present opportunity; and it would afford much satisfaction to the Directors if your Majesty would be pleased to render to him and his family all the assistance in your power –”

⁷⁶⁸ MA, HB-9, Freeman to Dick, 26.02.34: “If H.E. will be pleased to add, that while he did not, for a moment, **dictate** to the Queen what to do in her Country, for she is the Sovereign and knows what to do, yet as Her friend and well wisher he strongly advises her to desire Mr. G. to return home this season, and that she will no longer sanction his remaining. I think an advice of that nature will have its effect, and I am desirous of obtaining it, not only for the sake of our Society at home and our harmony here and further success in the Mission, but for the sake of the English Government, which has not, I am fully persuaded, a more decided and real, though subtle & insidious opponent than Mr. G. Thus far I had intended conveying with my last letter, but afterwards, preferred waiting till we might hear again from our Society, and till Mr. G. should have a further opportunity of voluntarily acquiescing in their re-iterated desire, to return home. Letter from our Society have arrived since then, and the Society has renewed its desire that he would return, and they have addressed the Queen also stating their wish.”

Griffiths' new strategy of "misrepresentation of the Society" should immediately be a threat not only to his colleagues and LMS, but also to all his own work and to the newborn church. But it looks like he did not discover until late in 1834 that his politicising of his cause, connected with an idolatrous government, was on train to destroy all his hopes and desires— and then it was too late to change his proceedings.

His colleagues, David Johns and John Freeman, on their side, tried to warn him by telling him that his efforts to discredit the mission and the missionaries would certainly lead him far astray and hurt him not only as a private individual and a missionary but also as a Christian, and they considered it to be a "*criminal indifference*" if they should not tell him about their views. In a long letter to him the 21st of January 1834 they stated that in their opinion the missionaries now had reached an important crisis for the mission work in Madagascar, and that this crisis was caused by his actual efforts to discredit LMS in the eyes of the government. They also stated that he would certainly not be able to care for his family as well as he wished, when he openly acted against the interests of his own Missionary Society, which was supposed to help him with the education of his children etc. They therefore proposed him to reflect seriously not only about his work but also about the future of his family and of his own spiritual life.⁷⁶⁹ On this last point they obviously tried to force Griffiths to consider whether his proceedings were actually in conflict with the Lord's will and with his own spiritual life. This kind of spiritual arguing is very strong, and might be considered as manipulation by him who was concerned:

"We affectionately entrant you to take a brief view of the case, - we are not judging your heart, but we ask you to do it for yourself and to hear the voice & remonstrance of conscience (---) Pardon us if we entrant you to place your hand upon your heart and say if it be with you now as it once was. Was there not a time when your faith were more favour and delight & humility and simplicity in drawing near to God in private than you do now? Was there not a time when your mind was more completely occupied with divine & eternal things than you are now? Was there not a time when the contemplation of the Redeemer and the glory of his Kingdom cheered and animated your heart, and formed the topic of your conversation more than now? Forgive us if we ask whether you do not find certain indulgencies incompatible with that peace serenity & spirituality of mind, without which our public service are either a drudging or (illegible) of official service? – We would not be uncharitable, nor deal in vague insinuations, and yet to say explicitly all we mean and all we feel, might seem uncharitable. – But let us ask, can a man whose soul is alive to God and the honour of the Saviour, consistently use freely of ardent spirits to the extent we fear it has gained in your habits? We do not say how the quantity received is disposed of by you, but to hint at this may be sufficient without entering into particulars, which cannot but come under our notice occasionally".⁷⁷⁰

⁷⁶⁹ LMS, Mad, 5.1.A, Johns & Freeman to Griffiths, 21.01.34: "We look with unaffected interests on the whole aspect of the case, - we look at yourself, - at the welfare of Mrs. Griffiths and your family, - at the interest of yourself & family **for the time to come**, at the wounded feelings of our Society at home, at the desolation of friendly intercourse between yourself and the members of the Mission on the spot, at the view of all this in the eyes of the natives & the Government, and we think you should pause before you finally "resolve and weight with dispassionate coolness as a man, the welfare of your family, and as a Christian the present state of your mind in reference to its highest & spiritual interests, and as a Christian Missionary the **mortal** claims of the Society, of the Church at large, and the duties you owe to Him to whose exclusive service you professed to devote yourself when you embarked in the Missionary cause."

⁷⁷⁰ LMS, Mad, Johns & Fr, op.cit, 21.01.34

Their arguing that Griffiths used ardent spirits either for himself or, as alluded to in another letter, as bribery to secure influence through the officers in power, was a hard attack on his puritan character and would throw suspicions to his proceedings in the eyes of the directors. But their accusations became even stronger when they continued by asking about his politicising of his cause by depriving LMS of its honour and integrity:

“Permit us to advert to your depreciation of the Society in the estimation of the Government, whether by representing it as at variance with the British Govt, or as inimical to the extension of education and knowledge in Madagascar, or as annoyed with you on account of your past services, or as wishing to limit & contract its future services for the Queen, - or as recalling you for the sake of any political investigations, - or as a self constituted Institution of comparatively little importance, - or as not entitled to the affectionate gratitude & confidence of the native Govt, or whatever may be the form of objection you raise to discredit it in the eyes of the Govt, - and on that basis to raise yourself and secure the confidence & exclusive friendship of the Queen & her people. We put it to your heart for ingenuous acknowledgement whether such proceedings be fair, just, mainly honourable or Christian like? That you may induce a belief in many such representations in the minds of the Queen’s Govt we hesitate not to admit. It is not difficult to act on the jealousy, the suspicions & the want of specific information & disinformation of the natives added to the obvious indifference about all the religious objects of our Society. But what then?”⁷⁷¹

This quotation shows many possible ways of disgracing LMS in the eyes of the Malagasy government, and I suppose they knew quite well that Griffiths had used most of them, especially after receiving the second letter recalling him. But what should be his reasons for doing such acts, and what could be the final result of such a politicising of the missionary cause? They put him the question and also tried to answer it:

“To be the means of preventing good being done by others, will add terribly to our own account at a future day. To one observation respecting the criminality of interrupting the progress of the Society, on which is tantamount to the same thing, depreciating its character, and so of retarding the usefulness of others, - you will perhaps reply: Why should you then wish to induce me to abandon my post of usefulness in Madagascar? Why should you seek to interrupt my cause & prevent me from doing good? To this we can only reply that our deliberate conviction is: 1st That your present course is not an useful one, in as much as it cannot secure the smiles of God Holy Spirit. 2nd That your continuance in this course must not only sacrifice your own usefulness increasingly by undoing what you have formerly done, and placing stumbling blocks in the way of men, but must gradually deteriorate till you at last wonder that you could have been so seduced by a crafty enemy who destroy the Shepherds, that he may devour the flock. 3^d We are persuaded that your compliance with the instructions of the Directors is the only way to get yourself out of the present scare and your mind under God’s blessing restored to a proper time, and your future years rendered happy and zealous and holy and successful”⁷⁷².

⁷⁷¹ LMS, Mad, Johns & Fr, op.cit, 21.01.34

⁷⁷² LMS, Mad, Johns & Fr, op.cit, 21.01.34

Through those and other words the two pastor colleagues tried to make him understand that the course he now followed was disastrous not only for the mission work at a whole, but also for his own sake and for the newly born Malagasy church. In particular the second point was prophetic, stating clearly that he was helping the wolf that would certainly soon destroy the shepherds and devour the small flock, which is exactly what happened within on year of this correspondence. Finally they told Griffiths that LMS offered to pay all expenses on his way home and help him with the education of his children, if he left this good season. But this offer from LMS would be the last one, and they therefore proposed to let two or three days roll by and just look over the arguments again before deciding in such a difficult case.

For a time Griffiths was quiet, giving them no answer at all, but Freeman stated in a letter in the middle of February that they already knew only too well the reason of his quietness:

*“But the true reason of his silence has already been told us. He awaits a final answer from the Queen as to his application to be allowed to remain on place, and if he gets that, “he will send no such an answer (as Freeman & Johns demanded in their letter) and will cut up our letter all to pieces.” If however the Queen should not even make him to remain we feel it likely he will write a letter of a very different temper & profession. But what sincerity will then be there? He has shown the letter & spoken of it to others – on the impression of anger and ill will”.*⁷⁷³

Evidently Griffiths was not inclined to listen either to the recalling from LMS or to the brotherly advice from his pastor colleagues, but until he had secured permission to stay in the country as a free man, he was unwilling to cut the connections with LMS. When he was allowed to stay he continued his warfare against LMS and his brethren, and on the 1st of April 1834 he sent their letter to Ellis with a sharp note criticising them severely and declaring that they worked in the same spirit as the cardinals Frierius and Cajetan in their persecutions of Martin Luther.⁷⁷⁴ From that day he went further in working against the interests of LMS and his brethren by all means, and with too much success. Working energetically to promote his own affairs and weaken his adversaries, he made some attacks against the most popular LMS-connected personals, i.e. the artisans.

Griffiths promoted Jean Laborde

In chapter 5.2.2 I explained that Griffiths had two French friends who argued for him in the discussion after his second recalling. At the same time Chick and Cameron were on course to finish the project of building a Powder Mill for the government, and therefore they strongly needed to get new projects in order to be useful for the government and thus being a guarantee for the whole body of missionaries to be allowed to stay in the country. They were now engaged in a discussion about the making of a Paper Mill, but the most valued project in the eyes of the government was the making of an Iron Foundry that could produce cannons for the Malagasy army and other useful things like iron pots etc. The government had already for a long time asked Cameron to engage in such a project, but he had hesitated. On the one hand, he considered the making of weapons or other warfare utensils as not complying with his duties as a missionary artisan, even though he had

⁷⁷³ LMS, Mad, 5.1.A, Freeman to Ellis, 15.02.34

⁷⁷⁴ LMS, Mad, 5.1.B, Copy of Johns' & Freeman's letter with Griffiths commentaries, sent to Ellis on the 01.04.34: “Note: This letter, I have no doubt, may appear plausible to those who are strangers to my private character – But let it be read to all those to whom my private character and public services are well known – And they will stop their ears and cry out with it, Burn it, It is shameful for those who are called Brethren to use such abusing language to one of their own country and profession.”

already been forced to undertake the construction of the Powder Mill. On the other hand, there had been enough work to do without entering such an agreement.⁷⁷⁵ But now the situation had changed, and they were afraid that the proposed paper mill did not have high enough government priority, and therefore it was only by entering the proposed project of founding cannons they could secure a new large engagement and thus offer themselves and the missionaries a prolonged stay in the country.

Freeman relates that Jean de Laborde, one of the French gentlemen, had been headhunted from the coast a year earlier, and asked to undertake the project of making cannons. But the Malagasy government was not satisfied with his first appearance, because they thought him to be too violent in his behaviour, and that his proposal for contracts was too high. Therefore they still asked Cameron to enter the said engagement.⁷⁷⁶ In the meantime the two Frenchmen had engaged in a project of making muskets and teaching Malagasy apprentices to do so. In a letter to Captain Dick, the governor's secretary, Freeman accused Griffiths of promoting the proposals of Laborde, trying to let him take the places of Cameron and Chick, and thus counteracting the missionary artisans and all British interests. That was the reason why Freeman so eagerly proposed that not only the governor of Mauritius but also the king's government in London ought to send letters to the queen demanding Griffiths' removal.⁷⁷⁷ I suppose Griffiths might not be aware that his promoting of the two French adventurers to replace Cameron and Chick was a deadly blow against all missionary work in the country – including his own work. In fact it was only by the goodwill created by Cameron's and Chick's work that the whole mission work was kept running, and Freeman was afraid that in the same moment the government observed that they could easily replace the artisans, all the missionaries including Griffiths would be placed in checkmate.

Seeing the arrival of those two Frenchmen in the light of late Mr. Solage's efforts to reach the capital and place a Catholic mission there, Freeman supposed that they were involved in a kind of Catholic expansion, trying to start an attack against the dominant Protestant mission.⁷⁷⁸ But I consider that idea to be wrong because, as far as I can see, the two adventurers, M. Droit and M. Laborde, were not engaged in any Catholic politics or expansion, but were only working for their own interests. It was not until new Europeans arrived in the middle of the 1850's that Laborde was forced to promote the Catholic religion.

⁷⁷⁵ LMS, Mad, 5.1.A, Cameron to Ellis, 15.02.34

⁷⁷⁶ LMS, Mad, 5.1.A, Freeman to Ellis, 15.02.34: "We have mentioned to you that there are two French Gentlemen here making Muskets. They – or rather one of them, Mon. Laborde wished to form an engagement with the Queen for making Cannons. But the proposals were to high, - & the terms were attached so submissively, from time to time (...) which some assertion were made and retracted afterwards which led the Govt to resolve on declining the affair instate with the parties. And it now rests with Mr. Cameron, - & should he engage to do what the Govt asked him to do, - and in which, I have no doubt, he would succeed perfectly well, it would not only secure his residence for some few years longer in the Country, but under far less important in the view of the Govt, the sinuous residence of the 2 persons above referred to."

⁷⁷⁷ MA, HB-9, Freeman to Dick, 26.02.34: "1 March. - Since writing the above some other circumstances have occurred, which render more desirable than ever an early communication from H.E. It is not only the wish of all the members of our Mission, that I should urge the request I have now felt constrained to make, but I am particularly importuned to do it, by Messrs. Cameron & Chick, Artizans from our Society, (...) Their services, are valued by the Queen and Government, but a large amount of the good arriving from them, is counteracted by the vexatious & reiterated insinuations of Mr. Griffiths, evidently intended to create a popular prejudice against them, and in favour of two French persons here, who have introduced themselves, one from Mozambique & one from Bombay as Gun Manufacturers, but whose aim has appeared to me, to be, to create a suspicion in the minds of this Government, with regard to the sincerity of the friendship of the British Government. We have but one opinion in the case, namely that the removal of Mr. G. from Madagascar, is essential, not only to the continued usefulness of our Mission in the Country, but I may say to its existence in Madagascar, and to the residence of Europeans at the Capital. I trust therefore that not only will His Excellency be pleased to urge on the Queen, by a letter addressed directly to herself, the removal of Mr. G. without further delay, this season; but also, if H.E. is pleased to transmit this communication to England, for the information of His Majesty's Government, as to the affairs of Madagascar, may I be allowed to express the hope, that His Majesty's Government will be pleased in writing at any future time to the Queen to express distinctly their approbation of His Excellency having written to the Queen on the subject, and further, that it is the wish of His Majesty, the King of England, to see the labours of the Missionary Society recognized and encouraged by the Queen as promoting the welfare of her subjects and her Kingdom."

⁷⁷⁸ LMS, Mad, 5.1.A, Freeman to Ellis, 15.02.34

Cameron wrote in the middle of February 1834 about Jean Laborde and his first engagement with the Malagasy government:

“About a year ago a Frenchman, said to be a founder, arrived here from the coast at the request of the Queen who sent for him with a view of making an arrangement with him for Casting Cannon &, but they found him to violent in his proceedings and withal to prevaricate in some essential points connected with the smelting of cast iron that they absolutely refused at length to have any thing more to do with him on that subject. Soon after this the Officers told me that they would wait for me to establish the Foundry as the Queen was to have nothing more to do with the Frenchman on the subject.”⁷⁷⁹

M. Laborde and M. Droit had later succeeded in securing a contract for musket making, but probably through Griffiths’ influence they now again entered the concurrence of being chosen for the project of founding cannons. M. Droit on his side was in the middle of June 1835 accused of violating some of the queen’s laws and sent out of the country,⁷⁸⁰ but M. Laborde succeeded in replacing the missionary artisans in every project, and he extended their work far beyond their former possibilities.

For the missionary artisans and the missionaries the proposed project, including cannon making, was principally suspect to their puritan ideology and both Cameron and the missionaries wrote home to get LMS’s agreement before they dared to enter such a project. Cameron wrote that it would not bother him to start some cast iron industry for the government, but as the proposal included the making of cannons he wished to ask the directors judgement in the case:

“And if the Directors should be of opinion that it would be improper for any one whom they have sent out to engage directly or otherwise in the making of Cannon, I think it would be my duty to decline it entirely, and if no other work could be found in the country, to proceed forthwith to some other place where work could be found.

But if on the other hand the Directors should think that as it is perhaps impossible to bring an uncivilized people to any great acquaintance with European arts and manufacturing without at the same time bringing them to some acquaintance with the mode of making the European apparatus of warfare, it would be little more than a nominal distinction as to the result for the artizan to endeavour to advance such a people only in those things which are not used in war, and that therefore it would not be improper to take the opportunity of introducing the general work even though that particular branch should constitute a part of it – then, and as it seems in accordance with the wishes of the most of the numbers of the Mission here, I should have no objections to try the establishment of a Foundry &, for whatever articles might be wanted, as far as with the abilities applicable in the case, it might be found practicable.

In case it should be judged proper to go on with the work, and the Government should pay money enough, then after making an agreement with the Government in the beginning of 1835, it would be best for me to proceed to England to attend for some month to the manufacturing of Iron, and if

⁷⁷⁹ LMS, Mad, 5.1.A, Cameron to Ellis, 15.02.34

⁷⁸⁰ LMS, Mad, 5.2.C, Baker to dr. Philips, 15.06.35: Brief account of the suppression of Christianity in Madagascar: *“On the 15th we were all called to assemble amidst a great demonstration of military power to hear from the Queen that she was sending M. Droit (the Senior of two Frenchmen who came to make guns) out of the country because he offended against her laws and then refused to be judged by them.”*

necessary to look out for a working Founder to return with me in the beginning of 1837.⁷⁸¹

This letter shows clearly that the artisans had principal problems in entering a project of making the European apparatus of warfare. But time had ripened and they were forced to choose if they should enter the said project or be forced to leave the country and seek other working places. The fear that Cameron and Chick should lose their contract with the Malagasy government explains why most of the missionaries applauded this plan. Johns and Freeman wrote at this time that they approved the project with great cheerfulness not merely from feelings of friendship towards Cameron himself, but from a conviction of the importance of the proposed work, in promoting the interests of the mission and the welfare of Madagascar.⁷⁸² Probably they could have expressed their feelings by the famous words from Shakespeare's Hamlet: "To be or not to be, that is the question", because they knew too well that without Cameron's engagement in projects for the government the mission work could very soon come to an end. In the said letter they also expressed a hope that the making of cannons might even open a door for some new missionaries to come. If they should put this plan into effect, it would be natural that Cameron wished to return to England before starting the project, and study the said manufacturing closely. He later proposed to take two Malagasy youths with him to get some education in the said profession.

In this context we must see Griffiths efforts to promote Laborde's candidature to undertake the project of founding cannons to be a fatal blow against the missionary work. If the government got aware that Laborde could replace the missionary artisans in every thing they would be free to choose and no longer obliged to let the missionaries stay in the country. In that way they could easily start a persecution of the Christians if they wanted to do so. No wonder then that Freeman mobilized to get both the governor of Mauritius and the Home government in London to write to the queen demanding her to remove Griffiths. But before such letters could be received, all the Europeans in the capital were summoned to hear the queen's message about Griffiths. Her messengers pronounced that she allowed him to stay in the country if not the British king himself should order him to return. In the discussion after the receipt of the message the two Frenchmen applauded the decision to give Griffiths permission to stay, and Griffiths himself read a passage from the directors letter stating that they desired him to go home, which was interpreted by he himself as: "They asked him to go home – if he liked it!" His colleagues stated afterwards that this interpreting was really false and disappointing.⁷⁸³ When the queen's decision was known, Griffiths soon wrote a harsh letter to his colleagues and told them in a plain language of the negative feelings their letter last January had provoked in him:

"On opening it I fully expected that you were seeking for peace, union and cordial cooperation in the work of the Mission on Christian principles, that the character you have lost might be retrieved and the good cause you have wounded might be healed, - but after perusing it I found to my great astonishment and disappointment, that it contained only false insinuations, wrong statements, uncharitable aspersions and feigned commiserations – It would have done an honour to your character and profession had you cheered a little more clear from presumption, malice and envy and paid a little more attention to the truth and correctness of your communications, for honesty with

⁷⁸¹ LMS, Mad, 5.1.A, Cameron to Ellis, 15.02.34

⁷⁸² LMS, Mad, 5.1.A, Johns & Freeman to Ellis, 15.02.34

⁷⁸³ LMS, Mad, 5.1.B, Johns, Freeman & Canham to Ellis, 23.03.34

the old adage is the best policy in all transactions. Had you paid attention to that principle you would have saved the Society to which you belong from disgrace, the character you profess from degradation, and the cause you pretend to promote from lasting dishonor amongst these young christians and pour heathens, but alas, every principle of humanity and christianity is entirely forgotten for actions speaks louder than words (---) I know of no law, nor do I intend to follow any, as the infallible rule of my moral conduct, but the one delivered in ten commandments on mount Sinai. – This law ever since I have been convinced of its divine authority, I have endeavoured by the grace of God to honor and obey”⁷⁸⁴

These and many other words used by Griffiths shows a religious fanatic – or a leader not knowing any authority for his work except his own ideas of God’s will. This kind of man, convinced of his own infallibility, always have proved to be impossible to cooperate with. And all the history of the LMS mission in Madagascar up to that time clearly underlines this fact, showing Griffiths’ willingness to sacrifice all principles of Christian cooperation, and of his own connection with the brethren and the society who sent him out, in the politicising of his cause. Obviously he thought that he was invincible and that he should succeed in making a Malagasy church of his own through the help of his many friends at court, if he only could get rid of his troublesome colleagues. But alas, his bright hope soon proved to be false because the leaders of the people showed a determined ill will against the new Christian religion and a strong decidedness to promote their own business by the means of the persecution of the Christians.

His colleagues had made a last attempt to draw his attention to the risk he was running by the curse he followed, but that was all in vain. Now the two parties continued to care for their own work over the next ten months without quarrelling too much. As an intermezzo, Freeman said in a letter to the directors in January 1835 that he had decided to stop the cooperation with Griffiths on the revision of the Holy Scripture. The missionaries had often explained that the first edition of the New Testament had too many faults, and the Malagasy Christians were obliged to ask many questions to understand the meanings of it. Therefore they had been working for a while making a revision of the New Testament. Griffiths had been useful in that work, even though he had created some uneasiness in the minds of the other members of the mission – especially Johns – but when Griffiths begged to get a high salary from LMS for his work, since he was no longer a member of the society, it was decided to preclude the cooperation. Freeman argued that as the Board of LMS neither regarded Griffiths as their missionary nor would pay his salary, it would be a fatal conclusion if they accepted him as a semi-missionary and agreed to pay a high salary for his revision work.⁷⁸⁵ This decision should not cause much disturbance since the government’s new policy soon made all such questions irrelevant, but it shows that the relations between the two groups of missionaries were still distant from brotherly cooperation.

In the middle of June 1834 Canham and his family left Antananarivo after having made a second application for permission to stay in the country and only

⁷⁸⁴ LMS, Mad, 5.1.B, Griffiths to Johns & Freeman, 28.03.34

⁷⁸⁵ LMS, Mad, 5.2.A, Freeman to Ellis, 24.01.35: “I was led to suspect he regarded the fact of capacity in the revision of the N.T. as a kind of tacit pledge on our part that the Society should give him some pecuniary support, - or again recognise him as a member of the Mission & (...) – but from our knowledge of circumstances it would have been fatal in the future intents of the Mission. (...) I believe it cannot be too strongly impressed on the Board that whatever they do in Mr. Griffiths’ case it is of no use to adopt half measures. If he is not regarded fully as a Missionary & his salary is not continued – how is it that his name appears in the Report – & that Magazine & chronicle are sent to him by the Society –“

receiving the same negative answer as last year.⁷⁸⁶ He had prepared to go directly to Cape Town, but on his way to the coast a letter from the directors reached the missionaries ordering him to wait on Mauritius for some time to see if there should be some favourable changes in Madagascar.⁷⁸⁷ But his stay on Mauritius soon proved to be disadvantageous for LMS because of the high living costs and the fact that Canham was not able to use the French language. We may also mention that Rev. Le Brun had just been forced to leave Mauritius and proceed to Cape Town and later to England because of the anti-British feelings in the country, caused by the future deliberation of all slaves, which should take place the following year (February 1835). Therefore Canham soon left for the Cape where he continued his missionary work under the care of Dr. Philips, the famous leader of the LMS mission there. Mrs. Satranabo, formerly Mrs. Hastie, also left Antananarivo in June 1834, going to Cape Town to place her and James Hastie's son under the care of the missionaries there in order to give him a better education.⁷⁸⁸ The daughter of Johns and the son of Hovenden (his widowed mother now being married to Mr. Chick) were sent together with Mrs. Satranabo to Cape Town, their parents intending them to be brought up under the care of the missionaries there. Several of the missionaries had expressed their view that Madagascar should be the last place to let children be brought up – especially young girls – because of the bad influences they inevitably would get from the natives.⁷⁸⁹

In Tamatave they met with other missionaries who were returning to Madagascar. Mrs. Freeman arrived together with Edward Baker and his wife. Even though Mr. Freeman met his wife there and assisted her on the journey up the country, she was attacked with dysentery and other sicknesses and soon it proved to be difficult for her to stay for a long time in the Malagasy climate. But as the government was on course to change their politics towards the mission, they soon cut short her stay in the country. Baker and his wife brought with them a new large printing press. The queen had already accepted to bring the press up to the capital and she had ordered the Governor of Tamatave to get bearers to do so.⁷⁹⁰ But because of a severe famine in the country and the fact that most of the people at the coast were ordered to work for the government in erecting new and stronger batteries or fortifications in several places, it proved to be difficult to get bearers even to carry the people, and the press and most of the missionaries' luggage were left in Tamatave for several months. For the young couple it was difficult to leave the luggage behind⁷⁹¹ but with the help of their friends they soon managed to establish their home in the capital. But they had to wait for a long time before the new press arrived and Baker was allowed to use it in finishing the printing of the Bible.

As I have mentioned above, Freeman and Johns expressed their fear to the directors that Baker should be inclined to continue his friendship with Griffiths, and they concluded that LMS in that case should better let him stay home. Obviously the directors had discussed this question with the printer, for when he arrived he did not only join the majority group, but also tried to speak with his former friend and advise him to follow the orders of the directors. But his different arguments of economical,

⁷⁸⁶ LMS, Mad, 5.1.C, Canham to Ellis, 01.06.34

⁷⁸⁷ LMS, Mad, 5.1.C, Freeman to Ellis, 19.08.34

⁷⁸⁸ LMS, Mad, 5.1.C, Freeman to dr.Philips, 12.06.34

⁷⁸⁹ LMS, Mad, 5.1.A, Johns to Ellis, 18.02.34: *"You are aware that Mrs. Johns has upwards of 30 native females under her care, learning to sew & who attend regularly every day – we find it impracticable to keep our own children from assisting with them, and we find to our grief that associating with the natives, who are exceedingly corrupt in their morals is likely to prove a great injury to their habits in future time – especially females."*

⁷⁹⁰ LMS, Mad, 5.1.C, Mrs. Baker to Ellis, 15.07.34

⁷⁹¹ LMS, Mad, 5.1.C, Baker to Ellis, 30.07.34

theological and practical art, together with his friendly assuring that Dr. Philips had promised to create him a new station of work another place in Madagascar, were all in vain, because Griffiths assured him that he had some hidden reasons to stay, which Baker thought must be some agreements with the government.⁷⁹² Thus Baker had chosen his place, and Griffiths was definitely isolated amongst the missionaries. But maybe Baker's friendly advice had created some good feelings in Griffiths anyhow. Freeman wrote late in September 1834 that Griffiths had lately shown some small changes in his behaviour like expressing a wish of friendship with the other missionaries though he was not a member of LMS any more.⁷⁹³ The fact that they gave Griffiths nearly 400 copies of the book of Psalters when they distributed the first 2000 exemplars might also have shown that his colleagues still regarded him as an important evangelist, even though his engagement with the LMS was broken. The British & Foreign Bible Society had printed these copies of the Psalters in England, and sent them out to Madagascar with Baker. The two groups also managed to form an agreement about how to dispose of the repository building, which earlier had caused so great difficulties. This agreement was signed by Griffiths and all the other missionaries and artisans the 15th of September 1834. They agreed to move the printing press from the Repository to Ambatonakanga, and to place the library in the eastern part of the Repository and let Griffiths dispose the western part of it for his trade.⁷⁹⁴ But still we do not know exactly why Griffiths changed his behaviour and became much more friendly against his brethren. May we suppose that he had found some reasons in the warnings he had received from his colleagues and the directors of LMS? Or had his intuition and secret information told him that his friends at court in the future would lose their influence and thereby throw his work into the most difficult persecutions? But alas! His small changes, even though they gave courage to his colleagues, came too late. He could not eliminate the harms his strong politicising of his cause had done to the mission work.

His colleagues on the other side expressed a great optimism for the coming year and a strong hope of progress in their work. Cameron had invited the government to send two youths with him to England to study cannon making, and he hoped that he should be engaged to superintend all the Malagasy industry for some years. He earnestly hoped that this engagement could allow some new missionaries to come.⁷⁹⁵ In their half year-report Johns and Freeman wrote on the 6th of November

⁷⁹² LMS, Mad, 5.1.C, Baker to Ellis, 02.09.34: "One great point to which I have directed my attention since my arrival here has been the subject of Mr. Griffiths' stay in Antananarivo. His determination is to continue here. His means of livelihood are by trading in connexion with Delastelle & others on the coast, and possible certain officers at the Capital – friends of the Government & contributions by his church & congregation. – I have endeavoured strongly to point out to Mr. G. the error of his determination on the following grounds: - That he will hence cut himself off from communion with the churches of Christ which sent him forth whilst it is evidently the danger of divine providence that the Gospel should be disseminated by the (illegible) of his people unitedly, no other means can ever support the yearly expense, and no other way can be revived of admitting all Xans to participate in a labour which is evidently the duty of all. – That he will be involved in endless (illegible) of pecuniary kind, and probably in difficulties with his family of the most afflicting nature. – That there is in his prospect nothing of God & providence, no more posh being providentially opened to him. – These and many other reasons, were enforced by a very kind letter from dr. Philips strongly advising his retiring, & pledging himself in case of Mr. G. going to the Cape not to appoint him any place of labour out of Madagascar, but to seek to have him sent to form some new station there. – To all those arguments Mr. G.'s reply appear to me unsatisfactory, generally and (illegible) in his assuring me that secrets that cannot be told have the main influence in keeping him, - by which I understood communications of the native government."

⁷⁹³ LMS, Mad, 5.1.D, Freeman to dr.Philips, 24.09.34: "As to G. tho' I par to say much, I can hardly help thinking that there is perhaps some little favourable changes about him. He has expressed some wish to be allowed to remain on friendly terms with the Missionaries tho' not a member of the LMS, much in the same measure as members of different societies are in mutually amicable terms in India, Ceylon & elsewhere. Of course he feels a sort of right to claim this, from the position supposed in your letter, namely that he has not lost the Missionary Character."

⁷⁹⁴ LMS, Mad, 5.1.D, Copy of the Minutes of proceedings of the Madagascar Mission from Apr. to Oct. 1834: "1150 (Psalterns – to be distributed) to Messrs Griffiths, Johns & Freeman. (...) That as the Revd Mr. Griffiths has expressed his wish to support himself as a Missionary in Madagascar by means of trade, the two rooms westward be lent to him, according to his request, while he may require the use of them to support himself as a Missionary in the country."

⁷⁹⁵ LMS, Mad, 5.1.D, Cameron to Ellis, 03.10.34: "They do not seem to press about the casting of Cannon or any other particular branch at present. – It is probable they will prefer engaging me for a certain number of years to superintend their work generally."

1834 that the chapel at Ambatonakanga had been remarkably well attended, and they thought it requisite to put up a gallery in one end of it. Mrs. Johns had also a large Bible class of young women twice in the Sabbath & once in the week. Many people were listening to the word of God and becoming convinced of the truth. This is the finger of God, they said, and continued:

*“But we have reason to think that several are savingly converted to God, that many more are perfectly convinced of the folly of idolatry and divination & that great numbers are awakened to think & enquire. The form of error is subdued and the power of truth acknowledged. The preached word is listened to attentively, and the scriptures are earnestly sought and diligently examined. (---) He is raising up for himself his own instruments – giving them zeal and knowledge, imbuing them with love to the truth, and compassion for their Countrymen (---) And as a specific illustration of this point we may remark that in a district to the West of the Capital in a village about 60 miles distant, a small chapel have been lately erected by the zeal & devotedness of the natives, chiefly exerted, however, by the exertion of a pious female of whom we have ahead written to you. A very delightful spirit of enquiry is awakened in that district, and several of the adult natives, men of rank & importance in their stations conduct prayer Meeting and engage themselves in these exercises (---) Another chapel is also being erected in a district to the South, perhaps 120 miles distant. Public worship, chiefly for prayer and reading of the Scriptures, is held in many distant parts of the Country”.*⁷⁹⁶

Their optimism seems great and well founded since their work had now created such sincere faith in the hearts of the Malagasy. Obviously the women were also greatly involved in the progress, and Freeman especially mentioned Mrs Chick with her sewing class and Mrs. Johns' Bible class for woman, expressing a wish of asking Mrs. Johns to visit the Vonizongo district *“to raw up the hearts of the Vonizongo female”*.⁷⁹⁷ Also Mrs. Canham had made a valuable work in Ambohimandroso before they were forced to leave in the middle of the year. The two new chapels mentioned in this letter, signified the progress the Christian faith had done in distant places. The one that was placed about 60 miles to the west must be some place in the Vonizongo district, but the one placed about 120 miles to the south should be at one of the four places in Vakinankaratra where the mission had built schools, i.e. Betafo, Mahaiza-Manjaka, Antananarivo or Antanamanjaka (chapter 4.3.1) - but I have not uncovered any instances where the location of those new chapels is disclosed.

Even more sanguine than this half year-report are the hopes and expectations expressed by Freeman in a letter to Ellis at the same time, where he wrote that Ellis' deep interest in the cause of God in Madagascar had brought him much fear and hard work, but now Freeman wished to comfort him:

“I am not disposed at all to adopt a desponding tone in this communication, I think we have abundant cause to thank God and take courage. (---) God is giving testimony to the word of his grace. He is making known the riches of his mercy – a turning over from darkness into light, and from the power of Satan into God's. I do not wish to express myself in exaggerated terms, - as to awaken a sanguine expectation in your breast – that this large island is immediately to be converted into the garden of God. Alas! The marks of desolation are yet distinct (---) But there is a transformation going forward, -

(...) It is expected the natives will be authorized to pay a visit to the Directors in the name of her Majesty and, as we hope, to make some arrangement for the supply of Missionaries to this station.”

⁷⁹⁶ LMS, Mad, 5.1.D, Johns & Freeman to Ellis, 06.11.34

⁷⁹⁷ LMS, Mad, 5.1.D, Freeman to Ellis, 02.10.34

*there is followed ground ploughed up, - much immortal seed has been cast in – and could it perish there? Immortal seed perish? Oh no! It is springing up – and bearing fruit, - and some of it is very lovely – and it promises to be abundant. It will fully verify the Saviours word – “some sixty fold, some hundred fold”.*⁷⁹⁸

Freeman’s word should prove to be right: The immortal seed should not be destroyed. But before it could yield one hundred fold it should suffer much from the adversaries of God in a 26 year long suppression of the Christian faith in Madagascar.

⁷⁹⁸ LMS, Mad, 5.1.D, Freeman to Ellis, 07.10.34

5.3 “The dark years”

Even today, in the new millenary, Malagasy Christians talk about “Ny andro maizina” (the dark days) or “Fahamaizina” (when it was dark) when they think about the time their forefathers were persecuted for their Christian faith. And churches founded secretly in the dark years are still extremely proud of their heritage – just like a Christian who can prove that one of his forefathers was already a Christian in those dark years. Many historians might have underestimated these proud feelings created by the resistance made by the poor Christians against a despotic government. I deem it certain that all Christian churches in Madagascar from their first arrival in the country have profited by those feelings amongst the Malagasy because during the dark years the Christian faith became a deeply rooted Malagasy religion.

The fatal blow against the mission and the Malagasy church fell late in February 1835 after some weeks of foreboding silence.

5.3.1 Rainiharo got deeply provoked

The great progress of the Christian faith might have frightened the Malagasy Prime Minister and his brothers. All progress of Christianity amongst the Malagasy, which the missionaries pointed to as promising aspects, might have caused fear to Rainiharo of many reasons. Firstly, the Christians openly rejected the idols of the old religion, and other religious phenomenon they named superstitions. Rainiharo’s family, later named “the Andafiavaratra” (those from the northern side), was the keepers or guardians of one of the most famous of the 12 national idols, Rakelimalaza, and they were therefore on their guard never to let the estimation of the idols be diminished amongst the people and thereby have their strong foothold weakened. It is interesting to observe that in the first months of Rananavolona’s reign, such idols as Manjakatsiroa and Ramahavaly seem to have been more important for the queen than Rakelimalaza, and I suppose that it was by promoting their own idol to be the most important at court that the Andafiavaratra family managed to take control of the strategic positions which made them so mighty in the Malagasy community from the early 1830’s. In that view it is not astonishing that they decided to fight against the Christian faith with all means, since the new religion tried to outdo all the idols and therefore could weaken the basis of their power seriously.

Secondly, the preaching of the gospel was also a real threat to the position of the queen in whose name they were governing. If the religion of the Malagasy people should be changed, the omnipotent monarch would certainly lose some of her power, because the Christians expressed that they would “obey God more than people” i.e. more than the monarch and her government. The Men in Power had already for a long time been suspicious to the missionaries, because they feared that if enough became Christians, they could stir a rebellion to place the power with people in close connection to the British.⁷⁹⁹ Thus I suppose they were afraid the missionaries were primarily British envoys, especially since Freeman had caused them to believe this by his efforts of promoting British interest towards the government, and by his acting as British spy in the country because of his many reports to the governor of Mauritius.

⁷⁹⁹ LMS, Mad, 5.2.A, Johns to Ellis, 11.03.35: “And our most faithful friends among the Natives are of opinion that we had better withdraw for the present, as our remaining here would only confirm the suspicion in the mind of the ruling power of our being placed here with the view to overturn the Kingdom & transfer over to the English. Our friends always defended us and declared that our only object in coming here was, to teach the word of God. And we were told a few days ago, that some of the Officers should say: We shall now see whether they have any other object in view or not, for if teaching the word of God only was their end in coming here, that now is stopped and of course they will leave –”

Thirdly I think they were well aware that by fighting against the Christian religion they did not only defend their usurped positions but also opened the way for an enormous augmentation of their power. Under the pretext of fighting for the old religion, they started a campaign of terror directed not only against the Christians, but also against all other opposition in the country. It is significant that in the first years of Ranavalona's reign it had often been reported that different parties had changing power and interests at court – but from 1835 it seems that nobody dared to express another opinion in any question than what the Prime Minister and his brothers had sanctioned. Even the embassy sent to Europe in 1836 was neither entitled with any clear mandate in the negotiations with the European governments, nor did the Prime Minister accept the results or propositions which they brought with them home. All the people who were supposed to be opposing the leaders in Madagascar after 1835 were exposed to the ordeal, terror or death – especially all who had been in close relations with strangers, such as those who had worked for the missionaries. Even the queen's family was not left untouched in the following suppression.

An interesting point is the relation between the Prime Minister Rainiharo and his younger brother Rainimaharo, Chief Secretary of the government and Commander in Chief of the Army. Baker presented in 1836 the latter to be “the mainspring of the government's proceedings” and “the principal agent in the late suppression of Christianity”.⁸⁰⁰ It would be interesting to investigate the possibility that the suppression of Christianity also was part of a rivalry between the two brothers, but the documents are too scarce to reach a conclusion. Nevertheless it is clear that Rainimaharo in some ways had outdone the Prime Minister in 1840 when William Campbell and David Jones visited Antananarivo, because all negotiations were solely between Campbell and Rainimaharo. (Chapter 5.5) It is also interesting that the persecution of the Christians seems to become more lenient when Rainimaharo died in 1841 and his brother Rainiharo replaced him as Commander in Chief of the Army.

Some distinct acts may have provoked the final decision, even Rainiharo and his brothers seem to have gathered arguments against the missionaries and the Christians all the time since he became Prime Minister after the murder of Andriamihaja in 1830. One great provocation might have come from a Christian convert who started his own semi-Christian sect. Rainitsiandavana was the guardian or keeper of one of the inferior idols in the country (not one of the 12 National idols). Paul Rainitsiheva (or “Paul the diviner”) introduced him to the Christian worship in the chapel at Ambatonakanga, and soon afterwards he was converted to the Christian faith. Later he started a congregation in his home village, but living some distance from the Christians in the Capital and not being capable to read the Bible, he soon began to preach a different gospel where the idol keeping was mixed with biblical items. This religious syncretism soon gathered many followers and the leader became as famous in his home village as he had ever been when he was a heathen idol-keeper. Later he went to the palace in Antananarivo to preach his gospel to the queen, followed by about 200 believers. There he told the queen that God had created all men common, and that Jesus soon was to return and create his reign on earth where abolition of slavery, war and work would be effected, and that all the dead should be raised from death by the force of Jesus, etc. Being strongly offended by this message, the queen enquired whether he thought that a Mozambique slave and herself were of a common origin.

⁸⁰⁰ MA, HB-9, Baker to Dick, 05.09.36

*“The affirmative answer brought swift and terrible punishment. The new priest and three of his chief followers were placed head-down in a rice-pit, boiling water was poured on top of them and the pit filled with earth”*⁸⁰¹

Since the sectarian leader did not raise from the death immediately the queen declared that the Christian doctrines were lies. And many of his followers were put to an ordeal test or punished in other ways. The missionaries did not write much about that case, either because they did not think they were concerned at all by the fate of this man, since he had never been a formal member of their churches, or since this episode might have happened when the majority of them had left the country. The only contemporary letter I have found referring to the case of Rainitsiandavana and his sad fate is Baker’s broad evaluation of the possibilities the missionaries had to stay on a second year in 1836. Baker argued that even though the missionaries themselves should probably not be injured if they had chosen the fanatic mode of acting, surely the followers should have suffered seriously, like the 200 followers of Rainitsiandavana:

*“It appears to me we could only prolong our stay by resolving to act on one of the three following principles: - 1st as fanatics; 2nd as mere secular men; 3^d Jesuitically. 1st. It may be said: why could you not go into the markets & publicly proclaim the Gospel until you were prevented by hands? – A similar conduct was pursued by a poor fanatic in 1835, who had obtained some loose notion of the Supreme God in the main correct. He drew to himself about 200 followers, and all of these who refused to renounce their belief that God was greater than the queen were massacred in the most horrible manner, and the movement entirely suppressed”*⁸⁰²

Baker’s referring this episode to the year 1835 and stating that those people would not renounce their belief, have made me wonder if this episode happened after the prohibition of the Christian faith. That would suggest another interpretation than the usual and may also explain why the missionaries leaving in June 1835 did not mention this case at all.

But usually the historians have placed this episode in 1834 as one of the provocations causing the prohibition of Christianity. Françoise Raison-Jourde states that when Rainitsiandavana by the help of Paul Rainitsiheva was converted, he started to preach the gospel from 1832 in the Mandiavato district and that he had a great lot of disciples there. After working for about two years, he went to the capital. Tantaran’ny Andriana says that the authorities caused him to go there, while Raombana, William Ellis and Rabary said he went to the palace of his own will to proclaim his gospel to the queen. It is interesting that some of the historians like W. Ellis and G. Mondain do not think this episode was important for the Christians, while others, especially Rabary think it was dishonouring them for the queen causing her to think that all Christians had the same belief as Rainitsiandavana and thus provoking her to prohibit the Christian faith.⁸⁰³ A further investigation whether this episode happened in 1834 or 1835 should be very interesting, since the difference between those two dates would give quite different interpretations of the case, but I am not at liberty to enter that work in my study.

The final provocation came from Rainiharo’s own family and was closely connected with the fact that women and even slaves were allowed to learn to read, a fact which had newly provoked the government seriously and forced them to prohibit

⁸⁰¹ Brown, 1978, p. 173.

⁸⁰² LMS, Maur, 2.1.D, Baker to Ellis, 22.10.36

⁸⁰³ Raison-Jourde, 1991, p. 133-138: Une synthèse entre christianisme et croyances merina au service de la monarchie : Rainitsiandavana.

in the strongest terms to let slaves learn such things. Baker tells in a letter to Ellis in the middle of March 1835 about this provocation:

*“I received from very high authority the following account of its origin (origin of the persecution), but being pledged not to deliver it even to my brethren & sisters here, I have not named it to any of them or the natives. – The Preminister was commissioned to fetch from the chief idol some medicinal charms for the Queen. – He went, & according to custom he himself has the precious charms with the symbol of the Idol, when he being fatigued he requested one of his sisters, who happened to be returning with him, to carry it! – She refused with scorn, calling it & the idol deceit & lies. – This led him to remonstrance & at length to the declaration on her part of the female that may thousands & even slaves thought the same. – This was communicated to the Queen & confirmed by the similar tenuous complaints of the dishonour done to ancient idols & customs, from various quarters. – The Queen was so grieved and angry that she wept for about a rice cooking (half an hour) and vowed death against all the Christians. – This was followed by a period of awful silence & anxiety and fear. – All public amusements in the Court yard of dancing etc. entirely ceased for nearly a fortnight, during which the proclamations given to us & the people were issued in by the most tremendous firing of Cannons on the morning of their delivery”.*⁸⁰⁴

In another letter Baker relates that there were actually three things that had caused the crisis: 1) An officer in high position reported to the queen in an accusatory manner that the Christian women had changed their behaviour and become too chaste (I suppose this officer might be Rainimaharo, the brother of Rainiharo?), 2) A young Christian was accused of not respecting the taboos of his own village, causing an investigation of his case, and 3) It was related that two female relatives provoked Rainiharo by calling his charms for nothing etc.⁸⁰⁵ In this quarrel it was clearly pointed to the fact that not only men – but also woman and slaves – were allowed to perform their prayers to God, contrary to the old Malagasy culture and religion. And they told Rainiharo that many women and even some of the slaves were now thinking that the old religion and the idols were only lies and superstitions. When these facts were related to the queen she was seriously grieved and Rainiharo thus grasped his golden chance to extinguish all kind of opposition to his rule.

5.3.2 The fatal blow

Thursday 26th of February all the Europeans were summoned to receive a message from the queen. She thanked them in a letter for all the good work they had done for her people, and also stated that they should be allowed to follow their own customs and religion, but she did not allow her people to follow them:

“And I tell you plainly that I will never allow my people to change the customs of my ancestors, for I can not change the customs of the 12 reigns – Andrianampoinimerina and Radama – for I am neither ashamed nor afraid of

⁸⁰⁴ LMS, Mad, 5.2.A, Baker to Ellis, 17.03.35

⁸⁰⁵ LMS, Mad, 5.2.C, Baker to dr.Philips, 15.06.35: Brief account of the Suppression of Christianity in Madagascar: “(1) An officer of the 11th honours notable for his savage brutal and licentious character, accused the Christians to the Queen complaining especially, as became him, that the females, were persuaded by the new way to be virtuous and chaste! 2) A young man, a christian, was compelled to take the Tangena Ordeal by the people of his village for not observing their day (Saturday) of abstinence from work & - he resisted and so the subject was brought before the Govt. at the Capital which led to a dissection of the whole subject, and the disastrous result. 3) The account for which I have the best authority, is that 2 females relations of the chief Officer called a charm which he was carrying to the Queen, **nothing** and declared that such was thought by the Missionaries, and believed by them and thousands of others. This led to an investigation as to the bearing of a Doctrine on this stupid customs, which soon demonstrated the fact of which the Govt had been previously but imperfectly aware, and led to the measures which have been detailed.”

*following the customs of my ancestors – but if there be any useful knowledge for my country, I will accept that, nevertheless I can not give up the customs of my ancestors, and with respect to divine worship – whether on Sunday, or any other day & Baptism and Society my people are forbidden to do that”.*⁸⁰⁶

The missionaries sent a polite letter in answer, begging her not to make such great changes in the conditions they had been working under from the time of Radama etc, but on the 2nd of March they were summoned again and informed that the queen had not changed anything in her given orders. The day before that second meeting all people were summoned to assist in a great “Kabary” or public meeting at the sacred meeting place, Andohalo:

*“On the Sunday after we had received our first letter, (March 1st) a Public Kabary of the people was held, at which the Sovereign announced formally her determination to suppress Christianity – to forbid all further measures calculated to promote it, and to revive to the utmost the ancient customs & established superstitions of the Country. (---) The Queen then stated that she gave one month to the people to come forward and accuse themselves of whatever they had done in connexion to all these things – particularly all who had been baptized, - all who had attended evening prayer meetings, - all who had voluntarily learned to read, - or attended public worship”.*⁸⁰⁷

Baker wrote that two chieftains endeavoured with great servility and submission to apologize for the people as respecting the past on the ground of the king having compelled them to learn etc, against their wishes, but they were interrupted and not allowed to proceed. Baker also relates it was said that men were ready on the spot to cut down, spear or shoot any one who should object or resist.⁸⁰⁸ The queen’s answer to the feeble objections that most of the forbidden things were done by Radama’s sanction and Ranavalona’s encouragement came short: She did not want to change anything in her last proclamation, but she reduced their time to come forward and confess, from one month to only one week. The people were terrified and a large number came forward and surrendered to the authorities in the next few days.

The queen had also demanded the people to give up all printed books, and a large quantity was gathered and filled a whole room in the Repository, where the books were placed to be burnt. Baker lamented especially this fact, saying that the labour of the printer and the expenses of LMS during 17 years seemed to be destroyed in a short time.⁸⁰⁹ But Baker continued his letter optimistically, stating that no earthly persecution could reinstate the folly of idolatry in those who were really converted, a fact they could see many delightful examples of every day. And while Johns and Freeman in the first weeks after the prohibition of the Christian religion pessimistically declared that all missionaries and artisans would be forced to leave immediately when the good season arrived, Baker was more optimistic and also declared that it looked hazardous to the mission if all workers were to leave so fast, since that could close the possibility of having any change for the better for many years.⁸¹⁰

⁸⁰⁶ LMS, Mad, 5.2.A, Copy of Her Majesty’s Kabar translated by two of her Officers, 21.02.35: (The copy in the LMS archives is in Griffiths handwritings).

⁸⁰⁷ LMS, Mad, 5.2.A, Freeman to Ellis, 10.03.35

⁸⁰⁸ LMS, Mad, 5.2.C, Baker op.cit, 15.06.35

⁸⁰⁹ LMS, Mad, 5.2.A, Baker to Ellis, 17.03.35: *“It has been appointed for the Xans to deliver up all their printed books into the hand of the Authorities and probably many hundred are at this moment conveying their testaments, catechisms, tracts & to the Officers and Judges. Few, very few, I fear, will be detained. – Thus far the enemy is allowed to triumph, & the labour & expense of nearly 17 years seems likely to be destroyed in fewer days.”*

⁸¹⁰ LMS, Mad, Baker op.cit, 17.03.35: *“Our present expectations seems to be that we should all be obliged to leave this year. – My own opinion is that some should endeavour to stay to hear from you, but I shall not think myself at liberty to act in opposition to the opinion of Mr. Johns & Freeman. –It appears to me very hazardous to the Mission for all to leave, whilst the eye of the*

After the queen's answer to their first letter the 2nd of March, the missionaries wrote a new letter to her, stating:

*"To the Queen Ranavalona. Salutations etc. Now this is the fact that we frequently declare to Your Majesty that it cannot be enquired who or what person is the origin of the assemblies and of those places of prayer. For we Europeans, the English, who are here in Your Majesty's country, we only, were the origin of these things. Therefore let not Your Majesty blame us if we declare to you, that if it had not been we Europeans that exhibited (or set forth these things) then had they not occurred in your country at all. Therefore it is to us perhaps Your Majesty ought to attach the blame. Also when you caused these assemblies to cease, then we ceased (to hold them) for you only are supreme in your country. Salutations etc. Say Ms Johns, Freeman, Cameron, Chick, Kitching & Baker. Mr. Griffiths signature was more than once desired both by Mr. Johns & Mr. Baker, but he declared and forwarded a letter of a very different character indeed".*⁸¹¹

The queen answered their letter next day, declaring that she did not blame them for these things for they had not transgressed her laws, but her subjects were not allowed to do such things and would be punished. The majority of those who stepped forward to admit their guilt frankly confessed that they had indeed believed but without any disaffection to the queen's government. Several are said to have confessed they went to the chapel only to look out for a female etc. Also many other excuses were used to diminish the waited punishment. But some of the Christian women told that the expression "baptized" had a meaning signifying specifically refusing to prostitute themselves.⁸¹² This statement may help us to understand the accusations quoted above, that Christian females had become too "chaste".

All the names of those who stepped forward and confessed were written down by the authorities, and on the 9th of March the punishment to be inflicted on them were proclaimed publicly:

*"The substance of it was that: All Officers, Civilians & ladies possessed of honour to any number, the highest rank, being 12, should be reduced one half for attending worship, and a further reduction should be suffered by those who had been baptized, or attended private meeting & 2) That the Civilians through the Chieftains of each district present for each district a bullock and a dollar, the former by way of expiation and the latter to express their entire submission to the present law of the Queen against Christianity. The law for the future is to stand thus. That all are wholly to cease from observing or following the observance of religion in any way whatever, and are to forget what they have learned and know. Whoever transgress (this) is to suffer certain death".*⁸¹³

The missionaries highly lamented the new situation in their letters. Two days after the proclamation of the punishment David Johns wrote to the Foreign Secretary of LMS, William Ellis:

queen & her principal Officers concerned in the affair, is much as to preclude all human expectations of a change for many years."

⁸¹¹ LMS, Mad, 5.2.A, Freeman to Ellis, 10.03.35

⁸¹² LMS, Mad, Baker op.cit, 17.03.35: "Among the Xans females the expression baptized had long to signify specifically refusing to prostitute themselves: If in answer to the question: Have **you** been baptized? The female answers yes, it was equivalent to the most absolute refusal to prostitute herself to the enquirer & so genial was the character of the christian females, for firmness recognized that this use of the expression afforded them the most valuable shelter from the licentious annoyance of their heathen acquaintance."

⁸¹³ LMS, Mad, Baker op.cit, 17.03.35

*“All our labours are destroyed in one month as far as man can destroy them. You can hardly conceive of our grief & sorrow at this present time; all our hopes are blasted. We are not allowed even to converse with our native friends on the subject of religion, as that would endanger their & our lives. We cannot venture to send you all the particulars respecting this dreadful persecution at present, but at some future time, if our lives be spared, we shall send you a fully account of all the particulars. (---) And our most faithful friends among the natives are of opinion that we had better withdraw for the present, as our remaining here would only confirm the suspicion in the mind of the ruling power of our being placed here with the view to overturn the Kingdom & transfer over to the English. Our friends always defended us and declared that our only object in coming here was to teach the word of God. And we were told a few days ago, that some of the Officers should say: We shall now see whether they have any other object in view or not, for if teaching the word of God only was their end in coming here, that now is stopped and of course they will leave the Country; but if they have some secret object in view, which have not yet been discovered, they will still remain. Our remaining here cannot now be of any benefit to our christian friends, but on the contrary, they will be watched by the enemies with much more jealousy & suspicion, and should there be any room to suspect them visiting us to converse on the subject of religion, they shall undoubtedly be put to the test by the administration of the Tangena”.*⁸¹⁴

It is interesting that the Malagasy friends suggested that there might be a political interest among the leaders in seeing if the missionaries would leave the country or not. That shows that the missionaries in some way were thought to be “envoys” of the British government by suspicious Malagasy leaders. The day before Johns wrote the above letter, Mr. Freeman expressed his feelings in plain words:

*“- never did I write so oppressed with melancholy feelings. – You will hear with grief and surprise that our work is terminated in Madagascar, so far as human power and policy can terminate it. – We were proceeding with much prosperity – manifest success & most cheering anticipations - but the enemy has risen with overwhelming force and swept down all before it, like a desolating torrent. – The Government of the Country has interposed its authority in the most decided and peremptory manner and extinguished at once every effect connected with the spread of religion”.*⁸¹⁵

In another letter, written the same day to William Ellis, Freeman stated:

“It may be (illegible) for us to add that we fully think Mr. G. has had no hand in bringing about these measures. He appears as grieved and disappointed on all respects. Perhaps the two or 3 Frenchmen have had more to do with it, than yet appears. They praise the Queen for what she has done & still promise their services. (---) There is one further consideration, which we had almost resolved not to commit to writing, though occupying, as you will really many of our thoughts. It has much weight with us in forming our decisions at the moment. The Malagasy Govt. is impressed with a conviction that we have some ulterior object, - something political in view, that teaching Christianity is merely a means for effecting our final object. Hence we became objects of the

⁸¹⁴ LMS, Mad, 5.2.A, Johns to Ellis, 11.03.35

⁸¹⁵ LMS, Mad, 5.2.A, Freeman probably to dr.Philips, 10.03.35

*most jealous suspicion and occupy a very precarious position, - where no evidence accepted, but the decisions of divination”.*⁸¹⁶

In this last letter Freeman clearly expressed that the missionaries were suspected to have political aims – and that the prohibition of the Christian religion might be principally a scheme to prove that suspicion. I find it probable that this may be a major aim for the government, and besides I think it was also an important aim for Rainiharo and his brothers to augment the leader's power. Freeman also more than alluded to that fact that the few Frenchmen in the capital could have cooperated with the government in this case. Probably his suspicions were right since Jean Laborde soon replaced the missionary artisans in all their duties in working for the government. It is also interesting that the missionaries do not blame Griffiths any more. Even though they thought he had done so much harm to their work the last years, they now recognised that he was more troubled than them in the new situation.

Freeman also wrote a letter to the secretary of the Governor of Mauritius in the middle of March where he gave the news a more political colour:

*”You will hear with much regret and surprise, that all our efforts as Christian Missionaries in Madagascar are peremptorily forbidden by Her Majesty the Queen. Christianity is totally interdicted in the island, and not a single effort of any kind is permitted towards explaining its doctrine or informing its precepts. (---) This is altogether the most fatal blow that has yet been struck at the rising civilization of Madagascar. (---) It is not improbably we shall all have to remove from Madagascar in the course of the next season, June – July. I am increasingly stating that there remains very little friendly feeling on the part of this Government towards the British Government”.*⁸¹⁷

The missionaries were forced to make their decision in the case without waiting for orders from the directors since it would take about one year before they could expect an answer to their letters. Only the families Johns and Baker decided to stay behind for one year, while all others left in June 1835. Johns hesitated for a time but decided to use the year left him in his 10-year term, as he was convinced that it would be desirable that someone stayed behind for a while.⁸¹⁸ Baker, who had more time available, was from the first day ready to stay principally in order to fulfil the Malagasy Bible and other work. Already on the 17th of March he wrote that he was ready to stay and finish about 100 copies of the Bible, which was the number possible with the stock of paper at hand.⁸¹⁹ But Baker had also a private reason to stay since his wife expected their first child in a short time and they were uncomfortable by the idea of moving down to Tamatave returning to Mauritius this year.

Cameron had planned to take two Malagasy youths with him to England in June 1835 to study cannon making, and he would return with them the following

⁸¹⁶ LMS, Mad, 5.2.A, Freeman to Ellis, 10.03.35

⁸¹⁷ MA, HB-9, Freeman to Dick, 14.03.35

⁸¹⁸ LMS, Mad, 5.2.B, Johns to Ellis, 19.06.35: “Yesterday I accompanied Mr & Mrs Freeman, Mr & Mrs Chick, Mr. & Mrs Cameron and their families a few miles out of the Capital. (...) I can assure you that I never felt such a strong desire to leave since my arrival here as I did yesterday. – Had I not been convinced of the desirableness of some one to remain another year – I would certainly leave this good season”

⁸¹⁹ LMS, Mad, 5.2.A, Baker to Ellis, 17.03.35: “- the event overtook us “as a thief in the night” In printing we had completed the Old Testament to the 33rd chapter of Job; in consecutive order, the Psalms, Isaiah & Jeremiah being also in print. – It is quite out of the question to expect that any native will be allowed to aid us in completing the printing of the proscribed Bible, and therefore the only remaining question was, whether I ought not commence the work **alone**, of composing & printing the remainder of Job, & from Ezekiel to the end of the Old Testament. – I did not hesitate a moment in deciding to continue the work feeling as I do the importance of completing the work before leaving, & thus redeeming as far as possible all great expense which has been incurred for the attainment of this object. We have reduced the number to a few more than 100 copies & Mr. Kitching kindly undertakes the press work, i.e. to leave me free to compose & correct.”

year, but now he had to change his plans. He wrote in September 1835 a letter from Cape Town to William Ellis in which he told him that he was requested by the Chief Officers to stay or return to work for the queen in his capacity as artisan. But as it was clearly pointed out in the conditions given him that he would not be allowed to do any evangelistic work, he decided to leave together with the other missionaries. I consider that he was put under considerable diplomatic pressure, because he was asked several times to change his decision. The conversations with the officers shows that the government really wanted him to continue his work supervising the Powder Mill and doing other projects for them, but Cameron stubbornly argued that he did not wish to return if they wanted to cut off all Christian instruction in the country. Finally they had to accept his decision and Cameron states that he and his friends parted on good terms with the queen and her government, getting free transport for all down to Tamatave.⁸²⁰

Undoubtedly Griffiths was more wounding by the prohibition of the Christian faith than his colleagues. In a letter to Ellis quoted above Freeman stated that Griffiths was as grieved and disappointed on all respects as any others. His status as missionary withdrawn from LMS and living by his trade alone placed him in a very tricky situation. He should neither be able to do anything for his Christian friends nor to care well for his wife and children. Freeman tells in May 1835 that Griffiths had now come to tell him that he wished to accept the directors' kind offer of free return to England for himself and his family. This was the same offer he had refused in so strong terms a few months before. Freeman laconically stated that this decision did not arise from a feeling of respect for the directors or a wish to cooperate with LMS, but from the necessity of the case:

*“He find he cannot support himself here – or has not the prospect of doing it long. He purpose that being cut off from all usefulness, he is willing to return, but if he had liberty to preach he would rather remain and live in the outmost danger than quit his post. The fact is he is treated with the same (illegible) as the other Europeans. (---) he is glad to avail himself of the offer of the Society to pay his expenses”.*⁸²¹

⁸²⁰ LMS, Mad, 5.2.C, Cameron to Ellis, 25.09.35: *“Hitherto I have generally had hopes that they would allow Christianity to be taught among the people, though perhaps on a limited scale, but now it is too evident that their determination is, if they can, to root out all the Religious Instructions they had allowed and encouraged to be taught in the country. (...) The state of my own affairs may be told in a few words – Before this law against Religious instruction was published, preparations were making for two youths accompanying me to England at the expense of the Queen, but not wishing to return to Madagascar in any way but in connection with a Mission, I sent to the Government, soon after the confusion had in some degree subsided, telling them that I could not any longer engage positively to return, seeing that the great object of the Society had, by the present law been frustrated, referring also to the promise of the Queen that Missionaries should be allowed to go on with the work of the Mission, and I left it with themselves to consider whether they would send the youth to England or not (...) it was whispered that the message formerly brought was not exactly the words of the Queen, and that the matter was still open to consideration. – In a short time after this the Chief Officers called and had a long conversation with me in their own names, but in reality, I was told, they were sent by the Queen – Their object was to know whether I would not either stay to build a new house for the Queen, or promise to return to do so under the new state of things. I however absolutely refused to do any thing of the kind, if Christianity were to be banished from the Island – they advised me to think of it and that they should call again – They came again in a week or two in the name of the Queen, requesting to know whether I could not make arrangement to return. – She said she was well pleased with what I had done in the country, and with my mode of doing it, and that she should be glad if I should return, and more particularly as she still wanted her people instructed more perfectly in the manufacture of some things (chiefly connected with Military operations) – This gave me an opportunity of asking them particularly to inform the Queen of my views respecting the obstacles that had been put in the way of Religious instruction. (...) In the course of a few days I sent her two letters, in the one of which I begged her to consider the nature of the instructions given by the Missionaries, and humbly requested of her to allow us to go on as formerly, and also stated the conditions on which my return might be expected – In the other letter I gave her a brief view of the objects, labours and success of the London Missionary Society, pointing out the temporal advantages which various nations, and her own among the rest, received from its exertions, and begged her to grant that a Mission of the Society might be kept up in the country. – She replied that God was not the God of one only, but belonged to (or was possessed by) all, and that whoever taught in the country must not alter the customs of her forefathers. (...) All my agreements with her were brought to a termination in the most amicable manner, and she treated all of us who were leaving, with the greatest kindness, taking ourselves and our packages to the coast free of the usual hire of bearers.”*

⁸²¹ LMS, Mad, 5.2.A, Freeman private to Ellis, 18.05.35

Nevertheless Freeman proposed that LMS should agree to pay Griffiths' journey just to get rid of him, even though it would not change much at present. A month later Johns and Freeman wrote that they had made an agreement with Griffiths that LMS would pay his expenses.⁸²² And in the written agreement they declare that he will be paid £650 by the Society when returning to London by way of Bourbon. (This was the cheapest route. By Mauritius it would cost about £1000. Arriving in London, Griffiths still claimed that his expenses had exceeded the proposed sum by £50.⁸²³) But the said agreement did not mean that Griffiths had materially changed his behaviour towards LMS and the missionaries. Johns wrote in August 1835 to Freeman (in Mauritius) that Griffiths had written a long letter to the queen informing her of his intention to leave this season:

*“Our friend - - - (one we can depend on) saw and read the letter, and he as well as the officers were surprised at its contents – it was full of flattery all through. – He is malahelo loatra for his havana (he is too worried for his relatives) and asks permission of Her Majesty to visit them for a year or two, but he assures her as he is not in connection with the Society he will return to the tany Rabodo (the Queen’s country) again and will do as much good in it as he has done. He told Mr. Baker that the Queen was surprised that he who has been her friend for so many years is going to forsake her. I asked our friend: is it true that the Queen was surprised when she was told that Mr. G. is going – ary hoy ny valy ny: Tokony ho marina hiany izany (and he replied: I should think that was the truth) – for no one can conceive how much he laboured in past times to obtain permission to remain, and added: I do not think that he would do more to obtain permission to remain had that saved his life. – I was astonished to see him, even now, said our friend, inclined to speak against the Society”.*⁸²⁴

I find it important that Griffiths, far from blaming the queen for the law prohibiting the Christian faith, flatters her and asks her permission to return after one or two years, because he was in no way connected with LMS. Obviously he tried to win time by this flattery and his new attack against those who newly had agreed to pay his travelling costs etc. Johns, who had for years been very critical of Griffiths behaviour, continued his letter by stating that Griffiths was now quarrelling with almost all his intimate native friends since they all owed him some sums of money. He had given them those sums of money a long time ago, and never asked for them. His friends had concluded from his long silence that he gave them the sums for their friendship and support, but now he ordered them to be paid back, as Johns explained in the same letter:

“- almost every one of those that were baptized by him are deeply in his debt – he bought with money all his friends –“

Some of Griffiths' closest friends and supporters turned back and became strong adversaries to the Christian faith. One of those was the missionaries' principal teacher, John Rainisoa, and Johns alluded in his letter to the fact that the quarrel about \$40 given to him by Griffiths was one of his reasons. But I consider his noble family-background and his actual work for the government to be a stronger reason for his decision. But his quarrel with Griffiths certainly was difficult for them both.⁸²⁵

⁸²² LMS, Mad, 5.2.B, Johns & Freeman to Ellis, 12.06.35

⁸²³ LMS, Maur, 2.1.B, Johns & Freeman to the directors, 12.06.35, with a note written by Griffiths.

⁸²⁴ LMS, Maur, 2.1.A, Johns to Freeman, 15.08.35: Freeman sent the letter to Ellis with some translations of the Malagasy passages, and some explicative notes.

⁸²⁵ LMS, Mad, 5.2.B, Johns to Ellis, 19.06.35: *“You will be grieved to hear that many who professed themselves the disciples of Christ have turned back and do not now walk with Jesus, and John Rainisoa, our first teacher in the schools, is among the first of those, and I do not know of any one in the country that would be more ready to injure any of the Missionaries or the natives*

In his letter of the 15th of August 1835 Johns also stated that it was almost incredible the money Griffiths had made in the country. His friend at court told Johns that he had seen in the lists Griffiths sent to the Queen, that he had upwards of 40.000 Spanish Dollars. This was unbelievable to Johns, but his Malagasy friend read the letter over once more and confirmed the sum mentioned.⁸²⁶ Although a great part of the money might belong to some traders at the coast for goods delivered from them, the sum shocked Johns. Also Freeman protested and considered it not to be true that Griffiths had gained so much money by his trade. More important to my study is the fact that Griffiths seems to have used his money to buy support and friendship both from native Christians and from important officers at court. Johns' letter also shows clearly that Griffiths planned to return, because it stated that he had tried to press the queen to give him a document declaring that he could come up to the capital if he returned to the coast, a request which she refused. They also discussed a price for his house, which had served as schoolhouse and chapel, but could not reach an agreement. Griffiths then told Johns that he would shut up the house and not let the school use it during his absence, since the scholars otherwise could spoil things there. Such statements clearly showed his intention to return.⁸²⁷

Baker, who had for some years been Griffiths best friend among the missionaries, wrote in June 1835 that he was still uncertain if Griffiths would leave this season or next year. But Griffiths close connection with the government had made the Christians afraid of seeking his help, and Baker thought him a threat to the believers more than a helper and encourager. Stating that he was well aware of some good points in Griffiths' character such as his kindness to his friends etc, Baker declared that his capital error was that he could not realise the good work his colleagues did, and that his statements were always coloured by what might promote his own view in every case. Therefore in Baker's opinion it would be impossible for the other missionaries or for the directors to depend on his statements to find the real truth in any case.⁸²⁸ Those explanations about Griffiths' character underline my suspecting him to be a kind of psychopath, gaining his own aims during all his work in Madagascar, and thus causing many of the problems that arose during the period both for his fellow missionaries and also for the political British Agents and others.

Before Freeman left Antananarivo on the 18th of June 1835 he summed up the situation in a letter to Dr. Philips in Cape Town:

*"This Govt. is most inflexible determined in their rejection of Christianity. (---)
Their position is taken, and they will not retreat. I apprehend the Queen would*

who walk in the statutes of the Lord, as he. There is a very warm dispute between him & Mr. Griffiths about some money affairs – the latter gave the former 40 Drs some time ago and told him at the time that it was a gift to him – and now he wants the 40 Drs back. The former declares that the above sum was a gift, for he never asked for them, but Mr. G gave them to him of his own accord. I think myself, that Mr.G presented him with that sum at the time of Mr G's dispute with us to secure him on his side."

⁸²⁶ LMS, Maur, Johns, op.cit, 15.08.35

⁸²⁷ LMS, Maur, Johns, op.cit, 15.08.35: "Last Thursday he had a sale and sold but very little indeed. The Queen has not taken a good deal – she sent to ask him, would he take for his house what the Queen would like to give, - he refused. He told me yesterday that he will shut up the house, - if he will let the scholars learn there, they will spoil it before he returns, you see by that, his intention to return."

⁸²⁸ LMS, Mad, 5.2.B, Baker to Ellis, 19.06.35: "His close connection with the Govt. along with the publicity of his house render the native Christians afraid of any intimating with him, in all their persecutions - & those his stay rather check than promotes the progress of all good. – As I former presented a memorial on Mr.G's behalf, I think it (illegible) to stat explicitly that I consider the Board of Directors to have (illegible) acted toward him (Mr. G), myself & others, as far as I know with all the kindness that could be reasonable expected. - In Mr. G's character are some excellence – his hospitable kindness to his friends, (illegible) – His capital error is, thinking the good works of all not identified with himself in the labour, liard (liar?), & allowing nothing for his own imperfections & usefulness - & his statements whether for defence or attack, he looks at the **end he has in view**: - and, setting and the **manner**, few persons can make a cause more vraiseable, or bring striking facts to lean more apparently closely on the point. – But he cannot be depended upon for stating simple his own conviction of what is right & true, quite irrespective of his private design."

*risk her kingdom on this decision and prefer to sacrifice it with her life rather than admit any change. As such our Mission has nothing to hope for, excepting as Divine Providence may be pleased to effect a change (---) I cannot abandon my hope that Madagascar will yet become a land of Christians”.*⁸²⁹

In his correspondence with the Governor of Mauritius Freeman wrote less piously, stating that the great aim of the Malagasy government seemed to be to undo all that Radama did, and that their suppression of Christian instruction was throwing a complete gloom around the missionaries and the Malagasy Christians, and was extremely unpopular. As I have mentioned above, Freeman even solicited the governor to send a ship from the British Navy to take himself and his family back to Mauritius. This should be a last salutation to the Malagasy government, indicating that Freeman and the other British subjects in Madagascar were all under the protection of the British government.⁸³⁰

In another letter to the governor he explained that he had heard news that the Malagasy government was on course to send an expedition to St. Augustin, the army marching directly down there whilst a ship would meet them in the St. Augustin bay. Freeman concluded that he had no doubt that their using a ship for the campaign might show that the government wished to renew the slave trade immediately,⁸³¹ and he also mentioned the same conviction in another letter.⁸³² But as far as I can see, this campaign was not connected with an attempt to renew the slave trade, but rather an ordinary campaign trying to bring the “peaceable inhabitants there” (in Freeman’s words) under the rule of the Hova government. But the Sakalava people in the St. Augustin and Fiherena (Tulear) districts were not at all peaceable, and the Hova army neither succeeded to fight its way down to St. Augustin, nor to subdue those districts during the next 50 years. The Norwegian missionaries Nilsen-Lund and Tou reported in 1890 that they had found the place where the Hova army was said to have camped for a long time in 1835 – about two days journey up the Onilahy valley from St. Augustin (actually between Bezaha and St. Augustin).

It looks as though Freeman tried to use the threat of a renewal of the slave traffic as a last attempt to remain an interesting observer for the governor, just as Lyall had done in 1829. But his idea of a renewing of the slave traffic proved right in a small degree, because when the vessel sent from Fort Dauphin to St. Augustin was not able to assist the Hova army, the crew took some prisoners in St. Augustin and landed them in Fort Dauphin, including two sons of the Sakalava king. But I think they were not really made slaves, but rather prisoners of war. Captain Bosanquet on the British Brig Severet wrote a report of what he had investigated in this case, and

⁸²⁹ LMS, Mad, 5.2.B, Freeman to dr.Philips, 05.06.35

⁸³⁰ MA, HB-9, Freeman to Dick, 13.04.35: “*The great aim of this Government seems to be to undo nearly all that Radama did, and to return as fast as possible to the barbarous habits and ignorance of his ancestors. The late public measures of the Queen for the suppression of all Christian instruction, have thrown a complete gloom around us, and certainly rendered the advisers of that «retrograding» measures extremely unpopular. (...) For myself I expect to be at Tamatave by the 10th July, on my way to Mauritius. If it were not thought presuming too much, or encroaching on His Excellency’s goodness, I confess I should be extremely glad, if there happened to be any out of His Majesty’s Ships at Mauritius, say a Sloop of War, sufficiently disengaged at the time to make the trip of Tamatave, & afford me a passage back to Mauritius, with any other Members of our Mission who might wish to proceed to Mauritius. My object would be to show the Malagasy Government that British subjects here are decidedly under the protection of His Majesty’s Government. Such a measure would be useful to the other members of the Mission remaining here some few month longer, by inducing this Government to treat them with the more respect.*”

⁸³¹ MA, HB-9, Freeman to Dick, 12.05.35: “*The expedition leaves here for St. Augustin in about a fortnight - may be 10 weeks or 3 month on its route. (...) a vessel (I do not know the name) will go round from the South East to meet the expedition there, and whatever may be the specific object of that measure, (said to be an attack on some small islands, to which the natives make their escape) I have not a doubt, the real object in view is the renewal of the Slave Trade - if the peaceable inhabitants there, fall the unhappy victims –*”

⁸³² MA, HB-9, Freeman to Dick, 19.05.35

that may be interesting for my study, especially since “The Coming Man” in Antananarivo, Jean de Laborde, was so closely involved in the affair:

“In the beginning of May 1836 I called at St. Augustin’s Bay in the south-West part of Madagascar, in His Majesty’s Brig Severet under my command, and received information from the Natives, that a French Brig had been into that Port, about 3 months previous to my arrival, & carried off by force some of the Natives of that place, amongst others two Sons of the Chief.

On my recent visit to the French Settlement on the Island of St. Mary’s, I enquired of the Commandant of that place, for any information he could give respecting any Vessel under the French Flag that had been in the Mozambique Channel about that period. The Commandant stated that the French Brig La Voltigeur belonging to the Island of Bourbon, Commanded by Monsieur Biclet, had left Fort Dauphin the latter part of the year 1835 with some Officers and Soldiers belonging to the Queen of Madagascar, and with Monsieur De Laborde on board (a Native of Mauritius and an English subject) who forced the Captain of the Voltigeur to put into St. Augustin’s Bay, where he enticed on board some of the Natives and imprisoned them, carrying away six, another having escaped by leaping overboard; these persons were carried to Fort Dauphin and landed there. Monsieur De Laborde, fearing the Captain of the Voltigeur could give information of the occurrence, gave him poison, of which he died at Sea.

This information is given in the depositions of the Crew of the Voltigeur, now in the hands of the Commandant at St. Mary’s, copies of which have been forwarded to the Governor of Bourbon - Most of the Crew of the Voltigeur were at St. Mary’s at the period of my visit, the Voltigeur herself, is sunk in that harbour, which I conceive to be the same Vessel which Captain Chads in the Andromache, had been looking for in 1835.

*Should it be thought expedient to arrest Monsieur De Laborde, the Commandant of St. Mary’s is able and willing to produce all the Witnesses”.*⁸³³

It is interesting to see that Jean de Laborde acted as counsellors in the campaign against St. Augustin in 1835. That was a position James Hastie had enjoyed some times ago, and it shows that Laborde had already gained a strong foothold at court. This report also tells that he was an active partner in the raid. Captain Bosanquet also reported him to be “a Native of Mauritius and an English subject” and suggested that it might be wise of the British authorities to arrest him. Mostly Laborde is said to be a French shipwrecked sailor arriving from France, but here he is reported to be an inhabitant of Mauritius (i.e. under the power of the Governor of Mauritius). On the other hand, Freeman states in a letter just after the arrival of the two French gun manufacturers in Antananarivo that one had introduced himself as having come from Mozambique while the other said he had come from Bombay.⁸³⁴ Thus it looks like the adventurer Jean de Laborde had used different identities. A full investigation of the truth of this matter is however, beyond the compass of my study.

Naturally enough Freeman’s political career as reporter to the governor stopped when he arrived in Mauritius. I have only found one more letter from Freeman to the governor’s secretary after that date. In the middle of November 1835 he wrote about the death of Prince Coroller in Tamatave, and of the gloomy reports

⁸³³ MA, HB-9, Bosanquet, undated report supposedly to the governor of Mauritius. Must have been written some months after May 1836, since he had visited St. Mary on his way back from St. Augustin.

⁸³⁴ MA, HB-9, Freeman to Dick, 26.02.34

he had got from Antananarivo, soliciting the governor's military intervention in the name of justice and humanity:

"He (Coroller) died on the 9th inst. loudly complaining of the injustice of the British Govt in having delivered up his hereditary Province, (Betanimena) to the Hova Government. (---) The letters which I have received from the Capital, (up to the 16 Oct) are of a most gloomy character, giving me not only the painful information of the spearing to death of two of my old servants on the charge of witchcraft, and of other barbarous occurrences, but convincing me of the very rapid degeneration of the Country, and its fearful retrograde progress to anarchy, sanguinary barbarism & ruin.

With such communications before me, it is impossible for me to withhold the expression of my deep regret, that it does not comform with His Excellency's views, to interfere promptly on the grounds of Justice and Humanity, and thus to save that afflicted Country from the scourge that now desolates it; - although such interposition would, I apprehend, be justified in the principle which formerly Justified the British Government in advancing Radama to power".⁸³⁵

Certainly Freeman was most unlucky to hear that two of his faithful servants were put to the ordeal, as were all who had worked closely with the missionaries, and when they were found guilty they were speared to death. He had also urged the question as to whether the British government should not change their alliance and place Berora, Jean Rene's nephew, on the Malagasy throne. Freeman thus openly interfered in the political questions and his blaming of the governor for his passivity caused their former alliance to be finally broken. Governor Nicolay had never estimated Mr. Freeman's reports as highly as Governor Colville had. Colville, who had recruited Freeman to work for the government, often sent him his personal letters and received letters from Freeman in his own name, while the contact with governor Nicolay was always conducted through his secretary, Captain Dick. Now the governor became deeply provoked by the political missionary, and on the backside of Freeman's letter there is written a rough copy of an answer, dated next day, the 25th of November:

"Seen by the Governor - and regretting as much as Mr. Freeman can do the unhappy turn that affairs have taken in Madagascar, H. E. cannot but feel disappointed that Mr. Freeman should have allowed himself to express the sentiments in the concluding paragraph of this letter. Mr. Freeman cannot surely suppose that without instructions from the Home Government H.E. could venture to set up another candidate for the throne of Madagascar whose claim to it has only lately been made known to the Governor and whose title is not in H.E.'s mind clearly made out - who has not himself made any application to the British Government but is in communication with that of France. - And a civil war is certainly not the most likely means of prevailing Bloodshed. -

H. E. has put the Home Government in possession of all the facts of the case and when the Secr. of State's instructions are received he will know how to act - In the mean time the Governor will lose no opportunity that may present itself of endeavouring by advice & remonstrance if necessary to endeavour to bring about a better feeling on the part of the Queen's Govt who is still, it must be recollected, His Majesty's Ally.

⁸³⁵ MA, HB-9, Freeman to Dick, 24.11.35

The Governor thanks Mr. Freeman for the information about Prince Coroller's death, but H.E. never heard before of his ground of complaint against the British, - which however sufficiently (---) for his disposition towards the French and his concealed hostility to the English".⁸³⁶

It is evident that Freeman was no longer honoured for his political views, and neither the Malagasy government nor the Governor of Mauritius wished to hear his views about Madagascar. The governor's laconic note, that a civil war would certainly not be the most likely means of prevailing Bloodshed, was certainly right from a cool political view, even though it did not suit Freeman well. Soon afterwards he left Mauritius, returning to England via Cape Town. Although he is said to have acted as interpreter during the Malagasy Embassy's visit in England in 1836, his interference in the British – Malagasy politics and his great influence in the missionary work in Madagascar was terminated.

5.3.3 The “Stay-behind group”

When most of the missionaries left in the middle of June 1835 and Griffiths went home some months later, they left behind a little but interesting and important group. David Johns and his wife had worked 9 years in the country from their arrival in 1826. The pastor was well experienced with all things concerning the Christian instruction and the native church, and his wife was also a highly valued missionary. Mrs Johns had not only conducted a class for young females with sewing instruction and other practical work in her home during many years but also a Bible class for woman twice a week. Her work was so successful that she had been asked to visit the Vonizongo district for the purpose of giving spiritual inspiration to the women there.⁸³⁷

The other couple was less experienced but no less interesting. Mrs. Baker was arriving as the last of all the missionaries. She came to Madagascar with her husband in the middle of 1834 after his visit and marriage in England. But she shocked the other missionaries by stating that she wanted to study the language and get her own work.⁸³⁸ About the time the others left she had her first child, but certainly she was able to help her husband and the other couple when personal contact with native Christians was the only possibility to promote the Christian faith, since official instruction was now prohibited. As far as I can see, neither Mrs. Johns nor Mrs. Baker had written to LMS about their work, except one letter sent from the latter when arriving in Tamatave.⁸³⁹

The printer, Edward Baker, is in some way the most interesting of the whole group. He was sent to replace Mr. Hovenden, who died a few weeks after his arrival in the capital in 1826. Baker arrived in August 1828 a few days after Radama's death and he immediately started to print all kind of books and tracts that the missionaries wanted him to. Schoolbooks and tracts occupied much time, but his most valuable work was the printing of the Malagasy Bible, which he terminated about the time the other missionaries left. As a single man, he lodged in Griffiths' house the first years, but seeing that it was difficult to learn the Malagasy language well when living in an English context, he moved out and rented a house in a Malagasy part of the town. Working and living together with the Malagasy and eating nearly every meal together with native friends soon gave him a rapid progress in the learning of the language. He thought it necessary for his printing job to know the language well, but he also

⁸³⁶ MA, HB-9, Freeman op.cit, 24.11.35 The Governor's rough copy is written on the backside of the letter.

⁸³⁷ LMS, Mad, 5.1.D, Freeman to Ellis, 02.10.34: "I mean to ask Mrs. Johns to draw up the hearts of the Vonizongo female."

⁸³⁸ LMS, Mad, 5.1.C, Baker to Ellis, 02.09.34

⁸³⁹ LMS, Mad, 5.1.C, Mrs. Baker to Ellis, 15.07.34

wanted to witness his faith and preach the gospel to the people. Like many of the other missionary artisans, he partook in the evangelistic work to a great extent. Finally he was chosen deacon in the church at Andohalo and until he left for England in 1832, he worked closely with Griffiths there. When he returned in 1834 he joined the majority group and he expressed his view that he should not do evangelistic work any more, perhaps in consequence of the actual conflict. "My work is to print the gospel – not to preach it", he declared.⁸⁴⁰ When Baker returned from England the missionaries considered that the time available to finish printing of the Bible might be short. Certainly Baker, as a newly married man, also had less time than before left to voluntary work.

But the most interesting aspect concerning Edward Baker is his interest in the whole missionary activity and his willingness to make analyses and write down his observations. When he left Madagascar in 1836 he was chairman or Senior Missionary of the group,⁸⁴¹ and I find that his reports show more knowledge of the political situation, and his analyses of what should happen was more exact in many details than those made by Freeman and other missionaries when seen in the light of what actually happened. And his many letters were not only sent to the secretary of LMS or some of the directors, but he was neither afraid of sending his analyses to the Governor of Mauritius nor to the French and the British government when he found it expedient. His memorandum to the French government after the occupation of a part of the eastern coast in 1829 was probably not forwarded by LMS, but stopped in London, but his memorial about the Malagasy politics and the embassy going to England and France in 1836 was duly received by the Governor of Mauritius, and probably forwarded to the Home government.⁸⁴²

The printer and the pastor and their wives formed together an effective "stay-behind group". Officially they had some work to do. The government engaged Johns to teach more English language to the 12 principal teachers. And Baker was engaged in printing some schoolbooks and other publications for the government. They should also finish the great work of the Malagasy-English and English-Malagasy Dictionary, which the government had asked the missionaries to make. But behind their official work they had another agenda: giving spiritual and practical help to the persecuted Christians, and training them in surviving strategies without provoking the government too much.

The authorities might have been surprised when Johns and Baker declared that they would not leave together with the other missionaries in 1835, and I suppose they knew quite well their hidden agenda. But since the ten years stay given to each missionary were not yet finished for them, the government did not force them to leave against their will. Probably they also feared the European powers at that time and felt that they needed the few missionaries to stay as an alibi of good will. But as the year came to its end it became more and more evident that the government would not like them to stay another year.

The printing of the Bible was in fact finished before the colleges left. Baker and Kitching had worked intensively since the prohibition of Christianity was proclaimed, with Baker composing and correcting the pages and Kitching doing the printing work. Dick Kitching is in fact a little known missionary artisan, and LMS did not recruit him but Canham alone. But he played an important role in helping with the printing press

⁸⁴⁰ LMS, Mad, 5.1.C, Baker to Ellis, 02.09.34

⁸⁴¹ MA, HB-9, Baker to Nicolay, Memorial, 20.05.36: "Your Memorialist is the superintendent of the Mission Trop in Madagascar"

⁸⁴² MA, HB-9, Baker, op.cit, Memorial, 20.05.36

etc the last years.⁸⁴³ Freeman wrote in the beginning of June 1835 that without the help of Kitching and the anxious work of Baker the printing of the Bible would not have been completed at this time:

*“- he (Kitching) has been a valuable helper to us in getting through the press what we have done, not only during Mr. Bakers absence , but also since his return. But for his service the Scriptures would not have been finished by this time nor the Dictionaries. The Scriptures I am now happy to say are finished. The Title page is in the Press, and all will be struck off tomorrow morning. I thank God we have been permitted to complete this part of the service of the Mission. (---) It is due to Mr. Baker to say that he has exerted himself in a very satisfactory and praiseworthy manner to do his part in finishing the S.S. (sacred scriptures) and the labour of composing has dissolved wholly on himself. He was anxious to get it completed before any further interruption might arise and while we were still remaining together in the Country. (---) He will now immediately attend to the collating of all the sheets, and binding up a few copies for our own use”.*⁸⁴⁴

A fortnight later Baker states that he had worked hard to finish the printing and now only small details of that great work were left:

*”- the constant employment of composing the type etc. has not left me an hour to spare for any thing that could be postponed. – The Bible is now printed & I shall make the inventory ready”.*⁸⁴⁵

The persecuted church

The status of the young church was alarming during the first months after the prohibition of the Christianity. Most of those who had frequented the public service in the chapels, and quite a lot of those who were baptised, stepped forward and declared themselves influenced by the new religion, promising to follow the queen's order by leaving the religion of the Europeans and returning to the religion of the ancestors. Baker stated that he was highly surprised both of how many people who said they were influenced, and of the fact that very few dared to oppose the queen's orders openly:

*“- of the first class (officers) 1400 are said to have given in their names exclusive of their families: Other numbers have not been ascertained but as they were especially designed for punishment peculiar exactitude was used in their case, - of these 400 confessed having been to the private meetings. (---) It is surprising to observe how many were found involved in the charge of being enlightened beyond the truly converted. – Of above 400 officers of rank reduced, probably not 100 had ever afforded ground of hope to the Missionaries respecting their conversion. On the other hand, some who promised well, appear elated by the first breath of persecution, and some speedily began to scoff, who had been accustomed to pray. Not an effort of any importance was made by the natives to avert the persecution or oppose the Queen's word, and all loyalty is displayed by vociferating profane & impure oaths with every affirmation and scoffing at all truth purity & piety”.*⁸⁴⁶

⁸⁴³ LMS, Mad, 5.2.B, Freeman to dr. Philips, 18.07.35: “Mr. Kitching, you are aware, is not a member of the Mission, strictly speaking; he was engaged by Mr. Canham in England, to unite with him in the Tannery; and came out at his own expence, only sanctioned & encouraged by the Board. And till within the last 2 years he supported himself by trading etc. But as Mr. Baker's visit in England 3 years ago we found it impracticable to carry on the Printing press by the natives only, and so engaged Mr. Kitching to assist for a time”

⁸⁴⁴ LMS, Mad, 5.2.A, Freeman to Ellis, 04.06.35

⁸⁴⁵ LMS, Mad, 5.2.B, Baker to Ellis, 19.06.35

⁸⁴⁶ LMS, Mad, 5.2.B, Baker to dr.Philips, 19.06.35: “Brief account of the Suppression of Christianity in Madagascar”

But Baker pointed in the same letter at the fact that some of the Christians - especially amongst the women – confessed their faith before the judges:

“Several on appearing before the inquisitors boldly professed their faith saying: you can only kill our bodies and then in a few minutes & we shall be with God & Jesus. Some present are said to have been affected to tears, and others said: what can we do with people such as these?”

Baker said that the majority of those Christians who did not keep up the confession of their faith recognized the sovereign’s word and conduct as justifiable whatever might be the real state of their minds. The new circumstances caused the natives to change their conduct towards the missionaries in some ways. Even people they knew well dared not greet them on the street, and a youth walking together with Baker at the street was abused by people saying: Why do you attach yourself to the white man now? He also states that some of the most unreflecting looked upon the missionaries as the cause, and in their view the blameworthy cause, of their danger and loss of rank etc. And Baker concluded:

“The servile submission of the natives would appear incredible to us, born and nurtured under British banners, were it not the subject of our personal observation. I enquired from an old man, a great speaker at the public proclamations, what he thought of the Queen’s new law, he appeared quite amazed, and said: I, a Malagash, have no thought on that subject! I have no thought (or opinion). What the Sovereign does causes her to be thanked”⁸⁴⁷

Although the losses were great for the young church, they were not total. In the course of a few months after the prohibition of the Christianity it became clear that some few Christians did not change their faith. Johns wrote in the middle of June 1835 that there was still about 40-50 who walked with Jesus, and he thought nothing should be able to separate them from the love of the Saviour. The most important of those were “Paul the diviner” and his wife. The young Christians came to their house to hear the word of God and attend the secret prayer meetings in the night. In the Vonizongo district there were also many faithful followers and they could more boldly profess their faith and keep their religious books than the Christians in the capital. On Sundays they gathered on the top of a high hill or mountain to read the bible, pray and converse on religious subjects – 10 on one top and 7 on another.⁸⁴⁸ Johns closed his letter by saying that he was suspicious that the authorities would try to take some of his letters, as Freeman had lost some of the letters he had sent, and if he did not find the conveyance of letters to be safe enough in the future, he would rather write in Welsh that the enemies should not be able to read them.

As the year passed by some changes became evident. Firstly, the authorities pressed the missionaries showing that they wished them to leave, and a great part of that pressure was directed against their friends, as Johns explained in March 1836:

“Since the Tangena was given to our servants and the report circulated that all who have been intimate with the whites, must go under the same test as soon

⁸⁴⁷ LMS, Mad, Baker op. cit, 19.06.35

⁸⁴⁸ LMS, Mad, 5.2.B, Johns to Ellis, 19.06.35: *“Though many have turned back yet we have from 40 to 50 who walk still with Jesus. And I am persuaded that neither tribulation nor distress, persecutions nor dangers shall be able to separate them from the love of Christ. We may class Paul & his wife among the first of these, - they both continue to walk in all the commandments & ordinances of the Lord blameless. All the young disciples look at this pious couple as their parents. They frequently resort to their house to converse privately on religious subjects, to read a portion of the Scripture and to pray – They have a little prayer meeting once a week about the middle of the night at their house. I never attended any of these private meetings, but from what I have repeatedly heard by those present; I can say that he who entered the house when the doors were shut & stood in the midst of his disciples & said “Peace be unto you” does visit his poor afflicted people in these private meetings in this land. In the Vonizongo district are several faithful followers of Jesus Christ, and as they are at some distant from the capital they are more bold and open than those in and about Tananarivo. A great many from that district did not return their books, and I may say that all of them kept some portion of the Scripture.”*

*as we shall have left the country, we have had but few of our christian friends visiting us, and of course we could not visit them”.*⁸⁴⁹

This pressure proved to be effective and finally it forced the missionaries to take a decision. Baker wrote that he was aware that all truly devoted Christians would soon have been detected if the missionaries had stayed on.⁸⁵⁰ And Johns stated to the same item that they probably could have been allowed to stay another year if they had begged hard, but in that case all their friends should be tried by the ordeal (tangena). He concluded that they decided to leave not for fear of their own security, but for fear that their friends would be wounded:

*“I may say that we left at the request of our christian friends and from a full conviction that withdrawing for a time will be more beneficial to the native converts and will have, I trust, some tendency to bring about some favourable change in the country. The number of the natives who have courage to keep religious books are about 112, but I cannot say that all of them are decidedly pious but there are about 60 that are real converts in my opinion”.*⁸⁵¹

Also the Christians begged the missionaries to leave, even though they were not negative towards the work they had done. In a letter written on behalf of 50 Christians in the capital they expressed their thanks for all Johns and Baker had done this year:

*“Highly grateful to us has been that which those two (Messrs J. & B) have done, for they have not remained here in vain, but they have done what was in their mind & according to their ability, and have sought our welfare, & nourished and sustained us in the faith through the blessing of our God and theirs. They have also translated for us the Book “Pilgrim’s Progress”, and we consider it a good & just rendering into our language; and it explains our situation, and the narrowness of the path through which we have to walk, & explains also the blessing awaiting those who go forward, and the ruin of those who turn aside. Our hearts have been indeed delighted in reading it, and we have loved reading it over & over again, for the perusal of it creates happiness & make glad the hearts of the hearers”.*⁸⁵²

Obviously the “stay-behind group” had succeeded in creating an underground church with strong cells able to undergo the worst suppressions without turning back, and their caring for the converted Malagasy had strengthened the faith of the small flock (About 60 true converts when they left, as Johns stated above) and given them courage to follow Jesus Christ to the bitter end of martyrdom. Many of them fell victims of the persecution in the course of four years. The writers said that there were now about 50 Christians in the capital, and 30 of those were meeting regularly but not more than 6 at one time. They also begged LMS to print the book “Pilgrim’s Progress” and send it to Tamatave, where they would take care of it and bring it up to the capital. Ten married couples and sixteen single persons had signed the letter, with the remarks “besides those who live at a distance exceeding half a day’s journey”. There were also some Christians scattered around amongst soldiers and other people living far away from the capital. A letter from Ratsilainga speaks of a Christian from Betafo,⁸⁵³ and although not being confident with the message, Johns relates that a man from Ft. Dauphin had stated to him that 5 Christians were put to

⁸⁴⁹ LMS, Mad, 5.3.A, Johns to Ellis, 26.03.36

⁸⁵⁰ LMS, Maur, 2.1.D, Baker to Ellis, 22.10.36: “With one or two exception I exceedingly esteem all of them with whom I was in the habit of having intercourse, our stay would have in many ways exposed these to detection.”

⁸⁵¹ LMS, Maur, 2.1.C, Johns to Ellis, 09.09.36

⁸⁵² LMS, Maur, Johns, op.cit, 09.09.36: Joint - a translation of a letter from 50 Christians to Ellis.

⁸⁵³ LMS, Mad, 5.3.A, Ratsilainga to Johns (in Tamatave), 25 Alakarabo 1837, asking for Ralambomanana, son of Raberanga from Betafo.

death there. And Baker later spoke of the secret groups or individuals in many villages, and specified a man in Fianarantsoa who had kept his holy books and sought comfort in his faith in God.⁸⁵⁴

Johns and Baker did not explain much about their work because they were not allowed to do much openly. As stated above Johns had used much time by teaching English to the 12 senior teachers after the queen's request, but even though they made good progress in the English language he was sorry to say that most of them had left the Christian faith. The translating of the book "Pilgrim's Progress" had occupied a lot of time and he also hoped to finish a Malagasy Grammar before leaving.⁸⁵⁵ They had asked permission to print some passage from the Proverbs in Old Testament in order to let the people have something to read, but that work was in vain since they were neither allowed to print those parts nor other things, such as some fables etc. Baker states that when the government found that many adults and even slaves had learned to read and write voluntarily, they prohibited all from learning those arts, which were not expressly appointed to that. And nor would they let the people get any books - even books with non-religious contents.⁸⁵⁶ Baker finished all the printing work he was allowed to do, and he bound the bibles. They left 70 full bibles with the friends⁸⁵⁷ together with tracts and other books. Johns states that they left 8 great boxes buried in different places and hundreds of books at Ambatonakanga⁸⁵⁸ together with the new press, which they decided not carry with them. This great new press brought out with Baker in 1834 had caused the death of 7 or 8 bearers when it was brought up to the capital by the queen's orders, and Baker stated that they would not once again expose people to such cruelties, because that caused the people to regard the mission as a part of their oppression.⁸⁵⁹

John Bunyan's book "Pilgrims Progress" became important for the native Christians when they were left alone under the persecution laws, as Françoise Raison-Jourde has underlined in her studies about the Christians going from resignation to disobedience.⁸⁶⁰ She asks the question about who may have translated it, since the printed exemplars found in England used a much better Malagasy language than the manuscript left by the Christians in Madagascar. In my

⁸⁵⁴ LMS, Maur, 2.4.C, Baker to Freeman, 04.09.41: "One man he had visited in Betsileo, at Fianarantsoa, who told him with tears that it cut him to the heart when he came from Antananarivo after the stoppage, to hear people mocking him as he passed along, saying, why don't you pray now as you used to do? But he had kept his books and sought comfort in reading them and communicate with God that seeth in secret in the rice hole."

⁸⁵⁵ LMS, Mad, 5.3.A, Johns to Ellis, 26.03.36: "Almost all my time has been employed in teaching English to the 12 senior teachers, they have improved a good deal during the last 8 months in the English language but in nothing else that is good. There are only four of them conducting themselves with any degree of propriety. The others are renowned for their licentious habits. I have also translated about the half of the first part of the Pilgrim's Progress; several of our friends are very desirous to have a copy of it in Manuscript before we leave. We are also going on with the Malagasy Grammar and we hope to finish it in a month or two."

⁸⁵⁶ MA, HB-9, Baker probably to Nicolay, 13.09.36: "Through the influence of Mr. Hastie over the king, the Missionaries obtained permission for any person to learn to read and write voluntarily. - But when the queen's Govt in 1835 saw that the people had extensively availed themselves of this liberty, nothing could exceed their rage. They declared that **they** never authorized the people to learn, and that slaves especially, learning, or having learnt and practising reading and writing, should have their bodies reduced to ashes, and their owners should be dealt with according to the queen's pleasure. They entirely prohibited all from learning who were not expressly appointed, and they appointed none. In June 1836 when their rage appeared to be abated Mr Johns and Baker (by permission) printed 4000 copies of native and translated fables, sincerely from a desire to keep up the art of reading, amongst those who had acquired it, but these were not allowed to be distributed even amongst the remaining children of the schools."

⁸⁵⁷ LMS, Maur, Baker, op.cit, 22.10.36

⁸⁵⁸ LMS, Maur, Johns, op.cit, 09.09.36

⁸⁵⁹ LMS Maur, 2.2.A, Baker to Ellis, 06.04.37: "I wish it to be perfectly understood that in that event (if he should be sent back to Madagascar) I do earnestly demand to be left perfectly free from all avoidable connection with the Malagasy system of feudal servitude. - I regard this connexion in apart (illegible) as having been the haine of our Mission. In 1834 when the new press was carried up to the capital by Govt orders, 7 or 8 persons are reported to have perished in the undertaking, - not from the natural difficulties of the roads, or the bearers unskillfulness, but from the cruelty of their superintendents, pressing the half-famished vassals to overexertion. This and similar occurrences caused us to be regarded by the people as a part of their oppression, and our return under any temporary agreement with the queen, would only reinstate us in the same invidious position."

⁸⁶⁰ Raison-Jourde, 1991, chapter IV: De la resignation a l'insoumission, p. 167 - 176

opinion there is no doubt that David Johns translated the first part, which he reported were left by the Christians in 20 copies, because he several times talks about that.⁸⁶¹ On the other hand, I suppose that someone have corrected the manuscript in England before it was printed. Possibly the veteran David Jones might have done that work since he was a better linguist than Johns and often used to such work during his vacation in England. But Jones and his family left England in April 1837 going back to Mauritius to work there while waiting for a possible return to Madagascar.⁸⁶² He would therefore have little time to correct the manuscript, which may have been sent from Mauritius after Johns and Baker returned there about July 1836. Maybe Jones could have worked with this translation during the voyage or after his arrival in Mauritius. But I have neither found any written statement about that, nor any allusion to whether Mr. Freeman, who was another person able to do such a work, had been engaged in it.

In the chapter about the disobedience of the Malagasy Christians, Raison-Jourde states that in the first years after the prohibition of the Christian faith they wrote many letters to friends abroad, and that might be considered as a symbolic opposition to the queen's orders to return the people from the light of the gospel to the former darkness. Accusing the authorities of closing people's ability to find the truth, they interpreted them to be judged at a divine tribunal.⁸⁶³ In the first letters they are often quoting from the Apocalypse in the Bible. But soon there is another text frequently used to explain the apocalyptic themes about the reign of light and the reign of darkness. Obviously the themes from Pilgrim's Progress could best explain the Christians as being pelerines or strangers (mpivahiny) on earth on their way home to the Lord in heaven, and thereby encouraging them to suffer pain and losses, because their real home were not here - but in heaven. In some ways this book was as important as the Bible in forming the minds of the Christian Martyrs.⁸⁶⁴ The resistance of the Christians and their willingness to suffer pain and even death for their faith, made a deep impression on the whole society.

Pilgrim's Progress was really printed in England after the Malagasy Christians' request and sent to Mauritius to be forwarded to Madagascar. It is mostly considered that the officers in Tamatave confiscated all such books when they arrived there, and I suppose they might have acquired some of them. On the other hand Johns wrote in August 1838 that he feared the expected books might have been lost when the English ship Radama was wrecked south of Tamatave.⁸⁶⁵ But that was certainly not the case because the books were not yet arrived from England. In fact quite a lot of those books reached their destination. David Jones wrote from Port Louis in January 1839 that the Pilgrim's Progress in Malagasy had safely arrived there,⁸⁶⁶ and in

⁸⁶¹ LMS, Mad, Johns, op.cit, 26.03.36 See also: LMS, Maur, 2.1.B, Johns to Ellis, 14.11.36: "I finished the translation of the first part of the Pilgrims Progress and left, at the earnest request of our friends 20 copies (...) On my departure they begged of me to request you to have it printed for them."

⁸⁶² LMS, Mad, 5.3.A, Jones to Arundel, 28.04.37: Writing from Isle of Wight when going to Mauritius.

⁸⁶³ Raison-Jourde, 1991, p. 168: "Le tournant de 1835 est donc interprété comme une régression néfaste vers l'ombre de la mort dans ce schéma où le symbolisme chrétien prend à revers le symbolisme de la royauté merina, soleil unique éclairant tous "ceux qui sont sous le ciel". Cette interprétation théologique de l'Histoire contient en filigrane la condamnation (non par les sujets chrétiens mais par le tribunal divin) d'une pouvoir qui ferme aux hommes l'accès à la vérité."

⁸⁶⁴ Raison-Jourde, 1991, p. 173: "Au total, le Voyage du Pèlerin constitue, en marge de la Bible, un conte initiatique dont le ressort principal est la lutte contre le mal, incarné en des caractères individuels, mais aussi dans des structures politiques (le marché, le rapport au pouvoir). Le chrétien y apparaît comme détaché du tissu social, un mpivahiny, c'est-à-dire un étranger, pour reprendre l'image fréquente dans le récit."

⁸⁶⁵ LMS, Mad, 5.3.B, Johns to Ellis, from Tamatave 06.08.38: "About 10 days ago, an English ship, called Radama, was wrecked a little to the South of Andevoranta , 9 men perished an 6 were saved. The captain told me yesterday that there was a large parcel for me in her. I fear it contained the Pilgrims Progress for our friends in this country, they all are as anxious for it now as ever, our friends who came down here say that all the christians in Imerina still keep a copy of the scriptures in their possession."

⁸⁶⁶ LMS, Maur, 2.3.C, Jones to Ellis, 02.01.39

August he relates that he had succeeded in sending some of them to Griffiths in Antananarivo, and now he had made up a new box to be sent there.⁸⁶⁷ Some months later he stated that they had succeeded in bringing the books through the customs in Tamatave and forwarded them to the capital. Eighteen copies of the Pilgrim's Progress together with some portion of the Holy Scripture thus reached the Christians.⁸⁶⁸ Jones also states in the middle of 1839 that he sent a parcel of religious scriptures also containing the Pilgrim's Progress to be distributed in Fort Dauphin, St Augustin or other places around the coast where readers might be found.⁸⁶⁹ And Jones terminated his distribution by bringing a lot of those books with him on his visit to the capital in 1840, where Griffiths helped him to present them to the Christians.

The letters from the directors wishing the missionaries to stay on another year did not reach them in time, and they were forced to decide alone if they should try to get permission to stay a little longer or leave as soon as possible. But when the good season approached Baker was asked if he would stay and build a paper mill for the government, being paid \$4000. Answering that he would readily undertake it for nothing could he only see religious instruction be allowed to the people, he was told that this had ceased and he must remain exclusively as a secular man. By this message he clearly understood that the government wanted him to leave the country.⁸⁷⁰ They left the capital on the 22nd of July getting bearers from the queen and they used 3 weeks on a new bad way down to Tamatave. Baker was attacked by fever on the road and he got new attack by and by the next year on Mauritius until he quitted Port Louis and settled in a healthier place. He also told that Mrs. Baker and their infant child fell from the palanquin when the men carrying them on their shoulders stumbled and fell, but they were quite unhurt. The director's letters reached the small group in Tamatave, but could not change anything since they were already on their way to Mauritius. They later told the directors that their decision would have been unavoidable even if they had got those letters before they left the capital, because the government had reminded them every month that they expected them to leave this season.⁸⁷¹ They all left Tamatave on the 20th of August and arrived on Mauritius on the 27th.⁸⁷²

Baker declared that the time of Christian mission in Madagascar was now effectively terminated and the country was left to the idols or the devil. Confessing

⁸⁶⁷ LMS, Maur, 2.3.D, Jones to Bennet, 28.08.39: "In the same letter I find alas a request for more religious books in Malagasy to be distributed among the native Christians, as some few copies of the Pilgrim's Progress which I sent some month ago to Messrs G. and Powel were soon given away to the Christians, and I am this week about making another small box containing some old (illegible) and inclosing some more religious books for the native Xans, which I send by the hand of a confidential friend who goes to Tamatave and will forward them in the hands of confidential persons."

⁸⁶⁸ LMS, Maur, 2.3.D, Jones to Ellis, 12.12.39: "On landing the box at Tamatave, the Custom House Officers insisted on its being opened – but after it was opened, they found nothing on the top but English and French books & some Gazettes & Newspapers, & then allowed it to pass without examining what was in the bottom of it. Thus about 12 New Testaments, 12 Psalters, 12 Books containing Genesis, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes & Isaiah, & 18 Copies of Pilgrim's Progress were conveyed to the Capital undetected & were soon distributed among the Christians. (...) In another letter dated 3rd Oct: "I perfectly approve of Mr. Jones's prudence in sending the books & I could not detain one of them 24 hours after their arrival. I made the best division of them I could. Had I much more I could dispose of them"."

⁸⁶⁹ LMS, Maur, 2.3.D, Jones to Ellis, 12.06.39

⁸⁷⁰ LMS, Maur, 2.1.C, Baker to Ellis, 09.09.36: "At length the Govt sent me proposals to stay for the express purpose of making a paper mill, intimating that they would not give less than 4.000 (four thousand) dollars for the undertaking. I replied I would readily undertake it for nothing, could I only see instruction or any measure of instruction go forward amongst the people. They replied that this had ceased, & it must be understood that I stayed exclusively for papermaking. I then perceived the impossibility of remaining"

⁸⁷¹ LMS, Maur, Johns, op.cit, 09.09.36 "We did not receive a single line from you since the suppression of Christianity in Madagascar till our arrival at Tamatave where we received two letters from you, one dated Sept. 1835 and the other dated Febr. last. Until then we were quite ignorant of your wishes as to remain in Madagascar, and indeed had we known them, we could not in my opinion have acted differently. The Malagasy Govt fully expected us to leave and did not fail to remind us of it every month since our friends left till the time of our departure."

⁸⁷² LMS, Maur, Baker, op.cit, 09.09.36

that no doors would probably be opened again during the first 6 to 10 years, he thought the country must first suffer from oppression, famine and anarchy before it could again see the light of God and follow that.⁸⁷³ After having stated that there were at least 10.000 slaves taken in the provinces each year and with so much suffering and problems amongst the whole population Johns declared more optimistically (and unrealistically), that this cruel and bloodstained land must once again submit to Jesus, and that day had already dawned, he hoped.⁸⁷⁴ But it would be 25 years before his hope would be realised.

After recovering a little from the fever, Baker wrote his analysis home to the Board of Directors explaining why the mission from the first day was predestined to fail, and explaining his individual reasons for leaving Antananarivo:

*“The Mission was originally established in connexion with the existing Govt. Christianity was introduced not merely under the **permission**, but express **sanction** of the king. It became a part of the new principle of Govt introduced by the English. – I do not mean to imply that blame attached to the missionaries on account of this connexion, - it was providential & perhaps necessary to the introduction of Xanity into the island, but its perpetuation was injurious to the interests of pious, spiritual religion; and but for it would the queen have been able to so totally suppress the Xanity. The schools was in the strictest sense a branch of the feudal servitude due to the Sovereign, & to this it would have appeared partitions to object – Yet in the schools first the teaching & preaching the Gospel commenced. It therefore appeared to most of the natives as an addition & appendage to them. The Missionaries and Teachers who preached, commenced & continued to preach to the scholars in the school room, and if any elder people happened to be present they submitted to hear their superstitions depreciated, because they thought it was the king’s will. It then became a part of the teacher’s office to preach, and as some had been **appointed** it was natural that others should be **allowed** to preach. And then the distinction between Xanity and mere knowledge, and the reception of the truth & feudal duty became confused in the mind of the people. Hence in the selfaccusation of the Xans in March 1835 some teachers protested that they preached & prayed because the Missionaries made it a part of their feudal servitude to the Sovereign.*

*Besides this the native Govt was then led to entertain incorrect views of our object and character. They never distinctly recognized us as simple missionaries apart from all connexions with the British Govt. To the last altho’ they had seen our dear brethren depart on account of the suppression of Xanity, they were not (illegible) of these false notions, but furnished myself & Mr. Johns with letters to the king of England to say how **well** we had behaved. I believe that every Missionary in Madagascar felt that these and other serious evils (especially the ill-term with Mr. Griffiths & his connexion with the native Govt) needed to say a thorough reform. But as God often blesses his servants in the reformation of abuses without entirely demolish their work, we quite felt*

⁸⁷³ LMS, Maur, 2.1.D, Baker to Ellis, 22.10.36

⁸⁷⁴ LMS, Maur, 2.1.B, Johns to Ellis, 14.11.36: “That dark and guilty, cruel and bloodstained land must yet submit to Jesus and come under the influence of his gospel, and be purified from all its Idols and all its uncleanness. And who can tell how soon that auspicious day may dawn on it when these blessings shall be realized – the day, in fact, has dawned already – a dark cloud has arisen – but it will certainly be dispersed; it is impossible that the cause of Christ can finally fail – it has already weathered many a storm and while its immortal Author remains it must live & prosper, and therefore a gospel day must again shine over Madagascar – And may that be soon, is the prayers of your humble servant D. Johns.”

*it our duty to wait & see if any change would take place. We waited nearly a year, & changes **did** take place, but what changes!"*⁸⁷⁵

Baker's observation that the foundation of the missionary work was wrong, since most people considered it to be a part of their servitude to the king, is important. Other analyses had already pointed to the fact that the queen's unwillingness to help the mission had produced an interest in the gospel, since it became obvious that neither learning religion in the school nor attendance at the public service in the chapels were considered a duty to the sovereign, but rather contrary to the queen's will. This fact caused many to attend the services in the chapels and the private prayer meetings voluntarily, and there was for some years a growing interest in converting to the Christian faith. Raison-Jourde has pointed to another interesting detail: that from the prohibition of the Christian faith a new group of people showed their interest and joined the small flock. Those were people from noble families from other parts of Imerina and other individuals who saw their interests set aside in some way or other by the new parallel dynasty.⁸⁷⁶ Their adherence to the new religion was partly a protest against the Andafiavaratra family, but contact with the Christian faith soon made them true believers.

On the other hand, Baker's declaring that the government was erring when supposing that the missionaries were in close connection with the British government may be questionable. In the quarrel with Griffiths they had underlined as strongly as possible that they were in close connection with the government of Mauritius, as I have explained above. And Freeman's political engagement had left no doubt that he was acting as a British envoy and spy. Together with the murmuring that the Christians might stir a rebellion for the British interests as soon as they were enough, that would easily put the government on their guard. And the quarrel between Griffiths and his colleagues undoubtedly had ruinous effects for the missionary work.

Baker continued his long letter (22.10.36) by stating that the remaining missionaries had seen only three possibilities of how to act. Firstly, they could choose a fanatical behaviour and stay on and preach the gospel until they were forced to leave. But if they behaved like the poor fanatic, Ratsiniandavana, did in 1835 that might have some sad consequences. Although they were not afraid of their own security in that case, they deemed it certain that some others would be charged with the government's rage. Secondly, they thought they could be allowed to stay as secular men, but they knew that their intercourse with the Christians would make that a lie, and Baker wrote that he would not like to use such "Jesuit principles" since their real objective was too well known. He was afraid that someone would bleed if they choose such proceedings, since many of the true believers then might be exposed to the authorities and arrested. The third possibility was therefore to retire for a while to let God work, leaving the Christians to try to find their own way through all persecutions. Although this solution seems difficult it was not without hope, he declared.⁸⁷⁷

⁸⁷⁵ LMS, Maur, Baker, op.cit, 22.10.36

⁸⁷⁶ Raison-Jourde, 1991, p. 181: "L'arriere-fond sociologique des conversions"

⁸⁷⁷ LMS, Maur, Baker, op.cit, 22.10.36: "*Thus it appeared to me that we were shut up to the duty of leaving, or at least **retiring** for a period. We left therefore, but not without hope. We fully believe that none of the means the Society has used in Madagascar for the evangelization of the people will fail.*"

5.4 Malagasy isolation politics contra British interests

The suppression of Christianity marks a turning point in Malagasy politics, even though the direction of those politics had become more and more clear after the Radama's death. The queen's government had from the first day another agenda than Radama, not only in their marked use of traditional pagan religion, especially the worship of the idols and the spirit of the ancestors, but also in a patriotic Malagasy view and in promoting the political and economical interests of the new Hova elite. As I have explained, the first strong leader, Andiamihaja, still professed an interest in Radama's politics of "progress and civilisation" but after the murder of the Prime Minister, politics changed gradually as the new leaders consolidated their power. And from the day they suppressed Christianity and forced most of the Europeans to leave the capital, it became clear that their real aim was not "progress and civilisation" but to build up the power and wealth of the leading group. Thus their fighting against the missionaries' and their followers' interests became an alibi for the suppression of the population both in Imerina and in the provinces. The missionaries say that soon after the great Kabary forbidding Christianity some people accused them of being the cause of their own suppression, which was an accusation the missionaries strongly denied.⁸⁷⁸ But I have already shown that the fighting against the new religion was in some way the most important tools used by the new elite augmenting their power over the whole population, and promoting the politics of isolation and patriotic proceedings against international interests.

5.4.1 A parallel Hova dynasty

I have explained how the changes after Radama's death was a real revolution transferring the power from the Andriana caste into the hands of the Hova caste, especially when the Andafiavaratra family took control after the murder of Andriamihaja in 1830. Raison-Jourde speaks about the same things, detailing how the three brothers managed to take control of the whole society.⁸⁷⁹ The eldest brother, Rajery was Chief Judge and chief of the "Andriambaventy" command of the civil people. We did not hear much about him but surely his work was important for the family. My investigations above showed that the second brother, Ravoninahitra, changing his name to Rainiharo, became Prime Minister and the queen's principal lover from 1830, not from 1834 as Raison-Jourde states. And the third brother, Ratsimanisa, who soon changed his name to Rainimaharo, was Chief Commander of the Army and Chief Secretary until he died in 1841. As stated above, Baker said in 1836 that his councils and designs were in reality the mainspring of the government's proceedings.⁸⁸⁰ Probably he was the real force behind the forbidding of Christianity in 1835, because he wrote all statements issued by the government at that time.⁸⁸¹ Later, when the British envoy William Campbell visited Antananarivo in 1840, he was received only by Rainimaharo and had all his negotiations with him. After what we can see in Campbell's journal he did not even speak with the Prime Minister, Rainiharo (see chapter 5.5). That shows that Rainimaharo's designs were more

⁸⁷⁸ LMS, Mad, Baker, op.cit, 15.06.35: "Soon after this change; and in a measure to this day, the natives have very much changed in their conduct towards us. (...) Some of the most unreflecting or unjust look upon us as the cause, and by their estimate guilty cause of their danger and loss of rank, and therefore alone worthy of punishment."

⁸⁷⁹ Raison-Jourde, 1991, p.155, Chapter IV: "La montée d'une dynastie parallèle: Les Andafiavaratra": *Le groupe issu d'Ilafy est marqué par la personnalité de Rainiharo et tient une série de postes importants au sein d'une constellation familiale. Rajery, l'aîné, est à la tête des Andriambaventy (c'est-à-dire du réseau administratif commandant les borizano), le fils cadet, Ratsimanisa, est chef de l'armée royale jusqu'à sa mort, en 1841. Entre ces deux frères, Rainiharo, officier de haut rang, marié à une petite-fille de Hagamainty, conseiller illustre d'Andrianampoinimerina, devient à partir de 1834 le conseiller intime de la Reine et son favori, puis le chef de l'armée après la mort de son frère"*

⁸⁸⁰ MA, HB-9, Baker to Dick, 05.09.36

⁸⁸¹ LMS, Mad, 5.2.A, Copy of Her Majesty's Kabar, 21.02.35, which was signed by Rainimaharo

important than Rainiharo's at that time. And when Rainimaharo died in 1841 and Rainiharo succeeded him in his functions as Chief Commander of the army, etc, the persecution of the Christians declined for some years. Raison-Jourde states in her book that the Malagasy people were a victim of the power of its own army, and shows how the Andafiavaratra group managed to build up a parallel dynasty. But Rainiharo and his relatives could not present clearly their ambitions, because a reigning Hova dynasty was historically impossible and would not be accepted at that time.⁸⁸²

When the actual Prime Minister in February 1869, Rainilaiarivony, who was the son of Rainiharo, divorced his wife and married Queen Ranavalona II, it caused some protests and turbulence even though the Andafiavaratra family had actually reigned about 40 years, because that act made it clear that the parallel Hova dynasty finally dared to show the consequence of their rise to power. From the 1830's they had controlled most of Madagascar, even though they had been obliged to use the queen as reigning marionette. And they continued to reign until the French occupation in 1895, as his eldest son Raharo, who changed his name to Rainivoninahitriniony, succeeded Rainiharo and he was again overthrown and replaced by his younger brother Rainilaiarivony in 1864. The only exception to their effectual reign occurred when Radama II succeeded his mother as reigning monarch. The young king tried to take power back to the Andriana class, but after a short reign (1861 - 1863) he was overthrown and killed by the Andafiavaratra brothers. There might be quite a lot of political reasons for the murder of the young king, but maybe his efforts to outdo the parallel Hova dynasty was the real cause.

Raison-Jourde also shows how the parallel dynasty made alliances with the princes Rakotondradama and his cousin Ramboasalama by giving them their daughters as illegitimate wives (tokantrano maso) and thus letting them give birth to semi-andriana children. But the aim of legitimating a parallel dynasty was more effectively created by tracing their own ancestors back to the former Vazimba king in Antananarivo, Andriampirokana,⁸⁸³ and therefore I would contend that the return to the old customs and religion was extremely important for Rainiharo because it allowed him to legitimate his reign to some degree. That fact may also in some way explain why his fight against the new religion was so absolute. Raison-Jourde's analysis shows how Rainiharo and his companions used different strategies to build up the influence of the parallel dynasty, using both the traditionalism and the modernisation at the same time. Christianity and trading were two aspects of the modernisation. By forbidding the first one in 1835 and troubling and finally stopping all trade with British and French traders in 1845 after the French-British bombardment of Tamatave, Rainiharo obtained control over the process of modernisation. On the one hand that made in some aspects the community return to a barbaric state, which the many plundering wars in the provinces and the frequent

⁸⁸² Raison-Jourde, 1991, p.157: "Le groupe de Rainiharo ne peut cependant laisser s'exprimer pleinement ses ambitions. Selon l'adage, le fanjakana ne peut aller à un hova. Si le service de l'Etat est utilisé comme un masque, c'est parce qu'un nouveau fanjakana hova n'est pas pensable, tant il est exécuté historiquement. L'image d'Epinal merina, illustrée sous le nom Fanjakan'i Baroa sert toujours de repoussoir par rapport à l'idéal du fanjakana des andriana. Pourtant, de nombreux symptômes témoignent de la constitution silencieuse d'une deuxième lignée dynastique. Si elle ne peut être officiellement reconnue dans l'immediat, du moins le sera-t-elle dans une ou deux générations."

⁸⁸³ Raison-Jourde, 1991, p.159: "Comme les gens du peuple et comme la Reine, Rainiharo joue d'abord du concept vazimba, commode par son ambiguïté. sous les allures d'une retouraux coutumes et croyances se cache en fait une tentative de déplacement et de redéfinition des andriana-routiers (au sens d'autochtones). Sans nous dire précisément en quelle année ce détail essentiel apparaît comme un donné de l'actualité politique, Malzac, ainsi que les auteurs du Firaketana, mentionnent que Rainiharo était par sa mère Antehiroka et plus précisément descendant du chef Andriampirokana, qui régna à Tananarive jusqu'à la prise de la ville par Andrianjaka. Celui-ci, en exilant ces anciens chefs, avait donné à l'ancêtre de la mère de Rainiharo Amboditsiry et les terres environnantes, propriété où Rainilaiarivony édifiera une fort belle maison de plaisance, au nord-est de ville."

use of the ordeal (tangena) are sufficient proof of. On the other hand, the same men used the new knowledge from Europe when that was considered useful for the progress of their own interests.⁸⁸⁴ They would, for example, combine the modernisation with feudal servitude.

Trading difficulties at the eastern coast.

Many great changes followed the prohibition of Christianity, because everybody was clear that Rainiharo and his brothers now possessed the ultimate power. Before that time they had usually issued most of the proclamations and laws in the name of the queen, and only issued something in their own name on a few occasions. But from that time on they issued more and more proclamations either in their own name. And many times when they referred to the queen's will, it seems uncertain if she had a real knowledge of the actual question. To give an example of this, Governor William Nicolay wrote in November 1837 to the queen complaining that his former letter had not been forwarded to Her Majesty but had been opened and answered by her governor in Tamatave. In that letter he had complained about different acts of ill treatment and injustice directed at the traders at that place, and he was therefore deeply discontented when he found that his letter had been opened and answered by the aggressor he had named:

“So audacious an act as the opening a sealed letter addressed to Your Majesty will no doubt excite Your Majesty’s most serious displeasure (---) For Your Majesty must be aware that I can now have no confidence, that my letters ever reach Your Majesty since an Officer of high rank employed under you should dare, not only to open a sealed letter addressed to Your Majesty but deliberately and officially to avoid it - such an act is unheard of among European Nations, and were it ever to occur there would cause any individual who could be guilty of it to be removed at once and for ever from the service of his Sovereign. (---)

*- and very serious restrictions placed upon the intercourse of the British Traders with Your Majesty’s subjects and their commerce with the interior, very different from what it was in the time of the great Radama, which Your Majesty has so often declared to be the rule that had established for the treatment of British subjects frequenting Your Majesty’s dominions”.*⁸⁸⁵

After having opened Governor Nicolay's letter, the governor of Tamatave criticised him for asking questions about changes the trade had undergone from the day's of Radama and for his listening to "the vain talk of the traders", because that could not make the friendship better, he said.⁸⁸⁶ And when Chief Secretary Rainimaharo answered Governor Nicolay's new letter, it looks uncertain if the queen had really

⁸⁸⁴ Raison-Jourde, 1991, p.165: *“La difficulté à comprendre les contradictions vient de la certitude occidentale qu’il n’existe pas de moyen terme entre barbarie et modernité. Christianisme et commerce sont, comme on le sait, deux composantes de cette dernière. En interdisant le premier en 1835, en stoppant le second en 1845, le pouvoir ne peut que régresser vers la barbarie. Les guerres, le tanguin en sont la preuve. Mais qui suggéra la conquête de l’île sinon des Occidentaux, générant par leur aide technique un déséquilibre désastreux entre populations malgaches? Les Occidentaux se sont laissé prendre au néo-traditionalisme ranavalien, mis en place pour rassurer les populations rurales et masquer un coup d’Etat très moderne, avec l’arrivée au pouvoir de militaire éclipsant les juges, ces cadres traditionnels.”*

⁸⁸⁵ MA, HB-9, Nicolay to Ranavalona, 29.11.37

⁸⁸⁶ MA, HB-9, Governor Ranamasina's letter to Governor Nicolay, 01.10.37, enclosed in a letter from captain Castle, HMS Pylades to Nicolay, 05.01.38: *“To L. Castle. And this I say unto you, with regard to your words saying “The English Sovereign and Radama carried on a friendly correspondence with each other, and the English subjects could then trade in the country as they pleased and wherever they pleased, whether North or South”. I ask you, could not Radama make a Law in his own country while he was friendly with the English? or was it the English that then made the law in Radama’s country? If there is a letter of Radama saying so, show it that we may see it. And this also I say unto you, my letter to Nicolay Governor of Mauritius, perhaps was not properly considered by him, since he again listen to the vain talk of the traders, for if the vain talk of the traders be listen to, that can make the friendship no better, and in friendship there should be no menaces, for menaces are inconsistent with friendship. May you live. Saith Ranamasina, 11th Honour - Governor of Tamatave.”*

been informed about his complaints. He argued that since the letter had come from a governor of another country and not from the British Sovereign himself, the governor of Tamatave had a lawful right to open it and even answer it. He only ought to report its concerns to the queen. He also repeated the statements that the governor of Mauritius should not listen to the complaints of the traders, because that might hurt the friendship between the two countries.⁸⁸⁷

In fact the traders at the eastern coast made a great number of complaints just at that time, stating that there had been a significant change in the Malagasy government's behaviour against the European traders. In earlier days people were free to trade with foreigners, but now it was only the officers from the privileged Hova families who were allowed that favour. Before 1835 it had also been possible to discuss cases of vexation and trouble with the authorities and sometimes the traders received compensation if their losses were caused by the Malagasy, but now even the governor of Mauritius' complaints in the said letter were met with ignorance.⁸⁸⁸ A Malagasy man stated in a letter to Johns that the queen was not pleased with the complaints of the Governor and she would not answer them until her Embassy returned from England.⁸⁸⁹ Johns also wrote from Tamatave in July 1837 that the traders were much interrupted and annoyed in their business, because the Hovas had not only monopolized the trade, but sometimes when the traders had engaged people to do work for them those people could be taken away on an hour's notice to do feudal servitude, and the traders were then left alone when they really needed assistance. The queen had also issued an order lately that no foreigners were allowed to let their cattle grass in the country – a law that would put a stop to the traditional trade in fresh meet etc.⁸⁹⁰

Baker explained those changes in Malagasy trading policy in a great Memorial about different political matters, which he sent to governor Nicolay some weeks before he left Antananarivo. There he stated that the government's new policy was to force the European traders to leave through annoying them, in order to throw the trading with foreigners fully into the hands of the Hova commandants and officers. By ordering the people to work for them without wages as a part of the feudal servitude they hoped to make profits. Baker stated that if they should succeed in this design that would place the east coast trading in a very difficult situation, because even trifling misunderstandings between the two governments or their representatives might cut off the supplies from Madagascar to Mauritius for weeks or months. And should the officers get sick or be occupied with other things such as military concerns that might place the ships in danger of waiting a long time for their cargoes.⁸⁹¹

⁸⁸⁷ MA, HB-9, Rainimaharo to Nicolay, 07.01.38: "*Friend. I have received the letter you wrote to Her Majesty dated 29 nov. 1837, you say that Ranamasina opened a sealed letter addressed to Her Majesty, & you say that is not right. - I inform you, that it is the law in our Country, that when a letter comes from another Sovereign to our Sovereign, no Governor of ours at the coast can open & answer it, but it is the Sovereign that opens & answers it. But if it is a letter from a Governor of another Country to our Sovereign, our Governor at the Coast can open & answer it, but nevertheless they must inform their superior officers of it, that they may inform Her Majesty of it - and that was the reason Ranamasina opened your letter. In your letters you always inform Her Majesty of the complaints of the European Traders at Tamatave, (...) You have received the letter that I wrote for you by command of Her majesty about this affair, therefore read that paper well, as it is an answer to it. Do not believe what Traders who are seeking profit says, for if you believe what they say, it will hurt our friendship, for our Sovereign's & your Sovereign's word, are only what we ought to believe. May you live long Saith Rainimaharo, 12th honor Officer of the Palace, Chief Secretary.*"

⁸⁸⁸ MA, HB-9, Nicolay op.cit, 29.11.37: "*Again I recommend the Complaints of the Traders at Tamatave as set forth in their two Memorials to Your Majesty's early attention for redress and for Compensation in those cases where direct loss has been sustained by them -*"

⁸⁸⁹ MA, HB-9, Extract from a letter, dated 20.03.37.

⁸⁹⁰ MA, HB-9, Johns to Dick, from Tamatave 21.07.37.

⁸⁹¹ MA, HB-9, Baker to Nicolay, Memorial, 20.05.36: "*And firstly, your Memorialist will offer a few statements respecting the Mercantile policy of the Madagascar Government. Their great object is by a series of annoyances to induce the Europeans Merchants to leave, in order that the commerce with foreigners may be thrown into the hands of the native Commandants & Officers from the interior. In this they are guided by selfishment and false views. They have exaggerated notions of Mercantile*

Certainly the difficulties for the traders in getting justice and compensation when they had sustained economical losses was a threat to the British-Malagasy friendship, but even more serious were the cases when British or French persons were injured. The most serious case reported in the 1830's happened in August 1838 when Mr. Marin, the captain of the English ship *Belzoni*, after having taken a sick passenger on board, was assaulted by about 30 of the hovas and so badly injured that he could not take care of his ship any more. When Mr. Vonositou, his agent in Tamatave, complained to the governor of Tamatave, he gave only evasive answers.⁸⁹² His evading responsibility when a British citizen was injured, caused governor Nicolay to send a ship of war to investigate in the case, and in Tamatave Captain Craigie, HMS *Scout*, sent a letter to the governor of the town, stating:

"Sir. Having been deputed by His Excellency Sir William Nicolay (---) to institute an enquiry into the case of an alleged unprovoked assault upon the person of Mr. Marin, Master of the Barque «Belzoni» belonging to Port Louis; and having this day, in your presence, entered into a full investigation of the case, and heard the evidence on both sides, I am of opinion, that the assault was proved and that it was most cruel and uncalled for. I feel myself therefore called upon with the view of ensuring to my fellow countrymen in future, that protection to which has lately been denied them, and to which the laws of all civilised countries entitle them, to demand in the name of Her Majesty the Queen of England:

First: *That the sum of One Hundred Dollars be paid to Mr. Marin, as demurrage for the detention of the "Belzoni"*

Secondly: *That a full and ample apology be made, for the insult offered to the British Flag, by oppression of a British Subject.*

Thirdly: *That you send me a declaration under your own hand, guaranteeing security to the lives and properties of British subjects, within the district of Tamatave.*

*If these demands are not acceded to, I have to acquaint you that I shall immediately take on board all the British subjects, and within one hour of their embarkation, I shall open my broadside upon the Batteries".*⁸⁹³

This kind of "canon diplomacy" must have made a certain impression on the Malagasy authorities at that time. It was less than ten years since French ships of war had opened their deadly broadsides against the Battery and the town, and the authorities therefore knew exactly what the result could be. Captain Craigie stated in another letter that he had first investigated in the case, but finding that the governor was disposed to evade all responsibility, and that Mr. Noussiton, (Mr. Marin's agent) was attacked the same evening as the purpose of Craigie's visit was made known, he thought that the lives of the British residents would be sacrificed if "the *Scout*" left

profits, and imagine they could augment to themselves the present profits, by making the natives labour for them without wages as a part of their feudal servitude to the Sovereign. Probably all the English Merchants have experienced more or less of these annoyances, and some have been thence led to suspect the real design of the native Government. Should this design succeed, trade with Madagascar would stand in the most perilous situation. A trifling misunderstanding between the British & the native Government, or even between the later and its own officers on the coast might stagnate trade in an hour, and cut off all Madagascar supplies for weeks or months. A foreign war, or even a powerful internal combination might carry off all the Commandants on the coast, and in their persons the Merchants, and thereby reduce trade to a stand. Charge of Commandants, sickness of the un-acclimated and many other causes would constantly expose ships to the danger of waiting on indefinite period for their cargoes."

⁸⁹² MA, HB-9, Vonositou to Ranamasina, Philibert & Rasolo, 01.08.38: (the agents name is spelled in many different ways) The answer from the 3 persons is dated the same day and adhered to this letter: "To Mr. Vossitou Agent. And we have received your letter, and in reply say that it is our part and yours to be friendly with each other, let there be no disputes but good trade carried on between us, for what you have not there, we have here, and what we have not here, you have there, therefore let good friendship and no dispute be created between us. Ranamasina, Philibert & Rasolo"

⁸⁹³ MA, HB-9, Captain Craigie to the Governor of Tamatave, 31.08.38

the anchorage without getting assurances of security for the British residents, and therefore he wrote the above letter. The authorities answered by paying the \$100 demanded for to Mr. Marin, but their following letter was too evasive, and Craigie therefore sent it back, desiring them to consider his second and third demands. Next day they presented another letter containing the demanded apology and guarantee of security⁸⁹⁴, and then they parted in the best terms, sharing presents and gun's salutes etc.⁸⁹⁵ This kind of "cannon-diplomacy" was often used with success by British and French authorities in the pre-colonial period. The case in Tamatave in 1838 was not too different from what happened in the same place in 1845, when the Malagasy authorities would not conform to the great power's will and British and French ships bombarded the town, causing a closure of all European trade there the next 9 years. This last case shows that the Malagasy government changed their policy and would no longer accept such cannon diplomacy, and they were then able to put their own politics through against the will of the great powers.

Increasing of the feudal servitude.

One of the great changes occurring after the interdiction of Christianity in 1835 was connected with the use of feudal servitude. In the time of Andrianampoinimerina feudal servitude was used to fulfil important enterprises for the community, either fighting in a war for the king or making roads and irrigation channels for rice cultivation. Radama changed this servitude to include all kind of work for the king - also the learning of all new knowledge brought to Imerina by the Europeans. Also those who were ordered to be soldiers in the new permanent army introduced by the British were forced to do it as a non-paid servitude. But the use of this feudal servitude went through a materially change and became an oppression of the whole people after the forbidding of Christianity. In former days only the king could order people to do such servitude and he was thoroughly attentive to prevent any of his officers from employing people under such orders, but under the new rulers every officer could order people to do such servitude. Radama had also agreed to people using their new knowledge for personal benefit when they did not work for him, but now it was strictly forbidden to use their new knowledge except in the work for the queen and the men in power.⁸⁹⁶

⁸⁹⁴ MA, HB-9, Ranamasina, Philibert & Rasolo to Craigie, 03.09.38: *"To the Commander of the Corvette, Captain Cragie. All the words of your letter have been received by us, telling of the good understanding that has existed between us. That is good. Therefore a peaceable trade should be carried on between us and no oppression exercised - That are many things not to be found in Yours that are in our Country, and many things not to be found here that are in your Country; therefore let a good understanding exist between us. The «Hundred Dollars» you demand as demurrage for the detention of the Belzoni shall be paid by the Grand Judge Philibert. And with respect to the assault upon Marin it was not us, the Governor, judges and Officers that authorised it. We are sorry for it and have punished the offender, and we apologise to the Queen of England for the oppression of her subject. But with respect to the English subjects, trading here with us at Tamatave, we beg solemnly to assure you, that no person whatever shall be allowed to injure them in the slightest degree, and no person whatever shall be allowed to destroy or take their property. But a perpetual good understanding shall be maintained between us. Therefore let British subjects carry on Trade peacefully here at Tamatave for there shall no oppression exist here. Should any British subject transgress the laws of our Country, the British subjects residing at Tamatave shall be summoned to witness the investigation. But with regard to the exercise of the Laws of the Country, reference must be made to the Queen, and may you, Sirs, live happy."*

⁸⁹⁵ MA, HB-9, Craigie to Rear Admiral George Elliot, 03.09.38: *"I then informed His Excellency that I would salute Her Majesty's Flag, and also consented to receive the present of Two Bullocks, for the Ships Company, which I had previously declined. They seemed much delighted at this declaration, and we parted on the most amicable terms. On my return on board, I (...) saluted Her Majesty's Flag with Twenty One Guns, which was returned by an equal number."*

⁸⁹⁶ MA, HB-9, Baker to the governor, 13.09.36: *Restraint on diffusion of knowledge under the Madagascar Queen's Government: "To render the case of the people still more appalling, the queen, in June of the year 1836 promulgated a new law, to the effect that "any persons happening to acquire a knowledge of the new arts introduced by the Europeans, and venturing to practise these arts for their own benefit, or out of the govt premises, on any pretence, would be liable to death." The soap-making, powder-making, with its connected precepts of sulphur, vitre-making & with the gun-making, were expressly specified, and it was understood only to apply to these and the printing, as not having (except an inferior mode of powder-making) existed at all amongst the natives before the Europeans introduced them. The new law instantly deprived some of their means of livelihood, they having been in the practice of boiling a little soap in their iron pots for sale amongst their friends."*

The greatest changes in the time of Radama came with his new army and his being supreme judge not only of military laws but of all things connected with the government. But the severity of feudal servitude is often moderated by the good-disposition of the supreme power. So it was in Radama's time, because he felt the people to be his people, and not merely slaves over whom accident or intrigue had made him supreme. He had therefore some paternal feelings towards them. He was, moreover, in his single person supreme, and therefore, at the worst, the people had only to suffer from the wickedness or caprice of one man. But Baker concluded that when the new leaders in the name of the queen changed the feudal servitude to be used to the profit of the Hova caste that caused a complete oppression of the people.⁸⁹⁷

Edward Baker, who was Senior Missionary when he left Madagascar in June 1836, soon afterwards wrote a letter to the governor of Mauritius explaining the

⁸⁹⁷ MA, HB-9, Baker, op.cit, Memorial, 20.05.36: *"Arbitrary power is the principle which pervades their social system in all its branches. All freemen emerging from boyhood, or as new defined, of five spans high and upwards, are enrolled by hundreds under superiors, called the Master of hundreds, or centurions. These are expected to know their hundreds personally, and to see that no individual amongst them neglects his feudal service. They are liable to be called to account by the Vadintany or superior Official who forms the ordinary channel of communication between them and the Government. These latter are in a measure amenable to the chieftains, and all the three classes are liable to be called to account by the messengers of the Government sent to them with orders. There is another official who collect all dues of the Sovereign, and is therefore called Farantsa (a Dollar). The chieftains act in petty cases as judges. The power of all these, tho' in some instances defined by law, is in practice arbitrary. The centurion ties up a refractory inferior, and leaves him in chains until his spirit is subdued. (...) It was on such a stock that Radama engrafted the system of Military subordination, and the analogy between the two modes of ruling was so close that they naturally incorporated into one system. The ancient judges retained the decision of civil cases, such as disputes about rice-ground, and the king as their head, took upon themselves, not only the decision of cases strictly military, but all in any way connected with the Government, such as breaches of feudal service & duty, public works, education, cases of Europeans, etc. The king had originally been Supreme head of the civil system, and now being so of the Military, and surrounded by his Officers, he naturally made them the medium of his communications with the people, and thence Military laws has become the supreme rule of Government to which an appeal may in all cases, where sufficient influence exists, be made. But these systems mutually order each other in the complete oppression of the people. By the ancient feudal laws no specific limit was put to the power of the Sovereign in demanding the service of his vassals - the whole people. A natural limit existed in the Sovereigns conscious weakness, and apprehension of his people fleeing to the protection of some neighbouring king. But the Military system, by strengthening the hands of one Sovereign & destroying the power of all others, has thrown down the ancient boundaries and left arbitrary power without control. The ancient feudal system allowed of the vassals being called out to war without the appointment of any day for their dismissing, because the expediency of a permanent army was never foreseen, but the military system by showing the utility and necessity of a permanent army induced the king to exert his feudal rights in wresting thousands for ever from their paternal hearths.*

In a similar way no boundary was placed to the requirement of occasional services from the people because it had not been foreseen that any thing more than the building of a house or some such temporary service would ever be required - But the introduction of European arts has occasioned the perpetual unpaid employment of thousands of wretched being to fetch wood, make charcoal, build & &. Smith, Carpenters and all native artizans were formerly allowed to reside in their native villages liable to an occasional order to work up for the Government any materials sent. - Now, thousands are constricted to remove to a site fixed upon in or near the capital, to work constantly without pay, and get their daily rice as they can. European arts have increased the artificial wants of the great ones. The supply of their wants must be drawn from the wretched people, and thence oppression increases in exact proportion with the arts. It would appear paradoxical to see that in Madagascar knowledge is only power so far as it is oppression. Yet not every sensible nature knows to be the fact. A nobleman, (for instance) requires 10.000 nails: - he applies to the queen for an order to the three or 400 Smiths. It is given, & they set (...) about the job, every one thinking only of hurrying over his portion, and wishing from his heart he could not make a nail. Were the order brought into a free market it would occasion competition, and the necessful tendered would apply his mind to save labour, & improve his workmanship.

General distress in Madagascar is extreme just in proportion to the proximity of a place to the capital. Immediately round An-Tananarivo every one is exposed to personal observation, and consequently Society presents but two faces, the one oppression, and the other its effect, - wretchedness. The natives have only two methods of defending themselves, cunning to deceive the oppressor, and courage to flee from him. In the provinces, and amongst the hovas when sojourning there the latter is often practicable, and many hundreds live like wild-beasts in the desserts and woods. Around the capital the former prevails, and pretended sickness, absolute poverty and nakedness, and selling themselves into slavery to each other, are the prevalent and daily modes of opposing the Government. As a natural result crime follows misery, and I have known in the latter end of 1835 more than 100 culprits to suffer death by the verdict of the law in one day, out of a population of less, perhaps, than a million.

Oppression could never be carried to such an extent did not the Military power of the Government aid to keep the chieftains and others in awe: - And to this therefore, and to the English who introduced it, much of their misery is, by the natives, ascribed. Accidental circumstances have contributed to aggravate the evils of the system. The severity of arbitrary Government is often moderated by the good-disposition of the supreme power. So it was in Madagascar in Radama's time. He felt the people to be his people, and not merely slaves over whom accident or intrigue had made him supreme. He had therefore some paternal feelings towards them. He was, moreover, in his single person supreme, and therefore, at the worst, the people had only to suffer from the wickedness or caprice of one man. But the present queen has no such feelings to restrain her own conduct, and she, holding the reins and Government with a feeble hand, many are allowed to share in the oppression of the people, until "the land is filled with Violence."

nature of the feudal servitude and especially the difficulties arising when that servitude was connected to the work of the mission:

*“When the British Government and the London Missionary Society introduced letter and various mechanical arts into Madagascar, in 1819 interceding years, the following was the method, and the only method, which Radama adopted for the cultivation of arts. Availing himself of the existing feudal laws which only recognise the people as vassals of the Sovereign, he appointed certain young persons to remain with the Missionaries and Artizans a number of years, to learn, after which they were to revert to himself as vassals doomed to perpetual and unpaid servitude in their newly acquired arts. It was perfectly understood by the people that their children learned for the king and not for themselves. - An appointed number of children were furnished from each district to learn reading and writing on the same principle, and being thus chosen, it was clearly implied that their learners thereby fell into the hands of **the feudal servitude** govt for permanent servitude. – This principle of seizing the merest children was carried into universal effect in June of 1836 by a proclamation ordering all children from five spans high and upwards into the queen’s service, after which it was common to see children of the above height dragging wood and carrying stones for the Government works. Even the youth sent to England with Prince Ratefy were subjected to the same rule, with this only difference, that their parents had the privilege of making an ostentation of loyalty in voluntarily presenting their sons and offering to assist in their outfit. All was done for the King, or as they say, “to express thanks to him, & make him sacred.”*

After the laps of some years, as the various classes of Carpenters, smiths, sailors &, furnished their education, their services were, as a matter of course demanded by the Government, by whom they have been from that since, at the present habitually employed without pay. So long since as Le Gros’ time, about 1825 or 26, the Carpenters viewing him as the origin of their unpaid labour in building &, set fire to his premises, for which act, on detection, they were burnt alive.

For a few years, however, the condition of these classes was ameliorated by the following circumstances. They had been generally selected from persons of some property, and hence possessed of slaves to work their rice ground, and even learn their respective arts to labour for the owners’ benefit. Radama referred them to exercise their skill for their personal benefit when not employed by him, and he was strictly attentive to prevent any of his officers giving surreptitious orders to employ them. - Now, every petty officer can obtain such orders, the artizans have generally been obliged to sell their slaves, being reduced to the utmost state of poverty. The boys from the schools have been taken to fill up the ranks in the army, and even the girls have been taken to sew for the queen and her favourites, and the whole army. There are at least 800 smith whose only means of subsistence is, to steal the iron of Government brought of the same feudal system from the iron districts, work it clandestinely with the charcoal brought in the same way, and give the articles to their wives and relatives for sale in the markets. The 300 to 500 carpenters steal the queens wood on the same plan, so that petulancy has become universal”⁸⁹⁶.

⁸⁹⁶ MA, HB-9, Baker, op.cit, 13.09.36

Baker's stating that both the schoolwork and the artisan's work from the first days had been used to suppress people by the principle of feudal servitude is important for the evaluation of the whole mission work. But he concluded both here and in his Memorial that the suppression had changed dramatically by the government's new law of June 1836, especially since all free people now were concerned, including boys of five spans high, and not only those who had formerly learned something by missionaries or artisans.

The effecting of the new law of 1836 did not allow free men time enough to work their rice grounds,⁸⁹⁹ and therefore that kind of work had to be effected by slaves or women, a fact that greatly changed the woman's situation, especially in Imerina. This fact combined with insufficient rain in 1836 and 1837 caused famine and starvation both in Imerina and at the eastern coast.⁹⁰⁰ This climatically disaster is known also from East-Africa in those years. Pier Larson say that during the reign of Andrianampoinimerina the enslaving of people in Imerina caused great changes in the society, starting the transformation of women's labour. Not only real slaves (andevo) and prisoners of war, but also "zazahova" and kidnapped people were exported, and their own relatives sold many times children. Larson explains that the pressure of silver was great and caused dissemination of the population in the country, and the selling of males caused women, children and slaves to work the rice fields and to do other work originally done exclusively by the men. On the other hand women's traditional work like weaving and cloth making were partly stopped by the import of cloth bought by silver.⁹⁰¹ But those changes might also have increased the independence of women in Imerina.⁹⁰² When Radama stopped the slave trade his use of feudal servitude to the army and all the new arts taught by the Europeans still prevented the males from doing their normal work, and that was extremely strengthened with the new law of 1836, and forced the women to take over the males' duty to a greater extent.

Baker also details in his Memorial how the military system received from Great Britain was accepted merely and exclusively as an element of power, without any regard to noble sentiments of justice, honour, and humanity that habitually distinguished British officers. The army therefore had become the means of suppression not only in Imerina but also even in a higher degree in the other provinces where the plundering raids of war were too horrid and disgusting for detailing in the English language.⁹⁰³ He also explained how the system of bribery and corruption pervaded every department of the government, and he concludes that it appears inconceivable to him that Great Britain can establish any friendly relations with the Malagasy government whilst they act on such principles as he had detailed.

5.4.2 Sending of an Embassy to England and France in 1836

⁸⁹⁹ LMS, Maur, 2.1.B, Johns to Ellis, 14.11.36: "The people are so constantly employed in the feudal service that they have no time to plant their own rice and in consequence of this there is a great scarcity of provision in the country this year, and no doubt hundreds will perish before the new rice get ripe, for want of food."

⁹⁰⁰ MA, HB-9, Baker to Dick, 05.09.36: "The Government, wondering why they cannot enrol soldiers as easily as Radama did, and exact feudal servitude from all people as Radama's father did, persevere to oppress. At length, the Government, (...) it to be the (...) of the rice merchants which has made rice so dear, promulgated in 1836 various edicts fixing the price of rice, and throwing odium on the rice merchants as well as discouraging the rice planters. The natural resultants are, a famine, the formation of bandits in the interior, and the necessity of increasing severity on the part of the Government."

⁹⁰¹ Larson, 2000, p. 124-127

⁹⁰² Larson, 2000, p. 130: "Such developments undoubtedly increased the independence of women who managed to steer their way clear of debt and pawnship, bringing some social acceptance of their capacity to manage local economic resources. In a similar vein, women's access to and publicly recognized rights over agricultural resources must have increased during this period."

⁹⁰³ MA, HB-9, Baker, op.cit, 20.05.36

After the great changes in 1835 and the critic from British authorities, caused by the difficulties for the trade at the eastern coast and the dismissing of the British missionaries and their project of progress and civilisation, the Malagasy government decided to send an Embassy to Europe to strengthen their friendship with Great Britain and France. Some of the Queen's advisers were aware of the dangers of alienating Britain when true peace was not yet restored with France. Some historians, thinking that the object of the Embassy was to try to repair some of the damage caused by the isolationist and anti-Christian policy, value the results as unsuccessful since no problems were really solved and all the changes that followed soon afterwards were generally for the worse.⁹⁰⁴ In my opinion that might be a wrong interpretation because some contemporary letters reveal that the agenda of the Malagasy government was quite different from what the European conceived it to be. The real cause of Baker's Memorial to Governor Nicolay was a prospect of giving detailed information about the state of politics in Madagascar with reference to their sending this Embassy to Europe. And Baker had foreseen the failure of the British expectation of strengthening the existing friendship between the nations even before the Embassy left Madagascar, since he knew only too well the government's secret agenda. Stating that the Malagasy government's sole motive was fear arising from the state of their affairs, and that they therefore would try to gain time to consolidate their reign and the politics of oppression, Baker supposed that they might have given secret instructions to their Ambassadors to make different concessions – even to accept a British Resident Agent again – but those concessions would prove fictive. Had the Malagasy government been sincerely seeking to civilize their subjects England might have felt an interest in their cause, Baker said, but it is a power to enslave and oppress the people they seek in England.⁹⁰⁵ In another letter he expressed even more clearly that they were seeking a pledge from Europe:

*“The object of the queen's present embassy to England and France, is, probably, to obtain, if possible, pledges from those Government of non-interference in the affairs of Madagascar; pledges which would greatly encourage them in their oppressive measures, and assist to break down the spirit of the people”.*⁹⁰⁶

Baker's conclusion in his Memorial is that all the British expectations would be in vain, because the reign of the Malagasy government is founded on principles so unacceptable to British politics, and they will not be willing to change anything in

⁹⁰⁴ Brown, 1978, p. 174-75

⁹⁰⁵ MA, HB-9, Baker, op.cit, Memorial, 20.05.36 “Your Memorialist is the superintendent of the Mission Trop in Madagascar; he has resided nearly 6 years at the seat of the native Government, and feeling, as an Englishman attached to his own Country's interests and Government he thinks, that at the present crisis, and in the absence of other sources of information, some facts and observations he has to offer respecting Madagascar may not be deemed impertinent. The immediate occasion of this Memorial is, the projected embassy of the Queen of Madagascar to the King of England. It is hardly necessary to remark, that the opinion given by your Memorialist to the members of the Madagascar Government, (so far as that opinion was asked) has been an explicit recommendation to carry on all transactions with Great Britain through the medium of Your Excellency. The projected Embassy is to be sent by the same persons who have previously refused an Agent, almost annihilated free commerce; and suppressed Christianity and general Instruction. The Ambassadors convey the Queen's assertion that she has not varied in her regard to the English from the sentiments & policy of Radama. They have instructions to accede to the offer of an Agent, & probably to make other concessions, and they have secret instructions of a general kind. It is, however, contrary to the Governments despotic views to give any discretionary power to their Ambassadors, and therefore it appears impossible that any thing should be effected by their Embassy, at the distance of England from Madagascar. A majority of the Embassy are disaffected towards the Government that sends them, and they go in utter ignorance how to proceed on their arrival in England. Had the Madagascar Government been sincerely seeking and to civilize their subjects, England might have felt an interest in their cause, but their sole motive is fear arising from the present postum of their affairs. It is a power to enslave and oppress which they seek at the Lands of England. Still it appears to your Memorialist that the Queen's Embassy may bring about the consideration of every question affecting Madagascar generally, either by the British Government alone, or in any connection with the French. And such consideration will involve the question whether the present Government of Madagascar is to be supported, or another. Your Excellency's Memorialist has therefore collected some information on the character & proceedings of the present Government as bearing on this question.

⁹⁰⁶ MA, HB-9, Baker to Dick, 05.09.36

order to secure the friendship, but will only try to gain time and strength to fulfil their own politics. All his analyses later proved to be right, and when Governor Nicolay sent a lot of such information to the British government as he considered useful in their negotiations with the Embassy,⁹⁰⁷ probably some of Baker's opinions were referred to in this information.

The Embassy led by Andriantsetohina left Madagascar in the autumn 1836 and sailed via Mauritius to Europe. Johns wrote in the beginning of September that the Ambassadors were expected to come to Mauritius every day. Two of them, Raharo and Rasatranabo, were amongst David Jones' first scholars and had later worked closely with Freeman and Johns in translating the Holy Scripture as members of the "12 helpers" or "principal teachers". Both of them had asked Johns for a letter of introduction to Ellis, but he wrote to him that he did not believe that Raharo still was a true convert. On the other hand he declared that Ellis could trust in Rasatranabo, the husband of former Mrs. Hastie, because he still kept his religious books etc.⁹⁰⁸ He stated in his introduction letter for the two ambassadors that they would probably leave for England about the 10th of October 1836.⁹⁰⁹

The Ambassadors arrived in England on the 9th of February 1837, and the following weeks they had their negotiations with His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Lord Glenly sent in the end of March the proposed "Draft of Convention" from Downing Street to Governor Nicolay and authorized him to sign such a convention on behalf of the British king if the Malagasy queen would sign it.⁹¹⁰ The Embassy had also been allowed to meet the British king and queen and other prominent persons, and Mr. Freeman was appointed to be their interpreter even though four of them spoke tolerably good English. He was also authorized to take them to different meetings with LMS etc. The Embassy then visited Paris and negotiated with the French government before they returned to Madagascar, but that government showed little interest in serious talks, and the visit in Paris was less fruitful than in London.

The introduction of the discussed matters in the proposed "Draft of Convention" between the British and Malagasy governments is very interesting:

"His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain & Ireland, and Her Majesty Ranavalona, Queen of Madagascar, being desirous of fixing upon a lasting basis the friendship and good understanding now happily subsisting between them, and of confirming and extending the intercourse between their respective subjects for the purpose of commerce and for the mutual benefit of both Countries, have agreed to conclude a Convention for that purpose - (---)

Article I: *There shall be perpetual Amity between His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain & Ireland, and Her Majesty Ranavalona the Queen of Madagascar, and between their respective Dominions & subjects.*

I think this introduction and first article was what the Malagasy government sought by sending their Embassy to Great Britain, because by those proud words the British authorities in some way bound themselves to fix upon a lasting basis the friendship and good understanding, even though there had been a lot of difficulties between the two governments in the ten years since the death of Mr. Hastie. By this Draft of

⁹⁰⁷ MA, HB-9, Lord Glenly to Nicolay, 30.03.37

⁹⁰⁸ LMS, Maur, 2.1.C, Johns to Ellis, 09.09.36: "I fear that the first is not a real convert but I believe the last is. Raharo does not know that any of the natives keep their books and I beg of you not to let him know that there are any in the country persevering in their christian career. As to Rasatranabo you can speak freely with him (...) I believe his intention is not to return to Madagascar till some change will take place in the Govt, and indeed if he was to remain in England he may render a great service to the Society by assisting in the revision of the Scripture."

⁹⁰⁹ LMS, Maur, 2.1.D, Johns to Ellis, 29.09.36

⁹¹⁰ MA, HB-9, Lord Glenly, op.cit, 30.03.37

Convention the Malagasy government secured the pledge that Baker had supposed, a pledge that assuaged the threat that the great power might intervene in any question in their affairs. And Baker later stated that Mr. Smith, the governor succeeding Mr. Nicolay, when hearing about the execution of 9 Christians in 1840, frankly declared that his express instruction from the British government were to preserve peace with Madagascar; and therefore it was impossible for him to carry any threat into effect.⁹¹¹

The remaining six articles in the draft all explained the British wishes about different questions: a reciprocal freedom of Commerce, and freedom of religion and mission work (art. II); freedom for the visiting ships to import and export goods (art. III); appointing of consuls, hereby a Resident British Agent in Antananarivo (art. IV); continuing the cessation in the slave trade, and allowing British ship of war to seize slaving vessels (art. V); to make the same annually payments to the queen as Radama received previously (art. VI); and restoring to the missionaries and other British citizens any land or houses confiscated by the Malagasy (art VII). The most interesting to our theme are the 2nd and 7th articles:

“Art. II: - a reciprocal freedom of Commerce (---) - liberty freely and securely to come with their ships and cargoes to all such places (---) to remain and reside in any part of such territory respectively, also to hire and occupy houses & warehouses for the purpose of Commerce, and the inhabitants of each Country shall enjoy in the other the most complete protection and security for their persons and property (---)

Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar further engages that the subjects of H.B.M. - residing within her Dominions shall not be disturbed, persecuted, or annoyed on account of their religion, but shall have perfect liberty to celebrate Divine Service, either within their own private Houses, or in Churches or Chapels which they shall be at liberty to build & maintain; and they shall be permitted as teachers and instructors of the doctrines of Christianity in the same manner as was practiced in the reign of Her Majesty’s Predecessor King Radama.

*Art. VII: And whereas certain British subjects who had been encouraged by the late King Radama to reside in Madagascar and to build Houses and to purchase Lands therein, have lately found themselves obliged to leave the Island; and whereas the Houses and Lands of such British subjects have been taken possession of by the Government of Madagascar, Her Majesty Queen Ranavalona hereby promises either to restore to such British subjects their Lands & Houses, or else to make them just and adequate compensation for the same”.*⁹¹²

No wonder Lord Glenly authorized the governor to sign such a convention, because this proposal agreed in all parts with the British point of view in the many discussions between the two government during the last ten years. As I have explained above those discussions had been very hard many times and the Malagasy government had often rejected the British point of view until now. Therefore Lord Glenly should be well satisfied if the Malagasy queen would accept the proposed convention, because it was so well adapted to secure all the main objects of British interests in Madagascar. But would the queen accept? Or would such acceptance be beyond her power and against the interests of the parallel Hova dynasty?

⁹¹¹ LMS, Maur, 2.4.A, Baker to Ellis, 04.08.40

⁹¹² MA, HB-9, Lord Glenly, op.cit, 30.03.37

From the last quotation it is clear that the property of the LMS and the missionaries had become a question in the negotiations, and Griffiths later stated that he had asked the British government to demand the Embassy to give a reward for his house. Many of the houses were built with some help from Radama, who often gave the needed timber and ordered people to work on the houses as a part of their feudal servitude to the king. And Radama had always fixed the place where they could build their houses and usually he gave them the needed ground. But such grounds were not considered as personal property since only the king could be owner of ground according to the Malagasy customs and laws. This last point often caused hot discussions since it was contrary to European laws, and France used disputes such as the quarrel about the heritage of Jean de Laborde's properties as a cause to start the first French-Malagasy war in 1883.

When the missionaries left Madagascar in 1835-36 the queen did not allow them to sell their houses. David Johns wrote that the queen did not claim the houses before the missionaries left the capital, but he states that she had taken possession of Chick's house shortly after he had left, and probably she would do so with all houses and gardens.⁹¹³ Baker wrote more explicitly, detailing how the ministers of the government publicly declared that all Europeans had worked for the queen and therefore their houses belonged to her. Thereby they prevented them from being sold.⁹¹⁴ Probably the proposal in the draft of convention about restoring of the missionaries' property provoked the government as seriously as the proposal of religious freedom? The Directors of LMS had also sent a letter to the queen presenting the claim of \$3200 for the Society's properties left in Antananarivo – exclusive each missionary's private propriety.⁹¹⁵ Baker was very sceptical about all such claims when he heard the results of the Embassy's visit in England:

"It does not at all affect my view of the subject (freedom for the Christians) to hear that the queen's Embassy were expressing a hope that their Govt would change. They would naturally coincide in not an expression whilst they were in the midst of you, but they knew very well that no hope of the kind had any foundation with views, prospects or designs of the Govt. The Madagasy Govt is not to be influenced by remote apprehensions. It is their mode to terrify if they can, but they have no idea of verbal demonstrations. They think they are verbal because nothing can be effected. The consequence therefore, of the British Govt sending in claims of the Soc. & some of its Miss.rs on property in Imerina, will naturally be to enrage the queen against us. And the claiming will readily be disposed of by paying one or two (as Mr. Jones or Griffiths) and saying of the most "Here is your property, come & possess." The grand difficulty is not going to Imerina to live in our houses, and make gardens, which we were invited to do, but to obtain the least permission to disseminate

⁹¹³ LMS, Maur, 2.1.B, Johns to Ellis, 14.11.36

⁹¹⁴ MA, HB-9, Baker, op.cit, 13.09.36: "In the same spirit, on the breaking up of the London Missionary Society's mission in June & July 1836, - the queen's ministers publicly declared that all the labour of the Europeans was for the queen, and their property hers. - They accordingly seized Mr. Jones' garden valued by him at 340 dollars, and Mr. Chicks' residence also left on sale. They were extremely angry with the family of Jolicoeur for buying a house from Mr. Baker for 40 Dollars, and absolutely (tho' secretly) forbade them to purchase Mr. Freeman's house, as they had agreed to do for 400 Dollars. - They compelled Mr. Griffiths to sign a paper saying that his residence and chapel, valued at 3000 Dollars was (justly, or implied) claimed by the queen. And they entirely prevented the sale of every public building belonging to the London Missionary Society. Mr. Johns & Mr. Baker could not even leave these buildings or Mr. Freeman's private residence in charge of any natives without a paper exonerating them from blame in the event of the queen seizing the premises under their charge."

⁹¹⁵ LMS, Mad, 5.3.A, The directors to Ranavalona, 06.03.37: Concluding: "But while a sense of duty, as guardians of the property of the Society, renders it necessary for them to urge this claim, they sincerely hope that He who is the King eternal, immortal and invincible, and by Whom kings rule in the earth, will, in the wise and merciful arrangements of His providence, so favour Your Majesty as to incline Your majesty to do homage to His name as the only living God, and to encourage the teachers of His Will to resume their instruction of the people under your dominions, and that the Missionaries will at no distant period return to Madagascar and resume their important and useful labours:"

*the truth. My opinion is that we had better to have passed by these claims, if ever we expect to renew the Mission under the queen's sanction".*⁹¹⁶

Baker was right, I think, supposing that such claims of restoring or giving compensation for lost property would close all possibility for the missionaries' return and work in Madagascar. When all politics were viewed under the design of making profit to the reigning Hova class, such claims would certainly make the government more determined to keep up their decisions.

As I mentioned above, Rainiharo had not entrusted the Embassy with any mandate to make decisions about an agreement with Great Britain or France and therefore the ambassadors returned with only a draft of convention. But contrary to the hopes of the British government, he did not send deputies to Mauritius to sign the convention or to continue the dialogue. Quite opposite things happened, and the said draft of convention from the British government was not fully answered before the 12th of March 1838, and then mostly in the negative.

But the immediate answer was most likely the persecution of the first Malagasy martyr. David Johns wrote immediately to Ellis after his return from Tamatave late in September 1837, where he had stayed for several months seeking news from his friends in the capital and waiting for the Embassy to pass by on the return to Madagascar. He had already written several reports about the Christians' situation, which had not been so bad up to that time. One year after Johns and Baker left, and more than two years after the prohibition of Christianity, the government was still waiting without putting the laws into full effect by starting persecution of the Christians. But in this new letter Johns stated that the situation for the Christians had changed dramatically soon after the arrival of the Embassy's report from England:

*"Only about a fortnight after the Queen had received the full journal of her Embassy up to their departure from England, some of our beloved brethren & sisters in Christ were detected meeting on a mountain for public worship on a Sabbath day; the severest measures were immediately adapted towards them. A search was commenced and a box of printed books was found, buried near the house of Rafaravavy – the female formerly detected. Her entire property was given up to plunder, and her person secured and heavy irons put on her hands and feet – She was tormented during about a week or 10 days to induce her to impeach her **namana** (friends) but she remained firm & perfectly unexposed and was put to death by spearing on the 14th of August".*⁹¹⁷

I find it important that this happened just a short time after the receiving of the Embassy's reports from the negotiations in England, and I suppose that the government had been waiting for that report and now felt free to act against the Christians. Certainly Rainiharo and his government had gathered much information about them during the last two years, and we know that Rafaravavy had already been arrested once before, when her slaves accused her of having a Bible. But I think the government had kept silent until now because they knew very well that the persecution of any Christians would be reported to England, and probably hurt the Embassy's proceedings there. Now the government had gained much time to consolidate the power, and with the new assurances of perpetual friendship and cooperation from London, they were no longer afraid of British interference in their planned persecutions. Probably they were also seriously provoked by the British proposals about religious freedom and restoring of the missionaries' property, which thereby might have caused the immediate action against the Christians. It may be

⁹¹⁶ LMS, Maur, 2.2.A, Baker to Ellis, 20.06.37

⁹¹⁷ LMS, Maur, 2.2.D, Johns to Ellis, 27.09.37

significant for the difficult correspondence with the friends in Antananarivo that for nearly one year the missionaries believed that it was Rafaravavy who was executed, while in fact it was another woman, Rasalama. In August 1838 Johns made some excuse for the false information he had distributed the year before, stating that although Rafaravavy certainly had been the first one on the death list, the government had changed since Rasalama had provoked them so boldly.⁹¹⁸ Rafaravavy, on the other hand, was hiding for nearly one year before making her escape to Mauritius.

After hearing Baker's appreciations about the draft of convention and especially about the property of the mission, it is not surprising that Rainimaharo, the Chief Secretary, after waiting half a year, answered Lord Palmerstone and the British government mostly in the negative. Firstly he declared that this was the final answer from the queen to the proposals brought back by the Embassy. The queen would never change the friendship because she would not renew the slave trade. But he frankly told that neither would the trade be free, but restricted to those places where there were Hova garrisons, nor would the government be responsible for the trading persons or their goods, but he renewed the advice not to listen to the complaints of the traders. The proposals to place a Resident British Agent in Antananarivo and giving the queen the same economical reward as Radama formerly received, was promptly rejected.⁹¹⁹ Also the proposals about religious freedom and the right to give religious instruction were rejected, and all critics that the government had forced the missionaries away and taken their houses was denied:

*And with regard to the white people that were here with us, we allowed them to follow the religion of their ancestors, for we did not prevent them, nor did we persecute them on account of their following the religion of their ancestors; and we tell you this, for fear there are some telling falsehood in your Country, saying, We were prevented to follow our religion, and we were persecuted for it. But as to the Malagasy subjects, the religion of our ancestors alone we must follow. Examine well the letter we sent you on the subject of religion, for we cannot change the customs of our ancestors more than you can change the customs of your ancestors. And with regard to religious instructions, we thank you for what you say, but we are instructed sufficiently in the religion of our ancestors, and we cannot change the customs of our ancestors. (---)
And with regard to the English you mentioned whom Radama encouraged to dwell in the Madagascar Country, to build houses and to buy ground; this I say*

⁹¹⁸ LMS, Mad, 5.3.B, Johns to Ellis, 06.08.38: "It is certain that Rafaravavy was pointed out by the Govt to be put to death, but Rasalama spoke so boldly in favour of Christianity that at last she was fixed as the victim to appease the wrath of the queen, she spoke out her mind very decidedly, saying that she would speak for all her companions; some of our friends think that she went rather beyond what was really necessary."

⁹¹⁹ MA, HB-9, Rainimaharo to Lord Palmerstone, 12.03.38: "And this I say unto you. I received the letter you wrote to the Sovereign of Madagascar, brought by Andriantsetohaina and his companions, And the Sovereign of Madagascar orders me to write to you that you may tell the Sovereign of England these words. The friendship does not change, and the Sovereign of Madagascar does not export slaves any where across the sea. And with regard to the trade; those things, which we have not, we will buy of you, and those things which you have not, you will buy of us, yet a stipulation not assented to, whether on our part or on yours, should not destroy friendship. And with regard to the ships of you English, to those ports alone, where officers and soldiers reside, your English ships are at liberty to enter and trade- (...) And also, with regard to what you say, that the subject of both Countries, when they reside in each others Country should be well protected both in their persons and property: we do not agree to that, but let it be, that you are not responsible for the Malagasy subjects and their property, and we are not responsible for the English subjects and their property; let every man take care of his own property; at the same time, neither you nor we should listen to the complaints of the traders, for fear it will destroy our friendship. (...) And as to the Consul and Agent whom you propose should reside in this Country to watch over the trade, there will be an appearance of suspicion, if a consul and an Agent were to reside in the Country. (...) And with regard to what you say, respecting the assent of Ranavalona, Queen of Madagascar to the Articles mentioned, which the King of England consented to give her, as annual present, which England agreed to, in the 3d Article of the treaty made in the year 1817. If amity and friendship have the appearance of being bought with money and riches, it is not right; and if when we give to each other, then alone, we are friendly, that blinds the wise, both among you and among us. And the friendship does not change; the Sovereign of Madagascar does not export slaves any where across the sea."

*to you, Radama gave them fixed time to remain in Madagascar, and when their time expired, they returned home; some of them returned home after their time had expired, and some returned home before their time had expired, but no one drove them out of the Country, but when we followed the religion of our ancestors, they returned home of their own accord, for no one sent them off. And Radama did not sell ground to any one, if any one say, I bought ground of Radama, that is falsehood. And with regard to the houses; when these English were on the point of leaving, we allowed them to sell their houses, but if they could not sell them, who would take from them their own property; and besides, they did offer the houses on sale, but were not able to sell them. But as to the houses, which we made for them, we did not grant them these, that they might sell them”.*⁹²⁰

Thus Rainimaharo rejected all the proposals sent from the British government in the Draft of Convention, except the assurances of perpetual friendship, which seem to have been taken as a pledge of non-interference from the British government in all affairs of Madagascar, allowing the government to continue the oppression of the people, as Baker had foreseen in his different letters. The history of the missionaries' struggle to be allowed to remain in the country (1831-36), which I have explained above, shows clearly that he is lying, when he states: “no one drove them out of the country”. After the documentation given I find that also the answer about the missionaries' property was in some way a lie, and in chapter 5.5 I will try to show other examples how Rainimaharo used historical lies as arguments for his extreme politics.

5.4.3 The influence of the missionaries after their withdrawal

The Malagasy government had accepted that Johns and Baker stayed on, even though they certainly disliked their hidden agenda. They had also allowed Griffiths to keep his house waiting for his return, which indicated that they would welcome him back in town, although they kept steady before he left not to give him a written permission that he could return to the capital. But Griffiths' case was quite different from his colleagues, because he had so often expressed his opposition to them. Being twice recalled by LMS he could openly state to the government that he had no relation to that Society any more and therefore should be allowed to return and trade in the capital. Maybe the government considered him to be loyal to the prohibition of the Christian faith, and hoped he should return and stay as a secular man only caring for his trade. When he returned in August 1838 together with his son,⁹²¹ he soon obtained permission to proceed from Tamatave to the capital.

On the other hand the government might hope that the few Christians left alone in Imerina when the missionaries left would soon be dispirited and conform to the given orders. In fact that could easily have happened too, if all the missionaries had left in 1835, but as I said above, the “Stay-behind group” had changed the situation. Their education in religious disobedience, i.e. to follow God's will more than the queen's will, and the illegal distribution of Christian literature, especially the Holy Scripture and the Pilgrim's Progress, and the underground church's own organizing in small “cells” etc, had created a willingness amongst the Christians to suffer persecution and even death for their faith. At the time when Johns and Baker left the government probably understood that they would have to execute some of the

⁹²⁰ MA, HB-9, Rainimaharo, op.cit, 12.03.38.

⁹²¹ LMS, Maur, 2.3.B, Jones to the directors, 04.09.38: “Mr. Griffiths and his son arrived here (Mauritius) on the 11th Augt and embarked again for Tamatave on the 18th.”

Christian leaders in order to frighten the others, and therefore they just waited for the Embassy's return to start an attack on the small group.

The missionaries' influence continued to reach Imerina for some years. The first years the "small flock" found courage in writing to the "Mother and Father" across the sea, as I have already mentioned. It was difficult to answer such letters directly, because the missionaries did not trust the forwarding of letters to be safe in general, and that was one of their causes for visiting Madagascar in the following good seasons.

The visits in Tamatave and the Christian fugitives

In the first good season after his removal - June to September 1837 - David Johns stayed several months in Tamatave talking with people there, and receiving visitors from Antananarivo and letters from those who could not go down and meet him. His first impression was that the missionaries' departure had caused favourable changes for the Christians, and he tells that their numbers had greatly increased.⁹²² He used much time conversing with different friends and teaching them the word of God, and he tells that they had many questions to different verses in the New Testament, mostly caused by faults in the translation of the first edition. He was therefore happy to distribute 20 copies of the revised edition of the New Testament, which was newly printed in England.⁹²³ He also stated that he would like to stay in Tamatave until the Embassy visiting England and France passed by on their way home.

But as soon as the Embassy's report from the negotiations in England reached the government, they struck a blow against the small group, as I have mentioned above. Soon after the execution of Rasalama Johns left Tamatave terror struck, fearing that his many letters to the friends in the capital had caused arrest or even death to some of them, as he was informed that two of the friends visiting him and carrying his letters had had their names put on the list of 16 persons wanted by the authorities and therefore might be arrested on their way home.⁹²⁴ In fact those messengers escaped this fate at first, because they were warned on the road that the authorities wanted them. Hiding the letters and religious books, they chose another way home and saved thereby the friends from being detected.⁹²⁵ But these two men were soon after arrested together with the other persons wanted by the government, and although Rasalama alone was executed after the first trial, the missionaries were greatly grieved because most of the other 15 Christians were sold as slaves to the leading officers or other persons in high position, and their wives and children were reduced to slavery.

Soon the Christians began to gather again, choosing the house of Rafaralahy in a small village a little north of the capital to that purpose. This young man had not studied in the missionaries' schools but was converted and instructed by his uncle. A spy now detected him and he was tortured and he became the second martyr of the

⁹²² LMS, Mad, 5.3.A, Johns to Ellis, 21.07.37: "I am once more in Madagascar and am this moment surrounded by 4 of my best friends in the country who came down from the capital to visit me. And the good news they brought with them respecting the christians in Imerina are as refreshing to my soul as showers of rain to the thirsty land. The Lord is truly with his people in this unhappy land. It appear that our departure has had the favourable effect which they & we anticipated – they have not been matched so narrowly since we left - and it is obvious that the opinion & hope of those in power is that christianity will be altogether forgotten in time since no missionary is on the spot to keep it alive; but blessed be God, he can carry on his work without the help of man."

⁹²³ LMS, Mad, Johns, op.cit, 21.07.37

⁹²⁴ LMS, Maur, 2.2.D, Johns to Freeman, 28.09.37: "I fear that they were taken on their road to the capital and that all the letters which I sent by them to all our friends fell into the hand of the Government and if so, all our friends will be reduced to slavery if not put to death, for my letters contained their names."

⁹²⁵ LMS, Mad, 5.3.B, Johns to Ellis, 06.08.38

young church.⁹²⁶ Rafaravavy, who was the leading Christian woman (and who firstly was reported executed), ran away to Vonizongo, hiding there for several months. Later others who were wanted by the authorities fled from the persecutions, and when Johns returned to Tamatave in 1838 there were 5 or 6 Christian runaway people hiding different places. Certainly it would not be possible for them to hide for a long time, thus escaping trial and martyrdom, and therefore they begged for Johns' help when they heard about his new visit:

“As soon as our friends heard of my arrival here they sent down 3 confidential servants with letters, begging of me to remain here about a month longer and giving a broad hint that some of our friends now in flight for their life would be likely to come down here with a view to escape over the sea. (---) I sent back immediately the 3 servants with a reply saying that I would remain here another month. In about 14 days after, one of the 5, Andrianilaina, with Daniel, the adopted son of Paul, arrived here with a parcel of letters from different friends, amongst others from Rafaravavy and Rafaralahiandrianisy, begging of me to wait until their arrival and to try to get them out of the country. You may perceive in what anxiety and trouble I was when I saw our beloved friend Andrianilaina whose life has been diligently sought by the Govt for the last 3 or 4 months; the house in which I remain here is quite exposed and many of the officers etc. daily visit me, however I sent immediately for Ramiandrahasina, the only confidential friend that resides here, and told him all the affair. Andrianilaina intended to return without delay, if he should overtake me here to fetch the other 4, but Ramiandrahasina persuaded him not to go, saying that as the Govt had condemned him to death & he was sought for by them to that purpose, it would be far better for him to hide himself here until his friends arrived and let Daniel go up as soon as possible to hurry the 4 down here. Ramiandrahasina sent his confidential nephew with Andrianilaina to his own village in the wood where he will conceal himself until the other 4 will come down and a ship be ready to take them to Mauritius. Ramiandrahasina who is a pious and sensible young man is the only one that I can confide in here, and he assures me that if the captain of the vessel will prove faithful he will put them all safe on board and that he himself and his little nephew will accompany them to Mauritius for after doing such an act to save their lives he cannot remain here longer with any safety.”⁹²⁷

It was no wonder that Johns was vexed and troubled by being thrown into this situation. One year before he had persuaded Razafinkarefy, who had studied in England, not to try to escape to Mauritius but rather to hide his Christian faith and continue his work, because he knew that helping Christians to run away would immediately close all possibility of bringing others any help, and it would also put an effective stop to the missionaries' visits to Madagascar and their eventual return to the country. But when those Christians condemned to death asked his help to escape their fate, he dared not deny them that favour, even though he had neither conferred with his colleagues nor LMS about such an act. His dilemma was that if he did not act, or if he failed, he would see his friends meet a cruel death, but if he succeeded he would probably be banished never to return to the country. Choosing

⁹²⁶ LMS, Mad, Johns, op.cit, 06.08.38: “As soon as the storm was over they again began to associate with one another and gradually began to assemble together in the night in the house of **Rafaralahy** which was in a village about a mile & half North of the capital. (...) Satan put in the head of one, who had once made such a high profession of christianity, to come in to their society to spy, what was going on there, as soon as he found out he has been to the head officer and told him all what he had seen. Immediately Rafaralahy was put in irons and every thing was done to extort the names of his companions from him – “

⁹²⁷ LMS, Mad, Johns, op.cit, 06.08.38

his way, Johns arranged all things as well as he could and left Tamatave in the last days of August 1838,⁹²⁸ some time before the arrival of the fugitives, because his presence there would make it difficult to succeed in the plans, since the authorities were on their guard against him.

David Johns' health was badly compromised during his long stay in Tamatave, and as soon as the fugitives arrived in Mauritius, he announced his return to England for that reason. He also stated that he wished to take some of the fugitives with him to the Cape colony or even to England, since he did not consider them safe in Mauritius. He also hoped some of the young Malagasy could work as evangelists for LMS in the Cape colony, or be educated to pastors or church leaders.⁹²⁹ Johns then left the stage for two years, but his act of helping Rafaravavy and her companions to escape, had greatly changed the climate between the Malagasy government and the missionaries and other British.

While Johns' conscience obliged him to do his utmost to help his friends, others were critical of his deeds. Baker thought that running away from the persecution was too dangerous and difficult for the Christians and would certainly have unforeseen negative consequences both for themselves and for the mission. But hearing of the flight he wished to help them, and he sent money to Madagascar and gave them all help he could when they arrived in Mauritius.⁹³⁰ Also the veteran David Jones was very critical at first. He had returned to Mauritius in 1837 and his plan was to go to Antananarivo to see if he would be allowed to remain there and work for a period. When he left the country in 1830 he had received a letter from the government stating that he was welcome to return and stay in the country, if he wanted to do that in some future time.⁹³¹ The great changes in the country after that time had made it uncertain if this permission was still valuable, but both he and LMS wanted to figure out if the government would keep the pledge to him. He intended to go there in 1838 even though his health was not good, but since his colleague David Johns had Ellis' authorization to visit Madagascar from time to time and was very eager to do that early in the good season, he let him go ahead.⁹³² At the end of June he wrote that he was only waiting for Johns' return before he and his wife would make an attempt to go to Antananarivo.⁹³³ But Jones had to wait for a long time since

⁹²⁸ LMS, Maur, 2.3.B, Le Brun to the directors, 03.09.38: "Mr. Johns returned last Sunday week from his tour to Madagascar"

⁹²⁹ LMS, Maur, 2.3.B, Johns to Ellis, 19.10.38: "Owing to the increased state of my disease and the unanimous advise of all my friends here and other reasons which I shall mention on some future occasion I intend to proceed to the Cape in the course of the next month and most likely I shall take with me 4 or 5 of those refugees, for as there is such connection between this place & Madagascar it is generally thought that they are not safe here. And besides I was told that a provision has been made at the Cape for the support of 2 or 3 pious Malagasy youths who are qualified to be employed as Christian teachers."

⁹³⁰ LMS, Maur, 2.3.B, Baker to the directors, 05.08.38: "8 christians also had run away from the capital, & could not be found. – About these I felt & do feel great anxiety. I had always strongly disadvised such a step to them, as I thought we had no right to recommend a measure accompanied with so much danger, but now that they have thrown themselves on that risk I feel exceedingly anxious for their safety. (---) We know however that God has his design to accomplish & whatever happens, he is carrying them on, & we & the poor Mal. Xans must be brought at length to see that our only trust is in him –"

⁹³¹ MA, HB-20.2 (placed in Lyall's journal), Ranavalomanjaka to the governor of Mauritius, July 1830: "As Mr. Jones is returning to the Mauritius, he has the liberty to come back to Madagascar again if he pleases. Mr. Jones has done a great deal of good here by teaching the Madagascar youth to read and write, and he has conducted himself exceedingly well during his residence in my country. Further: Mr. Jones and his family are allowed to take a maid servant (Tsarazafy) to be a nurse to his children as far as the Mauritius, and he is to send her back again to Tamatave as soon as they arrive at the said island (Mauritius)". Written in the queen's name in Voalave's handwriting.

⁹³² LMS, Maur, 2.3.A, Johns to Ellis, 06.03.38: "Mr. & Mrs Jones intend to go down in June or July, i.e. if his health will allow it. He has been very unwell since the beginning of this year & especially since the last letter to you. Doctor Montgomery has attended him, he is now better but still very week. I believe his health is worse than when he left Madr in 1830 – but as the cold season is now coming on we may hope he will gradually recover strength and perhaps the voyage to Madr will do him good in this respect. As you authorize me to visit the Island of Madr from time to time during my stay here it is my intention now to go down as early as the latter end of May. If Mr. Jones feel himself sufficiently well to go as soon as the good season sets in, we shall perhaps go together. "

⁹³³ LMS, Maur, 2.3.A, Jones to Ellis, 28.06.38: "Mr. Johns left us, on the 13th instant, on a visit to Tamatave to meet the Malagasy Christians and to collect all information he can obtain. Then after his return hither, it is my intention to proceed to Tamatave and even to Tananarivo if possible, accompanied by Mrs. Jones."

Johns engaged so hard in freeing the runaway Christians. In the beginning of August, Jones and Baker related that they expected Johns to return in the course of that month and they were eager to hear the information he had collected, since Jones' visit in Antananarivo depended much upon that.⁹³⁴

When Johns finally returned the good season for travelling was already far advanced, and Jones therefore decided not to go to the interior of Madagascar that year, but to wait for the next good season. But he said that he still deemed it convenient to visit Madagascar as soon as possible, since the visit of the ships of war had made an opening for such visits, and he left for Tamatave in the beginning of October.⁹³⁵ Arriving there about the time when the wanted fugitives escaped to Mauritius, he was later accused of having caused that deed, but after some investigations the authorities considered him not to be involved in the case.⁹³⁶ He states that when he arrived the governor did not visit him, but sent an officer with greetings and presents. But his old friend the "Grand Judge" Philibert helped him in many ways during his stay. Many people visited him, but it was impossible to talk openly in matters of religion etc. But when one of his old scholars and a secret Christian arrived there as a messenger from the Queen, Jones managed to take a walk with him "to see the sea and other objects" and thereby speak secretly with him and obtain much information about the state of things in the capital:

*"This messenger told me that the hostility of the Queen and her counsellors continue undiminished against Christianity and its friends; - that he himself & many others in Imerina are grieving that they are deprived of the **privilege** of reading the scriptures, & of assembling themselves together for prayer & praise as they used to do formerly. Further that not only the Christians, but the whole mass of the people were groaning under the oppressive Government of the Queen; - that if he could he would make his escape to Mauritius immediately, instead of returning any more to Imerina; - and that there were many more who were desirous to get out of the country, on account of the oppressive and cruel acts of the Queen, if they could effect their escape. As his life was not yet in imminent danger, I advised him to remain quiet where he was and conduct himself with great caution & prudence, as it would be rashness & inutility to act in direct opposition to the Queen except in certain cases of conscience; - that he was now in the way of being elevated in time into a high rank & influence in the Government (---) Such & similar counsels I gave him, as I am myself opposed to the Malagasy Christians fleeing out of the country, except those whose lives are certainly in imminent danger, for it is like taking the light out of a dark country or the precious gold out of it".⁹³⁷*

It proved to be right that fleeing from the country would not produce any favourable change in the situation, but only make it impossible to encourage or help the Christians. Figuratively that would only take the light out of the dark country, as Jones stated. Therefore he recommended all who were not in immediate danger of being executed to stay and be careful not to provoke the authorities. Observing how badly the flight of those Christians had provoked the government, he concluded that

⁹³⁴ LMS, Maur, 2.3.B, Jones to Ellis, 04.08.38

⁹³⁵ LMS, Maur, 2.3.B, Jones to Ellis, 06.10.38: "I write to you in a hurry this evening for the purpose of informing you that I intend to sail for Tamatave to morrow afternoon. The British and French ships of war have, it appears, frightened and humbled, in a measure, the Hovas on the coast, so that I think there will be no danger in my visiting the Eastern coast to see friends, collect information, write to the Christians in Imerina & " (To "the ships of war" see captain Craigie's visit in Tamatave in 1838).

⁹³⁶ LMS, Maur, 2.3.D, Jones to Ellis, 28.08.39: "all things there are as unpromising as ever, and that especially since the flight of the Christians to Mauritius in last Octr the blame of which they attach now to Mr. Johns, though in the beginning, to me - because they knew that I was at Tamatave in last October."

⁹³⁷ LMS, Maur, 2.3.B, Jones to Ellis, 07.12.38

there was not the least hope that the mission would be allowed to start the work again.⁹³⁸ Jones also regretted that he had not insisted on going to Tamatave the previous June before Johns made his visit there, because the state of things could have been quite different if he had done so.⁹³⁹ David Jones also stated in a letter to William Ellis, Foreign Secretary of LMS, that Johns' dispositions after getting the fugitives to Mauritius did not suite neither himself nor Edward Baker:

"The incurring of an enormous expence in taking them with him to England, & that, in my opinion to no good purpose whatsoever, I disapproved of to the last; & also his leaving a husband here & taking his wife along with the rest to the Cape, &, perhaps to England too, thus separating man & wife uselessly. When he perceived myself & Mr. Baker not approving all his plans & measures he took upon himself every responsibility, & acted accordingly, and arranged every thing of his own accord. Whether in so doing he acted right or wrong, I will leave you to judge".⁹⁴⁰

Nevertheless William Ellis must have judged the case otherwise than the missionaries in Mauritius. The visit of the Malagasy fugitives made a great impression in England, and the pious Christians who were condemned to death because of their Christian faith greatly increased the interest for LMS's mission work in Madagascar. Jones therefore received a correction from Ellis and had to revise his view on that point.⁹⁴¹ I suppose that the great publicity in England also urged the British authorities to keep forth the decision of giving asylum to the religious fugitives, even though that badly injured British-Malagasy politics. The flight of Rafaravavy and her companions had great costs, and not only in terms of the expenses incurred by supporting those fugitives in Mauritius and paying their voyage to England and return to Mauritius. The political costs were much greater than any loss of money, since it caused great hostility to all British interests on the part of the Malagasy government. Everyone who had helped them was in fact a "persona non grata"; Johns, for example, would never be allowed to return to visit the country.⁹⁴² But other persons would perhaps still be able to do something. Griffiths, who entered the country just before the fugitives escaped, did not get involved in that event. But installed as trader in the capital again, he soon took care of new runaway Christians and tried to help them as well as possible.

Other Europeans involved in helping the fugitives in Madagascar were a Mr. Berbeyer residing in Tamatave and Mr. L. Powell. The latter accompanied Johns to Tamatave in June 1838, and Baker states that he was a Botanist coming from Australia. When he arrived in Tamatave he had so violent an attack of fever that they feared for his life, but Johns cared for him as well as he could, and finally Powell

⁹³⁸ LMS, Maur, Jones, op.cit, 07.12.38: "Now I must say that from what I have heard, seen, observed, and conversed, there is not yet the least hope that we shall resume our labours very soon in Madagascar though certainly there is nothing impossible to God. The door seems to be more firmly & closely shut against Christianity in Madagascar than in China."

⁹³⁹ LMS, Maur, Jones, op.cit, 07.12.38: "I am very sorry now that I did not insist on my going to Madagascar in last June instead of him as I might have been able, probably, to be at the Capital before Mr. Griffiths. I have disapproved also of his giving encouragement to the Malagasy Christians to flee out of their own country except such as are in imminent danger of their lives. For it is a great loss if many should effect their escape to Mauritius, how were they to live & who will support them? And will it not be also an incalculable loss to Madagascar & even to the Society when the Mission will be resumed one day?"

⁹⁴⁰ LMS, Maur, 2.3.B, Jones private to Ellis, 08.12.38

⁹⁴¹ LMS, Maur, 2.3.D, Jones to Ellis, 12.12.39: "I am exceedingly pleased with the communications conveyed to me therein. I am glad to find from it that I have been wrong in differing from my brother Mr. Johns as to the propriety of taking the Malagasy Christians to England, & that I have been disappointed in my apprehensions. This will teach me, as a precedent, to act better in future, on a similar occasion. It affords us all here great satisfaction & delight, by reading the Missionary Magazine and the Patriot, that they have been so well received by the Directors & the Christian public."

⁹⁴² LMS, Maur, 2.3.B, Powell to Ellis, 31.11.38: "I have advised him strongly to return home for better medical advise as it is of no use his remaining here for the Queen will never hear of his going to Madagascar again on account of the Christians he assisted to escape."

recovered and was sent on a mission up to Antananarivo.⁹⁴³ Johns presents him as a medical man who succeeded in curing some of the soldiers in the capital. The government therefore wished him to stay there for five years, which he agreed to do.⁹⁴⁴ Certainly they had not observed that he had already been engaged in helping the fugitives escaping to Mauritius. Powell wrote about his illness in Tamatave in a letter to Ellis, stating that a mother could not have attended to him with more kindness in his illness than Mr. Johns did, and during this period he went through a spiritual awakening and therefore teamed up with Johns to help the persecuted Christians. When visiting Antananarivo he met the Christians in secret prayer meetings in the night, and he gave them money and arranged the flight to Tamatave.⁹⁴⁵ Since he was not detected as helper for them, he could install himself in the capital, and late in October 1838 he visited Mauritius to buy more medicines etc. For nearly two years he worked closely together with Griffiths in the capital, trying to help the Christians, distributing literature and money amongst them and giving all kinds of help to those who were obliged to run away from the persecution. During his visit to Mauritius, Powell declared that no missionary should visit Antananarivo now, because some Europeans had written to the queen attempting to excite ill will in her towards the missionaries, and therefore such a visit certainly would expose the Christians to suspicions and detection.⁹⁴⁶ Powell did not name those Europeans but later it was made clear that it was one of the traders in Tamatave who tried to profit by speaking badly about the missionaries.

When Powell gave up his career in Antananarivo in 1840 and engaged in helping a new group of fugitives to escape, he was sceptical about Jones' planned visit, begging him to defer his visit until the arrival of the persecuted Christians in Mauritius, because the government was so suspicious against missionaries and would be on their guard if Jones arrived in Tamatave. Contrary to this argument Powell blamed Johns unequivocally because he had left Tamatave before the arrival of the fugitives in 1838, leaving all the danger and risk to Mr. Berbeyer and himself.⁹⁴⁷ Baker and Jones apologized for the blaming of Johns in a letter to the directors,⁹⁴⁸ and Baker also stated that Powell had made many strange economical transactions and he expected him to become a problem for LMS on his arrival in England.⁹⁴⁹

Political consequences.

⁹⁴³ LMS, Maur, 2.3.B, Baker to the directors, 05.08.38: "Mr. Powel the Botanist of the N. Australian expedition, who accompanied Mr. Johns was considered to be in a dying state, having had the fever constantly increasing for 10 days & often delirious."

⁹⁴⁴ LMS, Maur, 2.3.B, Johns to the directors, 19.10.38: "I mentioned to you in a former letter that a young man of the name of Powell went down with me to Madr in June last – he obtained permission to go up to the Capital; he is a medical man and cured several of the Malagasy soldiers of a very obstinate and prevalent disease; the Queen & her officers were much delighted at his success as a medical man, and made an agreement with him to remain to the Capital for 5 years – he arrived here a few days ago for a supply of medicines and will return immediately to the Capital. I place much confidence in him –"

⁹⁴⁵ LMS, Maur, 2.3.B, Powell to Ellis, 31.11.38

⁹⁴⁶ LMS, Maur, Powell, op.cit, 31.11.38: "I am extremely sorry to tell you, that some of the europeans have been writing to the Queen, endeavouring to excite an ill feelings in her mind towards the missionaries, which I am afraid, may prevent them going up to the capital. I should advice strongly, that no missionary go up to the capital at present, as I am convinced, that it would be the cause of death to many, **very many**, Christians, for very strict watch would be kept over them, and I have not the least doubt, that every Christian that went into the house of a missionary, would be a sufferer –"

⁹⁴⁷ LMS, Mad, 5.3.C, Powell to Baker, 08.05.40: "- for when I went to Antananarivo he promised to remain until the Christian arrived, but he left altho' Mr Berbeyer begged and prayed of him to remain – no he was afraid and left all the danger for Mr. Berbeyer and myself, and he has now gone to England and claimed the credit of delivering the Christians altho' he was safe and comfortable at the Mauritius, whilst Mr. B. and myself were exposing our liberties and most likely our lives in doing that which he allows the Christian public to believe that he himself did."

⁹⁴⁸ LMS, Maur, 2.4.A, Baker & Jones to Ellis, 25.05.40

⁹⁴⁹ LMS, Maur, 2.4.A, Baker to Ellis, 04.08.40:

I have said above that the government became extremely provoked when they found that the wanted Christians had escaped to Mauritius in October 1838. Governor Ranamasina in Tamatave wrote a letter to Governor Nicolay when he had investigated the facts in the case, ordering the fugitives to be sent back to him, because he thought the treaty of friendship would encourage the British authorities to do that.⁹⁵⁰ Attached to this letter in the archive, there is a note from the translator:

*“My Dear Sir. I return to you the letter of Ranamasina with a littoral translation of the same as far as language will admit, - hoping His Excellency the Governor will not grant the request forasmuch as the poor man has run away because his life was in danger on account of his love and attachment to Christianity. I remain, Dear Sir, Yours truly David Jones”.*⁹⁵¹

This short note shows that the missionaries still had some influence acting as translators for the governor. They also furnished him with some facts, trying to make him give asylum to the fugitives since they were condemned to death because of their Christian faith. And Governor Nicolay must have agreed to that idea and answered Ranamasina’s letter according to such a decision, which the Malagasy authorities neither understood nor accepted. The next letter from Tamatave blames him unsparingly for not returning the Christians in question:

*“And I inform you, that I have received the letter, which you ordered G. Dick to write to me, of the reason you do not deliver Miandrahasina and his companions. And what is the reason you do not deliver them? For if any of you Europeans go without leave from you, and they go to our Country, we will deliver them. And with respect to our’s, if they go without leave from us, and they go to you, if we demand them, deliver them for our friendship does not change: for if any go without leave, whether our’s or your’s, deliver them; therefore send Imiandrahasina and his companions back for they went away without leave from us. May you live long”.*⁹⁵²

David Jones told Ellis that the governor of Tamatave had sent these bold and impolite letters to Governor Nicolay, ordering him to send the fugitives back.⁹⁵³ But David Johns, who feared that the governor would not grant them asylum, had then already taken 6 of them to the Cape colony and later to England, leaving only 4 in Mauritius. Although the fugitives who visited England later returned to Mauritius, the great publicity about them in Europe made it impossible for the governor to change his mind, and he could not deliver them to the Malagasy authorities but was obliged to give them an asylum of religious causes. Those two letters from Governor Ranamasina about Miandrahasina and Rafaravavy were the last correspondence to the British authorities for a very long period. Since the response was in the negative, no further correspondence was sent to Mauritius, as far as I can see, and the diplomatic intercourse was broken for many years.

⁹⁵⁰ MA, HB-9, Ranamasina to Nicolay, 17.12.38: *“To Mr. Nicolay, Governor of Mauritius. This is what I say to you, Imiandrahasina and his companions have run away there to you without asking permission and without a passport to go to you, therefore send them back to Tamatave in Madagascar, for they did neither ask permission nor had they any passport. Send back then Imiandrahasina and his companions on board of a ship, which you know will certainly convey them back hither. The reason of this is, because we are in friendship and amity with you and you with us. If some of your subjects run away here to us without a passport and if it be your orders they should be put in irons, we will do it and send them back to you in Mauritius on board of a ship: for we are in friendship and amity with you. Therefore with regard to ours there with you, send them back here to us at Tamatave in Madagascar on board of a ship, which you know will certainly convey them hither to us. Take care to prevent their escaping from one ship to another. This only I have to tell you. I salute you, my friend, with desire you may be happy. Saith the Governor of Tamatave General Ranamasina.”*

⁹⁵¹ MA, HB-9, Ranamasina, op.cit, 17.12.38

⁹⁵² MA, HB-9, Ranamasina to Nicolay, 21.02.39

⁹⁵³ LMS, Maur, 2.3.C, Jones to Ellis, 02.01.39: *“However I may say that the Governor of Tamatave has heard of the flight of the Malagasy Christians to Mauritius, and he has written a bold and very unpolite letter to the Governor here (which I have seen and translated) requesting him to send them back.”*

The close of the mission field in Madagascar made the missionaries discuss alternative fields. One favourite was to go to St. Augustin, which was still an independent part of Madagascar. But the Hova army marching down there in 1835, made it obvious that this plan was uncertain. Fort Dauphin was also discussed, but impossible. Ambongo, Nosy Be and other places on the Northwestern coast were also highly interesting, and both David Griffiths and David Johns visited some places up there in 1841-1843. Also the Comoro Islands were interesting, since the missionaries hoped for goodwill in Ramanetaka's kingdom, but such a mission would be most disgraceful to the present Malagasy government because they still feared that he would return to Madagascar and claim the throne. Ramanetaka changing his religion becoming a Muslim like the people of those islands, made also such a mission less interesting.⁹⁵⁴ And when Griffiths visited the Comoro Islands in 1841 he reported that Ramanetaka was dead, a fact that would make it difficult to open a Christian mission there.

The most interesting proposal came from the southeast coast, between Vangaindrano and Fort Dauphin. 8 kings from that area had written a letter asking the governor of Mauritius to accept them as British citizens. They protested passionately about the robbery of the Hova army in their land and begged to become subjects of the English king.⁹⁵⁵ The governor of Mauritius reflected seriously what would promote British interests best, and he even requested the opinion of the Malagasy government in Antananarivo. But finding that this government would never accept a British control over any area in Madagascar, the British authorities finally dropped the plan as impracticable. In the meantime the missionaries dreamed of opening a mission work in that area if it was placed under British control, or at least of being allowed to educate the children of those people in Mauritius. But when the 8 kings were left to the vengeance of the Hova army, the only possibility left the missionaries was to work amongst Malagasy people in Mauritius until things might change in Madagascar. That should last for decades, and the results of the work in Mauritius were much less promising than the work in Imerina had been, even though a lot of people tried to immigrate to Mauritius and work on contracts, and nearly all the Malagasy slaves who were freed in 1835 remained in the island.

During those first years of suppression a lot of Malagasy escaped to or visited Mauritius. Very few of them were Christians; they were either coastal people flying from the political suppression or Betsimisarakas who were allowed to follow the trading vessels, caring for the cattle exported alive from different ports. In the beginning of 1838 Johns states that 25 Malagasy who visited Mauritius in that capacity had attended the Christian worship one Sunday, but they dared not attend a second time, being afraid that the authorities in Madagascar would punish them if

⁹⁵⁴ LMS, Maur, 2.2.A, Johns to Ellis. 11.01.37: *"I fear that little good could be done in the Comoro Islands – if a missionary was allowed to remain there – as Mohametanism is the religion of the Islands – and it appears that Ramanetaka has embraced the religion of the country."*

⁹⁵⁵ MA, HB-9, Eight kings from the territory between Fort Dauphin and Vangaindrano to the British king, 25.08.37, English translation of a Malagasy original in a coastal dialect: *"We here wish to live, but we are perishing in our Country; therefore we beg of you to preserve our lives; you are our Sovereign, for we all here unite together, as one man, in this request, Sire. We are children of kings, our fathers and mothers were never slaves, but we now are worse than slaves. Our children and wives are taken away by the Hovas to Imerina and sold there to slavery. Our cattle, our land and our money are taken from us, and even our own lives also, as far as that can be done by them. (...) Do tell us what we have to pay you for becoming our Sovereign, and we, in each district, will pay you that which you will be pleased to demand of us, whether cattle or rice or money or any other things which we possess. We shall not be grieved to give any thing in our possession to preserve from slavery our wives and children; and you alone, Sire, can preserve our lives. We are great many writing in this petition, our names are as follows, Ramorabe, the king of Manambondra – Ovikia, king of Shandravinanga - Lehisiriry, king of Vohimalaza - Razoma, king of Antezaka - Antevaly, king of Manaiva - Ramasoandro, king of Manantanga - Antefasa, king of Matsianaka - Rambato, king of Ampely, St. Luke."*

they heard about it, when they returned to their homes.⁹⁵⁶ The freeing of all slaves in the colony took place in 1835, and soon the authorities tried to recruit voluntary workers from Madagascar, India and other places to replace the slaves' work at the sugar plantations etc. Although strictly forbidden by the government in Antananarivo a lot of Malagasy came to Mauritius and entered such contracts. Baker wrote late in 1840 that 500 had arrived for that purpose and others were on the way.⁹⁵⁷ But the Malagasy government were alarmed, and a year later Baker wrote that one governor at the eastern coast was reported put to death because he had allowed some of the inhabitants to go and work in Mauritius, where more than 1000 Malagasy coming from that area had signed their contracts at that time.⁹⁵⁸ In chapter 5.5 I will investigate a little more about the planned recruiting of free workers.

⁹⁵⁶ LMS, Maur, 2.3.A, Johns to Ellis, 06.03.38: *"From 25 to 30 of the Betsimisaraka, who came from Madr with cattle, attended last Sunday week in our School room, and have promised to attend every Sabbath during their stay here, but have not fulfilled their promise; 4 or 5 of them visited me a few days ago and told me that they are afraid that the Queen should hear of their attending a place of worship here & either kill them or reduce them to slavery on their return, so that fear, it seems, keep them away –"*

⁹⁵⁷ LMS, Maur, 2.4.A, Baker to Johns and Freeman, 17.12.40: *"The Malagasy are coming in considerable numbers. Not less than 500 are here already, and more on the way. They all do or may obtain \$ 5 pr month, money wages besides food, lodging, medical attendance, and passage back guaranteed."*

⁹⁵⁸ LMS, Maur, 2.4.C, Baker to Freeman, 28.10.41: *"The last report from Madagascar is that the queen has caused Ikabija, Governor of Angantry, to be put to death, for allowing labourers to come here. (...) It is likely enough, for more than a thousand people have come from Angantry & mostly under his convenience."*

5.5 “Game over”: Campbell, Jones and Griffiths in Antananarivo 1840

After the confrontations in 1838 about the Christians who fled away to Mauritius it was obvious that David Johns could not expect to return even to Tamatave. But David Jones still had the promises given when he parted in 1830 that he might return if he wished. Although his health was bad in 1839 he sent a petition to visit Antananarivo, and he received a polite answer allowing him to visit the capital for four months.⁹⁵⁹ In the letter from 1830 no specified time was mentioned, but it was well known that the authorities then wanted him back to work for years as before. In that view the visa for a four months visit was a smart trick to outdo the former promises, but as the political situation developed it had become clear that that might be the most he could expect. The good season for travelling in 1839 was nearly terminated, but he was allowed to start the journey in June of the following year. Old friends in the capital had written and wished him to use the possibility to visit them, and Jones regretted that the travelling costs would not allow Mrs. Jones to go with him, because in some ways she would be much more useful for the Malagasy Christians than himself.⁹⁶⁰

After the 10 Christians fled away in October 1838, some others were persecuted and sought for by the authorities, and some of them had been hiding in different places for a long time. In the first months of 1840 nearly 20 Christian fugitives were in constant danger of detection. Griffiths, who resided in Antananarivo, helped them with money and other articles they needed as far as he was able to, and Powell who was employed as a medical man by the government also did his utmost to help them. When the situation became critical Powell decided to leave his job and return to Mauritius, but before leaving he wanted to help those fugitives to escape. Griffiths and Powell then arranged the flight down to Tamatave, and Powell, who went ahead of the group, organised a passage for them to Mauritius. Hearing that Jones was expected to arrive in June, he wrote to Mauritius and demanded that he should defer his voyage until the fugitives were brought to Mauritius, because he was afraid that a missionaries' visit would put the authorities on their guard and cause the detection of the group.⁹⁶¹

Another travelling person complicated the situation. William Campbell, who had been acting British Agent at Madagascar a short time in the confrontations with Radama in Tamatave in 1827, was sent to Antananarivo in 1840 on a special mission for “The Free Labour Association”. This organisation worked to secure free workers to Mauritius in order to replace the former slaves at the sugar plantations etc. The British Parliament had decided that all slaves in British colonies should be set free in 1835, and that decision nearly provoked rebellion among the plantation owners in Mauritius, because they thought that if the slaves left their work, it would be nearly impossible to run the plantations. To avoid rebellion and an economical crack in the colony the “The Free Labour Association” was put to work in Mauritius. They should hire in free workers from different countries to work on five-years contracts there. The

⁹⁵⁹ LMS, Maur, 2.3.D, Jones to Ellis, 12.12.39

⁹⁶⁰ LMS, Maur, 2.4.A, Jones to Ellis, 02.01.40: “Mrs. Jones, as well as myself, has received, about a fortnight ago, a very kind polite letter from Queen Ranavalona, granting us permission to visit her Capital and to remain there **only for four months**, and then we must return to Mauritius. From today to May, I shall have time to think what is my duty in such a circumstance, to do. As some of my old scholars and friends have written pressing me to avail myself of the Queen’s permission to go and see them, I am touched to the heart and am inclined to go in next June, if my state of health will admit it. I think my visit hither will not prove unprofitable. I think it will be incurring to much expense to take Mrs. Jones with me. She shall therefore remain at home and take charge of the house & though, perhaps, her presence would in some respects, do more than I can.”

⁹⁶¹ LMS, Mad, 5.3.C, Powell to Baker, 08.05.40: “beg of him in my name to defer his visit until my arrival with the persecuted, which at latest will be about the middle of next month, as I consider his presence might endanger our plans by exerting suspicion, for one of the traders wrote to Antananarivo that Mr. Jones arranged things for the departure of the six who have gone to England, consequently if they see him at Tamatave at the same time with myself, they will be suspicious –”

wages were not high and the work was hard, and the missionaries stated that in some ways this contract work was not much better than the former slavery.⁹⁶² But the workers were paid for their work, and they got free travel to Mauritius and guaranteed free return to their homes when the contract was terminated. As I explained in my last chapter, a lot of Malagasy from the eastern coast had already entered such contracts. But the Malagasy government had forbidden people to emigrate, and therefore Campbell was sent on a mission to Antananarivo to explain the conditions and try to persuade the government to allow such contract working for designed periods. If he should not succeed, Mauritius would be obliged to seek workers in other places, principally in India.

Campbell wrote a letter when he arrived in Tamatave, stating that it was reported that 4 French Men of War were seen off the northwest coast employed in arming & disciplining the rebellious inhabitants there. Once again fearing an attack from Radama's cousin Ramanetaka, the government issued a law stating that every male in Hova from the age of 15 to 50 years should be enlisted as Soldiers in the queen's army. Campbell feared that this report was bad news for his mission:

*"- the letter further states that a Mr. Ducasse had written to the Queen saying that the Mauritius Government have sent me here **not** for the purpose of procuring Free Labours, but to recruit Men for Ramanetaka in order to assist him in taking possession of Madagascar. I trust I shall have no difficulty in undeceiving the Queen on this point, but I confess, I foresee great difficulty in succeeding in my Mission, however, I shall endeavour to do every thing in my power to attain the object in view".⁹⁶³*

Campbell's fear proved to be right, even though those French ships of War were not occupied to help Ramanetaka or other enemies of the queen, but were employed in taking possession of Nosy Be, which was made a French colony that year. But the government in Antananarivo supposed them to be preparing an invasion of the country, and acted accordingly.

Jones arrived in Tamatave together with Campbell the 3rd of June, and he had probably not been able to defer his journey, as Powell had asked him to do. But his arrival there did not make any difference, because the 16 fugitives were arrested before they reached Tamatave. Griffiths wrote an alarming letter to Powell when he heard of that:

"Last night I received a most lamentable news. The 16 are caught and brought up at Beforona – No hopes of deliverance, but an awful death awaits them. – Send my servant home without delay. – You had better; I think, make the best of your way to the Mauritius and apply to friends there for assistance. – Perhaps it will fall on me very heavy and I and my family be totally ruined, and thrown on the world without a penny to benefit ourselves. Think of it my dear Friend".⁹⁶⁴

Griffiths' horror was deeply founded, because he new that if he was detected supporting the fugitives he should certainly meet the rage of the authorities. It may be significant that his first thoughts were the economical losses he might sustain. As a British citizen he knew that his life would most probably be spared, but in the worst case all his property could be confiscated like the property of the persecuted

⁹⁶² LMS, Maur, 2.3.A, Johns, Jones & Baker to Ellis, 10.02.38: "The Mauritius is still deplorable destitute of religious and school institution, and but for the spontaneous efforts of benevolent Societies, the apprentices and their children would remain quite as ignorant and neglected as the slaves of former years, and the apprenticeship system, in fact, presents, to every benevolent effort, obstacles nearly as formidable as slavery in its worst forms."

⁹⁶³ MA, HB-2.2, Campbell to De Drusina, Secretary to The Free Labour Association, 04.06.40

⁹⁶⁴ LMS, Mad, 5.3.C, Griffith to Powell 27.06.40

Christians. In another letter he supposed that Powell was out of danger, but considered himself to be in great trouble. Happily two of the arrested had escaped, and they could say what had happened.⁹⁶⁵

The Queen had sent a letter ordering the governor to give Jones and Campbell bearers and military escort. David Jones had before he left Mauritius expressed a wish to hire bearers, but knew very well that if the queen had arranged that thing he could not refuse, even though he detested the fact that people should carry him without wage, as feudal servitude (fanompoana).⁹⁶⁶ They had to wait nearly one week outside the capital for a good day, and Griffiths describes their waiting conditions in small dirty villages as a kind of prison. Jones was especially astonished at this unexpected ill treatment.⁹⁶⁷ Their entrance in the Town on the 3rd of July was marked by military band music and cannon salute etc.⁹⁶⁸ Later they heard that the government had waited so long before fixing a good day for their arrival because they wanted the arrested Christians to be brought up before their arrival.

Jones and Campbell were well guarded and could not speak freely with people. In the first days little of importance happened, except an invitation to Campbell to dine with Rainimaharo, the Chief Secretary. But on the 9th of July they woke up to the salute of 3 guns, which was the sign that a great “Kabary” would be held on the parade ground, Andohalo. During the next few hours a great number of people and troops gathered there, at least 5000 inhabitants and about 20.000 new recruits, Campbell relates. In the middle of the day Campbell and Griffiths were standing at the balcony of Griffiths’ house, and Campbell tells:

*”I was at Mr. Griffiths house standing on the balcony from where there is a Commanding view of the Champ the Mars. About half past 1 o’clock I heard for a moment exulting shouts and immediately afterwards saw nine unfortunate Human Beings naked bounds hand and foot carried on poles and accompanied by about a Hundred Men, who stopped before Mr. Griffiths House for about 10 Minutes exposing the unfortunate (illegible) to his View, then they were carried back. (---) on enquiring what Crime these unfortunate Creatures were found Guilty of, I was horror struck to learn that their Crime was for being Christians, found with Bibles in their possession assembling at night for prayer and for attempting to make their Escape from the Country. (---) On making enquiry why the unfortunate individuals who were executed were brought before the Missionary Chapel where Mr. Griffiths resided, I was informed that it was for the purpose to show Mr. Griffiths that all Christians assisted by him or any other European would meet with the same fate and to show the people that the white men had no power to save them. It appears that on their examination they confessed that for nearly two years they were assisted by him with money to purchase food etc”.*⁹⁶⁹

⁹⁶⁵ LMS, Mad, 5.3.C, Griffith to Powel, 04.07.40

⁹⁶⁶ LMS, Maur, 2.4.A, Jones to Ellis, 05.05.40: “However, if the queen should insist on giving me bearers & free of expence, it will not be in my power to resist what she may be pleased to order. I think Messrs. Johns & Freeman will agree with me in these views, i.e. to avoid that hostile name called Fanompoana.

⁹⁶⁷ LMS, Mad, Journals, 1, Madagascar 1838-1840. D. Griffiths & L. Powell: Narrative of the Persecution. D. Griffiths’ relation with the Court, p. 18-25: “After having remained 3 days at Ambatomanga they received orders to move Westwards as far as Betafo. When I learnt that they were come as far as that village, I went to see them. This was on the 21st Ultio. I found them both quite well after their fatiguing Journey, but quite vexed at not having permission to come to the capital, without being detained at those dirty villages. (...) On the 24th of June Messrs Jones and Campbell received orders from the Government to move onward as far as Andraisora, and remain there till they should hear again from Government.. (...) On the 2nd July Messrs Campbell and Jones were allowed to come up to the capital, after 15 days from Ambatomanga to Antananarivo. They sent two wild young horses to Andraisora to bring them up to Town, Mr Campbell being a better horseman than Mr. Jones managed his pretty well; but Mr. Jones in taking hold of it was kicked by her till he fell to the ground, and was quite lame in consequence –”

⁹⁶⁸ LMS, Mad, 5.3.C, Jones to Ellis, 20.07.40

⁹⁶⁹ MA, HB-14.3, William Campbell: Journal from the journey to Antananarivo, 17.05 – 19.08 1840, date 09.07.40

Two times the victims were carried to Griffiths' house. The bearers stopped there for a while to show all people that the White man had no power to save them. Then they were carried to Ambohipotsy, where they were speared to death and the bodies left to be devoured by the dogs. The most famous of the executed, Paul the diviner, and another man had their heads cut off and stuck on poles. Campbell also states that a singular circumstance occurred on this occasion. A cannon was fired as the signal for spearing the unhappy Christians, and it burst into pieces and wounded the man that fired it, which was considered by many as a bad omen. Griffiths and Jones could afterwards only lament their dear friends and mingle their tears together, because there was nothing more they could do either for them or for other Malagasy Christians.⁹⁷⁰ Three persons of those 16 who were arrested on the road escaped from the police, and two young girls and two children were sold as slaves. Later one of those who escaped was brought to Mauritius by Powell's helper in Tamatave, Mr. Berbeyer.⁹⁷¹

After the trial and execution of the 9 martyrs the government wanted to listen to what message Campbell brought with him. Some days before the intended meeting Jean de Laborde informed him that he had overheard a conversation among some Malagasy authorities; that his mission would completely fail, and that neither the queen nor her ministers would listen to any proposal of the kind he brought with him, saying: *"The French want our land and the English our people, neither shall succeed."* He also stated that orders had been sent to the different commandants on the coast to keep a sharp look out to prevent any native leaving the island.⁹⁷²

On the 20th of July Campbell met with Rainimaharo in his house together with some officers and the twins Rahaniraka and Raombana, who acted as interpreters and secretaries. David Jones had received a message from the queen asking him to assist the interpreters in that important meeting. Not wishing to expose himself and the mission in such a political context, he made all possible excuses. For example he said that he could not walk up there since his health was bad. But all were in vain and he was carried up to the meeting in his palanquin.⁹⁷³ The officers had already got Campbell's proposal in written, stating how Malagasy people could be allowed to work in Mauritius for fixed periods. In the meeting he was asked to explain the details in this proposal, and he asked them to communicate what he explained to the queen and ask her approval of the plans.

Rainimaharo then replied that he would give him the decision immediately, and asked if he really thought the queen should abrogate a law made in her own country.

"He then told me that the late King on his death bed told the Queen that she was not to allow one of her subjects to leave the country on any consideration and that before he became acquainted to the English he had resolved to abolish the slave trade then existing, and as he found the English were of the same mind he readily entered into a Treaty with them to abolish it. (This is false, as Radama for some years before his death repudiated the present Queen and would never see her, his favourite was the Princess of the Sakalava Country whom he married.) He then stated if a Million of Money was

⁹⁷⁰ LMS, Mad, 5.3.C, Jones to Ellis, 20.07.40: *"Mr. Griffiths came up to my house (about 40 yards behind his own) to tell me the distressing news, & while we were lamenting & mingling our tears together, they returned back & stood for some time again opposite Mr. G.'s house -"*

⁹⁷¹ LMS, Maur, 2.4.C, Baker to Freeman, 04.09.41

⁹⁷² MA, HB-14.3, Campbell, op.cit, 16.07.40

⁹⁷³ LMS, Maur, 2.4.B, Jones to Ellis, 29.10.40: *"I received a message from the queen requesting me to attend as a witness & an assistant interpreter to the twins Rahombana & Rahaniraka. Being unwilling to go, I made all the excuses I could find, that I was lame & could not walk so far & O, said they, here are men to carry you up in your palanquin. Then I went with them."*

offered to the Queen to allow one of her subjects to leave the country she would treat the offer with contempt and that this was her definitive answer - from this it would appear that Rainimaharo had made up his mind as to the answer I was to receive - he was the only person who spoke and requested me not to touch upon the subject any more as I had received my definite answer. I replied that a Verbal Message of this description taken by me to the Mauritius would be unsatisfactory and requested that it should be given in writing, which he promised to do in a few days".⁹⁷⁴

It is interesting to see that it was Rainimaharo, Chief Secretary and Commander in Chief of the Army, who negotiated with the British envoy, and not Prime Minister Rainiharo. That shows clearly where the real force in the government was placed at that time.⁹⁷⁵ It is also significant that he used false stories as arguments in his political agenda, and nobody dared to say anything. Baker stated in 1836 that he was the leading force in the prohibition of Christianity. And when Rainiharo replaced him in his duties after his death in 1841 it looks like that made the persecution of the Christians less severe for many years.

Thus having obtained an answer to his message, Campbell stated that his mission was terminated if he could get the answer in writing in some days, and he therefore asked for bearers for his return to Tamatave, which was granted him. But then they began a hotly argued debate about Ramiandrahasina, a colonel and a judge in Tamatave before fleeing to Mauritius together with Rafaravavy and her group. Rainimaharo expressed great indignation because the British authorities had not arrested him and sent him back to Tamatave in accordance with the demand of the Malagasy government, and he did not accept the idea of giving asylum to persons persecuted for religious causes. He also touched upon many other items, and blamed his British allies without restraint. Campbell, who was well informed in the history of the British-Malagasy cooperation, corrected many of his statements and the discussion became very impassioned. David Jones stated in a letter that Rainimaharo used lies as arguments, since he himself knew much better than the Prime Minister what had happened during the reign of Radama:

"He and his companions entered into an attempt to justify the conduct of the Malagasy Government towards the English, towards Dr. Lyall, towards the Missionaries & their Society &, which Mr. Campbell & myself denied. The Chief Officer advanced palpable falsehoods in his attempts to defend the conducts of the Queen's Government towards all the English. I observed that much of what had been stated respecting Radama, the Missionary Society, the Missionaries &, was quite incorrect. This observation & the attack of Mr. C. so incensed the Chief Officer that he became very angry, saying "I have all the papers of Radama & I know all that he did during his reign &. I said within myself: that is another false statement for I know much better than you what passed during the reign of the king as then you were far from being a great personage at court. I sat down in silence listening to the conversation & discussion between him & Mr. C. the latter reasoned calmly but the former flew into a rage frequently when he could not well answer & silence Mr. C." ⁹⁷⁶

⁹⁷⁴ MA, HB-14,3, Campbell, op.cit, 20.07.40

⁹⁷⁵ LMS, Mad, Journals, Griffiths & Powell, op.cit, p. 21: *"The counsellors of the Queen, Rainiharo and Rainimaharo, delight in nothing but in destroying the People; or to use their own motto: (...) Thin them, take their Property, and make slaves of their Wives and Children. They are drunk with power, they swim in blood, and roll in the riches and spoils of the harmless and innocent. Rainimaharo is the Robertspeare of Madagascar."*

⁹⁷⁶ LMS, Maur, Jones, op.cit, 29.10.40

Neither Campbell nor Jones could accept that lies and falsehood were used as political arguments, and Jones made some observations about that during the meeting, but seeing Rainimaharo's rage he kept quiet and let Campbell argue with him. But in a long letter after his return to Mauritius he gives a principal warning about the use of lies and falsehood with a view to changing history. Obviously the usurpers to the throne used such means to justify their reign, which is also well known from many other despotic rulers. Jones wrote:

"I must not conclude without stating that the Chief officers endeavour to impose on the credulity of the people, especially the young, a belief of what passed some years ago which is the reverse of truth; - hence it will be necessary for persons who may visit Madagascar to be on their guard in hearing & believing all that may be told them. It is said now that Prince Jean René was murdered by the late Mr. Hastie & then that Mr. Le Gros a french carpenter was secretly put to death, but I know perfectly well that they died on their beds a natural death. There are many similar false stories, which are invented & circulated that might be enumerated. I do not know what more stories they will fabricate & circulate – they have commenced by endeavouring to persuade the people that it is the British Govt by its emissaries that does excite the people to rebellion & disturb the peace of the Country; - that induce the Malagasy to leave their Country & take them away to Mauritius, yea, that it was Mr. Griffiths that killed the nine Xans on the 9th July &".⁹⁷⁷

This principal warning shows the dilemma of writing history when different persons may try to justify their deeds. I have discussed the story about the death of Jean René in chapter 3.4.1, since the contemporary letters show that Raombana told a falsehood when he stated that Hastie killed Jean René by sword. Jones justifies here my conclusion, and shows that even Raombana was a victim of the systematic revision of history made by those who succeeded the king.

Making an excuse about his bad health, Jones asked permission to leave the meeting, which was granted him. But Campbell and Rainimaharo continued the hot discussion for a long time, and Campbell states that he was heartily glad to get away when the interview was finished. Two days later Campbell got a message from Rainimaharo that he was wanted in Griffiths' house:

"on my arrival I found a number of persons collected before the house, and one among them bearing a large Silver Spear which I was informed is the Emblem of Justice here. All the European Inhabitants residing at the Capital were summoned on the occasion Viz, Mess.rs Delastelle, Laborde, Godaud, Nicol, Rev. Mr. Jones & Md. Godaud. When we adjourned into the House and as soon as we were seated, the person with the Silver Spear with many others entered, when one of the Officers declared he was coming to deliver the Queens Message, which was the following purpose, that Mr. Griffiths was found Guilty of stealing a number of Christian subjects of the Queen, by assisting them with Money, Blankets, & Lanterns (---) The Sentence passed on him was that he should pay \$ 20 to redeem his head - \$ 30 to the Accuser, and \$ 200 as a fine, and to be expelled from the Country for Aiding and Assisting the Christians her subjects to enable them to make their Escape.

Mr. Griffiths replied that he never stole any subject belonging to the Queen, that he considered the Christians who applied to him for relief as his Children, having instructed them in the knowledge of the Christian faith with the sanction of the late King and her present Majesty and considered he was committing no Crime in assisting them when they applied to him, but never advised them to leave the Country. He left it to the generosity of the Queen to mitigate the fine he was condemned to pay, to allow him such time as she thought proper in

⁹⁷⁷ LMS, Maur, 2.4.B, Jones to Ellis, 13.11.40

*order to collect the money due to him by the people and to dispose of his stock in hands”.*⁹⁷⁸

It was stated by the judge that Griffiths' crime was of a kind that would have caused his death if he had been a native,⁹⁷⁹ but instead he was fined \$20 to redeem his head, etc. Griffiths dared to contest the conditions of the fine, and next day the queen reduced the other sums but not the redeeming of his head, and he immediately paid the fine in full. He was also granted a fortnight to arrange his affairs and get bearers to take him down to Tamatave. Some days later he called for Campbell and begged him to be a witness to his money:

*“Mr. Griffiths called and begged of me to take a Memorandum of the Money he possessed in the Event of any thing occurring to him, he did not consider himself safe in the Country as he had heard that it was proposed in Council to Murder him in the great Forest and to take his Money. He opened two Draws and took thence Thirteen Bags containing 6949 Spanish Dollars”.*⁹⁸⁰

It has often been observed that Griffiths was a skilled trader. Although some of the money certainly belonged to the traders that sent him goods from the coast, he obviously could live well as a trader. Now he was informed that someone in the government had proposed to kill him on the road and take his property, and therefore he sent a Memorandum with Campbell. Some days later Campbell was informed that there had been such a discussion in the government, but Rainimaharo's brother Rainiharo had protested and said it would be unjust, since Griffiths had paid his fine. Further would it would be unwise to do him any harm, since Campbell knew every thing and would give his report to the British government, which would make them enemies of the Malagasy instead of being their friends.⁹⁸¹

Campbell was again invited to dine with Rainimaharo three days after their great discussion. During the dinner some of the French guests talked about English ships taking Malagasy with them to Mauritius, and also about some Malagasy seamen on such ships, that had deserted in Mauritius. This put Rainimaharo in a violent passion and the discussion was even worse than the other day. Campbell stated that he had come to Madagascar to fulfil his mission and not to be responsible for what the governor or any other person had done. He then reminded Rainimaharo of the bearers he needed, because he wished to return as soon as possible. His portrayal of Rainimaharo is not flattering:

*“a perfect savage in the shape of a Human being, particularly when in Anger, he is so intoxicated with the power he now possesses over the Queen that there is no bounds to his passion. I recollect him at Tamatave in 1827 with the late King when he was obliged to (---) on approaching any of his Suspitions, he and his two brothers were instrumental in placing the present Queen on the Throne by murdering all those who had pretensions to it, and his motto I understand, is, that to Govern with Security you must thin the people which he never fails to do when an opportunity offers”.*⁹⁸²

Campbell was glad to leave Antananarivo the 1st of August, but after travelling 17 miles in the rain, the bearers suddenly ran away from him, leaving him on the road with his luggage. Walking on feet to a village nearby, he met a man in bad cloths, who spoke to him in good English, telling him that he was an officer of distinction and

⁹⁷⁸ MA, HB-14.3, Campbell, op.cit, 22.07.40

⁹⁷⁹ LMS, Maur, Jones, op.cit, 29.10.40

⁹⁸⁰ MA, HB-14.3, Campbell, op.cit, 30.07.40

⁹⁸¹ MA, HB-14.3, Campbell, op.cit, 01.08.40

⁹⁸² MA, HB-14.3, Campbell, op.cit, 23.07.40

bearer of a secret message from two members of the government who were friends of the English:

*“to inform you that the subject of your Mission was discussed in Council while you were at Tamatave on arrival from the Mauritius, that they the Council came to a resolution not to accede to any proposals, but to reject them, on the grounds that the Peasantry are obliged to work for the Queen whenever required, which is generally from 9 to 10 month during the year without pay, food or any remuneration whatever, this is called in the Madagascar language Phanoumpoine. Even the Officers and Soldiers are neither paid or subsisted and therefore if Emigration was allowed and the people aware of the Conditions that they were to be paid and fed for their labour one half of the Ovah people in the Interior as well as Officers and Soldiers would take advantage of it and the Queen would then no longer be able to Command the Service of her subjects gratuitously, there would be no Phanoumpoine, for they would require to be paid for their labour and if refused a Revolution would be the Consequence. That your being so strictly watched as not to be allowed to speak to any of the Natives or the Natives to you, was from fear, that you would give publicity respecting your Mission, a report was in consequence spread, that you were a bad white man who came here for the purpose of purchasing Free people to take them to the Mauritius to make them work the land there, this was come in order that the people should look upon you as their greatest Enemy”.*⁹⁸³

This messenger hereby explained clearly to Campbell why the Chief Secretary without any discussion could reject his proposals. How could the government be able to let some people go to Mauritius and be paid for their work, when all people in Madagascar were expected to work most of their available time gratuitously for those who could require them to do “Fanompoana”? Certainly that would provoke a revolution. The feudal servitude is the key reason why neither Christians nor free labourers – not even the children of European traders and Malagasy women – were allowed to leave the country. It is in this perspective we may understand how seriously the missionaries provoked the government when helping persecuted Christians to hide, or flee.

Campbell required new bearers from Rainimaharo and arrived safely in Tamatave, while Griffiths and Jones arrived safely some weeks later. David Jones remained nearly one month after Campbell’s departure. His conditions were then far better, since the guard was much more relaxed. He was even allowed to speak with old friends in the road or in his house though not always able to speak freely. Chief for his guard was Razafinkarefo, who had been in England a long time ago, and also a true member of the church. As I have said, he had even asked Johns for help to escape to Mauritius, but Johns had then advised him to conceal his faith and do his duty to the queen. Now he could openly tell Jones much news about the Christians, when they spoke English together.⁹⁸⁴ In his observations Jones provides a gloomy state of the country. Not only the Christians, but the whole people were oppressed by the leaders, who used the Tangena (ordeal) and Fanompoana (feudal servitude) to enrich themselves. His own observations had shown that it was really as bad as Freeman and Johns had described in their book: “Narrative of the persecution of the

⁹⁸³ MA, HB-14.3, Campbell, op.cit, 01.08.40

⁹⁸⁴ LMS, Maur, Jones, op.cit, 29.10.40: “Zafinkarefo, now an Aid-de-Camp of Rainimaharo, the Commander in Chief & one of those sent to England in 1820, had the command of my guard & was charged to see me & to enquire of my state of health etc. As he spoke to me in English in an unknown tongue to the Malagasy present, he gave me much useful information; - but do not publish his name & what he did, in print.”

Christians in Madagascar”. Describing the Fanompoana and all other misery he had seen, Jones concluded:

*“In consequence of such hardships, oppression, & injustice, as are inflicted on the people by the Malagasy Government, many have run away on board o’ship in different ports, & make their escape, some to the Mosambique, some to the Comoro Islands, and many to Mauritius, a thing never known before in Madagascar, until the reign of Ranavalona (---)
The two brothers have got the ear & the confidence of the queen to the exclusion of all the others. If any proposes to her anything for the welfare of the country, which appear to her good & reasonable, she replies, stop a little until I know the opinion of Rainimaharo the commandant”.*⁹⁸⁵

Jones knew that there was nothing more the missionaries could do for the Christians in Madagascar, because the suppression of the whole community was so strong. But he had brought with him a lot of copies of parts of the Holy Scripture and copies of the Pilgrim’s Progress, which were distributed by Griffiths, knowing that in the future even sending letters or books would be too difficult and too dangerous for the Christians. The state of the country and the hard execution of his Christian friends made him sad, but he concluded:

*“But has the Queen with all her efforts & barbarous acts extirpate Xanity, even in her own capital? Has she been able to collect all copies of the Scriptures? (---) Has she by putting several Xans to death make others to recent or abate the zeal of others? etc. etc. No – not at all: for there are some of the excellent of the earth, in the very houses & service of the first officers. I have an excellent letter received from one of them in my possession. Copies & portions of the Scriptures are still in the possession of those who love them dearly & who know how to make a proper use of them; - the number of Xans has increased gradually & doubtless will increase until it will please God to visit Madagascar with brighter days”.*⁹⁸⁶

Jones left Antananarivo a week after Griffiths as the last missionary visiting the capital for many years. Some friends let him hire their servants to carry him down to Tamatave, and he returned to Mauritius on the 18th of September in a miserable state of health, suffering especially from a hard attack of rheumatism.⁹⁸⁷ After recovering a little, his health dwindled and he died some month later. David Johns, who had left his family in England in 1840 and returned to Mauritius,⁹⁸⁸ went to Nosy Be in search of a new mission field in Ambongo or other places outside the Hova kingdom. He felt sick and died in Nosy Be and was buried there. Also Griffiths went to Nosy Be and the Comoro Islands in search of a new mission field, but in vain. The missionary work in Madagascar had reached its “Game over” and had to wait about 20 years before a re-start was possible in the great island.

Baker worked for some years amongst the Malagasy in Mauritius, and Le Brun, who had returned from England about 1834-1835, continued his work there together with two of his sons, who also became pastors, until the new day dawned in Madagascar when Ranavalona died in August 1861. Then only Cameron of all the former missionaries was able to return and work in Madagascar for some years together with the Foreign Secretary of LMS, William Ellis.

⁹⁸⁵ LMS, Maur, 2.4.B, Jones to Ellis, 13.11.40

⁹⁸⁶ LMS, Maur, Jones, op.cit, 13.11.40

⁹⁸⁷ LMS, Maur, 2.4.B, Baker & Jones to Ellis, 17.10.40

⁹⁸⁸ LMS, Mad, 5.3.C, Johns on board the ship Wellington in the channel, 20.08.40: “I have felt very low spirit since I left home, to part with my beloved family is a great trial to me. I hope that my going out for such an object is under the sanction of heaven & that much good, at some future time will result from it to Madagascar.”

5.6 Analysis.

The optimism amongst the missionaries was great when they entered the year 1831. A kind of spiritual revival had commenced late in 1830 and changed the adults approach to Christianity. The missionaries had also got promises from friends at court that they soon should be allowed to administer the baptism and the Lord's Supper to the Malagasy converts. Thus the queen's word when she entered the throne should be completed, saying that she would do all for them that Radama had done – and even more than that. Together with the Sunday worship in the chapels carried on by Griffiths and Johns, new meeting places were created as the revival induced the converted to gather in their homes to prayer meetings in the evening. And the queen even gave the needed wood for benches and a pulpit in Johns' new chapel, showing her goodwill to the missionaries.

The new law was proclaimed in Griffiths' chapel at Ambodin'Andohalo on the 22nd of May 1831, allowing everybody who wished to be baptized and join the missionaries in all things to do that with the queen's sanction and without fear. Next Sunday Griffiths baptized the first converts, and he continued to baptise new converts nearly every Sunday the following months. The first baptism in Johns' new chapel at Ambatonakanga was a week after Griffiths'. During a half-year 67 Malagasy were baptized by Griffiths and about 30 by Johns, and they were organized in two Malagasy congregations. The most famous of those who were baptized in Johns' chapel at Ambatonakanga was Rainitsiheva Paul, often named "Paul the diviner". He became a famous leader after the prohibition of the Christianity until he was executed in 1840.

Perhaps the rapid progress of the young church might have provoked the traditionalist and the queen and made them fear that the Christians would outdo the idols and the religion of the ancestors. That could probably be an important cause to the sudden reaction against the mission. But since the first reaction came only a fortnight after the first baptism, I find that another incident probably was much more important. The new Prime Minister who had replaced Andriamihaja, was a young officer named Ravoninahitra, soon changing his name to Rainiharo. In the beginning of 1831 his influence was in a feeble state, because his popularity had declined by various circumstances. In fact that may be the reason why the pro-missionary party at court managed to get the queen's accord to allow the baptism etc. As the Prime Minister needed a good cause to augment his power, he grasped the opportunity given him when Griffiths sent a letter to the queen one week after the first baptism.

Griffiths being in the habit of asking the queen's approbation for all his proceedings, stated that he had now been 10 years in the country, reminding her of Radama's word that the missionaries should not be put under the laws of the country the ten first years of their stay, but be judged after the laws abroad. And Griffiths asked what he was going to do now? The answer came short: "*Tie up your luggage and go home!*" This answer discouraged all the missionaries because they knew very well that if Griffiths should be sent home in this way, they would all have to leave within a few years. Griffiths argued against the governments answer that it was certainly not according to Radama's intentions, but he only secured an additional time of five months to make up his things before leaving. Probably the government's statement that the king had given them only ten years stay in the country was news to them and shocking news at that, and from that time they all hastened against this limit, knowing that their time to work were very short. By this act, I think, the Prime Minister had assumed new power at court, because a law that could check the most popular missionary probably reduced the power of the pro-missionary party. By

fighting against the representatives of the new religion and promoting Rakelimalaza and other idols, Rainharo and his brothers gained enough power in the course of a few years to make great changes in the country. Thus the missionaries' role was unintentionally to help the Andafiavaratra family to assume power to suppress both the Christians and the whole people.

Griffiths probably not understanding what was going on at court, considered the differences with his colleagues to be the cause of the shocking orders to leave the country, and he acted in line with those suspicions. Certainly the differences had existed for a long time, but they had grown worse after the departure of David Jones, and the building of the new chapel was proof of the poor cooperation between the pastors. Eager to take control of the whole Malagasy congregation, Griffiths had presented his wishes for the future work in a meeting called by the queen's officers a few months before the first baptism, and he now pretended that Johns and the other colleagues counteracted him by not approving the plans they had entered into in that meeting. That the Senior Missionary used such a meeting to present his wishes for the future work to the fellow missionaries shows how great the politicising of his cause had already grown by the beginning of 1831, and now he ventured farther on that path.

His colleagues strongly denying that they had caused his expulsion from the country, protested vigorously when he tried to take control of the 6 "Boys" or helpers who were left to assist Johns in the translation work when Jones went home. (Baker, who was chosen deacon in Griffiths' chapel, tried to be somewhat neutral in those differences). They also quarrelled about the Repository building and the money belonging to the Madagascar Missionary School Society, because Griffiths used the house and also kept a lot of the money, even though Johns was elected treasurer. When the colleagues had decided to empty the Repository and therefore sent the luggage belonging to Griffiths up to him, he appealed to the queen. Next day they were summoned together by the officers and asked why they had quarrelled. After some explications, they received the decision from the queen, firstly that they should bring back Griffiths' luggage to the Repository and let him use the house, secondly that all Malagasy who desired to attend the Sunday worship should do that in the chapel where they had been educated, and thirdly that if there was some money left by the School Society they should send them back to the donors. This decision shows how materially Griffiths' appeal to the queen had politicised his cause. Especially the second point ordering the Malagasy Christians where they had to attend the worship provoked all his colleagues, because the new chapel would lose most of those who preferred to attend there, since nearly all had got some education in Griffiths' school. Only adults or others who had never been in school could choose where they wished to attend.

Greatly provoked the majority group signed a letter to the queen stating that unless she would send Griffiths home, as she had decided some months previously, they would all leave. They should have been aware that putting an ultimatum before the queen was certainly unwise, and she called a meeting including women and children on the 15th of December 1831, where her officers gave them her answer promptly: you can all leave if you wish to order me. They protested earnestly saying that they never had wished to order the queen, but only state to her, that unless the second point was changed they would have no more work to do, and therefore they had told her that they could better leave. A compromise was then made as to the attendance at the chapels. But there were two consequences of this controversy: Griffiths was allowed to stay one year more, and the permission to administrate the

baptism and the Lord's Supper to the Malagasy were suspended. Maybe Griffiths added some other reasons to that last decision by a letter describing the Christian unity in the congregation, but I find it probable that these controversies in consequence of Griffiths' politicising of his cause, was the main reason. And when the government saw that Griffiths greatly disturbed the peace and union amongst the missionaries, they let him stay there as long as he wished, even though they had first ordered him to leave.

But Griffiths was not alone in politicising his cause. John Freeman who had returned in September 1831 and joined the majority group, wrote a letter to Governor Charles Colville, asking his help to get rid of the troublesome colleague. Freeman had accepted a proposal from the governor to be his lobbyist and reporter in Antananarivo, and he was well paid by the governor, £100 a year. It is true David Jones had acted as British Agent in the time of Radama, but that was fair since his appointment was reported officially to the king and agreed upon by him. Freeman's role was quite different, being appointed secretly, his reports became like a spy's reports. And his lobbying for the British interests combined with his duty as Senior Missionary after Griffiths' recalling in 1832, may have caused the government's suspicion to the whole mission. Neither did he report his new political duty to the Board of Directors, as far as I can see. Only once he stated that he had written a letter to the governor of Mauritius about Griffiths, and when the directors asked the meaning of that, he excused himself saying that he wrote as a private person not involving the Society. That was certainly a lie after what different documents tell. Thus he became a double dealer both to the Malagasy government and to the Missionary Society. With this pro-British politicising of the missionary cause he might have caused more harm than Griffiths did with his pro-Malagasy politicising.

After the first recalling of Griffiths from LMS, which reached the capital in June 1832, he pretended to leave the field and even sent off some luggage to Tamatave. Later he said that he would stay another year, because the queen had detained him in her service, since he had done so much good in her country. That was not necessarily the truth, for the letter from the queen he sent to the directors as a proof, conformed to a standard formula, and was therefore similar to that which all missionaries received when leaving the country. But before his decision he has probably asked his friends at court why he, the experienced missionary, should leave while a newcomer should be allowed to stay. That might at least have been one reason for the expulsion of Theophilus Atkinson in 1832 after only one year's stay, and the colleagues argued that no new missionaries should ever be allowed to stay in the country if Griffiths remained there. In the discussions about Atkinson the officers gave the ultimatum alluded to by Cameron: Do something practical or leave the country. We do not need another teacher in "taratasy" (paper), i.e. reading and writing.

In spite of their quarrel Griffiths and his colleagues could unite against a concurrent. When Mr. Solage, a messenger from the Pope, asked permission to visit the capital, Griffiths immediately communicated his objections to that idea to some officers at court, and he also joined with Johns and Freeman in writing to the queen in order to prevent his visit. Waiting for permission in Andevoranto, Mr. Solage died of fever there. But when the missionaries later were accused by the Catholic Church of having caused his death, they denied that strongly.

Mostly they worked peacefully side by side during the year 1833, but when the second recalling reached Griffiths in January 1834, a more dangerous quarrel started. When LMS also stopped his salary he earned his living by trade. But soon he

told the government that LMS was at variance with the British government. His colleagues argued passionately that the governor of Mauritius from the first days had supported the missionaries, and they nearly pretended to be a semi- governmental mission. Griffiths' new strategy of "misrepresentation of the Society" should very soon be a threat not only to his colleagues, but also to all his own work and to the newborn church. When Johns and Freeman demanded him to consider if his proceedings were not contrary to the Lord's will and his spiritual life, he answered in very strong terms and also complained to the directors. During all the years with differences between him and his Brethren, Griffiths had shown that he had no law for his proceedings but his own ideas of "God's will". Such religious fanatics have always been impossible to cooperate with, which the whole history of the mission in Antananarivo has clearly shown.

In this last quarrel Griffiths got help from two Frenchmen, and it seems he had deemed them as capable of taking over Cameron's many industries and the plans of founding cannons. I suppose he did not consider the danger, but within a year it proved true that when the government found that Jean de Laborde might be a good substitute for Cameron and his work, they let all missionaries go. Edward Baker who returned from England in the middle of the year spoke with his old friend and tried to get him to change his mind, but in vain. The differences between them remained until they were all sent off.

In 1835 everything changed. The prohibition of the Christian religion and the orders that all who were influenced by that religion should step forwards and accuse themselves, destroyed the congregations and caused many converts to leave the faith for fear of the consequences. Only a few faithful resisted and concealed their faith. Most of the missionaries left as soon as the good season approached, some of them because their 10 years stay were terminated, others because they were sick or had no other choice. Freeman had certainly some years left, but he was the most unpopular missionary in the government, and his wife was sick. Griffiths, who was deprived of his congregation and isolated from his Brethren, went home with his family, but in a letter to the queen he asked to be allowed to return and work as a trader, since he was no longer a member of the Missionary Society. The only missionaries who had some time left of the 10 years given them and were also inclined to stay there, were David Johns and Edward Baker with their families.

I have discussed different causes for the prohibition of Christianity. The religious concept is certainly a fear from mighty leaders that the idols and the religion of the ancestors should be degraded by the religion of the Europeans. Different provocations may have enforced this fear and given the concrete opportunity to act. But I am convinced that neither the religious fear nor the unpopularity of some missionaries because of the pro-British politicising or other differences between them can be the real cause, even though they must all be important moments. But the changes in 1835 were much more thorough than a prohibition of a religion only. Through this act the Andafiavaratra brothers managed to create a despotic Hova reign, though still in the name of the marionette queen. Through the feudal servitude they suppressed and enslaved the whole population to a hitherto unknown degree. In that perspective the accusations from some people against the missionaries may be true, saying that they were the sole cause to their misery, suppression and reducing in rank etc. The history after 1835 shows clearly that the Men in Power had used the fighting against the missionaries and the Malagasy Christians as a cause to suppress the people and enrich themselves.

The role of the two heroic families staying behind became important. Gathering the few scattered believers they could encourage them and educate them to obey God more than people, i.e. the queen – or the Prime Minister. They could also give them scriptures to read, especially the Bible and the Pilgrim's Progress etc. The latter book became extremely important for the persecuted Christians in the following years, and it was printed in England and smuggled into Madagascar by the missionaries still in Mauritius. When the year was ended the small flock of believers demanded the missionaries leave, because the Christians would be exposed to detection and persecution if they remained. At this time they counted about 112 believers in the capital and some more living at a distance from the town. They were organized in small groups gathering secretly to worship and prayer. In the following year their number increased and Johns, who visited Tamatave in 1837 and met some of them there, stated that the missionaries' leaving the country had blessed the Christians. Some of the former members dared to come back, and new people joined them. Rainitsiheva Paul or "Paul the diviner" and his wife were the most famous leaders.

But as soon as the Embassy's report from England reached Antananarivo the government acted against the Christians. There have been different views of the Malagasy government's sending of an Embassy to England and France in 1836-1837. If it should be with a wish of repairing the damaged cooperation with the British government, they certainly failed. But Baker, who had translated some of the documents the Embassy brought to England, and who knew the government's different proceedings and hidden agenda quite well until he left Antananarivo a few months earlier, clearly stated that the only object of the Embassy was to obtain a pledge of non-interference in the government's oppressive politics. All negotiations in other areas would be without results, because the government at home would not sign any convention. Baker's statements proved to be right, and as soon as they got the report from London with the wanted pledge, the persecution of the Christians started and the first martyr was executed.

The missionaries' role for the next few years was to try to help their persecuted friends. They all confessed that it would be too dangerous for the Malagasy if they tried to let them escape to Mauritius, and therefore they advised them to conceal their faith and not provoke the authorities. Nevertheless Johns changed his mind when he visited Tamatave in 1838, and he helped 10 Christians to escape. He carried six of them with him to England on his leave late in that year. This act of Johns' greatly provoked the Malagasy government and created a strong suspicion against all missionaries and caused even stronger persecutions of the Christians in the capital. This act of the missionaries also caused damage to the relations still existing between the Malagasy government and the British government, since the governor of Mauritius granted asylum to the fugitives.

Griffiths, no longer a missionary, returned in August 1838, and soon he was engaged in helping the persecuted Christians who were hiding in different places. Dr. Powell, who resided in the capital at that time, helped him as far as he could. At last they found the situation unbearable and decided to send 16 hiding Christians away in order to save their lives. But their efforts failed and the Christians were arrested on their way to Tamatave. David Jones, who was invited to visit the capital, and William Campbell, who should negotiate with the Malagasy government for the Free Labour Association, were then on their way up to Antananarivo. The persecuted Christians were exposed to Griffiths and the strangers before being executed, to tell them that the English could neither protect the Christians nor take them away to another

country. Thus the missionaries' role became included in the government's statement:
"The French want our land and the English our people - neither shall succeed!"

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIVE REMARKS

In my study I found that the role of the Missionaries was much more important in Malagasy history and development from 1820 to 1840 than I would have supposed given their numbers. In fact there were never more than 4 pastors, 6 artisans and 7 wives at one time in the field, together with a lot of children; the highest number I found was in 1827-1828.

But the missionaries became important even long before their arrival. In 1813, when Governor Farquhar still hoped for success with his first strategy of getting the Home government engaged in seeking influence in Madagascar, William Milne on his visit in Mauritius proposed that LMS should become a partner of the government by starting mission work both in Mauritius and Madagascar. The governor immediately accepted this proposal, granting both pecuniary subvention and every kind of help the government was able to give. Certainly having a new partner became even more important for Farquhar in the following years, because he was forced to leave his first strategies when the Home government did not approve to his plans. In those years he wrote several letters to LMS, partly to explain how well he cared for their missionary in Mauritius, John Le Brun, and partly to boast of all kinds of preparations he had made and of different subventions and help the missionaries going to Madagascar should get from the government of Mauritius. His boasting of Madagascar being now a part of the British Empire was certainly a lie, as was also his statement of having the heir to the Malagasy throne visiting in his house and his being educated there. Such circumstances show that the governor was desperately seeking the help of LMS. But when he concluded the Treaty for Abolition of the Slave Trade with Radama, the missionaries had not yet arrived. The Treaty proved to be vulnerable and soon broken, since the Acting Governor Hall had no other circumstances than the Slave Trade to consider either the said Treaty was a success or not. Maybe Hall could not have broken the Treaty so easily if Farquhar had a well-established mission work in Antananarivo at that time.

The arrival of the two couple of missionaries and their fatal attempt in Tamatave was a tragedy and no lasting results were obtained. But maybe their existence in Tamatave for a few months kept alive Radama's hope of a renewal of the alliance with the British, because three times he sent messengers to invite them to visit him. At first they dared not take the long and expensive journey when they heard from the slave-traders how unfriendly the king was to the British at that time, and later ill health prevented David Jones, the only surviving member of the group, from taking the trip.

Hostile slave traders and ill health forced David Jones to flee back to Mauritius, where the greatest friend of a mission to Madagascar, Charles Telfaire, welcomed him and cared for his bad health etc. Telfaire had been Private Secretary to Farquhar until his leave to England and had followed him on that journey. Now he could give Jones access to his great library, let him start a promising school for the slave-children at his great farm, "Belle Ombre", and encourage him to form new plans for his work, which could be presented to Governor Farquhar as soon as he returned. In a meeting between Farquhar and Jones these plans were immediately accepted, and when the governor sent his envoy, James Hastie, to Radama to negotiate the renewal of the Treaty, Jones was sent together with him as another kind of envoy. The governor defrayed all his costs and instructed Hastie to promote him to every important person they met, because the plans he was a bearer of were approved by the governor.

Jones role in the negotiations became much more important than expected. The lonely missionary, who should only care for the spiritual and missionary causes, soon became a good helper for the political negotiator, because education was the key given them to unlock the broken treaty. LMS's possibility to send good artisans to teach the Merina people different European arts became important for Radama, as was the Society's help in caring for the youths he sent to England. On the other hand Radama was neither interested in the religious instruction nor in the education in reading and writing. That last art had never been taught to the people before, but has always been confined to the king's family. But now the king was eager to have a representative of his new ally living at his court, and therefore he demanded that Jones stayed with him, and he gave him some royal and noble children to instruct.

During his lonely residence at court, Jones created a strong foothold for the mission in the capital, both through his schoolwork but even more through his intimate friendship with the king. His ability in the French language, which Radama could use, was his principal door opener, he later stated. For many years he was allowed to be the king's counsellor and his secretary for English correspondence whenever there was no British Agent present. One of his first tasks was to explain the differences between the Protestant Church and the Catholic Church, because a priest in Bourbon had sent a flattering letter to the king asking to start a Catholic mission there. Jones and his colleagues managed to keep the Catholic missionaries off the great island as long as they were allowed to reside there, and it was not until the 1850's that the first Catholic missionary made his (secret) entrance into the capital. Jones also induced the king to write the famous letter to LMS asking for as many missionaries as they found convenient. This letter greatly promoted the interest for the mission work in Madagascar to the British people.

Also politically Jones role was highly important during that first year in counteracting the French influence through Radama's scribe, Robin. Jones later reminded Farquhar that he had several times expressed how essential Jones' role had been for the British interests. And Farquhar accepted this statement by giving great subventions to the schoolwork, and monthly allowances to the missionary artisans and even the pastors. Through the missionaries the governor secured a stable and lasting influence at court, while the Assistant British Agent had a negative influence and the Resident Agent often was absent to Mauritius etc. After Hastie's death the missionaries became the only positive British influence in the capital, while the political envoys mostly quarrelled with the Malagasy leaders.

The creating of the Malagasy language in written, and their education work in learning many youths to read and write it, was another extremely important political task, because that became an indispensable condition both to Radama's military expansion and especially to the administration of his new Empire. The differences between Hastie and Pastor Jeffrey on the one hand, and all the other missionaries on the other hand about the writing of the language, seems not to have changed Radama's high esteem of them, but he decided that he preferred Jones' and Griffiths' plans with some necessary changes, which probably came from Robin. But the king might also have become suspicious of the missionaries, especially since the quarrel with Jeffrey continued for a whole year after his decision about the language. Finally the king decided to throw all the schools together in one great Central School, but without including Mr. And Mrs. Jeffrey in the team responsible for the new school. Jeffrey thus deprived of his work had to change his behaviour and make up the differences with his brethren. The king accepted their reconciliation and after a request from the missionaries he placed Jeffrey as missionary in Ambatomanga.

On the other hand the missionaries and artisans were very little involved in the turbulence between Radama and the British government after Hastie's death, caused by the "Blancard Treaty's" monopolising of the trade at the east coast. Although they felt the threat that everybody could be chased out of the country if matters were not made up between the two governments, they were only in a small degree part in those difficulties. Even Jones, who had been appointed Acting British Agent in Madagascar after Hastie's death, felt that the king was as friendly as ever when he returned to the capital in December 1827. And Jones was later the last man except the king's attendants who was called to Radama's dying bed to converse with him, a fact that clearly shows the king's friendship and confidence in him.

The role of the missionaries concerning the cultural changes in the country was great in the years of Radama, since they were protected by the king and allowed to provoke idols, taboos and religious thinking to a great extent. When the king had cut his hair in the European fashion, about 4000 women protested and demanded him to deliver all the Europeans to them. By killing four of the female leaders Radama showed that he would keep his promises of protection to the missionaries and the Creole artisans. Unintentionally the missionaries thus caused a great change in the democratic possibility in the country, because this act changed Radama's attitude from former Malagasy customs to his efforts of being a modern and despotic monarch. On the other hand, most people considered the evangelising work to be a part of the feudal servitude to those who were ordered to learn in the schools, and therefore very few adults attended voluntarily to Sunday worship in the chapel. That attitude did not change until Queen Ranavalona showed clearly that attending to the Christian worship was not a servitude to the queen, but rather contrary to her will. Together with all sad news about people who had perished either in the military campaigns or by the ordeal the first two years of Ranavalona's reign, that caused a spiritual awakening in the capital from about August 1830.

After Radama's death his wife, Ramavo was proclaimed reigning queen and chose the name Ranavalomanjaka or Ranavalona I. But many circumstances show that she was in fact little more than a marionette and different parties at court tried to obtain the power to reign in her name. Thus a real revolution had taken place transferring the power from the noble class of Andriana to the commoners' class of Hova. Therefore I think she was not the real cause of all the great changes of politics in the following decades. The first strong Prime Minister reigning in her name was a young officer, Andriamihaja. When he was murdered in 1830, another young officer, Ravoninahitra, became Prime Minister. He soon changed his name to Rainiharo, and he and his family, the Andafiavaratra, reigned in the country until the French occupation in 1895.

In the first year of Ranavalona's reign the missionaries became involved in different quarrels with the disputed Resident British Agent, Dr. Lyall, who finally provoked the majority of them to break all connection with him. Accusing them of acting contrary to British interests by only being loyal to LMS and the Malagasy government, Lyall concluded that some of them might even have asked the government to remove him from the country. If that were true, I think only Griffiths could have done such an act. Neither the missionaries' nor the Malagasy government's conflict with the British Agent seems to have disgraced the missionary cause too badly, and I cannot find that they were at the point of being thrown out of the country at this time, as Cameron later stated, because in 1829 Cameron express himself very positively about the government and the Prime Minister etc. Only Freeman was pessimistic in 1829, and he quitted the country late that year. Contrary

to Freeman's pessimistic analysis, the missionaries were allowed to work freely even the schools had great problems since most of the schoolboys were drawn to the army. The pro-missionary party at court had great influence at this period and wished the missionaries to create the prospected progress in the country. Also the French attack at the east coast late in 1829 created special attention to the missionaries, because the government cared them for and they received all demanded help and attention. In May 1831 they were even allowed to administrate the ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper to the Malagasy, and they immediately organised Christian congregations in the two chapels.

The crucial point to both their practical and theoretical education was primarily that every thing taught to the people caused perpetual feudal servitude to all who learnt it, because the king never paid his people anything for practising the new arts brought from Europe. When most of the boys in the schools after few years either were taken to Aid de Camps and secretaries or were drawn to the army, the schools became hated amongst the people, and it became impossible to get them filled with the former number of scholars. But the mission still was popular and honoured by the government because of the artisans' skilled work. James Cameron and George Chick succeeded in creating many kind of industry, which helped the government to modernise the young nation and make it more self-supported in many ways. Until the government could find an adequate substitute to the missionary artisans' work, most of the missionaries were allowed to stay.

Had nearly every party up to June 1831 considered the missionaries' role at a whole as positive, the tide suddenly turned out, and the rest of their period in Madagascar became a struggle against the threat of being thrown out of the country.

At court an important change had taken place when the Prime Minister Andriamihaja was ordered by the idol to take the ordeal (Tangena) a second time in 1830. Refusing to submit to the ordeal he was speared to death, and a young officer from a family later known as the "Andafiavaratra" was chosen Prime Minister. Of different circumstances his power was very feeble the first year, and therefore he strongly needed a good cause, which could promote his influence. Being the guardians and chief supporters of the famous idol Rakelimalaza, Rainiharo and his two brothers certainly used that cult to promote their power. But that probably did not cause much problem to the missionaries at first. Neither should the rapid growth of the number of baptisms be the cause of Rainiharo's counteracting of the missionaries, because the first blow came already a fortnight after the first baptism. But probably it was Griffiths who gave the Prime Minister the good cause he wanted just after the success of the first baptism and organising of a Malagasy church. Being in the habit of asking the queen's will about all his proceedings in life and work, Griffiths in a letter asked about his future stay after having resided ten years in the country. There he explained that Radama had told him that the missionaries should be allowed to stay ten years without coming under the native laws, and after that time the king would promulgate a new law for them. The answer to Griffiths question came promptly: "*Tie up your luggage and go home*". Although Griffiths tried to explain that such an order was certainly not according to Radama's intention with his proposed law, he only got five months prolongation of his stay. And from that day it was proclaimed that Radama had fixed the missionaries a residence of ten years only. Certainly it gave the Prime Minister new authority when he could check the popular missionary who had so many friends at court, and possibly that reduced the influence of the pro-missionary party. In that way the fighting against the new religion and the

missionaries became an important part of the augmenting of the Prime Ministers power.

Griffiths certainly not understanding what was going on at court and thinking that his colleagues had caused the government to order his removal started a fight against them. Being ambitious and headstrong he had given the other pastor in the field, David Johns, many problems. His considering the chapel at Andohalo to be his own propriety since it was situated in his private house was one example of this. And he also clearly showed a wish to have complete control over the future Malagasy congregation. This had forced Johns to ask the queen's permission to build another chapel, which was granted him. There had been a lot of other differences too, and now the cooperation between the missionaries was badly injured. In the course of a few months the differences were exposed to the authorities in a real quarrel, and the government but too willingly made compromises and decided what they ought to do. From the first days Radama had decided most of the important questions in the missionary work, and the queen's government had followed this example. Griffiths had often used an appeal to the queen to get his own will approved against the will of his colleagues, but now the consequence of this quarrel was that Rainiharo could order a stop in the Baptism and the Lord's Supper. A letter from Griffiths describing how close the connection was between the missionary and those who were baptised, possibly also scared him, because he considered the baptism to be a strong brotherhood a little like the Malagasy blood covenant. The order to stop the baptism certainly was a serious drawback to the missionaries although they considered the baptism to be solely a ceremony, which was not necessary for the salvation of true converts.

But with the exposing of his quarrel with the colleagues to the government, Griffiths entered a greater politicising of his cause than ever, and he continued down that path when the first recalling from LMS reached him in June 1832. Using some tricks by stating that the queen detained him in her service, he did not follow LMS's explicit orders of leaving the field. Possibly he had also argued to the government that LMS should be wrong in recalling him, the experienced missionary, at the same time as they sent new missionaries to Madagascar. Such arguments may be one reason for the expulsion of the new missionary, Theophilus Atkinson. But probably the real cause was that the Prime Minister and his brothers had already some time ago taken a decision to use the fighting against the religion of the Europeans as means to augment their power, and certainly Griffiths helped them greatly by the politicising of his cause in a pro-Malagasy way. As a reward they let him stay in the country since his quarrel with LMS and the missionaries helped them to reach their aim.

On the other side his colleagues politicised their cause in a pro-British way by their protests against the Malagasy government. It was in the discussions about the expulsion of Atkinson and his family that they received the ultimatum: Do something new and practical, or leave the country. Thus it became clear that the government wished them all to leave except the artisans Cameron and Chick, who had entered different projects of creating industry etc. Especially John Freeman politicised the missionary cause by his close connection to the governor in Mauritius, writing spy reports about political concerns and also by being a kind of British envoy in Antananarivo promoting the British interests as far as he was able to do. This politicising was done without stating anything about his new duties to LMS, though Freeman had replaced Griffiths as Senior Missionary after the first recalling of the latter. On account of his being loyal neither to the LMS nor to the Malagasy

government but only to the Governor of Mauritius, and thus explicitly being a political envoy more than an evangelist, Freeman's actions alone would have been sufficient cause for the expulsion of all the missionaries. His engagement in politics, together with the Malagasy leaders own agenda and Griffiths' political activity, unavoidably damaged the existence of the mission and the newborn church. After the second recalling from LMS in January 1834 Griffiths accelerated his politicising by criticising not only the missionaries but also the Missionary Society, and by promoting to the government his French friend, Jean de Laborde, as capable to replace the missionary artisans. Thus being freed from the concerns to let the artisans take care of the growing industry in the country, the government soon acted.

Prohibiting the Christian religion to the Malagasy people on the 1st of March 1835 created great changes. All who had been influenced by the new religion were ordered to accuse themselves, and to give up all their books to the government etc. Even many who had been baptised followed those orders and only few converts dared to resist and conceal their faith and their books. As soon as the good season of travelling approached all missionaries and artisans left Madagascar, except the families Johns and Baker. For one year this "stay behind group" did its utmost to encourage the few Christians and help them in different ways, especially by giving literature such as the Holy Scripture and Pilgrim's Progress, and by conversing with them and teaching them the faith. Their role cannot be estimated highly enough for the future existence of the persecuted Christians, and when they left in June 1836 there were 112 Christians in different cells of an underground church in the capital and its environments, and some more in distant areas.

Through the prohibition of Christianity the Andafiavaratra brothers managed to create a regime of terror and suppression directed not only against the Christians but the whole people, exemplified by new laws in June 1836 ordering all free men from five spans high and upwards to do unlimited feudal servitude to the government. Maybe the younger brother of the Prime Minister, Ratsimanisa or Rainimaharo, was the key architect of the government's different plans, and especially of using the suppression of the Christian faith as tool to all the other suppression. Those who criticised the missionaries to be the cause of their suppression may be right, since the suppression of Christianity was obviously used to suppress all people. The sending of an Embassy to England and France in 1836-1837 did not change anything, since the Malagasy government did not seek any changes or progress in the relations with the European governments, but only a pledge of non-interference in their own politics, as Baker had stated even before the Embassy left Madagascar.

The next few years the Missionaries role is pathetic, trying to help their suppressed friends by conversing with them in Tamatave and giving them Christian literature etc. Johns succeeded in that in 1837, but as soon as the report from the Embassy's visit in London brought the wanted pledge of British non-interference, the government acted against the Christians arresting 16 of the leaders and executing Rasalama, the first martyr. Soon after Rafaralahy was executed and other Christians were obliged to hide in different places. When Johns returned to Tamatave in 1838 those persecuted friends asked his help to escape their fate, and with the help of Mr. Powell and other friends Johns succeeded in bringing ten refugees over to Mauritius. Returning to England for a leave, Johns soon took six of those refugees with him home to England, where they caused much interest for the mission cause etc. But this act of Johns also caused an embittered atmosphere between the Malagasy

government and all the British, and especially the Governor of Mauritius, since he gave the refugees asylum in that island.

Griffiths, who was no longer considered as missionary, had returned to Antananarivo in 1838 at the time when the refugees escaped and worked as trader there. Assisted by Dr. Powell, who resided in Antananarivo for a while, he was soon involved in helping other persecuted individuals there. In 1840 when they just had decided to send 16 of those friends down to Tamatave trying to secure them a passage to Mauritius, David Jones arrived. The veteran missionary had returned to work in Mauritius in 1837 and he had asked the Queen's permission to visit Antananarivo. He was granted a visit of four months and arrived in June 1840 together with a British envoy, William Campbell. The latter was sent to negotiate about the possibilities that Malagasy individuals should be allowed to work as free labourers at Mauritius for limited periods.

Thus Jones visit was politicised too and they were both well guarded and cared for until Campbell's negotiations were finished. But before that the new fugitives were discovered near Tamatave and brought back to the capital. Nine of them were condemned to death at a great Kabary at Andohalo and executed at Ambohipotsy after being exposed to Griffiths and Campbell in order to show that no whites would be able to help them. Afterwards Griffiths was condemned to a fine and to be expelled from the country. Campbell's mission also ended in total fiasco, because Rainimaharo and the government would not let a single person emigrate from the country, saying: *"The French want our land, and the British our people – neither shall succeed."* The missionaries had for a long time been an acting part in the process creating this negative view of the British, and at least from 1836 they might be considered as envoys caring for British politics. The Prime Minister Rainiharo, and his brother Rainimaharo (who died in 1841) and their sons, continued the persecution of Christians during the whole reign of Queen Ranavalona I, but the missionaries' active role in the conflict was terminated when Jones and Griffiths left the capital in 1840. Little more could be done in the next 15 years, and although William Ellis tried several times to visit Antananarivo it was not until 1856 he succeeded in his strategies. But when Ranavalona I died in August 1861, her son Radama II immediately gave amnesty to all who were persecuted for the Christian faith and proclaimed religious freedom for all people in the country.

P.S. There is a Nemesis walking through the history. When queen Rasoherina was dying in 1868 the Foreign Minister Rainimaharavo, son of Rainimaharo, tried to outdo the Prime Minister by forming an alliance with the growing Christian party. Rainilaiarivony, son of Rainiharo, could easily check that "Coup d'état", but as soon as a new queen was installed he changed his politics, had himself baptized and married the queen. Thus the sons of the two chief persecutors of the first Christians were forced to accept the new religion. In other words: If you can't beat them – join them.

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A. Missionaries and Artisans of the London Missionary Society in Madagascar, 1818-1840.

ATKINSON, THEOPHILUS. English pastor, arrived in Sept. 1831, but obtained only a year visa. Returned in 1832. Married.

BAKER, EDWARD. Printer arrived in August 1828. He went to England to marry in 1832 and returned with his wife in 1834. Senior Missionary before he left in 1836. Stayed on Mauritius for some years working for the LMS there.

BEAVAN, THOMAS. (1795 – 1819) Born in Neuaddlwyd in Wales in a poor family. David Jones helped him to some education and presented him to Dr. Phillips. Entered Dr. Philips academy in 1810 and the seminary in Gosport in 1816. Arrived in Tamatave in August 1818 as first Senior Missionary in Madagascar, but died there together with his wife, Mary Bevan, and their infant child in February 1819.

BROOKS, THOMAS. Carpenter, arrived in June 1822, but died already 24.06.22

CAMERON, JAMES. (1800 - 1875) Carpenter born in Perthshire in Scotland. Arrived in August 1826. When he found that the Creole carpenter Le Gros from Mauritius had already educated many hundred carpenters in Antananarivo he turned to other arts. Proved to be able to work in every kind of industry. Married. Left in 1835 and worked in the Cape Colony. Educated Architect and returned to Madagascar in 1862. Built the Stone Churches at Ambatonakanga and Faravohitra, and the stone balustrade around the Queen's Palace.

CANHAM, JOHN. Tanner arrived in June 1822. In 1826 he was allowed to go to England to seek a bride, and he returned with his wife in 1827. He encountered great problems the first years since the materials needed for tanning were not found in Imerina at that time. Kept a school in Fenoarivo for some time. When lime was discovered in Betsileo he signed a great tanning project with Radama in 1825, which he started after his return in 1827. But after the king's death the new government neglected this contract. Canham had engaged Mr. Kitching in England in order to help him with the projected Tannery. After the Tannery was closed Canham kept a school in Ambohimandroso for some years, and he was ordained pastor in 1832. He was ordered to leave in 1833, since his ten years in Madagascar was terminated, and he left in 1834. Worked a few years in Cape Town before he retired and immigrated to Australia in 1838.

CHICK, GEORGE. Blacksmith arrived in June 1822. He entered a contract with Radama to furnish the new palace at Soanierana with the needed iron-work. Later he entered many other great contracts with the government together with Cameron. He married the widowed Mrs. Hovenden. Left in 1835.

CUMMINS, JOHN. Born in Manchester. Arrived in August 1826. He was a spinner sent to operate the spinning machine Radama ordered from England. Due to problems with cotton, prices and the weaver, he returned in August 1828.

FREEMAN, JOHN J. English pastor arrived in September 1827. Married. Left in a hurry in September 1829. Worked on Mauritius and in the Cape colony, until he returned in September 1831, while his family left for England. Mrs. Freeman returned in 1834. Freeman acted as Senior Missionary after Griffiths' recall by LMS in 1832. He left in 1835.

GRIFFITHS, DAVID. (1792 - 1863) Born in Carmarthenshire in Wales. Studied at Gosport. Arrived in May 1821. Married. He was firstly recalled by LMS in 1832 and finally in 1834, and thereby forced to quit the mission. But he stayed as a trader until 1835 when he left for England with his family. He returned with his son in 1838 and worked as a trader until the government in 1840 expelled him. Returned later to England and worked as pastor in Hay, Buckinghamshire.

HOVENDEN, CARLES. Printer arrived in November 1826. He died a few weeks later, together with one of his children. His widowed wife later married George Chick.

JEFFREY, JOHN. (1792? – 1825) Born in Shropshire in an English family. Educated in the Non-conformist Academy in Blackburn. Worked in the Sunday School in Preston. Married to Keturah Yarnold. Studied some time in Gosport and was ordained in Blackburn, 1821. Arrived in June 1822. After some disturbance in the capital, Radama moved them to Ambatomanga in 1824. Left in 1825, but he and his daughter died on board the ship before arriving on Mauritius. The other members of the family returned to England, where his wife issued a critical book.

JOHNS, DAVID. (1796 - 1843) Born in Monmouthshire in Wales, studied at the Academy in Newton, and at Gosport. Married. When he was appointed to Madagascar he changed his original name, Jones, to Johns in order not to cause confusion amongst the Malagasy. (They later called him "the short Jones" (Jonjy fohy) in comparison with David Jones whom they called "the long Jones" (Jonjy lava).) Arrived in August 1826. He left Antananarivo in 1836 as one of the last missionaries. Worked two years on Mauritius while his family was in the Cape colony. They went home in 1838, but he left his family in 1840 and returned to Mauritius. Died on Nosy Be in 1843 on a journey in search for an alternative working place.

JONES, DAVID. (1796 - 1841) Born in Carmarthenshire in Wales. Studied at Gosport together with Bevan. Ordained in 1817, and arrived in Tamatave in August 1818. Lost his wife and infant child in December 1818. Returned to Mauritius in June 1819 to regain his health. Arrived in Antananarivo in October 1820 together with the British envoy. Founded the missionary work in Antananarivo, and was Senior Missionary until 1829. Married Miss Marie Anne Mabile, the sister of Mrs. Le Brun, on Mauritius 20.07.21. Withdrew to England with failing health in 1830, but returned to work on Mauritius in 1837. Visited Antananarivo in 1840, but died in 1841 - some months after his return to Mauritius.

KITCHING, DICK. Probably a tanner. He was not appointed missionary artisan by LMS, but was employed by Canham in England in 1826 to help him with the planned Tanning project. When the project failed, Kitching earned his living by trading until he was engaged in other practical projects. During Baker's absence (1832-34) he took care of the printing press, and when Baker returned he worked together with him as a printer for one year more and left in 1835.

Le BRUN, JOHN. (1789 – 186?) Born on Jersey Island to Protestant parents immigrated from Saint Malo. Studied probably at Gosport and was ordained in 1813. Arrived on Mauritius in 1814, and formed a LMS mission there as a base for the coming mission to Madagascar. He married Miss Coralie Mabile in 1818, daughter of a rich man in Port Louis, and sister of David Jones' second wife. Le Brun formed one English- and one French-speaking congregation and several schools in Port Louis and the neighbouring villages. Since he worked mostly amongst the coloured population the other citizens often accused him of trying to stir rebellions amongst the slaves etc. In 1832 he was forced to leave the island because the controversies became so considerable before the announced freeing of all slaves in the colony to take place in February 1835. When he returned in 1834, LMS did not employ him as their missionary in the first years, but after applications from Jones, Baker and the congregation in Port Louis they revised that decision. Two of his sons joined his work as pastors.

ROWLANDS, THOMAS. Weaver from Shrewsbury in England arrived in June 1822. After great difficulties in his profession he kept a school at Antsahadinta for some years, but with limited success. Rowlands was the only LMS-connected person who married a Malagasy woman. He died 27.07.28.

Most of those men were married, but it has been difficult to find the names of most of the wives in any letter or publication. Also the children were normally not named. We hear about them mostly in private letters when they were born, baptized or died. Quite a few of the children lost their lives to fever, dysentery or other diseases.

B. People working for LMS's Board of Direction or in other departments.

ARUNDEL, JOHN, Reverend, one of the Directors

BENNET, Reverend and member of LMS's Deputation to Madagascar in 1828

BOGUE, DAVID. (1750 - 1829) Born in Berwickshire in Scotland he was a Presbyterian Reverend and one of the founders of LMS. He became member of the Board of Directors, and founded the famous Mission Seminary in Gosport where all the missionaries (pastors) working in Madagascar this first period studied. He was a famous linguist and Jones and Griffiths often referred to him concerning their work with the Malagasy language.

BURDER, GEORGES. (ca. 1752 – 1832) Born in London, he became pastor in Lancaster and in Coventry, before he returned to London in 1810 and served as Secretary to LMS's Board of Directors in until his retirement (1829).

CLAYTON, Foreign Secretary of LMS (1831-1832?)

ELLIS, WILLIAM. He was a former missionary in the South seas Islands who worked as Foreign Secretary to LMS from 1832. Later he quitted this job in London and worked on Mauritius trying to help the persecuted Christians in Madagascar. He

visited Madagascar several times in the late years of Ranavalona. Worked in Madagascar 1862-1865.

HANKEY, WILLIAM ALERS. Treasurer of LMS during most of the actual period up to 1832

HODSON, G. Assistant Secretary of LMS

LANGTON, DAVID. One of the directors?

MILNE, A. On his way to China he was ordered to investigate the possibilities for LMS to start a mission work in Madagascar. He arrived on Mauritius in April 1813 and proposed to the LMS and to Governor Farquhar that such a work should be started. He later became a famous missionary in China.

ORME, WILLIAM. He worked as secretary of LMS after Burder (from 1829) but died after a few years (1831?).

PHILIPS, Dr. Senior Missionary for LMS's work in South Africa

TYERMAN, Reverend and member of LMS's Deputation to Madagascar in 1828, he died in Antananarivo 29.07.28. (Other sources says 30.07.28)

WAUGH, D. Reverend, one of the Directors

WILSON, THOMAS. Treasurer of LMS after Hankey (1832)

C. Personnel in the British government in Mauritius, agents in Madagascar, etc

BARNSLEY, GEORGES, Assistant British Agent in Antananarivo 1822 - 1823

BARRY, Colonel, working as Chief Secretary to the government of Mauritius, and in other positions.

BRADY, Sergeant. He was a mulatto from Jamaica left by Le Sage in Antananarivo in 1817 as instructor of Radama's new army. He was soon appointed Radama's first General. Married a Malagasy woman. Retired in 1829 and died in the capital in 1835.

BROWN. British agent in Madagascar in 1817-1818 (after Pye) He visited Radama in Antananarivo and caused great problems by vaccinating the king and his family against smallpox.

CHARDENOUX, JACQUES. Former slave trader. Farquhar's first envoy to Radama in 1816

DICK, Captain, working as Chief Secretary of the government of Mauritius, etc

DOUGLAS, Captain in the Artillery. Farquhar sent him on a visit to Radama in 1821 in order to encourage him to build up a modern Army.

COLE, LOWRY. Governor of Mauritius, 1823 – 1828

COLE, HENRY. Lieutenant. He was the brother of governor Cole, and his special envoy to Radama in the crisis between the two governments in 1827. Died in Tamatave.

CAMPBELL, WILLIAM. Lieutenant, He was appointed Acting British Agent in Madagascar in 1827, and special envoy to Radama in the crisis between the two governments together with Lt. Cole. Envoy of the Free Labour Association to Antananarivo in 1840

COLVILLE, CHARLES, Governor of Mauritius, 1828 – 1835?

FARQUHAR, ROBERT TOWNSEND. Governor of Mauritius, 1810 – 1817 and 1820 - 1823

HALL, GAGE JOHN. Major-General, Acting Governor of Mauritius 1817-1819

HASTIE, JAMES. He was British envoy and negotiated with Radama in 1817 and 1820, He was later appointed Resident British Agent in Antananarivo till he died. Named Andrianasy by the Malagasy. Died in Antananarivo in October 1826, where he left an infant son and his wife. Mrs Hastie later married two Malagasy youths successively

HAY, ROBERT. Captain in the British Navy. Envoy from Commodore Nourse to king Andriantsoly in Majunga in 1823.

JONES, DAVID. Missionary, Acting British Agent in Antananarivo, 1827 - 1828

Le SAGE, Captain. He was Farquhar's second envoy to Radama in 1816-1817, signed a Treaty of Friendship and entered a blood covenant with Radama.

LYALL, Dr. ROBERT. Resident British Agent in Madagascar 1827 – 1829. He visited Radama in Tamatave in 1827. Arrived in Antananarivo in August 1828. Expelled from Madagascar in 1829. Died in Mauritius 1831.

MOORSOM. Captain in the British Navy. Acting Commodore when Joseph Nourse died in 1824

NICOLAY, WILLIAM. Governor of Mauritius, 1835 – 1839?

NOURSE, JOSEPH. Commodore of the British Navy in western Indian Ocean. He had important negotiations with King Andriantsoly in Majunga in December 1823 and caused him to hoist Radama's flag. Negotiated with Radama about a "Port Regulation", which was issued in Majunga in August 1824. Died on board his flagship Andromache in 1824

PYE, THOMAS. He was British Agent in Madagascar in 1817. Residing in Tamatave he was responsible for the negotiations with Radama, even Hastie did the job.

SMITH, Governor of Mauritius 1839 -

TELFIRE, CHARLES. (1778-1833) He was born in Belfast. Medical officer (Dr. med.) in the British Navy. Appointed Governor of Bourbon after the British occupation. When the island was restored to France, he was appointed Private Secretary to Governor Farquhar. Followed Farquhar to England in 1817, and married Anabella, the daughter of admiral Chamberlayn. Returned to the great plantation "Belle Ombre" on Mauritius. Cared for David Jones when he returned from Tamatave in 1819. He was named "The greatest friend of mission work to Madagascar".

VIRET. Private Secretary to the governor of Mauritius

D. Europeans working in Madagascar as artisans, traders, planters, etc

ARNOUX. He was a French artisan working in Mananjary for a company from Bourbon (Reunion) that had concluded a contract with Radama of founding of a great sugar plantation with Rum production, etc

BLANCARD, LOUIS. Being a French trader from Mauritius he managed to sign a contract with Radama immediately after Hastie's death in 1826, which monopolized the trade on the east coast. That treaty caused great disturbance between Radama and the British government in 1827. The problems were finally settled when Blancard could not pay his debt to Radama, and the king then quitted the said contract in 1828.

BRAGG. He was said to be a slave trader, but in fact he ran a cotton plantation close to Manangareza River, about two kilometres south of Tamatave. He kept the Indian workers Hastie brought back from Radama in 1817. They were probably "Indian Convicts", and thereby Bragg must have had a kind of cooperation with the government of Mauritius. Lodged Bevan and Jones in 1818-1819, but turned out to be an enemy of the Protestant mission.

COPALLE, A. He was a French adventurer, visiting Radama in 1824-1825 in order to paint a portrait of him.

De LABORDE, JEAN. He was a French artisan working in Antananarivo from about 1832. When the missionary artisans were forced to leave in 1835 he replaced them as leader of the industrial production in Madagascar. Expelled from the country in 1857, but returned and became French consul when Radama II replaced his mother.

De LASTELLE, NAPOLEON. He was a French artisan working in Mananjary, replacing Arnoux in the project of sugar plantation, Rum production etc

Le GROS. Creole carpenter, sent to Radama by Farquhar in 1821. He built the palace at Soanierana, but when the king died he was not paid his debt. Therefore he left the capital, and he died in Tamatave in 1828.

MAYEUR, NICOLAS. French Agent, visiting Antananarivo in 1777 and 1785

ROBIN, A. He was a French sergeant from the army of Napoleon. Deserted from the army and fled to Tamatave in 1818 or 1819. Sent to Radama by Jean René when the king asked for a French teacher after the breakdown of the British – Malagasy cooperation. Chief Secretary for Radama until 1823. Placed in charge of a school (1823-1825) when Hastie most probably forced the king to dismiss him. Reinstalled as Chief Secretary as soon as Hastie died in 1826. Appointed Marshal and Governor of Tamatave in 1827. Called to the capital and dismissed a few months after the king's death. Settled in Tamatave. Joined the French efforts to take control over the east coast in 1829, but without success. Died in 1836.

ROUX, SYLVAIN. French Agent, and Governor of Tamatave until the British occupation in February 1811. Returned in 1819 and re-established the French colony at St. Mary Island (Ile St. Marie), where he died in 1823.

SOLAGE. He was an ambassador from the Pope, arriving in Tamatave 1833. He is said to have tried to force his way to the capital, but was detained in Andevoranto, where he died after having waited some weeks for permission to proceed. The Protestant missionaries were accused for having caused his death, which they strongly denied. But in fact they had asked the Malagasy government not to let him visit the capital.

E. Important Malagasy persons in the actual period:

ANDAFIAVARATRA FAMILY. The three brothers, Rajery, Rainiharo and Rainimaharo, and their sons, who controlled the queen's government and most of the power in Imerina from 1830 to the French occupation in 1895.

ANDRIAMAHAZONORO. Taimoro scribe called to Antananarivo by Andrianampoinimerina, as his secretary and counsellor. Teaching Radama and a few relatives to read and write the Sorabe (the Malagasy language written by the Arab alphabet) Partook in the negotiations in 1817, 1820 and in London together with Prince Ratefy in 1821. (Named Dremauzanoran by the British)

ANDRIAMAMBAVOLA, or ANDRIAMAMBA. Nobleman working closely together with Radama's father. Leader of the group placing Ranavalona I on the throne.

ANDRIAMIHAJA. Young Aid de Camps who joined the group of Andriamambavola. Prime Minister 1829-1830. The queen's lover and probably father of Radama II. Murdered in 1830.

ANDRIANAIVO. Brother of Ramboa. One of the students in Manchester. Although he was not baptized, Raombana stated he was a true Christian when he died there. (Named Drianave by the British)

ANDRIANAMBOATSIMAROFY, King of Antananarivo. Lost his kingdom to Radama's father in the 1790's.

ANDRIANAMPOINIMERINA. Named Ramboasalama when he was young, but changed his name. Father of Radama. Took the kingdom of Ambohimanga from his uncle. United the four kingdoms of Imerina, and extended his kingdom to Betsileo and other neighbouring kingdoms. Reigned ca. 1787- 1810.

ANDRIANISA. Later named Rainijohary. Leading officer who joined the group of Andriamambavola

ANDRIANTSOLY. King of Boina. He accepted Radama's sovereignty by Commodore Nourse's intervention in 1823 and in Radama's campaign to Boina in 1824. Rebelled against the Hova troops in 1825, but was forced to flee to the Comoro Islands.

COROLLER. Prince from the region of Tamatave. Nephew of Governor Jean René, and replaced him as Governor of Tamatave in 1826. Robin and Prince Ratefy replaced him as Governor of Tamatave in 1827 and 1828. Coroller was General in the army and Chief Secretary to Radama in 1828. Different positions under the new reign until his death.

FISATRA. (Named Fish or Fiche by the Europeans) Brother of Jean René. Reigned in Ivondro until he was killed by the heir of the former Betsimisaraka king ca. 1821. Creole father from Mauritius and Malagasy mother. His son Berora was Jones first student in Tamatave in 1818, and was later educated in France.

JEAN RENÉ. Governor of Tamatave. Named "Mpanjaka Mena" (The Red King) by the Malagasy, probably because he was like his Creole father. (Red = European skin). Usurped the reign there after the French withdrawal in 1811. Forced to accept Radama sovereignty in 1817. Continued as Radama's Governor of Tamatave until his death in 1826. Creole father from Mauritius and Malagasy mother

RABODOSAHONDRA. Sister of Radama married to Prince Ratefy. Her son Rakotobe was considered to be heir to the throne, but was killed by Ranavalona's orders in 1828.

RADAMA I. Malagasy king 1810-1828.

RADAMA II. Son of Ranavalona I. Named RakontondRadama (the son of Radama) even he was born 14 months after Radama's death. Malagasy king 1861-1863. Murdered by the orders of the Prime Minister.

RAFARALAHINDRIANTIANA or RAFARALAHY. Prince and brother in law to Radama. Married to Ravaozokiny. Governor of Foulpoint, but killed by the orders of Ranavalona in 1828. (Named Farla by the British).

RAFARALAHY. Second martyr in the Malagasy Church (1837 or 1838)

RAFARAVAVY, MARIE. Famous Malagasy Christian. Leader of the fugitives escaping the persecution in 1838. Visited England in 1839 –1840, but died later on Mauritius.

RAHANIRAKA. His original name was Voalavo, which means “the rat”, but he changed his name after the return from England. Twin brothers of Raombana, and studied with him in England (1821-1828). Secretary for the Queen. Foreign Minister for Radama II in 1861- Died in 1863

RAHOVY. Half-brother of Radama. Visited Farquhar and studied in Mauritius 1816-1817.

RAINIHARO. The second of the Andafiavaratra brothers. Prime Minister reigning in the name of Queen Ranavalona I from 1830 to his death. Replaced his younger brother Rainimaharo as Commander in Chief of the Army after his death in 1841. His original name was Ravoninahitra, but he changed to Rainiharo when his eldest son was born (father of Raharo).

RAINIMAHARO. His original name was Ratsimanisa and he was the youngest of the three Andafiavaratra brothers. He was Chief Secretary of the government and Commander in Chief of the army until his death in 1841. Perhaps the strongest adversary and persecutor of the Christians.

RAINIOHARY or ANDRIANISA. One of the leading officers placing Ranavalona on the Throne

RAINITSIANDAVANA. Former idol guardian, converted to the Christian faith by Rainitsiheva Paul, but formed a semi-Christian sect. Called to the queen and executed together with some of his followers.

RAINITSIHEVA PAUL or “PAUL THE DIVINER”. He was one of the first who was baptised in the chapel at Ambatonakanga, and became a famous Christian leader and evangelist after the prohibition of Christianity. Former heathen diviner. Executed for his faith in 1840.

RAJERY. The eldest of the Andafiavaratra brothers. He was Chief Judge and Chief of the Andriambaventy, i.e. of the civil administration.

RAKOTOBÉ. He was a nephew of Radama; son of his sister Rabodosahondra and prince Ratefy. David Jones first scholar in Antananarivo. Killed by Ranavalona’s order in 1828.

RAKOTOMAVO (Coutamauve) One of the students who went to England in 1821

RALALA, Prime Minister of Radama. Killed by Ranavalona’s orders in 1828.

RAMANANOLONA. Cousin of Radama and brother of Ramanetaka. He was General in the army and occupied Fort Dauphin from a small French garrison in 1825. Governor of Fort Dauphin until he was murdered by one of his officers after Ranavalona’s orders

RAMBOA. One of the students in England from 1821. Brother of Andrianaivo. Sent home in 1825 because he lost his mind, but died in Tamatave on the return. (Named Rumboo by the British)

RAMBOASALAMA. Nephew of Ranavalona, appointed heir in 1828, but lost that appointment after the birth of Rakotondradrama (Radama II).

RAMBOLAMASOANDRO. Mother of Radama. Induced the king to kill a lot of rivals when he had entered the throne in 1810. She sent her two sons, Rahovy and Ratafikia to Mauritius in 1816. She was one of the first killed by Ranavalona's orders in 1828.

RAMANETAKA. Prince and Radama's cousin. Brother of Ramananolona and general in the army. Governor of Majunga 1824-1828. Fled in an Arab dhow to the Comoro Islands when Ranavalona ordered him killed. The queen and her government feared him until his death, but he never returned to claim the throne. Instead he became king of Mohilla, and died there in 1841.

RAMITRAHA or RAMITRAHO. Sakalava king in Menabe on the west coast. To secure peace he married his daughter Rasalimo to Radama in 1822, and accepted his sovereignty. But he would never meet Radama, and he rebelled against his orders, issued in 1824, to surrender all the arms.

RANAVALONA I or RANAVALOMANJAKA. Her original name was Ramavo, and she was Radama's first wife. She changed her name when she mounted the throne in 1828. Never married again, but she had many lovers – mostly the Prime Ministers, who also governed the kingdom in her name. Died in August 1861.

RAOLOMBELONA. One of the students in England from 1821. Studied weaving etc in Manchester. (Named Rolan Balan by the British)

RAOMBANA. His original name was Totosy, which means "the mice", but he changed his name to Rafaralahy and soon afterwards to Raombana when he returned from England. Twin brothers of Rahaniraka, and studied with him in England (1821-1828). Secretary for the Queen. He was the first Malagasy historian and left a great unpublished manuscript when he died in 1854.

RASALAMA, the first Christian martyr, executed in 1837.

RASALIMO. Sakalava Princess, daughter of King Ramitraha of Menabe. Married to Radama after the campaign in 1822. She gave birth to a son and later to a daughter, but the missionaries say that her soon died of the measles during the epidemic, which also killed Griffiths' first son. On the other hand, Raombana states that Radama's mother killed the boy, information that is certainly less trustworthy. It was stated that Radama wished that the daughter should replace him

RATAFIKA or RAMAROTAFIKIA. Half brother of Radama visiting Mauritius in 1816-1817 together with his brother Rahovy.

RATEFY. Prince and Brother in Law to Radama, married to his sister Rabodosahondra. Father to Rakotobe. He was Radama's envoy to England in 1821-1822, and General in the army. In 1828 he was Governor of Tamatave, but he was

called to Antananarivo and executed at the queen's orders. (Named Rataffe by the British)

RATSIORIMISA. One of the students sent to England in 1821, but he returned with prince Ratefy the same year. (Named Shermishe by the British)

RAVAHINY. Famous queen of Boina, grandmother of king Andriantsoly. Died in 1808

RAVALONTSALAMA. Officer joining the group of Andriamambavola in 1828 partaking in the revolution

RAVARIKIA or RAINIMANANA, (named VERKEY by the British). One of the students sent to England in 1821. He was a former government slave on Mauritius, but following Farquhar's envoys to Antananarivo he was freed to be Radama's interpreter in 1816 or 1817. He was sent to England as interpreter for Prince Ratefy and the whole group. He studied powder making at Waltham Abbey, and returned in 1825. Became a famous artisan and officer for the queen.

RAZAFINKIAREFO. He was one of the students sent to England in 1821, but he soon returned since his health could not bear the cold climate. He joined the Christian church in Antananarivo and even though he was never baptized he provided abundant proof of his faith. Asked Johns' help to fly to Mauritius in 1837, but was advised to conceal his faith and continue his work for the government. Jones conversed much with him in 1840, and stated that there were true Christians even as Aid de Camps to Rainimaharo – the hardest persecutor of the Christian faith. (Named Zafincarafe by the British)