THE LMS PRESS IN IMARIVOLANITRA
ANTANANARIVO FROM 1826
TO THE FIRST QUARTER
OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Mémoire de maîtrise

Presented by: Mrs RAMAROSON Livaharisoa Zoé
Supervisor : Pr RAFOLO ANDRIANAIVOARIVONY

19 July, 2012
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To my beloved children
Acknowledgements

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INTRODUCTION
The LMS\(^1\) was founded in 1795 by Congregationalists, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Anglicans. This mission aimed at carrying and preaching the Gospel in the “Dark Lands”\(^2\) and at teaching uncultured people. This Society was the first to carry the Gospel to the Malagasy people. In the beginning the Merina people were the ruling race and by far the cleverest and civilized tribe. As a result the mission in the Capital started in 1820. Previously, the Merina people were a purely heathen people, fetish worshippers believing in witchcraft, the power of evil-eye, poison ordeals, lucky and unlucky days and so on. There were only Malagasy-Arabic texts. Madagascar had neither script nor literature but the language is rich on folklore and in proverbs. These were the people’s literature before the arrival of the first protestant missionaries. So it could be said that the foundations of writing Malagasy literature were laid by the British missionaries of the LMS. One of their priorities was to introduce printing. When the British missionaries arrived here, they learnt the Malagasy language and then taught the people the art of printing. For 16 years, the missionaries prepared school books, taught the Malagasy people, printed the Scriptures and preached the Gospel.

Printing began in 1824 at Ambatonakanga under King Radama I who encouraged education among his people. Education has gone hand in hand with printing.

In 1828, Radama I died and he was succeeded by Queen Ranavalona I. The latter prohibited all Christian instruction in 1834, all Christian congregations were dispersed, and even the possession of the Bible was visited with heavy penalties. Printing became a neglected art.

Fortunately in 1861 with the death of Ranavalona I, the door of the island was reopened to foreigners and British missionaries. As a result in 1862, Parrett re-established printing in Imarivolanitra. Under the reign of Radama II and his widow, and under Ranavalona II and Ranavalona III, printing developed in many ways.

However, the French entered Antananarivo in September 1895.

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\(^1\) L.M.S. : London Missionary Society

\(^2\) Used to point at the countries which were not developed in the field of economy, culture... Africa, including Madagascar, was called “Dark Land” at that time.
In the beginning of the twentieth century there were five presses in Antananarivo city, all of them directly or indirectly exceeded the out-growth on the work at Imarivolanitra.

In this work the major aim is to analyze the LMS press in Imarivolanitra Antananarivo. Nowadays most people do not know the improvements which happened at Imarivolanitra when British missionaries came here. The present work will focus on the parts played by the British missionaries.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

Many books were written in English on the history of Madagascar but the most important to read is Madagascar Rediscovered (1978) by Mervyn Brown. It deals with the historical events in Madagascar. There are also the books in which the writers talk about missionaries' work such as Recollections of Mission Life (1874) by James Cameron, Fifty years in Madagascar (1924) by Sibree James.

Furthermore, some periodicals relate the LMS activities about education, printing, these are Ten years' Review of mission Work in Madagascar, the Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. We have also found some documents at the National Archives of Tsaralalana and the LMS Archives of Faravohitra.

INTEREST OF THE SUBJECT

This dissertation will focus on the LMS Press in Imarivolanitra. We concentrate on the period of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth century because it included the British missionaries' works. The arrival of David Jones took place in 1820 and it is very important since he was the first British missionary who arrived in Madagascar. He afterwards helped the other missionaries in the establishment of printing in 1826. The missionaries were obliged to leave Madagascar because of the persecution period. Fortunately, in 1861, the printing press was re-established by John Parrett and he took charge of the press, superintended the LMS printing office. The LMS continued to take care of the Protestant Press and J. Farmer was the last British superintendent of the printing office in 1966.
It must be noticed that many books and magazines are issued from Imarivolanitra and it contributes to a Malagasy socio-cultural development.

CHOICE OF THE SUBJECT

Most of the books or pamphlets written about the missionaries do not deal with the work of the Mission Press. However, it is interesting to know the beginning of its establishment, the work in Imarivolanitra, the books and the magazines that the British or Malagasy people have written or published.

This topic was also chosen because of our visit of the hill city of Antananarivo in level D (2003-2004). We passed near the LMS press Imarivolanitra, and since that date we wanted to deal with the magnificent work which has been accomplished by the British missionaries, especially their ability and devotion.

We have chosen Antananarivo because it was there the first starting point of the introduction of printing in Madagascar. Since residing in Antananarivo we have several times to visit the LMS press in the present time and we were able to do the plan of the present protestant press in Imarivolanitra.

DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED

While trying to answer the below questions, we have found some problems. One of them was the lack of books which totally deal with the topic. Besides, we lack primary source such as diaries or letters written by the Malagasy workers in the printing office. We would like also to mention that we did not find the photographs of the British missionaries such as Stowell Ashwell, Conolly. Moreover the information about the LMS press in the National Archives or the FJKM Archives are not sufficient. Nevertheless this dissertation will be helpful for the further researchers who want to deal with the same topic. Anyway this work can be considered as the beginning of other studies related to Printing or to researches on LMS Printing.

QUESTIONS TO BE ANSWERED

The following questions will be answered in order to carry out our research: why did the British missionaries chose Imarivolanitra to build the press? How were the architectural aspects of the building? Who were the superintendents? What artifacts did they use? And what did they do in this area?
METHODS

We have used many methods to carry out our approaches: iconographic and epigraphic, with which we study the work of the British missionaries at Ambatonakanga. There are some personal investigations. It also incorporates reports of various missionaries at work in the printing office. From these reports we have been able to gather some facts that may interest the readers.

Our work will be divided into three parts.

The first one will focus on the introduction of printing from Ambatonakanga to Imarivolanitra, the second part will deal with the LMS printing office in Imarivolanitra and the third part will demonstrate the Malagasy socio-cultural development.

Previously there was no printing; there had been no information except word-of-mouth picked up at the market place.

Printing was introduced at Ambatonakanga after the early missionaries reduced the Malagasy language to a written form.

Education also developed rapidly. The need of printed material for the pupils’ reading exercises was felt. However, when the period of persecution began, printing was abandoned. Fortunately in 1862, it was re-established at Imarivolanitra, and the work of printing was of great value for the Malagasy people.

The very first work undertaken by Bevan and Jones at Tamatave in 1818 and by Jones in Antananarivo in 1820 was to teach few children.

They were so satisfied with the quickness of these little Malagasy. They were labouring under many disadvantages and difficulties in teaching the Malagasy people as they had no little books adapted for beginners, no sets of the Lancastrian lessons, no stone pencils, no printing press, no boards¹, no presents to give to the Chiefs and to the children which are excessively dear at Port Louis. According to Pastor Rabary, writing tools were most rudimentary. As exercise books, students were asked to bring along a piece of wood covered with a layer of zebu fat, which was spread with ashes. In place of pens, there were pointed sticks used for writing on these substitute slates. It was with these simple materials that the first students were introduced to learning the creativity of those early British teachers could be admired because they didn’t want to waste time waiting for the arrival of the first books.

¹ Archives L.M.S., Letters Mauritius, Box 1, Fl, JC, Port Louis, November 20, 1818 to Waugh.
I –

FROM AMBATONAKANGA TO IMARIVOLANITRA
In the XIIIth century, the Arabs tried to introduce the printing in the East Coast but it was in vain. After that, the Portuguese tried it in 1557. In 1660 the Jesuits and the French Lazarists came here. Finally, the British entered here in 1827 and introduced printing.

In this first chapter, we have to examine the LMS activities at Ambatonakanga. There the British missionaries tried to make a first attempt at printing because the first printer appointed by the LMS died of fever in 1826. James Cameron, some British missionaries and Edward Baker began printing at Ambatonakanga. Unfortunately under the reign of Ranavalona I, there was a period of persecution, so printing stopped. The missionaries had left Madagascar.

In 1862, the LMs appointed six missionaries, among them was John Parrett the printer. The Latter set up printing at Imarivolainitra which is a well-chosen place. It was that of the prince Ramonja. Notice that John Parrett re-established printing with modern printing presses. He was helped by his wife and some others natives.
I.1 – Ambatonakanga and its historical background

Formerly, Ambatonakanga was a rocky place; there were long grasses and big trees which circled some boulders. The guinea-fowls lived in this secret place and that is why it was called Ambatonakanga or guinea-fowl rocks. The native youths also used to play there and they trapped guinea-fowls.

At that time there was a tomb of Vazimba\textsuperscript{1} in which were found a few handfuls of black earth, and with several large granite boulders lying all around\textsuperscript{2}.

It was a place where people planted maize, cassava and sweet potatoes at that time. The villagers were afraid to build house around that tomb.

Later on, it became a famous place since there were many houses which were built there. Ambatonankanga is situated some way down the northern slope of the hill upon which the old city was built.

Nowadays, it is the name of Antananarivo suburb comprising all the East upper part of Ambohidahy, the East lower part of Ambatonakanga church itself all the regions limited by Samuel Rahamefy street, Robin Ramelina street and Ratsimilaho Ramaromanompo street towards Antsapanimahazo crossroad. Notice that Antsapanimahazo is a place where the four roads meet the road to Antaninnarenina, to Ambatovinaky, to Ambohijatovo and to Amparibe.

After having talked about the place, we must know the LMS activities at Ambatonakanga.

I.1.1 – The LMS activities at Ambatonakanga

In 1810, Radama I ascended the throne at his father’s death. He took a strong personal interest in educating his people.

The instrument of his policy was the connection with Great Britain. His achievements were carried out thanks to Sir Robert Farquhar and the wise advice of

\textsuperscript{1} Malagasy ancestors.
\textsuperscript{2} Cameron James, \textit{Recollections of Mission life} (London 1874), p. 5.
Plate 1 : Plan of Antananarivo

Source: Foibe Tao-tsaritan’i Madagasikara (F.T.M.)
James Hastie. In 1820, Radama sent a letter to the Directors of the LMS in London, in which he said: “Therefore, gentlemen, I request you to send me, if convenient, as many missionaries as you may deem proper, together with their families, if they desire it, provided you send skilful artisans to make my people workmen and good Christians”… “The missionaries, who are particularly required at present, are persons who are able to instruct my people in the Christian religion, and in various trades.”

As a result of his request, a small band of missionaries of the LMS came to Madagascar in order to instruct the Malagasy people. These missionaries instructed Malagasy in carpentry, masonry, brick making, building, blacksmiths’ work, tanning and printing. Radama I had chosen the place they lived in Antananarivo. At Ambatonakanga the LMS did some activities because the king gave it to the protestant missionaries. Consequently, on June 25, 1822, the missionaries erected a school there and it was the Reverend John Jeffreys who taught in that school. Jeffreys was born in 1792 at Blackburn Academy. He was ordained on May 30, 1821 at Chapel Street chapel, Blackburn. He was appointed to Madagascar. He married Keturah Yarnold. He was church member at Preston (Cameron). He sailed on August 6, 1821 in company with Prince Rataffe and suite. Arriving at Port Louis on November 27, he remained there until May 1, 1822, when, with Mrs. Jeffreys, he arrived at Tamatave on May 6 and at the Capital on June 10. He was accompanied by four missionary artisans

When they arrived, King Radama I welcomed them cordially.

When the Jeffreys arrived in the capital, the king granted a good house in a large enclosure at Ambohimitsimbina. The king sent a handsome present consisting of a sheep, a couple of ducks and fifty eggs for the Jeffreys and two servants, a boy and a girl each about eleven years old.

The school of Ambatonakanga was the third one in Antananarivo. There were nine boys and three girls at the beginning. Later on, their number increased.

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1 For more precision, see the memoire by Rajaofera Elyette Nirina entitled James Hastie, the promoter of British Reforms under the reign of Radama I, 1999 – 2000.
4 Thomas Rowlands (the weaver), John Canham (the tanner), George Chick (the blacksmith) and Thomas Brook (the carpenter).
5 The first school was at Andafiavaratra, and it was under David Jones’ care on December 20, 1820 and was removed to Anatirova. In 1823 it was again removed to Amparibe. The second school was at Ambodin’Andohalo, David Griffiths was the schoolmaster (October 23, 1821).
Mrs. Jeffreys helped her husband in teaching and she stated that pupils were intelligent. In her journal she said that the children received their instruction with gratitude and eagerness. Their progress in learning was soon discoverable to a degree that astonished Mr. and Mrs. Jeffreys who were delighted by the intelligence of the pupils. It was stated that two boys, in the short space of five months proceeded as far in arithmetic as the Rule of Three Direct; and some others were not far behind them. The scholars were not bored with their lessons, their application was unwearied till they had attained their tasks, and that with great correctness¹.

Often at a very early hour, the Jeffreys were disturbed by the pupils because they stood around the dwelling house of their teachers, and repeated aloud the multiplication table or some other lessons for the day. However, Mr. Jeffreys and his wife were happy. The instructions were in English but the children’s perseverance must appear very surprising and admirable².

In March 1824 the separate schools ran by three missionaries were combined into one Central School at Andohalo. It was David Jones (or Jonjy Lava) and David Griffiths (or Grifisy) who taught there, that was why John Jeffreys removed to Ambatomanga (Some 20 miles : 32 kilometers to the East) and opened a separate school there because of the problem he encountered with David Jones: all of the missionaries appointed to Madagascar were Welsh before the arrival of Jeffreys. He was the only English missionary in Madagascar before 1827. On account of Mrs. Jeffreys’ ill-health, he sailed with his family for Mauritius on June 21, 1825 but on the passage, on July 4, he died. His wife afterwards sailed from Port Louis to England³.

Even if Jeffreys left the country, the work of the mission went on. David Jones and Griffiths were able to speak Malagasy in February 1824; their first priority was the translation of the Bible into Malagasy so that the native people could understand the Words of God. Consequently they proceeded to translate the Bible into the Malagasy language, and they printed it at Ambatonakanga. They were assisted by some of their promising pupils to whom they had taught the English language. These pupils

¹ Jeffreys Keturah, *The widow's missionary's journal* (Southampton 1827), p. 120.
² Ibid.
Plate 2: Some British Missionaries pioneers in Madagascar

Source: FJKM Archives
were called the “Roambinifololahy” or the “Twelve”\textsuperscript{1}. The real participation of these twelve scholars in the Bible translation into Malagasy consisted in improving the linguistic aspect of it\textsuperscript{2}. In the meantime education developed rapidly since on March 16, 1826, there were 30 schools and 2,051 pupils in Antananarivo\textsuperscript{3}.

Radama I was very happy because the mission work prosecuted. Firstly the children were taught the written language, secondly the teachers did their best instructing their pupils, thirdly the assistants were teaching the people carpentry, weaving, tanning…and so on. On September 11, 1826 James Cameron erected a house in which he was engaged in constructing machinery and other public works and under his employ they were engaged about 600 youths\textsuperscript{4}.

Soon afterwards, he took part in getting the press into action at Ambatonakanga because of the death of a journeyman printer named Hovenden who was firstly appointed to set up printing. His first home and workshop were in this site. There was also a small chapel. In brief, a great conflagration destroyed all these buildings in 1829, so James Cameron removed to Analakely and he decided to make over his own ground at Ambatonakanga and established there the LMS. Printing was carried on in the same place. On May 4, 1831 a new chapel was erected by James Cameron and David Johns. It was only used for religious worship for four years (1831 – 1835) for in March 1835 repressive measures against Christianity began. The chapel became a prison house for the native Christians and then it became a place used as a stable for horses. After the long period of persecution, the LMS erected four Memorial Churches in order to remember the martyrs who suffered death during that period\textsuperscript{5} Ambatonakanga was one of the chosen places to erect the “mother church of Madagascar”. The building was finished on January 22, 1867 the church was dedicated to the worship of God.

To sum up, Ambatonakanga was an historic place in the history of the LMS mission in Madagascar. These British missionaries did activities there in order to preach the Gospel and to teach the people.

\textsuperscript{1} For more precision, see the maîtrise dissertation defended by Rintsamahefa Rabemanantsoa entitled “Contribution of the Roambinifololahy to the Establishment of Christianity in Madagascar in the nineteenth century” on April 18, 2002, Department of Anglophone studies, University of Antananarivo.
\textsuperscript{2} Ludwig Munthe, \textit{La Bible à Madagascar} (Oslo, 1969), p. 84.
\textsuperscript{4} He had a large staff in mechanical arts.
I.I.2 – The arrival of the printing press

Printing was introduced in Madagascar in 1826 at Ambatonakanga.

The London Missionary Society sent out a press with a printer named Charles Hovenden. The printing press arrived at Antananarivo the same year. It was brought up by Hovenden, it was made of wood and it was thought that it must have been a very primitive printing press because the machine, type and other apparatus together only cost £15 in England. It was brought on shoulder by the Malagasy natives from Tamatave to Antananarivo because at that time there was neither roads nor train.

As far as Hovenden is concerned, he was born at Chatham, he was appointed to Madagascar as a printer. He sailed on July 6, 1826 and arrived at Mauritius on October 21, and finally at Antananarivo on November 21.

He was married\(^1\). He and the missionaries of the LMS arrived here with the mission press. He was an able man in the art of printing since he had been previously employed by the British and Foreign Bible Society at Saint Petersburg, in Russia.

Press, types and the requisite material of printing were brought. Unfortunately within two days of his arrival at Antananarivo, Hovenden and his family were seized with malarial fever. Their health got worse, and on December 15, 1826 he and his infant child both died after their arrival. Mrs. Hovenden afterwards married Mr. George Chick. In a letter from the missionary dated at the Capital on March 3, 1828 it was said that disappointment was felt on the lamented decease of Mr. Hovenden. His life was not spared long enough to put up the press\(^2\). His name is written on the commemorative stone at Ambatonakanga. It is written:

“Mr. Charles Hovenden
Nirahiny ny London Missionary Society
Hampianatra ny Malagasy printy,
Sy hanao printy ny Soratra Masina
Fa narariny tazo izy, dia maty
Faingana teto Antananarivo – December 15, 1826”

---

\(^1\) Whitehouse John Owen, op. cit. p. 71.
It means “Mr. Charles Hovenden was appointed by the London Missionary Society to teach the art of printing to the Malagasy and to print the Bible but he was seized with fever and died rapidly in Antananarivo on December 15, 1826”

Meanwhile the work of writing books by hand went on at Antananarivo but one great difficulty in teaching had been the want of books. The increasing number of Malagasy pupils was seen because of the use of Malagasy language of instruction in 1824. David Jones and Griffiths mastered the Malagasy language and were able to write out lessons in Malagasy. They also used the Lancastrian method by which the more advanced pupils acted as monitors to teach classes of younger children. It was felt that Christian education and Christian literature worked together. However the labors of the missionaries had been retarded for want of a sufficient supply of books in the Malagasy language. In consequence of Hovenden’s death, the printing press was not used, the packages were taken to the workshop of James Cameron. No attempt had been made to set up the printing press for twelve months (December 1826 to December 1827). The schools established by the missionaries involved the necessity of providing manuals of education. The need of literature could not be met without the help of press. It was felt that printing was essential for it promoted literacy. To have the people who know about Bible meant a large diffusion of that book. However it was practically impossible since there was no printing press. Besides, the schools needed printing material for their work because the number of pupils had increased.

One day, David Jones, the leader of the party, was tempted to unpack the cases brought by the late Hovenden. Then he announced to David Griffiths and James Cameron his determination to set up the printing press and turn printer himself. In his youthful days he had been in a printing office and had slight memory of the work¹. He and Cameron were excited to begin the task of setting up the press in December 1827. He also found among the books brought by Hovenden a work on printing press and printing. As a result, the cases were carefully unpacked. The three missionaries stored out and assembled the various parts of the press. They were helped by their wives. David Jones acted as foreman; the contents of the cases were laid out on the floor². When the printing press was running smoothly, it was to the

² Ibid.
direction of James Cameron while Jones and Griffiths went back to their work of Bible translation.

The next subpart will focus on James Cameron’s role in printing and that of E. Baker.

I.2 – THE EARLY PRINTING

The early printing presses in Europe were built of wood, and pressure was applied by a screw, the principle being adapted from that of the factory of linen press. The illustration (cover-page) shows a fixed bed in which the type pages were laid, the surface of the types was inked with pads by hand and the sheet of paper placed above it, the whole was drawn under the flat wooden platen by a winding arrangement and the platen lowered to press the paper against the type. The platen was then raised and the bed pulled out.

Hence each printed sheet was termed as a “pull”, an expression still used for experimental or “proof” sheets.

In the early printing office the pages were then hung up separately for the ink to dry.

Here in Madagascar, the early printers also used that common wooden press which was the point of departure in the development of modern high-speed printing machinery. Soon afterwards, thanks to a new method, the wooden press was altered to the iron press. It was built by the early Stanhope in the late 18th century.

The essential steps in the improvement of the hand were to replace wood with metal and to design every part on the basis of theoretical mechanics.

I.2.1 – The role of James Cameron

James Cameron was a member of the staff of the industrial division of the LMS. He was born in 1800 at Little Dunkeld, Perthshire. He was a church member at Albion Chapel, Leeds in 1824, and was appointed to Madagascar as a carpenter\(^1\). He succeeded Mr. Brook, who had been sent to instruct the natives in the various department of woodwork. Mr. Brook had been attacked by the fever of the country. Previously before leaving England, James Cameron spent some months in Manchester, he prepared machinery for cotton manufacture. He arrived in Antananarivo in company with David Johns\(^2\) on September 11, 1826.

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\(^1\) Whitehouse John Owen, op. cit. p. 70.

\(^2\) His name was Jones but it altered to Johns because there was already a David Jones in the mission. The Malagasy people called him Jonjy Fohy because he was smaller than David Jones (Jonjy Lava).
Plate 3: Reconstruction of Gutenberg’s press in a museum in Mainz, West Germany
Source: Chamber’s Encyclopaedia
There were also two missionaries who came with them, they are Charles Hovenden and Cummins. On his arrival, he aided Cummins in the setting up the cotton machinery at Amparibe. And then he took up his residence at Ambatonakanga with his wife.

He was spoken of as Kama\(^1\) by the Malagasy people. He had good relationship with Radama I and especially with the Malagasy people during his residence in the country.

Previously he knew nothing of the art of printing. However he managed to set up and operate the printing press. He tried to set it up by reading Hovenden’s books. At last he succeeded in setting up the apparatus in his workshop at Ambatonakanga, even if it was after a good deal of trial and error.

On December 4, 1827 the whole missionaries of the LMS gathered together, there were ladies as well as gentlemen. They made a first attempt at printing. First of all, they took part in the setting of the type, the inking of the rollers and the fastening down of the printing frame. Concerning their first essays in printing, James Cameron, in a pamphlet wrote: "The various timbers with their bolts and screws, the platen, the great screw, the stone bed or plate, the compositor’s frame and cases for letters, etc, etc. came together piece by piece, or dropped into their places without much trouble, and the printing press stood upright before a score of delighted eyes. The chief manipulator was Mr. Jones. The frame was finished with type in English fashion, and composing was commenced. Mr. Jones assisted by Mr. Griffiths picked out the letters one after another, and the ladies present helped them to some, for they had also a hand in the enterprise; at any rate, the first twenty-three verses of the first chapter of Genesis were put together, wedged in the iron frame, and laid on the smooth flat stone. What next? The letter balls, the printing-ink put on the iron plate, the stone muller to rub up the ink, the two balls well smeared all over with the prepared ink, then rolled and rubbed, and patted together, with trembling anxiety – a little more ink added – then the types inked, or rather well anointed with the ink for some time. Stop now, that will do! Down went the screw with force and the first page was printed. Most of it could be read, but it was a very perfect blur\(^2\)

\(^{1}\) Since 1863 he was spoken of as Kama during his second stay in Antananarivo.

\(^{2}\) Cameron James, op. cit. p. 12.
Plate 4: James Cameron
Source: FJKM Archives
Although an almost indecipherable smudge, that is to say a typographical failure, they persevered in printing. As David Jones held up the first printed page of the Malagasy Bible, his friends crowded round to see the result.

They were very happy because it was just the beginning.

That page was preserved because during the period of persecution, it was taken to Cape Town or the Cape of Good Hope and deposited in Sir Robert Grey’s library, with other things in order to remember Madagascar in the early time\(^1\).

Soon afterwards, James Cameron and the missionaries could learn to print clearly for at the first attempts they issued from the press 1,500 reading lessons, consisting of the first twenty-three verse of the first chapter of Genesis, in Malagasy; a small impression of the Malagasy alphabet, for general distribution, to secure, by the king’s direction, 800 copies of a small volume of Malagasy hymns for public worship, and 2,200 copies of a small spelling-book of sixteen pages\(^2\).

There was also a first catechism of which there were 1,500 copies, and the Gospel by Luke which was printed as far as the eight chapters\(^3\). On January 1, 1828, the missionaries revised and put to press the sheet containing the first chapter of Luke. They also printed a magazine entitled *Ny Tenin’ny Fiainana*.

The king was highly gratified with the introduction of the art of printing into Madagascar to circulate among the Hova people. He sent word that six or eight youths might be selected to work at the press permanently.

As a matter of fact, James Cameron had an intuitive knowledge of machinery because he succeeded in making the cotton machinery work as well as the printing machine. He also had knowledge about physics, chemistry, mathematics, architecture and astronomy. He was always seeking for opportunities for improving in all fields; he never gave up even if he encountered difficulties in his work.

He was a zealous man because he persevered in what he did. He can be considered as the first printer of the LMS. The second was Edward Baker.

**1.2.2 – Edward Baker, the printer**

He was born at Burton, Staffordshire. He was a Church member at Burth, in 1827 and was appointed as a printer to Madagascar\(^4\). He arrived in 1828 and he

\(^{1}\text{Cameron James, op. cit. p. 12.}\)
\(^{2}\text{Ellis William, op. cit. p. 31.}\)
\(^{3}\text{Ibid.}\)
\(^{4}\text{Whitehouse John Owen, op. cit. p. 78}\)
undertook the conduct of the press. He was sent out to succeed Charles Hovenden. Previously, David Jones reported the death of Hovenden to the directors of the LMS in London and begged another printer to be sent out immediately. As a result, Baker kept the press on operation at Ambatonakanga. Even if there was a destructive fire which burnt down the whole premises, the printing was carried on in the same place. The death of Radama I was on July 1828, but the missionaries continued their mission.

Printing developed rapidly because the Religious Tract Society gave 24 reams of paper in 1828 (ream was the name of the sheet used for printing at that time)

Baker taught many Malagasy youths the art of printing and these youths assisted him. They had been sent to learn printing by the late King. So, on March 1830 a remarkable event happened for the mission press had completed an edition of 5,000 copies of the New Testament in the Malagasy language¹. Baker had also printed 1,000 copies of different tracts, and a small system of arithmetic for the use of schools; 1,500 copies of a catechism and 2,000 spelling books.

They had also 400 copies of the entire New Testament, upwards of 2,000 copies of single Gospels, and a number of catechism and spelling books.

Under the early reign of Ranavalona I the missionaries were permitted to resume their works and the schools, the translation of the Bible and other books; and their printing went forward. By 1832 a number of native youths had been taught to work at the press. They got at printing many books. In 1832, Baker visited England and he married there. In the meantime printing and bookbinding continued under the supervision of Mr. Kitching, one of the artisan missionaries.

So they had finished the last sheet of the Psalms, and bound up for distribution, with stiff paper covers, about 2,200, all these were in circulation. In 1833 9,000 tracts were printed in Madagascar such as Ny soa mody loza by Malagasy authors, Ny lalan-droa, Ny Baiboly Tenin’Andriamanitra, and Ny Menarana varahina².

Baker returned to Antananarivo on July 16, 1834, he brought with him a new and more efficient iron press and also an edition of 5,000 copies of the Psalms, printed in Malagasy by the British and Foreign Bible Society³.

¹ Samuel Pastfield Oliver, Madagascar: an Historical and Descriptive Account of the Island and its Former Dependencies (London, 1886), p. 103.
² Ravelomanana, Ny Sekolin’ny Protestantista (Tananarive, 1968), p. 36.
³ Pastfield Oliver Samuel, op. cit., p. 103.
Plate 5: Ambatonakanga Church in 1831
Source: The missionary chronicle

Plate 6: The first Malagasy Bible of 1835
Source: FJKM Archives
The new printing press and types were very useful. The missionaries worked without interruption until February 1835 when the queen Ranavalona I prohibited his subjects from observing the rites of Christianity. Liberty to print still remained for the British missionaries but the natives who had been taught the art of printing were no longer permitted to assist them in printing.

In June 22, 1835, Baker made a list of goods the mission possessed\(^1\):

“At the Repository House:

1 – A good standing press with a few printing boards.
2 – A quantity of millboards for bookbinding and glanced boards for pressing.
3 – The library.
4 – Scriptures and the books returned by the Government.

At the Printing Office:

1- The two house adjoining each other, one finished with five glass windows and completed.
2 – The old printing press of wood (the chief defect of it because the want of a proper stone. for the size for bookwork. The Long primer, pica, great primer, and two lines pica type (there are for the most part warn out and only valuable as old metal).
3 – The new iron Press (answers exceedingly well thou not equal to a Stanopean press of the same price, but much lighter of carriage).
4 – The two new founts is Long Primer and brewing brought out by Mr. Baker. This type old and new is contained in 25 lower and 15 upper cases.
5 – A number of galleys boards and Stones, a roll mould and an unusually founding at printing office.

The work was intensified by the outbreak of persecution. All portions of Bible and other religious books were ordered to be given up, under the severest penalties, all religious meetings were prohibited and the queen’s spies commissioned to hunt the Christians and their forbidden books.

The band of missionaries and their wives worked with haste and tireless persistence in the printing office. David Griffiths, David Jones and Joseph Freeman added the finishing touches to the translation work, while Edward Baker had to undertake the composing and James Kitching worked at the heavy task of printing.

\(^1\) Munthe Ludwig, op. cit., p. 115.
the sheets\textsuperscript{1}. In June 1835, the missionaries were expelled from Madagascar except David Johns and Edward Baker for they determined to complete the translation and printing of the entire Scriptures and of the \textit{Pilgrim's Progress}. By the end of June, the first bound copies of the complete Bible were finished. Baker afterwards finished the second part of the Dictionary in Malagasy and English\textsuperscript{2}. At last, in July 1836, Johns and Baker took their departure because of the queen’s order. The press which had been in use for ten years was closed but the two missionaries left about 70 copies of the complete Bible.

These Bibles were underground since the government destroyed all copies of the Scriptures. The wooden press didn’t remain at Ambatonakanga.

“The Mission School Society”, an European Missionary Society and others in Antananarivo which wanted to help the mission schools had some free classroom at Imarivolanitira and they put it there. Then it was placed at Ambatonakanga after Cameron had moved most of his workshops to Analakely.

During the long reign of Ranavalona I, printing had become a lost art\textsuperscript{3} because the missionaries left the country and the Malagasy people were not allowed to print.

Baker removed with his family in Mauritius where he printed a newspaper called \textit{La Sentinelle} in 1842\textsuperscript{4}.

In 1842, his connection with the Society was dissolved. In 1846 he left for South Africa where he became a pastor of two small congregations that is a church at Morphet Vale and he worked there for the rest of his lifetime but he resigned in 1855. In South Australia, he prepared a large dictionary of Malagasy but it was never finished. He died on January 20, 1885 in Australia.

\section*{I.3 – THE RETURN OF THE MISSIONARIES OF THE LMS}

After the long period of persecution, Madagascar was reopened to Europeans through the death of Ranavalona I. Her son ascended the throne under the name of Radama II. His coronation took place on September 23, 1862. He proclaimed liberty to all, he released all the prisoners and wanted to have good relations with Europeans.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{1} Hayes Ernest, op. cit., p. 110.
  \item \textsuperscript{2} The first volume embraced the English and Malagasy.
  \item \textsuperscript{3} Sibree James, \textit{Fifty years in Madagascar} (London 1924), p. 63.
  \item \textsuperscript{4} Toussaint Auguste, \textit{The Spread of Printing} (Amsterdam 1969), p. 43.
\end{itemize}
The Directors of the LMS in London asked William Ellis immediately to go to reorganize the mission. The LMS appointed six missionaries to start again the work. Ellis arrived in the Capital in 1862 with the Reverend R. Toy and his wife, C. H. Stagg, Dr Davidson and his wife, W. E. Cousins, J. Duffus and J. Parrett. His main project was the erection of churches\(^1\) in order to remember the Malagasy converts who suffered death during the persecution period.

The four Memorial Churches

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church Name</th>
<th>Location and Year</th>
<th>Memorial to</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ambatonakanga Church</td>
<td>near the ancient limit of the city (1867)</td>
<td>In memory of the martyrs who were imprisoned in house previous to their being taken out of to be stoned to death. The Church is erected on the site of the prison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambohipotsy Church</td>
<td>At the South end of the city (1868)</td>
<td>In memory of Rasalama, the first martyr, who was speared to death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faravohitra Church</td>
<td>On the North promontory (1870)</td>
<td>In memory of the martyrs who were burnt to death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ampamarinana Church</td>
<td>near the Edge of rocks of hurling (1874)</td>
<td>In memory of the 14 martyrs who were hurled over the rocks</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was in 1862 that printing was resumed by both protestant and catholic organization. The protestant press at Ambatonakanga was removed to Imarivolanitra. Mr John Parrett was sent out with all the requisite apparatus which was duly installed at Imarivolanitra in Antananarivo. At the same time a new area began and the country changed with regard to Christianity. The demands for books and schools materials were felt. In 1863, Rasoherina came to the throne because Radama II was assassinated. She also had good relations with the British missionaries for during her reign the churches prospered, the mission worked without interruption. The other Christian confessions started their implantation.

I.3.1 – The choice of Imarivolanitra

Before going further, the history of Imarivolanitra must be reminded.

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Formerly there were seven gates before entering in the top of Antananarivo before the reign of Andrianampoinimerina. These seven gates were: Imarivolanitra in the North West, Ambohimitsimbina, Ambaravarambato, Ankadibe, Ambahadimasina, Anjo and between Ambohimanoro and Ambatomiangara\(^1\).

At that time Ambatomiangara and Imarivolanitra were connected and the entrance to Ambatovinaky (the present way to Ambatovinaky) was made through a cave which was blocked by a stone gate. Afterwards that cave and stone were fallen and that place became the watchmen’s house, these watchmen were soldiers who held their guns every day.

Under Andrianampoinimerina, Imarivolanitra was given to Rafaravavimaro-velo, that place was not maintained since there were long grasses and undergrowth in which wild cats lived\(^2\).

However, when Imarivolanitra was given to Ramonja, it became a beautiful and well-maintained place where he built two houses made with thick planks (Tranokotona) and two small houses. His gate was very high and it was made of stone. As far as Ramonja was concerned, he was a prince who was Ranavalona I’s family.

Sometimes in palanquin, sometimes on feet, he was one of those who most frequently bestowed his presence and company upon the heroines and friends, and certainly none received warmer welcome than he did.

Ramonja was possessed of a somewhat striking personality, slightly above the average height, with intelligent eyes, features unusually clear-cut, and a certain stateliness of carriage, there was about him that suggested something of the rank to which he belonged. Of vigorous constitution and active step, having a well-modulated voice and gentle manner, Prince Ramonja approached very nearly the ideal of Malagasy prince.

He was a fervent christian. Under the persecution period he and his friends used to get together at this house in order to do their meeting secretly, they also sang hymns. Meanwhile they prayed devoutly and it seemed that the sky was low and near them. From that time, that place was called Imarivolanitra (where the sky is low). It was not because of its length. One day, her aunt, Ranavalona I heard that her

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\(^1\) Boky *Firaketana ny fiteny sy ny Zavatra Malagasy* (Lettre G-J), p. 136.

\(^2\) Ibid.
nephew baptized secretly some Christians. As a result, she punished Ramonja by degrading him. Previously he had 13 Voninahitra or Honors (Hnrs) but because of his being Christian, he became a simple soldier. Ramonja was disappointed with that situation, so he left Imarivolanitra. He was suffering from gout and at last he became mad. Imarivolanitra was afterwards under the care of Ramonja’s servant named Raminahy.

Unfortunately Imarivolanitra was deserted. It became a place where thieves sheltered. A girl was killed there and her remains were divided in two same parts. That bad news horrified the people in Antananarivo. Soon afterwards it was discovered that the killer was a young boy from Ambodin’Antsahatsiroa.

Under the reign of Radama I, Imarivolanitra was given by Ramonja to the London Missionary Society. Previously the place of the printing office was in the East of Imarivolanitra.

Ramonja gave his own dwelling house to the LMS when he was ill. Imarivolanitra was well-situated because it was within the city of Antananarivo. It must be noticed that formerly, Imarivolanitra was an area which was lively frequented because the people of Antananarivo passed in this bustling road every day. Previously the name of Imarivolanitra was “Fidirana”¹ or entrance since it was there the first gate in the city before going to the open plain of Andohalo, the coronation ground, the place of public assembly or “kabary” ground and market place.

The road leading under Imarivolanitra towards the great market was broad and comparatively well-paved to Ambatonakanga.

That was the historical background of Imarivolanitra but the place where it is situated must be noticed. The high and prominent hill has three elevated points. The highest of these is Ambohipotsy. To the North is Faravohitra, with its Memorial Church. Between the under-features is the great plain of Mahamasina (place of consecration). On the Northern is the great suburb of Isotry and the market place of Analakely. The northern continuation of the city hill proper is the suburb of Faravohitra, and between these two, in the two sides of the valley meet and the suburban hill, joins the main hill Ambatonakanga. Sloping upwards to the main hill is

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¹ Gazette Fanasina, April 11, 1963, n° 286.
Plate 7: The ancient Imarivolanitra gate

Source: National Archives
a rocky road, Ambatovinaky, on the side of which is the Norwegian Church and at the top is Imarivolanitra. On the crest of the hill immediately above Amparibe at Imarivolanitra is the printing establishment of LMS.

In brief, Imarivolanitra was the property of Ramonja but when the latter gave it to the LMS, it became enlarged and the LMS established there their printing office.

I.3.2 – The establishment of printing

Under the reign of Rasoherina (1863 -1868), treaties of friendship were made with Great Britain. She had good relationship with William Ellis.

The first party of missionaries appointed to reside permanently in Madagascar reached Antananarivo. The party consisted of three ordained missionaries, a physician, a schoolmaster and a missionary printer. This missionary was John Parrett.

He was born on July 9, 1841, at Lenham Kent. He was a church member at Congregation Church, Bicester. Appointed to Madagascar as a printer, he sailed on April 15, 1862. He was single. He arrived at the Capital on September 2, 1862 and then he entered on the work of his department of labor. Subsequently he took part in evangelistic and Bible work. All the materials about printing were now at Imarivolanitra. It was John Parrett who was in charge of the printing presses which did good service prior to 1837. Printing was re-established in a more powerful form since Parrett had brought other modern printing presses. The interruption was one occasion to modernize the materials.

In fact, the modern printing machine was from the last invention (1810), the Stanhope.

In 1862, education developed rapidly since there were a great number of books. The native teachers increased in number and the Queen encouraged the people to go to school. At that time schooling was not only for the person of high class but for every Malagasy people who wanted to read and write. The Gospel also spread over a considerable part of the island.

It was seen that a wonderful period of progress followed. The want of lesson books increased daily. Parrett also rendered most valuable service as superintendent of the Mission press. When he began to work he had a small hand-
Plate 8: The Printing press
Source: author, in August 2006
press and a very meager supply of type: to issue a 16 M.O reader was a formidable
undertaking.  

John Parrett also trained compositors, pressmen, binders, etc. He had been
an earnest worker for the spiritual enlightenment of the Malagasy, and has enriched
the warmest interest in everything affecting their social and political progress.  

Notice also that in order to fulfill Ranavalona’s wish to have a modern tribunal,
Parrett designed the laconic court of justice at Ambatondrafandrana which followed
ancient Greek Temple architecture.

He was a skilful man since he was not only a printer but also a royal architect.
In the political field he had much influence on Rainilaiarivony, the prime minister.
In the religious field he was a secretary of the Sunday school.

Parrett married Margaret Milne at Tamatave. She was Church Member at New
Plysligo, Aberdeen; she left England for Madagascar on February 22, 1865 and
arrived at the Capital on July 15. In 1873, John Parrett and his wife returned to
England on furlough. Returning to Madagascar with Mrs. Parrett, he arrived on
August 9, 1875. For twenty years he carried on the work of printing, introducing
modern machinery, training native printers in composition and out-put, not inferior to
European standards, and maintaining a steadily increasing supply of literature, which
included revisions of the Bible, commentaries, books of school and college both in
English and Malagasy, and he retired to Tasmania, where he spent the rest of his life
on an apple farm. He passed away on March 24, 1918.

As far as Mrs. Parrett was concerned, she was appointed to start a high
school for girls. She took a great interest in educational work and spent much time in
teaching. She was a zealous helper in her husband’s work in the Isotry Church.

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1 *Missionary Chronicle*, August 1, 1885, p. 343.
2 Ibid
3 In 1885 he took office under Malagasy government as adviser to the Prime Minister.
Plate 9: A curved stereotype plate and a rotary newspaper press electrotype plates

Source: Encyclopaedia Americana
Madagascar discovered paper at the beginning of the XIXth century when King Radama I authorized the British missionaries from the LMS to open the first school on December 8, 1820 in Antananarivo. Both the desire and willingness to educate the children of the Malagasy kingdom’s capital were there, but it seems that the missionaries did not expect to get such a rapid agreement from the sovereign for the establishment of a school. Moreover the total lack of preparation for this task and the absence of school supplies while awaiting the arrival and the absence of school supplies were felt. The missionary David Jones wasted no time and improvised to give the first students the work tools needed for writing, which were exercise books and pens. It was under king Radama I’s reign that the first printing press arrived in Antananarivo, a press designed to increase the volume of the written word. Indeed, because of the young’s enthusiasm for reading, the British missionaries had brought the first press and a journeyman printer in Antananarivo. Unfortunately he died because of a terrible fever a week after his arrival, but the missionaries of the LMS managed to assemble the machine themselves thanks to accompanying instructions.

At Ambatonakanga with the goal of spreading the Holy Scripture, the missionaries first printed pamphlets of biblical texts, then launched into the printing of the entire Bible translated into Malagasy which they completed in 1835.

Because of the time of persecution, all the missionaries were expelled from the country. Fortunately, they returned in 1862 and chose Imarivolanitra to re-establish printing under John Parrett’s care.

In the following part, we are going to deal with the main part of the dissertation which is the LMS printing office in Imarivolanitra.
II -
THE LMS PRINTING OFFICE
IN IMARIVOLANITRA
Generally, printing presses are used for high-speed, high-volume reproduction, especially to print books, newspapers and magazines. Thousands of other items are also produced, including pamphlets and leaflets.

There are great varieties of printed products in modern life. The most important role of printing still remains the communication of information and ideas.

The development of printing was one of the best results of the king’s alliance with the British and the settlement of the British missionaries in Madagascar.

With regard to the LMS printing office in Imarivolanitra it had British architectural aspects. The work of the press began in 1863 with John Parrett who trained many Malagasy printers. After him, there were British superintendents in the LMS press: Stowell Ashwell, J. H. Conolly, J. G. Farmer. The first Malagasy superintendent was Georges Andriamanantena who worked hard in order to re-establish the LMS press which was very weak since the arrival of the French people.

Moreover, our work is limited from 1826 to the first quarter of the twentieth century.
II.1 – THE BUILDINGS

II.1.1 – Structures of the buildings:

The buildings are most in entirely substantial structures of sun-dried bricks, with stone foundations and tile roofs, they were as follows:

- Superintendent’s Office
- Composing room and Clerk’s Office
- Large buildings of two stores, comprising Press Room, Binding Room, Drying Room and Store Rooms
- Shop, facing the road
- Carpenters’ Shop
- Stereotyping Room
- Wooden Shed for Caretaker
- Cook-House
- Rush Shed for Carpenter, etc.

In 1870, the Directors of the LMS enlarged the printing office at considerable expense by increasing its supply of type and adding it with a power-press.

The new office was opened on Christmas day and as Parrett and his colleagues received the new type, machine… about the same time, they were enabled to start in 1870.

They had a commodious and well-built fire-proof printing office, which was being fitted up as can be done in Madagascar, a fair supply of type and paper, and so far as they could tell, a good machine.

From 12 to 16 hours each day was their average time. Parrett was often at work from 6 am to 12 pm, and yet the work was increasing. There were 25 printers and binders, and can get as many more as required.

A large and commodious office had been added to their buildings, and they possessed an amount of space that will satisfy them for the following years. For some years past they had suffered great inconvenience from bad and insufficient buildings. Fortunately, Mr. Muller and Mr. Pillars visited them in 1873 – 1874 and

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1 Report of the LMS for the Year ending April 1886
2 The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle 1870
solved that problem. Under Parrett’s superintendence the Society’s Press had been in full work and had been carried on for the year 1875 with increased energy and efficiency. The new printing office was in course of erection and would be ready for use. This new building, with some alterations to the previous offices would give ample accommodation for years.

The name of M. Pool was worth noticing since he erected the new Printing Office. William Pool was born on December 30, 1816, at Andover. He was a church member at York Road, Lambeth (Robinson). He was sent out to Madagascar as a builder to superintend the erection the Memorial Churches and other mission buildings. He married Mary Crage, church member at Andover (Pearsall). They sailed on February 22, 1885 and arrived at Antananarivo on July 12, 1865. He superintended the building of the church at Ambohitantely, enlarged the church at Ankadibeavava. He built a new church at Amparibe, the fourth Memorial Church at Ampamarinana. He also finished plans for a new Printing Office, and superintended its reception as well as for various mission buildings and houses for missionaries. At the request of the Malagasy Government, he prepared plans for a Chapel Royal within the Palace enclosure, and took the oversight of its erection. In 1875 he left Madagascar for England because of his wife’s health and she died. Mr. Pool sailed for Madagascar in 1876 to erect a new building for the Theological Institute and a new Normal School.

His work completed, he returned to England in 1880 and in 1881 his connection with the LMS as a missionary ceased. He died at Thornton Health, Croydon in 1896 at the age of 80 years¹.

II.1.2 – Architectural aspects:

The use of sun-dried bricks was introduced by James Cameron and had been much appreciated by the Malagasy people. Previously, burnt bricks were much used by richer people. The LMS press was erected with stone foundation and sun-dried bricks.

Concerning the material aspect of the buildings, the British influence on architecture is very important. The buildings are sources of the remaining British footprints in Antananarivo. They have not really changed from their original aspects

¹ Whitehouse John Owen, op. cit., p. 225.
in spite of the changes caused by reparation. Imarivolanitra has preserved its British aspects. First of all the color of the buildings at Imarivolanitra was red and it was the color chosen by the missionaries when they erected buildings. It was called in French “couleur missionnaire”¹ and the Malagasy did not intend to change this color till now in order to remember all the British missionaries who worked here.

Notice also that the other buildings are still in a brick wall (or “madio ivelany”) and according to the Ninety Second Report of the LMS for the Year ending April 30, 1886, the buildings had tiled roofs. But at present the roofs are in corrugated irons.

Nowadays, there are six buildings. According to the plan on page 46, in the South we can see the bookshop in which there are many contemporary books.

II.2 – WORK OF THE PRESS:

II.2.1 – The beginning of the establishment

In 1863, Parrett had charge of the printing department of the Mission. He had abundance of labor, with a willing and able hand. The beginning of his enterprise was very satisfying, and it was obvious that the wants of the people would keep the Mission Press fully occupied.

Within a few weeks of his arrival a printing press was in operation and was soon busily occupied in producing lesson-sheets, catechisms, school books, hymns, and other literatures required.

Great advance was made in the work of the LMS press. Large buildings were erected, several presses were constantly at work, and all the operations connected with printing, stereotyping and bookbinding were carried on a large scale².

Parrett set his heart upon teaching and preaching in the villages and towns around the Capital. In his letter to Rev. Tidman³ Parrett began to print, he was very glad in his work. He unpacked the type and everything arrived despite its long travel. He got a printing office and he was pleased with it. He got many young men who were his assistants. Many books lessened especially the lessons for the Sundays School. Then, the needs of the edition of the Hymn books were felt. There were also several school books for Mr Tagg. Parrett’s health was good and he could continue.

¹ Personal information of Raminosoa Rasoolimanga Berthe, former head of the FJKM Archives of Faravohitra
² Griffiths Robert, Madagascar Mission, p. 63.
Plate 10: Plan of Imarivolanitra space occupation

Source: Designed by Mr RAMIANDRARIVO Haja, March 2006

KEYS:
1 - Bookshop
2 – Laboratory and department store
3 - Toilets
4 - Typeroom
5 – Large typeroom in which there are machines
6 - Reception
Parrett had a small wooden warehouse in the printing office yard cleared of its contents, and then had it floored and divided into two rooms, each about 12 feet by 8 feet. A little before 1864, he started a similar class at Amparibe.

The work at the press had been carried on quietly, steadily and successfully. Large additions had been in a better position to meet the demands for books which was very great, and a still larger quantity of type and paper just being forwarded for Mr. Parrett’s use.

In 1871 large additions and improvements had been made especially in 1875 and 1876 when new offices and warehouses were erected and the stock of type and machinery increased. There was a fair supply of type, machinery, binding tools, and a small stereotype foundry. An addition had been made to the printing set of a lithographic press, stones, and apparatus complete. This was the gift of Mr. Pool.

One of the printing presses during his superintendence was not less than 500 kilos, and its mark was “the reliable fieldhouse Crossielo and Co Ltd OTLEY”. Unfortunately all these printing presses were brought on shoulder from Toamasina to Antananarivo. The heaviest material of the printing press was the type.

The spread of education from 1862 was extremely rapid and had had lasting effects in Madagascar. Schools, medical facilities were confined to Antananarivo concentrated around it, with some activities among the Betsileo in Fianarantsoa. This contributed further to consolidation of Merina as the dominant tribe who were cleverer than the coastal people. The Malagasy government also gave support to education, which was declared compulsory in 1876.  

II.2.2 – Training of Malagasy printers:

Concerning Malagasy printers, he trained them in a very fine manner. The Malagasy became good printers, but required a considerable amount of vigilant superintendence. They were fairly intelligent, moderately honest, and persevering up to a certain point; but as soon as they had acquired a slight knowledge of their business it was difficult to push them on to become proficient. Altogether about lads and young men had passed through the LMS printing office since 1863, and had acquired a very respectable knowledge of printing and binding. Many had failed insufficient education; some of the sharpest and likeliest lads were found to be dishonest; while a considerable number were too lazy to succeed. After

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many trials of patience, they had a staff of young men who were a credit to the establishment. They were intelligent, industrious and well-behaved, with regard to the property in their case, and conscientiously endeavoring to do their work to the best of their ability. For some years the office had been conducted without trouble or disturbance of any kind, and trust will long continue to be so.

It must be born in mind, that not one of the printers employed upon it knew a word of English or had received anything beyond the most elementary education, and also that the whole of the work (except the proof-reading and superintendence) was done by the natives, such as composing the type, correcting, making up into pages, and sheets, pressing, binding, etc, it showed pretty conclusively that the Malagasy had acquired a fair knowledge of printing and binding.

He taught number of young Malagasy to print and to bind book, so that a great many of them became excellent workmen and turned out books that for general “get up”, they may be compared with very English workmanship. He did valuable service to the Society’s work for a position in the nation. For a long time, he had been in charge of a large suburban Church, and was also an acceptable preacher. In 1871 the LMS printing had recently enlarged and extended, and the staff consisted of about 25 lads and young men. The work grew from month to month. In 1875, new offices, machinery and warehouses were erected, and the stock of type machinery increased. They had large and commodious offices and warehouses, a fair supply of type, machinery, and binding books, a small stereotype foundry, and a lithographic press.

There were 40 lads and young men employed in the printing office and binding rooms but in busy time, as many as eighty persons were fully employed. Many of them had only begun to learn their business, and were of very little use; others had been a number of years on the premises, and possessed a very fair amount of skill and knowledge. On the whole, the work was very credible to the office, and showed great improvement especially in the binding.

Parrett stated that the work would be a favorable comparison with what is produced in England, because the Malagasy will make good printers and binders.

The LMS press had helped powerfully in the enlightenment of the Malagasy.

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1 Sibree James,(1924) op. cit., p. 304.
The Reverend Cousins, who arrived in 1862, published the *Ohabolan’ny Ntaolo* (proverbs of the olden days) in collaboration with Parrett in 1871. He also wrote books about *Malagasy Kabary* (speeches) in 1873 and Malagasy customs and ways.

The doctor Andrew Davidson also wrote many books printed from the LMS press.

The beginning of a magazine *Teny Soa* (Good Words) began in 1866. The first number was published in January 1866, 16 p.p. monthly. From 1866 to 1869 *Teny Soa* was published once in two months. At the beginning of 1870 a monthly issue was begun. The average monthly sale during 1870 was 880. It is important to note that some of these magazines were edited, written and published by Malagasy without any help from European. They were consistently wholesome and definitely religious. However none had large circulation, the largest probably in Madagascar was *Teny Soa* which had a circulation of 3,600 a month in 1931. This monthly magazine was produced uninterruptedly since it had begun in 1866. It was therefore the oldest magazine in the native language and was a kind of official organ of the LMS to the native churches and schools connected with the Mission. The second magazine the LMS press produced in 1877 was called *Mpanolo-tsaina* (The Counselor), it was a quarterly magazine and it contained 70 pages. It had to be remarked that *Mpanolo-tsaina* was edited by a Malagasy, and that the articles were almost written by natives. Its circulation was about 2,200 quarterly. Another four-page quarto illustrated paper was called *Anjaran-jaza* (The Children’s Portion)

The Society’s Press and the whole mission had suffered a very serious loss by the retirement of Mr. Parrett from the position; he had so long held in superintending the Press. Under his assiduous and skilful training and supervision, a number of natives had become skilled compositors, printers and bookbinders. From the Press was made an instrument of incalculable blessing to the people. He returned in August and had felt that he should retire from the Mission.

For twenty-three years Mr. Parrett’s name had been honorably associated with the Society’s Central Mission at the Capital, during the whole of which time¹ he had rendered most valuable service as Superintendent of the Mission Press. There was a suitable advance in the field of literature.

¹ An absence on furlough in 1873 – 1875 excepted
At the committee meeting in July, J. Willis was asked to superintend the printing office until the arrival of a qualified printer. He stated that owing to the admirable way in which men employed in the various department of the office had been trained by Mr. Parrett, the work went on very well.

During Parrett’s absence on furlough it was the Reverend H. William Grainge and Sarah Elizabeth Gould who superintended the printing office in Imarivolanitra (1873 – 1875). They were from Arundel Sussex and arrived in Madagascar in 1872. They took in charge the Church of Avaratr’Andohalo. Mr. Grainge left the country in 1882 because of his wife’s health and both of them didn’t return anymore to the island. He died at Graffham (Sussex) in 1913.

Many English names had become naturalized by the Malagasy especially the name of some missionaries’ resident among them, such as “Jonjy” (Jones or Johns), “Grifisy” (Griffiths), “Kama” (Cameron), “Paritra” (Parrett), Ratoay (Toy). The Malagasy people of that time had a proverb about Parrett: “bikany fotsiny ohatry ny sakan’i Paritra” ; that means Parrett brought a beautiful cat from England and it was placed in the warehouse in order to eat mice but it was just a trimming in Parrett’s house.

According to Leonard Hurst, in his book entitled *The Blossoms Red* : he stated that in the middle of the large type room of the LMS press in Tananarivo there was a stand on which was an open Bible.

There, every morning, the typesetters, printers, bookbinders, and the rest met for Scripture reading and prayer. For while the press establishment was a very efficient and considerable affair judged by commercial standards, its heart, mind and objectives were Christian.

The problem was that in the printing office, the Press was greatly handicapped by shortage of materials, but even so it was still doing a big job of work through the printed word.

With regard to machinery, it should be brought up to date. The small machine which was still in use in 1861 was worn out. As to type, worn-out type should be firmly dealt with and scrapped as soon as its day of usefulness was over.

The British Foreign Bible Society expended many thousands of pounds in editing, printing, and publishing the various editions of Scriptures and portions of the same in circulation in Madagascar. These books were issued to the natives at prices
that were within the reach of all, but were by no means remunerative to the British Foreign Bible Society, who received by the proceeds of sales but a tithe of the money expended by them. The Religious Tracts Society had for many years made frequent and liberal grants of paper to the mission press; so that they were able to publish many of their books at very low prices. Many of the most popular works, including *Teny Soa*, were printed on paper granted by the Religious Tracts Society.

II.3 – THE SUPERINTENDENTS OF THE LMS PRESS

II.3.1 – Stowell Ashwell

He was born on July 26, 1859 at Edgeboston. He was a church member of the church of England, Sparkbrook, near Birmingham (Younge). He was appointed to Madagascar as a printer. He married Ellen Pinchin Bushwell on July 15, 1887 at Christ Church Sparkbrook, and sailed on July 20, 1887. Mr and Mrs Stowell Ashwell safely arrived at their destination in the centre of the island of Madagascar on January 1888. Mr Ashwell had been sent out to take charge of the Society’s printing establishment at the Capital. He was greatly delighted with that important institution, and that the greatest credit was due to his predecessor, Mr Parrett, who had the training of the staff of workmen. There were native workmen who worked with him but they needed to be vigilantly superintended. They possessed a far amount of intelligent and manual dexterity, and as compositors, pressmen and binders they could turn out some very worthy work. In order to prevent them failing into lose, slovenly ways, and becoming careless and wasteful, they needed sharply looking after. Generally speaking, they lacked initiative, and went on day after day doing their work with reasonable steadiness, but without any eager interest in it or manifesting any desire to excel. According to the interview which was made by a representative of the *Chronicle* with Mr Stowell Ashwell, it was stated that he had about six men and boys on the place, and on the whole they were fairly honest and trustworthy. Some of them, particularly the foremen, he had considerable confidence. Several of them had been connected with establishment for twenty-five years and upwards. He had no trouble with these men. They had never indulged in the luxury of strike, though they were once near it, and any disputes that had occurred had been settled without serious difficulty.
Concerning their wages, at that time, the chief foremen got £ 2 12.s. a month. It was surprising the interviewer because an ordinary printer in England would not look at such a wage. But in Madagascar it was fair pay for the work done. The foreman of the compositor’s room received £ 2.4.s. a month. The wage of the ordinary workmen ranged from 12 shillings to 40 shillings a month. Mr Stowell Ashwell’s monthly wage list amounted to rather over £ 50.

They did printing in three languages – Malagasy, French, and English – and the quality and dispatch of their work gave general satisfaction. The French arrived in 1895 but a good deal of printing was done at the Printing Office. Since then two large French printings had been established in the Capital, there was also the Government printing office which took nearly all the French works.

Before that time the French sent their works to the LMS press to be printed, and had since continued to do so, although they had a large office of their own. As a result, the greatest part of the work in the LMS press was for the French Administration and traders.

From 1870 to 1900, the number of books and papers of different kinds from the Mission Press was not less than 150,000 per year. Among these were books about school, lesson, hymn, theology and so on. The greatest book printed from Imarivolanitra was the Dictionary of the Bible with 910 pages, it was printed twice; and the Malagasy – English dictionary with 891 pages. The head of the workers was Ralaivao. The total number of the workers was 55:

- Head of workers 01
- Corrector 01
- Writer 01
- Typesetters 15
- Pressmen 08
- Binders 12
- Folders and sewers 11
- Sellers 02
- Carpenters 02
- Office boys 02

There was a need of new machinery and type, so Mr Ashwell took steps at home to provide further equipment for the printing office.

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At the end of October 1906, Mr Ashwell returned to Madagascar and resumed the charge of the printing office. During his absence on furlough, Mr Thomas Lord had the responsibility of superintending its operation. In addition to that, he had the oversight of the Faravohitra Church and district, was treasurer of the mission and editor of *Mpanolo-tsaina* (a quarterly magazine), the articles being written under his editorship. Mr Lord’s hands were more than full.

In the absence of Mr Ashwell on furlough, Mr Dennis was in charge of the printing press until the former’s return in October 1914. He had practical experience as a printer, he also acted as Treasurer of the Mission until Mr Ashwell returned, in addition to his extensive district work. The magnitude and variety of the operations of the printing press came to the members of the deputation as a great surprise.

70 men were constantly employed, and all descriptions of printing and book binding were undertaken. The printing office provided literature for the missionaries all over the country. It was a large and successful piece of work. A series of commentaries on the books of the Bible and a Concordance to the Malagasy Bible (which was being compiled with great sacrifice by Mr and Mrs Dennis) were in course of publication in 1913. When Mr Ashwell returned, he had been in charge of the work in the Printing press, and has carried on the duties of the Treasurer of the Mission throughout the year 1915. He was wise and intelligent; he loved his friends and workers. Even the French people in relation with him said that he was a kind person. He helped the wives and children of his workers, if they were ill or alone.

The British and Foreign Bible Society generously helped the LMS mission from the beginning of the LMS work in the island. This society gave paper and press, and paid the salary of the missionary printers. (The LMS also was indebted to the Directors and Friends of the Religious Tract Society).

It also furnished the LMS with large grants of Scriptures, so that the LMS was enable to issue at prices that bring them within the reach of the poorest. The Religious Tract Society rendered valuable assistance. Many of the LMS most popular and widely circulated publications also were printed on paper granted by the Religious Tract Society and as a result, the prices of the books were in the reach of the poorest of the people. This Society was always the ally of the LMS.

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1 *Teny Soa n° 35*, November 1943, p. 173.
The printing office in Imarivolanitra was the first press to be erected in Madagascar. It maintained its fine reputation for quality and prompt execution.

In 1909 the most interesting feature was the issue of the following circular to all the Protestant missionaries in the island: “it’s time to provide the Malagasy pastors and preachers with more complete set of books on the Scriptures”. Several commentaries on the separate books of the Bible had already been published but still undone, many remained to be done.

It was thought to have a kind of Inter-Denominational Commentary. It was evident that the preparation of such a series, a certain amount of uniformity was desirable: hence it was proposed that there should be a general Editor to whom all missions would be sent. Consequently the Rev. F. W. Dennis of the LMS was appointed General Editor, and the Protestant missions promised support.

In 1917, there was a demand for hymn books from the Malagasy troops in France; and the churches of all the four Societies were doing what they could to supply the want. The famine in Bibles and Gospel was felt throughout the land. Unfortunately the Society ran out of Bibles and Testaments about the middle of the year. It was increasingly difficult to get goods from England, everything had to come from Mauritius: Bibles, Testaments, paper, etc.

Early in the year there were three or four cyclones and part of the ground at the printing office slipped away. One part of the office was near a precipice and the land had slipped so near to some of the buildings. Stowell Ashwell had built the retaining wall which had cost more than £400 from profits to the Society. Cost of living had gone up at a fearful rate, the price of rice was about four times than it was, so he had to increase the wages of the men, all materials from home also went up.

He returned to Madagascar, from furlough, in January 1922; and Mr. Evans kept thing going at the Printing Office, he had had a difficult time, but did wonderfully well. The new machinery that Stowell Ashwell bought while in England, had all been fixed, and was working well; he was very pleased with the folding machine.

The noble work done by Stowell Ashwell in the printing office had already been described but it must be useful to know that of the other printers.
In 1928, the lack of workers was felt everywhere but J.H. Conolly should get over that trouble until mechanical composition had been introduced and the skilled men operated the machines. Another problem was that no further electrical driven machines could be catered for as the power was working on its limits at that time, so the workers must all sit until the increase plan for providing the power had been introduced.

In 1930, the difficulty lied in the fact that all spare cash passed over to the Home Office and they were experiencing tightness, one would wish that a reserve found had been built up there. In September 1930, they opened up new premises, and had a “Librairie Centrale LMS” where all the publications put out by themselves and the other mission presses, Anglican, Friends and the Norwegians were on sale. According to their set time, it was 8 am to 4,30 pm with one hour for dinner. It was also decided to put the compositors, printers and bookbinders on short time, each man dropping out for 8 days in the month, and those who were left on full time would receive a reduction in wages of 10%. Conolly and the workers had built up a good staff of compositors, 26 in all including apprentices, but the reading public was a very limited one indeed.

There was also a new machine which arrived. The printing machine was a very fine one. The linotype was not yet in working order, but it could be turning out good type. The LMS printing office would regain its former prestige of being second to none in the island.

In 1932 the Printing Office had suffered grievous losses and Mr Conolly had a very worrying time. Early on the year, the native in charge of the Analakely Bookshop was discovered to have misappropriated a sum of at least 12,000 francs, either from the proceeds of the sale or from the stock itself. A month or two later, the one in charge of the dispatch department at Imarivolanitra was found falsifying the accounts. Mr Conolly had succeeded in recovering about 70% of the money stolen at Analakely and Imarivolanitra, but the case of the forgery had been taken out of his hands altogether, and it was being investigated by the police.
That loss of money was serious and it was a painful experience and very discouraging indeed.

Soon after, the work went on with good organization.

Evans was responsible for the work there; his task was light thanks to the valuable services and devotion of Mr. and Mrs. Raws, who were in charge since the departure of Mr. Conolly on furlough. His duties as acting local Treasurer had demanded much time. His wife, too, had been kept busy with her numerous Dorcas Societies, knitting classes and helping Evans in various ways.

Evans wrote: “The work at the printing office has been carried on efficiency. In addition to the monthly and quarterly magazines, a very large number of tracts and books, including revised and new editions, have been published, and the sales have been good.”

Conolly had a faithful and capable helper who was Randzavola and he could well be trusted with the work of printing.

In 1936 the printing office had a good year but the big increase in sales of the Scriptures was due to the Bible Centenary Celebrations. Including books of literature, not fewer than 65,650 copies of the LMS publications were sold during that year. The linotype afterwards was then turning out good work: the type was clear and mistakes were very fewer. With a little more experience, the native linotypists would be able to turn out work with greater speed and they should be able to publish more literature.

According to the One Hundred and Forty-fourth Report of the LMS, Conolly married Miss J. R. Warren in 1939 and both of them superintended the press in Imarivolanitra.

During his absence on furlough, Mr. and Mrs. Raws had been in charge of it under the general oversight of Mr. Evans.

In 1938 the printing press was kept very busy, and in spite of the big shortage of skilled compositors, the output of literature was very considerable, and the sales very satisfying. Mr Conolly reported in the One Hundred and Thirty-Third Report that about 12,000 magazines were printed and sold every month, over 22,000 hymn-books (including a small book of temperance hymns) were sold during the year, and over five thousand booklets for preachers, etc.; 1,239 commentaries; 7,400 Bibles

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1 LMS Report in 1934.
including portions of the Gospels; and a large number of school books. 40,000 were printed for free distribution.

He had worked for 30 years in Imarivolanitra (from 1926 to 1956).

Under his superintendence the printing office became a bookshop, especially the Malagasy and French books about school. The number of these books increased. He also allowed the circulation of the Bible and the books talking about the Bible. He afterwards became the Ambassador of the BFBS\(^1\) in England and during the second World War (1939 – 1945) he found many ways to send the Bible to Madagascar. At that time the Bible spread all over the country.

Since the arrival of J.G. Farmer there were different marks of printing press such as Heidelberg, Parisolith, Rota-print, Massicot, Linotype and son on.

The work of this last British superintendent of the LMS press was not seen anymore in the report of the LMS, but we can say that the publication and printing of books still went on.

In 1963 the centenary of the commemoration of the LMS protestant press took place in Imarivolanitra. There were some journalists, and the Reverend Raberinja of the FKM was there. It was Titus Rasendrahasina who had presided the cult. The late Mr. Georges Raveloson related the story of the LMS press. According to the interview made by the journalist of \textit{Fanasina} to Mr. Farmer and Georges Raveloson, it was stated that the LMS press developed rapidly and it must be enlarged, the superintendent added that they wished to place the building to Amparibe because Imarivolanitra was far from the people. They also said that the two buildings had to be added (that of Imarivolanitra and of Antsahamanitra)). However these wishes were not realized. It was thought necessary to extend the premises so as to be able to grapple with a very largely increased demand for books. In the newspaper \textit{Le Courrier de Madagascar (see appendix)} there was a photograph of the workers in the press. In 1963 there were 71 workers, and 32 of them had been working there for ten years. There were also workers who became preachers: Ravaojanahary, Rajoelisolo Charles, Ravelomanantsoa Noelson, Randrianomenjanahary, Razafitsiarovana, Ravelojaona, Ramarokoto, Razananaivo and Rajhonson Jemison. The four workers

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\(^1\) British and Foreign Bible Society.
who retired were: Rakotomavo, Rajaofera Samuël, Randriambololona, and Rakotoarisoa. Even if many of them died, the work still went on till now.

Mr Georges Andriamanantena was the first Malagasy superintendent after the departure of Farmer. In 1966 there was a meeting of the FKM and the General Synod chose the director of the LMS press. There were four candidates but it was Georges Andriamanantena they elected. He had been working there for eight years. In 1957 till 1966 there was nothing in Imarivolanitra and Farmer did nothing there. In 1966 there was no work of the press. Some stocks of books were present.

The LMS gave money in order to let the press work.

The first work that Andriamanantena did was the printing of the protestant hymn. The LMS press was helped by the NIAG (*Nouvelle Imprimerie des Arts Graphiques*) and the *Industrie Graphique* at Behoririka. The certificates were written in the Malagasy language.

Previously the printing office was called TFBPI or *Trano Famoaham-Boky Protestanta Imarivolanitra*. There Mr. Georges Andriamanantena edited some books including that of Dox in which there were poems such as: *Hira ve, Hihira aho…*

There was no concordance and the LMS press was obliged to work with the Lutheran press in order to produce more concordances.

In 1968 there was a library in Imarivolanitra. It was John Gilbey\(^1\) who took charge of it and he also lived in Imarivolanitra. After the FFPM (Association of the Protestant Churches in Madagascar), all the books in the library were removed to the FJKM Archives of Faravohitra. Till now these books can be found there.

**The British superintendents in Imarivolanitra**

**From 1862 to 1957**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Appointments to the Mission fields</th>
<th>Retirement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J. Parrett</td>
<td>1862</td>
<td>1885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Ashwell</td>
<td>1885</td>
<td>1926</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. N. Conolly</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>1956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. G. Farmer</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>1966</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\(^1\) Personnal information from the late Mr Georges Andriamanantena (August 2006)
The printing office was erected by William Pool who was not only a British missionary but also a famous architect. As far as the printing office is concerned it has British architectural aspects. Since 1862 the work of the press had been carried on without interruption. Moreover, J. Parrett trained many Malagasy printers, binders and compositors. In the beginning there were 25 men and then 40 employers. When John Parrett retired he was replaced by Stowell Ashwell who skillfully worked with the 70 native workmen. They were paid monthly. The British Foreign Bible Society also provided numerous equipments for the printing office. After Stowell Ashwell came J.M Conolly in 1920 Despite the problems he encountered, he never gave up. The linotype was then turning out good work. The last British superintendents was J.G Farmer he also worked seriously and in 1963, almost all the machines were modernized. We should also notice the good work of the late Mister Georges Andriamanantena who superintended the printing office. He worked there for eight years. Because of their work there was a rapid development in the literature, as a result we could say that it contributed to the Malagasy socio-cultural development.
III -
IMARIVOLANITRA PRESS
AND THE MALAGASY
SOCIO-CULTURAL
DEVELOPMENT
An important feature of the Society’s work in the Capital was the Printing Press which rendered a service of the most importance in Madagascar. The work of printing grew up rapidly; it was a well-organized and influential printing office and contributed to the Malagasy socio-cultural development.

With regard to writing, publishing and distribution, the Society worked hard. It gave funds for subsidy, trained employees to work permanently in the printing office. It also aimed at spreading as much literature as possible.

Moreover, the schools became numerous and efficient, the demand for works at a higher class then simple elementary increased. Printed words are fundamental in school, in the education and enrichment of individuals, and in mass communications.

The LMS press produced numerous kinds of periodicals and books for the use of the people, especially for the churches and schools.

There were not only British missionaries who wrote books or periodicals but also intelligent Malagasy writers.

A love of reading and willingness to spend money in the purchase of books were seen on the part of the Malagasy. Thanks to that, there was a marked advance. So, one could say that there was social, religious and cultural development.
III.1 – IMARIVOLANITRA, THE EDITION HOUSE:

One of the things demanding serious attention and must occupy a large share of the missionaries time was literacy work. The printing house existed for the purpose of the Mission in spreading religious knowledge and dissemination of good literature in the Malagasy language. Hundreds of different titles of books and pamphlets came from the mission press.

The variety of subject-matter showed the broad view that the missions had taken in their task of benefiting the people.

There were sermons, tracts, dictionaries of the Bible, commentaries, and school books of many kinds, dictionaries of the language, magazines for the churches, theological and historical works, fiction, books of research into matters concerning Madagascar.

To make these more interesting, the British missionaries tried to introduce a number of new works which they should have made illustrations.

The Malagasy writers had a great opportunity to prepare and issue literature in the Malagasy language. Any missionaries having special aptitude for that work would be providing great service if they could prepare books and tracts suitable for young people and others.

III.1.1 – Edition and publishing

On November 09, 1826 the 160 reams of paper arrived here. It was sent by the British and Foreign Bible Society. The transport from Mauritius to Tamatave was not included. For the binding of New Testament in 1830, they used bullock’s hides to bind the books; the queen gave permission to that. In 1828, the Religious Tract Society gave 24 reams of paper for the LMS.

Thanks to the help of these two Societies, the British missionaries were able to publish the early books before the persecution period.

More than 3,200,000 8 vo. Pages were printed during the year (1875 -1876) and about 12,000 volumes of various kinds were bound. The total number of books issued was 180,510.

In 1876 a new illustrated edition of the Pilgrim’s Progress was issued. A number of educational works were published and the elementary primers were constantly reprinted.
The issue of books from July 1, 1877 to June 30, 1878 was 211,484.
The issue of books in 1882 was 258,055.

According to the LMS report in 1885, J. Willis stated: “it is difficult to give any exact estimate of the total number of publications issued from the press during the past ten years; but Teny Soa about 4,000 have often been issued annually. In the year 1875 – 1876: 131,612 publications were issued; in 1877 – 78: 94,952; in 1878 – 1879: 142,517. These may serve as example of average yearly issues”.

In 1891 to 1900 the printing office issued useful work for the mission in Madagascar. It published 1,500,000 books and pamphlets of various kinds. The greatest of any one publication issued was that of Teny Soa.

The most important book was a Bible Dictionary and a Concordance. It involved a huge amount of labor of 13 years, and was carried through and completed in 1916 by the rev. F. W. Dennis and Mrs. Dennis assisted by many Malagasy lads. This concordance to the Malagasy Bible was a quarto book of 713 pages, in three columns and a very small type and was quite full1. It was of great value to all Malagasy preachers and students of the Scriptures.

It is also important to notice that lithography was introduced by the Friends’ Mission and many native youths could produce excellent drawings, maps and diagrams for the illustration of scientific and other books2.

The missionaries took part in writing books and various papers both in Malagasy for the people and also in English about them and the country. James Sibree used to write some schoolboy magazines. He wrote considerably more about Madagascar and its people and mission work connected with it3.

Sibree made designs for about 20 colleges and school buildings. For mission houses or buildings, he made 20 designs, 2 for hospital: at Fianarantsoa and in Antsihanaka.

He was able to accomplish architectural work especially during the last twenty years of his life in Madagascar. The other missionaries said “better to go to Mr. Sibree for a design, as he knows all about such matters”4.

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1 Sibree James (1924), op. cit., p. 197.
2 Ibid.
3 Sibree James, (1924) op. cit. p. 338.
4 Sibree James, (1924) op. cit. p. 342.
Notice also that William Ellis wrote two or three books about Madagascar, very valuable and interesting ones, and also the article upon it in the eighth edition of *Encyclopedia Britanica* and so was regarded as the chief authority on the subject.

The Malagasy native also wrote and edited periodicals; Ravelojaona, the Protestant minister, one of the first nationalist political figures emerged after the conquest and the destruction of the Merina oligarchy. He was the son of a protestant minister, he edited a number of religious and laic periodicals in Malagasy, among them *Ny Teny Soa* (1907 -1915) and *Ny Mpamafy* (1911 – 1915). He was a man of letters. His most important work was an encyclopedia, *Firaketana ny Fiteny sy ny Zavatra Malagasy* (Treasury of the language and things of Madagascar). In 1913 he published in one of the Malagasy language periodicals *Mpanolo-tsaina*, a series of articles concerning Japan, in which he showed how an Asiatic people could absorb Western science, and it seemed to have excited considerable interest among the young Malagasy intellectuals¹.

The writers would naturally be given full liberty in the preparations of the commentaries of the Bible. There were two points which was thought of sufficient importance to insist upon:

1 – A good introduction, somewhat on the lines of any modern commentary, but probably shorter, should precede the exegeses of the text.

2 – The notes while being explanatory, should as far as possible homiletically, i.e. written with a view to aid the preachers in their sermons².

III.1.2 – Kinds of book

The Bible had taken a deep hold on the minds of the people. Love of Bible was one of the most marked characteristics of the persecuted Christians. The Bible brought by the missionaries to the knowledge of the people formed the basis of all their teaching. It was a source of instruction.

The formation of literature in Madagascar was led by the British missionaries. To the latters owing the introduction of printing and the instruction of Malagasy youths in the arts of composing type and of binding books, the foundations of a native literature was laid, and a large number of school books of all grades, science

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¹ Heseltine Nigel, op. cit., p. 155.
² Report of the LMS for 1909
handbooks, medical and surgical works, histories, dictionaries, periodicals, hymnals, Scripture commentaries, devotional, biblical and theological books were issued from the mission press\(^1\).

With the spread of education and increasing facilities in the search for knowledge, the power of printed word was rapidly greater in Madagascar.

The LMS missionaries gave the Malagasy *Commentaries on all the books of the New Testament*. The preparation of a *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew* was undertaken at the earnest desire of the native Christians in 1865. The work was done by the Rev. R. G. Hartley and W. E. Cousins. One part of the Commentaries containing 118 pages had been published.

In 1871, Dr Andrew Davidson set up, in the hospital of Analakely, a little press which served him to publish special medicine work. He published “*Materia Medica, Gray’s Anatomy, Chemistry, and Physiology*”.

During the decade of 1901 – 1910 there was a loss of several seniors, some of them retired from various causes from Madagascar, especially those who wrote Commentaries. In theology and Church History, many books also were issued. They issued several editions of *Hymn Book, the First Lesson-book and Catechisms*.

On the whole the Press of the LMS had sent forth a constantly augmented stream of literature. Among these are school-books of all grades, and school appliances generally; catechisms of Bible facts, personage and doctrine; sermons outlines, and tracts; Bible lessons; commentaries on several of the books of Scriptures; Live of the Lord; the Twelve; the Apostle Paul and the Patriarchs; introduction of the New and Old Testament; manuals of exegesis, hermeneutics, biblical criticism, and Church History; a Bible handbook and the first portion of a Bible dictionary; a series of handbooks of Logic Physical Geography, Kabary, Astronomy...; dictionaries of the language, and Collections of the Proverbs, Kabary and Folk-tales and Folk-lore; several periodicals.

**III.1.3 – High literacy rate and book circulation**

In order to meet the increasing desire for knowledge awakened by education and the growth of a reading class, the press of the LMS\(^2\) had sent forth a constantly stream of literature.

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\(^1\) Sibree James, (1924) *op. cit.*, p. 197.

\(^2\) Since 1873 that of Friends Mission also.
A great number of reading books and lessons were distributed all over the country. According to the report of John Parrett, he stated: “since 1863 a large number of new works have been used; immense quantities of our cheap educational series have been sold; the circulation of our monthly magazines has largely increased; there has been a very steady and increasing sale of Scripture; a large number of tracts and other similar publications have been printed and issued.” The LMS press issued from 1870 to 1880 averaged 150,000 copies of various publications.

In 1878 a special effort was made to circulate the Reference New Testament among the members of churches. The two periodicals circulated and its circulation slightly increased.

They published a commentary on the Gospel of Matthew, the second part of the Bible Dictionary, and an illustrated edition of the Pilgrim’s Progress, Bible circulation was attended by all the missionaries both in town and country as well as by the missionaries of other Protestant Societies. The series of tracts were eagerly welcomed in many parts of the country.

In 1885 million copies of Lesson Books were put into circulation.

From 1890 to 1900, 362,195 First Lesson Books circulated; 28,280 Bibles; 68,535 Testaments and 36,080 portions. It was done thanks to the Religious Tract Society who granted 1,000 reams of paper

III.2 – IMARIVOLANITRA; THE BOOKSHOP

The LMS press tried to supply the need for wholesome literature although it cannot be said that a love of reading is a characteristic of the Malagasy. Most of the time it was the elite who wanted many books on culture and knowledge. However when the yearly increasing proportion of the population in the central provinces who could read was considered, it was expected that there would be a large demand for books of all kinds. Moreover the mission extended and the educational books by European and natives missionaries in distant parts of the island developed rapidly.

A taste of reading and willingness to spend money in the purchase of books was still confined to a small section of the population. Since 1875, it was stated that most of the Malagasy people were interested in reading. “The readers buying
monthly newspaper are numerous, the work of printing also increased… a great number of it was sent to Tamatave… to Fianarantsoa… to Vonizongo”

III.2.1 – The spread of education

With regard to the education of the scholars, there was a splendid transformation in their behaviors.

Their intellectual improvement also was very encouraging because the effect of the Christian education was apparent. Towards the end of the year 1865 they prepared to issue magazines for the instruction of the Malagasy and as a medium of communication with the native churches and the people. In general, suitable books were provided for the people.

The missionaries also tried to give hygienic precepts which could raise the standard of living of those who read the book.

The work of the British missionaries was very important if we talk about education. Not only they preached but also instructed and taught the children in the church day-schools. They contributed to the raising up of a strong and intelligent Christian community in Antananarivo, then, the centre of enlightenment and influence on all the country around far or near.

Until 1870 all the missionaries were living in Antananarivo. There were a number of intelligent young men in the city who eager for instruction. They were afterwards the first students in the Theological College, and several of them became influential pastors and leaders of the native church. The literary department of mission work was very important. It should be remembered that the Malagasy had no native literature, that the reduction of the language to writing was made by British missionaries, that even the most intelligent and best educated of the native were dependent on foreign help for all general information, and that missionaries resident in Madagascar were the only parties by whom the literary wants of the people could possibly be supplied.

This work occupied a large share of the missionaries’ time and care, but it was worthy of the highest talent of which the mission possessed.

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1 Ny Gazety Malagasy n° 4, August 2, 1875.
2 Sibree James (1924), op. cit., p. 44.
The advance of education showed the necessity of giving increased attention to the branch of labor. The great importance of this work was evident from the advance which education had made.

The constantly increasing number of educated evangelists and young men from the College, of trained school-teachers and other youths from the Normal and General schools, and of adults and children throughout the country who were able to read, made it imperative that more time and attention be given to the preparation of a native literature.

Before going further, the school system from the beginning of the LMS mission should be noticed.

A primary education was the first necessary type of education the missionaries had to deal with. Under the reign of Radama I, there were three schools (1824). In 1876 there was a compulsory education act and till the reign of the last queen primary education was modernized. The Antananarivo Annual gave educational statistics for 1882 which stated that there were 146,521 pupils registered. Primary schools in 1894 were stated to have 164,000 pupils, two thirds of whom were in Imerina with remainder in Betsileo and on the east coast.

The used books were written by English or French missionaries, and by Malagasy evangelists. The most used books were Cousin’s grammar, and Rasamoelina’s book of arithmetic. There were governmental certificates delivered by the Minister of Education. The teachers also had to make a permanent report about pupils’ progress to the Minister.

Secondly, there was the secondary education with which three main schools were erected: the Normal School of Ambodin’Andohalo; it was originally called Boy’s Central School, the pupils were intended to be teachers and pedagogy was the main subject; there was also the LMS College of Avarat’Andohalo, it was intended to be a theological school; the LMS College of Faravohitra, inaugurated on January 18, 1881 in which few girls studied.

Thirdly there was the specialized education in which technical education was taught; this was called technical colleges. Medical School was set up with the help of Dr Davidson and the Medical Missionary Academy was created in 1880.

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2 For more precision, read p.17.
All the pupils and students who wanted to be educated should read many books. These were also needed by the teachers because they used to buy books from Imarivolanitra in order to instruct their pupils.

Without the British missionaries' help, the Malagasy people could not produce something. Everything had to be provided for them by the missionaries. However on account of the fewness of the British printers and the pressing claims of their duties which could not be neglected, the work had been put back.

If one talks about education the wide aim of Christian education should be dealt with. It prepared children and young people for the largest possible life as individuals, as members of a community and as spiritual beings.

It also aimed at developing a group of men and women who may lead the church and be influential in the life of the nation. They were men of trained intelligence, judgment and wide culture. There was the literate section of population.

In order to achieve that aim the missionaries should use reading matter. The education of the young naturally formed an important element in the work of the press from its beginning. The work flourished greatly and the British missionaries showed great interest in the prosperity of the LMS press. The spread of education awoke a new hunger of reading matter, and when almost the whole people was going to school, there was a demand for books and papers that had surpassed anything previously known\(^1\).

After the French conquest several missionaries whose station and work had been broken up by war, rebellion or persecution, who, in consequence felt much discouraged as to the future, determined to retire from Madagascar and offered their services in other fields. Ex. : Rev J. Richardson went to South Africa.

### III.2.2 – Customers and booksellers

Malagasy gave a sum of money for religious purposes. They certainly must have some real faith in the gospel. As a result the missionaries were fully determined to do their best to produce religious books.

In the beginning, the books were given freely to the Malagasy people but Ellis and his friends stated that it was convenient if they sold them because a certain

\(^1\) LMS Report 1931.
Plate 11: The LMS Mission Press, Antananarivo
Source: Griffiths Robert, *Madagascar Mission*, 1890
amount of money was spent on them. The customers were amazed and asked why the words of God was sold; then the missionaries explained that it was not the words of God in the Bible that were sold but the sheet of papers and the workers’ wage.

The Reference New Testament and Scriptures were offered at a low price and several thousands of the people availed themselves of the opportunity. In 1868 the price of Bible was “ariary” and in 1874 it was “kirobo” and the New Testament costed “roavoamena”.

In 1882 the chief demand during that year was for elementary school books. Of some of these, the LMS press issued large numbers, and the demand still continued. About a ton and half of the First Lesson-book were issued since January 1, 1882, or more than 140,000 copies of a revised First Arithmetic the first edition. The issue of larger works, such as commentaries, helped to the study, the Bible, etc. was fair on the whole. One thing desired of record in connections with the book sales, that more had been sold directly to the Malagasy, and fewer to the missionaries, than formerly\(^1\).

In 1885 the sales of school books... etc. had fallen of considerably, and the expenses had been much increased by the heavy charges incurred for agency, freight, and carriage of paper and material.

From 1890 – 1990, 363,025 Teny Soa and 83,180 hymns-books were sold, these were very popular.6,954 commentaries were sold and only preachers and evangelists needed them, notice also that the price of commentary was a large sum for a Malagasy. The most popular commentary was the commentary of the Gospel of John, over 1,000 were sold.

The year 1902 – 1908 would be remembered as a bad time for the people. Malarial fever in an epidemic form swept off more than a thousand people and left many more so weakened that they became a prey to pneumonia and other diseases. Frequently all the members of family were ill at the same time and depended on the kindness of their neighbours even for cooking their food\(^2\).

In 1906, Stowell Ashwell stated that the general business depression throughout the island affected the sales at the office to a very large extent: 235,300

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\(^1\) Madagascar Mission (1882), p. 82.
\(^2\) Ten Years’ Review of Mission Work in Madagascar 1901 - 1910
books and pamphlets were sold and distributed during that year. The closing of so many schools naturally reduced the sale of lesson books, only 25,700 were sold.

From the beginning of its establishment, the LMS Press supplied the Malagasy with educational and religious literature. Many valuable and standard works were issued from the Press. It was felt that there was a large demand for books of all kinds.

Global Statistics of Sales

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1880</th>
<th>1882</th>
<th>890-190</th>
<th>1903</th>
<th>1906</th>
<th>1909</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1912</th>
<th>1915</th>
<th>1918</th>
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<tr>
<td>First Arithmetic</td>
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<tr>
<td>Teny Soa</td>
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<td>363 025</td>
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<td>Mpanolo-tsaina</td>
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<td>8 000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hymns book</td>
<td>83 180</td>
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<td>12 775</td>
<td>18 443</td>
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<td>Commentary</td>
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<td>Gospel fo John</td>
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<tr>
<td>Books and pamphlets</td>
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<td>235 300</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lesson-book</td>
<td>52 800</td>
<td>25 700</td>
<td>23 291</td>
<td>31 325</td>
<td>178 588</td>
<td>250 000</td>
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<td></td>
<td>7 053</td>
<td>4 819</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4 011</td>
<td>4 175</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

In 1907, the fever epidemic sadly interfered with the work of the office. Mr. Lord reported that most of the employees suffered from it more or less. Several of them died and many were obliged to absent themselves for weeks at a time: and even they put in appearance they were often so reduced in strength that it was impossible for them to throw any energy into their work.\(^1\)

Owing to the widespread sickness among the people, they had very little money to meet the demand for medicines and fees.

Under these circumstances it was not surprised to find that the profits in the office were less than formerly.

In 1909, the sale of books was made up as follows: 5,000 less *First lesson books*; 2,800 less Testaments; 2,000 less Hymn books. The output of commentaries and other books was about the same as usual. 2,000 copies of

\(^1\) *The one hundred and twelfth Report 1907*
*Mpanolo-tsaina* were sold every three months. In 1910 there were 12,776 hymnbooks which were sold.

In 1911 Ashwell reported that in the last years 41,741 Bibles were sold in comparison with 22,276 in the previous decade.

In 1912 the number of Hymnbooks sold were 18,443 as against 12,775 in 1910; 31,325 Lesson Books as against 23,291; 4,819 Bibles as against 7,053; 4,175 Testaments as against 4,011.

During the year 1912, £400 profit from the office was paid to the general funds of the Society.

In 1915 the sales were a little better than during 1914; 178,588 books and pamphlets were sold.

In 1917 the cost of the Malagasy concordance (700 pages) was £800.

In 1918 not less than a quarter of a million books and pamphlets were issued.

All things considered, we may say that the numerous books, bought by the Malagasy people, brought about changes in their life since these were precious and gave information. Most of literature was sold at prices for beneath prime cost. It was regarded as a mean of evangelism. Selling-prices were fixed according to the buyer’s income according to the rules of commercial enterprise.

In 1922, 190,000 books and pamphlets were sold, 2,000 less in 1921, but the price of living, also the price of books had gone up.

In 1928 the year was not without difficulties but they had been brought safely through and could look forward with confidence to the year 1929. The Malagasy books sold were divided in two classes; magazines and literature.

Books in French were numerous, as there had been a demand for books in French, a stock had been put in during the year, and this had been added to. By having in stock a selection of good literature in French it was hoped, not only to counteract the influence of some very doubtful literature which was in sale, but to cultivate a good taste for reading among the French reading Malagasy.

During the year 1928 they had experienced the common trouble wages, and just how to meet the constant cost of living was a permanent problem, life was not becoming any easier in Madagascar from the point of view of the cost of living, the tendency seemed to be for this to increase. Increased costs had to be met with increased prices and how to do the latter without hitting those who had no money,
was an ever problem at the Printing Office where the aim was to spread as many literature as possible. The local annual tax paid by the Malagasy was double what it was in 1926. The Malagasy were reading more and more, the number of magazines and newspapers on sale was bewildering and ever changing.

III.2.3 – The continual progress

Socially, intellectually and spiritually, the natives of Madagascar were undoubtedly making advances. There was manifest improvement, a personal neatness and cleanliness. In manners and dress, they had made great progress. Children were more carefully attended to, and the sicknesses were better nursed than formerly. The improvement in regard to houses, both as to outward appearance and internal arrangement was apparent. Bad language was less than it was, and chastity was at least beginning to be regarded as a virtue that could be cultivated by young men and women. Polygamy too was fast disappearing; divorce, to common still, was not so frequent a thing as it was; and the marriage tie was becoming more generally respected. Those who had much in contact with European had learned a great deal from their modes of living, and had adopted many of their customs.

The desire of education was very great and many had learned to read and to write. The influence of education was felt. Habits of personal cleanliness and neatness in dress were gaining an increasing and firmer hold upon the children. On the day of examination, the carry of clean white and colored lamba is a most pleasant sight. The day of examination no doubt is a day of great importance. The rapid spread had been due to the intellectual capacity of the Malagasy people and to the facility for absorbing and using Western knowledge.

From what thus said, it is important to notice that the department of education was a most important factor in the mission operations. The Society provided the necessary class books, organized and carried out a system of inspection and examination for testing the value of the instruction given. The Society furnished considerable sums of money annually for educational purposes, and in the hands of its missionaries laid the responsibility, the practical direction and working of the general arrangements in the promotion of elementary education.

The behavior and attention of the people during religious service was better than it was though in more remote places there was still much improvement needed.

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1 Heseltine Nigel, p. 83.
The style of instruction imparted by the native preachers had changed; and there were not a few men among the Malagasy pastors who could preach sermons of which Europeans would be ashamed. Above all there were among the older Christians a gradual rising of the standard of Christian life and purity.

III.3 – IMARIVOLANITRA, THE PRESS HOUSE

Newspaper is the medium almost used by the educated youths of the towns for thinking aloud and coming to grasp the written words.

The writers showed there their knowledge and literacy skill. It was interesting to supply the people with such news as their circumstances seemed to require.

The press house published magazines and periodicals.

There was still a great need for the preparation, and the issue of suitable literature in connection with missionary works in Madagascar. It was seen that it was glad to acknowledge the growing capacity of the Malagasy themselves to produce suitable literature. The growing circulation of the society’s periodical and other literatures in the vernacular was satisfying.

III.3.1 – The Teny Soa

Towards the end of the year (1865) the missionaries prepared to issue a magazine\(^1\) for the instruction of the Malagasy and as a medium of communication with the native churches and the people in general; and with the first days of January 1866 they brought out the first number of Teny Soa. Most of them took part in this beginning of periodical literature in Madagascar; and they were all proud of general information as well as those of a religious kind.

This monthly magazine Teny Soa or Good Words had been produced uninterruptedly ever since its beginning in 1866; it was therefore the oldest magazine in the native language, and had always been a kind of official organ of the LMS to the native churches and schools connected with the Mission. Its series of 44 volumes contained a mass of information, general as well as religious; and it may claim to have taken a very large share in influencing the intelligent religious life of the Malagasy. Its circulation had average about 1,800 monthly, and it was issued at a penny a copy\(^2\). It was the most circulated periodical. Since 1880 its distribution had

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\(^{1}\) First bi-monthly and afterwards monthly.

\(^{2}\) *Ten years’ Review 1870 – 1920*, p. 119.
been about 3,000 monthly; and for the last year and half it has enlarged and its value increased by giving full notes on Sunday School Lessons, prepared by Mr. Lord, and intended for the help of the teachers of Sunday Schools.

*Teny Soa* was useful since it had provided a very handy medium. It had been designed to give entertaining reading material to the Malagasy. It was necessary to the Christian community as a whole instead of a journal for pastors and church workers only. The missionaries knew that the only book available for those who were able to read was the Bible, so the articles in *Teny Soa* dealt with Bible stories, the customs and ways of foreign countries, *angano* or tales and bibliographies of famous men. The missionaries also tried to give hygienic precepts which had raised the standard of living of those who read the book. It was easy to understand that though

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1 Preface of the very first number of *Teny Soa*, January, 1866.
honorifying, the idea could not reach the true mass of common people. The precept had enriched the lives of those who knew how to read.

In 1916, it attained its jubilee and there were many letters of congratulation from missionaries’ old friends and former contributors. *Teny Soa* was their chief means of communication. Its chief aims were moral and religious. There was always a good proportion of its pages devoted to give information on all sorts of subjects. It helped preachers by giving them outlines of sermons.

Sibree also contributed in writing an article on “the steam engine” with illustrations of a locomotive engine and the Primrose Hill Tunnel.

A few years later the missionaries felt the need of something more advanced than *Teny Soa*, which was the *Mpanolo-tsaina* especially for the intelligent young men and women.

### III.3.2 – The Mpanolo-tsaina

The first number of a new Malagasy quarterly magazine was called the counselor or *Mpanolo-tsaina* or thought-giver. The Rev. J. Peil and Mr Lord were joint editors, with Mr. Richardson as press editor. *Mpanolo-tsaina* appeared in July 1888.

There were over 600 subscribers already, and it was only at the very urgent request, reiterated again and again of natives that the missionaries agreed at least to try it. The first number contained a paper on “Commerce”, being the report of lecture by Col. Maude. V.C. in Antananarivo translated by Mr Richardson, an article on the late Emperor William of Germany by Mr Wills, an article on “Tea Planting” by Mr Pickersgill; and one by Mr Pell on the “Unit of the Spirit”, besides several pages of varieties by Mr Richardson at the end, after the style of those in the Leisure Hour, and a couple pages of introduction by Mr Lord.

In 1909 it was extremely popular and entirely written by natives because most of the British missionaries had left Madagascar; besides, Malagasy writers had become more and more performing.

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1. Sibree James (1924), op. cit., p.340
2. The Chronicle of the L.M.S.
III.3.3 – Other magazines

The most important periodical published by the press of the LMS in Imarivolanitra, Antananarivo, and printed by Malagasy printers was the *Antananarivo Annual and Madagascar Magazine*, a record of information on the topography and natural productions of Madagascar, and the customs, traditions, language and religious belief of its people.

The first number of the periodical appeared at Christmas 1875, under the editorship of James Sibree, architect of the Memorial Churches, who also edited the two succeeding Annuals of 1876 – 1877. On Mr. Sibree leaving Madagascar, Mr. G. Cousins undertook the management of the magazine, and produced the number for 1878. Owing to various contingencies, the publication of the *Antananarivo Annual* n° V was delayed until 1881. This latter and the n° VI of 1882 were edited by the Rev. R. Baron. MM. Sibree and Baron were the co-editors of the latest numbers.

It was impossible to overrate the value of this most interesting and instructive record, and the frequent reference made to work by the compiler was the best evidence of its obligations to the successive editors\(^1\).

*The Antananarivo Annual* was a well-produced review containing very different articles written by Missionaries. These were first-hand accounts of journeys on foot and in canoes to the interior of the country\(^2\). This magazine was circulated in Europe, and was valued by scholars and scientific students.

There were six volumes of the *Annual*, comprising over 3,000 pages in all, which contained an amount of information about Madagascar and Malagasy which could be found anywhere else.

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\(^1\) Pastfield Samuel Oliver, op. cit., p. 106  
\(^2\) Heseltine Nigel, op. cit., p. 126.
GENERAL CONCLUSION
The first press brought to Madagascar was that of the LMS, in the time of the first establishment of its Mission in the island.

This was taken up to the Capital in 1826 at Ambatonakanga. From it, the entire Scripture, a large Dictionary, and many other valuable books were printed under the superintendence of Edward Baker who continued to work it till the Mission broke up in 1836.

Then came a quarter century of persecution (1835 – 1861) during which Ranavalona I forbade his people to learn or write. She wanted to extinguish Christianity in Madagascar. All the British missionaries were compelled to leave the country.

After her death, her son ascended the throne in 1862. He proclaimed religious liberty to all. The LMS sent out a strong band of missionaries. On the reopening of the country in 1862, another press was sent to work; it was under the superintendence of a skillful printer, Mr. John Parrett. He worked in Imarivolanitra, Antananarivo, he trained Malagasy in printing, bookbinding. Efforts were made to carry on the work cut short for a time by the persecution.

Then they produced native literature. The demand for books increased; and although a machine was set up in 1870, and the staff of printers increased to 25, the demand was still much larger than the supply.

After the retirement of John Parrett, Stowell Ashwell was sent out to take charge of the printing establishment in Imarivolanitra. He was a zealous worker and he was helped by his wife. Conolly came after Stowell, and despite many difficulties, he worked seriously and with efficiency.

Under the superintendence of Farmer, the work of the press went on without interruption. He was the last British superintendent of the LMS press.

After his retirement in 1966 there were Malagasy superintendents such as Georges Andriamanantena, Hans Andriamampianina…

Thus, one realizes how great the British missionaries’ contribution to the establishment of printing in Madagascar was. Though they lived two centuries ago, their work has not vanished away.

This work, though incomplete in many ways, can be very interesting for the people who tend to forget the British participation in printing. They played great roles in the history of Madagascar and have remained unknown till now.
We realize that we have done so far as it has enabled us to discover just a part of the mission press. We have done our best to gather as much information as we can to help readers know the beginning of the printing in Madagascar. However, this dissertation deals only with a tiny part of the British missionaries’ work. That is the reason why we suggest that further research should be done on this particular subject. Our firm hope is, that from the door we have opened, other young researchers will carry on research and find precious documents concerning the LMS press in Imarivolanitra, Antananarivo.
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APPENDIX

I - A letter from John Parrett to Rev. Dr. Tidman

“Amparibe, Antananarivo, March 28th, 1863.

“MY DEAR SIR, - Though I cannot yet say that I have began my printing labor here, I am very glad to be able to inform you that I shall begin next week. For the past month I have been engaged in erecting my press, unpacking my type, and getting my office straight. With one or two trifling exceptions, everything has arrived safe. The press has got up in first-rate condition, and is not in the least damaged by its long voyage, and came up to the country without accident either to itself or bearers’ conditions; and, with exception of one small package, which we expect has been stolen, everything is all right.

“My great difficulty has been to obtain a printing-office. Though the people were very glad to see us, and gave us a hearty welcome, they are not by any means fond of work; and the difficulties that I have experienced in getting my office built, I must confess, rather damped my expectations. Still I am very much pleased with it, as I hope, by God’s help, to do some work inside of it I did not think that I shall have much difficulty in getting assistants. Many young men have offered themselves, both to me and to Mr. Ellis, some of them apparently very superior. If I fail in making them good printers, I do not think it will be on account of their stupidity, but from their constitutional laziness. The people, as a rule, are wonderfully intelligent; the young especially so. Some of the children learn in a month, and many, three and four of age, can read the New Testament with ease, and, what is more important, understand what they read.

“I have also great pleasure in stating that the large stock of books that we brought out with us is rapidly lessening. Of some, all are gone, and the others, especially the small tracts and children’s lesson books, are just gone, I purpose next week beginning my work, by printing lessons for the Sunday School which are just establishing; and when they are finished, a suitable Catechism will come next, which will take some time. After that, we want another edition of the Hymn Book, which the people value next to the Testament. Then there will be several school books for Mr. Stagg. So you will see I am likely to be busily employed.
“During the six months that I have been here, I have found plenty to do what with the language, in which, though I am not so proficient as the ministers, yet I have made considerable progress, much more, in fact, than I expected to have acquired in the time.

“Though I have done nothing as yet with respect to preaching, yet in two or three weeks I hope to commence in some of the villages and towns round the capital, in most of which there are already large congregations.

“My health has been very good since I left England. The climate appears to suit me very well; indeed, they reckon me the strongest and healthiest of the part, and I hope and pray that, in the good providence of God, I may be permitted to labor these fields for many years.

“The Catholic Press is at work, though it has done very little yet. A little Catechism has been the only work printed there.

“I remain, Sir, yours very respectful.”

To Rev. Dr. Tidman from John Parrett.
II – Centenary celebration of the Imarivolanitra press
THE LMS PRESS IN IMARIVOLANITRA ANTANANARIVO
FROM 1826 TO THE FIRST QUARTER OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

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RESUME

Malgré les nombreux problèmes rencontrés par les missionnaires britanniques pour introduire l’imprimerie à Madagascar, ils ne renoncèrent pas dans leur entreprise et firent tout leur possible pour y arriver. Ils travaillèrent avec les Malgaches à partir de 1824. L’imprimerie débuta à Ambatonakanga. Après le transfert à Imarivolanitra, il y eut un grand essor car les livres et les documents édités, imprimés et vendus étaient abondants. Les besoins se faisaient sentir et cela entraînèrent un développement social et culturel au sein du peuple malgache. Notre objectif est de faire savoir l’impact du passage des missionnaires britanniques à Imarivolanitra et de susciter un regain d’intérêt pour l’histoire malgache auprès des citoyens et pour que les explorations dans les recherches scientifiques soient plus faciles.

MOTS-CLES
FINTINA


TENY IDITRA


SUMMARY

Despite the difficulties that the British missionaries had encountered through the introduction of the printing in Madagascar, they didn’t give up but did their best to implant it. They worked with Malagasy people from 1824. Printing began at Ambatonakanga. When it was removed to Imarivolanitra, it was prosperous because the published, printed and sold books or documents are plentiful. The needs were full and they led to the Malagasy socio-cultural development. In fact, our aim is to revive the footprints of the British missionaries in Imarivolanitra and also to incite the natives to be aware of their ancient history in order to exploit them.

KEY WORDS

Antananarivo - British missionaries – Imarivolanitra – LMS – Madagascar – Printing - Protestantism - XIXth century