**Chapter 7**

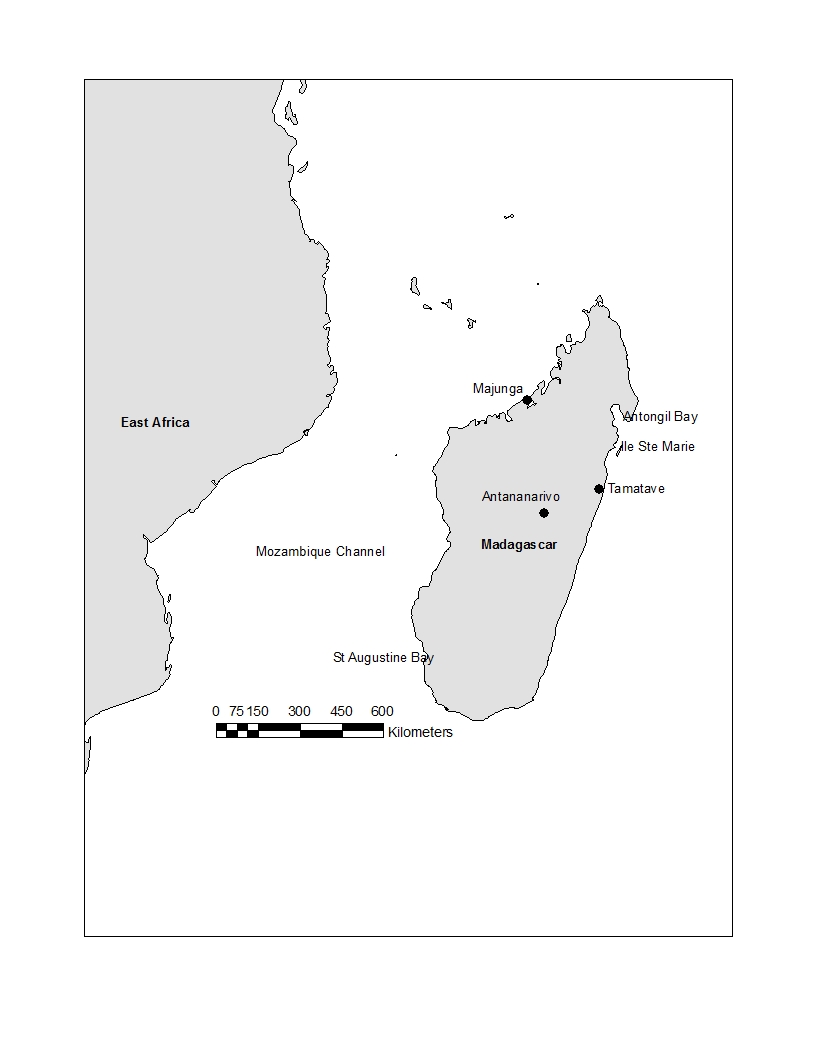
**The Decline of the Sakalava Empire?**

The nineteenth century ushered in a new period of globalization to communities in Madagascar. Rather than allowing the Malagasy to contend with economic changes and challenges on their own terms, as they had during previous centuries, Europeans used political and military power to intervene in political developments on the island. Economically as well, the Malagasy were increasingly at a disadvantage in dealing with Europeans.[[1]](#footnote-1) Even though the people of Madagascar did not export valued commodities such as ivory, Europeans still attempted to control exchanges from Madagascar. Merina rulers allowed the British to participate in their government in ways that the Sakalava never had.[[2]](#footnote-2) The tumult produced by these power shifts influenced how Sakalava leaders mediated between their subjects and the wider world.[[3]](#footnote-3)

In 1810, the British became economically influential in eastern Madagascar after they gained control of Mauritius from the French. They came to the coast in search of food to support their colony. British officials assisted a Malagasy named Jean-René with gaining control of Tamatave because they hoped to gain preferential access to commodities from the port.[[4]](#footnote-4) When Radama marched to the coast with his army in 1817, the British identified him as an even more powerful leader and quickly signed a treaty with him.[[5]](#footnote-5)

As the British merchants became powerful on the east coast, they drove their French rivals to the other side of Madagascar. This move forced the French to rethink the place of Madagascar in their foreign policy. Without Mauritius, the French government sought new bases for their traders on islands located near Madagascar such as Nosy Be, Île Sainte Marie, and Mayotte. The British worried over the growing influence of the French in the southwestern Indian Ocean region.[[6]](#footnote-6) In the midst of European maneuvering for the control of resources in Madagascar, the Merina Empire asserted its authority over much of the island. Sakalava rulers involved themselves in rivalries within the region and ultimately lost control of much of their territory by the middle of the nineteenth century.

This chapter describes the events that led up to the French colonization of Madagascar. It closes with an examination of how the Sakalava dealt with the changes of the nineteenth century and maintained their beliefs and practices in the face of competing imperialisms. The real story of this period was the reinvention of the Sakalava monarchy in the face of tremendous pressures from imperialist rivals. Over the entire nineteenth century, the Sakalava refused to submit to European or Merina plans for the control of their territory. Rulers led their subjects in thefts of Merina property, allied with the French against the Merina, and even migrated to the Comoro Islands. In the midst of political and military maneuvering, the Sakalava people resisted conversion to Christianity, although many, especially in the northwest, converted to Islam.[[7]](#footnote-7) The Sakalava participated in ceremonies that involved worshipping deceased royalty and told stories of their glorious past to foreigners who passed through their territory. To be Sakalava no longer meant subjection to a certain king or ruler. Instead, it represented a way of seeing the world and understanding the past, as well as the future.[[8]](#footnote-8)



Map 7: Nineteenth-century Madagascar

**Merina Invasions**

By the late eighteenth century, Merina troops began to encroach upon Sakalava territory. Leaders, migrants, and soldiers assumed the control of lands located on the border regions of the Sakalava Empire, regions that Sakalava leaders relied upon for trade and tribute.[[9]](#footnote-9) When Radama became the ruler of the Merina Empire in 1810, he continued his father’s efforts to expand the borders of Imerina.[[10]](#footnote-10) Radama’s father, Andrianampoinimerina reportedly desired the kingdom to stretch from coast to coast, famously asserting that “Ny ranomasina no valam-parihiko” [The sea is the limit of my rice fields].[[11]](#footnote-11) Radama took this pronouncement seriously. With British acquiescence, the Merina army asserted commercial control over Tamatave and other portions of the east coast. Radama encouraged the development of Tamatave into an international trading port that attracted traders who previously visited other ports on the island.[[12]](#footnote-12) Radama linked the port to his capital, Antananarivo, via trade routes and coordinated the export of slaves, food, and goods, in return for coins and guns.[[13]](#footnote-13)

After exerting his control over the east coast, he turned his attention to the north and west to Sakalava-controlled ports. In 1785, a French observer noted that the Merina fought differently and their military tactics were far superior to the Malagasy of the east coast, even prior to British assistance.[[14]](#footnote-14) Despite the superiority of Merina military forces and their apparent ease expanding their control throughout the highlands, Merina rulers faced difficulties in subduing the Sakalava prior to Radama. The Merina and the Sakalava had concluded a series of alliances, but the Sakalava still antagonized Merina communities by frequently raiding the periphery of the Merina Empire during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[[15]](#footnote-15)

Radama’s interest in controlling the west-central Sakalava kingdom likely was based on his desire to increase Merina economic power on the island. He also received encouragement from British abolitionists.[[16]](#footnote-16) Sakalava rulers faced opposition from the abolitionists, due to their role in the “pirate” raids on the Comoros and East Africa and continued participation in the Indian Ocean slave trade. Despite British support for an invasion of Menabe and Majunga, the two capitals of the Sakalava Empire, the Merina likely required little encouragement to attack. Conflicts between the Sakalava and Merina had become more intense towards the end of Andrianampoinimerina’s reign. When the Sakalava king of Menabe died in 1809, the debates over succession involved Andrianampoinimerina, as his niece Rabodo had married the Sakalava king.[[17]](#footnote-17) Andrianampoinimerina ordered forces to assert his sovereignty over the Menabe kingdom. Early battles ended indecisively, with Ramitraho, the new ruler, refusing to let Menabe become a possession of the Merina Empire.[[18]](#footnote-18)

Andrianampoinimerina’s successor, Radama, resumed the attacks on the Sakalava of Menabe.[[19]](#footnote-19) With the creation of a forced labor regime, called *fanompoana*, Radama possessed the means to control labor within his empire and create a large army of troops.[[20]](#footnote-20) Radama marched to Menabe with his army several times to demand the submission of Ramitraho to the Merina Empire.[[21]](#footnote-21) After the first failure, Radama returned to Antananarivo and rearmed his soldiers with a shipment of 250 British guns. Radama declared that Ramitraho would not escape this time. Radama’s second attempt, labeled a “gigantic expedition” by a French observer, involved as many as 70,000-80,000 soldiers.[[22]](#footnote-22) Making the disastrous choice to attack in the wintertime, Radama and his troops were defeated by starvation and disease. The passing army could not pillage the communities of the west coast, as the Sakalava had fled with food, leaving nothing to sustain the raiders. The Sakalava also took their cattle, leaving the countryside barren and absent nourishment for the Merina army. According to one source, 25,000-30,000 men died during the campaign.[[23]](#footnote-23)

Upon their return to Antananarivo, Radama engaged British soldiers to train his men and with this assistance, Radama rebuilt his army.[[24]](#footnote-24) He created a standing army of trained soldiers conscripted from the general population.[[25]](#footnote-25) The war resumed the following year and Radama had more success with his new army. Under the threat of another attack, Ramitraho accepted an alliance with the Merina.[[26]](#footnote-26) Radama promised the Sakalava he would rule them as if he were their father and mother and lead them with compassion. If they did not submit to his rule, he would enslave them all: men, women, and children.[[27]](#footnote-27) Before departing, Radama left a contingent of Merina soldiers in charge of enforcing his control over Mahabo.[[28]](#footnote-28) Radama forced Ramitraho to send his daughter, Rasalimo, to Antananarivo, to become one of Radama’s wives.[[29]](#footnote-29) In 1820, Radama returned to Antananarivo with his new Sakalava wife and left as many as a thousand troops in Mahabo.[[30]](#footnote-30)

Commerce between the west coast and the highlands resumed following the cessation of open warfare in Menabe. The Sakalava continued to provide the highlanders with cattle in return for powder, cotton cloth, flint stones, bullets, and knives. Even the Sakalava could not escape a certain amount of economic integration into the Merina Empire, but this integration had begun decades earlier. During the mid-nineteenth century, commodities in Madagascar were still priced in coins. For instance, a head of cattle was priced at a “kiroubou,” defined as “a quarter of a piastre or 25 centime in French francs.”[[31]](#footnote-31) The Merina, who began to cast their own coins during the mid-nineteenth century, dominated the movement of coins.[[32]](#footnote-32)

Continued wars and battles between the Sakalava and the Merina, however, influenced the commercial prosperity of Morondava and the entire Menabe region.[[33]](#footnote-33) Within a few years, it was clear that Ramitraho would not accept Merina rule, despite giving his daughter in marriage. According to one French observer, the Sakalava, proud of their traditions, were passionate for independence from the Merina.[[34]](#footnote-34) Sakalava rulers continued to arm their soldiers with spears and guns. The Sakalava purchased guns more frequently from Arab and Swahili traders than Europeans and, as a result, Sakalava firearms were inferior to the British ones given to Radama.[[35]](#footnote-35) Despite this handicap, throughout the nineteenth century, the French observed the Sakalava attacking Merina forts, stealing cattle, and taking Merina children hostage to be redeemed or sold as slaves.[[36]](#footnote-36)

Following the nominal submission of the Sakalava king of Menabe in 1820, Radama refocused his energy towards the northern portion of the Sakalava Empire. Even prior to the invasion of Menabe, the Sakalava of the northwest coast were frequently at war with the Merina but the British encouraged the Merina invasion once again.[[37]](#footnote-37) The British saw Merina control over the northwestern port cities as central in halting the slave trade in the southwestern Indian Ocean.

During the mid-1820s, Majunga (Mahajanga, also written by Europeans as Mouzangaie, Mondzangaie, Mazungay) was a bustling port on the northwest coast, attracting traders from India, Oman, Zanzibar, Anjouan, and Mozambique.[[38]](#footnote-38) It was home to prosperous Antaloatra merchants who lived in stone houses along the waterfront.[[39]](#footnote-39) Majunga was located along the “natural highway” formed by the Betsiboka River. This location enabled a bustling trade in slaves and food from the coast to the interior.[[40]](#footnote-40) The trade bolstered Sakalava power in the region and enabled the Sakalava rulers to dominate provinces in the interior. The Sakalava coexisted with the Antaloatra who inhabited this part of Madagascar. During the early nineteenth century, an “Arab chief” reportedly supervised trade at the town of Majunga but gave presents, tribute, and taxes to the king of Boina.[[41]](#footnote-41) Prior to the Merina invasion, an estimated ten thousand people lived in this great trade emporium.[[42]](#footnote-42)

The British urged Radama to invade the town of “Mazungay” to get rid of the “nest of slave dealers,” ranging from “Arabs, Moors, and Indians.”[[43]](#footnote-43) The presence of non-African slave traders especially worried the British, who were slowly gathering signatories for treaties on the abolition on the slave trade.[[44]](#footnote-44) The British also worried about growing influence of the Omani, an influence that reached even northwestern Madagascar. The expansion of the economic influence of rival empires such as the Omani Empire represented a threat and an alternative ordering of the maritime commercial world that the British desired to create in the Indian Ocean.[[45]](#footnote-45) For this reason, the British urged Radama to eliminate the presence of these other groups, including French, Americans, and Arabs, on the northwest coast of Madagascar.

With British assistance, Radama invaded the northwest coast in 1824 and, by 1825, he had defeated the Sakalava. Following this defeat, Radama seized control of Majunga and built a fortress for the newly appointed Merina governor of the province and his soldiers. During the invasion, the Sakalava and Antaloatra deserted the port city in droves and the new Merina governor Ramanetaka reportedly burnt many of its buildings.[[46]](#footnote-46) After the invasion, the Merina outlawed the people of Majunga from participating in foreign trade. All foreign trade in northwestern Madagascar was to go through Majunga, so the Merina governor could collect trading duties from passing American and European ships alike.[[47]](#footnote-47)

Although illicit trading likely continued at Majunga, Sakalava and Antaloatra merchants redirected much of the Indian, Arab, and Swahili trade to ports distant from Merina observation.[[48]](#footnote-48) The Merina were unable to eliminate this trade along the northwest coast, despite frequent attempts at preventing ships from stopping in other ports. The Merina, however, had succeeded in destroying the prosperity of Majunga for several decades. Following the Merina attacks, a British captain visited the northwestern coast during the 1830s. He found Majunga transformed from a “large straggling town” into a collection of derelict and uninhabitable houses. He even suggested that the Arab inhabitants of the town had assisted the Merina against the Sakalava, although he did not provide any evidence to support this claim.[[49]](#footnote-49)

Throughout the nineteenth century, the invasions negatively impacted other towns, such as Bombetoc, even though they continued to be trading ports.[[50]](#footnote-50) Dhows from Mozambique, Zanzibar, and the Comoro Islands continued to visit other ports on the northwest coast, especially “Cajemba Bay” [Mahajambe?], Boyanna Bay (Bali Bay) and new Massalege, or Petit Massaily.[[51]](#footnote-51) These non-Merina ports attracted traders seeking to circumvent British laws against the slave trade, as well as Merina port taxes.[[52]](#footnote-52) For instance, at Sakalava-controlled ports, it seems possible that ships purchased slaves during the middle of the nineteenth century. Many of the visiting ships were “American whalers” and one trader noted that, “while the sperm-whale is often fished with success along this coast by American whalers,” many of these whalers may have been slave ships looking to “visit the Mozambique Channel and baffle the British cruisers in those waters.”[[53]](#footnote-53) As slave traders sought to evade capture, it is possible that Portuguese or even Swahili traders used U.S. or other flags to disguise their nationalities. These ships also bought food. The Portuguese colony in Mozambique relied upon food imports from Madagascar, especially from Bombetoc, to feed colonists, slaves, and workers. Traders in Zanzibar also imported rice from Madagascar throughout the nineteenth century.[[54]](#footnote-54)

Radama withdrew his forces from Majunga in 1825 and he left a representative, Ramanetaka, in charge of overseeing the rule and trade of Majunga. Radama sent troops to finish his conquest of other regions of the island, going south to Fort Dauphin in 1825 and officially declared himself sovereign of Tamatave in 1827.[[55]](#footnote-55) Following these conquests, Radama stated, “The entire island is mine” and believed that he controlled all of the major provinces of the island and ruled the provinces by the same laws.[[56]](#footnote-56)

Despite his lofty statement, Radama faced difficulties in controlling his new territories. A series of Sakalava revolts shook the provinces, first in 1825, in Menabe, and in subsequent years, in the north and northwest regions.[[57]](#footnote-57) The exercise of Merina power would prove to be patchy, especially in the Sakalava territories. The Merina soldiers controlled ports on the western coastline and the areas outside of the ports remained in Sakalava hands. During the middle of the nineteenth century, the people of this region were “attached” to relics of the former kings of Boina. They used this history as a focus of rebellion against Merina control outside of Majunga, as will be described in the next section.[[58]](#footnote-58)

**Exporting Conflict**

Following Merina conquest, many Sakalava and Antaloatra fled from Majunga to the Comoro Islands.[[59]](#footnote-59) An estimated ten thousand people migrated in dhows for the Comoro Islands, East Africa, and other places in Madagascar, effectively depopulating large portions of northwest Madagascar.[[60]](#footnote-60) When the Sakalava and Antaloatra migrated to the Comoros, the communities they encountered there were still recovering from the attacks of the past few decades. The history of the Comoro Islands during these decades involved a series of complex shifts in alliances and military conflicts that involved Europeans, Malagasy, and Comorians. The close relationship between the communities in the Comoro Islands and Madagascar, combined with this political disorder, led to the expansion of conflicts from Madagascar into the islands.

The Comoro Islands had been zones of conflict since at least the sixteenth century, when Europeans began recording their observations of the islands. During the nineteenth century, the period of the Malagasy invasions, the usual struggles over succession engulfed Mayotte in particular. Around 1806, a slave reportedly killed the most prominent sultan on the island, Salim, and the slave’s master, “Maouana Mahdi,” took the throne.[[61]](#footnote-61) This new sultan used an alliance with the northwestern Sakalava to try to bolster his control in Mayotte. Mahdi married an Antaloatra woman from Madagascar, who gave him a son, who he named Boina Combo.[[62]](#footnote-62)

Boina Combo’s fate was intertwined with that of the Sakalava king of northwestern Madagascar, Andriantsouly (Andriantsohy).[[63]](#footnote-63) A king named “Tse Levalou” inherited the control of the Sakalava kingdom based in Boina in 1822.[[64]](#footnote-64) Tse Levalou struggled against imperial powers within Madagascar. While he was seeking assistance abroad against the Merina, he developed strong connections with rulers in the Comoros and East Africa, including the Omani leaders based in Zanzibar. He formed an alliance with Mahdi, the sultan in Mayotte, by concluding a treaty that included a fati-dra ceremony.[[65]](#footnote-65) This treaty led to a closer friendship between the Sakalava king and the Mayotte sultan.[[66]](#footnote-66)

Under the influence of Comorian aristocrats, Tse Levalou converted to Islam in 1823 and changed his name to Andriantsouly (Andriantsouli), the converted king.[[67]](#footnote-67) The conversion helped to integrate the Sakalava into networks crossing the Indian Ocean and assisted Andriantsouly in gaining political support from other Muslim rulers around the ocean.[[68]](#footnote-68) It also represented the increasing influence of the Swahili traders who provided the Sakalava with guns and encouragement in their battles against the Merina.[[69]](#footnote-69) When the Mayotte sultan Mahdi was murdered in a series of intrigues, his son, Boina Combo, tried to regain control of the throne.[[70]](#footnote-70) He turned to the Sakalava king Andriantsouly for assistance. In response, Andriantsouly supposedly sent a fleet of canoes and three hundred warriors to help him resume control of his sultanate.[[71]](#footnote-71)

Andriantsouly’s rule at Boina came under attack by the Merina forces in 1824-6 and his allies were less forthcoming. Andriantsouly visited his allies in the Comoros, as well as Zanzibar, where he asked for help from the Omani ruler, Said bin Sultan Al-Said. Said was unable to assist the Sakalava king, as he was already dealing with rebellions on the East African coast.[[72]](#footnote-72) In 1828, when he heard of the death of Radama, Andriantsouly returned to northwestern Madagascar and attempted to rebuild his empire after the loss of Majunga.[[73]](#footnote-73) After a few years of failing to remove the Merina army from the northern portion of the island, Andriantsouly faced pressure from his subjects who accused him of mismanagement. In 1832, his subjects disposed him in favor of his sister, “Betsi” or “Ouantitsi.”[[74]](#footnote-74) Failing in his attempt to protect the Sakalava Empire, he fled to the nearby island of Mayotte with thousands of his followers. He decided he would live on Mayotte with his close ally, Boina Combo.

When Andriantsouly arrived to the Comoro Islands, he encountered a familiar foe: Ramanetaka, the former governor of Majunga. When Radama, the head of the Merina Empire, died in 1828, his heir, Queen Ranavalona I, was determined to assert her control. She set out to murder various claimants for the throne and began replacing individuals in powerful offices with her own appointees. Ramanetaka, who was also a cousin to Radama, came under attack by Queen Ranavalona’s new government.[[75]](#footnote-75)

Before she managed to kill him, Ramanetaka left for the nearby Comoro Islands with a hundred of his Merina supporters around 1828.[[76]](#footnote-76) When he arrived at Anjouan, the local sultan Abdallah welcomed Ramanetaka and his followers, but within only a few months, the sultan discovered that Ramanetaka had conspired against him with Seid-Ali, who was the sultan’s brother. By the early 1830s, relations between the Merina migrant and the sultan had reached a breaking point.[[77]](#footnote-77) Ramanetaka fled to nearby Mohéli, where the reigning sultan was an enemy of Sultan Abdallah. In 1830, Abdallah attacked Mohéli to reassert his control over the island, which he held to be his possession. Ramanetaka offered his services to the sultan of Mohéli.[[78]](#footnote-78) Thanks to his help, the sultan repulsed the Anjouan invaders. After the victory, around 1832 or 1833, the people of Mohéli proclaimed Ramanetaka to be the ruler of the island.[[79]](#footnote-79)

Ramanetaka’s rule came under threat when the Sakalava migrations arrived at Mayotte. Andriantsouly and his followers arrived in Mayotte around the same time Ramanetaka became ruler of Mohéli. Ramanetaka already faced considerable opposition from the Muslims who lived on Mohéli. Ramanetaka converted to Islam and took the name Abd-el-Rhaman, perhaps to deflect their criticism of him.[[80]](#footnote-80) He was not able to quell the anger fomented by the arrival of the Sakalava in Mayotte. Between roughly 1832 and 1836, a series of wars led by the Malagasy migrants engulfed the Comoros and increased political instability throughout the Indian Ocean world.[[81]](#footnote-81)

Upon his arrival in Mayotte, the former Sakalava king Andriantsouly did not get along with Boina Combo, despite their long friendship. The ambitious Andriantsouly seized control of Mayotte from Boina Combo in 1833. Boina Combo asked Ramanetaka for assistance and, after defeating Andriantsouly, Ramanetaka himself took control of Mayotte.[[82]](#footnote-82) Andriantsouly returned to Anjouan and attempted to incite the sultan of Anjouan to attack Ramanetaka again, as he had a few years earlier.[[83]](#footnote-83)

A few years later, in 1836, the sultan of Anjouan, Abdallah, sent an expedition of Anjouan, Comorian, Mohélian, and Sakalava troops to attack Mayotte. A strong wind struck the boats, according to some observers, and while Andriantsouly escaped, other Sakalava warriors were captured. Abdallah, the sultan of Anjouan, died in captivity in Mayotte. After the defeat of his enemies, Ramanetaka resumed his role of sultan in Mohéli, until he died in 1841.[[84]](#footnote-84) He allowed Andriantsouly to take the title of sultan in Mayotte, where he ruled until around 1840.[[85]](#footnote-85) Both rulers experienced considerable resistance from local communities but adeptly played factions against each other. They also benefited with their connections to Madagascar, particularly with merchant communities, to consolidate their rule.

When Andriantsouly died, the French took advantage of the ensuing disorder in the region and negotiated for control of Mayotte.[[86]](#footnote-86) On April 25, 1841, they signed a treaty, annexing Mayotte in the name of France.[[87]](#footnote-87) Following the loss of Mauritius, and its commodious harbor of Port Louis to the British, the French desired a trading port in the southwestern Indian Ocean.[[88]](#footnote-88) They had been developing colonies in coastal regions of Madagascar for centuries and, more recently, during the early decades of the nineteenth century, on Île Sainte Marie and on the east coast of Madagascar, at Point Teintingue.[[89]](#footnote-89) When the French took control of Mayotte, the island was home to a diverse population. According to a French survey, there were 300 “Arabs,” 700 Antaloatra or Mahoris (the French had difficulty telling them apart), 600 Sakalava, and 1,200-1,300 hundred slaves, of both African and Malagasy descent.[[90]](#footnote-90)

The French also took control of the island of Nosy Be, just off the northwest coast of Madagascar, in the same 1841 treaty.[[91]](#footnote-91) Starting around 1837, the Merina attacked plantations and towns on Nosy Be and Nosy Kumba, where many Sakalava had fled to from Majunga. The Merina claimed the attacks were retribution for Sakalava attacks on Merina-controlled Majunga.[[92]](#footnote-92) Following a voyage of a French ship to northwestern Madagascar in 1839, the Sakalava queen of the island of Nosy Be, “Tsioumeik (Bioumeke)” asked for French support against Merina incursions. The queen would later sign over the islands of Nosy Be and the Nosy Kumba to the French.[[93]](#footnote-93) She also renounced her claims to the west coast of Madagascar from the bay of Passandava to Cape St Vincent.[[94]](#footnote-94) The French declared much of the west coast of Madagascar to be under French protection. The Sakalava rulers even gave the French permission to send Catholic priests into the region.[[95]](#footnote-95)

When the French began to colonize Mayotte and Nosy Be, the only protest to the establishment of these colonies came from the Omani sultan Said of Zanzibar. The sultan claimed that earlier pleas from the Sakalava for his assistance against the Merina had led to the establishment of an Omani protectorate over the islands. In 1840, Said begged the British to help him defend “his subjects” of Nosy Be and Mayotte against “the encroachments of the French.”[[96]](#footnote-96) A few years later, after the treaty was signed, he again wrote to the queen of England and argued that “the French nation” was “continually interfering with my People and Possessions... tampering with the people of the islands... and it is well known to all men that the people of those islands are the subjects of Zanzibar.”[[97]](#footnote-97) These complaints came too late. The French ignored the protests and the British did little to aid the sultan at Zanzibar.[[98]](#footnote-98)

Meanwhile, the French attempted to convert the land on Nosy Be and Mayotte to profitable sugar plantations. The French colonies struggled to find new sources for labor, due to the abolition of the slave trade, and they lived in the constant fear of insurrection by the few Malagasy they employed.[[99]](#footnote-99) Many of the local people left Nosy Be following French colonization, so workers had to be imported from East Africa or Madagascar.[[100]](#footnote-100) The French attempted to address the labor shortage by acquiring *engagé* (contract) labor from East Africa, Madagascar, and the Comoro Islands between 1850 and 1880.[[101]](#footnote-101) It was a source of tension between the British and the French that the French continued to hire laborers and work them in slave-like conditions.[[102]](#footnote-102)

Malagasy continued to live in the northern portion of Nosy Be, where they grew rice, sweet potatoes, and manioc, although many of these people decided to work for the French, due in part to recurring famines striking Nosy Be.[[103]](#footnote-103) The Sakalava on Nosy Be tried to continue trading with groups throughout the Indian Ocean. Around five hundred traders, mostly based in the Nosy Be port of Ambanourou, exchanged goods with ships arriving from the north. During the 1860s, they traded with merchants from Mozambique, Zanzibar, and Bombay.[[104]](#footnote-104) Despite their continued presence on the island, the Sakalava had to contend with French laws and controls over their movements. For instance, in 1856, the Sakalava leader “Temboula Ben Soultan” had to write to the French commandant at Nosy Be for permission to travel on the island and visit his mother’s tomb.[[105]](#footnote-105)

In 1844, in addition to becoming a permanent fixture in the Zanzibari sultan’s court, the British created a consulate in Anjouan to observe French activities in Nosy Be and Mayotte.[[106]](#footnote-106) British commercial interests also motivated this development. The British consulate official described Anjouan as depopulated by constant wars and battles. The British hoped this country, with “an enlightened government,” could become a prosperous trading island following the cessation of the slave trade. The British consulate officer in Anjouan concluded, “there is no country in these parts so eligible for the settlement of Europeans.”[[107]](#footnote-107) The British abolitionists made similar arguments in Zanzibar and envisioned abolition of the slave trade ushering in a period of commercial growth to East Africa. British warships monitored the waters of the Mozambique Channel and attempted to eliminate French imports of laborers to their island colonies.

**Under Merina Rule**

Struggles between the British and French came in the midst of turmoil within the Merina Empire. The death of Radama and the succession of his wife, Ranavalona, marked a turning point in relations between the Merina Empire and Europeans. Radama had welcomed Christian missionaries to Madagascar and encouraged thousands of them to teach the Malagasy to read and write using the Latin alphabet.[[108]](#footnote-108) His rule was seen as having an “enlightening and humanizing” influence on the Malagasy.[[109]](#footnote-109)

Ranavalona decided to renounce Christianity. According to an English missionary, this change was due to “the influence of the idol-keepers, and of the supporters of divination and other superstitions of the country.”[[110]](#footnote-110) The queen dismissed all missionaries from the country. She punished Christian Malagasy with “fine, imprisonment, or unredeemable slavery; and... death.”[[111]](#footnote-111) The British in particular presented themselves as injured by this switch and expressed concern over the decline of the Merina Empire.

British despair also stemmed from practical concerns over the supply of food for Mauritius. Ranavalona outlawed trade with foreigners. The French and British even sent warships to Tamatave to intervene in 1845.[[112]](#footnote-112) Even after Ranavalona’s death in 1861, dissent over the direction of the Merina Empire continued. Her heir, Radama II, became involved in a struggle between xenophobic forces in the kingdom and the British.[[113]](#footnote-113) In this struggle, Radama II was killed and his wife, Rabodo, took the throne in 1863.[[114]](#footnote-114) She welcomed Christian missionaries to the island and said she would give protection to all foreigners on the island.[[115]](#footnote-115) Despite this victory, political clashes continued within Madagascar, between European and Malagasy forces, for the control of commerce in the island.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, European colonies continued to rely on the produce of Madagascar. The British of Mauritius, however, purchased commodities from India by 1833 and seldom traded for food in southwestern Madagascar after this date. The Merina tried to control and profit from this trade, largely by exacting duties for trade from Majunga. [[116]](#footnote-116) The governor, exercising “almost unlimited authority” over the Majunga province, tried to end smuggling. He inflicted capital punishment for the production of counterfeit money or the burying of money, which the Merina state defined as “the property of the sovereign.”[[117]](#footnote-117) Despite these harsh rules, the Merina governor faced difficulties in controlling the Sakalava economically as he had previously.[[118]](#footnote-118) High duties drove Europeans away from trading at Majunga and led them to visit other ports.[[119]](#footnote-119)

When traders could not purchase goods from Merina-controlled Tamatave or Majunga, they went to other ports.[[120]](#footnote-120) Perhaps due to the lack of concerted Merina control in the region, Sakalava merchants continued to profit from foreign trade on the coast. During the mid-nineteenth century, between eighty and ninety tons of rice were exported from the island every year, mostly to Mozambique. Exports of cattle, wax, and gums also fueled the local economy on the west coast.[[121]](#footnote-121) In towns of this region, as many as a thousand head of cattle were penned in preparation for their sale to passing ships.[[122]](#footnote-122) Mozambique settlements relied upon the island for rice, the Mascarene and Seychelles imported cattle from Madagascar, and the French replaced their slaves with Malagasy contract laborers.[[123]](#footnote-123) American whalers still bought goods to the west coast, especially Tulear and St. Augustine’s Bay.[[124]](#footnote-124)

Economically, the Sakalava ports were still central to trade in the Indian Ocean.[[125]](#footnote-125) The strength of trade on the northwest coast of Madagascar, in particular, was a testament to the extent to which the Sakalava had created lasting ties with merchant communities in the region, even if these traders increasingly operated outside of Sakalava (and Merina) control. Malagasy migrations to the Comoro Islands and East Africa only increased this commerce. The Antaloatra, from northwest Madagascar, comprised as much as thirty percent of the population of Anjouan. The Antaloatra sent letters to Boina and Mozambique to coordinate commerce in the region as late as 1879.[[126]](#footnote-126).

Attacks on Merina troops in Sakalava territory also continued throughout the nineteenth century. As one British observer noted during the 1890s, the Sakalava kings could lead large armies and they continued to train young warriors in the use of firearms. The Sakalava armies had several advantages over the Merina.[[127]](#footnote-127) Most importantly, they knew the countryside well. This knowledge meant that they could move easily following any threats from the Merina. As one observer astutely noted, the Sakalava lacked large towns that Merina forces could conquer.[[128]](#footnote-128) The Merina constantly faced what we would now call guerilla warfare. The Sakalava rulers also allied with the French representatives living on the nearby island of Nosy Be, in hopes of attaining weapons and support for their struggles. [[129]](#footnote-129) In return, the French sought engagé laborers for their island sugar colonies and purchased food. The Merina tried to eliminate these exchanges and the French constantly schemed to overthrow the Merina Empire and its chokehold on exports from the island.[[130]](#footnote-130)

As early as 1842, following their seizure of Mayotte and Nosy Be, the French developed a plan to land at Bombetoc with a large French force. From there, the French would arm their allies, the Sakalava. French and Sakalava soldiers would march together to Antananarivo and defeat the Merina.[[131]](#footnote-131) One other plan from the 1860s involved a few thousand French troops, “assisted by the north Sacalavas, who could easily be induced to join them.” They would, “without difficulty, march on the capital.”[[132]](#footnote-132)

Judging by the abundant correspondence between the French on Nosy Be and Sakalava leaders on the main island, the Sakalava were receptive to French plans. The leaders probably desired the influx of arms such an agreement would entail. The Merina worried about the French smuggling arms and gunpowder to different Sakalava leaders.[[133]](#footnote-133) Merina governors tried to prevent French visits to Sakalava royalty in the port of Baly. The planned alliance between the French and the Sakalava never was never concluded, perhaps because the Sakalava were too divided to work with the French, or because the French themselves lacked the resources for following through on such an attack.[[134]](#footnote-134)

Despite the failure of the French plan, the Sakalava resisted the Merina in subtle ways. The Merina wanted to oversee the transformation of the Sakalava into productive subjects within the Merina Empire. According to a British sea captain, it appeared that the Merina wanted to “keep the Sacalavas in such a state of subjection, that they cannot call an inch of ground their own.”[[135]](#footnote-135) In reality, the inhabitants of Sakalava villages in western Madagascar maintained their allegiance to Sakalava kings.[[136]](#footnote-136) The “independent Sakalava” continued to worship their ancestors, royal ancestors in particular.[[137]](#footnote-137)

Even during the 1870s, the Sakalava frequently stole Merina cattle and taunted them. The most common name for the Merina was *amboalambo*, or pig-dogs.[[138]](#footnote-138) Perhaps due to the Merina’s “dread of their courage and skill in war,” Sakalava chiefs carved out a “no man’s land” between their own land and Merina-controlled territory, creating a patchwork of territories that were under Sakalava control.[[139]](#footnote-139) Within their territory, the Sakalava lived “thin and scattered” and focused on producing enough food for their own survival, including fish, plantains, and beef from their cattle.[[140]](#footnote-140) The people were constantly in a state of war against the Merina. When one British missionary visited Menabe, the men were performing a “war song” with their “guns and spears” and complaining of the Merina theft of three hundred cattle from their territory in the last month.[[141]](#footnote-141) The Merina outposts bordering on Sakalava territory frequently could not trade locally for goods. Merina soldiers resorted to theft for survival, which in turn brought retribution from Sakalava leaders and warriors. To visiting missionaries, many of the Sakalava still appeared to be a “wild, lawless race.”[[142]](#footnote-142)

Meanwhile, the French gradually assumed power over Madagascar, taking advantage of conflicts within the Merina state.[[143]](#footnote-143) The British lacked the resources to dominate Madagascar and they eventually ceded their claim to Madagascar to the French. As the French gathered their resources for the invasion of the island, they relied upon and supported traders based in northwestern Madagascar, and the French provided rebels on the coast with imports in return.[[144]](#footnote-144) The Merina leaders faced severe economic difficulties, as well as continued dissent from groups within the empire, including the Sakalava. The French entered Antananarivo in 1895 and took control of the government.[[145]](#footnote-145) Following the colonization of the island, the French struggled to unite and rule this divided island.

**Being Sakalava**

In the midst of these political and economic changes, the Sakalava maintained their religious practices and loyalty to their leaders. For the entire nineteenth century, Europeans viewed Sakalava beliefs and practices as a rejection of Merina and European influence. Even when the Sakalava converted to Christianity, their practices belied a continuing belief in the divinity of royal ancestors.[[146]](#footnote-146) The missionaries described certain local practices, including the fati-dra, a blood ceremony creating a bond between the Sakalava rulers and the missionaries. A local advisor told them this covenant was part of a “belief in the sanctity of the hazo manga [*hazomanga*]” which was posted in villages as a sort of monument.[[147]](#footnote-147) Missionaries dismissed such practices as “superstitious observances.”[[148]](#footnote-148) When missionaries encountered Muslims, they dismissed them as “Arab” and highlighted their involvement in the slave trade.[[149]](#footnote-149) Europeans had begun to identify the Sakalava by their religious practices during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

These practices also demonstrated beliefs about the history of the Sakalava Empire and the ordering of their worlds. Sakalava ceremonies created an alliance between the past, present, and future of the people in western Madagascar. Origin stories repeated by the Sakalava asserted that their ancestors gained control of the west coast of the island through a combination of divine will and superior military strength.[[150]](#footnote-150) The remembered past, as recited in these oral histories, united Sakalava communities during periods of strife and uncertainty.

According to tradition, following the interpretation of signs by royal priests, known as the *ombiasy*, the Sakalava chose to live in Menabe during the sixteenth century.[[151]](#footnote-151) Cardinal directions, numbers, and colors all represented the ordering of the universe. The ombiasy interpreted signs given through the positioning of seeds, the orientation of houses, and ritual killings of cattle. In this way, the ombiasy assisted the Sakalava in founding their state in Menabe.[[152]](#footnote-152) The ombiasy also provided the kings with advice and protective amulets, known as *ody* (or *aoly*). The ody were endowed with *hasina* (sacred power) to protect the wearer against evil.[[153]](#footnote-153) The kings hung the ody around their necks and these talismans allowed the kings to resist gunshots. The ombiasy also created ody from cattle horns and decorated them with auspicious symbols, to protect people against cattle theft and other hazards of living on the west coast.[[154]](#footnote-154) These ody and access to the ombiasy provided spiritual strength to the leaders of the southeast.[[155]](#footnote-155) This part of the origin history resonated with everyday practice of the Sakalava during the twentieth century, when they continued to wear ody around their necks.[[156]](#footnote-156)

The origin histories recorded during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries also emphasized the development of hierarchical relationships in the past. Sakalava rulers expressed their power through ceremonies and through physical monuments to the power of royal ancestors. Kings erected buildings at sacred places, called *doany*, where royal reliquaries were kept.[[157]](#footnote-157) These tombs reminded people passing through the territory to worship royal ancestors and established Sakalava control of key locations. When a Sakalava ruler travelled, he or she would first visit his ancestral tomb, taking piece of *tany* *masina*, or sacred earth, from the land surrounding the tomb on their trip.[[158]](#footnote-158) Much like the ody talismans produced by royal priests, the earth protected and ensured the success of the visitor's travels.[[159]](#footnote-159) The compounds that held the relics, or *dady*, were marked by wooden monuments called the *hazomanga*, “blue wood,” meant to be used in prayer, sacrifices, and boys' circumcision ceremonies.[[160]](#footnote-160) Tomb decorations represented similar themes found elsewhere on the island, especially cattle wealth and dependence on sea trade and travel, but also emphasized fertility.[[161]](#footnote-161) The Sakalava continued to build and use these compounds as centers of worship during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, even under the pressures of Merina and French colonization.

During the late nineteenth century, royalty demonstrated their power through “the possession of what is commonly called the ‘dady,’ that is the relics of a former sovereign.”[[162]](#footnote-162) A British missionary, visiting Menabe during the mid-nineteenth century, described, “a procession leaving the town... it was a great occasion for they were taking the ‘dady’ down to the river to be bathed.” He was unable to witness the actual ceremony, as his “presence there would have been strongly resented.”[[163]](#footnote-163)

This practice appears to have continued and perhaps expanded during the following century.[[164]](#footnote-164) A visiting anthropologist described the ceremony as the *fitampoha*, the washing of relics, in Menabe during the 1950s and 1960s.[[165]](#footnote-165) The ceremony involved several days of marching, the bathing of royal relics in the river, and trance ceremonies (*tromba*). According to anthropologist Suzanne Chazan-Gillic, the fitampoha of 1968 was not a ceremony just about remembering the past.[[166]](#footnote-166) In reality, the ceremony likely reflected the exercise of Sakalava power and revealed how it worked in peoples’ lives.[[167]](#footnote-167)

At sacred sites (doany), Sakalava ancestors spoke through royal spirit mediums known as *tromba* and communicated with the living monarchs. During the reformation and collapse of the Sakalava kingdom, rulers increasingly used spirit mediums to call upon ancestors for advice and reaffirm their legitimacy.[[168]](#footnote-168) The use of these ceremonies spread throughout western Madagascar (and Mayotte) and tromba was widely practiced throughout the nineteenth century. The ceremony also underwent several resurgences during the twentieth century, particularly in the 1960s, as an anti-colonial ritual.[[169]](#footnote-169) According to scholar Françoise Raison-Jourde, tromba reproduced power structures and enforced Sakalava hierarchical relationships.[[170]](#footnote-170) These practices constituted a restatement of Sakalava history in the present day and provided a means for addressing contemporary concerns.[[171]](#footnote-171)

Similarly, the tombs and relics of western Madagascar were physical representations of royal genealogy. According to anthropologist Gillian Feeley-Harnik, Sakalava used the language of kinship to express hierarchical relationships, particularly between people and their sovereigns. Tracing genealogy was a potent means for asserting power and leadership. In northwest Madagascar during the 1980s, the sovereign clan could trace their genealogy back twenty-seven generations. Nobles could name somewhere between nine and fifteen generations, commoners, about three or five, and slaves had no kin “by definition.”[[172]](#footnote-172) The coastal Vezo fishermen, for instance, reported that the Sakalava used genealogy as a manner of control and domination during the Sakalava Empire.[[173]](#footnote-173) More recently, the genealogy of Sakalava rulers has found physical and material expression in the doany tombs, in the practice of tromba, and in the washing of royal relics. Sakalava hierarchy was a still a powerful force in peoples’ lives during the twentieth century.[[174]](#footnote-174)

More recently, new groups of people have come to be recognized as Sakalava.[[175]](#footnote-175) Despite the political disintegration of the Sakalava Empire, new Sakalava clans were created during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, such as those of slaves. These people without ancestors, *olo tsy manadrazana*, were seen as inferior and impure.[[176]](#footnote-176) Many of the people without kin, descendents of slaves, were involved in relationships of dependence with the Sakalava royalty.[[177]](#footnote-177) Gillian Feeley-Harnik has described how they participated in various forms of royal work and how the Sakalava rulers established relationships of dependency with the workers.[[178]](#footnote-178) The Sakalava rulers, in effect, became the kin of the workers and the workers became Sakalava.

By the twentieth century, when anthropologists asked the Vezo (a coastal group), the Masikoro (from the interior), and the Mikea (of the forests) what relatives or clan they were from (“Ino razanao?”, literally “Who are/were your ancestors?”), their answers would be “Sakalava vezo,” or “Sakalava masikoro.” These answers call our attention to the expansiveness of the Sakalava identity, perhaps particularly during periods of intense political transformation such as the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[[179]](#footnote-179)

**The Collapse of an Empire?**

Work done by anthropologists during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries testifies to the continuing importance of the Sakalava Empire in shaping the lives of people in western Madagascar. Conceptions of the Sakalava past have been influenced by their ideas about hierarchy and the divine world. People believe that royal ancestors have the power to affect their daily lives. By continuing to experience this past vividly, the Sakalava did not view their conquest by colonial powers as resulting in the collapse of their states and empire, but rather the reformation of these political systems. As Michael Lambek, in his observations of Sakalava tromba, describes, “the space of performance enables the simultaneous display of successive temporalities. Sakalava history is thus additive in that, in principle, later generations do not displace earlier ones but perdure alongside them.”[[180]](#footnote-180) The continual influence of the past on the present in Madagascar challenges historians seeking to understand the trajectory of the Sakalava Empire. We cannot identify the origins of the Sakalava state any more than we can date when the Sakalava Empire ceased to be influential in the political, cultural, and spiritual realm. In a sense, the origins and the reformation of the Sakalava Empire coexist. If seeking to identify the historical origins of the empire is like worshipping a false “idol,” in the words of Marc Bloch, then perhaps finding an ending is as well.[[181]](#footnote-181)

1. On parallel developments in East Africa during the nineteenth century, see Edward A. Alpers, *Ivory and Slaves: Changing Pattern of International Trade in East Central Africa to the Later Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975); Abdul Sheriff, *Slaves, Spices, & Ivory in Zanzibar: Integration of an East African Commercial Empire into the World Economy, 1770-1873* (London: J. Currey, 1987). [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. On this idea, see Solofo Randrianja and Stephen Ellis, *Madagascar: A Short History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 149. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Feeley-Harnik argues that the shift to royal ancestor worship was due, in part, to imperial encroachments on Sakalava kingdoms during the nineteenth century. She states, “it could be said that Sakalava monarchy survived the French colonial period not by denying the death of kings, but by celebrating it.” Gillian Feeley-Harnik, “Issues in Divine Kingship,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 14 (1985): 285. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. His father was French and his mother was Malagasy. Dominique Ranaivoson, *Madagascar: Dictionnaire des personalités historiques* (Saint-Maur-des-Fossés, France: Sépia, 2005), 85-6. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Ibid., 123; Gwyn Campbell, *An Economic History of Imperial Madagascar 1750-1895: The Rise and Fall of an Island Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 61. The treaty is detailed in Chapter 6. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Farquhar, letter, 1822, Board's Collections, “IOR/F/4/913,” British Library, f. 480. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. On conversions to Islam, see Chapter 6. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. This chapter posits that elite power structures continued, in spite of colonialism, and manifested in ways that were not always in the form of retaliation or defensive, but rather spiritual or involving identity politics. This was also the case on the East African coast. See, for instance, Jonathon Glassman, *Feasts and Riot: Revelry, Rebellion, and Popular Consciousness on the Swahili Coast, 1856-1888* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1995).

   On the origins of the Merina ethnicity, a not dissimilar process, see the works of Pier Larson, especially Pier Martin Larson, *History and Memory in the Age of Enslavement : becoming Merina in highland Madagascar, 1770-1822* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2000), 23-32. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. François Callet, *Histoire des rois, traduction du Tantaran'ny andriana*, 5 vol.s. (Tananarive: Éditions de la Librairie de Madagascar, 1953), 2:163-4. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. This impulse is summarized in Jean Valette, *Études sur le règne de Radama Ier* (Antananarivo, Madagascar: Impr. nationale, 1962), 46-8. Imerina refers to the Merina kingdom. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. For a discussion of this famous quotation, see Larson, *History and Memory,* 43. Note the centrality of the rice fields in the idea of the Merina Empire. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. G. A. Rantoandro, “Hommes et réseaux *Malata* de la côte orientale de Madagascar à l'époque de Jean René (1773-1825),” *Annuaire des pays de l'Océan Indien* 17, no. (2001-2002): 103-4. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Campbell, *An Economic History¸*49. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Citing Mayeur, in Valette, *Études,* 14-6. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Ibid., 54. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Ibid., 55. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Ibid., 58. See also Callet, *Histoire des rois,* 2: 402-12; Ranaivoson, *Madagascar*,150. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. Larson discusses the “social costs of war” to the Merina: Larson, *History and memory,* 217-222. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Gwyn Campbell, “Slavery and Fanompoana: the Structure of Forced Labor in Imerina (Madagascar), 1790-1861,” *The Journal of African History* 29, no. 3 (1988): 463-486. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Callet, *Histoire des rois,* 5: 15. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. B. F. L. d. Lacombe, *Voyage à Madagascar et aux iles Comores (1823 à 1830),* 2 vols. (1840), 1: 65. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Callet, *Histoire des rois,* 4: 16-7. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Radrianja and Ellis, *Madagascar*, 124. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Valette, *Études,* 58-60. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Callet, *Histoire des rois,* 4: 37 [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. Ibid., 4: 7 [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. The treaty between Ramitraho and Radama was concluded in 1823, according to Lacombe, *Voyage,* 65, 108. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Callet, *Histoire des rois,* 4: 35; see also the account in Lyons McLeod, *Madagascar and Its People* (originally published 1865; New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), 61-2. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Lacombe, *Voyage*, 2: 108. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. For details on coins and this commercial integration, see Chapter 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. McLeod, *Madagascar,* 278-81. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. Lacombe, *Voyage*, 2: 108 [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. Ibid., 2: 111. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. See, for instance, various French letters from the 1880s in “4z/14-32.” [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. Memoir, in “Add. 18135 - Pieces Diverses Relatives à Madagascar,” ed. M. de Froberville, British Library, f. 129. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. The letter j in Malagasy is frequently pronounced with a z sound, thus making Majunga into Mazungay. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. Colomb, *Slave-Catching in the Indian Ocean: A Record of Naval Experiences* (London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1968, orginally published in 1873), 321. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. McLeod, *Madagascar,* 265. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. Ibid., 262. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. In 1824: Ibid., 266 -9. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. Letter to Secretary Newnham, July 27, 1824, extracted in Board's Collections, “IOR/F/4/905,” British Library, f. 77-8. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. For an explanation of the Indian-dominated financial system, see Campbell, *An Economic History,* 14-15. On Banian merchant networks in East Africa, see N. Benjamin, “Trading Activities of Indians in East Africa (with Special Reference to Slavery) in the Nineteenth Century,” *Indian Economic & Social History Review* 35, no. 4 (1998): 405-419. See also M. N. Pearson, *Port Cities and Intruders: the Swahili Coast, India, and Portugal in the early modern era* (Baltimore; Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998). [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. Norman Robert Bennett, *Arab Versus European: Diplomacy and War in Nineteenth-Century East Central Africa* (New York: Africana Pub. Co., 1986). [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. McLeod, *Madagascar,* 263. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. Ibid., 270 [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. See the complaints of British such as Colomb, *Slave-catching.* [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. W. F. W. Owen, *Narrative of Voyages to Explore the Shores of Africa, Arabia, and Madagascar* (London: Richard Bentley, 1833), 186 [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. M. Vincent Noel, *Île de Madagascar: recherches sur les Sakkalava* (Paris: Imprimerie de Bourgogne et Martinet, 1843), 8 [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. McLeod, *Madagascar,* 270-3. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. For British observations of this trade: Captain Hamerton, letter to Lord Aberdeen, September 28, 1846, in Captain Hamerton's outward letters, “AA 1/3,” National British Archives, Kew, f. 177. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. Ibid., 277. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. Edward Alpers, “The Western Indian Ocean as a Regional Food Network in the Nineteenth Century,” in *Africa and the Indian Ocean* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2009), 28-9, 31. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. Callet, *Histoire Des Rois,* 4: 8; McLeod, *Madagascar,* 62. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. Valette, *Études,* 69. [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. Valette, *Études,* 69. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. McLeod, *Madagascar,* 264-5. [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. Valette, *Études,* 66. [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. Sophie Blanchy, *Karana et Banians: Les communautés commerçantes d'origin indienne à Madagascar* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 1995), 56; By 1842, the Anataloatra in nearby Moudzangaye numbered only 675 free people and 250 slaves: from Guillian, by Ibid., 57. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. Jean Martin, *Comores: Quatre Îles Entre Pirates Et Planteurs*, 2 vols. (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1983), 1: 105. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. Ibid., 1: 105. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. Ranaivoson, *Madagascar,* 41-2. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. It is hard to uncover the chronology of events in this region, due to a lack of sources. The few sources, both Comorian and Malagasy, that exist frequently contradict each other, particularly in terms of dates. [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. Ibid., 1: 105. The ceremony was called known as the *fati-dra* or “serment du sang.” It was instrumental in creating alliances within the Sakalava Empire and European merchants and missionaries during the nineteenth century also concluded fatidra with the Sakalava. For details of the history of this practice, see Chapter 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. Ranaivoson, *Madagascar*, 41-2. [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
67. Marie-Pierre Ballarin, *Les reliques royales à Madagascar: source de légitimation et enjeu de pouvoir, XVIIIe-XXe siècles* (Paris: Karthala, 2000), 45; Alfred Gevrey, *Essai sur les Comores* (Pondichery: A. Saligny, 1870), 217; Martin, *Comores,* 1: 132. [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
68. Martin, *Comores*, 1:133. [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
69. Lacombe, *Voyage,* 167. [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
70. Martin, *Comores,* 1: 105. [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
71. Ibid., 1: 105. [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
72. Ibid., 1: 133. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
73. Gevrey, *Essai sur les Comores*, 217. [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
74. Ibid., 218; Martin, *Comores*, 1:134. See also Ranaivoson, *Madagascar*, 41-2. [↑](#footnote-ref-74)
75. McLeod, *Madagascar*, 76. [↑](#footnote-ref-75)
76. Ranaivoson, *Madagascar*, 138. [↑](#footnote-ref-76)
77. Martin, *Comores,* 1:129. [↑](#footnote-ref-77)
78. On the long history of strife between these islands, especially Anjouani aggression, see Chapter 6. [↑](#footnote-ref-78)
79. Gevrey, *Essai sur les Comores*, 153. Another source states he took power in 1829: Said Bakari Bin Sultani Ahmed, *The Swahili Chronicle of Ngazija*, ed. Lyndon Harries (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University, 1977), 113. [↑](#footnote-ref-79)
80. Gevrey, *Essai sur les Comores*, 154. [↑](#footnote-ref-80)
81. Martin, *Comores,* 1:132. [↑](#footnote-ref-81)
82. Gevrey, *Essai sur les Comores*, 218-9. Boina Combo was, according to Gevrey, related to Andriantsouli, as his mother was Sakalava. Gevrey, *Essai sur les Comores*, 216. See also Martin, *Comores*, 1: 105, who describes a blood alliance between the sultan of Mayotte and the Sakalava in 1806-7. [↑](#footnote-ref-82)
83. Gevrey, *Essai sur les Comores*, 219. [↑](#footnote-ref-83)
84. Martin, *Comores,* 1: 158; Gevrey, *Essai sur les Comores*, 155, gives the date as 1842, which seems incorrect. [↑](#footnote-ref-84)
85. Gevrey, *Essai sur les Comores*, 225. These events are also described by Ahmed, *Swahili Chronicle ,* 112-3. [↑](#footnote-ref-85)
86. Some argued that Andriantsouly negotiated with the French for support in return for allowing the French to seize control of the island. Ranaivoson, *Madagascar*, 42. [↑](#footnote-ref-86)
87. Treaty for Mayotte in 1841, in *Madagascar, fonds historique, pièces diverses concernant Nossi-Bé, Mayotte et la côte Nord-Ouest de Madagascar (1841-1897)*, “4z/151-167,” Centre des Archives Nationales d'Outre-Mer, Aix-en-Provence, France; Gevrey, *Essai sur les Comores*, 227. The British complained that Mayotte had previously been a dependency of Anjouan until a Sakalava chief seized the island and sold it to the French. See Josiah Napier, letter to Palmerston, November 1, 1848, in Letters from the Consul of the Comoros (Johanna), “AA 1/5,” ZNA, f. 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-87)
88. Martin, Comores, 1: 115. [↑](#footnote-ref-88)
89. Point Teintingue was near present-day Manompana, on the main island, due west of Ile Sainte Marie. The French called a *kabary* with prominant leaders on ile Sainte Marie in 1818, see the report of the signed treaty provided by the French commercial agent Jean Baptiste Sylvain Roux in “1/z 1-159.” The Malagasy of île Sainte Marie submitted to French rule “with joy,” if this was true, it was due to increasing violence emanating from the east coast of Madagascar. In the same year, Roux took possession of Point Teintingue. This act is also found in “1/z 1-159.” [↑](#footnote-ref-89)
90. Gevrey, *Essai sur les Comores*, 251. Thousands of people fled from the Comoros archipelago to the East African coast, to places such as Lamu, and by 1862, “between three and four thousand” lived in Zanzibar. Ibid., 148; William Coudel, letter, 24 February 182, “AA 1/5,” f. 223.

    Many of the original residents of Mayotte had fled from the island following the wars, although these migrations may have begun with the Malagasy raids earlier in the century. See Chapter 6. [↑](#footnote-ref-90)
91. The treaty was ratified in France in 1843: Martin, *Comores*, 1: 148-51. [↑](#footnote-ref-91)
92. McLeod, *Madagascar,* 247. [↑](#footnote-ref-92)
93. François Pollen, D.C. van Dam, S. C. Snellen van Vollenhoven, Edm. de Sélys Longchamps, C. K. Hoffmann, J. G. de Man, *Recherches sur la faune de Madagascar et de ses dépendances: d’après les découvertes de François P. L. Pollen et D. C. van Dam,* part 1 (Leyde: Steenhoff, 1869), 157. [↑](#footnote-ref-93)
94. McLeod, *Madagascar,* 93. [↑](#footnote-ref-94)
95. See the French report of 1859, in Fonds historique, Madagascar, pièces diverses concernant Nossi-Bé, Mayotte et la côte Nord-Ouest de Madagascar (1841-1897), “4z/45-60.” [↑](#footnote-ref-95)
96. Hamerton, letter to L. R. Reid, 4 November 1840, Outward: Political and Secret Department, “AA 3/1,” 87. [↑](#footnote-ref-96)
97. Translated letter to the Queen of England from the Imam of Muscat to Lord Palmerston, 19 August 1848, Letters from British Foreign Office, Inwards, “AA 1/4,” 181. [↑](#footnote-ref-97)
98. Martin, Comores, 1: 159; Pollen, *Recherches*, 158. [↑](#footnote-ref-98)
99. Martin, *Comores*, 1: 215-229. [↑](#footnote-ref-99)
100. Jehanne-Emmanuelle Monnier, *Esclaves de la canne à sucre: engagés et planteurs à Nossi-Bé, Madagascar 1850-1880* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2006), 38. [↑](#footnote-ref-100)
101. Monnier, *Esclaves*,12. They also imported “Makoa” workers, probably from Mozambique: see the list of workers given on 16 October 1867, in “4z/1-13.” [↑](#footnote-ref-101)
102. William Sunley letter, March 31, 1858, “AA 1/5,” f. 118; there are several other letters on this issue included in the collection. [↑](#footnote-ref-102)
103. Monnier, *Esclaves*,42-8. [↑](#footnote-ref-103)
104. Monnier, *Esclaves*,21-2. [↑](#footnote-ref-104)
105. Written in 1856, in “4z/1-13.” [↑](#footnote-ref-105)
106. Martin, *Comores,* 318-20. In 1848, the British became convinced that the “nearest living relative of Radama” was the queen of Mohéli and discussed reinstating her as ruler of Madagascar, as preferable to the hostile and xenophobic queen Ranavalona: Josiah Napier, letter to Palmerston, 1 November 1848, “AA 1/5,” ff. 3-4. [↑](#footnote-ref-106)
107. “Report of the Island of Johanna,” 22 June 1849, “AA 1/5,” ff. 11-14. [↑](#footnote-ref-107)
108. William Ellis, *Three Visits to Madagascar During the Years 1853, 1854, 1856* (Philadelphia: Bradley & Co., 1867), 18. The graduates were then employed in his government, but without pay. Randrianja and Ellis, *Madagascar*, 125. [↑](#footnote-ref-108)
109. Ellis, *Three Visits*, 19. [↑](#footnote-ref-109)
110. Ibid. On the political maneuvering that led up to her accession, see Randrianja and Ellis, *Madagascar*, 126. [↑](#footnote-ref-110)
111. Ellis, *Three Visits*, 21. [↑](#footnote-ref-111)
112. Ibid., 20. [↑](#footnote-ref-112)
113. McLeod, *Madagascar,* 184-7. It is worth nothing that “Rasalimo,” the Sakalava princess married to Radama to “seal the peace” between the Sakalava and the Merina attended the accession of Radama II (previously Rakoto) to the throne. Ibid.*,* 175-8. [↑](#footnote-ref-113)
114. Ibid., 191. [↑](#footnote-ref-114)
115. Ibid., 191-2. [↑](#footnote-ref-115)
116. Ibid., 254, 270. [↑](#footnote-ref-116)
117. Joseph Barlow Felt Osgood, *Notes of travel: or, Recollections of Majunga, Zanzibar, Muscat, Aden, Mocha, and other eastern ports* (Salem, MA: George Creamer, 1854), 14. [↑](#footnote-ref-117)
118. McLeod, *Madagascar,* 246-7. [↑](#footnote-ref-118)
119. Osgood, *Notes of Travel*, 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-119)
120. Randrianja and Ellis, *Madagascar*, 132. [↑](#footnote-ref-120)
121. Ibid., 245-6. [↑](#footnote-ref-121)
122. Joseph S. Sewell, *The Sakalava: Being notes of a Journey Made from Antananarivo to some Towns on the Border of the Sakalava Territory, in June and July, 1875* (Antananarivo: Abraham Kingdon, 1875), 18. [↑](#footnote-ref-122)
123. McLeod, *Madagascar,* 247-9. [↑](#footnote-ref-123)
124. These ships, the British observer McLeod suggests, may have been slavers: “while the sperm-whale is often fished with success along this coast by American whalers, under which guise many slavers visit the Mozambique Channel and baffle the British cruisers in those waters.” Ibid., 277, see also 281. [↑](#footnote-ref-124)
125. Nancy Jane Hafkin, “Trade, Society, and Politics in Northern Mozambique, c. 1753-1913” (PhD diss., Boston University, 1973), 53-4. [↑](#footnote-ref-125)
126. See the letter example in Sewell, *The Sakalava*, 55. [↑](#footnote-ref-126)
127. It has been suggested that the raids of the Sakalava posed little threat to Merina rule, as raiders “showed no inclination to assert any system of regular territorial control over the highlands. Randrianja and Ellis, *Madagascar*¸132. [↑](#footnote-ref-127)
128. George Herbert Smith, *Among the Menabe; or, Thirteen months on the West coast of Madagascar* (London: 1896), 91-2. [↑](#footnote-ref-128)
129. See French note in 1880, in “4z/45-60.” [↑](#footnote-ref-129)
130. “Renseignemens sur Madagascar” on the Hova army, c. 1846, “MAD151/208.” [↑](#footnote-ref-130)
131. Morel, note, 1842, in “MAD17/32-33.” [↑](#footnote-ref-131)
132. J. C. Wilson, “Notes on the West Coast of Madagascar,” *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 36, no. (1866): 246. [↑](#footnote-ref-132)
133. Letter to the commandant of Nosy Be, 1883, “4z/1-13.” [↑](#footnote-ref-133)
134. There was supposedly “little cohesion amongst them [Sakalava rulers]” on the west coast of Madagascar: Joseph Mullens, *Twelve Months in Madagascar* (New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1875), 167. [↑](#footnote-ref-134)
135. Frederick Barnard, *A three years' cruize in the Mozambique Channel* (Freeport: Books for Libraries Press, 1868), 218. See also Kestrell-Cornish, who visited some of the Sakalava chiefs in the 1870s, Bishop Kestrell-Cornish, *Journal of a Tour of Exploration in the North of Madagascar* (London: The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1877), 11. One of the most important demands for the organization of the Merina government, and one of the most hated, was the *fanompoana* labor demands. Sakalava, even “from remote parts,” were ordered to construct bridges, clear roads, and deliver messages: Ibid., 14. [↑](#footnote-ref-135)
136. . Sewell, *The Sakalava,* 13. [↑](#footnote-ref-136)
137. Ibid., 308. [↑](#footnote-ref-137)
138. *Amboa* (in the Sakalava dialect, the word derived from Swahili *mbwa*) means dog. *Lambo*, a wild pig. Mullens, *Twelve Months in Madagascar*, 168. [↑](#footnote-ref-138)
139. Ibid., 178. [↑](#footnote-ref-139)
140. Ibid., 317-8. [↑](#footnote-ref-140)
141. Sewell, *The Sakalava,* 14-5. On Missionary sources for the study of Madagascar, see Larson, *History and Memory*, 33-4. These cattle raids echo those of previous centuries. See Chapter 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-141)
142. Kestrell-Cornish, *Journal of a Tour of Exploration in the North of Madagascar*, 15. [↑](#footnote-ref-142)
143. Randrianja and Ellis, *Madagascar*, 152. [↑](#footnote-ref-143)
144. Gwyn Campbell, *An Economic History,* 15, 232. [↑](#footnote-ref-144)
145. Ibid., 14. [↑](#footnote-ref-145)
146. Mullens, *Twelve Months in Madagascar*, 319. See also Smith, *Among the Menabe,* 21.Many of these visitors saw the refusal to convert as a sign of the influence of Arabs and the Islamic faith on the coast: Kestrell-Cornish, *Journal of a Tour of Exploration in the North of Madagascar*, 20. These visitors saw the refusal to convert as a sign of the influence of Arabs and the Islamic faith on the coast. There are no recordings of the numbers of converts to Islam from this period, although during the nineteenth century, a large class of merchants, known as the Karana and Silamo, dominated trade from the Sakalava ports in the northwest. See Blanchy, *Karana et Banians,* 76-103. [↑](#footnote-ref-146)
147. Smith, *Among the Menabe,* 21-23. [↑](#footnote-ref-147)
148. Ibid.*,* 101. [↑](#footnote-ref-148)
149. Mullens, *Twelve Months in Madagascar*, 316. [↑](#footnote-ref-149)
150. For the best presentation of this myth, see Birkeli, “Folklore Sakalava: recueilli dans la region de Morondava,” 171-192. These myths are paralleled by Merina oral traditions, on their conquest of the highlands of Madagascar: see Callet, *Histoire des rois,* 1: 8-15. Other sources include: *Contes de la côte ouest de Madagascar, recueillis et traduits par N. J. Gueunier* (Antananarivo: Ambozontany, 1991?); Andre Dandouau, *Contes populaires des Sakalava et des Tsimihety de la region d'Analalava* (Alger: Jules Carbonel, 1922); Charles Guillain, *Documents sur l'histoire, la geographie et le commerce de la partie occidentale de Madagascar* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1845); Noel, *Ile de Madagascar: Recherches sur les Sakkalava*. [↑](#footnote-ref-150)
151. Discussed at length in Ballarin, *Les reliques royales à Madagascar: source de légitimation et enjeu de pouvoir, XVIIIe-XXe siècles*, 53-86; It remains hard to historicize even this aspect of Sakalava divine kingship, as most sources date from the nineteenth century. Even if the various aspects – ancestor worship, etc – only began with the nineteenth century, the root beliefs appear to have been similar during the 18th century, according to contemporary beliefs. For example, see Drury's discussion of ancestor worship, tombs, and the respect the Sakalava paid to the Vazimba: Robert Drury, *The adventures of Robert Drury* (London: Printed and sold by W. Meadows 1743; Hull Reprinted for Stodart and Craggs, 1807), 351. People throughout western and southern Madagascar believed in the power of the ombiasy as diviners. A French observer also noted the presence of “universities” or schools in the southeast to train the ombiasy, so these same priests may have been active elsewhere in the island. See the report of French colonist Modave, near Fort Dauphin, during 1763?, in COL C/5a/2. The Ombiasy probably also tried to protect and treat diseases: see the eighteenth-century memoir on diseases in Madagascar in “COL C/5a/7.” [↑](#footnote-ref-151)
152. The ombiasy of the southeast Madagascar also knew how to write and read sorabe texts but there is no sign of Arabico-Malagasy writing in the western part of the island. On the religious practices of the southeast of Madagascar, see various documents in COL C/2/2. [↑](#footnote-ref-152)
153. On the Antemoro (southeastern Madagascar group) origins of ody, see Jacques Lombard, *Le royaume sakalava du Menabe, 17è-20è: essai d'analyse d'un système politique à Madagascar* (Paris: Editions de l'ORSTOM, 1988), 14. Drury describes the use of the “Owley” in southern Madagascar: Drury, *The Adventures of Robert Drury*, 77. [↑](#footnote-ref-153)
154. For the image of such an ody, see “Kingdoms of Madagascar: Maroserana and Merina”, exhibit at the Metropolitan museum art, New York, catalog available at: http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/madg\_1/hd\_madg\_1.htm <accessed April 6, 2009>. [↑](#footnote-ref-154)
155. They may have even worn them during throughout the eighteenth century, according to one French visitor. The Frenchman describes the use of “aule” by the Sakalava of Boina as a way of providing the Malagasy to be “idolatrous.” “Relation d'un voyage fait a Madagascar en 1751 par Louis Fort, de Carthagene”, in COACM, 5: 249. [↑](#footnote-ref-155)
156. Walter D. Marcuse, *Through Western Madagascar: In Quest of the Golden Bean* (University of California, 1914), 195. [↑](#footnote-ref-156)
157. Chantal Radimilahy, "Sacred Sites in Madagascar,” in *Sacred Sites, Sacred Places*, ed. David L Carmichael, Jane Hubert, Brian Reeves and Audhild Schanche (London: Routledge, 1994), 84. [↑](#footnote-ref-157)
158. Ibid., 82-5. [↑](#footnote-ref-158)
159. Dean, “Narrative of one of the crew belonging to the Ship Sussex, MSS. Eur. B. 2. /K. 11,” British Library, ff. 29-30. [↑](#footnote-ref-159)
160. Birkeli, “Folklore Sakalava: recueilli dans la region de Morondava,” 178. On connections with the traditions elsewhere in Madagascar, see Jeanne Dina, “The Hazomanga among the Masikoro of Southwest Madagascar: Identity and History,” *Ethnohistory* 48, no. 1-2 (2001): 13-30. [↑](#footnote-ref-160)
161. On Sakalava tombs, see *Art sakalava: Statues, objets, photographies, documents sonores* (Antananarivo, Madagascar: 1963); Sophie Goedefroit and Jacques Lombard, *Andolo: l'art funéraire sakalava à Madagascar*, Collection “Musées” (Paris: Biro, 2007). [↑](#footnote-ref-161)
162. Smith, *Among the Menabe,* 101-2. See also Gillian Feeley-Harnik, “The King's Men in Madagascar Slavery, Citizenship and Sakalava Monarchy,” *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 52, no. 2 (1982): 34-5. [↑](#footnote-ref-162)
163. Smith, *Among the Menabe; or, Thirteen months on the West coast of Madagascar*, 102. [↑](#footnote-ref-163)
164. The practice of guarding and worshiping royalty at tombs increased even further during the twentieth century. Françoise Raison-Jourde, “Introduction,” in *Les Souverains de Madagascar: L'histoire royale et ses résurgences contemporaines*, ed. Françoise Raison-Jourde (Paris: Karthala, 1983), 50-1. [↑](#footnote-ref-164)
165. Bernard Schlemmer, “La domination royal au Menabe: Détournement colonial, survivance et décomposition” in *Les Souverains de Madagascar*, ed. Raison-Jourde, 402. [↑](#footnote-ref-165)
166. Suzanne Chazan-Gillic, “Le fiampoha de 1968 ou l'efficacité symbolique du mythe de la royauté sakalava dans l'actualité politique et économique malgache”, in Ibid., 467. [↑](#footnote-ref-166)
167. Ibid., 468-470. [↑](#footnote-ref-167)
168. Raison-Jourde, “Introduction,” in Ibid., 48-9. [↑](#footnote-ref-168)
169. Ibid., 51. [↑](#footnote-ref-169)
170. Ibid., 53. [↑](#footnote-ref-170)
171. Ibid., 59; see also the account of tromba in Michael Lambek, “The Sakalava Poiesis of History: Realizing the Past through Spirit Possession in Madagascar,” *American Ethnologist* 25, no. 2 (1998): 106-127. [↑](#footnote-ref-171)
172. Feeley-Harnik, “The King's Men,” 34; see also Sophie Goedefroit, *A l'ouest de Madagascar: Les Sakalava du Menabe* (Paris: Karthala, 1998), 96. [↑](#footnote-ref-172)
173. Rita Astuti, *People of the Sea: Identity and Descent among the Vezo of Madagascar* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 74-5. [↑](#footnote-ref-173)
174. Gillian Feeley-Harnik, “Sakalava Royal Work: A Study of Aesthetics in Labor and Government” (New York University, 1976), 146-7. [↑](#footnote-ref-174)
175. See, for example, Goedefroit, *A l'ouest de Madagascar,* 52-3, 79. [↑](#footnote-ref-175)
176. Ibid., 111. [↑](#footnote-ref-176)
177. Despite the end of slavery and formal Sakalava control, people in northwest continue to work for the royalty. Feeley-Harnik, “The King's Men,” 32. [↑](#footnote-ref-177)
178. Ibid., 34-40. [↑](#footnote-ref-178)
179. Goedefroit, *A l'ouest de Madagascar* , 80-2. [↑](#footnote-ref-179)
180. Michael Lambek, “The Sakalava Poiesis of History,” 108. [↑](#footnote-ref-180)
181. Marc Bloch, *The Historian’s Craft* (Manchester University Press, 1992), 24. [↑](#footnote-ref-181)