

## The Challenges of Pre-Colonial and Colonial Hegemony of Aristocratic Kings to the 43 European Diplomatic Agents of Exploration, Expropriation and Exploitation (3Es) of Madagascar 1500-1960

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**Abstract:** The present research work deals with the historical importance of Madagascar which is partially disconnected from the African and Asian Continents but however considered by most scientific researchers as an African country in spite of its mixed races and white colour. This is a country whose territorial boundaries are only border with the waters of the Indian and Pacific Ocean. Meaning that as an Island, it has nothing to deal with territorial land surface bordering crisis with any other countries within the two Continents. This exclusive advantages made the country history to be very remarkable and it therefore attracted Europeans especially the Portuguese navigators, the British and French pre-colonial and colonial hegemonies while facing challenges from an aristocratic self-proclaimed Queen with the policy of Europeanisation and butchering of Christians and other oppositions to her crude impossible rule of self-sufficiency which ended her own life on her quiet sleeping bed after 30 years at the throne. From the Great Red Island, Isle of Saint Lawrence through the French Annexation with 45 main Agents of Commanding Orders to Republic of Madagascar with our findings beginning from 1500 to 1960 when the Island got self-determination which took its course leading to independence in 1960 with portfolios of neo-colonial representatives changing due to State to State post-colonial bilateral relations. Taking a historical analytical approach, we consulted different sources and documentations specializing in issues of Madagascar with previous related literatures which are well quoted and references enable us to bring our modest contributions for the awareness of younger generation of historians and related field of studies to be aware of the 43 real pre-colonial and colonial representatives of the Europeans who can be accounted for whatever transpired detrimental to the territory and reparations can be imminently requested to the respective Governments in the contemporary era of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. Therefore, the challenges of pre-colonial and colonial hegemony in the Great Red Island - Isle of Saint Lawrence, Madagascar, from the "Moorish Aristocratic King" - Widow Radama Ranavalona I policy of Europeanization to Hyper 43 Commanding Agents with changing portfolios in the activities of Exploration, Expropriation and Exploitation (3Es) of the territory between 1500 and 1960 is very important to the young generation of historians and related areas of studies which needs deeper understanding of who did what and the assignment of reparations in terms of spotted visible and profitable developmental projects for the benefits of all citizens.

**Keywords:** Pre-Colonial, Aristocratic King-Queen, Europeanisation, Massacred, Commanding Agents, Hegemony, Anti-Colonial, Political Parties, Independence.

### INTRODUCTION

The Island of an African country known as Madagascar is located in the Indian Ocean off the coast of Southeast Africa over 400 kilometers from the coast of Mozambique. Madagascar belongs to the group of Less Developed Countries (LDC) according to the United Nations rating. It is an African nation with a vast array of natural resources such as minerals, arable land, forests, fish, and the country's beautiful scenery (Allen

Philip M *et al.*, 2005). Archaeological investigations in the 20th century indicated that human settlers reached Madagascar about 700ce. Although the huge island lies geographically close to Bantu-speaking Africa, its language, Malagasy, belongs to the distant Western Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family. There are nonetheless a number of Bantu words in the language, as well as some phonetic and grammatical modifiers of Bantu origin. Bantu elements exist in every dialect of Malagasy and appear to have

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been established for some time. As a people, the Malagasy represent a unique blend of Asian and African cultural features found nowhere else in the world. Although Asian features predominate on the whole, African ancestry is present and African influences in Malagasy material and nonmaterial culture are evident; the history and precise nature of this relationship, however, remains a matter of debate. Much of Madagascar was populated by internal migration before the beginning of the 16th century, giving the theretofore empty lands their toponym that is original inhabitants, or "masters of the soil". (Colby Reginald. 1962). Yet politically the island remained fragmented. Most of the nearly 20 ethnic groups that make up the modern Malagasy population did not attain any form of "national" consciousness until new political ideas arrived from abroad in the 1500s and began to spread throughout the island. A host of written European accounts from the 16th and early 17th centuries fail to reveal any large state or empire, and few of the Malagasy oral traditions collected since the mid-19th century go back that far in time (Allen Philip M *et al.*, 2005). In spite of Madagascar's enormous natural resources, the country is still classified as a developing economy. Madagascar has been blessed with a wide variety of minerals which play a critical role in the country's economy. Some of Madagascar's most important minerals include gold, manganese, and copper. In 1904, it was estimated that Madagascar produced approximately 84,910 ounces of gold and in the following year, the quantity of gold produced in the country decreased to 76,197 ounces. Madagascar's mineral sector faces several challenges such as the country's insecurity and the low prices offered for the country's metals (Brown, M. 1978).

With regards to the people and their culture, some scholars argue that the first settlers came directly from Indonesia, possibly in a single voyage. African elements found in the population and its culture were added later, as the result of migration and the slave trade thereby explaining Indonesian cultural dominance. However, more reliable studies have proven that the settlement of the island was the result of several voyages that proceeded along the coast of India, the Arabian Peninsula, and Africa and that the population that settled the island was already mixed. This defeats the earlier argument and simply explains that the people of Madagascar have different origins and different cultures. (AfroVibes Media, AfroVibes Media <https://www.afrovibes.com › articles › 2019/04/27 › why...>;

Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia *January 2024*). The fact that one is more prevalent, does not negate the influence of the others. In the final analysis, the point must be made clear that ultimately, a group of people can decide which part of the world they want to belong to. The people of Madagascar chose Africa, reflected in the political decision they made in 1963 – three years after their independence from French colonial

rule. (Randrianja Solofo, Ellis Stephen, 2009). Politically, in 1963 when the Organization of African Unity (OAU), now African Union (AU), was founded, Madagascar was one of the first 36 countries to be part of the charter. This simply means that in addition to the geographical history of the country, they also made a political decision to be part of the African Continent. Madagascar is also a member of sub-bloc groupings on the African Continent. These include; the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC). Additionally, because of the continuing bond with France that resulted from former colonial rule, the island developed political, economic, and cultural links with the French-speaking countries of western Africa. This bond makes the country identify more as African. It is said that everything African about Africa is non-African to Madagascar and everything African about Madagascar is non-African to Africa. No matter how true, albeit paradoxical, this statement is, it does not take away from the fact that as it is now, Madagascar is part of Africa. Geographically, Madagascar is closest to Africa, so it is lumped in with the continent often because of proximity. Geographical history has it that before the split of supercontinent Gondwanaland, Madagascar was part of the African Plate. <sup>27</sup> avr. 2019 ( AfroVibes Media, AfroVibes Media, <https://www.afrovibes.com › articles › 2019/04/27 › why...>

Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia *January 2024*). Between 1680 and 1725, Madagascar became a pirate stronghold. Many unfortunate sailors became shipwrecked and stranded on the island. Those who survived settled down with the natives, or more often, found French or English colonies on the island or even pirate havens and thus became pirates themselves. One such case, that of Robert Drury, resulted in a journal giving one of the few written depictions of southern Madagascar in the 18th century. (Mutibwa Phares M. 1973). Notable pirates including William Kidd, Henry Every, John Bowen, and Thomas Tew made Antongil Bay and Île Sainte-Marie (a small island 12 miles off the northeast coast of Madagascar) their bases of operations. The pirates plundered merchant ships in the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf. They deprived Europe-bound ships of their silks, cloth, spices, and jewels. Vessels captured going in the opposite direction (to India) lost their coin, gold, and silver. The pirates robbed the Indian cargo ships that traded between ports in the Indian Ocean as well as ships commissioned by the East India Companies of France, England, and the Netherlands. The pilgrim fleets sailing between Surat in India and Mocha on the tip of the Arabian Peninsula were a favorite target, because the wealthy Muslim pilgrims often carried jewels and other finery with them to Mecca. Merchants in India, various parts of Africa, and Réunion showed willingness to fence the pirates' stolen goods. The low-paid seamen who manned merchant ships in the Indian Ocean hardly put up a fight, seeing as they had little reason or motivation to risk their lives. The pirates

often recruited crewmen from the ships they plundered ( Mutibwa Phares M. 1973).

In fact, Radama I signed treaties with the United Kingdom outlawing the slave trade and admitting Protestant missionaries into Madagascar. As a result of these treaties Protestant missionaries from Britain would spread British influence in Madagascar; while outlawing the slave trade would weaken Réunion's economy by depriving the island of slave laborers for France's sugar plantations. In return for outlawing the slave trade, Madagascar received what the treaty called "The Equivalent": an annual sum of a thousand dollars in gold, another thousand in silver, stated amounts of gunpowder, flints, and muskets, plus 400 surplus British Army uniforms. The governor of Mauritius also sent military advisers who accompanied and sometimes led Merina soldiers in their battles against the Sakalava and Betsimisaraka. In 1824, having defeated the Betsimisaraka, Radama I declared, "Today, the whole island is mine! Madagascar has but one master." The king died in 1828 while leading his army on a punitive expedition against the Betsimisaraka. ( Allen Philip M. 1995). Christians burned at the stake by Ranavalona I. The 33-year reign of Queen Ranavalona I, the widow of Radama I, was characterized by an increase in the size of the Kingdom of Madagascar as it conquered neighboring states as well as an effort to maintain the cultural and political sovereignty of Madagascar in the face of increasing foreign influence. The queen repudiated the treaties that Radama I had signed with Britain and, in 1835 after issuing a royal edict prohibiting the practice of Christianity in Madagascar, she expelled British missionaries from the island and began persecuting Christian converts who would not renounce their religion. Malagasy Christians would remember this period as *ny tany maizina*, or "the time when the land was dark". ( Mervyn Brown, 2000). Unbeknownst to the queen, her son and heir, the crown-prince (the future Radama II), attended Roman Catholic masses in secret. The young man grew up under the influence of French nationals in Antananarivo. In 1854, he wrote a letter to Napoléon III inviting France to invade and uplift Madagascar. On 28 June 1855 he signed the Lambert Charter. This document gave Joseph-François Lambert, an enterprising French businessman who had arrived in Madagascar only three weeks before, the exclusive right to develop all minerals, forests, and unoccupied land in Madagascar in exchange for a 10-percent royalty payable to the Merina monarchy. In years to come, the French would show the Lambert Charter and the prince's letter to Napoléon III to explain the Franco-Hova Wars and the annexation of Madagascar as a colony. In 1857, the queen uncovered a plot by her son (the future Radama II) and French nationals in the capital to remove her from power. She immediately expelled all foreigners from Madagascar, sparing her son. Ranavalona died in 1861. ( Mervyn Brown, 2000).

In 1750, the ruler of the Kingdom of Betsimisaraka, Bety of Betsimisaraka, ceded the island Nosy Boraha (Île Sainte-Marie) to the Kingdom of France. However, in 1752 the French Colonists were massacred when the local population rebelled. France left the settlement abandoned for roughly half a century until returning in 1818.<sup>[84]</sup> In 1840 Tsiomeko, the ruler of Nosy Be island, accepted French protection in 1840. The French took possession of the island in 1841, and in 1849 an unsuccessful attempt was made to expel them.<sup>[85]</sup> In the Berlin Treaty, the British accepted the claims of France to exert its influence on Madagascar, and after the first Franco-Hova War a treaty of alliance between France and Madagascar was signed on 17 December 1885 by Queen Ranavalona III, granting France a protectorate over the Diego-Suarez bay and surrounding territory, as well as the islands of Nosy-Be and Île Sainte-Marie.. Disagreements on the implementation of this treaty served as a pretext for the French invasion of 1895, which first met little resistance (Politics of Decolonization in French and British West Africa, Oxford Research Encyclopedias, <https://oxfordre.com> > aefore, consulted online, December 10, 2024).

The authority of the prime minister Rainilaiarivony, in power since 1864, had become very unpopular with the public. The British accepted the imposition of a French protectorate over Madagascar in 1890 in return for recognition of British sovereignty over Zanzibar (subsequently part of Tanzania) and as part of an overall definition of spheres of influence in the area. The intention of the French was initially to maintain the protectorate in order to control the economy and foreign relations of the island. But later, the outbreak of the Menalamba rebellion and the arrival of General Gallieni (responsible for "pacifying" the country) in 1896 led to the colonization of the island and the exile of the queen to Algeria. In 1904–1905 Madagascar was the scene of a large-scale uprising by various tribes and tribal leaders, among whom Kotavy, a former French corporal who defected to the rebels, filled a preponderant role. ("In Madagascar, People Remember One of the Deadliest French Colonial Wars in History". [globalvoices.org](http://globalvoices.org). 9 April 2017. Retrieved 23 January 2022. Consulted online, 12 December 2024).. Malagasy troops fought in France, Morocco, and Syria during World War II. Prior to the implementation of the Final Solution, Nazi Germany had considered the Madagascar Plan, which would have relocated European Jews to Madagascar. After France fell to the Germans in 1940, the Vichy government administered Madagascar until 1942, when British and Commonwealth troops occupied the strategic island in the Battle of Madagascar. The United Kingdom handed over control of the island to Free French Forces in 1943. In 1948, with French prestige at a low ebb, the French government, headed by Prime Minister Paul Ramadier of the French Section of the Workers' International (SFIO) party, suppressed the Madagascar revolt, a nationalist uprising. The French subsequently established reformed institutions in 1956 under the Loi

Cadre (Overseas Reform Act), and Madagascar moved peacefully toward independence. The Malagasy Republic, proclaimed on 14 October 1958, became an autonomous state within the French Community. On 26 March 1960 France agreed to Madagascar becoming fully independent. On 26 June 1960 Madagascar became an independent country and Philibert Tsiranana became its first president. **(Brown Mervyn 1978 )**.

The United Kingdom had been an ally of Madagascar. In May 1862, John Russell, 1st Earl Russell, Britain's foreign secretary instructed Connolly Pakenham that Radama II should keep the country away from foreign powers. In 1882, the French started to occupy much of Madagascar's northern and western territories. In 1883, the Franco-Hova Wars commenced between France and Merina Kingdom, but the outcome remained inconclusive. The British government acted as a restraining hand on France's desire to swallow up the island. ( Mutibwa Phares M. 1973). On 17 December 1885, Queen Ranavalona III signed the treaty in which Madagascar became a French protectorate, although this was disputed by Madagascar, as well as taking out a loan of 10 million francs. In 1888, the queen was granted the Grand-Croix of the Légion d'Honneur. The queen was reluctantly passionate about preventing her country to fall to France. The queen tried to cease French incursion, however, this remained futile and in September 1895, the queen was forced to surrender Madagascar's capital, Tananarive, to the French. According to the queen's perspective, the treaty was supposed to preserve her crown and the monarchy in Madagascar, however France's yearning for expanding their colonial empire in Africa, the treaty proved to be nothing but a ruse. Queen Ranavalona was removed from power and was exiled to French island of Réunion for two years, followed by to Algiers after. After her exile, Madagascar formally became a French colony **(Mutibwa, Phares M.1973)**. The pacification led by the French administration lasted about fifteen years, in response to the rural guerrillas scattered throughout the country. In total, the conflicts between the French authorities and Malagasy guerrillas killed more than 100,000 Malagasy people. The French abolished slavery in 1896 after taking control of Madagascar. Over 500,000 slaves were freed following the abolition. Many former slaves would remain in their former masters' homes as servants **(Campbell G. 1981)**. Nationalist sentiment against French colonial rule emerged among a group of Merina intellectuals. The group, based in Antananarivo, was led by a Malagasy Protestant clergyman, Pastor Ravelojoana, who was especially inspired by the Japanese model of modernization. A secret society dedicated to affirming Malagasy cultural identity was formed in 1913, calling itself Iron and Stone Ramification. Although the VVS was brutally suppressed, its actions eventually led French authorities to provide the Malagasy with their first representative voice in government. Malagasy veterans of military service in France during the First World War bolstered the embryonic nationalist movement.

Throughout the 1920s, the nationalists stressed labour reform and equality of civil and political status for the Malagasy, stopping short of advocating independence. For example, the French League for Madagascar, under the leadership of Anatole France, demanded French citizenship for all Malagasy people in recognition of their country's wartime contribution of soldiers and resources. **(Campbell G. 1981)**. A number of veterans who remained in France were exposed to French political thought, most notably the anti-colonial and pro-independence platforms of socialist parties. Jean Ralaimongo, for example, returned to Madagascar in 1924 and became embroiled in labour questions that were causing considerable tension throughout the island. Among the first concessions to Malagasy equality was the formation in 1924 of two economic and financial delegations. One was composed of French settlers, the other of twenty-four Malagasy representatives elected by the Council of Notables in each of twenty-four districts. The two sections never met together, and neither had real decision-making authority. Huge mining and forestry concessions were granted to large companies. Indigenous leaders loyal to the French administration were also granted part of the land. Forced labour was introduced in favour of the French companies. The 1930s saw the Malagasy anti-colonial movement gain momentum. Malagasy trade unionism began to appear underground and the Communist Party of the Region of Madagascar was formed. But as early as 1939, all organisations were dissolved by the administration of the colony, which opted for the Vichy regime. **(Campbell G. 1981, List of political parties in Madagascar, Wikipedia, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/>)**.

Only in the aftermath of the Second World War was France willing to accept a form of Malagasy self-rule under French tutelage. In the autumn of 1945, separate French and Malagasy electoral colleges voted to elect representatives from Madagascar to the Constituent Assembly of the Fourth Republic in Paris. The two delegates chosen by the Malagasy, Joseph Raseta and Joseph Ravoahangy, both campaigned to implement the ideal of the self-determination of peoples affirmed by the Atlantic Charter of 1941 and by the Brazzaville Conference of 1944. Raseta and Ravoahangy, together with Jacques Rabemananjara, a writer long resident in Paris, organised the Democratic Movement for Malagasy Restoration (MDRM), the foremost among several political parties formed in Madagascar by early 1946. Although Protestant Merina was well represented in MDRM's higher echelons, the party's 300,000 members were drawn from a broad political base reaching across the entire island and crosscutting ethnic and social divisions. Several smaller MDRM rivals included the Party of the Malagasy Disinherited (PMD) whose members were mainly descendants of slaves from the Central Highlands. The 1946 constitution of the French Fourth Republic made Madagascar an overseas territory within the French Union. It accorded full citizenship to all Malagasy parallel with that enjoyed by citizens in

France. But the assimilationist policy inherent in its framework was incongruent with the MDRM goal of full independence for Madagascar, so Ravoahangy and Raseta abstained from voting. (**List of political parties in Madagascar**, Wikipedia, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_political_parties_in_Madagascar)). The two delegates also objected to the separate French and Malagasy electoral colleges, even though Madagascar was represented in the French National Assembly. The constitution divided Madagascar administratively into a number of provinces, each of which was to have a locally elected provincial assembly. Not long after, a National Representative Assembly was constituted at Antananarivo. In the first elections for the provincial assemblies, the MDRM won all seats or a majority of seats, except in Mahajanga Province. Despite these reforms, the political scene in Madagascar remained unstable. Economic and social concerns, including food shortages, black-market scandals, labour conscription, renewed ethnic tensions, and the return of soldiers from France, strained an already volatile situation. Many of the veterans felt they had been less well treated by France than had veterans from metropolitan France; others had been politically radicalised by their wartime experiences. The blend of fear, respect, and emulation on which Franco-Malagasy relations had been based seemed at an end. ("**In Madagascar, People Remember One of the Deadliest French Colonial Wars in History**". [globalvoices.org](https://www.globalvoices.org/2017/04/09/), 9 April 2017. Retrieved 23 January 2022, consulted online, November 10, 2024).

On 29 March 1947, Malagasy nationalists revolted against the French. Although the uprising eventually spread over one-third of the island, the French were able to restore order after reinforcements arrived from France. Casualties among the Malagasy were estimated in the 11,000 to 80,000 range. The repression was accompanied by summary executions, torture, forced regroupings and the burning of villages. The French Army experimented with "psychological warfare": suspects were thrown alive from planes in order to terrorise villagers in the areas of operation. The group of leaders responsible for the uprising, which came to be referred to as the Revolt of 1947, never has been identified conclusively. Although the MDRM leadership consistently maintained its innocence, the French outlawed the party ( **List of political parties in Madagascar**, Wikipedia, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_political_parties_in_Madagascar)

*Parliamentary parties*; Malagasy Tia Tanindrazana, MA.TI.TA; Malagasy Tonga Saina, MTS; Group of Young Malagasy Patriots Groupe des jeunes malgaches patriotes...1920-1960, flags of political parties and movements in madagascar).

French military courts tried the military leaders of the revolt and executed twenty of them. Other trials produced, by one report, some 5,000 to 6,000 convictions, and penalties ranged from brief imprisonment to death. According to a source, 90,000

Malagasy people died during the uprising, which was brutally shut down by the French colonial regime. In 1956, France's socialist government renewed the French commitment to greater autonomy in Madagascar and other colonial possessions by enacting the *Loi Cadre* (Enabling Law). The *Loi Cadre* provided for universal suffrage and was the basis for parliamentary government in each colony. In the case of Madagascar, the law established executive councils to function alongside provincial and national assemblies, and dissolved the separate electoral colleges for the French and Malagasy groups. The provision for universal suffrage had significant implications in Madagascar because of the basic ethno-political split between the Merina and the *côtiers*, reinforced by the divisions between Protestants and Roman Catholics. Superior armed strength and educational and cultural advantages had given the Merina a dominant influence on the political process during much of the country's history. The Merina were heavily represented in the Malagasy component of the small elite to whom suffrage had been restricted in the earlier years of French rule. Now the *côtiers*, who outnumbered the Merina, would be a majority. The end of the 1950s was marked by growing debate over the future of Madagascar's relationship with France. Two major political parties emerged. The newly created Democratic Social Party of Madagascar favoured self-rule while maintaining close ties with France. (DSPF ) led by Philibert Tsiranana, a well-educated Tsimihety from the northern coastal region who was one of three Malagasy deputies elected in 1956 to the National Assembly in Paris. The PSD built upon Tsiranana's traditional political stronghold of Mahajanga in northwest Madagascar and rapidly extended its sources of support by absorbing most of the smaller parties that had been organised by the *côtiers*. In sharp contrast, those advocating complete independence from France came together under the auspices of the Congress Party for the Independence of Madagascar (CPIM-AKFM) primarily based in Antananarivo and Antsiranana, party support centred among the Merina under the leadership of Richard Andriamanjato, himself a Merina and a member of the Protestant clergy. To the consternation of French policymakers, the AKFM platform called for nationalisation of foreign-owned industries, collectivisation of land, the "Malagachisation" of society away from French values and customs (most notably use of the French language), international nonalignment, and exit from the Franc Zone (**List of political parties in Madagascar**, Wikipedia, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_political_parties_in_Madagascar)

*Parliamentary parties* ; Malagasy Tia Tanindrazana, MA.TI.TA ; Malagasy Tonga Saina, MTS ; Group of Young Malagasy Patriots Groupe des jeunes malgaches patriotes...1920-1960, flags of political parties and movements in madagascar)

## 1. The Origin of Madagascar through Disintegration to the Great Widow Radama Ranavalona I Policy of Europeanization 1500-1861

### 1.1 Tracing the Roots of Madagascar with its Moorish Aristocratic Kings

The History of Madagascar started from the ancient supercontinent of Pangaea, containing amongst others the African continent and the Indian subcontinent, and by the island's late colonization by human settlers from the Sunda Islands (Malay Archipelago) and from East Africa. These two factors facilitated the evolution and survival of thousands of endemic plant and animal species, some of which have gone extinct or are currently threatened with extinction. Trade in the Indian Ocean at the time of first colonization of Madagascar was dominated by Indonesian ships, probably of Borobudur ship and K'un-lun po types. Over the past two thousand years the island has received waves of settlers of diverse origins including Austronesian, Bantu, Arab, South Asian, Chinese, and European. (Brown, M. 1978). The majority of the population of Madagascar today is a mixture of Austronesian and Bantu settlers. Despite popular belief, there has been no genetic input from Arabs or Indians, although one tribe, the Antemoro, claims descent from Somali Arab traders. European and Middle Eastern paternal ancestry is also present.<sup>[4]</sup> Centuries of intermarriages created the Malagasy people, who primarily speak Malagasy, an Austronesian language with Bantu, Malay, Oceanic, Arabic, French, and English influences. Most of the genetic makeup of the average Malagasy, however, reflects an almost equal blend of Austronesian and Bantu. One study concludes that Madagascar was first settled approximately 1,200 years ago by a very small group containing approximately 30 women, with 28 of them of maritime Southeast Asian descent and 2 of African descent.<sup>[7]</sup> But this result is not consistent with more extensive data accumulated. The Malagasy population formed through the intermixing of the first founding population with later immigrants (Burney, D.A., et als, 2004). Other ethnic groups often intermixed with the existent population to a more limited degree or have sought to preserve a separate community from the majority Malagasy (Encyclopedia, January 2024). Still, small local states were found at many points along the coast visited by European ships. The capitals were almost always located near river mouths, territorial domains were invariably small, and rulers were independent of one another. Alliances and wars were usually short-lived affairs involving limited economic objectives and little loss of life, and they seldom led to any border adjustments. Economies were pastoral or agricultural, often a mixture of both, and there were no radical differences in wealth. In some areas the rulers appeared to be absolute, while in others elders and priests had the preponderant influence. In one area in southeastern Madagascar, later to become known as Fort-Dauphin (site of the French East India Company fort of that name; present-day Tôlanaro), early Europeans believed they had found a Muslim state in existence among the Antanosy people of the region

(Burney, D.A., et als, 2004). It was ruled by a "Moorish king" and had an aristocracy with privileges deriving presumably from Islam. Their collective name was Zafindraminia, or "descendants of Raminia," the ultimate great ancestor. In the first quarter of the 16th century, Portuguese navigators reported a number of coastal towns in northern Madagascar that were architecturally similar to Kilwa, a once important entrepôt in what is today Tanzania. The towns belonged to an Afro-Arab commercial network in the western Indian Ocean that undoubtedly predated the 16th century. At the town of Vohemar, once the island's northeastern centre of international trade, the blend of Malagasy and Afro-Arab customs produced an arts-and-crafts tradition that was quite original. (Edkvist Ingela, 1997). Portuguese explorers who visited the Matitana River valley in southeastern Madagascar witnessed the arrival of a group of Afro-Arabs ("Moors from Malindi") between 1507 and 1513. Within one or two generations the descendants of this group had intermarried and merged with the local tompontany to form another group known as the Antemoro. By the 1630s the Antemoro had formed a theocratic state, which was the only state in Madagascar at the time to possess written texts. Using the Arabic alphabet, the texts were written in the Malagasy language and were both religious and secular in nature (Edkvist Ingela, 1997).

By the 15th century, Europeans had wrested control of the spice trade from the Muslims. They did this by bypassing the Middle East and sending their cargo-ships around the Cape of Good Hope to India. The Portuguese mariner Diogo Dias became the first European to set foot on Madagascar when his ship, bound for India, blew off course in 1500. In the ensuing 200 years, the English and French tried (and failed) to establish settlements on the island. In 1665, François Caron, the Director General of the newly formed French East India Company, sailed to Madagascar. The Company failed to found a colony on Madagascar but established ports on the nearby islands of Bourbon and Île-de-France (today's Réunion and Mauritius respectively). In the late 17th century, the French established trading-posts along the east coast. Between 1680 and 1725, Madagascar became a pirate stronghold. Many unfortunate sailors became shipwrecked and stranded on the island. Those who survived settled down with the natives, or more often, found French or English colonies on the island or even pirate havens and thus became pirates themselves (Cox Murray P. et als, 2012). With regard to piracy in Malagasy waters, note the (semi-)legendary accounts of the alleged pirate-state of Libertalia. Prior to the arrival of the Europeans, certain Malagasy tribes occasionally waged wars to capture and enslave prisoners. They either sold the slaves to Arab traders or kept them on-hand as laborers. Following the arrival of European slavers, human slaves became more valuable, and the coastal tribes of Madagascar took to warring with each other to obtain prisoners for the lucrative slave-trade. Instead of spears and cutlasses, the

tribesmen fought with muskets, musket-balls, and gunpowder that they obtained from the Europeans, conducting fierce and brutal wars. On account of their relationship to the pirates, the Betsimisaraka in eastern Madagascar had more firearms than anyone else. They overpowered their neighbors, the Antankarana and Tsimihety, and even raided the Comoro Islands. As the tribe on the west coast with the most connections to the slave trade, the Sakalava people also had access to guns and powder (Cox Murray P. et als, 2012). Proximity to Islam became a major criterion among the Antemoro for the right to rule, and there is little doubt that the four Antemoro sacerdotal clans were far closer to the Muslim faith than were the Zafindraminia of the Fort-Dauphin area. In time, Antemoro holy men, traveling far and wide within Madagascar, came to influence other Malagasy in both religion and government (Rabarioelina Ndriana, 2010). Unknown to the early coastal visitors from Europe, new and historically pivotal dynasties were beginning to form in southwestern and central Madagascar toward the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century. Two of them, the Maroserana in the southwest and the Andriana-Merina in central Madagascar, would go on to create vast empires, each with its own apex and decline, between about 1650 and 1896, the year the French annexed Madagascar. While the Maroserana were able to establish their rulers over several south-central peoples, the most outstanding achievement of the dynasty was the creation of two states in western Madagascar, Menabé and Boina. These states later combined into the Sakalava empire, which controlled most of western Madagascar and several adjacent areas deep inland. (Madagascar Country Profile, National Geographic Kids, <https://kids.nationalgeographic.com> › ...).

The Sakalava were originally a group of warriors who came into contact with the Maroserana before 1660, the year the Maroserana ruler, King Andriandahifotsy, founded Menabé. Ultimately, “Sakalava citizenship” was extended to hundreds of west-coast clans as the original Sakalava warriors and their descendants intermarried and merged with them. A sense of unity also came from religion, as the Maroserana royals upon death became the sacred ancestors of all Sakalava. The Sakalava empire was ultimately weakened by internal power struggles for the throne, by attempts to substitute Islam for the ancestral cult, and, after 1810, by wars with the Merina, a people of the central plateau already on the way to an empire (Randrianja Solofo, Ellis Stephen, 2009). The Betsimisaraka confederation, a quasi-state concurrent with the late Sakalava empire, was a brief but successful attempt in the 18th century to unite the coastal peoples of Madagascar’s eastern littoral. Ruled by Ratsimilaho, son of an English pirate and a Malagasy princess, the viable confederation extended along more than 200 miles of coastline. After Ratsimilaho’s death in 1750, the confederation began an abrupt, though prolonged, disintegration. (Randrianja Solofo, Ellis Stephen, 2009). The Merina kingdom (Imerina) was founded toward the end of the 16th

century in the swampy Ikopa valley on the central plateau. Antananarivo (Tananarive) became its capital. In the 18th century Imerina was divided among four warring kings. One of them, Andrianampoinimerina, who reigned 1787–1810, reunited the kingdom about 1797. He gave it uniform laws and administration and sold slaves to the French on the coast, using the guns he got in return to conquer his neighbours, the Betsileo. Under Andrianampoinimerina, Merina society was divided into a ruling noble class (Andriana), a class of commoners (Hova), and a slave class (Andevo). At Andrianampoinimerina’s death, he left his son a single political ambition: “The sea will be the boundary of my rice field” (i.e., of his kingdom). Madagascar is mentioned in the writings of Marco Polo, but the first European known to have visited the island was Diogo Dias, a Portuguese navigator, in 1500. It was called the Isle of St. Lawrence by the Portuguese, who frequently raided Madagascar during the 16th century, attempting to destroy the incipient Muslim settlements there. Other European nations also invaded; in 1642 the French established Fort-Dauphin in the southeast and maintained it until 1674. One of their governors, Étienne de Flacourt, wrote the first substantial description of the island. In the late 17th and early 18th centuries, Madagascar was frequented by European pirates (among them Captain William Kidd) who preyed upon shipping in the Indian Ocean. In the 18<sup>th</sup> Century the Mascarene Islands to the east were colonized by the French with the help of Malagasy slaves. (Campbell, G. 1981). Two attempts at fortified settlements failed—one at Fort-Dauphin by the comte de Modave, the other at the Bay of Antongil by Baron Benyowski. However, French trading settlements prospered, notably at Tamatave. Andrianampoinimerina’s son, Radama I (1810–28), allied himself with the British governor of the nearby island of Mauritius, Sir Robert Farquhar. In order to prevent reoccupation of the east coast by the French, Farquhar supported Radama’s annexation of the area by supplying him with weapons and advisers and giving him the title “King of Madagascar.” At the same time, Radama agreed to cooperate with Britain’s new campaign to end the slave trade. In 1817 he captured the east-coast town of Tamatave, from which he launched annual expeditions against the coastal populations. He eventually conquered almost the entire east coast, the northern part of the island, and most of the two large Sakalava kingdoms (History of Madagascar, Wikipedia, <https://en.wikipedia.org> › wiki).

Only the south and a part of the west remained independent. The French retained only the small island of Sainte-Marie. In addition, Radama invited European workers, and the London Missionary Society spread Christianity and influenced the adoption of a Latin alphabet for the Malagasy language. Radama died prematurely in 1828; he was succeeded by his widow, Ranavalona I, who reversed his policy of Europeanization. She expelled Christian missionaries and persecuted Malagasy converts. A few Europeans

maintained external trade and local manufacture, but eventually they also were expelled. The British and French launched an expedition against Ranavalona but were repulsed at Tamatave in 1845. By the time of her death (1861), Madagascar was isolated from European influence

(Madagascar country profile - BBC News, BBC, <https://www.bbc.com › news › w...>, 1 Dec.2023).

Many argue that the island nation cannot really be said to be part of Africa, especially as Malagasy cultures, and particularly the Malagasy language, have more in common with Asia, and specifically Indonesia, than they do with Africa. The situation of Madagascar on the map is peculiar. Despite this assertion, Madagascar is a member of the African Union, a body that fosters cooperation of the African nations. With regards to the people and their culture, some scholars argue that the first settlers came directly from Indonesia, possibly in a single voyage. African elements found in the population and its culture was added later, as the result of migration and the slave trade. Therefore, explaining Indonesian cultural dominance. However, more reliable studies have proven that the settlement of the island was the result of several voyages that proceeded along the coast of India, the Arabian Peninsula, and Africa and that the population that settled the island was already mixed (Madagascar | History, Population, Languages, Map, & Facts, Britannica, <https://www.britannica.com › place>). This defeats the earlier argument and simply explains that the people of Madagascar have different origins and different cultures. The fact that one is more prevalent does not negate the influence of the others. In the final analysis, the point must be made clear that ultimately, a group of people can decide which part of the world they want to belong to. The people of Madagascar chose Africa, reflected in the political decision they made in 1963 – three years after their independence from French colonial rule. Geographically, Madagascar is closest to Africa, so it is lumped in with the continent often because of proximity. Geographical history has it that before the split of supercontinent Gondwanaland, Madagascar was part of the African Plate.( Max Gapher (April 27, 2019 ). Though some argue that, the split was incomplete. It is said that everything African about Africa is non-African to Madagascar and everything African about Madagascar is non-African to Africa. No matter how true, albeit paradoxical, this statement is, it does not take away from the fact that as it is now, Madagascar is part of Africa (Max Gapher April 27, 2019). Additionally, because of the continuing bond with France that resulted from former colonial rule, the island developed political, economic, and cultural links with the French-speaking countries of western Africa. This bond makes the country identify more as African. (Why is Madagascar considered an African country? (Quora, <https://www.quora.com › Why-is-Madagascar-consider..>). By the Middle Ages, over a dozen distinct ethnic identities had emerged on the island, typified by rule under a local chieftain. Some communities, such as

the Sakalava, Merina and Betsimisaraka, were unified by leaders who established true kingdoms, which gained wealth and power through commerce with Europeans, Arabs, and other seafarers, including pirates ( Madagascar | History, Population, Languages, Map, & Facts, Britannica, <https://www.britannica.com › place>).

Between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries, pirate activity in the coastal areas of Madagascar was common. The purported free pirate colony of Libertatia was established on Île Sainte-Marie, originally populated by local Malagasy (Thompson V.1965).The Sakalava and Merina kingdoms in particular exploited European trade to strengthen the power of their kingdoms, trading Malagasy slaves for European firearms and other goods. Throughout this time, European and Arab seafarers operating in the Indian Ocean traded with coastal communities, and Europeans made several unsuccessful attempts to claim and colonize the island. Beginning in the early 19th century, the British and French competed for influence in Madagascar. By the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, King Andrianampoinimerina had reunited the highly populous Kingdom of Imerina in the central highlands, with its capital at Antananarivo (Thompson V.1965). His son Radama I the Great expanded its authority to the island's other polities and was the first Malagasy sovereign to be recognized by foreign states as the ruler of the greater Merina Kingdom. Following the ferocious attempts by Queen Ranavalona I (r. 1828–1861) to eradicate the Christian influence, over the 19th century, some of Merina monarchs engaged in the process of modernization through close diplomatic ties to Britain that led to the establishment of European-style schools, government institutions and infrastructure. Christianity, introduced by the London Missionary Society, was made the state religion under Queen Ranavalona II and her powerful Prime Minister Rainilaiarivony. Political wrangling between Britain and France in the 1880s resulted in Britain recognizing France's authority on the island (Mervyn Brown, 2000).This led in 1890 to the Malagasy Protectorate, which was however rejected by the native government of Madagascar. The French launched the two Franco-Hova Wars to force submission, finally capturing the capital in September 1895. The conflict continued in the widespread Menalamba rebellion against French rule that was crushed in 1897. The native monarchy was dissolved, and the queen and her entourage exiled to Reunion and later Algeria, where she died in 1917. Following conquest, the French abolished slavery in 1896, freeing approximately 500,000 slaves (Keith Bradley *et al.*, 2011; Mervyn Brown, 2000).

Those new immigrants of the middle Ages were a minority in numbers, yet their cultural contributions, political and technological to the neo-Vazimba and neo-Vevo world substantially altered their society and is the cause of the major upheavals of the sixteenth century that led to the Malagasy feudal era. On the coasts, the integration of the East Asians, Middle Easterns, Bantus



and Portuguese led to the establishment of the kingdoms of the Antakarana, Boina, Menabe and Vezo on the west coast, the Mahafaly and Antandroy in the south, and the Antesaka, Antambahoaka, Antemororo, Antanala and Betsimisaraka on the east coast. In the interior, the struggle for hegemony between the different Neo-Vazimba clans of central highlands, called the Hova by the coastal Neo-Vezo clans, led to the creation of the Merina, Betsileo, Bezanozano, Sihanaka, Tsimihety and Bara kingdoms. (Adelaar, K. A, 2006). The birth of these kingdoms/tribes essentially altered the political structure of the ancient world of the Vahoaka Ntaolo, but for the most part the common language, customs, traditions, religion and economy was preserved. Among the Central Kingdoms, the most important were the Betsileo kingdoms (Fandriana, Fisakana, Manandriana, Isandra) to the south, and the Merina kingdoms to the north. These were definitively unified in the early 19th century by Andrianampoinimerina (Adelaar, K. A, 2006). His son and successor Radama I (reigning 1810–1828) opened his country to foreign influence. With the support of the British, he extended its authority over much of the island. From 1817, the central Merina kingdoms, Betsileo, Bezanozano, and Sihanaka, unified by Radama I were known to the outside world as the Kingdom of Madagascar. The island's West clan chiefs began to extend their power through trade with their Indian Ocean neighbors, first with Arab, Persian and Somali traders who connected Madagascar with East Africa, the Middle East and India, and later with European slave traders. The wealth created in Madagascar through trade created a state system ruled by powerful regional monarchs known as the Maroserana. These monarchs adopted the cultural traditions of subjects in their territories and expanded their kingdoms. They took on divine status, and new nobility and artisan classes were created. Madagascar functioned as a contact port for the other Swahili seaport city-states such as Sofala, Kilwa, Mombasa and Zanzibar. (Chernock, 1839). By the middle Ages, large chiefdoms began to dominate considerable areas of the island. Among these were the Betsimisaraka alliance of the eastern coast and the Sakalava chiefdoms of the Menabe (centered in what is now the town of Morondava) and of Boina (centered in what is now the provincial capital of Mahajanga). The influence of the Sakalava extended across what are now the provinces of Antsiranana, Mahajanga and Toliara. The island's chiefs began to extend their power through trade with their Indian Ocean neighbours, notably East Africa, the Middle East and India. Large chiefdoms began to dominate considerable areas of the island. Among these were the Sakalava chiefdoms of the Menabe, centred in what is now the town of Morondava, and of Boina, centered in what is now the provincial capital of Mahajanga (Majunga). The influence of the Sakalava extended across what are now the provinces of Antsiranana, Mahajanga and Toliara. (Brown, M. 1978). According to local tradition, the founders of the Sakalava kingdom were Maroseraña (or Maroseranana, "those who owned many ports") princes, from the Fiherenana

(now Toliara). They quickly subdued the neighbouring princes, starting with the southern ones, in the Mahafaly area. The true founder of Sakalava dominance was Andriamisara; his son Andriandahifotsy (c. 1610–1658) then extended his authority northwards, past the Mangoky River. His two sons, Andriamanetiarivo and Andriamandisoarivo, extended gains further up to the Tsongay region (now Mahajanga). At about that time, the empire's unity starts to split, resulting in a southern kingdom (Menabe) and a northern kingdom (Boina). Further splits resulted, despite continued extension of the Boina princes' reach into the extreme north, in Antankarana country (Chernock, 1839). King Andrianampoinimerina (1785–1810) and his son, Radama I (1810–1828) succeeded in uniting nearly all of Madagascar under Merina rule (Brown, M. 1978). These kings and their successors descended from a line of ancient Merina royalty who ruled the lands of Imerina in the central Highlands of Madagascar since at least the 16th century. Even prior to their eventual domination and unification of the entire island, the political and cultural activities of Merina royalty were to leave an indelible mark on contemporary Malagasy identity. With the establishment of dominion over the greater part of the Highlands, Andrianampoinimerina became the first Merina monarch to be considered a king of Madagascar. The island continued to be ruled by a succession of Merina monarchs until the last of them, Ranavalona III, was deposed and exiled to Algeria by French forces who conquered and colonized the island in 1895 (Gwyn Campbell, 2005).

## 1.2. The Reign of Terror with the Slaughtering of Christians / Oppositions by Queen Ranavalona I 1828–1861

Christians burned at the stake by Ranavalona I. The 33-year reign of Queen Ranavalona I, the widow of Radama I, was characterized by an increase in the size of the Kingdom of Madagascar as it conquered neighboring states as well as an effort to maintain the cultural and political sovereignty of Madagascar in the face of increasing foreign influence (Chernock, 1839). The queen repudiated the treaties that Radama I had signed with Britain and, in 1835 after issuing a royal edict prohibiting the practice of Christianity in Madagascar, she expelled British missionaries from the island and began persecuting Christian converts who would not renounce their religion. Malagasy Christians would remember this period as *ny tany maizina*, or "the time when the land was dark". (Allen Philip M. 1995). Unbeknownst to the queen, her son and heir, the crown-prince (the future Radama II), attended Roman Catholic masses in secret. The young man grew up under the influence of French nationals in Antananarivo. In 1854, he wrote a letter to Napoléon III inviting France to invade and uplift Madagascar. On 28 June 1855 he signed the Lambert Charter. This document gave Joseph-François Lambert, an enterprising French businessman who had arrived in Madagascar only three weeks before, the exclusive right to develop all minerals, forests, and

unoccupied land in Madagascar in exchange for a 10-percent royalty payable to the Merina monarchy. In years to come, the French would show the Lambert Charter and the prince's letter to Napoléon III to explain the Franco-Hova Wars and the annexation of Madagascar as a colony. In 1857, the queen uncovered a plot by her son (the future Radama II) and French nationals in the capital to remove her from power. She immediately expelled all foreigners from Madagascar, sparing her son. Ranavalona died in 1861 (Mervyn Brown, 2000).

The Malagasy people remember Queen Rasoherina for sending ambassadors to London and Paris and for prohibiting Sunday markets. On 30 June 1865, she signed a treaty with the United Kingdom giving British citizens the right to rent land and property on the island and to have a resident ambassador. With the United States of America she signed a trade agreement that also limited the importation of weapons and the export of cattle. Finally, with France the queen signed a peace between her descendants and the descendants of the Emperor of France. Rasoherina married her prime minister, Rainivoninahitriniony, but public outcry against his involvement in the murder of Radama II soon forced his resignation and exile to Betsileo country south of Imerina. She then married his brother, Rainilaiarivony, head of the army at the time of Radama II's murder who was promoted to the post of Prime Minister upon the resignation and exile of his older brother. Rainilaiarivony would rule Madagascar from behind the scenes for the remaining 32 years of the Merina monarchy, marrying each of the final three queens of Madagascar in succession (Kent, Raymond K., 1962). In 1869, Queen Ranavalona II, previously educated by the London Missionary Society, underwent baptism into the Church of England and subsequently made the Anglican faith the official state religion of Madagascar.<sup>[79]</sup> The queen had all the sampy (traditional royal idols) burned in a public display. Catholic and Protestant missionaries arrived in numbers to build churches and schools. The reign of Queen Ranavalona II proved the high water mark of British influence in Madagascar. British goods and weapons arrived on the island by way of South Africa (Kent, Raymond K., 1962). Angry at the cancellation of the Lambert Charter and seeking to restore property seized from French citizens, France invaded Madagascar in 1883 in what became known as the first Franco-Hova War (Hova as a name referring to the Merina aristocrats). At the war's end, Madagascar ceded Antsiranana (Diégo Suarez) on the northern coast to France and paid 560,000 gold francs to the heirs of Joseph-François Lambert. In Europe, meanwhile, European diplomats had worked out an agreement whereby Britain, in order to establish control over the Sultanate of Zanzibar, ceded its rights over the island of Heligoland to Germany and renounced all claims of influence in Madagascar in favour of France. The agreement spelled the end of the Madagascan political independence. Rainilaiarivony had succeeded in playing the various European powers against one

another, but now France could act without fear of British support towards the Madagascans. In 1895, a French flying column landed in Mahajanga (Majunga) and marched by way of the Betsiboka River to the capital, Antananarivo, taking the city's defenders by surprise (they had expected an attack from the much closer east coast). Twenty French soldiers died fighting and 6,000 died of malaria and other diseases before the second Franco-Hova War ended. In 1896 the French Parliament voted to annex Madagascar. The 103-year-old Merina monarchy ended with the royal family sent into exile in Algeria (Gwyn Campbell, 1991).

The kingdom of Madagascar continued its transformation throughout the 19th century from a locally grown monarchy into a modern state. Before Radama I the Malagasy language was written in a script known as sorabe. In 1820 under the direction of David Jones, a Welsh missionary of the London Missionary Society, Radama I codified the new Malagasy Latin alphabet of 21 letters which replaced the old sorabe alphabet. By 1830 the Bible was the first book written in this new Malagasy Latin alphabet. It is the oldest complete translation of the bible into a sub-Saharan African language. The United States and the Kingdom of Madagascar concluded a commercial convention in 1867 after which Queen Rasoherina and Prime Minister Rainilaiarivony exchanged gifts with President Andrew Johnson. A treaty of peace, friendship, and commerce was then signed in 1881 (Gwyn Campbell, 1991). During the reign of Ranavalona I, early attempts at industrialization took place from 1835 under the direction of the French Jean Laborde (a survivor of a shipwreck off the east coast), producing soap, porcelain, metal tools and firearms (rifles, cannons, etc.). In 1864 Antananarivo opened the first hospital and a modern medical school. Two years later appeared the first newspaper. A scientific journal in English (Antananarivo Annual) was released from 1875. In 1894, on the eve of the establishment of colonial rule, the schools of the kingdom, mainly led by the Protestant missions, were attended by over 200,000 students (Madagascar, 1880-1930s: African initiatives and reaction ...UNESCO, <https://unesdoc.usco.org> > ark).

In 1750, the ruler of the Kingdom of Betsimisaraka, Bety of Betsimisaraka, ceded the island Nosy Boraha (Île Sainte-Marie) to the Kingdom of France. However, in 1752 the French Colonists were massacred when the local population rebelled. France left the settlement abandoned for roughly half a century until returning in 1818. In 1840 Tsiomeko, the ruler of Nosy Be Island, accepted French protection in 1840. The French took possession of the island in 1841, and in 1849 an unsuccessful attempt was made to expel them. In the Berlin Treaty, the British accepted the claims of France to exert its influence on Madagascar, and after the first Franco-Hova War a treaty of alliance between France and Madagascar was signed on 17 December 1885 by Queen Ranavalona III, granting France a protectorate over the

Diego-Suarez bay and surrounding territory, as well as the islands of Nosy-Be and Île Sainte-Marie. Disagreements on the implementation of this treaty served as a pretext for the French invasion of 1895, which first met little resistance. The authority of the Prime Minister Rainilaiarivony, in power since 1864, had become very unpopular with the public (Thompson, V. 1965). The British accepted the imposition of a French protectorate over Madagascar in 1890 in return for recognition of British sovereignty over Zanzibar (subsequently part of Tanzania) and as part of an overall definition of spheres of influence in the area. The intention of the French was initially to maintain the protectorate in order to control the economy and foreign relations of the island. But later, the outbreak of the Menalamba rebellion and the arrival of General Gallieni (responsible for "pacifying" the country) in 1896 led to the colonization of the island and the exile of the queen to Algeria. In 1904–1905 Madagascar was the scene of a large-scale uprising by various tribes and tribal leaders, among whom Kotavy, a former French corporal who defected to the rebels, filled a preponderant role. Malagasy troops fought in France, Morocco, and Syria during World War II. Prior to the implementation of the Final Solution, Nazi Germany had considered the Madagascar Plan, which would have relocated European Jews to Madagascar. After France fell to the Germans in 1940, the Vichy government administered Madagascar until 1942, when British and Commonwealth troops occupied the strategic island in the Battle of Madagascar. The United Kingdom handed over control of the island to Free French Forces in 1943 (Max Gapher, April 27, 2019).

In 1828, after the death of her husband, Queen Ranavalona I. came into power by killing all other potential regents (wives, sons, and mothers). At that time, she was between 30 and 40 years old. Ranavalona I. went down in history rather ingloriously and bears the surname "the cruel". Many Malagasy call her regency tany maizina, in English "years of darkness" (Gwyn Camp, 1991). During her 33 years of regency, Ranavalona I. tortured and murdered subjects as well as foreigners and isolated her realm against any influence from the outside. Any contracts that Radama I had concluded with Great Britain, were declared invalid by Ranavalona I. Despite the liberal ideas of the two preceding Merina kings, Ranavalona I. conceded nobles and shamans more power again. And even all other progress was rolled back quickly. Soon, the trade with other countries grinded to a halt, and Madagascar became an economically isolated island again (Stratton Arthur, 1964). The fanompoana, which means the use of poor Malagasy for work as a return for non-paid taxes, gained influence under Ranavalona I. These de facto slaves were used to build houses, carry nobles and royal dependants in litters, as soldiers or to serve any other purpose the Queen needed workers for. Since those people were unpaid and marches on foot back to their home villages were often impossible due to large

distances, many died of hunger. In 1835, Ranavalona I. fell desperately ill but recovered to her people's amazement. She ascribed this phenomenon to the power of the Sampy, the 12 talismans. In consequence and in order to distribute old traditions again, Ranavalona I. prohibited the freedom of worship for Christians, which also meant any kind of missionary work in Madagascar. Christians, who did not flee, were persecuted and brutally killed. As so-called judgment of God, Ranavalona introduced that suspected raiders, Christians or thieves should swallow the poison of the Tangena nut. The process was called Tanguin. Suspects who survived the poison were declared innocent – but that hardly happened (Stratton Arthur, 1964). Crown prince Radama II., Ranavalona's son and at that time named Rakoto, grew up under strong French influence in Antananarivo. He was very skeptically towards his mother's atrocities and quite popular among his people, because he released innocently condemned citizens or saved them from Tanguin, and supplied simple soldiers with food. The prince held many acquaintanceships to foreigners according to Joseph Francois Lambert. At the beginning of the 1850ies, the French businessman and adventurer Joseph-Francois Lambert had come to Madagascar yet. By marriage and slave trade, he had achieved affluence at Mauritius. At Madagascar's east coast, he was able to come to the aid of Merina troops who were threatened by rebelling farmers. As a reward, Queen Ranavalona I. granted him an audience in the capital, where he learned to know Jean Laborde. Laborde lived at the royal court then, where he shared knowledge about arms production, agriculture, and house building. Ranavalona I. was indeed interested in developing her army as well as the economy, and therefore had various consultants. Since she had few experiences in Kabarys (public speeches), Queen Ranavalona I. preferred to pass new laws or rules per handwritten letters to her subjects (Gwyn Campbell, 01 November 2023). Finally, with the befriended French Joseph-Francois Lambert, Radama II conceived the plan to relieve his mother from her power to end murder and torture. In 1854, he wrote a letter to Napoléon III and asked for the invasion of Madagascar by France. Whether this letter had not been written by Radama at all, but rather by Lambert himself, is discussed thoroughly today. Opinions tend to say, that Radama was at least not able to write the letter himself because according to history, he did not master written French (Gwyn Campbell, 01 November 2023). In the colonial history of Madagascar, a bitter lesson was learned during the reign of an influential Queen Ranavalona, also known as Ramavo, who became one of the most forward-thinking Queens in the African history during the second half of the 19th Century. Her agenda was so disastrous with focus to slaughter all her opponents, expiring European missionaries and making much efforts to slaughter those that were hesitant to her crude decisions of Europeanization of the time. In fact, her ways were so dangerous that it was not possible to withstand all the challenges for over 33 years at the Queen of Madagascar. As the first Queen of Madagascar, she aimed to make her

nation self-sufficient from European powers (Ida Pfeiffer, 20 May, 2021). During her 33 year reign, the Queen Ranavalona faced many challenges. She also made significant moves to forward Madagascar's economy and politics. Born Princess Ramavo in 1778, she was the daughter of Prince Andriantsalamananjaka and Princess Rabodonandriantombo. As a young girl, her father alerted the king at the time King Andrianampoinimerina of a plot to kill him. The king felt so indebted to Prince Andriantsalamananjaka for saving his life that he promised his heir, Prince Radama, would marry Ramavo. He also declared that any child that came from the marriage would be first in line of succession after Radama. Radama and Ramavo married, but the marriage remained childless and loveless. When his father passed away, Prince Radama became king and, as per royal custom, executed several potential opponents, including some of his wife's relatives. This caused even more strain on the marriage and led Ramavo to David Griffiths a Welsh missionary who she had a deep friendship with for over 30 years. When King Radama died on 27 July 1828, the heir to the throne was Rakotobe, who was Radama's nephew. Radama's death was kept a secret for several days. Still, once a high-ranking military officer found out, he collaborated to help Ramavo take the throne along with other influential officers (Ida Pfeiffer, 20 May, 2021). The officers hid Ramavo in a safe location until they could gain the support of several prominent people, including judges and the army. On 11 August 1828, Ramavo declared herself as the successor of her husband, stating that Radama decreed it. When Ramavo became queen, she took the name Ranavalona, which means folded or kept aside. Like her husband, Queen Ranavalona executed several potential opponents, including members of Radama's family. She officially became queen on 12 June 1829. However, Queen Ranavalona reigned for 33-years and was known for her effort to strengthen Madagascar's political and cultural sovereignty (Ida Pfeiffer, 20 May, 2021). Early on in her reign, she distanced Madagascar from the influence of the French and British who aimed to colonize the island. She did this by ending a friendship treaty with the British and forbidding the practice of Christianity amongst the Malagasy population. Additionally, she placed restrictions on missionaries of the London Missionary Society, who provided basic education and trade skills to locals. By 1835, all her efforts paid off as nearly all foreigners had left her territory. With almost no foreign trade relationships, Queen Ranavalona began putting in policies to make Madagascar self-reliant. This could only be done by the long-standing tradition of fanompoana, which is forced labor instead of tax payments. During her time as queen, she named her son, Radama II, as her successor. On 16 August 1861, Queen Ranavalona died in her sleep at the Manjakamiadana palace. (Queen Ranavalona: The First Queen of Madagascar January 30, 2021).

The British were dismayed. Ranavalona refused to recognize the treaties Radama had signed. She lost the British subsidy, but she could revive the slave trade. Slavery had been a major part of the Merina economy. Not so much because they used the slaves themselves (though they did), but because when times got lean or neighbors got uppity, they sent out the army, put down any tribes that proved troublesome, and sold them off-island. They thus settled rebellion, confiscated assets, and got cash payment for doing so. The Merina economy boomed. I imagine the other tribes were not quite so pleased. If you had moral squeamishness, you probably didn't want to say so and risk an accusation of treason (Ida Pfeiffer, 15 December 2022). The judicial system, if you want to call it that, was trial by tanguena. The tanguena was a poisonous local shrub. If you were accused of a crime, you were given a meal of rice, three pieces of chicken skin, and a crushed seed of tanguena. The seed made you throw up, and you better hope you threw up a lot because your innocence was proved by the reappearance of all three pieces of chicken skin. Should you cough up only one or two, you were obviously guilty and hauled away for execution. Ranavalona specialized in particularly creative executions as an art form. (Ida Pfeiffer, 15 December 2022). While the British fumed, the French decided that their time had come. In 1829, their fleet arrived on the east coast. They sort of attempted to negotiate, but Ranavalona did not respond, and by October 10<sup>th</sup>, the ships began bombarding the town of Tamatave. The Merina were hardened warriors and the French expected a good fight, but they got lucky. One of their early shots struck the ammunition stocks in the fortress, and the army fled from the explosion. Full of confidence, the French sailed further around the coast and attempted the same trick. And got slaughtered (Ida Pfeiffer, 15 December 2022). This victory bolstered Merina confidence, including Ranavalona's. Her troops had encountered the invincible French and won. Madagascar was still free. The problem was, could it remain free? Ranavalona dominated Madagascar by a simple policy: attack the other tribes, sell them into slavery, and use the money to buy European weapons, repeatedly. Politically, she was independent. Economically and militarily, she was tied. Not good. The solution to her problem washed up on shore in 1831. Jean Laborde was 26 years old, with a backstory so fantastic it sounds fictional. But actually if I were to sell this as fiction, you'd put the book down in disgust it's so unbelievable. Good thing truth is stranger than and all that. Here's the backstory: Laborde spent his youth in a French village learning to be a blacksmith. But the life of a village tradesman was boring, so he joined the army. But the country was at peace, and an army life in peacetime is . . . boring. So he spent what money he had on a chest full of trinkets and a one-way ticket to India. In Bombay, he stood juggling on the streets. People came to watch and then he talked them into buying a trinket. He grew rich, and realized that the life of a well-established merchant is . . . boring. So he sold up, bought a ship, hired a crew, and set out to find the legendary

treasure of Mozambique Channel (Dr. Y, 4 January, 2013). This is how he ended up stranded and penniless on Ranavalona's shores. His rescuer (if you want to call him that) marched Laborde to Antananarivo and presented him to the Queen as a new slave. It was a major stroke of luck for Ranavalona because Laborde knew how to make muskets and gunpowder. Those blacksmithing lessons came in handy. It was not long before he was fulfilling all the duties expected of him, including the more amorous ones. He is generally considered to be the father of her one and only child. You've got to wonder what he thought about slavery and his change in fortunes. But you have to admit that boring doesn't seem quite the right word. It is difficult to overstate the importance of Ranavalona's use of Laborde. Throughout the period of European imperialism, native people around the world struggled to cope with the fact that the Europeans had far superior weaponry (Dr. Y, 4 January, 2013.) They could only buy what Europeans were willing to sell; what they needed was their own independent source of weapons. Ranavalona was one of the very, very few native monarchs who managed to achieve it. She gave Laborde everything he asked for, and he provided her with the Industrial Revolution, at least in its military aspects. Muskets, cannon, shells, grenades, everything. Having assured their military dominance, there was time for the finer things in life. Ranavalona's new palace atop the highest crag of Antananarivo was said to be the largest timber building in the world at the time. Later on Laborde oversaw the building of Black Versailles, a stone town in the European style, where the court could retreat and relax. He also manufactured false flowers which became the fashion sensation at court. Slave he might be, but hardly a typical one. He was becoming rich again. ( Dr. Y, 4 January, 2013).

Meanwhile, Ranavalona disliked the presence of Christian missionaries in her country, and the number of her subjects who converted. She also worried about seapower. She had weapons to contend with a land invasion, but what if the Europeans bombarded her by sea? In 1836 she sent envoys to England and France. They had two jobs: first, to find out just how upset they were about the recent persecution of Christians, and second to convince them to recognize her as Queen of Madagascar (Chernock, 1839). The meetings were polite on all sides but got nowhere. Ranavalona was urged to accept Christianity herself, and no one acknowledged her title. Ranavalona was not pleased. If Britain and France would not recognize her, there was no reason to continue to appease them. Tolerating Christians was a thing of the past. The punitive military expeditions stepped up. Some of her desperate subjects reached out to the French governor of Reunion, and he was only too obliged for an excuse to step in. He sent a fleet. Malaria finished them off. Another victory for Ranavalona. Philippe-Auguste Ramanankirahina (1860-1915) painted this portrait of Ranavalona. Since he was only a year old when she died, he wasn't painting from life, but she did enjoy European clothing, despite her anti-European politics. (Image from

Wikimedia Commons). In 1845, Ranavalona had been on the throne for 17 years. She determined to make a triumphal procession throughout her realm, and the court would make it with her, and all their slaves. 50,000 people made this procession. Since Madagascar had virtually no roads, the road was built during the procession, with crews working frantically so as to stay a day ahead of her. 10,000 people are said to have died building this road, from overwork and poor living conditions. The court also provided no food. 50,000 people were expected to shift for themselves, which means that they commandeered what they needed from the protesting locals. They were more like a marauding army than anything else (Gwyn Campbell, November 01 2023). Also in 1845, Ranavalona revoked any privileges previously granted to Europeans and made them subject to Malagasy law. She doubled her prices for exported cattle to Reunion and Mauritius. When the islands sent troops to object, she slaughtered them and stuck their heads on poles in the port. When they sent a more placating embassy asking for the resumption of trade, she said sure, just pay a hefty fine and admit you were wrong to send a fleet. Trade did not resume. Jean Laborde, now fabulously wealthy, began to worry. Thus far, he had escaped any anti-European ire, presumably because he was so valuable. But he had to be aware that Ranavalona was growing older and possibly mentally unstable. A single word from her and his life would be over, and not painlessly because that was not how she did things. The Great Conspiracy was spearheaded by Laborde and a few friends (Gwyn Campbell, November 01 2023). Together, they persuaded Prince Rakoto to sign a letter asking the French government to become the "protector" of Madagascar. Had Ranavalona known about it, heads would have rolled along with various other body parts. But nothing came of it. France was busy. Meanwhile, the persecution of Christians ramped up. Thousands were killed, including pregnant women and children. The methods varied: burning, crushing, boiling, flaying, starving, hanging, etc. The accounts of Christian missionaries and refugees are among the sources available on Ranavalona, and they are definitely not flattering. They had a grievance, and that should be taken into account when judging the truthfulness of what they said, but even if only half of it is true, well . . . let's just say, I'm sparing you the detailed description. In 1853, the British were ready for another attempt. They landed at Tamatave and said, please, please could trade resume? They were informed that the queen was still mad about the attack in 1845, and she still wanted compensation. The British whipped out their account books and decided that finance ruled the day. The fine was paid, and trade resumed. For them, it was a simple business transaction. For Ranavalona it was the cherry on the top of total victory. They had attacked, she had trashed them, and now they had admitted their guilt and paid for it. Her prestige rose enormously. She celebrated by allowing the locals to remove the heads that had now been hanging on poles in the port for eight years (Gwyn Campbell, 1991).

New trade brought an influx of new foreign merchants, including a Frenchman named Lambert. He had been in and out, but in 1857 he arrived, which is mostly important to us because he brought a celebrity with him, a woman who most definitely will get her own episode one of these days in a future series. Ida Pfeiffer was sixty years old, had been round the world on a shoestring budget, having all sorts of adventures like almost getting eaten by cannibals (really), and publishing best sellers about it afterwards. Now she wanted to go to Madagascar, and Lambert provided the transport. Pfeiffer was unaware that Lambert was up to his eyeballs in the next iteration Laborde's Great Conspiracy (Gwyn Campbell, November 01 2023). When her ignorance was relieved, she was horrified to find herself guilty by association. They were planning a coup. What if the Queen found out? A Queen who was known to kill 20 to 30,000 of her own people annually? And yet Ida could not leave. Not without permission of the queen, and anyway on whose ship? Lambert was not going anywhere. Pfeiffer writes of her total abject terror inside, while on the outside she was smiling and attending balls. One day officers pounded on her door demanding entry (Gwyn Campbell, 1991). Pfeiffer opened it expecting to be arrested. Instead she was informed that the Queen had a piano. Pfeiffer was said to know how to play it. She was ordered to give a piano recital immediately. Trembling, Pfeiffer followed them to the palace and an out of tune piano with half the keys broken. She had given up music lessons 30 years before. I think it is safe to say that this may have been the most nerve-wracking piano recital ever. Ranavalona listened, stony-faced, while Pfeiffer thumped away at part of a waltz and anything else she could dredge out of the memory banks. Then she was led away again and told the Queen had enjoyed it. Good job. Well done. Finally, all was ready for the coup. Until on the night of, the conspirator in charge of opening the palace gates simply refused to do it. Just point blank refused. And the conspiracy died. Ranavalona wins again. Pfeiffer suspected that Ranavalona knew all along. She had spies. She may have known she had nothing to fear. They waited for her anger to descend. They were not charged, but they were kept in house arrest. Ultimately, Ranavalona merely banished them, including Laborde who had spent 26 years in her service. Pfeiffer was both astonished and delighted. Where was the terrible crazy queen who killed 1000s of her own people at a time? But it seems that Ranavalona was more than a little devious (Trotter Matthews, Thomas, 1904). Killing the foreigners outright might have irritated the Europeans. Banishing them was completely reasonable. No need to keep foreigners around if they caused trouble. And was it her fault that the journey from Antananarivo to the port was so dangerous? The answer to that is almost certainly yes. Their military escort lodged them in disease-ridden swamps, delayed for unexplained reasons, forbade any doctor to treat them, and refused all bribes. The trip should have taken a week. It took 53 days. They survived, but only barely. It is hard to believe that the

escort went to this kind of trouble without explicit orders from the queen. Two years later, Pfeiffer died of the disease she contracted on this journey. Maybe Ranavalona's mercy was actually just another creative execution. Ranavalona herself died peacefully in her sleep on August 15, 1861. She ruled for 33 years with brutal efficiency and successfully kept her country independent during a time of rampant European imperialism. (Trotter Matthews, Thomas, 1904).

The great Queen of Madagascar, Ranavalona I fought against French and British expansionism in Madagascar, and strongly believed in autarky or self-sufficiency. Born by the name of Mavo (or Ramavo) around 1788, Ranavalona I will later be named Rabodonandrianampoinimerina (which means the smart grand-daughter of Andrianampoinimerina) in reverence to her uncle, the King Andrianampoinimerina. She became Queen of Madagascar after the death of her husband Radama I and was coronated on 12 August 1829. She was also designated by the title Ranavalomanjaka I (« Reigning Ranavalona »). She reigned over the Kingdom of Madagascar from 1828 to 1861. Ranavalona I followed in the footsteps of her predecessors, with the territorial expansion of her kingdom, and led several expeditions to pacify conquered territories such as the meridional Menabe, the Boina, and the north-east regions of the island (Madagascar). Fervent nationalist, she fought against foreign influence, including that of Christian missionaries (Chernock, 1839). During her reign, the power of some castes increased, like that of the andriana or the royal family, or that of the military chiefs, the Hova. Ranavalona's 33-year reign was distinguished by an ongoing struggle to preserve the political and cultural sovereignty of Madagascar in the face of increasing European influence and competing French and English bids for domination over the island. In the beginning of her reign, Ranavalona I tried to continue the work of modernization started by her predecessor. Very soon, she faced the hostility of the French, who in 1829, attacked different points on the oriental coast of the island. This unexpected aggression sharpened the queen's distrust of European ambitions; especially since the British missionaries installed at the heart of the island since 1820 were converting many. Fearing the loss of the independence of her country, she denounced the Anglo-Malagasy treaty of 1820, and asked the British to give up on the religious extension in her country, and to focus only on the educational works she wanted for her people. However, the British refused, and in 1835, she had them expelled from the island. To counter-balance the European influence on the island, the monarchy created contacts between the ports of Majunga, and Zanzibar. (Chernock, 1839). Manjakamiadana, the Royal compound built for Queen Ranavalona I Manjakamiadana, encased in stone under the orders of Ranavalona II. Ranavalona I then hired the services of Jean Laborde who accomplished quite a lot of modern upgrades; the most important of these will be

providing Madagascar with a metallurgic and chemical industry. He also built the queen a new residence known as the Manjakamiadana, which became the largest structure on the Rova grounds, the royal compound in Antananarivo. The residence was made entirely from wood and bore features of a traditional andriana home, including a central pillar (andry) to support the roof. (France and Madagascar, Chemins de mémoire, <http://www.cheminsdememoire.gouv.fr> ). The palace would eventually be encased in stone in 1867 by James Cameron of the London Missionary Society during the reign of Ranavalona II. The original wooden palace of Ranavalona I and virtually all other structures of the historic Rova compound were destroyed in a 1995 fire, leaving only the stone shell to mark where her palace had once stood. Renovation is on the way. Royal Crown of Madagascar as worn by King Radama II, Ranavalona I's successor (ca 1862). Ranavalona pursued a policy of autarky or self-sufficiency and isolationism, diminishing economic and political ties with European powers, repelling a French attack on the coastal town of Foulpointe, and taking vigorous measures to eradicate the small but growing Malagasy Christian movement initiated under Radama I by members of the London Missionary Society. She made heavy use of the traditional practice of fanompoana (forced labor in lieu of tax payments in money or goods) to complete public works projects and build a standing army of between 20,000 and 30,000 Merina soldiers, whom she deployed to pacify outlying regions of the island and further expand her realm (Ida Pfeiffer, 20 May, 2021).

Subsequently, to try to eradicate Christianity among her subjects, as she believed (and rightfully so) that this was a means of infiltration of the colonial ambitions of Europeans on the island, she had converts (considered as traitors) run off. As she declared in 1849: "They Christians have denied me [ as a living symbol of their homeland], therefore I deny them as well; they have rejected me, I reject them!" " She said in a letter addressed to the Europeans: "To all Europeans, British and French, in recognition for the good you have done to my country .... You are free to teach my people science and wisdom, but when it comes to touching our ancestors' customs, it is a vain work, which I will fully oppose....(Allen Philip M. 1995). Ranavalona I continued the works of Andrianampoinimerina and Radama I. In her country, she is seen as a great sovereign, true symbol of patriotic and national pride. However for Europeans, she has been described as a tyrant... but like her so many great African kings and queens defending their country against foreign invasion/colonization have been portrayed as cruel, and ignorant. Faced with the contempt of Christian converts, she proudly stated: " "I do not feel any shame or fear about my ancestors' customs". Enjoy this great video, and honor one of Africa's earlier nationalist and independentist: Queen Ranavalona I. The resistance led the government of France to replace the island's civil governor, Hippolyte Laroche, with a military governor, Joseph Gallieni. The day before Gallieni arrived in

Antananarivo, he had a message sent to the queen requiring her to present herself and her entourage at the military headquarters, preceded by a standard bearer carrying a French flag. (Heads of State of Madagascar: Colonial Governors ...Amazon.in, <https://www.amazon.in> › Heads-S...

... Madagascar, Joseph Gallieni.). The queen was obliged to sign documents handing over all royal property to France before being placed under arrest and imprisoned in her own palace. She was only allowed to receive visitors who had obtained prior authorization from Gallieni himself. While imprisoned, Ranavalona offered to convert to Roman. Catholicism in an attempt to curry French favor but was informed that such a gesture was no longer necessary. (Wilford B. Goodman, February 2022). Ranavalona III (Malagasy pronunciation: [rana'val:ə]; 22 November 1861 – 23 May 1917) was the last sovereign of the Kingdom of Madagascar. She ruled from 30 July 1883 to 28 February 1897 in a reign marked by ultimately futile efforts to resist the colonial designs of the government of France. As a young woman, she was selected from among several Andriana qualified to succeed Queen Ranavalona II upon her death. Like both preceding queens, Ranavalona entered a political marriage with a member of the Hova elite named Rainilaiarivony, who largely oversaw the day-to-day governance of the kingdom and managed its foreign affairs in his role as prime minister. Ranavalona tried to stave off colonization by strengthening trade and diplomatic relations with foreign powers throughout her reign, but French attacks on coastal port towns and an assault on the capital city of Antananarivo led to the capture of the royal palace in 1895, ending the sovereignty and political autonomy of the centuries-old kingdom. Ranavalona and her court were initially permitted to remain as symbolic figureheads, but the outbreak of a popular resistance movement called the menalamba rebellion, and the discovery of anti-French political intrigues at court led the French to exile her to the island of Réunion in 1897 (Wilford Goodman, B. online, November 2024). Rainilaiarivony died that same year, and Ranavalona was relocated to a villa in Algiers, along with several members of her family. The queen, her family, and the servants accompanying her were provided an allowance and enjoyed a comfortable standard of living, including occasional trips to Paris for shopping and sightseeing. Ranavalona was never permitted to return home to Madagascar, however, despite her repeated requests. She died of an embolism at her villa in Algiers in 1917 at age 55. Her remains were buried in Algiers but were disinterred 21 years later and shipped to Madagascar, where they were placed within the tomb of Queen Rasoherina on the grounds of the Rova of Antananarivo (Massachusetts Reformatory, 01 October 1904).

In the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, Queen Ranavalona became a foil to Queen Victoria, her "savage" queenship held in contrast to that of the "civilized" female monarch. Queen

Victoria took the British throne in 1837, becoming the nation's first female ruling monarch in more than a century. She began her reign at a time when her country was increasingly defining women's role as a private one, outside the public sphere. Historian Arianne Chernock writes that one rhetorical tool British authorities used to make sense of this potential contradiction was comparing Victoria to another female monarch of her time, Queen Ranavalona of Madagascar. (Livia Gershon, 13 December, 2023). In 1817, Chernock writes, Ranavalona's husband and predecessor, King Radama, signed a treaty of friendship with Britain. But after he died and Ranavalona took power in 1828, she set a new course for Madagascar. She banned Christianity and ejected missionaries from the London Missionary Society, expelled the British resident agent, and reinstated traditional systems of divination and trial by ordeal. When Malagasy ambassadors arrived in Britain to discuss this new state of affairs in 1837—just months before Victoria would take the throne—commentators seized on stories of Ranavalona's brutality toward her own people (Livia Gershon, 13 December, 2023). The British Foreign Office contrasted Ranavalona's "practices abhorrent to humanity" with Victoria's emerging image as a benevolent benefactress of colonized peoples. Eight years later, this rhetoric heated up again. In 1845, Chernock writes, Britain and France attacked a Malagasy port town in retaliation for Madagascar's unwillingness to trade with Europeans. Malagasy forces repelled them and ultimately mounted the skulls of twenty European troops on poles. Following the incident, Ranavalona wrote to William Kelly, the British captain who had helped lead the attack. As Kelly relayed the message to a newspaper, the letter asked "how Queen Victoria and Louis Philippe would take it if she were to meddle with their countries" and asserted that Ranavalona had "as much right to nail here enemy's head to the end of a pole as the Queen Victoria to send her prisoners to exile." British writers widely portrayed Ranavalona's supposedly savage practices not just as reflections of her race or religion but also as the result of allowing a woman to take real, rather than largely ceremonial, power. Chernock writes that Victoria's contested position as a female monarch at this time was clear from an incident in 1845 when she and her husband participated in a German hunting expedition in which deer were corralled into an enclosed space to be shot (Titcomb Mary, November 1896). The diarist Charles Greville described her as "hard-hearted, selfish, and self-willed." For Victoria's supporters, Ranavalona's bold insistence on her right to deploy violence provided the perfect foil for fighting these sorts of attacks. For example, missionary and anthropologist William Ellis made a point of emphasizing that, in contrast to Madagascar's queen, Victoria's power lay not in legislating or ruling over her subjects but in connecting with the people emotionally and presenting an example of "all that [is] excellent and good in the relationships of

life." In fact, British writers widely portrayed Ranavalona's supposedly savage practices not just as reflections of her race or religion but also as the result of allowing a woman to take real, rather than largely ceremonial, power. "Victorians magnified and often distorted Ranavalona's transgressions in order to delineate an increasingly circumscribed, feminine, domestic, Christian, and imperial role for their own queen," (Chernock, *History of Madagascar: embracing the progress of the Christian mission and an account of the persecution of the native Christians* (1839).

## **2. The Implantation of Forty Three (43) European Hegemonic Commanding Agents in the Madagascar Territory 1882-1960**

### **2.1 Presentation of 43 European Commanding Agents with Different Portfolios in Madagascar 1882-1960**

In 1886, the queen attempted to solicit the support of the United States in preserving Madagascar's sovereignty by sending gifts to then-President Grover Cleveland, including silk akotofahana cloths, an ivory pin and a woven basket. However, the United States was neither able nor willing to assert itself militarily or diplomatically in favor of preserving Madagascar's independence. Ranavalona signed a treaty granting further concessions to the French on 12 December 1887. France's claim to Madagascar as its protectorate was officially recognized by Britain in the Anglo-French agreement of 1890. Between 1890 and 1894, the French sought to aggressively claim what they believed to be the territorial rights established by the treaty. However, these French land claims and settlements were perceived by Ranavalona and Rainilaiarivony as an unjustifiable encroachment upon Malagasy sovereignty. (Gwyn Campbell, 1991). Ultimately Charles Le Myre de Vilers was sent to persuade the queen and her prime minister to submit to the French interpretation of the treaty with the intent to launch a war and take the island by force if an agreement was not reached. The French offer was flatly refused and diplomatic relations between France and Madagascar were broken off in November 1894 (Cousins William Edward, 1895).

List of abbreviations used on tables

PL: Plenipotentiary

RG: Resident-General

ARG: Acting Resident-General

MG: Military Governor

G G: Governor-General

AGG: Governor-General

C: Commander

OTA: Occupied Territories Administrator

HCCFFPIO: High Commissioner of Free French Possessions in the Indian Ocean

HC: High Commissioner

LIST OF COLONIAL COMMANDERS OF MADAGASCAR 1882-1960



No	NAMES OF COMMANDING AGENTS	YEARS	PORTFOLIOS
1	Charles Le Myre de Vilers	28/04/1886 - 03/ 1888	PL
2	Paul Augustin Jean Larrouy	03/1888 -12 /12/ 1889	RG
3	Maurice Bompard	12/12/1889-11/10/1891	RG
4	Jean Aurélien Lacoste	11/10/1891-10/1892	ARG
5	Paul Augustin Jean Larrouy	10/1892-08/09/1894	RG
6	Albert d'Anthouard de Waservas	10/ 1894	ARG
7	Charles Le Myre de Vilers	14/10/1894- 01/12/1895	PL
8	Achille Ranchot	09/1894 – 21/02/1895	ARG
9	Robert Édouard Alphonse Chaloin	02/1895 – 01/12/1895	ARG
10	Hippolyte Laroche	01/12/1895-28/09/1896	RG
11	Joseph Gallieni	28 /09/1896- 31/07/1897	RG
12	Joseph Gallieni	06/08/1896-31/07/1897	MG
13	Joseph Gallieni	31/07/ 1897 – 11/05/ 1905	G G
14	Charles Louis Lépreux	11/05/1905- 01/01/1906	AGG
15	Victor Augagneur	01/01/ 1906 – 13/12/1909	GG
16	Hubert Auguste Garbit	13/12/ 1909 – 16/01/1910	AGG
17	Henri François Charles Cor	16/01/ 1910 – 31/10/ 1910	AGG
18	Albert Jean George Marie Louis Picquié	31/10/ 1910 – 05/08/1914	GG
19	Hubert Auguste Garbit	05/08/1914 – 14/10/ 1914	AGG
20	Hubert Auguste Garbit	14/10/1914 – 24/07/ 1917	GG
21	Martial Henri Merlin	24/07/1917 -01/08/ 1918	GG
22	Abraham Schrameck	01/08/ 1918 – 12/07/ 1919	GG
23	Marie Casimir Joseph Guyon	12/07/1919 – 22/06/ 1920	AGG
24	Hubert Auguste Garbit	22/ 06/1920 – 13/03/ 1923	GG
25	Auguste Charles Désiré Emmanuel Brunet	13/03/1923- 20/02/1924	AGG
26	Marcel Achille Olivier	20/02/1924 – 30/01/1929	GG
27	Hugues Jean Berthier	30/01/ 1929 -01/05 1930	AGG
28	Léon Henri Charles Cayla	01/05/ 1930 – 22/04/ 1939	GG
29	Léon Maurice Valentin Réallon	22/04/1939 – 10/06/1939	AGG
30	Jules Marcel de Coppet,	10/06/1939 – 30/07/ 1940	GG
31	Léon Henri Charles Cayla	30/07/1940 – 11/04/ 1941	GG
32	Armand Léon Annet	11/04/1941 – 30/09/ 1942	GG
33	Robert Sturges (British occupation)	05/05/1942 – 11/10/1942	C
34	Gerald Smallwood	11/10/ 1942 - 1945	C
35	Anthony Sillery	25/09/ 1942 -07/01/ 943	OTA
36	Victor Marius Bech	30/09/1942 -07/01/1943	AGG
37	Paul Louis Victor Marie Legentilhom	07/01/ 1943 -03/05/ 1943	HCFFPIO
38	Pierre de Saint-Mart	03/05/1943 – 27/03/1946	GG
39	Robert Boudry	27/03/ 1946 – 19/05/ 1946	AGG
40	Jules Marcel de Coppet,	19/05/ 1946 – 23/12/1947	HC
41	Pierre Gabriel de Chevigné	02/1948 -03/02/ 1950	HC
12	Robert Isaac Barges	03/02/ 1950 -10/ 1954	HC
43	Jean Louis Marie André Soucadaux	10/ 1954 – 01/05/1959 1960: End of Colonialism and Independence	HC

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## 2.2. The Era of French Reinforcement of Imposing their Deppe Colonial Hegemony in Madagascar

Upon terminating diplomatic relations, the French bombarded and occupied the harbor of Toamasina on the east coast in December 1894, then captured Mahajanga on the west coast the following month and immediately began their gradual advance, constructing roads through the malarial swamps that hindered passage to the island's interior. The main expeditionary troops arrived in May. Over 6,000 of the original 15,000 French soldiers lost their lives to disease as they gradually moved inland, necessitating several thousand reinforcements drawn from French colonies in Algeria and Sub-Saharan Africa. (Titcomb Mary, November 1896). The column reached the capital in September 1895. For three days the Malagasy army managed to hold the French troops at the periphery of the city, but upon French bombardment of the Rova palace compound with heavy artillery, Ranaivalona agreed to surrender control of her kingdom to the French (Wilford Goodman, B. online, November 2024). Ranaivalona conceded defeat to the French in September 1895, marking the end of the Merina monarchy. France officially annexed Madagascar on 1 January 1896. That August, the French officially declared Madagascar to be their colony and exiled Prime Minister Rainilaiarivony to Algiers (in French Algeria) where he died the following year. The queen and much of her administration remained but were afforded no real political power. Shortly after Rainilaiarivony's exile, Ranaivalona was approached by a French official who informed her that a new prime minister would need to be selected. The queen hastily concluded that General Jacques Duchesne, the French general who had successfully led the military campaign against the Merina monarchy, would be a probable choice. Assuming that Malagasy political tradition would be preserved, Ranaivalona believed she would be forced to marry whichever man was chosen for the job and worriedly asked if Duchesne was to be her next husband. Surprised, the French official reassured her that France had no intention of imposing a husband on the queen and would never again require her to marry a prime minister. The queen's minister of foreign affairs, Rainitsimbazafy, was nominated to the post of prime minister by mutual consent. (Wilford Goodman, B. online, November 2024). In December 1895, two months after the French capture of Antananarivo, popular resistance to French rule emerged in the form of the menalamba ("red shawl") rebellion. This guerrilla war against foreigners, Christianity and political corruption quickly spread throughout the island and was principally conducted by peasants who wore shawls smeared with the red laterite soil of the highlands. The resistance movement gained ground until it was effectively put down by the French military at the end of 1897. Members of Ranaivalona's court were accused of encouraging the rebels and many leading figures were executed, including the queen's uncle Ratsimamanga (brother of her favored adviser, Ramisindrazana) and her minister of war,

Rainandriamampandry. Ramisindrazana, the queen's aunt, was exiled to Réunion, as the French were reluctant to execute a woman. (Gwyn Campbell, 1991). The resistance led the government of France to replace the island's civil governor, Hippolyte Laroche, with a military governor, Joseph Gallieni. The day before Gallieni arrived in Antananarivo, he had a message sent to the queen requiring her to present herself and her entourage at the military headquarters, preceded by a standard bearer carrying a French flag. The queen was obliged to sign documents handing over all royal property to France before being placed under arrest and imprisoned in her own palace. She was only allowed to receive visitors who had obtained prior authorization from Gallieni himself. While imprisoned, Ranaivalona offered to convert to Roman Catholicism in an attempt to curry French favor but was informed that such a gesture was no longer necessary (Wilford Goodman, B. online, November 2024).

Gallieni exiled Ranaivalona from Madagascar on 27 February 1897, and officially abolished the monarchy the next day. French officials ordered the queen to leave her palace at 1:30 in the morning. She was carried from Antananarivo by palanquin as the city slept, accompanied by 700–800 escorts and porters. Throughout the days spent traveling to the eastern port of Toamasina where she would board a ship to Réunion, Ranaivalona reportedly drank heavily. At Toamasina on 6 March, Ranaivalona was notified that her sister Rasendranoro and aunt Ramasindrazana would be arriving shortly, as would the queen's fourteen-year-old niece, Razafinandriamanitra, who was nine months pregnant with the illegitimate child of a French soldier (Gwyn Campbell, 1991). Together, the family sailed on La Peyrouse to the port of Pointe des Galets, a site twenty kilometers (12.5 miles) from the capital of St. Denis, to secure a discreet arrival. Despite this effort, a crowd of French onlookers jeered and shouted as the boat docked, angry at the queen for the loss of French lives incurred during France's campaign to occupy Madagascar. After waiting for the crowd to disperse, the captain escorted the queen and her party into a horse-drawn buggy, the first Ranaivalona had ever seen, and drove to the Hotel de l'Europe in St. Denis. Young Razafinandriamanitra, suffering from the emotional and physical strains of the journey into exile, went into labor shortly after reaching the hotel. She gave birth to a girl on her second day in Réunion, but could not recover her strength and died five days later (Stuart Robson Isabel, 1896). The infant was named Marie-Louise and was baptised a Catholic to avoid antagonizing the French. Marie-Louise, who could have become heir-apparent according to the traditional rules of succession, was adopted by Ranaivalona as her own daughter. Within a month the party had been moved to a house owned by a Madame de Villentroy, located at the corner of rue de l'Arsenal and rue du Rempart near the French government offices in St. Denis. Ranaivalona was reportedly pleased with the two-story house, which had a large walled garden and featured a peaked roof and

wrap-around veranda reminiscent of the traditional highland homes of Madagascar. In addition to the queen and her aunt, sister, and grand-niece, the royal household included two secretaries, a cook, a maid, three servants for Ranavalona, and several more servants for her aunt and sister. The queen's private pastor was authorized to make visits freely to the royal household (Stuart Robson Isabel, 1896).

During the first years of her exile in Algeria, Ranavalona soon discovered the excitement of the socialite lifestyle among the elite of Algiers. She was regularly invited to parties, outings and cultural events and often hosted events of her own. However, homesickness was ever-present and the impossibility of visiting Madagascar contributed to melancholy and boredom. She would frequently take long walks alone in the countryside, along the beach, or through the town to clear her mind and lift her spirits. The queen was eager to see mainland France and especially Paris and repeatedly submitted formal requests for permission to travel. These were routinely denied until May 1901 when Ranavalona received the first of many authorizations to visit France. That very month, the queen moved into a small apartment in the 16th arrondissement of Paris near the Avenue Champs-Élysées and what is now the Place Charles de Gaulle, from which she visited the major sights of the city and was invited to numerous receptions, balls, shows and other events. She was widely received by high society with courtesy and admiration and was offered many gifts including a costly gown (Allen Philip M. 1995). During this first trip, Ranavalona visited the Palace of Versailles, was formally received at the Paris City Hall, and spent three weeks on vacation in Bordeaux. Finally, Ranavalona visited the beaches of Arcachon before exhausting her budget and boarding an Algeria-bound ship at Marseilles in early August. The details of her visit attracted much attention from the Parisian press, which expressed sympathy for the queen's fate and recrimination toward the French government for failing to provide a larger pension or accord her the consideration she deserved as a recipient of the Legion of Honor (Madagascar - Colonization, Merina Kingdom, Trade, Britannica, <https://www.britannica.com> > History). Ranavalona would return to France six more times over the course of the next twelve years. Her frequent visits and excellent reputation made her the cause célèbre of many French citizens who pitied the queen's fate and admired her gracious acceptance of her new life. Ranavalona's visits were generally accompanied by much media fanfare and the queen's popularity among the French public grew to the extent that she was featured on the box of Petit Beurre biscuits in 1916. The queen's second visit to France occurred in September 1903, when she visited Vic-sur-Cère and Aurillac. Pressure by citizens during this visit succeeded in raising her pension to 37,000 francs. Two years later she would visit Marseilles and Saint-Germain and inhabit a large five-bedroom Parisian apartment in the sixteenth arrondissement from which she would attend

the Paris Opera, observe a session of the French House of Representatives and be formally received at the Ministry of the Colonies (France and Madagascar, Chemins de mémoire, <http://www.cheminsdememoire.gouv.fr> > ..). Again due to pressure from sympathetic French citizens, Ranavalona's pension was further raised to 50,000 francs per annum. On her next visit in 1907, the queen would use Dives-sur-Mer as a home base to visit the Calvados region, where she was photographed for the French press. From August to September 1910, Ranavalona would visit Paris, Nantes, La Baule and Saint-Nazaire and was repeatedly the target of undesired attention from press photographers. Her 1912 trip to the tiny, remote village of Quiberville would coincide with the increase of her annual pension to 75,000 francs. The queen's final voyage in 1913 would take her to Marseilles, Aix-les-Bains and Allevard. (CIDST <http://madarevues.recherches.gov.mg> > IMG > pdf

PDF de J les années FREMIIGACCI. Bien dispersés, les quelque 200 administrateurs coloniaux forment un groupe de pression d'une puissance croissante avec, hostile à toute ...).

The queen's party occupied the house in Réunion for just under two years. As tensions between the United Kingdom and France began to mount once again, this time over the conflict in Sudan, the French authorities became concerned that elements of the population in Madagascar might seize the opportunity to launch a new rebellion against French rule. The queen's proximity to Madagascar was seen as a possible source of encouragement for would-be Malagasy rebels. French authorities made an abrupt decision to remove Ranavalona and her party to Algeria, a more distant location. On 1 February 1899, with very little forewarning, Ranavalona and her family were ordered aboard the Yang-Tse accompanied by a secretary-interpreter and several maids (CIDST <http://madarevues.recherches.gov.mg> > IMG > pdf

PDF de J les années FREMIIGACCI. Bien dispersés, les quelque 200 administrateurs coloniaux forment un groupe de pression d'une puissance croissante avec, hostile à toute ...). During the 28-day journey to the French port of Marseilles, the passengers stopped over at such ports as Mayotte, Zanzibar, Aden and Djibouti. Throughout the trip, the various captains responsible for the journey were under orders to prevent Ranavalona from speaking with anyone who was not French. The party was held for several months at Marseilles before being transferred to a villa in the Mustapha Supérieur area in Algiers. Ranavalona had hoped to continue on to Paris and was greatly disappointed to learn she was instead being sent to Algeria, reportedly bursting into tears and remarking, "Who is certain of tomorrow? Only yesterday I was a queen; today I am simply an unhappy, broken-hearted woman." (Massachusetts Reformatory, 1 October 1904). Ranavalona's arrival in France for her

first official visit, accompanied by her aunt Ramasindrazana and niece Marie-Louise in 1901 (left), and the royal trio in Algiers in 1899 (right). At the queen's villa in Algiers, Ranavalona was provided with servants and a French female attendant who kept her under observation and remained present whenever the queen entertained guests in her home. In addition, the government of France initially provided Ranavalona with an annual allowance of 25,000 francs paid from the budget for the colony of Madagascar and authorized by the colony's Governor General. Nearly all the queen's property had been seized by the colonial authorities, although she had been permitted to keep certain personal belongings, including some of her jewelry. Her initial pension allowed such a humble lifestyle that the colonial government of Algeria lobbied unsuccessfully several times on her behalf to obtain an increase for her. Ranavalona also tasked a servant with selling some of her jewelry for cash, but the plan was discovered by the French colonial authorities and the servant was discharged and sent back to Madagascar (Massachusetts Reformatory, 1 October 1904). In response to her urgent entreaties, she was permitted to go to Paris and do some shopping. She cut a great figure on the boulevards, and was immensely popular, but she spent so much money and ran up such enormous bills that the Colonial office became alarmed and promptly shipped her back to Algiers.

### 3. Practical Anti-colonial Movements against French Imperial Domination of Madagascar

The island of Madagascar became a French Colony by the law dated August 6, 1896. On, September 28, General Gallieni, Commandant of the Occupation Corps was appointed Governor General. In 1897 he appointed Lieutenant-Colonel Lyautey and put him in charge of the pacification and the organization of the Nord-West region (1897-1900), promoted Colonel on January 6, 1900. Lyautey was, later, appointed to Superior Commandant of the South region. It is important to remember the populations of the South were always hostiles to the power of the Merina monarchy of Tananarive. The Menalamba movement developed from 1896 and Colonel Lyautey managed to pacify the region and stayed at his post until 1902 when the South of Madagascar returned to civilian rule (Lucien Philippe). They developed many movements which confronted the French as follows:

#### 3.1. Typologies of Organised Resistance Movements and Political Parties of the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century and Early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries against French Imperial Commanding Administration of Madagascar

The MENALAMBA movement was among the first of its kind to launch several techniques of opposing the French colonial administration in search of total freedom and independence of the territory. It means "dressed with red clothes" because the insurgents took a red bandeau as a rallying sign. They also used red flags with a black assegai. Red symbolized the love of the

homeland, the struggle for freedom and the independence of Madagascar. The assegai was a weapon used against the French settlers. It symbolized the resistance. The movement was founded on March 2, 1896. It is a Sakalavan, Rabezavana who managed the Western region. The movement expanded in the South of the island under the direction of Rabezaka and in the South-East under the direction of Rainibeksimisaraka native of Antsirabe. The rebels attacked the settlers, the religious communities, their priests, pastors and missionaries (French Catholics and English Protestants). Colonel Lyautey and his troops fought against them. The insurrection was virtually defeated on May 25, 1898 and only a few pockets of resistance remained until 1905. (Lucien Philippe, 2005). It was followed by The SADI VAHY movement. That expression meant in Antandroy language: "cling to" "resist" "hold out". This movement was founded in Tuléar in 1910 to regroup the peoples of the South (Antandroy, Mahafaly, Bara,...). Its flag was divided crosswise in two colours, at the top, violet, for the freedom of the peoples of the South and red at the bottom for the freedom and the independence of Madagascar. Its activity lasted until 1915. The third was The VY VATO SAKELINA movement VVS meant "Iron, Stone, and Resistance". It was a secret society located at the end of 1815 at the medicine school of Tananarive. It was founded by pastor Ravelojaona. It was composed of students, teachers, and a few employees and countrymen. Their rallying symbol was a red flag with the letters VVS in black. The red symbolized the freedom and the independence, the human rights and the equality. In 1920 the movement grew through the impetus given by a Betsileo teacher, Jean Ralaimongo who claimed the independence in 1929. On 29 May, 1929, a great demonstration was organized to support him. It provoked the disbanding of the VVS. Fourthly, The Malagasy Nationalist Party (MNP) was founded at the end of 1942 by Ravelotahiana who was killed in 1946. Its flag was divided diagonally, at the top, green symbolizing the island of Madagascar, at the bottom, red for the struggle and the freedom. It participated in the revolt which broke out on March 29 1947. It was dissolved by a decree of May 30, 1947. The movement known as Youth for National Independence (YNI) was founded on 22 July, 1944 at Manakora- Fianarantsoa by Monja Jaena having two crossed red assegais symbolizing the struggle. That movement expanded to the Southern and South-Eastern regions then participated in the revolt of 29 March, 1947. It was dissolved by a decree of 30 May, 1947 (Lucien Philippe, 2005). The Democratic Movement for Malagasy Renovation (DMMR) with the statutes registered in Paris at the Ministry of Overseas France, on 27 January, 1946 with receipt of registration delivered on 11 February, 1946 was founded by Dr. Joseph Raseta and Jacques Ralemananjara. It was the Royal Merina colours but it also had other meanings, red for the Red island (Madagascar), white for a healthy population or red for the blood, spilled for the struggle and independence, white for the freedom and the independence. Its goal was to provide in all matters the triumph of the Malagasy

renovation as the genius specific to the race, the social democracy, the equality between all Malagasy, the defence of the poor classes and of workers against the foreign capitalism. Starting from the Central region of the Merinas, it spread through the island and has had around 200,000 members. It participated in the revolt of 29 March, 1947 and was dissolved on 30 May, 1947 by a French colonial decree according to Lucien in 2005.

Party of the Underprivileged of Madagascar (PUM) organized the first meeting of representatives of the "Coast-men" that is Tanindrana and people of the provinces of former slaves known as Maintyenindreny and of the black Hovas called Hovamountry was on 27 June, 1946 to draft its statutes. The first general assembly of 29 June of the same year established the foundation of the party then on 1 July, 1946; they registered the legal statutes at the office of the Colonial Governor of Madagascar. Its goal was to fight against a possibility for the "Hova Andriana" oligarchy to come to power again thereby supported by the French colonial administration. It wanted to develop the cultural and social standard of the "underprivileged" to help them to participate in power. In some regions it organized active sections but it was not as important as the MDRM. The legal statutes of the newspaper "Voromahery" (Eagle), the voice of the party, were registered on 25 July, 1946 with Ramambason as General Secretary, assisted by Totolemibe Félix and Zafimahova Antoine while Tsiranana Philibert, later became the first President of the Republic with Rakotovao Joseph as distinguished members. The first party's flag was red with a black eagle (Voromahery), the "strong bird" symbolizing the strength of the black people, and the letters PADESM. A long rectangular insignia had the same colours. From 29 March 29, 1947, the members of PADESM were attacked by the insurgents and by the militants of MDRM. The red flag was used from 1946 to 1949 which became green after 1949 because the flag of MDRM was red. Besides a green flag with the flags of political parties and movements in Madagascar from the colonization until independence. White bird Voromahery was used by Radama I in 1824 in Tamatave. A new green insignia was also made. At the end of 1956 the party disbanded and its members created two new Malagasy Democratic Party (MDP) of Pastor Ravelojaona founded on 10 May, 1946 from the Committee which had supported his unfortunate candidature at the elections of 18 November, 1945. The President of the party was a brilliant journalist named Gabriel Razafintsalama. The party's goal was to bring the friendship and the brotherhood between Malagasy, equality of rights, and common obligation of Malagasy whatever their tribe and their religion having unity as the main goal but also the fight for full independence of Madagascar in accordance with the international convention of San Francisco. The MDP also wanted to protect Malagasy against oppression, to increase Malagasy on moral and physical level for a life with dignity, a higher level of education, a job and happiness

and freedom for each family. PDM was the symbol of the protestant and conservative tradition of nationalism of Old Hova. PDM was against communists and the majority of former members of PANAMA had joined it. It was mainly present among the protestant burgers of Imerina. Many intellectuals and members of VVS also joined that party. Its flag was divided diagonally with blue and red was the symbol of the motherland and blue symbolized the independent people. Different protestant parties succeeded PDM in 1955 (Lucien Philippe, 2005).

Madagascar became a Territory inside the French Union on 27 October, 1946. Social and Malagasy Movement (SMM) at the end of 1946 Catholics missions founded the MSM. Edouard Ralaimihoatra was its President. The articles of association defined the party's goals: to develop the Malagasy personality in accordance with the eternal principles of freedom, justice and solidarity; to save and to develop the moral and intellectual treasures of the Malagasy people; to contribute to the realization of its legitimate desires and to govern itself. That party wanted independence within French Union and recommended a kind of Commonwealth. Its flag was yellow and white. There are two versions of the flag, divided diagonally yellow and white and with two vertical stripes, yellow and white. Yellow symbolize the faith and God, white, true and justice. These colours are the colours of the Vatican and Catholics. Several Catholics parties succeeded MSM. Madagascar became a Territory inside the French Union on 27 October, 1946. The Sfiio Malagasy Federation (SMF) was founded on 23 February, 1948. The flag was red with a green map of Madagascar renouncing the three arrows of SFIO (French Section of the International Workers Association). Malagasy socialists showed their wish for autonomy with regard to the metropolitan party. In Majunga, on 28 December, 1956, they united with a part of PADESM to create PSDMC (Malagasy and Comorian Social Democratic Party (MCSDP),

### **3.2. Specific Hot Nationalist Movements and Political Parties Courageous formed during the 1950s in Search of Self-Determination and Independence for Madagascar**

The Christian and Popular Movement. (CPM) was founded in 1954 in Tamatave. Its President was a Catholic, William Rabemananjara. Its flag was divided diagonally, yellow and blue. It became a component of the Malagasy Christians Union created at the Congress of 14 December, 1958. The Christian Liberal Party (CLP). It was founded on December 5, 1955 with Martin Rakotovao as national President. Its liberal spirit opened it to Protestants and Catholics. New Democratic Party of the Indian Ocean (NDPIO) was founded in Tananarive in 1955 and was ran by Aristide Ratsimbazafy and it participated in the Congress of Tamatave from 2-4 May, 1955 in preparation for independence and later became the Malagasy Communist Party (MCP). The Federal Reassembly of Madagascar (FRM) was founded on 6 June, 1955. Gabriel Razafintsalama was its President. Its

flag was divided horizontally white and blue. Its goal was a federal structure for Madagascar. Association of Farmers' Friends (AFF). It was founded in Tamatave in 1954. Its flag was green with black letters. It participated in the Congress of Tamatave from 2-4 May 1958 in preparation for independence. It became one of the components of the Party of Congress and Independence of Madagascar AKFM created on 19 October, 1958. Malagasy People Union (MPU). It was founded on 12 January, 1956 with Stanislas Rakotonirina as its leader. It had a communist leanings. Its flag was yellow with a red map of Madagascar, yellow symbolizing independence and moral and red for motherland and freedom. It became a component of AFKM on 19 October, 1958. Christian National Union (CNU). It was founded on 20 August, 1956 by Michel Randria, mayor de Fianarantsoa. It expanded quickly in the Betsileo country. Its flag was divided diagonally red and yellow. It became the Christian Labour Movement (CLM), on 20 November, 1957 at Fianarantsoa. Michel Randria took charge of the Malagasy Christian Union at the Tamatave Congress of 14 December, 1958. That Union included MTC and 3 other Catholic parties. The MTC flag was the same as the UNC flag. Vakinankaratra Christian Party (VCP). It was founded in 1956 in Antsirabe with the help of the Catholic Mission. Its President was Antoine Ranoasy. Its flag was white with two red crossed spades. It became a component of the Malagasy Christian Union created at the Congress of 14 December, 1958. Vakinankaratra is a very inhabited region between Tananarive and Antsirabe Malagasy National Front (MNF). It was a nationalist movement on the left of the protestant PDM and was founded in 1956. Henri Razanaiseno was its secretary-general. Its flag was white with red letters. It became one of the components of AFKM on 19 October 19, 1958. Union of Independents of Tananarive (UIT). It was founded in November 1956 by Stanislas Rakotonirina who had left UMP. Its flag was blue with yellow letters. The party split up at the time of the referendum of 28 September, 1957. (Lucien Philippe). Malagasy Democratic and Social Group (MDSG). It was founded in 1956 in Tamatave by Lombardo. It was a progressive movement. Its flag was white with red letters. It participated at the Congress of Tamatave from 2-4 May, 1958 in preparation for independence. Party for The Congress and for the Independence of Madagascar (PCIM) and Democratic Committee of the Malagasy Socialist (DCMS). It was founded on October 19, 1958 due to the merging of three left extremist parties: the UPM. (Union of Malagasy People, Malagasy National Front (MNF and the Association of Farmers' Friends (AFF)). The President was Pastor Richard Andriamanjata. Flags of political parties and movements in Madagascar from the colonization until independence.

In addition, Malagasy Christian Party (MCP). It was founded in Tananarive in 1956. Its national President was Norbert Rakotonirina. Its flag was divided horizontally green and blue. It became a component of

the Malagasy Christian Union created at the Congress of 14 December, 1958. Committee for Social and Political Action for the Independence of Madagascar (CSPAİM). It was founded in 1956 by Alexis Bezaka. It participated at the Congress of Tamatave from 2-4 May, 1958 in expectation of independence. Its flag was orange with black letters. It became a component of the Malagasy National Union created in December 1958. Malagasy Popular Union (MPU). It was founded in 1956. That Christian Party from Tamatave participated at the independence's congress which sit in Tamatave from 2-4 May, 1958. Its flag was white with a black map. It became a component of the Malagasy National Union created in December 1958. Labour and Farmers Union (LFU). It was founded in 1956. Its national President was R.W. Ralemananjara. Its flag was blue with a black Roberval scales. It became a component of the Malagasy National Union created in December 1958. The Malagasy National Union (MNU). It was founded on 28 January, 1957 by Rakotonirainy, later Ramamonji Rarimo became the national President. It was a resurgence of the MDRM. Its flag was divided diagonally green and red. It became a component of the Malagasy National Union created in December 1958. Malagasy Democratic and Social Union (MDSU). The party's statutes were registered on 7 December, 1956. It was run by three brothers: Norbert Zafimahova, President, Antoine and Joseph Zafimahova, Vice-Presidents. Members came partly from PADESM. This Catholic party appeared in the South-East of Madagascar and distrusted against Merinas. It used two kinds of flags with the same colours red and blue with black letters. On 7 March, 1962 it created, with two small regional parties, the Republican Union of Madagascar (RUM). Malagasy and Comorian Social and Democratic Party (MCSDP). It was founded on 28 December, 1956 in Majunga by 21 persons including Philibert Tsiranana and André Resampa. They adopted the colours red and green which appeared diagonally on their flag. The red colour of local SFIO was united with the green colour of PADESM. Its goals were: 1) to work for the evolution towards independence for Madagascar and Comoros; 2) to defend the rights and interests of workers in the working and farmer classes regarding wages, education and health; 3) to help the country with its economic development (agriculture, industry, commerce); and 4) to teach the native people to love work and to become qualified workers. Comoros were united with Madagascar on February 23, 1914. The archipelago became Overseas Territory on 1 January, 1947. The statute of Territory was confirmed in 1958. The party changed its name in January 1957 and became the Social Democratic Party (SDP). A cat's head was added on the flag because in Malagasy "SDP" is read "pisodia" which refers to a small feline in the local language. Party of National Movement for the Independence of Madagascar (PNMİM-Antoko Monima). It was founded in Tulear by Monja Jaona (founder of the JINA in 1944) on 29 July, 1958. Its flag was violet, the colour of voting bulletin of MONIMA which recommended to vote "NO" during the

referendum of 28 September, 1958. It represented the resistance to the behaviours imported by imperialism and the claim of popular sovereignty. Red was the common colour of all the Malagasy sovereigns who wore this colour, until their death and it was the symbol of the force of the Nation and the force of the people. The 18 gold stars around the red fimbriated map of Madagascar represented the 18 sovereigns which shared the power. It symbolized the gathering, the harmony, the rallying of the Nation to build Madagascar. The gold colour represented the sovereignty of the (Lucien Philippe, 2005). The red spade (angady) symbolized the work, the force, the courage of men, the richness of the country, the red assegai symbolized the authority, the sovereignty and in particular the popular sovereignty. The assegai must always be clean and without any stain. A referendum was organized on September 28, 1958 to approve the French Community Constitution. The majority of Malagasy population approved it and the Republic was proclaimed in Tananarive on 14 October, 1958. The Constitution was promulgated on 29 April, 1959 and Philibert Tsiranana became President.

Party for the Congress and For the Independence of Madagascar (PCIM), Democratic Committee of the Malagasy Socialist Revolution (DCMSR). It was founded on October 19, 1958 due to the merging of three left extremist parties: the UPM (Union of Malagasy People (UMP), the Malagasy National Front (MNF) and the Association of Farmers'friends, (AFF), the President was the pastor Richard Andriamanjato. Union of Malagasy Christian Parties (UMCP). It was founded on 26 July, 1958 in Tananarive. It was the merging between three Protestants Parties (PP), the NPC from Tamatave, the PPM from Tananarive and the FLM from Sambava. Its national President was Joseph Rabetrano. Its flag was divided diagonally red and white. It looked like the flag of MDRM.Malagasy Christian Union (MCU). It was founded on 14 December, 1958 during the congress of Tamatave. It was the result of the merging of four Catholic parties: the Christian Labour Party (CLP) from Fianarantsoa, the Popular Christian Party (PCP), from Tananarive, the Malagasy Christian Party (MCP), from Tananarive and, the Vakinankaratra Christian Party (VCP) from Antsirabe. Its President was Michel. Its flag was divided diagonally in three parts, yellow at the pole, red and white at the fly. White symbolized independence, yellow, the faith and ethic, red the freedom. White and yellow, the colours of the Vatican, looked like the 1946 flag of Malagasy Social Movement (MSM). Malagasy Christian Union (MCU). It was founded on 14 December, 1958 during the congress of Tamatave. It was the result of the merging of four Catholic parties: the Christian Labour Party (CLP) from Fianarantsoa, the Popular Christian Party (PCP) from Tananarive, the Malagasy Christian Party (MCP) from Tananarive and, the Vakinankaratra Christian Party (VCP) from Antsirabe. Its President was Michel. Its flag was divided diagonally in three parts, yellow at the pole, red and

white at the fly White symbolized independence, yellow, the faith and ethic, red the freedom. White and yellow, the colours of the Vatican, looked like the 1946 flag of Malagasy Social Movement. Malagasy National Union (MNU) was founded on December 1958 by Alexis Bezaka. It was the result of the merging of four parties: CAPSIM (Political and Social Committee for the Independence of Madagascar (PSCIM), d'Alexis Bezaka, Malagasy National Union (MNU), Malagasy Popular Party (MPP), and Labour and Farmers Union (LFU). Its flag was white with four red stars symbolizing the four parties of the Union. The independence of the Malagasy Republic was proclaimed on June 26, 1960. The Democrat Social Party (DSP) of President Tsiranana kept the majority at the elections of 1962. Later more parties were founded. All the drawings were made by Hervé Calvarin, Le Perreux of France. (Lucien Philippe, 2005).

## CONCLUSION

The conventional historical interpretation of the early 19<sup>th</sup> Century history of Madagascar is that it reflected two contrasting reigns, that of King Radama I 1810–1828, and that of his successor, Queen Ranaivalona I 1828–1861 in relations to the previous Centuries Madagascar and the aftermaths towards the end of their reigns with French implantation of different typologies of commanding agents from the late 19<sup>th</sup> to the mid-20<sup>th</sup> Centuries when the territory became the Republic of Madagascar. There after chosen to belong to the Afrfrican Continent in spite of several cultural affinities with the Asiatic countries. The dominant view of Radama is that he was an enlightened, progressive, and pro-European monarch who welcomed embassies from British-ruled Mauritius from 1816, signed a treaty of alliance with Britain in 1820, and within less than a decade banned slave exports, accepted a Resident British political agent at his court, encouraged a London Missionary Society mission in Madagascar, and with British military assistance quickly subjected the entire island to his rule. By contrast, Ranaivalona, Radama's senior wife, was illiterate and, guided by superstition and ancestral beliefs, unpredictable and brutal. Upon Radama's untimely death in mid-1828, Ranaivalona illicitly seized the throne, established a tyrannical administration, and pursued retrograde illiberal, xenophobic, and anti-Christian policies. This article critically examines the origins of the conventional interpretation of Ranaivalona and argues for the rationality of core economic and military policies she adopted aimed at safeguarding Madagascar from European imperial domination. (Gwyn Campbell, 01 November 2023).

The outbreak of World War I in 1914 put an end to Ranaivalona's visits to France. Throughout her time in Algeria, she and her family regularly attended the weekly Protestant service at the Reformed Church building in central Algiers. After the war began she sought to contribute by vigorously participating in the activities of

the Algerian Red Cross. The Queen with niece Marie-Louise at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, in 1905. Ranavalona died without ever having returned to Madagascar, after two formal requests in 1910 and 1912 were refused on the pretext of insufficient funds in the colonial coffers. The exiled queen died suddenly at her villa in Algeria on 23 May 1917, the victim of a severe embolism. Ranavalona was buried at the Saint-Eugene cemetery in Algiers at 10:00 a.m. on 25 May. Her funeral was attended by dozens of personal friends, admirers, Red Cross colleagues, members of her church congregation and prominent figures of the political and cultural elite of Algiers. By nine in the morning, a long line of cars had already formed at the entrance to the memorial site (Priestley Herbert Ingram, 1967). This effusive display of respect and remembrance on the part of Ranavalona's friends was not mirrored by subsequent actions of the French colonial administration in Madagascar. In June 1925, eight years after the queen's death, the Governor-General of Algeria informed the Governor-General of Madagascar by letter that payments for the maintenance of Ranavalona's tomb were in default. He urged the colonial government in Madagascar to provide funds for the upkeep of the dilapidated tomb, emphasizing that such neglect was unworthy of the queen's memory and the government of France alike. The request was twice refused and the tomb was never refurbished. In November 1938, Ranavalona's remains were exhumed and re-interred in the tomb of Queen Rasohery at the Rova of Antananarivo in Madagascar. (Madagascar, colonisation, France, Digithèque MJP, Digithèque MJP, <https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit>). Chacun de ces établissements est dirigé par un Administrateur colonial qui ne correspond qu'avec le Résident général).

In fact, a fire on the night of 6 November 1995 severely damaged the royal tombs and destroyed most of the other buildings at the site. The lamba-wrapped remains of Ranavalona III were the only ones that could be saved from the flames. These have since been re-interred in the royal tombs at Ambohimanga. Following Ranavalona's death, her aunt Ramasindrazana left Algeria and moved to Alpes-Maritimes where she lived out the few remaining years of her life. The heir-apparent, Marie-Louise, had left Ranavalona's villa several years earlier to study at a French high school and would go on to marry a French agricultural engineer named Andre Bosshard on 24 June 1921. Although she continued to receive a small pension from the French government throughout her lifetime, Marie-Louise chose to pursue a career as a nurse and was awarded the Legion of Honor for her medical services during World War II (Stratton Arthur, 1964). After Bosshard and the childless Marie-Louise divorced, the young woman reportedly made the most of her new-found freedom as a flamboyant and vivacious socialite. Marie-Louise died in Bazoches-sur-le-Betz on 18 January 1948, without leaving any descendants, and was buried in Montreuil, France. An archive of fashion, photographs and letters

□ telling the story of Ranavalona was bought at auction by the island's government in 2020, having been discovered in an attic in Guildford, Surrey. The collection had been owned by Clara Herbert, who worked for the Malagasy royal family from the 1890s to 1920s, and had been passed down through her family. The objects will go on display alongside Ranavalona's recently repatriated royal dias in the restored Queen's palace in Madagascar. *L'Aube rouge* is historical novel about the Franco-Hova wars by the Malagasy writer Jean-Joseph Rabearivelo, largely focusing on Ranavalona III. About 35,000 Malagasy troops participated on the side of the French during the Second World War. (Gregory Mann, online, September 2024). After the Armistice of 1940, those who had not been killed languished in prisoner of war camps or were used as cheap labour by the Vichy and German governments. Not only had they been disabused of the illusion of French invincibility but they now saw the poverty of the French colonial mission, which left them suffering in a cold, unfamiliar land with no news from their families in Madagascar and no idea how or when they would return home. (Lonely Planet, 18 October 2007). Most were not repatriated until 1946, by which point they had incubated resentment towards the French that was quickly co-opted by nationalist politicians in Madagascar. Unlike their counterparts in mainland Africa, Malagasy veterans joined the anti-colonial movement in droves, encouraged by the particularly severe wartime deprivation their families had suffered and by the sophisticated brand of home-grown nationalism that recalled a recent independent past (Priestley, Herbert Ingram, 1967). When revolt broke out in March 1947, many veterans assumed leadership of rebel groups. This thesis explores the link between their experience during the war and their willingness to sever the bonds that tied other African veterans to France. Using French, Malagasy and British archives, it examines the role of the Second World War in determining the shape of Malagasy independence and contributes to the understanding of one of the most important events in Madagascar's history. (Gregory Mann, online 19 June 2024). In 1948, with French prestige at a low ebb, the French government, headed by Prime Minister Paul Ramadier of the French Section of the Workers' International (SFIO) party, suppressed the Madagascar revolt, a nationalist uprising. The French subsequently established reformed institutions in 1956 under the Loi Cadre (Overseas Reform Act), and Madagascar moved peacefully toward independence. The Malagasy Republic, proclaimed on 14 October 1958, became an autonomous state within the French Community. On 26 March 1960 France agreed to Madagascar becoming fully independent. On 26 June 1960 Madagascar became an independent country and Philibert Tsiranana became its first President (Allen Philip M. 1995). Considering the main anti-colonial movements that helped in the liberation of Madagascar the following six were very instrumental with different ideological confrontations especially in the context of the Cold War. They includes: Democratic Movement for



Malagasy Rejuvenation having as ideology an anti-colonialism for Malagasy Nationalism as a Nationalist party; National Union with Big Tent ideology in alliance with TIM, AVI and RPSD; Party of the Disinherited of Madagascar: Anti-colonialism Malagasy Nationalism. It was the party of Madagascar first President; Communist Party (French Section of Communist International) of the Region of Madagascar. Having Communist-Marxism-Leninism ideology founded on 25<sup>th</sup> April 1905 by Jules Guesde and Jean Jaurès. Malagasy Communist party: Communism-Marxism-Leninism. Supported China after the Sino-Soviet Split and Brun-Ly: Personal movement of Bruno Rajaonson. (List of political parties in Madagascar, Wikipedia, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Investigations\\_et\\_représentations\\_coloniales\\_\(1920-1960\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Investigations_et_représentations_coloniales_(1920-1960))), Cairn.info, [https://shs.cairn.info/article/RHSH\\_021\\_0151.pdf](https://shs.cairn.info/article/RHSH_021_0151.pdf)).

In French Madagascar, Malagasy people were required to fulfill corvée labor on French-run plantations, which generated high revenues for the colonial administration. Opportunities for Malagasy to access education or skilled positions within the colonial structure were limited, although some basic services like schools and clinics were extended to coastal areas for the first time. The capital city was largely transformed and modernized, and the royal palace was transformed into a school and later a museum (Dewar Robert E *et al.*, 1993). Although Malagasy were initially prevented from forming political parties, several militant nationalist secret societies emerged, of which the most prominent was Vv Vato Sakelika, founded by Ny Avana Ramanantoanina. Many Malagasy were conscripted to fight for France in World Wars I and II, and during the latter Madagascar came under Vichy control before being captured and occupied by the British in the Battle of Madagascar. At the Brazzaville Conference of 1944, Charles de Gaulle gave the colony the status of an overseas territory with the right to representatives in the French National Assembly. When a bill proposed by Malagasy delegates of the Democratic Movement for the Renovation for the Independence of Madagascar's was not passed, militant nationalists led an unsuccessful Malagasy uprising (1947–1948), during which the French military committed atrocities that deeply scarred the population. (Gregory Mann, online, September 2024). The country gained full independence from France in 1960 in the wake of decolonization. Under the leadership of President Philibert Tsiranana, Madagascar's First Republic (1960–1972) was established as a democratic system modeled on that of France (Encyclopedia, January 2024). However, from the table indicating different main domination agents, the Madagascans are supposed to do more findings to know who did what detrimental and if necessary, demanded for reparations of pre-colonial and colonial damages. It is often said that “No Madagascar in the map of Africa, No Africa”, meaning the African Continent remains incomplete if Madagascar is not included. The country has a share of historical experiences with Africa and Asia in the context

of slavery and slave trade, colonial domination and post-independence mechanisms colonialism with French influence more intensified. But, individual countries can find their ways out of such practices with the leadership wills and effective exploitation and management of the natural resources with the mechanisms of corruption crackdown in the third decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.

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